# A Translation of the Nepalese Text of the Suśrutasaṃhitā

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Hello world.



# Sūtrasthāna 1: The Origin of Medical Knowledge

#### Literature

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

### **Translation**

- 1 Now I shall narrate the chapter on the origin of this knowledge.<sup>2</sup>
- 2 Now, as is well-known, Aupadhenava, Vaitaraṇa, Aurabhra, Puṣkalāvata, Karavīra, Gopurarakṣita, Bhoja, Suśruta and others addressed Lord Divodāsa, king of Kāśi, the best of the immortals, who was in his ashram surrounded by an entourage of sages.<sup>3</sup>
- 1 HIML: IA, 203-204.
- 2 Dalhaṇa understood the word "knowledge (veda)" as specifically "medical knowledge." He said that the word "longevity" (āyur) had been elided. After this opening statement, later manuscripts and commentaries include the attribution, "as the venerable Dhanvantari stated." The absence of this statement in the early Nepalese manuscripts is highly significant because it removes the outer narrative frame of the Suśrutasaṃhitā (Wujastyk 2013b: 148; Klebanov 2021a: § 3.1.2; Rai 2019; Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021). On the figure of Dhanvatari in medical literature, see HIML: IA 358–361.
- 3 On these persons, see HIML: IA 361–363, 369 ff. The authority Bhoja does not appear in the list as published in the vulgate edition (Su 1931:1), and was not included in HIML amongst "authorities mentioned in the Suśrutasaṃhitā." Meulenbeld gathered textual evidence about Bhoja at HIML: IA 690–691. Klebanov (2021b) has discussed these authors in the context of an anonymous commentary on the Suśrutasaṃhitā that cites them.

- 3 "O Lord, distress arose in our minds after witnessing people thrashing about with cries, assailed by different kinds of pain and injury (*vedanābhighāta*), feeling helpless in spite of having friends, because of diseases arising from the body, the mind and external sources.
- 4 "To quell the illnesses of those who seek happiness and for our own purpose of prolonging life, we desire the science of life (āyurveda) that is being taught. Welfare, both in this world and in the next, depends upon it. Therefore, we have come to the Lord in pupillage."
- The Lord said to them:
  "Welcome to you! My children, all of you are beyond reproach and worthy to be taught.
- 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>4</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.
- 8 "Now, a collection of the characteristics of each component of Āyurveda.
- 9 "Among them, [the component] called surgery has the goal of extracting various grasses, wood, stone, dust, iron (?), soil, bone, hair, nails, discharge of pus, malignant wounds and foreign bodies inside the womb, and of determining the application of surgical instruments, knives, caustics and fire by means of sixty definitions.
- "[The component] named the doctrine of treating body parts above the clavicles has the aim of curing diseases situated above clavicles that is, diseases located in ears, eyes, mouth, nose and so on.
- "[The component] called general medicine has the goal of curing illnesses established in the whole body and [diseases] such as fever, tumour, swelling, hemorrhagic disorders, insanity, epilepsy, urinary diseases, diarrhoea and the like.
- "[The component] called knowledge of spirits is for appeasing demons by pacification rites and making food offerings for those whose minds

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

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

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

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

<sup>6</sup> The vulgate doesn't have *vināyaka*s but does add *asura*s, probably under the influence of Palhaṇa. Cite Paul Courtright, Ganesha book.

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

- 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 Ayurveda, [surgery] alone is the best because of the quick action of its procedures ( $kriy\bar{a}$ ), its application of blunt instruments, knives, caustics and fire, and it is common to all disciplines.
- "Therefore, [surgery] is eternal, meritorious, leads to heaven, brings renown, bestows a long life, and affords a livelihood.
- 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.].8

- For, I (i.e., Brahmā) am Dhanvantari, the first god, the remover of old age, pain and death of mortals.
  - Having understood surgery, the best of the great knowledge systems, I arrived on earth again to teach it here.<sup>9</sup>
- In this context, as far as this discipline is concerned, a human being  $(puru \not = a)$  is called an amalgam of the five elements and the embodied soul. This is where procedures  $(kriy \bar{a})$  apply. This is the locus. Why?

Because of the duality of the world, the world is twofold: the stationary and the moving. Its nature ( $\bar{a}tmaka$ ) is twofold, depending on the preponderance of Agni and Soma. 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". Where they are concerned, the human being is the main thing; others are his

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>13</sup> Pāṇini 6.3.132 provides that the final vowel of the noun oṣadhi may be lengthened  $(\to oṣadh\bar{\imath})$  under certain conditions. These conditions require that the word be used in a Vedic mantra and not in the nominative. Neither condition is met in this passage, yet the author uses the form  $oṣadh\bar{\imath}$ . This form is in fact not uncommon in medical literature as well as in epics, purāṇas, smṛtis, and other parts of Sanskrit literature.

<sup>14</sup> Ca.sū.1.71–72 also describes these four types of medicinal plant in similar terms but with slightly differing names: *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>15</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 Viṣṇudh.: 56r).

put out shoots.

- As is well known, moving remedies are also of four types: those born in in a caul (*jarāyuja*), those born from eggs (*aṇḍaja*), those born of sweat (*svedaja*), and shoots (*udbhid*). Amongst these, those born in a caul include animals (*paśu*), humans, and wild animals (*vyāla*). Birds, creepycrawlies (*sarīṣṛpa*) and snakes are "born of eggs." Worms (*kṛmi*), small insects (*kunta*) and ants (*pipīlika*) and others are born of sweat. <sup>16</sup> Shoots include red velvet mites (*indragopa*) and frogs (*maṇḍūka*). <sup>17</sup>|
- In this context, among the stationary remedies, skin (tvak), leaves (patra), flowers (puṣpa), fruits (phala), roots ( $m\bar{u}la$ ), bulbs (kanda), sap ( $kṣ\bar{t}ra$ ), resin ( $niry\bar{a}sa$ ), essence ( $s\bar{a}ra$ ), oil (sneha), and juice extract (svarasa)<sup>18</sup> are useful; among the moving remedies pelt (carman), hair, nails, and blood (rudhira) and so forth.
- 34 And earth products (*pārthiva*) include gold and silver. 19
- The items created by time  $(k\bar{a}lakrta)$  are clusters (samplava) as far as wind and no wind  $(niv\bar{a}ta)$ , heat and shade, darkness and light and the cold, hot and rainy seasons  $(vars\bar{a})$  are concerned. The divisions of time are the blink of the eye (nimesa), a trice  $(k\bar{a}sth\bar{a})$ , minutes  $(kal\bar{a})$ , three-quarters of an hour  $(muh\bar{u}rta)$ , a day and night  $(ahor\bar{a}tra)$ , a fortnight (paksa), a month  $(m\bar{a}sa)$ , a season (rtu), a half-year (ayana), a year (samvatsara), and yuga (yuga).
- These naturally cause accumulation (*sañcaya*), irritation (*prakopa*), pacification (*upaśama*) and alleviation (*pratīkāra*) of the humours (*doṣa*). And they have practical purposes (*prayojanavat*).

### [There are verses about this:]<sup>21</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There are two kinds of invasive diseases. Some certainly<sup>23</sup> affect ( $ni\sqrt{pat}$ ) the mind, others the body. Their treatment (kriyā) is of two kinds too.

- For those that affect the body there is physical (śārīravad) therapy, whereas for those that affect the mind there is the collection (varga) of desirable sensory experiences like sound that bring comfort (sukha).
- 40 Along these lines (*evam*), this brief explanation of the four factors (*catuṣtaya*) is given:
  - human being (*puruṣa*),
  - disease (vyadhi),
  - remedies (oṣadhi),
  - the time for therapies (*kriyākāla*).

#### In this context,

- from the mention of the word "human," the collection of substances that arise from it, such as the elements, and the particulars (*vikalpa*) of its major and minor parts (*aṅga*) such as skin (*tvak*), flesh (*māṃsa*), ducts (*sirā*), sinews (*snāyu*), bones (*asthi*) and joints (*sandhi*) are meant.
- From the mention of "diseases," all diseases caused by wind, bile, phlegm, congested humours (sannipāta), external factors (āgantu) and inherent factors (svabhāva) are intended (vyākhyāta).
- From the mention of "remedies," there is the teaching of substances, tastes, potencies, post-digestive tastes.
- From the mention of "procedures ( $kriy\bar{a}$ )," therapies (karman) such as oiling and excision (chedya) are taught.
- From the mention of the word "time," every single teaching about the times for procedures is meant.

### [There is a verse about this:]<sup>24</sup>

the author of the lost commentary entitled  $Pa\~njik\=a$ , and to Jejjaṭa (HIML: IA, 372–3, 192). In his view, these early commentators do not agree that the fourfold grouping (caturvarga) refers to the quartet of stationary ( $sth\=avara$ ), moving ( $ja\~ngama$ ), earthen products ( $p\=arthiva$ ) and items created by time ( $k\=alakṛta$ ) (Su 1938: 9a).

The text uses an archaic interjection here, ha.

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

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

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

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

<sup>25</sup> This is the number of chapters in the first five sections of the work, namely the *Sūtra-, Nidāna-, Śārīra-, Cikitsā-* and *Kalpa-sthānas*. These have 46, 16, 10, 40 and 8 chapters respectively. The *Uttaratantra* has 66 chapters.

<sup>26</sup> On viṃśa in the sense of "greater by 20" see P.5.2.46 śadantaviṃśateś ca.

<sup>27</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 (Su 1938: 1.3–4ab) there is indeed a statement that picks up the point about there being 120 chapters.

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

# Sūtrasthāna 2: The Initiation of a Student

# Literature

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

# **Translation**

1

# Sūtrasthāna 3: The Table of Contents

# Literature

# **Translation**

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# Sūtrasthāna 13: On Leeches

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of studies on Indian leeches and their application.<sup>30</sup>

A Persian version of this chapter of the  $Su\acute{s}rutasam hit\bar{a}$  was included in  $Sikandar~Sh\bar{a}h's~Mine~of~Medicine~(Ma'din~al-shifa'~i~Sikandar-Sh\bar{a}h\bar{\iota})$  composed in 1512 by Miyān Bhūwah b. Khawāṣṣ Khān.<sup>31</sup>

More recently, Brooks has explored the sense of touch in relation to leeching and patient-physician interactions.<sup>32</sup>

### **Translation**

- 1 And now we shall explain the chapter about leeches.
- 3 The leech is for the benefit of kings, rich people, delicate people, children, the elderly, fearful people and women. It is said to be the most gentle means for letting blood.
- 4 In that context, one should let blood that is corrupted by wind, bile or phlegm with a horn, a leech, or a gourd, respectively. Or, each kind can be be made to flow by any of them in their particular way.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> HIML: IA, 209; IB, 324, n. 131.

<sup>31</sup> Siddiqi 1959: 96–109; Azeez Pasha 1971; Storey 1971: 231–232; HIML: IB, 324, n. 128; Speziale 2019: 8–9.

<sup>32</sup> Brooks 2020*a*,*b*; 2021*a*,*b*.

<sup>33</sup> This sentence is hard to construe grammatically, although its meaning seems clear. In place of विशेषस्तु, Cakrapāṇidatta and Palhaṇa both read विशेषतस्, which helps interpretation (Su 1939: 95, Su 1938: 55). It is notworthy that the critical syllable स्तु is smudged or corrected in both MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079 and in 1-1146, a much later Devanāgarī manuscript.

- 5x And there are the following about this:
- 1.13.5 The horn of cows is praised for being unctuous, smooth, and very sweet. Therefore, when wind is troubled, that is good for bloodletting.<sup>34</sup>
- 1.13.5a Having a length of seven fingers and a large body the shape of a half moon, should first be placed into a cut. A strong person should suck with the mouth.<sup>35</sup>
  - 6 A leech lives in the cold, is sweet and is born in the water. So when someone is afflicted by bile, they are suitable for bloodletting.<sup>36</sup>
  - 7 A gourd is well known for being pungent, dry and sharp. So when someone is afficted by phlegm it is suitable for bloodletting.
  - 8 In that context, at the scarified location one should let blood using a horn wrapped in a covering of a thin bladder, or with a gourd with a flame inside it because of the suction.<sup>37</sup>
  - 9 Leeches are called "jala-ayu-ka" because water (jala) is their life  $(\bar{a}yur)$ .<sup>38</sup> "Home" (okas) means "dwelling;" their home is water, so they are called "water-dwellers (jalaukas)."
  - There are twelve of them: six are venomous and just the same number are non-venomous.

- 34 The vulgate replaced "smooth" with "hot."
- This passage is not found in the vulgate, but it is similar to the passage cited by Dalhaṇa at 1.13.8 (Su 1938: 56) and attributed to Bhāluki. Bhāluki was the author of a *Bhālukitantra* that may have predated Jejjaṭa and might even have been one of the sources for the *Suśrutasaṇhitā* (HIML: IA, 689–690 *et passim*). The editor Ācārya was aware of this reading in the Nepalese manuscripts; see his note 4 on 1.13.5 (Su 1938: 55, note 4).
- 36 Note that the particular qualities (*guṇas*) of the leech in this and the following verses counteract the quality of the affliction. See Brooks 2018: 113, table 1.
- 37 There are questions about the wrapping or covering of the horn. Other versions of the text, and the commentator, propose that there may be two coverings, or that cloth may be a constituent. Comparison with contemporary horn-bloodletting practice by traditional Sudanese healers suggests that a covering over the top hole in the horn is desirable when sucking, to prevent the patient's blood entering the mouth (PBS 2020). Our understanding of this verse is that the bladder material is used to cover the mouthpiece and then to block it, in order to preserve suction in the horn for a few minutes while the blood is let.
- 38 This is a folk etymology.

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

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

- Black (kṛṣṇā)
- Mottled (*karburā*)
- Sting-gush (alagarddā)<sup>39</sup>
- Rainbow (*indrāyudhā*)
- Oceanic (*sāmudrikā*)
- Cow-praising (*govandanā*)<sup>40</sup>

#### Amongst these,

- The one called a Black is the colour of kohl and has a broad head;
- The one called Mottled is like the Indian mottled eel, long with a segmented (*chinna*), humped belly.
- The one called Sting-gush is hairy, has large sides and a black mouth.
- The one called Rainbow is coloured like a rainbow, with vertical stripes.
- The one called Oceanic is slightly blackish-yellow, and is covered with variegated flower patterns.
- The one called Govandana is like a cow's testicles, having a bifurcated form on the lower side, and a tiny mouth.

When someone is bitten by them, the symptoms are: a swelling at the site of the bite, excessive itching and fainting, fever, a temperature, and vomiting. In that context the Great Antidote ( $mah\bar{a}gada$ ) should be applied in drinks and liniments ( $\bar{a}lepana$ ), etc.<sup>41</sup> A bite by the Rainbow leech is not treatable. These venomous ones have been explained together with their remedies.

- 12 Now the ones without venom.<sup>42</sup>
  - Tawny (kapilā)
  - Ruddy (piṅgalā)

<sup>39</sup> Treating गर्दा as गल्दा and translating as in RV 8.1.20, with Jamison and Brereton (2014:1023, verse 20 and cf. commentary). But if गर्द is to be taken from  $\sqrt{\eta}$  then we might have "crying from the sting."

<sup>40</sup> The manuscripts all read गोवन्दना against the vulgate's गोचन्दना.

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

The translations of the names of these leeches are slightly whimsical, but give a sense of the original;  $s\bar{a}varik\bar{a}$  remains etymologically puzzling.

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

#### Amongst these,

- The one called Tawny has sides that look as if they are dyed with realgar and is the colour of glossy mung beans on the back.<sup>43</sup>
- The one called Ruddy is a bit red, has a round body, is yellowish, and moves fast.
- The one called Dart-mouth is the colour of liver, drinks fast and has a long mouth.
- The one called Mouse is the colour and shape of a mouse and has an undesirable smell.
- The one called Lotus is the colour of mung beans and has a mouth that looks like a lotus.
- The one called Sāvarikā has the colour of a lotus leaf and is eighteen centimetres long. But that one is used when the purpose is an animal.

The non-venomous ones have been explained.

13 Their lands are Yavana, Pāṇḍya, Sahya, Potana and so on.44 Those in

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

<sup>43</sup> The compound स्निग्धमुद्भवर्णा is supported by all the manuscript witnesses and is translated here. Nevertheless, the reading of the vulgate, that separates स्निग्धा, f., "slimy" as an adjective for the leech, seems more plausible: "it is slimy and the colour of a mung bean."

This passage is discussed by Karttunen (2015: 109–110, 388–389). At the time of the composition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Yavana would most likely have referred the Hellenistic Greek diaspora communities in Bactria and India (Law 1984: 136–137; Mairs 2013; 2014). Unproblematically, the Pāṇḍya country is the extreme south-eastern tip of the Indian subcontinent (Schwartzberg, Bajpai, et al. 1978: E8, p. 20 *et passim*), and Sahya refers to the Western Ghats (Schwartzberg, Bajpai, et al. 1978: D5–7, p. 20 *et passim*). The vulgate reading "Pautana" is not a known toponymn. Potana was the ancient capital of the Aśmaka Mahājanapada mentioned in Pali sources and in inscriptions at Ajāntā and elsewhere, and identified by Law (1984: 142, 179) and P. Gupta (1989: 18) with Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Paithan on the Godavari river. The recurring ancient epithet describing the Aśmaka kingdom is that it was on the Godāvarī, and Paithan is flanked to the south west and south east by this river.

particular have large bodies and are strong, they drink rapidly, consume a lot, and are without venom.

- In that context, the venomous leeches are those originating in decomposing venomous insects, frogs, urine, feces and in polluted water.<sup>45</sup> The , non-venomous ones originate in decomposing sacred lotus, blue water-lily, white water-lily, fragrant lotus, pondweed and in pure waters.
- 15 There is a verse on this:

These ones move about in sweet-smelling habitats that are abundant with water. Traditionally, they do not behave in a confused manner or lie in the  $\mathrm{mud.}^{46}$ 

- 16 They can be caught with a fresh hide or after being caught in other ways.<sup>47</sup>
- 17 Then these should be put into a large new pot furnished with mud and the water from lakes or wells. One should provide what they need to eat. One should grind up pondweed, dried meat, and aquatic tubers, and one should give them grass and aquatic leaves to lie on, and every

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

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

- 45 The vulgate on 4.13.14 (Su 1938: 57) includes fish in this list.
- 46 Dalhaṇa on 1.13.14 (Su 1938: 57) discussed why the leeches would not "behave in a confused manner" (सङ्कीर्णचारिन्), saying that they do not "eat a diet that is unwholesome because of poison etc." (विषादिविरुद्धाहारभुजः). The use of विरुद्ध is odd here, but cf. Dalhaṇa's suggestion at 4.23.4 (Su 1938: 485) that विरुद्ध refers to the chapter on wholesome and unwholesome foods (हिताहिताध्याय, 1.20 (Su 1938: 94–99)).
- 47 "Fresh hide" (आर्द्रचर्मन्) may suggest that the animal skin still includes meat or blood that is attractive to a leech.
  - The Nepalese witnesses all read गृहीत्वा "having (been) caught" for the vulgate's गृह्णी-यात् "one may grasp (by other means)." This is hard to construe clearly.
  - Dalhana on 1.13.15 (Su 1938: 57) quoted "another treatise" (तन्त्रान्तरवचनात्) that said that autumn is the time to collect leeches. He also explained that "other methods" of collecting leeches included smearing a leg or other limb with cream, butter or milk, etc., or using a piece of flesh from a freshly killed animal.

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

18 And on this:

One should not nurture those that are thick in the middle, that are injured,<sup>48</sup> or thin, those that are not born in the proper habitat, those that will not attach, that drink little or those that are venomous.

- 19 First of all, get the patient who has an ailment that is treatable by leech-bloodletting to sit or lie down. Then, dry any diseased opening with powders of earth and cow-dung. Then make them free from impurities, with their bodies smeared with Indian mustard and turmeric and moving about in the middle of a cup of water. After all this, the physician should make them attach to the site of the ailment. Now, for those that are not attaching, he should provide a drop of milk or a drop of blood. Alternatively, one should make some marks with a knife (śastrapada). And if it still will not attach, make other ones attach.
- He can know that it is attached when it fixes on, hunching its neck and making a mouth like a horse's hoof. Then, he should cover it with a wet cloth and keep it there.
- Now, if the physician knows, from the arising of pricking and itching at the bite, that clean blood is being taken, he should take it off. Then, if it does not release because of the scent of blood one should sprinkle its mouth with powdered rock salt.
- Then he should coat it with rice-grain chaff, rub its mouth with sesame oil and salt and cause it to vomit by holding its tail in his left hand and very slowly rubbing it with the thumb and finger of his right hand in the proper direction, as far as the mouth, until it is properly purged. <sup>50</sup> A properly purged leech placed in a goblet of water moves about, wanting to eat. If it sinks down, not moving, it is badly purged; one should make it vomit once again.

A badly purged leech develops an incurable disease called Indrapada.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Pace Dalhana on 1.13.18 (Su 1938: 57) who glossed अमनोज्ञदर्शन as "nasty looking."

<sup>49</sup> On पद as a "mark," "imprint," or "place of application," cf. 4.1.29 (Su 1938: 399), 5.4.15 (Su 1938: 571), etc. See footnote 443.

<sup>51</sup> The Nepalese witnesses read इन्द्रपद/इन्द्रापद, but the vulgate reads इन्द्रमद, a term that is found in other texts such as the *Mānasollāsa* 6.641 (vol. 1, 87), where it is a fever

One that protects its deflated head with its body, suddenly curls up and makes the water warm is traditionally said to have Indrapada. Thus, one should keep such a one as before.<sup>52</sup>

- After observing the proper or improper flow of the blood, one should rub the opening made by the leech with honey.<sup>53</sup> Alternatively, one may bind it up and smear it with ointments that are astringent, sweet, oily and cold.
- 24 And about this there is the following:

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

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

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

<sup>52</sup> The vulgate includes "well purged" as the object in this sentence, which makes better sense.

<sup>53</sup> In the Nepalese witnesses, the object of this passage is जलोकामुखम् "the mouth of the leech," that we have interpreted, perhaps freely, as "opening made by the leech." Logically and as transmitted in the vulgate, this passage should be about managing the wound on the patient that has been made by the leech.

# Sūtrasthāna 14: On Blood

## Previous scholarship

Meulenbeld offered both an annotated summary of this chapter as well as a study specifically on the place of blood in Ayurvedic theory.<sup>54</sup>

#### **Translation**

- Now we shall declare the chapter about blood.
- Food is of four types.<sup>55</sup> It is endowed with six tastes and is made of the five elements.<sup>56</sup> It has either two or eight potencies, and is endowed with many qualities. 57 Chyle (rasa) is the most intangible essence of this food that is properly transformed. It is of the nature of fire. Chyle is situated in the heart. From the heart, it enters into the twenty-four arteries—ten upward arteries, ten downward, and four

<sup>54</sup> HIML: IA, 209-201 and Meulenbeld 1991. Meulenbeld's footnotes on this chapter in HIML: IB, 325 ff. refer often to "Hoernle's note." This appears to be a reference to Hoernle's copious notes to his translation of this chapter (Hoernle 1897: 87–98). Meulenbeld (1990) also discussed Sanskrit veterinary texts in the light of their standard theory of four humours, including blood.

<sup>55</sup> Dalhana on 1.14.3 (Su 1938: 59) said that the four types of food are those that can be drunk, licked, eaten and chewed (पेयलेह्यभोज्यभक्ष्य). The main text of the Carakasamhitā is explicit about these categories at 4.3.4(1) (Ca 1941: 308): पानाशनभक्ष्यलेह्य । "things drunk, eaten, chewed or licked." Yagi (1994) discussed the distinction between भक्ष्य and भोज्य; for further Indological background on foods, see the studies by Olivelle (1995; 2001) and the classic reference works by Achaya (1994; 1998). The long, final adhyāya of the Suśrutasaṃhitā's sūtrasthāna (ch. 46) is a treatise on food in āyurveda.

<sup>56</sup> Idem, Earth, water, fire, air, space

<sup>57</sup> Dalhaṇa related these qualities to the twenty standard মুল of āyurveda; see, e.g., their listing by Vāgbhaṭa, translated by Wujastyk (2003*b*: 207).

sideways—and doing so day after day owing to the reaction of past activities that are caused by the invisible,<sup>58</sup> it satisfies the entire body, enlivens it, prolongs it,<sup>59</sup> and makes it grow. The motion of the entity that flows throughout the body should be understood by inference. That motion causes deterioration and growth.

With regards to the chyle that flows through all the limbs, humours, body tissues, and impurities of the body, the question arises, "Is it moist or is it fiery?" It is understood to be moist because of its fluidity while flowing<sup>60</sup> and due to attributes such as mobility, lubrication, enlivening, satisfaction, and supporting.<sup>61</sup>

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

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

- It is only due to chyle that women's blood called menses exists. It increases from the twelfth year and decreases after the fiftieth year.
- 7 The menstrual blood, however, is called fiery.<sup>62</sup> That is due to the embryo being fiery and moist.<sup>63</sup>
- 8 Others state that the embryo as constituted of the five elements and the preceptors call it the living blood.
- 9 There are verses about this.

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

<sup>58</sup> अदृष्ट (unseen): Doing any righteous or unrighteous action produces good merit and demerit respectively. This good merit and demerit are called अदृष्ट (invisible) because it cannot be directly known but can only be assumed through logical deduction.

<sup>59</sup> In the sense of prolonging its lifespan

<sup>60</sup> The vulgate emends अनुसरणे to अनुसरण- against the Nepalese MSS. This is logical because mobility would seem to be one of the attributes. Although it is awkward, we read अनुसरणे as a locative absolute "while flowing."

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

<sup>62</sup> Dalhana commented that this is to distinguish the menstrual blood from regular blood that is gentle.

<sup>63</sup> Dalhaṇa commented here that the embryo is called such because the menstrual blood is fiery and the semen is gentle (सौम्य). On the fiery/moist distinction (आग्नेय।सौम्य), see Wujastyk 2004; Angermeier 2021.

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

A living being should be known as born from chyle. One should diligently preserve<sup>64</sup> chyle by administering food and drink, being nicely disciplined with food<sup>65</sup>.

- The verbal root *rasa* means movement.<sup>66</sup> Because it keeps moving day after day, it is called *rasa* (chyle).<sup>67</sup>
- 14 Chyle stays in every body tissue for 2548 ((25\*100)+48) *kalās* and nine *kāṣṭhas*. As such, it becomes semen after a month. For women, it becomes menses.
- 15 Here are verses about this.

According to similar and dissimilar treatises, the quantity of kalās in this group<sup>68</sup> is 18,090.

This is the particular transformation period regarding chyle that lasts for a person with mild fire<sup>69</sup>. For a person with developed fire, one should know it to last for the exact same time<sup>70</sup>

Resembling the expanse of sound, flame, and water, that entity moves along in a minute manner throughout the entire body<sup>71</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> All three manuscripts have रक्षेत which is an incorrect form. रक्षेत् is the correct form.

<sup>65</sup> आहरिण - The third case is used. The semantic property of the third case used here is unclear. Unclear regarding if there is any rule in the Aṣṭādhyāyī justifying this usage.

<sup>66</sup> kunj-1907

<sup>67</sup> In the list of verbal roots of Pāṇini, the verbal root रस(rasa) means taste and moistening. It does not mean movement.

<sup>68</sup> duration of chyle in all the body tissues as a whole

<sup>69</sup> Perhaps this refers to the digestive fire.

<sup>70</sup> Although the vulgate does not have this verse, there is an argument presented in Palhaṇa's commentary on 1.14.16 (Su 1938:63) that for a person with intense fire, chyle becomes semen after eight days, and for a person with mild fire, chyle becomes semen after a month. Palhaṇa said that this opinion is refuted by Gayadāsa Ācārya in many different ways. Palhaṇa continued that the proper understanding is that for a person with a strong fire, chyle becomes blood in a little less than a month, and for a person with a mild fire, chyle becomes blood in a little more than a month.

<sup>71</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 63) that the expanse of sound indicates the sideways

- 17 The aphrodisiac medicines, however, being used like a purgative due to their excessively strong characteristics, evacuate the semen.
- Just as it cannot be said that the fragrance in a flower bud is present in it or not, but accepting that there is the manifestation of existing entities<sup>72</sup>, it,<sup>73</sup> however, is not experienced only due to its intangibility. That same entity is experienced at another time in the blossomed flower. In the same way regarding children also, the manifestation of semen happens because of the advancement of age<sup>74</sup>. For women, the manifestation is different as rows of hair, menses, etc.
- 19 That very essence of food does not nourish very old people due to their decaying bodies.
- These entities are called body tissues ( $dh\bar{a}tu$ -s) because they bear the body<sup>75</sup>.
- Their decay and growth are due to blood. Therefore, I will speak about blood. In that regard: The blood that is foamy, tawny, black, rough, thin, quick-moving, and non-coagulating is vitiated by air. The blood that is dark green, yellow, green, brown, sour-smelling, and unpleasant to ants and flies is vitiated by bile. The blood that is orange, unctuous, cool, dense, slimy, flowing, and resembling the colour of flesh-muscles is vitiated by phlegm. The blood having all these characteristics is vitiated by the combination of all three of them. The blood that is extremely black is vitiated by blood<sup>76</sup> just as bile. The blood that has the combined characteristics of vitiations of two humours is vitiated by two humours.
- The blood that is of the colour of insect cochineal, not thick, and not discoloured should be understood to be in its natural state.
- 23 I will speak of the types of blood that should be let out in another sec-

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

<sup>72</sup> This is the doctrine of pre-existence of the effect (सत्कार्यवाद, satkāryavāda) first propounded by Sāṅkhya philosophers.

<sup>73</sup> fragrance

<sup>74</sup> Since chyle becomes semen in a month's time, a question arises "Why then is semen absent in young children?". The reply is given in this passage.

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

<sup>76</sup> Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya (Su 1938: 64) quote Cakrapāṇidatta in a footnote: "This is the symptom when the blood vitiated in one part of the body vitiates the blood in another part."

tion.

- Now, I speak of those that should not be let out. The swelling appearing in all the limbs of the body of a weak person that happens due to consuming sour food. The swellings of people with jaundice, piles, large abdomen, emaciation, and those of pregnant women.
- In that regard, one should quickly insert the surgical instrument that is simple, not very close, fine, uniform, not deep, and not shallow.
- One should not insert the instrument into the heart, lower belly, anus, navel, waist, groins, eyes, forehead, palms, and soles.
- 26b In the case of swellings filled with pus, one should treat them in the same way as stated earlier.
- 27-27a There, when the swelling is not pierced properly, when phlegm and air have not been sweated out, after having a meal, and due to thickness, the blood does not ooze out or oozes out less. Here is a verse regarding it.

28ab-cd Blood does not ooze out of humans when in contact with air, passing stool or urine, and when intoxicated, unconscious, fatigued, sleeping, or in cold surroundings.

- 29 That vitiated blood when not taken out increases the disease.
- The blood that is let by an ignorant physician in cases of very hot surroundings, profuse perspiration, and excessive piercing, flows excessively. That profuse bleeding causes the appearance of acute headache, blindness, and partial blindness, or it quickly causes subsequent wasting, convulsions, tremors, hemiplegia, paralysis in a limb, hiccups, coughing, panting, jaundice, or death.
- 31ab-cd The physician should let out the blood when the weather is not very hot or cold, when the patient is not perspiring or heated up, and after the patient has had a sufficient intake of gruel.
- 32ab-cd After coming out properly, when the blood stops automatically, one should know that blood to be pure and drained properly.
- 33ab-cd The symptoms of the proper drainage of blood are the experience of lightness, alleviation of pain, a complete end of the intensity of the disease, and satisfaction of the mind.
- 34ab-cd Defects of the skin, tumours, swellings, and all diseases caused by blood never arise for those who regularly drain their blood.
  - When the blood does not flow out, the physician should rub cardamom and camphor on the opening of the boil with three or four or all among crêpe ginger (Cheilocostus speciosus), butterfly gardenia (Ervatamia

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

When there is an excessive flow of blood, the physician should sprinkle the opening of the boil with dry powders of lodh tree, liquorice, beautyberry, pattāṅga, red chalk, elixir salve, seashell, barley, green gram, wheat, and resin of the Sāla tree, and then press it with the tip of a finger. One should tightly bind it with powdered barks of Sāla, white dammer tree, arjun, white babool, granthi, axlewood, and dhanvana (Camelthorn), or a linen cloth<sup>77</sup>, or vadhyāsita, or bone of cuttlefish, or powdered lac, along with the binding materials mentioned. After the piercing, the physician should pierce it again. The physician should serve cool clothing, food, a dwelling place, a bath, cooling ointments, and plastering. Or, one can cauterize it with heat. Or, as mentioned, one should give a decoction of kākolī, etc. sweetened by sugar and honey to drink. Or, one should consume the blood of black buck, deer, ram, buffalo, rabbit, or pig, accompanied by milk, green gram soup and meat soup<sup>78</sup>. The physician should treat the pains as mentioned.

36a Here are verses about this.

When blood flows out due to the decay of body tissue, fire becomes weak<sup>79</sup> and the wind becomes highly agitated because of that endeavour.

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

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

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

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

<sup>77</sup> Su 1938: 66 has क्षौमेण वा ध्मापितेन - "with linen reduced to ashes". Presumably, it is this ash that is also referred to in item 40.

<sup>78</sup> Based on Dalhana's comment as found in Su 1938: 66

<sup>79</sup> This refers to the digestive fire.

Can't be "sedation"

	If the blood does not stop by joining the opening then he should employ haemostasis.
42ab-cd	The physician should endeavour by employing these three methods according to the procedure. If these methods are unsuccessful then cauterization is highly desirable.
43ab-cd	If the blood remains impure, the disease does not aggravate. The physician should then make the blood pure <sup>80</sup> and not drain blood in excess.
44ab-cd	Blood is the basis of the body. It is sustained by blood only.
44ef	Blood is called life. One should therefore save blood.
45ab-cd	If the air in the person who underwent blood-letting is aggravated due to a cold shower, etc., the swelling with pricking pain should be sprinkled with lukewarm clarified butter.

<sup>80</sup> Palhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 66) that one should purify the blood again by sedation, etc.

### Sūtrasthāna 16: Repairing Pierced Ears

#### **Previous literature**

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>81</sup> A book on this topic, arising out of the present project, with edition, translation and discussion of the Nepalese transmission is published by Wujastyk, Birch, Klebanov, et al. 2023.

#### **Translation**

1 Now we shall expound the method for piercing the ear. 82

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

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

<sup>81</sup> HIML: IA, 211–212317.

<sup>82</sup> The topic of piercing the ear (kaṛnavyadha) is not discussed in the Carakasaṃhitā (HIML: IB, 326, n. 175), but it is mentioned in some texts that followed the Suśrutasaṃhitā, such as the Kaśāpyasaṃhitā (HIML: IIA, 30). Also, the instrument for piercing the ear is described in the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā 1.26.26 (Ah 1939: 321). In the versions of the text known to Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) and Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 125), the heading of this chapter is "the method of piercing and joining the ear" (कर्णव्यधबन्धविधि), instead of the Nepalese version's "the method of piercing the ear" (कर्णव्यधविधि). The topic of joining the ear (कर्णबन्ध) is discussed in passages 17–20 of the Nepalese version. However, it appears that only subsequent redactors reflected its importance by including it in chapter headings.

- One may pierce a child's ears for the purpose of preserving and decorating. During the bright fortnight, when the child is in the sixth or seventh month, on renowned days, half days, hours and constellations, the physician, with a calming presence, sits the boy, who has received a benediction and the recitation of a blessing,<sup>83</sup> on the lap of a wetnurse.<sup>84</sup> Then, he should pull the ear with his left hand and pierce straight through with his right hand at a naturally-occurring cleft.<sup>85</sup> For a boy, do the right ear first; for a girl, do the left one. Use a needle on a thin ear; an awl on a thick one.<sup>86</sup>
- 3 One may know that it was pierced in the wrong place if there is excess blood or too much pain. The absence of side-effects is a sign that it has been pierced in the right place.<sup>87</sup>

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

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

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

4 In this context, if an ignorant person randomly pierces a duct there will be fever, burning, swelling, pain, lumps, paralysis of the nape of the neck, convulsions, headache or sharp pain in the ear.<sup>88</sup>

- 5 Having removed the wick (*vartti*) because of the accumulation of humours or an unsatisfactory piercing at that location, <sup>89</sup> he should smear it with barley, liquorice, Indian madder, and the root of the castor oil tree, thickened with honey and ghee. And when it has healed well, he should pierce it again. <sup>90</sup>
- He should treat the properly-pierced ear by sprinkling it with raw sesame oil. After every three days one should make a thicker wick and do the very same sprinkling.<sup>91</sup>
- 7 Once the ear is free from humours or side-effects, one should put in a light dilator (*pravardhanaka*) in order to enlarge it enough.<sup>92</sup>
  - constructed on the basis of witnesses MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 and MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079.
- 88 This passage is significantly augmented in Cakrapāṇidatta's and Dalhaṇa's versions, to outline the specific problems caused by piercing three ducts called कालिका, मर्मिका and लोहितिका (1.16.4 (Su 1939: 126) and 1.16.5 (Su 1938: 77) respectively). In fact, the order of the problems mentioned in the Nepalese version has been retained in the other versions and divided between each duct. Cakrapāṇidatta's commentary on 1.16.4 (Su 1939: 126) cites several verses attributed to Bhoja on the problems caused by piercing these three ducts in the ear flap: 'लोहितिका, मर्मिका and the black ones are the ducts situated in the earflaps. Listen in due order to the problems that arise when they are pierced. Paralysis of the nape of the neck and convulsions, or sharp pain arise from piercing लोहितिका. Pain and lumps are thought to arise from piercing मर्मिका. Piercing कालिका gives rise to swelling, fever and burning.'
- 89 In addition to these reasons, Dalhaṇa at 1.16.6 (Su 1938:77) added "because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unsatisfactory needle" (क्लिष्टजिह्माप्रशस्तसूचीव्यधात्) and "because of a wick that is too thick" (गाढतरवर्तित्वात्). Dalhaṇa was aware of the reading in the Nepalese version because in his commentary on 1.16.6 (Su 1938:77) he noted that some read "because of the accummulation of humours" rather than "because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unsatisfactory needle or because of a wick that is too thick." On the concept of humoral accumulation (samudāya), see the important analysis by Meulenbeld (1992).
- 90 The description of the drug is ambigious: the word "root" could be taken with each plant, or just with the last. The vulgate reads just "castor oil root" so we assume that is the traditional interpretation.
- 91 Describing ear and nose operations similar to those here, Celsus described the use of a quill (Latin *pinna*) where the Sanskrit authors use a cotton wick (*De Medicina* VII ¶10–11, Spencer 1935–38: 3, 366–367).
- 92 Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.6 (Su 1939: 127) and Dalhaṇa on 1.16.8 (Su 1938: 77) pointed out that the dilator can be made of wood, such as that of the prickly chaff-flower,

- 8 A person's ear enlarged in this way can split in two, either as a result of the humours<sup>93</sup> or a blow.
  - Listen to me about the ways of joining it can have.
- 9 Here, there are, in brief, fifteen ways of mending the ear flap. 94 They are as follows: Rim-join (nemīsandhānaka), Lotus-splittable (utpalabhedyaka), Dried Flesh (vallūraka), Fastening (āsaṅgima), Cheek-ear (gaṇḍakarṇa), Take away (āhārya), Ready-Split (nirvedhima), Multi-joins (vyāyojima), Door-hinge (kapāṭasandhika), Half door-hinge (ardhakapāṭasandhika), Compressed (saṇkṣipta), Reduced-ear (hīnakarṇa), Creeper-ear (vallīkarṇa), Stick-ear (yaṣṭīkarṇa), and Crow's lip (kākauṣṭha). 95

In this context, among these,

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

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

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

Fastening: one flap is longer on the inside. Cheek-ear: one flap is longer on the outside.<sup>96</sup>

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

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

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

equal, the other unequal.

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

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

<sup>93</sup> Dalhaṇa on 1.16.9 (Su 1938: 77) notes that the word दोष here can refer to either a humour, such as wind, as we have understood it, or a disease generated from a humour.

<sup>94</sup> The Nepalese version uses the word सन्धान to refer to joining a split in an ear flap, which is consistent with the terminology in the verse cited above (8). However, 1.16.10 of Dalhaṇa's version (Su 1938:77) uses the term बन्ध here and at the very beginning of the chapter (i.e., 1.16.1) to introduce the topic of repairing the ear.

<sup>95</sup> For an artist's impression of these different kinds of joins in the ear flap, see Majno 1975: 290 (reproduced as Figure 3.2 in Wujastyk 2003*b*: 154).

<sup>96</sup> For an artist's impression of this join, see Majno 1975: 291 (reproduced as Figure 3.3 in Wujastyk 2003*b*: 155).

These ten options for joins of the ear should be bound. They can mostly be explained as resembling their names.<sup>97</sup> The five from compressed (saṃkṣipta) on are incurable.<sup>98</sup> Among these, "Compressed" has a dry ear canal and the other flap is small. "Reduced ear" has flaps that have no base and have wasted flesh on their edges. "Creeper-ear" has flaps that are thin and uneven. "Stick-ear" has lumpy flesh and the flaps are stretched thin and have stiff ducts. "Crow-lip" has a flap without flesh with compressed tips and little blood. Even when they are bound up, they do not heal because they are hot, inflamed, suppurating, or swollen.<sup>99</sup>

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

<sup>97</sup> Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.9–13 (Su 1939: 128–129) and Dalhaṇa on 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 77–78) provide examples of how the names of these joins describe their shapes. For example, the rim-join (nemīṣandhānaka) is similar to the join of the rim of a wheel (cakradhārā).

<sup>98</sup> Palhaṇa on 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 77–78) mentions that some do not read the statement that only five are incurable, and they understand the causes of unsuccessful joins given below (i.e., heat, inflammation, suppuration and swelling) as also pertaining to the first ten when they do heal.

<sup>99</sup> The version of 1.16.11–13 known to Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 78) has four verses (रलोक) at this point that are not in the Nepalese manuscripts. The additional verses iterate the types of joins required for ear flaps that are missing, elongated, thick, wide, etc. All four verses were probably absent in the version of the Suśrutasaṃhitā known to Cakrapāṇidatta. He cites the verses separately in his commentary, the Bhānumatī (Su 1939: 128–129), introducing each one as 'some people read' (के चित्पठन्ति). However, in Trikamajī Ācārya's edition of the Sūṭrasthāna of the Bhānumatī, the root text is largely identical to the one commented on by Dalhaṇa (Su 1938), even in instances like this where Cakrapāṇidatta's commentary indicates that he was reading a different version of the Suśrutasaṃhitā. See further the discussion on p.?? above.

<sup>100</sup> *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.5 (Su 1938: 18–23), probably verse 6 especially, that lists the equipment and medications that a surgeon should have ready.

<sup>101</sup> The reading in the Nepalese manuscripts of विशेषतश्चाग्रोपहरणीयात् has been emended to विशेषतश्चात्रोपहरेत् to make sense of the list of ingredients, which is in the accusative case. Also, the repetition of अग्रोपहरणीयात् in the Nepalese version suggests that its second occurrence, which does not make good sense here, is a dittographic error.

<sup>102</sup> The term कपालचूर्ण is unusual. Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 79) defines it as the powder of fragments of fresh earthen pots and Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 129) as the powder of earth-

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

After arranging the join in the ear so that it is neither proud, depressed, nor uneven, and observing that the blood has stopped, one should anoint it with honey and ghee, bandage each ear with tree cotton and gauze (plota), and bind it up with a thread, neither too tightly nor too loosely. Then, the physician should sprinkle earthenware powder on it and provide medical advice ( $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rika$ ). And he should supplement with food as taught in the "Two Wound" chapter.<sup>104</sup>

- One should avoid rubbing, sleeping during the day, exercise, overeating, sex, getting hot by a fire, or the effort of speaking.
- One should not make a join when the blood is too pure, too copious, or too thin. For when the ear is tainted by wind, then it is obstructed by blood, unhealed and will peel. When tainted with choler, is becomes pinched  $(g\bar{a}dha)$ , septic and red. When tainted by phlegm, it will be stiff and itchy. It has excessively copious suppuration and is swollen. It has a small amount of wasted  $(ks\bar{\imath}na)$  flesh and it will not grow. 106
- When the ear is properly healed and there are no complications, one may very gradually start to expand it. Otherwise, it may be inflamed

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

105 1.16.17 of Dalhaṇa's version (Su 1938: 79) reads "impure" for the Nepalese "too pure," which would appear to make better medical sense. Emending the text to नाशुद्ध- for नातिशुद्ध- in the Nepalese version would yield the same meaning as Dalhaṇa's version.

enware vessels.

<sup>104</sup> Suśrutasaṃhitā 4.1 (Su 1938: 396–408).

<sup>106</sup> In his edition of Suśrutasaṃhitā, Ācārya (Su 1938: 79 n. 1) includes in parentheses the following treatment for these conditions, which according to a footnote is not found in the palm-leaf manuscript he used: 'One should sprinkle it with raw sesame oil for three days and one should renew the cotton bandage after three days' (आमतैलेन त्रिरात्रं परिषेचयेन्निरात्राञ्च पिचुं परिवर्तयेत्).

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

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

  One should gather as much as one can the following: a monitor lizard, scavenging and seed-eating birds, and creatures that live in marshes or water, <sup>107</sup> fat, marrow, milk, and sesame oil, and white mustard oil. <sup>108</sup> Then cook the oil with an admixture of the following: purple calotropis, white calotropis, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, country sarsaparilla, Indian kudzu, liquorice, and hornwort. <sup>109</sup> This should then be deposited in a well-protected spot.
- 15 The wise man who has been sweated should rub the massaged ear with it. Then it will be free of complications, and will enlarge properly and be strong.<sup>110</sup>
- 16 Ears which do not enlarge even when sweated and oiled, should be scarified at the edge of the hole, but not outside it.<sup>111</sup>
- 17 In this tradition, experts know countless repairs to ears. So a physician who is very intent on working in this way may repair them. 112
- 107 For such classifications, see the analyses by Zimmermann (1999) and B. K. Smith (1994).
- 108 Palhaṇa's version of 1.16.19 (Su 1938: 79) includes ghee. However, Palhaṇa's remarks on this passage and Cakrapāṇidatta's on 1.16.18 (Su 1939: 130) indicate that they knew a version of this recipe, perhaps similar to the Nepalese one, that did not include ghee. Palhaṇa also noted that others simply read four oils, beginning with fat and without milk, whereas Cakrapāṇidatta said that some say it is made with four oils and milk.
- 109 The version of of this verse known to Dalhaṇa (vulgate (Su 1938:79)) adds several ingredients to this admixture, including prickly chaff-flower, Withania, milk-white, sweet plants and Indian ipecac. Also, it has beggarweed instead of Indian kudzu. When commenting on 1.16.19, Dalhaṇa (Su 1938:79) noted that some do not read sweet plants and Indian ipecac. Therefore, at his time there were other versions of this recipe circulating, with fewer ingredients, as seen in the Nepalese version.
- 110 For these aims (i.e., healing and enlarging the ear), the text known to Dalhana (Su 1938:79) had an additional verse and a half describing an ointment for rubbing the ear and sesame oil cooked with various medicines for massage. Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939:131) did not comment on these verses, nor verse 15 of the Nepalese version, and so the version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* known to him may not have included them.
- 111 Dalhaṇa's version of 1.16.23 (Su 1938:79–80) added another hemistich that stated more explicitly that the scarification should not be done on the outside of hole as it will cause derangement.
- 112 After verse 17, the 1938 edition of Ācārya (Su 1938:80) has in parentheses nineteen verses on diseases of the ear lobes, treatments and complications. It is possible that these verses were in some of the witnesses used by Ācārya to construct the text as they occur in other manuscripts, such as MS Hyderabad Osmania 137-3(b). However, Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939:132) and Palhaṇa (Su 1938:80) stated that some read

- 18 If an ear has grown hair, has a nice hole, a firm join, and is strong and even, well-healed, and free from pain, then one can enlarge it slowly.<sup>113</sup>
- 19 Now I shall describe the proper method of making a repair when a nose is severed. First, take from the trees a leaf the same size as the man's nose and hang it on him.
- Next, having cut a slice of flesh (vadhra),<sup>114</sup> with the same measurements, off the cheek, the end of the nose is then scarified.<sup>115</sup> Then the undistracted physician, should quickly put it back together so that it is well joined.
- Having carefully observed that it has been sewn up properly, he should then fasten it along with two tubes. Having caused it to be raised, the powder of sappanwood, he liquorice and Indian barberry should be sprinkled on it.
- The wound should be covered properly with tree cotton and should be moistened repeatedly with sesame oil. Ghee should be given to the man to drink. His digestion being complete, he should be oiled and purged in accordance with the

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

<sup>113</sup> The order of verses 17 and 18 is reversed in Dalhana's version (Su 1938: 80).

<sup>114</sup> The version of 1.16.28b known to Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 81) reads "bound, connected (bad-dham)" instead of "slice of flesh (vadhra)." This is a critical variant from the surgical point of view. If the slice remains connected, it will have a continuing blood supply. This is one of the effective techniques that so astonished surgeons witnessing a similar operation in Pune in the eighteenth century (see Wujastyk 2003b: 67–70).

<sup>115</sup> Or 1.16.20 could be mean, '... off the cheek, it is fixed to the end of the nose, which has been scarified.' Unfortunately, the Sanskrit of the Nepalese version is not unambiguous on the important point of whether or not the flap of grafted skin remains connected to its original site on the cheek. However, Dalhana (Su 1938:81) clarified the meaning of the vulgate here by stating that one should supply the word "flesh" when reading "connected," thus indicating that he understood the flesh to be connected to the face.

<sup>116</sup> Dalhaṇa noted that the two tubes should be made of reed or the stalk of the leaf of the castor-oil plant (on 1.16.21 (Su 1938: 81)). They should not be made of lead or betel nut because the weight will cause them to slip down.

<sup>117</sup> The Sanskrit term उन्नामियत्वा in 1.16.21 is non-Pāṇinian.

<sup>118</sup> For पत्ताङ्ग (sappanwood), there are manuscript variants पत्ताङ्ग (MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333) and पत्तङ्ग (MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079). Also, MS Kathmandu KL 699 (f. 14r:1) has पताङ्ग in a verse in 1.14 (cf. 1.14.36 (Su 1938:66)). The text known to Dalhaṇa has पतङ्ग (1.16.29 (Su 1938:81)) and this term is propagated in modern dictionaries.

<sup>119</sup> Dalhaṇa glossed अञ्चन as रसाञ्चन, elixir salve (Su 1938: 81).

instructions specific to him. 120

And once healed and really come together, what is left of that slice of flesh (vadhra) should then be trimmed.<sup>121</sup> If it is reduced, however, one should make an effort to stretch it, and one should make its overgrown flesh smooth.<sup>122</sup>

120 The expression स्वयथोपदेश is ungrammatical but supported in all available witnesses.

<sup>121</sup> The vulgate transmission has lost the word ৰঘ and replaced it with अर्ध "half," which makes little sense in this surgical context.

<sup>122</sup> Dalhaṇa accepted a verse following this, 1.16.32 (Su 1938:81), which pointed out that the procedure for joining the nose is similar to that of joining the lips without fusing the ducts. He noted that earlier teachers did not think this statement on the nose and lips was made by sages, but he included it because it was accepted by Jejjaṭa, Gayadāsa and others, although they did not comment on it because it was easy to understand. Cakrapāṇidatta also did not comment on this additional verse (Su 1939: 133).

# Sūtrasthāna 28: Unfavourable Prognosis in Patients with Sores

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002. 123

Goswami studied the commentaries of Dalhana and Cakrapāṇidatta on this and the following adhyāyas up to 32, focussing on the topic of omens (ariṣṭa). He concluded that both authors were influenced by the Indriyas-thāna of the Carakasaṇihitā in their commentaries on this topic. 124

### **Translation**

Thus, living creatures and their strength, complexion (*varṇa*) and energy (*ojas*) are rooted in food. That (food) depends on the six flavours (*rasa*). Thus, the flavours depend on substance (*dravya*), and substances depend on medicinal herbs. There are two kinds of them (herbs): stationary and mobile.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>123</sup> HIML: IA, 219.

<sup>124</sup> Goswami 2011.

<sup>125 1.1.28 (</sup>Su 1938:7), tr. P. V. Sharma 1999–2001: 1, 21.



# Nidānasthāna 1: The Diagnosis of Diseases Caused by Wind

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002. 126

#### **Translation**

- 1 And now we shall explain the chapter about diagnosis of diseases caused by wind. 127
- 3 Suśruta asks after holding the feet of Dhanvantari who is the foremost of the upholders of righteousness and who emerged with nectar.
- 4 O King!<sup>128</sup> Divodāsa<sup>129</sup> the best of the orators! Let us know about the naturalized and disordered form of wind, its places in the body and types of the diseases caused by its contamination.

5–9ab On hearing his words, the venerable sage replied that being independent, constant and omnipresent this wind is revealed as self-born and supreme being. It is worshiped by all words and situated in the form of life-force in all beings. It is the cause of origin, continued existence and

<sup>126</sup> HIML: IA, 234. (Ruben 1954b) studied the wind doctrines in the *Carakasaṃhitā*.

<sup>127</sup> The present chapter describes the diseases caused by vitiated wind and wind's mixing with other humours. In the medical term it is known as rheumatism.

<sup>128</sup> H and N both mss read भ्पते instead of कौपनैः in the vulgate.

<sup>129</sup> https://doi.org/10.20935/AL2992

destruction of beings. It is unmanifest though manifests in/through action, cold, dry, light in weight, variable, moving horizontally with two attributes i.e., sound and tangibility<sup>130</sup>. Having all chief qualities which are sattva, rajas and tamas but predominated by rajas. It has inconceivable power. It is inducer of humours<sup>131</sup> and distinguished in the group of diseases<sup>132</sup>. *It moves quickly, moves again and again,* stays in stomach and intestine.

- 9cd Now, listen to the description of wind which moves inside the body.
  - Unvitiated wind makes possible objects of senses connect with intellect. It maintains a state of equilibrium between the humours, semen/7 fluids? and Gastric fluid and actions done by body, speech and intellect bring to one's right place. 133
  - Just as the five types of bile have been described based on their name, place and their actions, similarly, one type of air is of five types based on name, place, action and diseases.
  - 12 Five types of wind:
    - 1. Vital wind (*prāṇa*)
    - 2. udāna
    - 3. samāna
    - 4. vyāna
    - 5. apāna

above five types of wind remain in their equilibrium and hold the  $body^{134}$ .

<sup>130</sup> According to Dalhaṇa, it has power to divide humours, fluids, feces etc. moving inside the body and it is the cause to the disease in the limbs. It carries humours, chyle, semen/7 fluids? and feces further in the body. The wind which is moving outside is holding the earth and body. (सा चास्य शक्तिः शरीरदोषमूत्रपुरीषादिविभागोऽवयवसंस्थानका(क)रणं दोषधातुमलसंवहनादिश्च, शरीराद्बहिस्तु संचरतो धरणीधारणादिः Su 1938:257)

<sup>131</sup> Palhaṇa suggests नेता=प्रेरक (Su 1938:257)

<sup>132</sup> Dalhana suggests राट्=राजते not राजा

<sup>133</sup> According to Dalhaṇa, सम्पत्तिः=सम्पन्नता at 1.6.3 (Su1938:23). Dalhaṇa commented that Gayadāsa reads 'इन्द्रियार्थोपसंप्राप्तिंऽ but not written here because of being detailed. (ग-यदासाचार्यस्तु इमं श्लोकं 'इन्द्रियार्थोपसंप्राप्तिऽ इत्यादि कृत्वा पठित, स च विस्तरभयान्न लिखितः) But H and N MSS suggest 'इन्द्रियार्थोपसम्पत्तिः'

<sup>134</sup> Dalhaṇa suggests स्थान=साम्य, यापयन्ति=धारयन्ति (The manuscripts all read प्राणोदानः स-मानश्च व्यानोपानस्तथैव च . against the vulgate's प्राणोदानौ समानश्च व्यानश्चापान एव च . I think प्राणोदानौ, व्यानापानौ or व्यानश्चापान एव च should be read)

The wind that flows through the mouth is called the vitality (prāṇa), which holds the body. It propels down food inside the stomach and engages with the gastric fluid<sup>135</sup>. Unvitiated Vital wind mostly causes hiccups, asthma etc. diseases.

- The wind which flows upwards in the body, the best among all five winds is called udāna. Singing, speech etc. individual things done by the same wind. Unvitiated udāna wind mostly causes diseases above the collar bone e.g., nose, eyes, head and ears<sup>136</sup>.
- 16–17ab The samāna wind flows in stomach and duodenum. It helps gastric fluids in the digestion of food and separates the substances produced from it e.g., chyle, impurities, urine and feces. Unvitiated samāna wind causes diseases like a chronic enlargement of spleen (gulma), weak digestion, and diarrhea.
- 17cd–18 The vyāna wind moves inside the whole body and circulates chyle and expels sweat and blood outside the body. It helps in the movements of limbs in every way. Contaminated vyāna wind causes all diseases occurring in the body.
- 19–20ab Staying in the abdomen, the apāna wind propels wind of body, feces, urine, semen, womb and menstruation to come out of the body at their proper time. Contaminated apāna wind causes terrible diseases that occur in the bladder and anus.
- 20cd—21ab Contaminated vyāna and apāna wind causes defect of semen and gonorrhea, while simultaneous contamination of all the five winds surely leads to death.
- 21cd-22ab I shall therefore describe all the diseases caused by the contamination of winds staying in the various places of the body.
- 22cd—24ab Contaminated wind in the stomach causes disease like vomiting, loss of consciousness, fainting, thirst, heart-seizure, pain in lateral sides of stomach. It also causes rumbling of the bowels, acute pain, inflated belly, pain while discharging urine and feces, suppression of urine and pain in the loins.
  - 24cd Contaminated wind residing in the ear causes loss of function of the senses.

<sup>135</sup> Dalhaṇa suggests head, chest, throat and nose as locations of prāṇa. (Sus1938:259) Gayadāsa suggests अग्नि for प्राण.

<sup>136</sup> Palhaṇa suggests it also causes diseases like cough etc. (चकारादन्यादिप प्राणोदानौ, व्या-नापानौ कासादीन् करोति .)

throbbing of parts of the body, dryness, numbness, itching, pricking pain, swelling. It being inherent in the flesh of body causes swelling with pain and being inherent with the fat of the body causes swelling with slight pain but do not become wound.<sup>138</sup>

Residing in the artery it causes acute pain, contraction and filling up of the artery.<sup>139</sup> It stuns, vibrates and destroys<sup>140</sup> the muscle tissues by residing in the muscle. Residing in the joints it causes pain and swelling. Residing in the bone it causes fracture and dryness of bones which also cause to acute pain and, in the marrow, it dries up marrow which

Residing in the skin, 137 contaminated wind causes discoloration of skin,

- may never be cured. Residing in the semen it causes non-production and distorted production of semen.<sup>141</sup>
  30–31ab Contaminated wind moves from the hand, foot, head, then it may be omnipresent or pervade the entire body of men and causes stiffness, convulsion, numbness and acute pain.
- 31cd-32ab Wind (5 types) mixed with other doṣas (bile etc.) in the places mentioned above produces mixed types of pains.
- 34cd-35ab Prāṇa wind surrounded by bile causes vomiting and burning sensation, by phlegm it causes weakness, exhaustion, laziness and bad taste.
- 35cd-36ab Udāna wind surrounded by bile causes loss of consciousness, stupor, dizziness and fatigue, by phlegm it causes absence of perspiration, slowness of digestion, sensation of coldness.
- 36cd-37ab Samāna wind surrounded by bile causes perspiration, a burning sensation, heat and stupor, association with phlegm it causes erection in urine, feces and limbs.
- 37cd-38ab Apāna wind associated with bile causes a burning sensation, heat and the voiding of blood with urine, with phlegm it causes a feeling of heaviness in the lower part of the body and coldness.

<sup>137</sup> Dalhaṇa and Gayadāsa both suggest त्वक्=रस. Gayadāsa explained that chyle stays in the skin and therefore, in the verse त्वक्थ should be read as रसस्य as we read secondary meaning in the sentences like गङ्गायां घोषः.

<sup>138</sup> The MS H does not read व्रणांश्च रक्तगो ग्रन्थीन् सशूलान् मांससंश्रितः . against the vulgate. (Su 1938: 261).

<sup>139</sup> According to Dalhana सिराकुञ्चनं is also known as कुटिला सिरा (Su 1938: 262)

<sup>140</sup> Dalhaṇa and Gayadāsa both suggest the meaning of हन्ति for being not capable of both stretching and contraction. सन्धिगतः संधीन् हन्ति प्रसारणाकुञ्चनयोरसामर्थ्यं करोति (Su 1938: 262) ...

<sup>141</sup> Dalhaṇa and Gayadāsa both suggest that a distorted production विकृतां प्रवृत्तिम् is too fast, too slow, knotty and discolored.

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

- Persons who are of delicate nature, follow faulty diet and lifestyle, also afflicted with intoxicating drinks, sexual enjoyment, exercise causes vitiation of wind and blood.??
  - Riding elephant, horse and camel, lifting great weights, consuming vegetables which are pungent, hot, sour, alkali and being frequently distressed situation causes contamination of wind.
- 43–44 Blood flowing in the body blocks the passage of contaminated wind which moves quickly in the body. Excessively irritated wind-being contaminated by wind and dominance of wind, it is called वातरक्त Gout<sup>142</sup>.
- Vātarakta causes pricking pain, dryness, loos of sensation in the feet. Contaminated Bile mixed with blood causes sharp burning sensation, excessive heat and soft swelling with red color in the feet. Contaminated Phlegm mixed with the blood causes itching in the feet. It makes feet white, cold, dry, thick and hard. All defects <sup>143</sup> in the blood contaminated by humours (wind, bile, phlegm) manifest their symptoms in the feet.
  - 48 This disease spreads all over the body like rat poison by staying in feet or sometimes hands.
  - Gout spreads in the knee and the skin bursts and starts bleeding makes it incurable. It is mitigatable if it is of a year's old.
- 50–51 When vitiated wind enters in the all arteries it causes quickly convulsions again and again and because of frequent contractions ( $\bar{a}k\bar{s}epa$ ) it is called convulsions ( $\bar{a}k\bar{s}epaka$ ).
- Because in this situation a person often sees darkness and fall, it calls spasmodic contraction (apatānaka) 144. If wind mixed with phlegm stays excessively in the arteries, it stiffs body like a staff and it is called दण्डापतानकः epilepsy with convulsions. Vitiated wind entered in the arteries and bends the body like a bow, it is called धनुःस्तम्भ Tetanus.

<sup>142</sup> In the medical term वातरक्त is known as Gout. Cakrapāṇi called it आढ्यरोगः Caraka-saṃhitā sū.14.18 and ci.28.66

<sup>143</sup> Gayadāsa suggests सर्वे दुष्टाः शोणितं चापि nominative plural instead of locative singular.

<sup>144</sup> Gayadāsa accepted the Nepalese reading ताम्यते which vulgate does not read. Gayadāsa gives definition of अपतानक as येनापताम्यते means a situation in that a person sees the dark.

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

- 58 Aggravated phlegm and bile mixed with wind or only vitiated wind causes fourth convulsive disease due to trauma.
- 59 Convulsions due to miscarriage, excessive bleeding, and injury are incurable 145.
- 60–62 When excessively agitated and strong wind flows in the arteries which spread downward, upward, and sideways, it loses the joints and kills the other side of body. The best of physicians calls it paralysis (pakṣāghāta). <sup>146</sup> Then half of his entire body becomes inefficient and unconscious. Afflicted by wind he suddenly falls or dies.
  - 62.1 Bile integrates with wind causes burning sensation, affliction, and infatuation. When it integrates with phlegm causes coldness, morbid swelling, and heaviness. <sup>147</sup>.
    - 63 A paralysis (*pakṣāghāta*) caused by wind <sup>148</sup> is curable with most difficulty. It becomes curable when caused by bile and phlegm mix with the wind. It becomes incurable when caused by the loss of bodily constituents.
- Verses from 64–66 are not found in the Nepalese manuscripts. These verses discuss the term spasmodic contradiction (āpatantraka) which is the same as अपतानक. Þalhaṇa commented on ni.1.64-66 (Su 1938:267) that because of having the similar condition in both situations, some scholars do not read the अपतन्त्रक. In the verse ni.1.59 Þalhaṇa commented that the आक्षेपक and अपतानक is same (Su 1938:266) and again

<sup>145</sup> According to Dalhaṇa convulsion (ākṣepaka) is also known as अपतानक (Su 1938:266). He further mentions that even if fortunately, it is cured, it cripples the limb.

<sup>146</sup> In the ca.6.28.55 पक्षाघात is described as monoplegia (ekāṅgaroga). In that case it damages one of the limbs. In the medical terms paralysis (apakṣāghāta) is known as hemiplegia.

<sup>147</sup> This verse is not available in vulgate. It deals with the symptoms when bile and phlegm mix with the wind. It is already discussed in su.2.1.38.

<sup>148</sup> Here the term যুद्धवात suggests the meaning of the wind that is devoid of bile and phlegm.

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

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

    150
  - 76 Vitiated wind and blood in the joint of knee causes synovitis of knee join (koṣṭukaśīrṣa). In this extremely painful situation, the shape of swelling in knee joints seems like a head of Jackal.
  - Vitiated wind resides in the waist attacks on the arteries of thigh causes limpness ( $kha\tilde{n}ja$ ) and when it attacks on both the thighs a person becomes lame ( $pa\dot{n}gu$ ).
  - 78 A person who trembles at the beginning of walking or walks limping and whose foot joint has become loose is called lathyrism (kalāyakhañja).
  - 79 Vitiated wind residing in the ankle-joint causes pain when one steps on uneven ground. This disease occurs is called বারক্তেক.

<sup>149</sup> Dalhaṇa suggests नेत्रादीनाम् इत्यादि शब्दात् भूगण्डादि उपसङ्ग्रहः

<sup>150</sup> Both the MSS N and H read विश्वञ्च instead of the vulgate reading विश्वाची. There is no such word found in other Āyurveda texts.

- 80 Vitiated wind mixed with bile and blood cause burning sensation in feet. It should be declared as burning sensation in feet (*pādadāha*).
- 81 A person whose feet tingle and become insensible due to vitiation of phlegm and wind is called पादहर्ष.
- 82 Vitiated wind lying in the shoulder dries the shoulder joints and it is called अंसशोष. It also bends the arteries of shoulder, and this disease is called अवबाहुक. 151
- 83 Vitiated wind singly or mixed with phlegm cover the channel of ears causes deafness.
- Vitiated wind saturated with phlegm covering the arteries which conduct the sound of speech makes a person inactive (akriya), dumb ( $m\bar{u}ka$ ). He mumbles (mimmira) through the nose and stammers (gadgad). <sup>152</sup>
- 85 Vitiated wind penetrating into the cheekbones, temporal bones, head and neck causes piercing pain in the ears. It is called ear-ache (karṇaśūla). 153
- 86–87 The pain that arises from the bladder or feces goes down as if it were breaking the rectum and......? is called त्नी, whereas the pain, rising upward from the rectum extending up to the region of the intestines, is called प्रतित्नी.
- Retention of vitiated wind inside abdomen causes distension of the stomach and flatulence and intense pain and rumbling inside, is called tympanites (ādhmāna). Vitiated wind mixed with phlegm causes সব্যাध्मान. It rises in the stomach and causes pain in the heart and sides.
- 90–91 A knotty stone-like tumour caused by wind appearing in the stomach having an elevated shape and stretched upward direction which obstructing the passage of faeces and urine should be known as বানাম্বীলা.

  A tumour of similar shape rose obliquely in the abdomen obstructing the passage of wind, faeces and urine should be known as प्रत्यष्ठीला.

<sup>151</sup> Dalhaṇa and Gayadāsa both have defined two diseases i.e., अंसशोष and अवबाहुक respectively.

<sup>152</sup> Nepalese Manuscripts read मिर्मिर instead of the Vulgate's reading मिन्मिण. Dictionary of MW suggests the meaning of मिर्मिर = having fixed unwinking eyes which is not relevant to the disease of tongue.

<sup>153</sup> In the medical terms, this disease is known as Otitis.

<sup>154</sup> There's an addition in MS N. नाभेरधस्तात् संजातः संचारी यदि वाऽचलः



## Śārīrasthāna 2: On Semen and Menstrual Fluid

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002. <sup>155</sup> Das (2003: chs 6–8) also studied topics of this chapter and in chapter 13 provided an overview of the conceptual background of ayurveda on the topics discussed in this chapter.

### **Translation**

- 1 We shall now explain the anatomy that is the purification of sperm (*śukra*) and blood (*śoṇita*).
- 3 Semen (*retas*)<sup>156</sup> is incompetent to produce offspring if it is [characterized by] wind, bile, phlegm, blood (śοṇita),<sup>157</sup> decomposition (kuṇapa), clumps (granthi),<sup>158</sup> stinking pus (pūtipūya), low volume (kṣīṇa), urine, or feces.

<sup>155</sup> HIML: IA, 244-246.

<sup>156</sup> The Nepalese version has -रेतांसि "semen" (in the plural) as the subject of the sentence: "seeds are unable to produce offspring...." In the vulgate, -रेतसः is a masculine bahuvrīhi, making "men whose semen has..." the subject of the sentence.

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

<sup>158</sup> Modern Establishment Medicine (MEM) understands that normal ejaculate contains coagula which, however, dissolve after about half an hour. But coagula that do not dissolve may sometimes be a sign of an underlying disorder (see, e.g., Lamming and Marshall 1990: 2, 614–615; Cohen 1990).

### Diagnosis by humours

4 When the disfunction is caused by wind, there is a colour and a type of pain that typically goes with wind problems. If caused by bile the colour and the pain are typical of bile afflictions. If caused by phlegm the discoloration and suffering are characteristic for phlegm disease. And if caused by blood (śoṇita) there will be a coloration due to blood and a sensation of a bile affliction. Moreover, when caused by blood (rakta) there is the smell of decomposition (kuṇapa). Phlegm with wind causes the appearance of clumps, bile with blood (śoṇita) causes the appearance of foul-smelling pus (pūtipūya). Bile with wind (māruta) cause a weakening of semen. Humoral colligation (sannipāta) causes the smell of urine and feces. 160

Cases of foul-smelling sperm, sperm with clumps, and when it reeks of pus are hard to treat.

However, when sperm contains urine or faeces there is no treatment.<sup>161</sup>

Moreover, seasonal blood ( $\bar{a}rtava$ ) too can become afflicted (upasrsta), seedless ( $ab\bar{\imath}ja$ ) because of the three humours, and blood as the fourth, taken individually, in pairs or triples or all together. <sup>162</sup>

This can also be known by means of the humour, colour and pain. In these cases, that which displays decomposition (kunapa), clumps and the putrid smell of pus is incurable ( $as\bar{a}dhya$ ). And otherwise it is curable ( $s\bar{a}dhya$ ).

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

6 And there is a verse on this.

An expert should overcome the first three of these sperm pathologies

<sup>159</sup> Note that the text mentions both शोणित and रक्त. This raises the question of whether the author considered these to be different, or whether it is an artefact of textual transmission.

<sup>160</sup> The expression "humoral colligation," translating सन्निपात, refers to the simultaneous disorder of three humors at the same time, a condition that is difficult to treat (see Wujastyk 2016: 38 et passim).

<sup>161</sup> Note that the above characterizations presuppose the direct inspection of an ejaculate. The process of collection is not described in the sources in this chapter.

<sup>162</sup> This translates the text of the oldest surviving witness, N, and the vulgate. But MS H, that normally follows K very closely, has a negative particle, ¬¬, reversing the sense of the sentence.

with special treatments such as unction and sweating, as well as by means of a urethral instillation (uttarabasti). 163

find out about uttarabasti

#### Therapies by humour

- In that context, when the sperm is of the nature of wind, there is a tisane (āsthāpana) consisting of Bengal quince and Indian kudzu. One may use an oily preparation in the instillations, with well-cooked mahua, grey orchid, deodar, and chir pine. One can also make the patient drink clarified butter cooked with pomegranate, citron fruit, rock salt, a caustic (ksāra), and two kinds of salt.
- 6b When the sperm is of the nature of bile, there is a tisane (āsthāpana) consisting of the cooked milky sap of Malay beechwood and liquorice with milk. One should also apply a paste (kalka) of a white dammer tree and axlewood in the vagina. One should apply an oily enema (anuvāsana) of sesame oil cooked with liquorice; and it should only be applied as an upper enema.<sup>164</sup>
  - One should make him swallow ghee cooked with wild sugar cane, common smilax, heart-leaved moonseed, white teak, false daisy, and the five roots.
- 6c When the sperm is of the nature of phlegm, there is a tisane (āsthāpana) consisting of a decoction (kaṣāya) of golden shower tree. And one should also apply an oily enema (anuvāsana) of sesame oil cooked with long pepper, embelia and honey; and it should only be applied as an upper enema. He should be given to drink a ghee cooked with hairy bergenia, white teak, emblic, long pepper, bearded premna, and prickly chaff-flower.
- 3.2.6d And there are verses about this.
  - 3.2.7 When there is blood in the sperm, the physician should give the person ghee cooked with flowers of the fire-flame bush, catechu, pomegranate, and arjun.

<sup>163</sup> Dalhaṇa on 3.2.6 (Su 1938: 345) noted that "unction and sweating" indicates the "five treatements": वमन, विरेचन, अनिरूह, अनुवासन and उत्तरबस्ति. He noted that the explicit mention of urethral enema in the verse was for the purpose of highlighting its priority. However, a natural reading of the verse does not suggest that these distinctions were in the author's mind.

<sup>164</sup> By specifying "upper enema" the author is clarifying that this is not a rectal enema.

- 3.2.8 When it smells like a corpse, he should drink ghee cooked with the sal group of trees. †When clumps appear, it is cooked with stones, or also in ash from a flame-of-the-forest. 165
  - 9 And also, when it resembles pus, it is treated with items such as phalsa and banyan. When the sperm is deficient it should be treated as was stated before and also as will be described. 166
  - 10 When it looks like feces, he should be made to drink ghee together with leadwort, cuscus grass and devil's dung.
  - 10a In these six cases, the wise person should carry out the therapies starting with oleation.

10aa From

#### Therapies for menstrual blood

- For purifying the menstrual blood one should follow the procedure, the last of which is a urethral instillation (*uttarabasti*). 167
  - One should use a paste (kalka) as well as cloths and a salutary lavages ( $\bar{a}camana$ ).<sup>168</sup>
  - In case of a bad smell and the appearance of pus, or the appearance of marrow in the blood.
  - 15 He should drink a decoction (*kvātha*) of white sandalwood or a decoction of red sandalwood. 169
  - 165 The Nepalese text and translation of this sentence are uncertain. The vulgate text reads, 3.2.8 (Su 1938: 345): ग्रन्थिभूते शटीसिद्धं पालाशे वा ऽपि भस्मिन "If clumps appear, it is cooked with  $\acute{s}at$  or in ash from a  $pala\~{s}a$ ." The vulgate edition notes in a footnote that some vulgate manuscripts add an extra line, स्नेहादिश्व क्रमः षद्वेतासु विजानता. The Nepalese manuscripts read this line two verses further down.
  - 166 Dalhaṇa on 3.2.9 (Su 1938: 345) noted that "what was stated before" refers to the स्व-योनिवर्धन section, i.e., Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.15.10 (Su 1938: 69), and that "what will be described" refers to Suśrutasaṃhitā 4.26 (Su 1938: 496), the chapter on weakness and strength (क्षीणबलीय).
  - 167 The "procedure ending with a urethral instillation" probably refers to verse 6 above (see page 65).
  - 168 The word आचमन, normally "sipping water from the palm" is here translated "lavage" following the context and Dalhana on 3.2.13 (Su 1938: 345), who described it as "water for washing the vagina" (योनिप्रक्षालनोदक). This treatment may be intended for the condition mentioned in 12cd, but in the vulgate text there is a preceding half verse stating that the treatment is for the "four disorders of menstrual blood."
  - 169 The name चन्दन may refer to several types of sandalwood; presumably one is meant

14ab When clumps (*granthi*) appear, he should drink velvet-leaf, three heating spices, and Indrajao. 170

- He should drink a a decoction (*niḥkvātha*) that is the extracted juice (*surasa*) of a caustic (*kṣāra*), dried ginger, and devil's dung.
  - 24 Thus a man has unblemished semen and a woman has pure menstrual blood.

#### **During menstruation**

During the season ( $\underline{rtu}$ ), starting from the first day onwards, the chaste woman ( $\underline{brahmac\bar{a}rin\bar{\iota}}$ ) foregoes bathing, anointments, ornaments and grooming ( $\underline{vilekhana}$ ). She should abstain from sleeping during the day, collyriums, weeping tears ( $\underline{asrup\bar{a}ta}$ ), massages, cutting her nails, taking showers, laughing, telling stories, hearing too much noise and from exertion.  $\underline{tr}^{72}$ 

For what reason? By sleeping during the day, the fetus becomes deaf. To From collyrium he becomes blind. From weeping, his vision is impaired. From bathing and anointing, he becomes badly behaved. From massage with oil he gets a pallid skin disease (kuṣṭha). To mearing the nails he gets ugly nails (kunakha). From smearing an unguent he becomes bald. From habitually exercising in the open air he goes mad. For this reason one should avoid these.

For three days, the husband should spare ( $\sqrt{rak}$ ) the woman who lies on a layer of halfa grass, who eats any kind of ritual food from the palm of her hand, from a plate or from a leaf.<sup>175</sup>

here that is different from white sandalwood, i.e., perhaps Pterocarpus santalinus Linn. f. The vulgate has an extra half-śloka here.

<sup>170</sup> On ग्रन्थि, see note 158.

<sup>171</sup> The word ऋतु "season" in āyurvedic texts can, according to context, refer either to the period of menstruation or else to the period of fecundity following menstruation (Das 2003: 15 ff., note 27, et passim). Dalhaṇa on 3.2.25 (Su 1938: 347) noted that the woman's abstention should last three days from the first appearence of her menses.

<sup>172</sup> On the similar prohibitions relating to a menstruating woman as described in Dharmaśāstra literature, as well as the similar defects accruing from disobedience (see Leslie 1989: 284–287).

<sup>173</sup> Here, the vulgate reads स्वप्नशीलः "he tends to sleep."

<sup>174</sup> On translating কুম্ব in Āyurvedic texts, see Emmerick 1984: 96 ff.

<sup>175</sup> This sentence is hard to construe because हविष्यं "ritual food" should not be the object

- 9 In case the sperm appears purulent, a mixture of mangrove canon ball in some food leftovers or anything else should be prepared. When the sperm is depleted, one should perform these instructions straight away as soon as they have been explained.
- 10 One should make the patient drink ghee with citra, koshira and hingu by way of an antidote. A wise person should then perform one by one the six oleation processes on his own body.
- 10A By not engaging in sexual activities with women for a long time and similarly through the use of expedients and instruments
- 10B By intense use of astringent, pungent or bitter substances
- 10C Like an acid or a salty, oily or fermented solution, that has just stood somewhere for some time,
- 10D deteriorates both by the effect of time going by and by interaction with yogi's\*
- 10E similarly in case of affection of the female system one should prescribe oleation and other similar treatment.
- 10F Precisely as formulated for external use, one could prescribe exactly the same for internal administration as well.
- 10G In case of disease resulting from trouble with Vāyu, then the patient must drink a beverage consisting of clarified butter, prepared with split cedar and Kāśmarya fruit.
- 10H One should prescribe either an intravaginal solution of Payasyā, Kāśmarya fruit, Kṣīravidārī and Udaka sap or lumps drenched in diluted milk.
- 10I A sip from the palm of the hand of Madhukamunga and astringent betel
- 10J Furthermore, in case of trouble caused by bile and in the menstrual cycle.
- 10K The patient should drink milky Kākolī sap and a decoction of Vidārī to which some candied sugar is added
- 10L and one should insert an intravaginal solution of Madhuka flowers and Kāśmarya fruit mixed with sugar cane juice or a

of -भोजिनीं.

- paste with santal sap.
- 10M and a pinch of astringent Paan\*
- 10N When disease is caused by phlegm, he must drink an astringent sandalwood and acrid Christmas rose solution.
- 100 ... or a paste of young tree sprouts soaked in a plant juice.
- 10P he must lick or sip bits of Tinduka, wood apple, slime apple and sandal powder or Ksandra.
- 10Q Sarjadhava paste should be placed inside the vagina
- 10R a pinch of Ladhra and astringent Tinduka
- 10S In case of clots and lumps in the sperm he should take Sringavera and Pāṭhā to which is added some sandal powder as well as white Surasa.
- 10T One should insert into the vagina a salve\* with Kustha and cedar extracts.
- 10U and add just a pinch of something astringent
- 10V in case the sperm is clearly in decomposition, the patient must be prescribed to drink a astringent beverage of Manjista and astringent sandalwood
- 10W or of Kuṭaja fruit, sandalwood and sandal sweetened with sugarcane candy.
- 10% or in case there is obvious pus, this is exactly what the patient should be given
- 10Y and the lady should be prescribed to place inside the vagina a salve of cachou and arjuna
- 10Z and for both a pinch of something astringent is indicated is just right.
- 10A1 in case of ......\*, he should ingest an astringent solution of false black pepper, coral tree and Manjista.
- 10A2 one should introduce into the vagina a paste of Surastastra (?)\* and Rocana as well as a salve of Bhadrasriya.
- 10A3 Both must receive just a sip of something astringent.
- 10A4 Here is more.

11

- 12 Generally speaking, at the end of the period one should apply an internal cleansing from menstrual discharge\*
- 13 and one should definitely prepare both cotton-plant paste and salutary beverages.
- 14 in case the sperm spreads a foul-smelling stench and

definitely when there is blood

- 15 the patient should drink decoctions of sandal or sandalpaste.\*
- 14AB and in case of lumps and clots in his sperm he should consume a salutary Tryusana with coral swirl fruits.
- 14A and drink a beverage of acrid dry ginger, Hing and holy basil.

16

23

- 24 That being said, when sperm is not causing disease, even then all of this may serve to purify the female system\*
- 25 From the first day onwards\* when the period starts, she should shun young celibates, when they are alone, bathing, anointing, decorating and scratching themselves and she should also suppress day-sleep, put collyrium to her eyes, weeping, be frightened or cut her nails, run hither and tither, laugh or speak or listen to lots of talk or exert herself. Why should her partner arrive late during the day? It is claimed that if she puts a collyrium, a child will be born blind, if she is weeping, he will have abnormal vision, by bathing and anointing he will be depressive, by smearing oil on her limbs, he 'll be born a leper, by holding her nail downwards he will be a child with ugly nails, by being continuously busy he will become a restless and troubled character. When she behaves accordingly, she well be the best of future mothers. She should take rest on a layer of Kuśa grass, take Haviśya-food so pure that it is fit for a sacrifice\*\*, eat varied food from the palm of her hand or from a plate made of leaves and she should keep herself then from her husband from the third day onwards. However, on the fourth day, first she should take a ritual, put on a new untorn dress and some jewels, the make an auspicious happy recitation and then confidently hug her husband. What is the purpose of all this?
- 26 Once she has taken a ritual bath after her period, a woman should put eyes on her husband before anyone else.
- 27 Then the priest conducts the rites for procuring a son\* and at the end of i, the husband should be seen to closely

- observe the following.
- In order to beget a male child he should eat both clarified butter and milk as well as śāli-rice\* boiled in water. After observing a month of sexual abstinence, the wife should lubricate herself in oil from the very best Māṣa pulse and he should approach her at night. After gaining her complete trust by gentle words he should then make his move on the fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth and twelfth day (of the cycle)\*\* successively.
- 31 Each month again she should be approached sexually.\*
- And when conception has occurred in this way during one of these nights, it is claimed that she should press three or four drop of juice from Lakṣmaṇā, Vaṭaśuṅgā, Sahadevā, Viśvadevānā or any other drug and then administer them in the right nostril if she desires a son and in the left if she wants a girl, and not spit nor sneeze them out.
- 32a Here are some more verses.
- 11cd On top of that those around her want to see her smelling sweet as honey, sparkling like a crystal, agile and active, smooth and sweetly perfumed,
- 12ab bright with splendour equally due to the smell of honey as to the smoothness of oil.
  - 17 It is a token of good health when the menstrual blood is red like a hare's blood or like the shine of red lac and when its colour stains can be removed.
  - 18 Metrorrhagia or abnormal uterine bleeding is diagnosed when there is either excessive bleeding, untimely or irregular bleeding or when symptoms are the opposite of what occurs in a normal menstrual cycle.

  - 20 ... fever, lamenting pain, anaemia\*, tiredness and others signs of disturbance of Vāta. A minor concomitant disease may easily set in motion .............. (tarunyā).
- 21cd Because these afflictions have a recurrent character, the woman becomes amenorrhoeic.

- 22 In such a case a diet is indicated including meat, Kulattha-pulses, sour Tila-seeds, Māṣa-beans and whine and for drinks (cow)urine, whey and sour curd.
- 23 In case of thin or scanty menses with features that cannot be treated with drugs, other measures indicated in case of uterine metrorrhagia must be taken.
- 29 eṣūttarottaram vidyādāyurārogyameva ca || prajāsaubhāgyamaiśvaryam balam ca divaseṣu vai ||
- 30 ataḥ paraṃ pañcamyāṃ saptamyāṃ navamyāmekādaśyāṃ ca strīkāmah; trayodaśīprabhrtayo nindyāh ||
- 33 When the four ingredients for the embryo are combined, i.e. the right womb to grow in, the right seed to descend from, the propitious life juices to be fed upon and a lucky constellation of stars, according to age-old tradition, the newborn will grow into a child of unshakeable health.
- 34 Conceived and developed in this way, they become beautiful, of noble character and they live a long life. Although, beings sons, they have obligations to fulfil towards their parents, they can take care of these and thus honourably discharge themselves.
- 35 On the one hand there those who claim that it is the Tejas-element which lies at the base of the different types of complexions, on the other there are those who say that it is the colour of the food the mother eats while pregnant that dictates the complexion. The normal complexion of the foetus therefore is fair. But when earth (as a source of food) is the main determining element, complexion will shift tod ark. When a mix of earth and sky are the main elements (in the food), it turns towards the dark bluish. By analogy, some say it is the colour of the food the woman eats while pregnant that fixes the complexion of her offspring. There are arguments in favour of both theories. In so far as in dark, yellow and white (kṛṣṇapītasvetāsu) earths (bhūmisu) snakes, trees, .... and so on (sarppavrścikagalagonādayah) are essential elements (satvāh), they are black, yellow and white (krsnapītasveta). (uncertain hence in italics) When the Tejas-principle fails, the child is born blind. Similarly, when penetration into

the blood of this disturbance results in a newborn with blood-shot red eyes; penetration into the phlegm makes for a pale-eyed newborn; penetration into the bile makes for a yellow-eyed baby; penetration into the wind results the in a with eyes that have poor vision.

- 36 Here are some more verses.
- 36a He whose eyes are entered by a pure wind
- 36bj will have oblong downcast eyes, dark or bright.
- 36c When bile with phlegm both are present unsullied in a man's eye
- 36d then in that man's eye the yellow, green and reddish-brown will all light up together.
- 36e when phlegm has shaken off all kinds of bodily secretions from someone's eyes,
- 36f then both irises of that person will light up brightly shining.
- 36g Whenever blood with phlegm move around in a someone's eyes,
- 36h he will appear to have either bluish-dark or blood-shot pupils.
- 36i Just as a lump of ghee melts when placed near a fire, 176
- 36j so a woman's propensity to ovulate glides into receptivity in contact with a man.
- 37 When sperm is divided in the uterus by the wind into two beings, twins are born conditioned by the former good and evil deeds.
- 37.1 When in the mixture there is an excess of male sperm, a fertile woman will create two male children\*.
- 37.2 whereas when there is an excess of female semen then similarly the woman engenders two girls. But there is no certainty.\*
- 37.3 A child born from a man who has but a poor sperm to give his wife is called \( \bar{a}\) sevya\( \hat{h}\) (impotent).\*
- 38cd When a man has a fellatio he does not have to doubt his penis will get up erect.\*

<sup>176</sup> Cf. the attempt by Das (2003: 222–241) to identify the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*'s descriptions with the physical processes involved as known to Modern Establishment Medicine, and also the self-contradictions in the ancient āyurvedic medical models.

- 38 A boy born from a father with poor sperm becomes an āsekya.
- 39 He who is born in a sordid vagina is commonly known as a Saugandhika. Such a person becomes aroused only after smelling a vagina or a scrotum. \*
- 40 When a man first had same-sex anal coitus because of a period of sexual abstinence from women and then turns towards his regular partners\* again, he should be known as a Kumbhīka. And now get it right about what an īrsyakam is:
- 41 somebody who has to watch sexual intercourse of others before being able to his own sexual activities should be known as an Irsyakah.\* He who turns towards copulation\*\*
- 42 during the fertile days of the cycle\* but out of pure sexual ignorance ejaculates on the breasts of his virgin wife\*\* will create boys who also exhibit feminine character traits.
- 42 see 3.2.41
- 43 If a woman in her fertile days\* throws herself at the feet of males around her and she begets a girl, she will also have character traits of a man. \*\*\*
- 44 Men who do produce sperm but have a pathology can be identified as āsekya, Sugandhi, Kumbhika or īrṣyaka. Men who do not produce any sperm are called saṇḍha.\*
- The sperm ducts that lead the sperm in both groups of men should be ............... (viprakṛtyā) of these (teṣāṃ) (?). This will help instore a slow evolution towards satisfactory erections.
- 46 It is to be expected that what the mother eats will reflect in how children behave both in the uterus and after birth.\*
- 47 Now when two women are having sex and somehow succeed in making fit both their sperm contributions then a boneless being is born.
- 48 A woman could even get carried away and reach an orgasm in a dream following her ritual bath. The Vāyu then transporting her fertilized egg into the uterus, results in her belly ...
- 49 ... showing the obvious signs of pregnancy month by month in the pregnant lady.
- 50 In addition, it should be known that monster-like creatures looking like serpents, scorpions and pumpkin-gourd shaped foetus, are born frequently from the womb as a consequence

- of sins committed.
- 51 When a pregnant woman's wishes are not respected due to a deranged condition of the Vāta, the child stands in danger of being born a humpback or .............. (kūnipaṇgur) or dumb,
- 52 and when the parents are atheistic or due to the aggravation of Vāyu are under the effect of misdeeds in former lives, the newborn may develop malformations.
- Due to the scantiness of bodily excretions, itself due to a disabling of Vāyu with respect to processing of food, the foetus, whilst in the womb, produces (almost)\* no urine nor stools,
- and because of this dwindling away of the Vāyu in mouth and throat, in the bowels and especially in the small intestine, these all get wrapped up in phlegm resulting in impediment of intestinal transit; moreover the foetus does not weep all the time ...\*
- 55 Furthermore, the ups-and-downs of the foetal respiratory movements during its sleep are coordinated with the ups-and-downs of the respiratory movements of the mother.
- 56 The adjustment of the limbs of the body to its bodily constraints, both the appearance and the falling out of teeth, the disappearance of hair from the palms of hands and soles, all of this follows intrinsic laws of nature.
- Men who have uninterruptedly entered one previous existence after another and who have a vast understanding of the scriptures, do remember their own previous births.

  This was the second chapter of the śārīrāsthana.

# Śārīrasthāna 3: On Conception and the Development of the Embryo

First draft, by Jan Gerris, 2023-12-19.

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002. The Das (2003: ch 8) also studied topics of this chapter.

### **Translation**

- 1 We are now about to begin to explain how the embryo is conceived, nestles and develops\* once it arrives in the body.
- 3 Sperm from the male absorbs heat whereas eggs from the female release heat. With respect to this aspect, the way the different basic elements of matter behave depends on how the elements specifically react with one another and how they form bonds with one another.
- 4 The wind aggravates the heat caused by the bodily frictions during sexual intercourse between husband and wife. Hence heat and wind colligate and displace the sperm towards the

177 HIML: IA, 247-247.

vagina. There it gets combined with the female element, thanks to the matrimonial fusion of agni and saumya, and is confined towards the uterus, its new realm where it is respectfully known by many names and synonymous descriptions such as he who touches, smells, looks and sees, hears, tastes, as the animating principle of all living beings, as he who wanders, observes and witnesses, the creator, he who remains incomprehensible even though eternal. So it claimed. Because of the connection with the divine, the conceptus subsequently makes its entry into the reproductive organs, where it remains exempt from decay, imperishable and to be meditated upon, the soul of all beings that exist, marked by the concomitance of the three states-of-mind, the sattvic, the rajasic and the tamasic, and of the different Devas and Asuras, enraptured as it is by Vāyu.

- 5 When there is an excess of male sperm, boys originate. When there is an excess of the female element, girls. And when there is a balance between both, the sex of the child remains unclear.\*
- 6 A boy is conceived when on the first day of the period of twelve days of the cycle\* the desire for sexual intercourse is not endlessly postponed. It should not be disregarded that a woman who is definitely pregnant may suffer a miscarriage; a second pregnancy can miscary as well and even in a third gestation, the body can be incomplete either in form or in number of limbs, and both the strength and the life expectancy can be limited. This is the reason why one should avoid three-nightly intervals. There are also patients who do not exhibit produce menstrual periods or have no sperm production and who do not return to normality.\* For that reason, if sperm production has to be observed, a man should avoid the habit of three-nightly advances. In such cases, even after having observed there periods of twelve nights, yet there is no ovulation proper.\*\* Some state that these are amenorrhoeic.\*\*\*
- 7 Here are some more verses.
- 8 Lacking
- 9 As surely as by rule of nature the night-lotus folds its

- leaves, so truly a woman's yoni by law of nature is also closing\*.
- 9A The face of a woman becomes swollen, lively and because of transudation moist like that of an elephant, she longs for intimate contact with a man, talks sweetly, her belly drooping and her head let down/uncared for,...
- 9B ... her arms, breasts, hips, loins, thighs, her abdomen around the navel, her bottom and buttocks, all are trembling. And she experiences intense happiness and satisfaction, you can tell her a woman after her courses.
- 10 The Vāyu then guides the mentrual discharge that comes after being heaped up for a month through the two channels towards the opening of the yoni.
- 11 Menstruation becomes a regular feat from twelve years onwards and owing to the natural decay of functions it ends from about fifty years onwards.
- 12 So, if a man desires children, he should have intercourse with his wife during the fertile period of the cycle\* and for that particular purpose he should visit her on even days in order to beget a boy and on uneven days for a girl.\*\*
- 13 In this context, fatigue, lassitude, thirst, a feeling of exhaustion in the thighs, flatulence, an arrest of the menses and of sperm from the yoni\* with a sensation of shaking heat all suggest that a pregnancy has been obtained very recently.
- 14 Here are some more verses. It is claimed that a typical early sign of pregnancy is the nipples turning darker\*, the appearance, on the midline of the abdomen, of a coloured stripe, (resembling hair)\*\* and sudden vomiting.
- 15 Lacking
- 16 From the very beginning of pregnancy the woman should avoid sexual intercourse, exertion, excessive exercise, sleeping by day and waking at night, being terrified, sitting for too long in one position, being all alone, Sneha-krama and other treatments as well as blood-letting at an inappropriate time.
- 17 Lacking
- 18 So then, in the first month a kalala arises. In the second

month a ghana develops that has arisen thanks to blood, ritual oblations and by wind and has become mature with the five essential elements. If there is a lump-like structure, it will be a male. If the structure is oblong or peśī, a girl; if there is a bud-shaped structure or arbbuda, an individual with undifferentiated external sexual features.\* In the third month five protrusions (of hands, feet and head) result from the process of development. All limbs and all minor body parts become distinguishable (though still) very minute. In the fourth month all limbs and minor body parts become manifest. In the fifth month all limbs and minor body parts become even more individualized. Owing to the formation of an individualized fetal heart, consciousness becomes a distinct separate constituent which is why during the fourth month, that foetus, from the appearance of that organ onwards, forms desires from (all five) objects of sense. Henceforth the lady becomes the double-hearted (or pregnant) one and she makes her desires known. The two-hearted/pregnant one, (if) disrespected, causes a child to be born who is ........................ (kukukūnimsanrm), dwarfish, with eye defects, blind, desires (something) is also that by means of which she can be gratified. Having obtained (to be) pregnant, she causes a son to be born who is really strong and has a long life expectancy.

- 19 And here are some more verses. Indeed that pregnant woman desires .............. (bhoktum) the objects of the senses during the course (of her pregnancy); for fear of injury to the foetus a physician, after having fetched these things, should give any desired object.
- 20 She should give birth to a son endowed with virtues; if the pregnant woman does not obtain (what she desires), he (the foetus?) (or she, the woman?) also becomes equally insecure him-/her-self.
- 21 With respect to all those desires of the senses in which the pregnant mother was slighted, she will give birth to a son who is defective in each of all those same corresponding

senses.

22 A king in an interview with whom a woman during her pregnancy wins and she gives birth to a son who is wealthy and is highly fortunate.\*

- 23 A pregnant woman, dressed in fine cloth, wearing silk and other things, gives birth to a charming son decorated (alankā) .......... resinam
- 24 If (she goes) to a hermitage, she brings forth someone who is self-restrained and a stone-pillar of religion, resembling a godhead and begotten in the utmost happiness. Upon seeing someone in a high position designed by birth, she gives birth to a stone-pillar of violence.
- 25 If she feels like eating the flesh of an Iguana (she produces) a son who is drowsy and who has the nature of a killer; by means of beef meat a son who is wild and who is powerful because he is savage in everything.
- 26 When from the pregnant woman (there is a wish for meat of) buffalo a son is produced who has fearful red-eyes and who looks shaggy.
- 27 Lacking
- 28 Hence, she who during her pregnancy considers what people eat, wishes for her offspring the same via the food habits of the body.
- 29 And that which has yet to happen again when the child is growing up, should be such that through divine intervention the pregnant woman should produce it during her pregnancy.
- 30 In the fifth (month of pregnancy) the mindbecomes more and more awakened; in the sixth intelligence (becomes awakened); in the seventh all the limbs and smaller body parts (are in place); if in the eighth (month) the ojas is not stable in that case the child does not live\* he is provided with a share (of it) by the demons- so then strong excellent meat should be provided to him; if he is not yet caused to be born in the ninth, tenth, eleventh or twelfth (month), then there is something wrong.
- 31 Furthermore, the umbilical cord is securely fastened to both juice-carrying vessels of the mother and carries the power (energy?) of the essential juice coming from the food of

- the mother and what causes (the baby) to live is the distribution of the life juice,\* over all the body parts of the not yet (existing) newborn, from the beginning of conception (?) (niḥṣekān), and over (all) the transportation channels, running in all directions because of that intimate connection of the vessels.
- 32 Mainly, the developments of the foetus are: śaunakasays says that the head develops first because it is at the basis of this (development). Krtavīryasaysit states is the heart (which is at the base) of both intellect and mind. Pārāsa' s son maintains instead that (it is) ................... (deraha?-) of the body. Mārkkandeya presumes that hands and feet are first because they are at the basis of movement in the body of the foetus. Subhūti Gautama claims all the limbs and their smaller subparts develop because of their development because the development of all the moving limbs is irretrievably connected, all turned into one and the same direction (of the thorax) together. At the time of early pregnancy, due to their extreme minuteness, they cannot be perceived, like sprouts of bamboo or seeds of mango. Thus, in the manner mango fruits becomes ripe, or as the shine of the hair of the head, or the way marrow appears in bones, step by step these things are seen more accurately, e.g. as an increase of black colour, and they become gradually apparent as the body (takes shape). Due to their feature of being so subtle, the minuteness of the hair of the head (and other examples) makes the black become apparent in this way; just so the growth of bamboo is also explained. Similarly in the beginning of a pregnancy, precisely because of the minuteness in all limbs and smaller body parts which are present, these are not well perceived (but) because of their increasing degree of blackness they become apparent.
- 33 It is claimed (that this) is not the consequence of any previous or any (bad or) excellent fate but solely because of the minuteness they\* are not being observed. In that context we shall explain features in the body that are paternal, maternal, connected with rasa, related to the soul, linked to the quietude of mind and relative to the

essence of being.\*\* Keeping this in mind, the hair of the head, tears, teeth, nails, the hair of beard and moustache, things made of hard substance (cartilage?)\*\*\* are brought about as paternal (elements). Muscle, blood, fat, marrow, the heart, the umbilicus (= the placenta? )\*\*\*\*, the liver, the spleen, the intestines, the anus are brought about as the soft maternal (elements). The increase in size of the body, the growth of the child and (its) outward appearance, the gain and loss of its erect attitude are caused by the rasa. The senses, consciousness, duration of life and the intensity of pleasure and pain are related to the spiritual element. We shall discuss later the satva-related things. Valour, healthfulness, strength, complexion and prudence depend on the existential disposition.\*\*

- 35 And here is (more). Women who sit down to the gods and Brahmins, have the advantage of a ceremonially pure offspring. They produce children with great qualities. In the opposite case however, they have no qualities.
- 36 The development of the limbs and the smaller anatomical parts progresses precisely all according to its own nature. The development of these limbs and the smaller anatomical parts is dependent upon the qualities and conditions which could not be known of the foetus by religion and could not

be caused by religion.\*
This is the third chapter of the śarīra.



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

### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>178</sup>

### **Translation**

- 1 Now we shall describe the treatment of wind diseases. weight
- When the wind enters the stomach, one should sequentially give to the patient, who has vomited, the formulation (*yoga*) with six-units (*ṣaḍ- laraṇa*), together with tepid water, for seven nights.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>178</sup> HIML: IA, 265-266.

<sup>179</sup> The vulgate has the reading छर्दियत्वा which means "after making [him] vomit". Thus, vomiting is a part of the treatment. Whereas छर्दित in the H manuscript is ambiguous: vomiting may be part of the treatment or a symptom of the ailment.

The expression "six units" refers to the six ingredients listed in the next passage. Palhaṇa on 4.4.3 (Su 1938: 420) noted that धरण in this context means a particular weight characterized as equivalent to 21 medium-sized hyacinth beans. P. V. Sharma (1999–2001: 303) proposed that that the formulation contains six ingredients each the weight of a *dharaṇa*. See 4.31.7 (Su 1938: 508) where the term धरण is defined in terms of other weights. (In epigraphical Sanskrit, a धरण may be a silver or gold coin (Sircar 1966: 91).)

Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṇḥitā 4.21.14 (Ah 1939: 723) is the same verse, mutatis mutandis, but the editor noted (f.n. 6) a variant reading षद्धाण in the commentary of Śrīkaṇṭha. There seems to be some confusion about this expression.

Dalhana also noted that सुखाम्बु ("pleasant water") means "slightly warm water."

- "Six-unit" is traditionally the formulation that is leadwort, Indrajao, velvet-leaf, kutki, Himalayan monkshood, and myrobalan. It cures serious diseases.
- 5 When the wind has entered the abdomen (*pakvāśa*) one should treat it with an oil purge. One should also treat it with cleansing enemas and very salty foods. <sup>180</sup>
- Once the wind has entered the lower belly, a cleansing enema is recommended. And, on the wind having entered the ears, etc., the wind-slayer sequence should be executed.<sup>181</sup>
- 7 On the wind having entered the skin, flesh, and blood, one should rub oil on the body (अभ्यङ्ग), apply a poultice on the body (उपनाह), massage the body (मर्दन), smear ointments on the body (आलेपन), and do bloodletting (अस्ग्विमोक्षण).
- 8 On the wind having entered the ligaments, joints, and bones, the wise [physician] should employ the application of an unctuous poultice (स्ने-होपनाह), cauterization (अग्निकर्म), binding (बन्धन), and massage.
- 9 On the wind being concealed within the bones, it (wind) should be beaten by churning those body parts with hands. A strong physician should then insert a narrow tube within the bone and suck out the wind completely from the bone.<sup>182</sup>
- On the wind having entered the semen, one should perform the treatment for the defects of the semen. 183

180 In H, the reading সামা: should be read as সামা: for it to mean "foods". Otherwise, সামা: means "throwing/discharging" or "darts/spears".

- 181 In the H manuscript reading "श्रोतादि...," there appears to be a double sandhi. See Nidānasthāna Ch. 1 verse 12 for another example of double sandhi. Furthermore, the syllable in H after "चानिल" is not clear. It could be "ह्य" or "हा" or perhaps something else. The reading in the vulgate for this syllable is "हा". Thus, the complete word becomes "अनिलहा" which means "the slayer of wind". This makes proper sense in this verse. We have considered this reading ("अनिलहा") for our translation.
- 182 The H manuscript has the reading अस्थीनि which is the accusative plural form of अस्थि. The accusative case does not make sense here. The vulgate has the reading अस्थिन, the locative singular form of अस्थि. This reading makes proper sense in the verse. Therefore, we have accepted the vulgate reading अस्थिन for translating this verse.
- 183 Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 421) that this treatment for the defects of the semen is mentioned [earlier] as the যুক্ত যাणিবায়ন্তি, the purification of the semen and the blood. This is the Śarīrasthāna Ch. 2, যুক্ত যাणিববিয়ন্তি. The second hemistich of this verse is not a part of this sentence but is a part of the sentence in the next verse. That is because the remedies described in this hemistich are appropriate for the disease described in the first hemistich of the next verse.

This is a change we should make in the edition.

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

The intelligent physician should conquer the wind situated within the whole body by immersion, *kuṭī*, *karṣa*, *prastara*, oil massage, enema, and blood-letting. Or, in case of wind situated in one part of the body and contained within it, the intelligent physician should cure it with horns.

- On the wind having mingled with phlegm, bile, and blood, the physician should treat it with non-hostile remedies. However, on the wind being inactive, the physician should perform blood-letting many times.
- 13 [On the wind being inactive], one should also lick the milk of the *pan-camūlī* accompanied with salt and ??¹85 mixed with oil, and one should indeed consume meat soup made sour with fruit.¹86
- 14-15 Or, one should consume cereal soup with a good amount of ghee, or the food that is beneficial and that curtails the wind. However, cottony jujube, etc. with a wind-removing remedy combined with all sour substances and with the meat from a water body along with lots of unction, lukewarm and salty, is well known as *Sālvala*.
- 16ab For patients with diseases of the wind, one should always apply this  $(s\bar{a}lvala)$  as a poultice.
- Whether a body part has become contracted or bent, is troubled by a [wind] disease, or has become numb, one should tightly bind it with a long strap made of tree bark, cloth, or wool [after applying the sālvala poultice]. Or, after massaging the affected body part and applying the śālvala<sup>189</sup> poultice on it, one should insert it into a sack made of the hide of a cat, mongoose, udra<sup>190</sup>, or deer.
  - 18cd-19 Vomiting and *nasya* done under the supervision of an expert physician alleviates the wind that has entered the chest, loins, shoulders, or the

<sup>184</sup> In H, the last syllable नि of the compound word does not make sense. The vulgate has the compound word ending with भि: which makes proper sense. For making a meaningful translation, we have accepted the vulgate reading here. Furthermore, Dalhaṇa describes the treatments kuṭī, karṣū, and prastara in his commentary in (Su 1938: 421). Regarding blood-letting, he comments there that because the verse has the plural form सिरामोक्षेः, five blood vessels have to be drained of blood if the wind is not pacified by oil massage, etc.

<sup>185</sup> Āgāradhūma seems to be a plant as seen in Monier Williams' Sanskrit dictionary.

<sup>186</sup> The vulgate reading दिह्यात् (should apply) totally changes the meaning.

<sup>187</sup> For grammatical accuracy, there needs to be a visarga at the end of the word काकोल्यादि.

<sup>188</sup> Perhaps सुखोष्णम् is an indeclinable. But, it could also be a grammatical inaccuracy where it should have a *visarga* at the end: सुखोष्णः.

<sup>189</sup> This seems to be the correct spelling as against the unclarity in the earlier verses.

<sup>190</sup> some aquatic animal

nape of the neck. *Śirobasti* and blood-letting alleviate the wind situated in the head.

- 20-21ab In that (*śirobasti*), the oil should be held carefully for a duration of one thousand *mātrās*. Enema (बस्ति) alone curtails the wind that is situated throughout the whole body or in one part. This is just as the wind [curtails] its force. 191
- Oils, perspiration, oil massage, enema, unctuous purging of the bowels, *śirobasti*, oiling the head, unctuous smoke, gargling with lukewarm water, *nasya*, unctuous paste, milks, meats<sup>192</sup>, soups, oils<sup>193</sup>, any unctuous substance, unctuous and salty meals that are made sour by fruits, bathing with lukewarm water, massages, saffron, ??, cassia cinnamon, costus, cardamom, crape jasmine, garments made of silk, wool, and fur, soft cotton garments, inner rooms with sunlight, no wind flow, and a soft bed, taking the warmth of fire, and celibacy, etc. are to be collectively employed for patients with wind diseases.
  - One should take *akṣa* quantities of unguent pastes<sup>194</sup> of turpeth,<sup>195</sup>??, ??, ??, ??, and embelia, a Bengal quince fruit equivalent measure of ??-root and ??, two *pātra* quantities of both *triphalā*-decoction<sup>196</sup> and yogurt, and one *pātra* measure of ghee.<sup>197</sup> One should mix these ingredients all at once and cook the mixture properly. This (resultant) is ??-ghee. Unctuous purging of bowels is prescribed for treating wind disorders.<sup>198</sup> This procedure of making ??-ghee should also be referred for making Asoka tree-ghee and ??-ghee.<sup>199</sup>
  - One should collect the wooden logs of the instruments that have been used for a long time for extracting oil from sesame seeds. One should then have them chopped into very tiny pieces and then pound those pieces. Next, one should put them in a big vessel, submerge them in

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

<sup>191</sup> The last four words in H, तस्य वेगम् इवानिलः do not make sense in the context.

<sup>192</sup> The plural indicates milk and meat from various animals.

<sup>193</sup> This is the second occurrence of the word स्रेहाः in this sentence. This seems to be an anomaly.

<sup>194</sup> কলে also means an unguent paste. Refer to Apte's dictionary.

<sup>195</sup> In H, perhaps it should have been त्रिवृद् instead of तृवृत्.

<sup>196</sup> त्रिफलारस is here taken to mean a decoction of triphalā.

<sup>197</sup> The exact measurements of *akṣa* and *pātra* are given in Dalhaṇa's commentary in Su 1938: 422.

<sup>198</sup> It should be understood here that the unctuous substance to be used for purging the bowels is the ??-ghee.

<sup>199</sup> अशोक and रम्यक are the Ashoka and Chinaberry respectively.

water, and boil them. Thereafter, one should collect the oil from the surface of the water with a goblet or by hand. Thereafter, one should properly cook wind-alleviating herbs with this oil that was effectively cooked.<sup>200</sup> This is the *anutaila* (अनुतेल)<sup>201</sup> that is mentioned in wind disorders. It is called *anutaila* because it is produced from tiny oily objects.<sup>202</sup>

Alternatively, one should burn a great amount of ??-wood on the ground for one night. When the fire gets extinguished the ash should be removed. Then, the ground that is relieved of the fire should be soaked with a hundred pots of oil cooked with ??, ??, and other herbs, and left in that condition for one night. Thereafter, one should take all the earth that is oily $^{203}$  in a big vessel and totally cover it with water. $^{204}$  The oil that rises up in that vessel should be taken out with both hands and kept nicely covered. Thereafter, one should properly cook that oil for as long as possible $^{205}$  with one thousand parts of each of the following—a decoction of wind-alleviating herbs, meat soup, milk, and  $k\bar{a}njika^{206}$ —and thus prepare the  $sahasra-p\bar{a}ka$  (that which is cooked with thousands). The admixture added to the oil contains the hemavata herbs $^{207}$ , herbs of the southern region, Withania, and other wind-alleviating herbs.

While the oil is being cooked, conchshells should be blown loudly, umbrellas should be held, huge drums should be resounded, and

<sup>200</sup> In H, the word दन्तप्रतीवायं in the compound word वातप्रौषधदन्तप्रतीवायं does not appear to make sense. Perhaps the syllable य should be प, thus making the word प्रतीवापं that refers to an admixture of substances to medicines either during or after decoction. Refer to Monier-Williams's Sanskrit dictionary.

<sup>201</sup> The न् should be read ण्.

<sup>202</sup> The word अनु in the compound word अनुतैलद्रव्येभ्यः should be read अणु.

<sup>203</sup> In H, the word यावन् should have been यावान्.

<sup>204</sup> The reading in H, कटाहेभ्यः सिंचेत्, does not make sense here. Thus, we have accepted the vulgate reading कटाहे ऽभ्यासिंचेत् for the translation.

<sup>205</sup> The phrase "यावता कालेन शक्नुयात् पक्तुम्" appears as a part of a new sentence in H. But, we should take it to be a part of the earlier sentence for it to make proper sense.

<sup>206</sup> Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 423) that the word अम्ल here means काञ्चिक which is the water drained after boiling rice and is a little fermented. Refer Monier Willams's Sanskrit Dictionary.

<sup>207</sup> The word should be हैमवताः as in the vulgate. It means "the herbs of the snowy mountains". Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 423) that हैमवताः refers to the herbs that grow in the northern region.

whisk fans should be waved.<sup>208</sup> Thereafter, the perfectly cooked oil should be poured into a golden or silver pot and stored. This  $sahasra-p\bar{a}ka$  is the oil possessing undiminishing potency and is fit for kings.

Thus, that which is cooked with a thousand parts is called *sahasra-pāka*. One should collect fresh leaves of castor oil tree, ??, ??, weaver's beam tree, Indian beech, ??, and leadwort.<sup>209</sup> These leaves should be completely pounded along with salt in a mortar. This mixture should be put in a pot filled with oil<sup>210</sup>. It (pot) should be smeared<sup>211</sup> with cowdung. Thereafter, the pot should be heated.<sup>212</sup> This (resultant) is the *patra-lavaṇa* (leaf-salt) that is mentioned in wind disorders.

- In the same way, one should pound the stalks of ?? and eggplants smeared with salt and fill a pot with it.<sup>213</sup> In that pot, one should add ghee, oil, fat, and marrow. Then, one should smear it<sup>214</sup> and heat it as earlier. This (resultant) is the *sneha-lavaṇa* (fat-salt) that is mentioned in wind disorders.

Euphorbia Antiquorum (Antique spurge)

<sup>208</sup> These activities are a symbolic way of showing reverence.

<sup>209</sup> In H, the ending नाम् should be णाम् due to sandhi.

<sup>210</sup> स्नेहघट can also mean a pot filled with ghee

<sup>211</sup> The H or vulgate do not specify with words that it is the pot to be smeared. But, it is to be understood.

<sup>212</sup> The word दाह्येत् usually refers to burning, but sometimes it can refer to heating.

<sup>213</sup> In H, there should be a visarga after লবणा.

<sup>214</sup> As earlier, the pot should be smeared with cow-dung.

<sup>215</sup> It is to be understood that all these fresh branches, leaves, fruits, and roots of the herbs should be completely pounded together with salt. The mixture should then be put into a pot filled with oil or ghee. The pot should be smeared with cow-dung and then heated.

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

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

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>216</sup>

### **Translation**

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

2

- One group says that the blood afflicted by wind (wind-blood) (vāta-rakta) is of two types: spreading out over a surface (उत्तान) and deep (अवगाढ).<sup>217</sup> However, this is not correct.<sup>218</sup> Why? Just as leprosy, after spreading over a surface it (afflicted blood) becomes deeply situated. Therefore, its being of two different types is refuted.
- 4 When the wind is aggravated by fighting a strong person, etc.<sup>219</sup>, one's corrupted blood caused by eating heavy or hot food before the last meal is digested blocks the path of the aggravated wind. It then combines with the wind and simultaneously creates pain due to the wind-blood.

<sup>216</sup> HIML: IA, 266.

<sup>217</sup> Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 424) that उत्तान refers to being situated in the skin and flesh, and अवगाढ refers to being situated internally.

<sup>218</sup> In H, the word तन् should be तत्.

<sup>219</sup> These factors that aggravate the wind are mentioned in Nidānasthāna, Ch. 12, text 6.

This [condition] is called wind-blood (*vāta-śoṇita*). At first, it is situated in the hands and feet.<sup>220</sup> Later, it spreads throughout the body. Its early forms are pricking pain, burning, itching, ulcer, trembling<sup>221</sup>, roughness of the skin, pulsation in the blood vessels, tendons, and tubular vessels<sup>222</sup>, weakness of the thighs, as well as the sudden appearance of dark brown, tawny, or red spots on the soles of the feet, fingers, ankles, and wrists. The disease becomes fully manifest in the person who does not undertake the means to revert the disease or applies a wrong treatment. Its symptoms have been mentioned. Among them, weakness occurs for the one who does not counter the disease.

- 5 Generally, wind-blood occurs in those who are very delicate, those who eat the wrong foods and enjoy improperly, those who are fat, and even in those who indulge in pleasure.
- In that regard, one should treat the patient who is not degenerating due to wasting of life air, thirst, fever, unconsciousness, dyspnea, trembling, and loss of appetite, is not oppressed by the contraction [of limbs], is strong, composed, and has the means.
- In the treatment, at the beginning itself one should do blood-letting of the wind-affected body part little by little and more than once. That (slow blood-letting) is because of the danger of further aggravation of wind. One should avoid doing blood-letting of the part hardened or weakened by excessive wind.<sup>223</sup> Thereafter, one should make the patient do the remedies of vomiting, etc. If the wind that is mixed [with blood] or separated is very aggravated then one should make him consume aged ghee or goat-milk. Or, [one can give him] half a measure of oil added with an *akṣa* of liquorice and cooked with hare foot uraria<sup>224</sup>, or the oil that is sweetened by sugar and honey and cooked with dried ginger and bulrush. Or, one should boil milk with an eight times volume of the decoction of the following herbs: beautyberry, grey orchid, ??, hare foot uraria<sup>225</sup>, ??, wild asparagus, ??, and ??. This milk should then be used to cook oil with the admixture of pastes of ??, ??,

<sup>220</sup> In H, the word तन् should be तत्.

<sup>221</sup> In H, there should not have been the स् after स्तम्भ.

<sup>222</sup> In addition to blood vessels, it would also include the nerves.

<sup>223</sup> In H, the reading अम्लान does not make sense given the context. Therefore, we have accepted the vulgate reading ম্লান for the translation.

<sup>224</sup> Dalhaṇa glosses (Su 1938: 425) śṛgālavinnā as pṛśniparṇī.

<sup>225</sup> According to Dalhaṇa, śṛgālavinnā is pṛśniparṇī.

??, ??, deodar, sweet flag, and ??. This (resultant) should be utilised in drinks, etc. Or, one should use the oil that is cooked with a decoction of wild asparagus, prickly chaff-flower<sup>226</sup>, ??, liquorice, giant potato, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, and ??<sup>227</sup>, with the admixture of cottony jujube, etc. Or, one should use the heart-leaf sida-oil that is cooked as śatapāka.<sup>228</sup> Or, [the affected body part] should be moistened with milk that is boiled with the roots of wind-alleviating herbs, or it should be moistened with sour things.<sup>229</sup> In that regard, five remedies prepared with milk are described. For preparing a poultice, milk should be cooked in ghee, oil, fat, marrow, and dugdha<sup>230</sup> separately with each of these powdered grains or pulses—barley, wheat, sesame, mung beans, or green gram—that is mixed with unctuous pastes of cottony jujube, purple roscoea, ??, ??, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, hare foot uraria<sup>231</sup>, ??, sugar, bulrush<sup>232</sup>, ??, and sweet flag. Or, the essence of unctuous fruits<sup>233</sup> can be used as a poultice. Or, a veśavāra<sup>234</sup> prepared from the flesh of a fat *cilicima* fish<sup>235</sup> can be used instead. Or, [one

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

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

<sup>227</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that halfa grass, ??, ??, halfa grass, ??, and ?? are called *tṛna* (grass).

<sup>228</sup> Śatapāka seems to be an oil that is prepared with a hundred parts of some things similar to sahasrapāka that is prepared with one thousand parts of some herbs. Refer Cikitsāsthāna Ch. 4 text 29 for the preparation of sahasrapāka.

<sup>229</sup> Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 425) that the sour things (amla) are ??, Indian jujube, ??-water, etc. Surā is some kind of liquor, sauvīraka is perhaps the fruit of the jujube tree, and tuṣa is perhaps Terminalia Bellerica (विभीतक).

<sup>230</sup> In the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, the word for milk is *kṣīra* or *payas* but not *dugdha*. Therefore, the word *dugdha* here can mean the sap of plants or something that is extracted.

<sup>231</sup> śrgālavinnā

<sup>232</sup> For kaśerukā

<sup>233</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that the unctuous fruits mentioned here are sesame, castor, flax, ??, etc.

<sup>234</sup> In H, the reading वैशवारो does not make sense. It should have been वेशवारो, as shown in the vulgate, which is the reading we have accepted here.

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

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

<sup>235</sup> H has the compound word नलपीनमत्स्य. नलमीन is a particular fish known as *cilicima* (चिलिचिमः). See *Amarakośa*. Also, if the name is नलमत्स्य then the word पीन (fat) within the name is not according to proper Sanskrit. But, it can be allowed because the word मत्स्य (fish), instead of being a part of the name, can be considered to mean fish in general and thus the word पीन becomes its modifier. Thus, नलपीनमत्स्य can mean "a

can use] the poultice containing Bengal quince-rind<sup>236</sup>, crape jasmine, deodar, ??, grey orchid, peas, costus, ??, liquor, yogurt, and whey. Or, [one can use] the ointment prepared by mixing citron, *amla*<sup>237</sup>, salt, and ghee with honey and horseradish tree-root. Or else, [one can use] the unctuous sesame paste.

When the [condition of wind-blood] has a predominance of bile, the patient should be made to drink a decoction of grapes, ??-fruit, Indian ipecac, liquorice, sandalwood, and white teak. This decoction is sweetened with honey and sugar before consumption. Or, the decoction of wild asparagus, pointed gourd, cassia cinnamon, *triphalā*, ??, and heart-leaved moonseed should be given. [The patient should be administered] ghee that is prepared with sweet, bitter, and astringent [remedies].<sup>238</sup>

[The patient] should be sprinkled with a decoction of ??, lotus stalk, sandalwood, and ?? mixed with goat-milk<sup>239</sup>, or with rice water that is mixed with milk, sugarcane juice, honey, and sugar, or with whey and sour rice gruel mixed with a decoction of grapes and sugarcane. Or else, [the patient] should be sprinkled with ghee that is prepared with *jīvanīya*<sup>240</sup> or sprinkled with ghee that is purified for one hundred times.

The poultice [to be applied] should be made of rice flour or of the paste of sour rice gruel mixed with ??, ??, scramberry<sup>241</sup>, ??, ??, turmeric, horned pondweed, sacred lotus, etc. The poultice should be mixed with ghee.

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

fat fish that is a ਜਲ (cilicima)".

<sup>236</sup> The word पेसिका in H should be read पेशिका.

<sup>237</sup> Perhaps it could mean vinegar or sour curds. Refer to Monier Williams Sanskrit Dictionary.

<sup>238</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that the sweet remedies are cottony jujube, etc., bitter remedies are pointed gourd, etc., and astringent remedies are *triphalā*, etc.

<sup>239</sup> The compound word ending with कषायेण is taken to be a bahuvrīhi for अजाक्षीरेण (goatmilk).

<sup>240</sup> Jīvanīya seems to be a group of medicinal herbs. There is an Ayurvedic preparation called jīvanīya-ghrta. Refer to the Āyurvedīya Śabdakośa vol. 1.

<sup>241</sup> तालीस should be read तालीश

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

However, when the [condition of wind-blood] has a predominance of phlegm, the patient should be made to consume a decoction of emblic and turmeric that is sweetened with honey, or a decoction of *triphalā*, or a paste of liquorice, ??, chebulic myrobalan, and ??. He should be made to drink chebulic myrobalan with water mixed with a little urine. He should be sprinkled with oil, urine, salty water, and liquor that are acidic<sup>242</sup>. Or, he should be sprinkled with a decoction of golden shower tree, etc.

The patient should be massaged with ghee cooked with sour cream, urine, liquor, ??<sup>243</sup>, liquorice, ??<sup>244</sup>, and ??.

The poultice should be made of either the paste of white mustard, or the paste of sesame and Withania, or the paste of ??²⁴⁵, selu plum, and wood apple, or the paste of honey, horseradish tree, and hogweed,²⁴⁶ or the paste of dry ginger, long pepper, black pepper,²⁴⁷ hare foot uraria, and poison berry.²⁴⁶ These five poultices are prepared with salty water. Thus, they have been described.

In case of combined aggravation of two humours or simultaneous aggravation of all three humours, the stated methods of treating those aggravations should be combined.<sup>249</sup>

In all [aggravations], one should consume chebulic myrobalan with jaggery. Or, one should have a diet of rice cooked in milk for ten days and should drink a mixture of long peppers crushed in milk, with increasing by five long peppers each night. Then one should reduce them again by the order of five more [each night].<sup>250</sup> In this way, one should

sional edition should be modified accordingly.

<sup>242</sup> Reading the word सुक्त in H as शुक्त

<sup>243</sup> Monier Williams states Rumex Vesicarius for śuktā

<sup>244</sup> DCS has this entry: Cryptolepsis buchananii Roem. et Schult. (Surapāla (1988), 453) Decalepis hamiltonii Wight et Arn. (Surapāla (1988), 453)

<sup>245</sup> According to V. S. Apte, दारु can mean देवदारु.

<sup>246</sup> H has a short अ at the end instead of the long आ.

<sup>247</sup> व्योषतिक्ता refers to the group of these three pungent spices. Also see Sūtrasthāna 14.35.

<sup>248</sup> In H, the Sanskrit syntax does not match up with what the author is trying to say. The name of the fifth paste should also have been in the nominative case, as the other four pastes.

<sup>249</sup> It means that the respective methods of treating the aggravation of individual humours should be combined.

<sup>250</sup> In H, the letter ञ্ in भूयञ्च should have been য্.

[reduce] all the long peppers. This is called *Pippalīvarddhamānakam* (Increasing Long Peppers). It indeed cures wind-blood, intense fever,<sup>251</sup> loss of appetite, jaundice, abdominal affection, piles, heavy breathing, cough, wasting disease, weak digestion, and heart disease.

The poultice is a paste of ??, sandalwood, ??, ??, wild asparagus, bulrush,<sup>252</sup> ??, ??, liquorice, ??, ??, ??, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, and Holostemma creeper mixed with milk. Or it is a paste of white teak, liquorice, and ?? mixed with ghee and cream. Or it is olibanum cooked with milk that is mixed with ??, ??, ??, liquorice and the group of sweet herbs.

Old ghee that is cooked with emblic and chir pine and sweetened with sugar and honey is for drinking. Old ghee that is cooked with jīvanīya or that is cooked with a decoction of ?? is for sprinkling. Cooked heart-leaf sida oil is for sprinkling, bathing, enema, and eating<sup>253</sup>. One should eat food preparations made of rice, ??, barley and wheat accompanied with milk, meat soup, or mung beans soup that is not sour. Blood-letting also [should be done]. The treatments of vomiting, purging of bowels, enema, and oily enema should be conducted when the humours are highly aggravated.

13

14 There are verses in this regard.<sup>254</sup>

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

- Poultice, sprinkling [oil], plaster, oil massage,<sup>255</sup> spacious and comfortable rooms<sup>256</sup> with no wind, soft pillows, comfortable beds, and soft massages are recommended in the condition of wind-blood.
  - Exercise, mating, anger, eating hot, sour, or salty foods, sleeping during the day, and food that is slimy or heavy should be avoided.

<sup>251</sup> Perhaps विषमज्वर could mean irregular fever.

<sup>252</sup> H has कशेरुका.

<sup>253</sup> Perhaps it means that one should eat foods cooked in that oil.

<sup>254</sup> The word भवति in H should have been भवन्ति.

<sup>255</sup> In H, the part व्यजनानिलाः does not make proper sense in the verse. Emending it to व्यजनानि च could be a consideration, but fanning (व्यजन) a patient with wind-blood is not good, as understood from the recommendation that such a patient should stay in a non-windy room. Therefore, we have accepted the vulgate reading for the first half of this verse.

<sup>256</sup> In H, read the स सरणानि as श.

One should treat the person who is affected with spasmodic contraction, 257 who does not have droopy eyes and crooked eyebrows, whose fingers have not become rigid, who is not perspiring or trembling, who is not in a state of delirium, who is not bed-ridden, 258 and who is not restrained externally. There at the beginning itself, 259 after rubbing the patient with oil and making him perspire, one should treat him with a strong avapīḍa 260 in order to clear his head. Then, the patient should be made to drink filtered ghee that is properly cooked with a decoction of beggarweed and other herbs, sugarcane juice, milk, and yogurt. In that way, the wind does not spread exceedingly.

Thereafter, one should gather wind-alleviating herbs such as deodar, etc. and other constituent parts, along with barley, ??, and horse gram, and the flesh of a freshwater aquatic creature all at one place and prepare a decoction of them. One should take this decoction and mix it properly with sour substances and milk, and then cook the *pratīvāpa*<sup>261</sup> of liquorice in this mixture along with ghee, oil, body fat, and bone marrow. This is *trivṛt* that should be recommended in treatments of sprinkling, oil massage, applying a poultice, oral consumption, oily enema, and errhine for patients having spasmodic contractions.

The patient should then be made to sweat by the methods described earlier. If the wind is stronger then the patient should be immersed in [a vessel] filled with lukewarm fluid used for sprinkling (*trivṛt*). Or he should be kept in the hot fireplace of a blacksmith.<sup>262</sup> Or else he should be made to sweat by [a mixture of] ??, *veśavāra*,<sup>263</sup> and milk.

Oil cooked with the juice of radish, ??, ??, and ?? should be used in

There, palhaṇa comments that de-liberation on avapīda had been done earlier when it was mentioned. Find that description to know more details.

<sup>257</sup> In H, the reading अपताकिनम् should have been अपतानकिनम्.

<sup>258</sup> V. S. Apte has खद्दयति. The *Āyurvedīya Śabdakośa* has the entry खद्दापातिन् which means "one who is inclined to fall from bed." Perhaps the reading in H has an error of the letter या which should have been पा.

<sup>259</sup> In H, प्रागैव should have been प्रागेव.

<sup>260</sup> The Āyurvedīya Śabdakośa has the entry अवपीड that means administering an oily paste through the nose. Refer SS Cikitsāsthāna Ch. 40 text 44 for a better understanding of avapīḍa.

<sup>261</sup> It refers to an admixture of substances to medicines either during or after decoction. Refer to Monier-Williams's Sanskrit dictionary.

<sup>262</sup> H has the reading रथाकारचुल्ल्याम् that means "fireplace shaped like a chariot", but the vulgate reading रथकारचुल्ल्याम् makes more sense here. Thus, we have accepted it.

<sup>263</sup> Refer the above text no.7 for *veśavāra*. In H, the syllable ਕੈ should have been ਕੇ.

sprinking, etc. for patients with spasmodic contractions.<sup>264</sup> Sour yogurt mixed with black pepper and drunk on an empty stomach alleviates spasmodic contractions. Or else, ghee, oil, body fat, or bone marrow [can be consumed on an empty stomach].

This procedure of treatment thus described is for spasmodic contractions caused only by wind. When mixed humours cause it then the treatment should also be mixed. And when the spasms subside the patient should be given *avapīḍa*-s. One should also consider the fats of cock, crab, black fish, and porpoise.<sup>265</sup> Milk prepared with wind-alleviating medicines. Gruel prepared with barley, ??, horse gram, radish, yogurt, ghee, and oil.

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

One should treat the paralytic (hemiplegic) patient whose limbs are not languid, who is in pain, and who is self-composed. There, at the beginning itself the patient should be massaged with oil and made to sweat. After cleansing the patient with a mild purifier, <sup>266</sup> he should be administered with an oily enema and then a non-oily enema. Then at the appropriate time, he should be treated with special enemas of the brain and the head according to the method prescribed in the treatment of ākṣepaka. <sup>267</sup> Anutaila should be used for massage. <sup>268</sup> Sālvala should be used for poultice. <sup>269</sup> heart-leaf sida oil should be used for oily enema. In this way, the unremitting patient should take the treatment for three to four months.

is deped.

20 21

One should treat the patient with *ardita*<sup>270</sup> who is strong and possesses

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

Make the first letter of sentence capital.

<sup>264</sup> The word तैलम् is not present in H but is present in the vulgate. We have accepted it.

<sup>265</sup> H has the reading रसान् which means "juices". It seems unrealistic that juice would be extracted by crushing these whole animals. Vulgate has the reading वसाः instead of रसान् which appears to be the more probable reading. Thus, we have accepted it.

<sup>266</sup> According to P. V. Sharma, this refers to mild evacuatives (purgatives).

<sup>267</sup> Refer Nidānasthāna 1.50-51 for ākṣepaka.

<sup>268</sup> For the procedure of preparing anutaila, refer Cikitsāsthāna 4.28.

<sup>269</sup> For the procedure of preparing sālvala, refer Cikitsāsthāna 4.14-15.

<sup>270</sup> Refer Nidānasthāna 1.71-72 for ardita.

the means with the method prescribed in treating wind diseases. The unique thing is the treatment with enemas of the brain and the head, errhine, smoke, poultice, and steam bath through tubes. Then, one should take the great five roots ( $pa\tilde{n}cam\bar{u}l\bar{\iota}$ ) with grass and prepare its decoction in milk mixed with twice the water. Then, the decoction with the milk remaining<sup>271</sup> should be brought down [the stove] and filtered. It should then be mixed with a  $prastha^{272}$  of oil and again placed over fire and cooked thoroughly. Then, the oil mixed with milk should be brought down [the stove] and then churned after it cools down. This is called  $k\bar{s}\bar{\imath}rataila$  that should be used in drinks, etc. for patients with ardita.

- In the diseases of <code>gṛdhrasī</code>, <code>viścañcī</code>, <code>kroṣṭukaśīrṣa</code>, <code>paṅgukalāya</code>, lameness, <code>vātakaṇṭaka</code>, burning sensation in the foot, numbness of the foot, <code>avabāhuka</code>, deafness, and <code>dhamanīvāta</code>, one should pierce the blood vessel as described earlier and, barring the case of <code>avabāhuka</code>, one should look up the treatment for wind diseases.
- However, in the case of *karṇamūla*,<sup>273</sup> lukewarm juice of ??<sup>274</sup> mixed with liquorice, oil, and salt should be put into the ears.<sup>275</sup> Or else one can use goat urine, liquorice, and oil. Or else one can use oil that is cooked with citron, pomegranate, ?? juice, and urine.<sup>276</sup> Or else one can use oil that is cooked with sour liquor, buttermilk, and urine. One should also make the patient sweat with a steam bath through tubes. One should also look up the treatment for wind diseases. More will be said later.
- In the case of *tūnī* and *pratitūnī*, one should make the patient drink ghee and salt with hot water. Or else one should administer the powder of long pepper and other herbs with hot water. Or else one should make

<sup>271</sup> It means that the water has evaporated.

<sup>272</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that a *prastha* is a measure of weight that is equal to 32 *pala-s*.

<sup>273</sup> The vulgate has the reading कर्णशूले which appears to be a more credible reading according to the context.

<sup>274</sup> পূৰ্বাব appears to be a name of ginger. Refer to the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams.

<sup>275</sup> In H, the reading रसैः does not seem to make sense here. Hence we have accepted the vulgate reading रसम्.

<sup>276</sup> In H, the word ਹੈਲ should have been ਹੈਲਸ਼ to make proper sense. The vulgate has this reading. Thus we have accepted it.

- the patient drink ghee that is made thick with asafoetida and ??.<sup>277</sup> One should also treat the patient with enemas.
- In the case of *ādhmāna*,<sup>278</sup> however, one should do *avatarpaṇa*,<sup>279</sup> heating the hands, *phalavartikriyā*,<sup>280</sup> stimulation of digestion, and [administer] digestives. One should also employ the purging of bowels and enemas. In the case of *pratyādhmāna*,<sup>281</sup> one should employ vomiting, fasting, and stimulation of digestion.
- 27 In the case of aṣṭhīlā and pratyaṣṭhīlā,<sup>282</sup> the procedure is that of gulma and internal abscess.
- The beneficial asafoetida, the three pungent spices (long pepper, black pepper, and dry ginger), sweet flag, ?? grains, ??, pomegranate, ??, velvet-leaf, leadwort, ??, rock salt, ??, ??, ??, natron, long pepper root, ??, ??, ?? (juniper berry), and ?? (cumin seeds) should be powdered. This powder should be mixed with a lot of citron juice. Then it should be made into pills each weighing one akṣa. Thereafter the patient of wind disease should consume one pill every morning. This medicine indeed cures gulma, rapid breathing, cough, loss of appetite, heart disease, ādhmāna, pārśvodara, bastiśūla, anāhamūtra, painful piles, plīhodara, and pāṇḍuroga. Also, this medicine is excessively used in cases of tūnī and pratitūnī.
- 29 There are verses in this regard.

The wind that has entered into the body tissues should be correctly understood as either pure or vitiated by humours<sup>283</sup> and should be

<sup>277</sup> यवश्वार is an alkali prepared from the ashes of burnt green barleycorns. Refer to the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams.

<sup>278</sup> Refer to *Nidānasthāna* 1.88. V. S. Apte explains it as "swelling of the belly". P.V. Sharma has translated it as flatulence.

<sup>279</sup> We are unclear about its meaning. The vulgate has the reading अपतर्पण that means fasting.

<sup>280</sup> The entry फलवर्ति has the meaning "suppository" in the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams. The Cambridge dictionary explains suppository as "a small, solid pill containing a drug that is put inside the anus, where it dissolves easily." Refer to the link https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/suppository. Last accessed 30-Oct-2023.

<sup>281</sup> Refer to *Nidānasthāna* 1.89. According to the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams, it is a kind of tympanites or wind-dropsy.

<sup>282</sup> Refer to Nidānasthāna 1.90 and 1.91.

<sup>283</sup> In H, the reading लक्षणोन्याम् does not make sense. Hence I cannot translate it. Perhaps the correct reading could be लक्षणाभ्याञ्च. This would connect with the two con-

- cured accordingly.
- The wind that is accompanied by fat causes a swelling that is painful, hard, and cold. The physician should properly treat it like a treating a swelling.
- When the wind accompanied by phlegm and fat enters the thighs, it causes pain in and immobility of the thighs due to numbness, pain, and fever.
- Also, the thighs become pained, stiff, cold, and do not quiver due to sleep. They become heavy and as if belonging to someone else.<sup>284</sup>
- That is called ūrūstambha. Others call it āḍhyavāta. In that case, one should drink the ṣandharaṇa powder with cool water.
- Similarly, consuming the powder of long pepper and other herbs with hot water is beneficial. Or else, one should consume the powder of triphalā with honey and kutki.
- Or else, one should drink the best ?? or ?? with urine. Such a person cures the wind that is afflicted by phlegm and accompanied by fat, as well as heart disease, loss of appetite, gulma, and internal abscess.
  - One should employ salty urine [therapy], sudation, and hard rubbing. One should also apply [the paste of] mustard and?? fruits mixed with urine.<sup>285</sup>
  - One should eat old ??s, ??, etc. along with uncooked<sup>286</sup> flesh of wild animals and unsalted vegetables that are beneficial.
  - When the phlegm and fat become amply reduced one should again employ the treatment of oil massage, etc. for the patient.

ditions of the wind as stated in the verse.

<sup>284</sup> In H, the verb वर्तते should have been in the dual. Also, the word आस्थिरौ does not make sense. The vulgate has the sensible reading अस्थिरौ which we have accepted here.

<sup>285</sup> The word दिहेत् in H is not a proper Sanskrit word. We have taken its proper form दिह्यात् as given in the vulgate.

<sup>286</sup> The vulgate has the reading अपृतैः that means without ghee.

## Cikitsāsthāna 15: On Difficult Delivery

### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter on fetal malpresentation and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to  $2002.^{287}$  Das made observations about the afterbirth ( $apar\bar{a}$ ) that is mentioned in 4.15.17 (Su 1938: 432).<sup>288</sup> Selby has explored gyencological narratives in ayurveda.<sup>289</sup>

### **Translation**

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

<sup>288</sup> Das 2003: 517.

<sup>289</sup> Selby 2005*a*,*b*.

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

the loosened fetus should be taken out. Or else, if its thighs are adhered to the passage, the bones of the thighs should be cut and fetus is removed.

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



# Kalpasthāna 1: Protecting the King from Poison

#### Introduction

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

The signs of a poisoner, on the other hand, are as follow: dry and dark look on the face, stuttering speech, excessive perspiration and yawning, trembling, stumbling, looking around while speaking, agitation while working, and not remaining in his place.<sup>290</sup>

Next, the text discusses the signs of poison in toothbrushes, in food, drink, massage oil and other items that are likely to come into physical contact with the king. In passages that are again paralleled in the *Arthaśāstra* the work describes how poisoned food kills insects and crackles in a fire, flashing blue and the reactions of various birds to poison are described.<sup>291</sup>

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

<sup>290</sup> *Arthaśāstra* 1.21.8 (Kangle 1965*a*: 1, 30), translation by Olivelle (2013: 97). 291 Cf. *Arthaśāstra* 1.21.6, *ibid.*, Olivelle (2013: 96).

exhibits characteristic signs when added to milk and other drinks.<sup>292</sup> Further forms of poisoning, their symptoms and treatments are described and finally the king is advised to live amongst trusted friends and to protect his heart by drinking various ghee compounds. He should eat the meat and soup made from various animals, including peacock, mongoose, alligator, deer. The chapter ends with the description of an emetic.

#### Literature

A brief survey of this chapter's contents and a detailed assessment of the existing research on it to 2002 was provided by Meulenbeld.<sup>293</sup> Translations of this chapter since Meulenbeld's listing have appeared by Wujastyk (2003*b*: 131–139), P. V. Sharma (1999–2001: 3, 1–15), and Srikantha Murthy (2000–02).<sup>294</sup>

# Manuscript notes

 MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 has foliation letter numerals, for example on f. 323a, that are similar to MS Cambridge CUL Add.1693,<sup>295</sup> dated to 1165 CE.<sup>296</sup>

<sup>292</sup> Cf. *Arthaśāstra* 1.21.6 again.

<sup>293</sup> HIML: IA, 289–290.

<sup>294</sup> For a bibliography of translations to 2002, including Latin (1847), English (1877), Gujarati (1963) and Japanese (1971), see HIML: IB, 314–315.

<sup>295</sup> Scan at cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01693/1.

<sup>296</sup> See Bendall's chart of Nepalese letter-numerals (Bendall 1883: Lithograph V, after p. 225).

#### **Translation**

1–2 And now I shall explain the procedures for safeguarding food and drink, as were declared by the Venerable Dhanvantari.<sup>297</sup>

3 Divodāsa, the king of the earth, was the foremost supporter of religious discipline and virtue. With unblemished instruction he taught his students, of whom Suśruta was the leader.<sup>298</sup>

# [Threats to the king]

- 4–5 Evil-hearted enemies who have plucked up their courage, may seek to harm the king, who knows nothing of it. He may be assailed with poisons by or by his own people who have been subverted, wishing to pour the poison of their anger into any vulnerability they can find.<sup>299</sup>
  - 6 Therefore, a king should always be protected from poison by a physician.
  - 7 The racehorse-like fickleness of men's minds is well known. And for this reason, a king should never trust anyone.<sup>300</sup>
  - 297 MS H adds in the margin अथ खलु वत्स सुश्रुतः "Now begins Vatsa Suśruta." This phrase has been copied here by the scribe from the beginning of the Suśrutasaṃhitā chapter in the sūtrasthāna on the rules about food and drink (1.46.3 (Su 1938: 214)). The scribe presumably felt, not unreasonably, that this section had common subject matter with the present chapter. Further, SS 1.46.3 is the only place in the Nepalese transmission of the Suśrutasaṃhitā that names Dhanvantari and integrates him into the narrative of the Suśrutasaṃhitā as the teacher of Suśruta.
    - The mention of Dhanvantari here is the only other time in the Nepalese transmission that this authority is cited as the source of Ayurvedic teaching, and the unique occurrence of this actual phrase, "as was declared by the Venerable Dhanvantari." See the discussion by Klebanov (2021a: 28–32), who concludes that the earliest recoverable recension of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* may have had the phrase only at this point and not elsewhere in the work. See the further discussion by Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. (2021).
  - 298 This is a quite different statement from the vulgate which has Dhanvantari as the teacher, and calls him the Lord of Kāśī (kāśipati) (Su 1938: 559). Dalhaṇa followed the vulgate but explicitly noted the reading before us with small differences: दिवोदासः क्षितिपतिस्तपोधर्मश्रुताकरः "Divodāsa, the king of the earth, was a mine of traditions about discipline and virtue."
  - 299 Verses about the use of Venemous Virgins as a weapon do not appear in the Nepalese manuscripts. Cf. Wujastyk 2003*b*: 81 f., 132. This material is present in the commentary of Gayadāsa.
  - 300 The verb  $\sqrt{\text{s}}$  svas is conjugated as a first class root in the Nepalese manuscripts.

- 8–11 He should employ a doctor in his kitchen (*mahānasa*) who is respected by experts, who belongs to a good family, is orthodox, sympathetic, not emaciated, and always busy.
- 12–13 The kitchen should be constructed at a recommended location and orientation. It should have a lot of light,<sup>301</sup> have clean utensils and be staffed by men and women who have been vetted.<sup>302</sup>
- 17–18ab The chefs, bearers  $(vo\rlap/qh\bar{a}ra)$ , and makers of boiled rice soups and cakes and whoever else might be there, must all be under the strict control of the doctor.<sup>303</sup>
- 18cd–19ab An expert knows people's body language (*ingita*) through abnormalities in voice, movement and facial expression. He should be able to identify a poisoner by the following signs.
  - Wanting to speak, he gets confused, when asked a question, he never arrives at an answer, and he talks a lot of confused nonsense, like a fool. He laughs for no reason, cracks his knuckles and scratches at the ground. He gets the shakes and glances nervously from one person to another. His face is drained of colour, he is grimy (*dhyāma*) and he cuts at things with his nails.<sup>304</sup> A poisoner goes the wrong way and is absent-minded.
    - I shall explain the signs to look for in toothbrush twigs, in food and drink as well as in massage oil (abhyaṅga) and combs (avalekhana); in dry rubs (utsādana) and showers, in decoctions (kaṣāya) and massage ointment (anulepana); in garlands (sraj), clothes, beds, armour and ornaments; in slippers and footstools, and on the backs of elephants and horses; in nasya (snuff), inhaled smoke (dhūma), eye make-up (añjana), etc., and any other things which are commonly poisoned. Then, I shall also explain the remedy.
      - 28 Flies or crows or other creatures that eat a poisonous morsel (bali)



<sup>301</sup> We read महच्छुचिः with the Nepalese manuscripts and against the vulgate's महच्छुचि. We understand राचिस् as a neuter noun meaning "light" following Apte (Apte: 1050a).

<sup>302</sup> Verses detailing the ideal staff are omitted in the Nepalese manuscripts. Cf. Su 1938: 560; Wujastyk 2003*b*: 132.

<sup>303</sup> The word सौपोदनैकपूपिक "chefs for the boiled rice soups and cakes" is grammatically interesting. The term सूपोदन (as opposed to सूपौदन) is attested in the *Bodhāyanīya-gṛhyasūtra* 2.10.54 (Shastri 1920: 68). More pertinently, perhaps, सूपोदन is attested in the Bower Manuscript, part II, leaf 11r, line 3 (Hoernle 1893–1912: vol. 1, p. 43).

<sup>304</sup> The word ध्याम is glossed by Dalhaṇa (in a variant reading) as someone who is the colour of dirty clothes 5.1 (Su 1938: 560).

- served from the king's portion, die on the spot.
- 29 Such food makes a fire crackle violently, and gives it an overpowering colour like a peacock's throat.
- 30–33 After a chukar partridge looks at food which has poison mingled with it, its eyes are promptly drained of colour; a peacock pheasant drops dead. A koel changes its song and the common crane rises up excitedly.<sup>305</sup> It will excite a peacock and the terrified parakeet and the hill myna screech. The swan trembles very much, and the racket-tailed drongo churrs.<sup>306</sup> The chital deer sheds tears and the monkey releases excrement.<sup>307</sup>
- Vapour rising from tainted food gives rise to a pain in the heart, it makes the eyes roll, and it gives one a headache.<sup>308</sup>
- 35, 36cd In such a case, an errhine and a collyrium that are costus, ??, spikenard and honey (*madhus*);<sup>309</sup> a paste of sandalwood on the heart may also provide relief.<sup>310</sup>
  - 305 The verb अच्छित "rises up" is a rare form best known from epic Sanskrit (see Oberlies 2003: 212, §7.6.1). The transmitted form क्रोञ्च is obviously a colloquial version of Sanskrit क्रोञ्च. Commenting on 1.7.10 (Su 1938: 31), Dalhana interestingly gives the colloquial versions of several Sanskrit bird names, even singling out pronunciation in the specific location of Kānyakubja. For क्रोञ्च he says that people pronounce it कुरञ्ज and कोंचि. The form कोञ्च is found in Pāli (see Cone 2001: 731, who notes that Ardhamāgadhī has the same form). Elsewhere, Dalhana calls the bird क्रोञ्चिर, क्रोञ्चि, and कैचर (1.46.105 (Su 1938: 223), 6.31.154 (Su 1938: 684) and (6.58.44 (Su 1938: 790) respectively).
  - 306 Dalhana seemed confused about the racket-tailed drongo (भृङ्गराज). He called it a generic drongo (भ्रमरक), a word that can also mean "bee," (Dave 1985: 62), and then said that it is like the black drongo (धूम्याट) (for a nice explanation of this name, see Dave 1985: 62–63) and that people call it "the king of birds."
  - 307 MS Kathmandu KL 699 reads "bull (বৃषभ)" for "Chital deer (पृषत)." The latter may perhaps be mistaken for the former in the Newa script, although the reading of MS Kathmandu KL 699 is hard to read at this point.
  - 308 "Tainted" translates उपिक्षप्त. The word's semantic field includes "to hurl, throw against," and especially "to insult verbally, insinuate, accuse." The commentator Dalhaṇa glossed the term as, "spoiled food given to be eaten" (विदूषितस्यान्नस्य भोक्तं दत्तस्य), but he noted that some people read "उखाक्षिप्त" or "thrown into a pan." Other translators have commonly translated it as "served," perhaps influenced by Dalhaṇa's "given (दत्त)."
  - 309 The vulgate supplies another phrase and verb at this point that is not present in the Nepalese transmission, but that makes the text flow more easily.
  - 310 **sing-1972** discussed the difficulties in identifying লামত্র, a plant cited more often in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* than in the *Carakasaṃhitā*; Dalhaṇa adopted the common view that

- Held in the hand, it makes the hand burn, and the nails fall out. In such a case, the ointment (*pralepa*) is beautyberry, velvet-mite, soma and blue water-lily.<sup>311</sup>
- 38–39 If he eats that food, through inattention or by mistake, then his tongue will feel like a pebble  $(aṣṭh\bar{\imath}l\bar{a})$  and it will lose its sense of taste. It stings and burns, and his saliva  $(\acute{s}le਼;man)$  dribbles out.<sup>312</sup> In such a case, he should apply the treatment recommended above for vapour  $(b\bar{a};pa)$ , and what will be stated below under "toothbrush twigs".<sup>313</sup>
  - On reaching his stomach, it causes stupor  $(m\bar{u}rcch\bar{a})$ , vomiting, the hair stands on end, there is distension, a burning feeling and an impairment of the senses.<sup>314</sup>
  - In this case, vomiting must quickly be induced using the fruits of emetic nut, gourd, red gourd, and luffa, taken with milk and watered butter
    - it is a type of *uśīra* or vetiver grass. The grammatical neuter form मधुस् "sweetness" of the Nepalese manuscripts is less common than neuter मधु "honey, sweetness, liquorice."
  - 311 "Beautyberry" (Callicarpa macrophylla Vahl.) is one identification of र्यामा, but vaidyas and commentators have different ideas about the plant's identity (see glossary). On translating इन्द्रगोप as "velvet-mite," see Lienhard 1978. Dalhaṇa's remarks show that he had a reading इन्द्रगोपा before him, and he tries to explain इन्द्रा and गोपा as separate plants. But he also says that some people read इन्द्रगोप. Dalhaṇa curiously parsed the name सोमा (f.) out of the compound; this feminine noun
    - is almost unknown to Ayurvedic literature. Some dictionaries and commentators consider it a synonym for गुड्ची, others for ब्राह्मी or चन्द्रतरु. Dalhaṇa also mentioned that some people think the word refers to the soma creeper (सोमलता), which might explain his choice to take the word as feminine. But the compounded word is far more likely to be सोम (m.), the well-known mystery plant (see Wujastyk 2003b: 76–78, 125). If this can be taken as rue (Ruta graveolens, L.), as some assert, one can point to a pleasing passage in Dioscorides where rue plays an antitoxic role: "...it is a counterpoison of serpents, the stinging of Scorpions, Bees, Hornets and Wasps; and it is reported that if a man be anointed with the juice of the Rue, these will not hurt him; and that the serpent is driven away at the smell thereof when it is burned; insomuch that when the weasel is to fight with the serpent she armeth herself by eating Rue, against the might of the serpent" (cited from Potter: 262; not found in Osbaldeston and Wood 2000).
  - 312 The word সম্বীলা is normally feminine. The Nepalese manuscripts read it with a short अ- ending. Gayadāsa noticed that some manuscripts read সম্বীল with a short -अ ending (MS Bikaner RORI 5157, f. 5v:7–8) and Dalhaṇa reproduced his observation. The vulgate reading "from his mouth (चास्यात्)" is more obvious (*lectio facilior*), but is not attested in the Nepalese manuscripts.
  - 313 Poisoned toothbrushes are discussed in verses 48 ff. below.
  - 314 I translate मूर्च्छा in the light of the metaphors discussed by Meulenbeld (2011), that include thickening and losing consciousness.

milk, or alternatively with rice-water.

Reaching the intestines ( $pakv\bar{a}\acute{s}aya$ ), it causes a burning feeling, stupor, diarrhoea, thirst, impairment of the senses, flatulence ( $\bar{a}\acute{t}opa$ ) and it makes him pallid and thin.

- In such a case, purgation with the fruit of indigo  $(n\bar{\imath}l\bar{\imath})$ , together with ghee, is best. And 'slow-acting poison antidote  $(d\bar{u}\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}vi\bar{\imath}\bar{a}ri)$ ' should be drunk with honey and curds (dadhi).<sup>315</sup>
- When poison is in any liquid substances such as milk, wine or water, there are various streaks, and foam and bubbles form.
- And no reflections are visible or, however, if they can be seen once more, they are distorted, fractured, or tenuous and distorted too.<sup>316</sup>
- 46 Vegetables, soups, food and meat are soggy and tasteless. They seem to go stale suddenly, and they have no aroma.
- 47 All edibles lack aroma, colour or taste. Ripe fruits rapidly rot  $(pra\sqrt{kuth})$  and unripe ones ripen.<sup>317</sup>
- When a toothbrush twig has poison on it, the bristles are corroded and the flesh of the tongue, gums and lips swells up.<sup>318</sup>
- Then, once his swelling is lanced, one should rub (*pratisāraṇa*) it with fire-flame bush flowers jambul, mango stones and chebulic myrobalan fruit mixed with honey.<sup>319</sup>
- 50 Alternatively, the rubbing (*pratisāraṇa*) can be done with either the roots of sage-leaved alangium, the bark of blackboard tree or siris seeds.<sup>320</sup>

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

- 316 Both Nepalese witnesses read विकृत (distorted) twice, which is tautologous. In the first occurrence both read विकृता without proper termination. One might read the sandhi in the second occurrence as or not distorted (vāvikṛtā), but this gives no better sense. The scribe of MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333, apparently the original hand, added in the margin the alternate reading "double (yamalā)" as in the vulgate. Perhaps the scribe too was troubled by the tautology. It is also evidence that he was aware of a witness with variant readings similar to the vulgate. We emend for grammar but retain the lectio difficilior.
- 317 The root  $\sqrt{3}$  एथ् "stink, putrify, rot" is apparently known only from its few uses in the Suśrutasaṃhitā.
- 318 Gayadāsa and Dalhaṇa pointed out that "tooth socket (दन्तवेष्ट)" and "gum (दन्तमांस)" have the same meaning (2.16.14–26 (Su 1938: 331–332)).
- 319 This recipe is different from the vulgate.
- 320 The spelling of the name अङ्कोल varies अङ्कोट, अङ्कोल (GVDB: 5); Dalhaṇa noted that the form अङ्कोल is a colloquialism (1.37.12 (Su 1938: 161)). The sentence is awkward and we have emended शिरीषमाषक to be a plural, as in the vulgate, rather than

I'm still unhappy about this verse.

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

fn about sadyas+

- One should give advice about a poisoned tongue-scraper or mouthwash (*kavala*) in the same way as for a toothbrush twig.

  Massage oil that has been laced with poison is slimy, thick and discol-
- 51cd Massage oil that has been laced with poison is slimy, thick and discoloured.
  - When the massage oil has been contaminated with poison, boils arise, pain, a discharge  $(sr\bar{a}va)$ , inflammation of the skin, and sweating.<sup>321</sup> And the flesh splits open.
- 53–54 In such a case, sandalwood, crape jasmine, costus, and cuscus grass, bamboo leaves, heart-leaved moonseed and heart-leaved moonseed, white clitoria, sacred lotus, and Indian barberry should be made into an ointment (*anulepana*) for the patient, who has been sprinkled with cold water. That is also recommended as a drink with the juice and leaves of wood apple.<sup>322</sup>
  - In the case of a dry rub (*utsādana*), a shower (*parīṣeka*), an infusion, a massage ointment (*anulepana*), or in beds, clothes, or armour, the physician should understand that it is the same as for oil massage (*abhy-aṅga*).<sup>323</sup>
- When a comb has poison in it, the hair falls out, the head aches and blood oozes from the follicles (*kha*) and lumps (*granthi*) appear on the head. In such a case, one should repeatedly apply an ointment of black earth soaked with bear's bile, <sup>324</sup> ghee, beautyberry, <sup>325</sup> black creeper, and amaranth. Good alternatives are either the fluid extract of cow-dung, or the juice of jasmine, the juice of woodrose, or household soot. <sup>326</sup>

Bear's bile instead of deer's bile.

the ablative singular of the Nepalese witnesses. We follow Dalhana in interpreting the compound to refer to the distinctive bean-like siris seeds, rather than to mung beans (5.1.50 (Su 1938: 562)).

<sup>321</sup> The feminine स्फोटा for "boils" is unattested.

<sup>322</sup> This compound could be interpreted as "wood apple juice and cassia cinnamon." Note that this recipe is differs from that of the vulgate, which requires urine.

<sup>323</sup> See verse 52 above.

<sup>324</sup> Dalhaṇa comments here that 'bile is that fluid which goes along inside the tube attached to the liver' (कालखण्डलग्रनलिकामध्यगतजलं पित्तम्) 5.1.57 (Su 1938: 562).

<sup>325</sup> See note 311.

<sup>326</sup> The plant identifications in this passage follow <code>Dalhaṇa's</code> glosses, although he noted a difference of opinion on the identity of woodrose (lit. "mouse-ear").

The expression धूमो वागारसंज्ञितः '...or the smoke termed "house" ' is commonly interpreted by translators and in Ayurvedic dictionaries as 'household soot,' and this does seem to be the meaning, in context. The term was comprehensively discussed by Meulenbeld (2008b: 443). Cf. note 420, p. 145.

If either massage oil for the head, or a helmet for the head, in a wash, turban, or garlands that are contaminated with poison, then one should treat it in the same way as a comb.

60–61 When face make-up is poisoned, the face becomes dark and has the symptoms found with poisoned massage oil. It is covered with spots (kanṭaka) that are like lotus-spots (padminīkanṭaka).<sup>327</sup> In this case, the drink is honey and ghee, and the ointment (pralepa) is sandalwood with ghee, curds, honey, verbena, scarlet mallow and hogweed.<sup>328</sup>

punarṇṇavā in the N & K MSS

- Elephants and the like become ill and they dribble saliva. And the rider gets spots (*sphoṭa*) and a discharge on his scrotum, penis, and rectum. In this case, one prescribes the same therapy as for poisoned massage oil for both the rider and the mount.
- 63cd–65ab When there is poison in snuff (nasya) or smoke, the symptom (linga) is blood coming out of the apertures of the head (kha), a headache, a flow of mucus (kapha) and impairment of the senses.

  In such a case, ghee of cows etc., boiled up with their milk and Himalayan monkshood, is prescribed, with henna, as a cold drink or errhine.

śrita for śrta

- Flowers lose their fragrance and colour, and wilt. On smelling them, he gets a headache and his eyes fill with water. In this case, the treatment is what was proposed above for vapour  $(b\bar{a}spa)$  and that which is traditional for face make-up.
  - When it is in ear-oil, there is degeneration in the ear, and painful swelling. There is also a discharge from the ear and in such a case it needs to be irrigated (*pratipūraṇa*) promptly with ghee and honey. Extracted juice (*svarasa*) of wild asparagus and very cold juice of white cutch tree are also recommended as something good.<sup>329</sup>
    - 69 When poison is mixed in with eye make-up (añjana), he gets tears and rheum (upadeha), with a burning feeling, pain, faulty vision

explain more

<sup>327</sup> See the description of this condition at 2.13.40 (Su 1938: 323), where the skin on the face is characterized as having pale circular patches that are itchy and have spots.

<sup>328</sup> The common plant-name पुनर्नवा is read as पुनर्णवा in both Nepalese witnesses. This unusual form is technically-speaking legal according to Pāṇini 8.4.3, but is not attested in published texts. पुनर्णवा is found rarely in some other Nepalese manuscripts such as the Brahmayāmala (a.k.a. Picumata, 44.81, transcription thanks to Shaman Hatley), and elsewhere (e.g., in Gaṇapatiśāstrī 1920–25: 20, where it is the name of a constellation.

<sup>329</sup> The syntax of the Nepalese version is slightly unclear, but the vulgate has smoothed out the difficulties.

(dṛṣtivibhrama), and possibly even blindness.330

- 70–71 In this case, one must immediately drink ghee and have it also in an eyewash (*tarpaṇa*) with long pepper. One should have an eye ointment (*añjana*) of the juice of periploca of the woods and have the extract (*niryāsa*) of three-leaved caper, wood apple and periploca of the woods and the flower of marking-nut tree.
- 72–73 Because of poisoned slippers there will definitely be a swelling, numbness ( $sv\bar{a}pa$ ), a discharge ( $sr\bar{a}va$ ) and an outbreak of spots (sphota) on the feet. One should clean ( $pra\sqrt{s\bar{a}dh}$ ) footstools together with slippers.
  - Ornaments lose their lustre, and they do not shine as they used to. They damage their respective locations with burning, sepsis  $(p\bar{a}ka)$ , and fissuring  $(avad\bar{a}rana)$ .<sup>331</sup>
- One should apply the stated procedure for massage oil (*abhyanga*) to poisoned slippers and ornaments.
- 75cd–76 In the case of the affliction (*upasarga*) by poison which has been described above, starting from 'vapour' and ending with 'ornaments,' the physician should observe the side-effects (*upadrava*) and then prescribe the therapy called the Great Fragrance (*mahāsugandha*) antidote, which I shall describe.<sup>332</sup>
- 77–78ab He should prescribe it in drinks, liniments ( $\bar{a}lepana$ ), errhines (nasya), and in eye ointment ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ). Also, he should use sharp purgatives and emetics. If bleeding is present, he should have the indicated veins pierced.
- 78cd–79ab If either purging nut or a fern is tied on to the King's wrist, then all food that is mixed with poison will be rendered free of poison.<sup>333</sup>

330 The term translated as "faulty vision" could also mean "rolling eyes." "Eye make-up" is normally made of Indian barberry.

- 331 The reading अवदारुण in MS Kathmandu KL 699 is not attested elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. On "sepsis" for पाक, see Wujastyk 2003b: xlv–xlvi.
- 332 This antidote is indeed described later, in dramatic terms, at 5.6.14–27 (Su 1938: 581). A recipe with eighty-five ingredients including cow's bile, it is praised as chief of all antidotes, one that can drag the patient back from the very jaws of death, from even the poisonous fangs of Vāsuki. A useful survery of the meanings of उप्सर्ग ("affliction") was given by HIML: IB, 332
- 333 In early Ayurvedic literature, the plant স্বাক্রা is mentioned only here and its identity is unknown. It may be a fern of the Nephrodium family, according to T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB:7). Dalhaṇa, on 5.1.78 (Su 1938: 563), cited a description of the two plants from the little-known authority Uśanas (HIML: IA, 660 et passim) who described স্বাক্রা as a white root with spots on it that looks like collyrium when it is

Medical difference from Sharma.

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

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

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

He should always guard his heart when amongst people who are not his friends.<sup>334</sup> Before eating, he should drink the kinds of ghee called "Invincible" and "Immortal".<sup>335</sup> He should drink ghee (*sarpiṣ*), honey, curds (*dadhi*), milk (*payas*), or cold water.

- 81 He should consume monitor lizard, peacock, mongoose, chital deer, and blackbuck too, that destroy poison, and their juices.
- 82 As discerning person should add well-crushed black creeper,<sup>336</sup> liquorice, and sugar to the meats of monitor lizard, mongoose and blackbuck too.
- 83 Add sugar and Himalayan monkshood to peacock flesh, together with ginger. And for meat from a chital deer, he should add long pepper, with ginger.
- 84ab A cold neem broth with honey and ghee is wholesome too.
- 84cd A discerning person should partake of hard and soft foods that counteract poison.<sup>337</sup>
  - 85 If poison might have been drunk, a person who has protected his heart should make himself vomit using long pepper, liquorice, honey, sugar, sugar cane juice, and water.

The first chapter in the Kalpas.

split; when drunk with sandalwood it causes poison to be digested.

<sup>334</sup> The Carakasaṃhitā described "protecting the heart" (हृदयावरण) as drinking several sweet, oily drinks to surround the heart and keep it safe (6.23.46 (Ca 1941: 574)). Dalhaṇa on 5.1.79–81 (Su 1938: 563) explained it as taking a number of anti-toxic medicines, including those listed in the present passage, in order to cover or hide (प्रच्छादन) the heart. Note that the Nepalese version reads the opposite of the vulgate: one should guard one's heart when amongst enemies, not friends. This is far more logical; it is also the reading known to the 1.8.89a (As 1980: 79).

<sup>335</sup> These ghee compounds are described in later chapters: see 5.2.47–49 (Su 1938: 566) and 5.6.13 (Su 1938: 581).

<sup>336</sup> Dalhana on 5.1.82 (Su 1938: 563) equated this with turpeth.

<sup>337</sup> On this expression, see Yagi 1994.

# Kalpasthāna 2: Poisonous Plants

#### Introduction

This section begins with several lists of poisonous plants. The Sanskrit names for these plants are mostly not standard or familiar from anywhere in Sanskrit or ethnobotanical literature. It remains a historical puzzle why these particular names are so difficult to interpret. However, we are not the first to encounter these difficulties. In the twelfth century, the learned commentator on the text, Dalhaṇa, remarked,

In spite of having made the greatest effort, it has been impossible to identify these plants. In the Himalayan regions, Kirātas and Śabaras are able to identify them.<sup>338</sup>

Dalhaṇa also recorded variant readings of these poison names from the manuscripts that he consulted of the lost commentary of Gayadāsa (fl. c. ce 1000). The identities of these poisons have been in doubt for at least a thousand years.<sup>339</sup> Identifications have in many cases been equally impossible for us today.

One path for exploration in this situation is to attempt to reverseengineer some identifications by considering the known toxic plants of India.<sup>340</sup>

<sup>338</sup> After *Suśrutasaṃhitā, kalpasthāna* 2.5 (Su 1938: 564). From the view of Sanskrit authors, Kirāṭas and Śabaras were tribal peoples. The eleventh-century author Bhikṣu Govinda, however, cast his treatise as a dialogue with a Kirāṭa king called Madana who was a master of the alchemical art (HIML: IIA, 620).

<sup>339</sup> See Wujastyk 2003*b*: 80–81.

<sup>340</sup> Valuable reference sources on Indian plant toxicology in general include Pillay 2013; chs. 10, 11 and Barceloux 2008; parts 1.II, 3 and 4.

### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>341</sup>

### **Translation**

- 1 And now I shall explain what should be known about stationary poisons.<sup>342</sup>
- 3 It is said that there are two kinds of poisons, stationary (*sthāvara*) and mobile (*jaṅgama*). The former dwells in ten sites, the latter in sixteen places.
- 4 Traditionally, the ten are: root, leaf, fruit, flower, bark, milky sap  $(k \circ \bar{\imath} ra)$ , pith  $(s \bar{\imath} ra)$ , resin  $(n i r y \bar{\imath} sa)$ , the elements  $(d h \bar{\imath} tu)$ , and the tuber.
- 5 In that context,
  - the eight root-poisons are:343
    - 1. liquorice (?),<sup>344</sup>
    - 2. sweet-scented oleander,<sup>345</sup>
    - 3. jequirity,<sup>346</sup>
    - 4. false daisy,<sup>347</sup>

- 342 No reference is made to Dhanvantari (see Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021). "Stationary" here is a term contrasted with "moving," and signifies plants as opposed to animals and insects.
- 343 Some South Asian plants with poisonous roots that we would have expected to see in this list include *Croton tiglium*, L., *Calotropis* spp., *Citrullus colocynthus* L. Schrad., and *Ricinus communis* L. (CIPP).
- 344 Liquorice eaten in excess can be poisonous, but it is unlikely to be the plant intended here. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 124) noted that the poisonous root mentioned in this passage, "remains to be identified."
- 345 The roots of sweet-scented oleander are highly toxic, as are most parts of the plant (Pillay and Sasidharan 2019).
- 346 Jequirity contains a dangerous toxin called Abrin in its seeds and to a lesser extent in its leaves, but apparently not in its roots or bulb. Abrin is not harmful if eaten, but an infusion of the bruised (not boiled) seeds injected or rubbed in the eyes can be fatal (NK:#6). The dose can be quite small.
- 347 The plant is usually called just *bhaṅgurā* without the prefix *su-* "good." However, there is no reported toxicity associated with *E. prostrata*. The vulgate reads सुगन्धा (snakeroot).

<sup>341</sup> HIML: IA, 290-291.

- 5. (?),<sup>348</sup> and ending with
- 6. leadwort,<sup>349</sup>
- 7. country sarsaparilla (?),<sup>350</sup> and
- 8. medhshingi,<sup>351</sup>
- the leaf-poisons include:
  - aconite leaf (?),
  - drum-giver (?),
  - thorn apple, and
  - big thorn apple;
- the fruits of items like: jequirity, marking-nut tree, and poison-altar (?) are
  - kumudavati (kumadavati)<sup>i</sup>,
  - reņuka (?)ii,
  - kurūkaka (?)iii,
  - 'little bamboo' (venuka) iv,352,
- 348 This poisonous root cannot at present be securely identified. Similar-sounding candidates include <code>karkaṭaka</code>, <code>karahāṭa</code> (emetic nut), and <code>karaghāṭa</code>, but since this is a prose passage, there would be no reason to alter the word to fit a metre. Monier-Williams et al. (MW: 255) cite an unknown lexical source that equates <code>karaṭa</code> (mn.) with safflower (<code>Carthamus tinctorius</code>, L.), but this plant does not have a poisonous root.
- 349 The roots of both rose and white leadwort are very toxic.
- 350 The text reads masculine *ananta*, which is not a plant name. Gayī's commentary on 5.2.5 (Su 1938: 564) noted a variant reading of feminine *anantā* in place of *gargaraka*, earlier in the compound. But the feminine *anantā*, country sarsaparilla, is not a poisonous plant.
- 351 Meulenbeld (1989: 61, n. 3) argued that our text reads a masculine or neuter noun *vijaya*, which never signifies cannabis. However, unlike the vulgate, the unanimous readings of the Nepalese manuscripts give feminine *vijayā*. Nevertheless, even the feminine form only started to signify *Cannabis sativa* L. after the end of the first millennium (Meulenbeld 1989; Wujastyk 2002; McHugh 2021). The *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu* gives a number of synonyms for *vijayā*, almost none of which have any poisonous parts (Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: 5.77, 10.143). But one of them, *viṣāṇī* (also *meṣaśṛṅgī*), is sometimes equated with *Dolichandrone falcata* (*DC*.) *Seemann* (ADPS: 518), a plant used as an abortifacient and fish poison (NK: #862). This identification is tenuous.

352 Not poisonous.

i unknown; see?

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

iii ?: see?

iv Bambusa bambos, Druce?; see NK #307

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

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

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

vii ?; see?

viii ?; see ?

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

x Anthocephalus cadamba, Mig.; see NK #204

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

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

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

xiv unknown; see?

xv unknown; see?

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

xvii Randia dumetorum, Lamk.; see NK #2091

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

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

- munj grass (nārācaka)<sup>xx</sup>;<sup>353</sup>
- the three milky sap  $(k \le \bar{i} r a)$ -poisons are:
  - purple calotropis ( $kumudaghn\bar{i} \rightarrow arka?$ )<sup>xxi</sup>,<sup>354</sup>
  - oleander spurge (*snuhī*)<sup>xxii</sup>, and
  - 'web-milk' (*jālakṣīri*)<sup>xxiii</sup>;
- the two element (*dhātu*)-poisons are:
  - 'foam-stone' (phenāśma) xxiv, and
  - orpiment (*haritāla*)<sup>xxv</sup>;<sup>355</sup>
- the thirteen tuber-poisons are:
  - jequirity (*kālakūṭa*)<sup>xxvi</sup>,<sup>356</sup>
  - wolfsbane (vatsanābha)<sup>xxvii</sup>,

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

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

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

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xx Saccharum bengalense, Retz.?; see NK #2184
xxi Calotropis gigantea, (L.) R. Br.; see ADPS 52, AVS 1.341, NK #427, Potter 63
xxii Euphorbia neriifolia, L., or E. antiquorum, L.; see ADPS 448, AVS (2.388), 3.1, NK
#988, IGP 457b
xxiiiunknown; see ?
xxivunknown; see ?
xxv Arsenii trisulphidum; see NK v. 2, p. 20 ff.
xxviAbrus precatorius, L.? Cf. RRS 21.14.; see AVS 1.10, NK #6, Potter 168.
xxviAconitum napellus, L.; see AVS 1.47, NK #42, Potter 4 f.
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- Indian mustard (sarṣapa) xxviii,
- leadwort  $(p\bar{a}laka \rightarrow citraka)^{xxix}$ ,
- 'muddy' (kardama)<sup>xxx</sup>, the
- 'Virāṭa's plant' (vairāṭaka) xxxi,
- nutgrass (*mustaka*)<sup>xxxii</sup>,
- atis root (śrngīvisa) xxxiii
- sacred lotus (prapuṇḍarīka) xxxiv,
- radish (mūlaka)<sup>xxxv</sup>,
- 'alas, alas' (hālāhala) xxxvi,
- 'big poison' (mahāviṣa) xxxvii, and
- galls (karkata) xxxviii.357

Thus, there are fifty-five stationary poisons.

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

# The effects of poisons

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

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xxviBrassica juncea, Czern. & Coss.; see AVS 1.301, NK #378
xxixPlumbago zeylanica (indica? rosea?), L.; see Rā. 6.124, ADPS 119, NK #1966, 1967
xxx unknown; see ?
xxxiunknown; see ?
xxxiCyperus rotundus, L.; see ADPS 316, AVS 2.296, NK #782
xxxiAconitum heterophyllum, Wall. ex Royle; see AVS 1.42, NK #39
xxxiNelumbo nucifera, Gaertn.; see Dutt 110, NK #1698
xxxxRaphanus sativus, L.; see NK #2098
xxxuinknown; see Cf. Soḍhalanighantu p.43 (sub bola) = stomaka = vatsanābha
xxxuinknown; see ?
xxxxRiius succedanea, L.; see NK #2136
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<sup>357</sup> Leadwort root is a powerful poison. Nutgrass is tuberous, but non-toxic. Atis has highly toxic tuberous roots. Neither sacred lotus nor galls are toxic. The 'alas, alas' poison (\$halahala\$) is the mythical poison produced from the churning of the ocean at the time of creation: it occurs in medical texts such as the present one, and commentators identify it with one or other of the lethal poisons such as wolfsbane or jequirity. Agrawal (1963: 126) makes the intriguing suggestion that the word \$halahala\$, possibly to be identified with Pāṇini's \$hailihila\$ (P.6.2.38), may be of Semitic origin, although his evidence seems uncertain (Steingass (1930: 1506a) cites Persian \$halahil\$ 'deadly (poison)' as a loan from Sanskrit). KEWA: iii.585 also cites a claim for an Austro-Asiatic origin for the word.

writhing, and wheezing (śvāsa).

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

The consumption of poisons from bark, pith  $(s\bar{a}ra)$  and resin  $(niry\bar{a}sa)$  will cause foul breath, hoarseness  $(p\bar{a}ru\bar{s}ya)$ , a headache, and a discharge of phlegm (kapha).<sup>358</sup>

The milky sap  $(k \not s \bar t r a)$ -poisons make one froth at the mouth, cause loose stool, and make the tongue feel heavy.<sup>359</sup> The element  $(dh \bar a t u)$ -poisons give one a crushing pain in the chest, make one faint and cause a burning feeling on the palate.

These poisons are classified as ones which are generally speaking lethal after a period of time.

#### 11-17 Symptoms of tuber poisoning

The tuber-poisons, though, are severe. I shall talk about them in detail. With jequirity  $(k\bar{a}lak\bar{u}\!\!\!/\!\!\!/a)^{xxxix}$ , there is numbness and very severe trembling. With wolfsbane  $(vatsan\bar{a}bha)^{xl}$ , there is rigidity of the neck, and the faeces, and urine become yellow.

With sārṣapa  $(s\bar{a}rṣapa)$ ,<sup>360</sup> the wind becomes defective  $(v\bar{a}tavaiguṇya)$ , there is constipation  $(\bar{a}n\bar{a}ha)$ , and lumps (granthi) start to appear. With leadwort  $(p\bar{a}laka \rightarrow citraka)^{xli}$ , there is weakness in the neck, and speech gets jumbled.<sup>361</sup>

<sup>358</sup> At 1.2.6 (Su 1938: 11), Dalhaṇa glosses hoarseness (*pāruṣya*) as *vāgrūkṣatā*, "a rough, dry voice."

<sup>359</sup> At 6.54.10 (Su 1938: 773), Dalhaṇa glosses loose stool (viḍbheda) as dravapurīṣatā, "having liquid stool."

<sup>360</sup> *Sārṣapa* would normally mean "connected with mustard," and excessive consumption of mustard oil can be harmful. However, the *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu* (156) gives *rakṣoghnā* as a synonym for *sarṣapā*. This can be *Semecarpus anacardium*, L.f., which has some poisonous parts.

<sup>361</sup> The verse in the Nepalese version ends with a plural verb that does not agree with the dual of the sentence subject.

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

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

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

With the one called 'muddy'  $(kardama)^{xlii}$ , there is a discharge (praseka), the faeces pour out, and the eyes turn yellow. The 'Virāṭa's plant'  $(vairāṭaka)^{xliii}$  causes pain in the body and illness in the head. Paralysis of one's arms and legs and trembling are said to be caused by mustaka (mustaka).<sup>362</sup>

- 15b With great aconite (*mahāviṣa*) one's limbs grow weak, there is a burning feeling and swelling of the belly.<sup>363</sup>
- With puṇḍarīka (puṇḍarīka), one's eyes go red, and one's belly becomes distended.<sup>364</sup>
- 16b With mūlaka ( $m\bar{u}laka$ ), one's body is drained of colour and the limbs are paralysed.<sup>365</sup>
- 17a With hālāhala (*Aconite*), a man turns a dark colour (*dhyāma*), and gasps.<sup>366</sup>
- 17b With atis root  $(\acute{s}r\dot{n}g\bar{\imath}v\dot{\imath};a)^{xliv}$ , one gets violent knots (granthi) and stabbing pains in the heart.<sup>367</sup>
- 18a With markaṭa (*monkey*), one leaps up, laughs, and bites.<sup>368</sup>
  - 362 The substitution in MS NAK 5-333 affecting 15cd is caused by an eye-skip to the word *viṣeṇa* in 2.17. *Mustaka* commonly refers to Cyperus rotundus, L.; the root is used in āyurveda but is not poisonous. However other dictionaries list *mustaka* amongst serious poisons, for example *Rājanighaṇṭu* (22 v. 42) and *Rasaratnasamuccaya* 16, v. 80. However, its ancient identity is still doubtful.
  - 363 The poisonous root great poison (*mahāviṣa*) is not clearly identifiable, although *viṣa* is commonly aconite. Verse 6 above notes that there are several kinds of aconite.
  - 364 The word puṇḍarīka very commonly means sacred lotus, Nelumbo nucifera, Gaertn. The entire plant is edible and cannot be the poison intended here. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 252) noted that this poison is unidentified and that it is also listed as a poison in Carakasaṃhitāci.23.12.
  - 365 The word *mūlaka* very commonly means the radish, *Raphanus sativus*, L. The root is edible and cannot be the poison intended here. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 317) noted that this poison is unidentified.
  - 366 Identification of *hālāhala* is uncertain. It may simply be a mythical poison, or its specific identity may have been lost over the centuries. Late *nighaṇṭus* identify it as *stomaka* = *vatsanābha*, i.e., *Aconitum napellus*, L. (*Soḍhalanighantu* p.43). Dalhaṇa on 5.2.17 (Su 1938: 564) interprets our "gasps" as "the man laughs and grinds his teeth." But this gloss is probably displaced and intended to apply to verse 2.18.
  - 367 T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 407) noted that *vatsanābha* and *śṛṅgīviṣa* are two different varieties of poisonous Aconites that are difficult to distinguish.
  - 368 T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 299) said of markata, "an unidentified vegetable

xlii unknown; see?

xliii unknown; see?

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

-> ativișa

Look up the ca. reference.

18b-19a Experts have said that one should know that the thirteen highly potent tuber-poisons, which are mentioned here, have ten qualities (*guṇa*). 19b-20a The ten are:

- dry (rūkṣa),
- hot,
- sharp,
- rarified (*sūkṣma*),
- fast-acting,
- pervasive (vyavāyin),
- expansive (vikāsin),
- limpid (viśada),
- light, and
- indigestible.
- 20b Because of dryness, it may cause inflammation of the wind; because of heat it inflames the choler and blood. Because of the sharpness it unhinges the mind, and it cuts through the connections with the sensitive points (*marman*). Because it is rarified it can infiltrate and distort the parts of the body.<sup>369</sup>
  - Because it is fast-acting it kills quickly, and because of its pervasiveness it affects one's whole physical constitution (prakrti).<sup>370</sup> Because of its expansiveness it enters into the humour (doṣa)s, bodily constituents  $(dh\bar{a}tu)$ s, and even the impurities. Because it is limpid it overflows, and because it is light it is difficult to treat. Because it is indigestible it is hard to eliminate. Therefore, it causes suffering for a long time.
  - Any poison that is instantly lethal, whether it be stationary, mobile, or artificial, will be known to have all ten of these qualities.

# Slow-acting poison

25cd–26 A poison that is old or destroyed by anti-toxic medicines, or else dried up by blazing fire, wind, or sunshine, or which has just lost its qualities

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

<sup>369</sup> We read the active *vikaroti* with Dalhana against the transmitted passive *vikriyeta*, since it must be the parts of the body that are distorted, not the poison.

<sup>370</sup> Dalhaṇa on 5.2.22 (Su 1938: 565) explained this as "takes the form of pervading the whole body (akhiladehavyāptirūpam)."

- by itself,<sup>371</sup> becomes a slow-acting poison  $(d\bar{u}$ , $\bar{s}$  $\bar{v}$ i, $\bar{s}$ a).<sup>372</sup> Because it has lost its potency it is no longer perceived. Because it is surrounded by phlegm (kapha) it has an aftermath that lasts for a very long time.
- 27 If he is suffering from this, the colour of his stools changes, he gets sourness and a bad taste with great thirst. Stammering and close to death, wandering about, he may feel faint, giddy, and aroused.<sup>373</sup>
- 28 If it lodges in his stomach (āmāśaya), he becomes sick because of wind and phlegm; if it lodges in his intestines (pakvāśaya), he becomes sick because of wind and choler. A man's hair and limbs fall away and he looks like a bird whose wings have been chopped off.
- 29a–c If it lodges in one of the body tissues such as chyle (*rasa*), it causes the diseases arising from the body tissues, that have been said to be wrong.<sup>374</sup> and it rapidly becomes inflamed on days that are nasty because of cold and wind.
- 29d–31 Listen to its initial symptoms (*linga*): it causes heaviness due to sleep, yawning, disjunction (*viśleṣa*) and horripilation (*harṣa*) and a bruising of the limbs (*aṅgamarda*).<sup>375</sup> Next, it causes intoxication from food (*annamada*) and indigestion, loss of appetite (*arocaka*), the condition of having a skin disease (*koṭha*) with round blotches (*maṇḍala*),<sup>376</sup> dwindling away (*kṣaya*) of flesh, swelling of the feet, hands, and face, the fever called *pralepaka*, vomiting and diarrhoea.<sup>377</sup> The slow-acting poison might cause wheezing, thirst and fever, and it might also cause distension of the abdomen.
  - These various disorders are of many different types: one poison may produce madness, while another one may cause constipation  $(\bar{a}n\bar{a}ha)$ , and yet another may ruin the semen. One may cause emaciation, while

<sup>371</sup> Dalhana specified that this refers to the ten qualities that are mentioned above (5.2.26 (Su 1938: 565)).

<sup>372</sup> Dalhaṇa cited this verse at 1.46.83 (Su 1938: 222) while explaining dūṣīviṣa.

<sup>373</sup> Similar symptoms of slow-acting poison are described at 2.7.11–13 (Su 1938: 296) in the context of contamination dropsy (*duṣyodara*). This this may explain why the vulgate inserted reference to this disease at this point.

<sup>374</sup> The expression *ayathāyathoktān* "stated to be unsuitable" is hard to understand here, but is clearly transmitted in the Nepalese version.

<sup>375</sup> Palhaṇa 5.2.30ab (Su 1938: 565) glossed "disjunction" as the loss of function of the joints in regard to movement.

<sup>376</sup> The last ailment could perhaps be ringworm.

<sup>377</sup> The *pralepaka* fever was described by Dalhana, at 6.39.52 (Su 1938: 675), as an accumulation of phlegm in the joints. Its symptoms are described in 6.39.54

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

#### 34- The stages of toxic shock

In the first shock of having taken a stationary poison, a person's tongue becomes dark brown and stiff, he grows faint, and panics.

- In the second, he trembles, feels exhausted, has a burning feeling, as well as a sore throat. When the poison reaches the stomach  $(\bar{a}m\bar{a}\hat{s}aya)$ , it causes pain in the chest (hrd).
- In the third,his palate goes dry, he gets violent pain  $(\dot{sula})$  in the stomach  $(\bar{a}m\bar{a}\dot{s}aya)$ , and his eyes become weak, swollen and yellow.
- In the fourth shock, it causes the intestines and stomach to be exhausted  $(s\bar{a}da)$ , he gets hiccups, a cough, a rumbling in the gut (antra), and his head becomes heavy too.
- In the fifth he dribbles phlegm (*kapha*), goes a bad colour, his ribs crack (*parśvabheda*), all his humours are irritated, and he also has a pain in his intestines (*pakvādhāna*).
- 39a In the sixth, he loses consciousness and he completely loses control of his bowels.
- 39b In the seventh, there are breaks in his shoulders, back and loins, and he stops breathing.<sup>378</sup>

#### Remedies for the stages of slow poisoning

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

<sup>378</sup> Here at 5.2.24 (Su 1938: 566) Dalhaṇa glossed sannirodha as "complete cessation, i.e., of breath" (sannirodhaḥ samyannirodhaḥ, ucchvāsasya iti śeṣaḥ). The manuscripts all read skanda where skandha must be intended; this confusion is known from Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Edgerton 1953: 2, 608).

- on the third, drink an antidote and a beneficial nasal medicine (nasya) as well as an eye salve ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ).
- In the fourth, the physician should make him drink an antidote that is salt with a little oil.<sup>379</sup>
- In the fifth, he should be prescribed the antidote together with a decoction  $(kv\bar{a}tha)$  of honey and liquorice.
  - In the sixth, the cure (siddhi) is the same as for diarrhoea. And in the seventh, he perishes.<sup>380</sup>
  - In between any one of these shocks, once the above treatment has been done, he should give the patient the following cold gruel  $(yav\bar{a}g\bar{u})$  together with ghee and honey, that will take away the poison.
- 45–46 A gruel  $(yav\bar{a}g\bar{u})$  made of the following items in a stewed juice  $(ni\hbar k v\bar{a}tha)$  destroys the two poisons: luffa gourd, wild celery, well velue leaf, sunflower, heart-leaved moonseed, myrobalan siris, and selu
  - 379 At 6.52.30 (Su 1938: 769) Dalhana noted that *sindhu* can be interpreted as salt (*saindhava*).
  - 380 The vulgate text here is quite different, recommending that the patient have medicated powder blown up his nose. It may be possible to detect the evolution of the Nepalese अवसीदेत् to the vulgate's अवपीड्य. The vulgate version is hard to construe, and we see Dalhana struggling to interpret it in his commentary on 5.2.43ab (Su 1938: 566). This sternutatory is, however, recommended in the Nepalese version at 5.5.30ab (Su 1938: 576), for the seventh shock of poisoning by a striped snake (rājimat). It is possible the text migrated from that location to this.

    Another difference at this point is that the Nepalese version also does not support
    - Another difference at this point is that the Nepalese Version also does not support the vulgate's passage on the crow's foot ( $k\bar{a}kapada$ ) therapy (Wujastyk 2003b: 145, n. 106). The same is the case at 5.5.24 (Su 1938: 575) and the clear description at 5.5.45 (Su 1938: 577), in neither of which is the therapy supported in the Nepalese version. This therapy seems unknown to the Nepalese transmission. The therapy may have migrated into the vulgate  $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$  from the  $Carakasamhit\bar{a}$  6.23.66–67 (Ca 1941: 574).
  - 381 At 4.10.8 (Su 1938: 449) Dalhaṇa glossed कोशवती as देवदाली and at 4.18.20 (Su 1938: 472) as कटुकोशातकी, vocabulary pointing to Cucumis cylindrica, Cucumis actangula or Luffa echinata. See glossary under luffa.
  - 382 A plant often cited in <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code>, but rarely in <code>Carakasaṃhitā</code> (GVDB: 4). Dalhaṇa glossed it here, 5.2.45 (Su 1938: 566), as <code>ajamodā</code>, wild celery, but noted that others consider it to be <code>moraṭa</code>, rajmahal hemp. There is considerable complexity surrounding the identification of <code>moraṭa/mūrvā</code> and related synonyms (GVDB: 314-316). Taking <code>agnika</code> as a short reference to <code>agnimantha</code>, often identified as migraine tree, might be plausible, since that is antitoxic or anti-inflammatory, but such a short reference is not known elsewhere.
  - 383 At 5.2.45 (Su 1938: 566) Dalhaṇa said that this plant has leaves like the *paṭola*, pointed gourd, T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 280, 443) argued plausibly that this is a syn-

plum, white siris, the two kinds of turmeric,<sup>384</sup> and the two kinds of poison berry,<sup>385</sup> hogweed, peas, the three heating spices, the two kinds of Indian sarsaparilla<sup>386</sup> and blue water-lily.

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

<sup>384</sup> I.e., turmeric and Indian barberry.

<sup>385</sup> I.e., poison berry and yellow-berried nightshade.

<sup>386</sup> I.e., country sarsaparilla and black creeper.

# The invincible ghee

There is a famous ghee called "Invincible" (*ajeya*). It rapidly destroys all poisons but is itself unconquered. It is prepared with a mash (*kalka*) of the following plants: liquorice, crape jasmine, costus, deodar, peas, Indian madder, cardamom and cherry, cobra's saffron, blue water-lily, sugar, embelia, sandalwood, cassia cinnamon, beautyberry, rosha grass, the two turmerics,<sup>387</sup> the two Indian nightshades,<sup>388</sup> the two kinds of Indian sarsaparilla,<sup>389</sup> beggarweed, and heart-leaf sida.

# Curing the 'slow-acting' poison

- 50–52 Someone suffering from "slow-acting poison  $(d\bar{u}_{\bar{s}}\bar{t}vi_{\bar{s}}a)$ " should be well sweated, and purged both top and bottom. Then he should be made to drink the following eminent antidote which removes "slow-acting poison:"
  - Take long pepper, rosha grass, spikenard, lodh tree, cardamom, natron, scented pavonia, red chalk, as well as gold, and pondweed.
  - This antitoxin, taken with honey, eliminates slow-acting poison. It is called the "enemy of slow-acting poison  $(d\bar{u}_{\bar{s}\bar{l}}vi_{\bar{s}}\bar{a}ri)$ ," and it is not prohibited in other situations.
- If there are any other side-effects (*upadrava*), such as fever, a burning feeling, hiccups, constipation (*ānāha*), depletion of the semen, distension, diarrhoea, fainting, skin problems, bellyache (*jaṭhara*), madness, trembling, then one should treat each one in its own terms, using antitoxic medicines.
  - For a prudent person, the slow-acting poison can be cured  $(s\bar{a}dhya)$  immediately. It is treatable  $(y\bar{a}pya)$  if it is of a year's standing. Other than this, it should be avoided for the person who eats unwholesome things.

<sup>387</sup> I.e., turmeric and Indian barberry.

<sup>388</sup> I.e., poison berry and yellow-berried nightshade.

<sup>389</sup> I.e., country sarsaparilla and black creeper.

# Kalpasthāna 3: Poisonous Insects and Animals

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>390</sup>

#### **Translation**

- 1 And now we shall explain the rule (*kalpa*) that is the required knowledge about mobile poisons.<sup>391</sup>
- 3 The full explanation about the sixteen carriers (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the mobile poisons, that have been mentioned by me in brief, will be stated.<sup>392</sup>
- 4 In that context, they are:<sup>393</sup>
  - gaze and breath,
  - teeth, nails, and bites
  - urine and faeces,
  - menstrual blood,

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

390 HIML: IA, 291-292.

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

<sup>391</sup> In contrast to stationary, plant poisons. No reference is made to Dhanvantari (see Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021).

<sup>392 &</sup>quot;Carrier" for base, foundation (*adhiṣṭhāna*) aims to capture the idea that the author will describe the creatures in which poisons inhere.

<sup>393</sup> The content of this section is presented as a table, for clarity for the contemporary reader and mindful of the theoretical issues surrounding notational variation, including the "symbolic rewriting" and the modification of "expressive capacities" discussed by Sarukkai (2016: 321 ff). For further discussion, see Wujastyk 2021a: 81–83.

<sup>394</sup> This interpretation comes from Dalhana on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567), but he reads विशर्धित.

(mukhasamdamśā),

- fart (avaśardhita),<sup>394</sup>
- anus,<sup>395</sup>
- bones,
- 5 In that context,

- bile,
- bristles (śūka), and
- corpses.

location of the poison	creatures <sup>396</sup>
in their breath and gaze	divine snakes
in their fangs	the ones on earth <sup>397</sup>
in their nails, mouths and fangs	cats, dogs, monkeys, men $(nara)$ , $^{398}$ crocodiles, frogs, 'cook-fish' $(p\bar{a}kamatsya)$ , $^{399}$ monitor lizards, cone snails $(\acute{s}amb\bar{u}ka)$ , 'poisonous snakes' $(pracal\bar{a}ka)$ , $^{400}$ geckos $(grhagodik\bar{a})$ , $^{401}$ four-footed insects and others
in their urine and faeces	lice (kiṭipa), 'flat insects' (picciṭā), 'orange-dwellers' (kaṣāyavāsika), 'pepper snakes' (sarṣapaka), 'angry beetles' (toṭaka), dung beetles (varcaḥkīṭa), and 'pot insects' (kauṇḍinya)
in their semen	mice

<sup>395</sup> Dalhana on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567) noted this reading.

<sup>396</sup> Many of these names are mere dubious placeholders.

<sup>397</sup> Dalhaṇa on 5.3.5 (Su 1938: 567) cited the otherwise unknown authority Sāvitra on the topic of poisonous snakes (HIML: ???, ???).

<sup>398</sup> Probably dittography from the previous word, monkey ( $v\bar{a}nara$ ). But it is supported in both Nepalese witnesses, so it must go back to an earlier exemplar.

<sup>399</sup> MS KL 699 separates the words पाक and मत्स्य with a daṇḍa, indicating that the scribe thought they were separate terms. Dalhaṇa thought this was a kind of fiery insect (5.3.5 (Su 1938: 567)).

<sup>400</sup> *Arthaśāstra* 14.1.14, 23 (Olivelle 2013: 448), where it might also be a chameleon, but the latter are not venomous.

<sup>401</sup> The scribe of MS NAK 5-333 noted in the margin that some of his sources read गल-गोडिका, which is the name of a snake known also in the *Carakasaṃhitā* and elsewhere in literature. Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (4.364) mentions that गृहगोधिका and गृहगोलिका are synonyms (Rādhākāntā Deva 1876: 691a, sub māṇikyā).

location of the poison	creatures
in their stings (śūla)	scorpions, 'earth scorpions' (viśvambhara), wasps (varaki),402 fish, crabs (ucciţinga), and 'wing-scorpions' (patravṛścika)
in their saliva, nails, urine, feces, blood, semen and fangs	spiders
in the bites of their mouths	flies, wasps (kaṇabha) and leeches
in the bites of their mouths, in their fangs, faces, †, farts, anuses and feces	'speckle-heads' (citraśīrṣa), 'lids' (śārava), 'bellied' (kukṣita), 'wood-enemies' (dārukāri), 'liquors' (medaka), and 'darts' (śārikā).

Table 2: Passage 5, expressed in tabular format.

- 6 The enemies of the king pollute the waters, roads and foodstuffs in enemy territory. The experienced physician, who has learned how to purify things, should clean up those polluted things.
- Polluted water is slimy and smells of tears.<sup>403</sup> It is covered with froth and covered with streaks. The frogs and fish die, the birds are crazed and, along with the wetland creatures, they wander about aimlessly.
- 8 Men, horses and elephants who swim in it experience vomiting, delusion, fever, swelling and sharp pains.<sup>404</sup> He should try to purify that

<sup>402</sup> वरटी is a wasp; वरिक in the Nepalese MSS may be an alternant of this word. Dalhana on 5.3.5 (Su 1938: 568) remarked that some interpreted वरिकमत्स्य as two items, "wasp and fish," others as a single one, "wasp-fish."

<sup>403</sup> अस normally means "tears," but rarely means "blood."

<sup>404</sup> On the polysemy of elephant/snake (*nāga*), see Semeka-Pankratov 1979.

- polluted water, after curing their ailments.
- 9 And so, he should burn axlewood and garjan oil tree, as well as corky coral tree, with crimson trumpet-flower tree and small-flowered crape myrtle and weaver's beam tree, and with golden shower tree and white cutch tree. Then he should sprinkle that ash, cold, on the waters.
- And in the same way, putting a handful of the ash in a pot, one may also purify water that one wants.

  If any one of the limbs of cows, horses, elephants, men or women, touch a place on the ground that enemies have spoiled with poison, or a ford or rock or a flat surface, then it swells up and burns and its hair and nails fall out on that place.
  - In that situation, he should grind up country sarsaparilla together with all the aromatic items, with alcoholic drinks. And then he should sprinkle the paths that need to be used with waters mixed with mud.<sup>406</sup> And if there exists another path, he should go by that.<sup>407</sup>
  - When grasses and foods are polluted, people collapse, fall unconscious. And others vomit. They get loose stool (*viḍbheda*) or they die. One should apply to them the therapy as described.
- Alternatively, one should wipe various musical instruments with antidotes that remove poison and then play them. What is called the most excellent paste for a musical instrument is certain minerals<sup>408</sup> together with gold and sarsaparilla, and a portion of of nutgrass equal to that,

<sup>405 &</sup>quot;Swells up" translates an unclear reading that was probably शूयित, which may be an irregular form of  $\sqrt{2}$ , श्वा, श्वि (see Whitney 1885: 175–176).

<sup>406</sup> Our "alcoholic drinks" translates सुरा. For a discussion of this term at our period see mchu-2021a.

<sup>407</sup> Dalhana on 5.3.12 (Su 1938: 568) cited a similar reading for the fourth pāda, but with a negative particle, "and if there is no other way, one should go by that."

<sup>408 &</sup>quot;Certain minerals" translates तारावितार, the unanimous reading of the Nepalese witnesses. But the meaning of this expression is not clear and may even refer to plants, like the other ingredients. The vulgate reads तारः सुतारः, which is also not very clear. However, Dalhaṇa on 5.3.14 (Su 1938: 568) identified these as "silver" and "mercury." This is highly unlikely to be a correct understanding of the passage. Historically, mercury is not naturally present in the South Asian peninsula (Watt<sub>Dict</sub>: 5, 233) and the word पारद that Dalhaṇa used is probably a loan-word from Persian (sub paranda, parranda Steingass 1930: 244b). Mercurial compounds are not reliably attested in South Asia until two or three centuries after the composition of the Suśrutasaṃhitā at the earliest. The currently available "śāstric" recension of the Arthaśāstra that is datable to 175–300 CE (Olivelle 2013: 29–31) does not mention mercury (ibid, 534). See further the study by Wujastyk (2013a: 17, et passim).

together with the bile called "brown cow".<sup>409</sup> By the sound of the musical instrument, even terrible poisons that may be present at that place are destroyed.

- 16 If there is smoke or wind that is affected by poison then birds are dazed and fall to the ground. People get coughs, colds, and head illnesses, and acute eye diseases.<sup>410</sup>
- 17 The smoke and air can be purified by putting into the air: lac, turmeric, Himalayan monkshood, and myrobalan, with Himalayan mayapple, costus, cardamom,<sup>411</sup> and peas, and beautyberry.

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

# The origin of poison

- As it is told, the arrogant demon called Kaiṭabha created an obstacle for lotus-born Brahmā, at the very time that he was creating these creatures.<sup>412</sup>
- 19 Pitiless Fury took a body and burst out of the mouth of furious Brahmā's store of fiery energy.<sup>413</sup>
- 20 He burned that great, thundering, apocalyptic demon. Then, after bringing about the annihilation of that demon, his amazing fiery energy increased.
- And so, there was a sinking down  $(vi \circ \bar{a}da)$  of the Daityas. Observing that, it was named "poison  $(vi \circ a)$ " because of it's ability to produce a "sinking down."
- 22 After that, the Lord created beings and subsequently made that fury enter into creatures still and moving.
- 23–24 Water that falls from the sky to the earth has no obvious flavour. The savour of the different places it lands on enters into it. In the same way,

<sup>409</sup> सुरेन्द्रगोप and कुरुविन्द are both uncertain, see index. Dalhana's opinion has been followed here, but it seems fair to say that all commentators were guessing.

<sup>410</sup> The syntax of this verse is somewhat loose; the vulgate has regularized it, smoothing out the difficulties.

<sup>411</sup> 

<sup>412</sup> At this point, the text seems to make a new beginning to the topic of toxicology, as if starting a new chapter. It is notable that no reference is made here to the famous origin story of poison in the churning of the primal milk ocean; for discussion of the sources of this account, see Bedekar 1967. For reflections on this passage, connecting it with Rudra and the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, see Mānasa-taraṅgiṇī 2019.

<sup>413 &</sup>quot;Fury" is here anthropomorphised.

- whatever substance a poison reaches, it establishes itself there and by its nature it takes on that substance's savour.<sup>414</sup>
- Generally speaking, in a poison, all the qualities are really sharp. For this reason, every poison is known to irritate all of the humours.
- 26 Irritated and afflicted by the poison, they leave their natural functions. Poison does not get digested, so it blocks the breaths.<sup>415</sup>
- 27 Breathing is obstructed because its pathway is blocked by phlegm. Even if life continues, a man remains without consciousness.
- Similar to semen, the poison of all angry snakes pervades the whole body, and goes to the limbs like semen because of being stirred up.
- The fang of snakes is like a hook. When it gets there, it sticks inside them. That is why the unagitated poison of a snake is not released.
- 30 Sprinkling with very cold water is traditional for all cases of poisoning, because poison is declared to be extremely hot and sharp.<sup>416</sup>
- Poison in insects is slow and not very hot, having a lot of wind and phlegm. So in cases of insect poisoning, sweating is not forbidden.
- 32cd In cases of a strike or a bite, the poison may, of its own accord, stay there.
- 33–35ab tHaving come upon a body,<sup>417</sup> in the case of corpses that that have been pierced by a poisoned arrow and bitten by a snake, someone who eats the poisoned flesh of a recent corpse out of carelessness will suffer with illness according to the poison, or even die. And therefore, the flesh of those should not be eaten when they have just died.
  - It is admissable after three quarters of an hour, but without the poisoned arrow and the snakebite.
  - [At this point an Upajāti verse is added in the margin of K but is not fully legible; the version of the text in H is also incomplete and not fully comprehensible.]  $^{418}$

<sup>414</sup> The scribal emendation in MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 of नियच्छित to निगच्छित suggests that the scribe had more than one manuscript before him, one of them representing the reading of the vulgate recension.

<sup>415</sup> Probably a reference to the five breaths. Dalhana referred to winds (বার), but this does not seem correct since it is a reference to humours rather than breaths.

<sup>416</sup> The verb पठ् "is declared, read aloud" here could possibly suggest that the author is working within a written, not oral, tradition.

<sup>417 &</sup>quot;Having come upon" translates प्रख्याप्य, which is hard to interpret unless it is a rare form connected with the sense "to see."

<sup>418</sup>  $M\bar{a}$ dhavanidāna, 69.20–21 (MN<sub>1</sub>: 480) has verses that are directly parallel to this section:

darvīkarānām visam āśughāti sarvāni cosne dvigunībhavanti ajīrņapittātapapīditesu bālesu

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

419

- 35.1 [ślokas in the MSS that aren't in the vulgate. The first line doesn't scan. Witness K adds a part of the start of this in the bottom margin. This material is repeated at 3.39.2 in MS H. ]
- 35cd & 36cd One designates a person who has diarrhoea of feces looking like soot  $(grhadh\bar{u}ma)$  with wind, 420 and who vomits foam, as "someone who has drunk poison."
  - 37 Therefore, fire burns a heart that is pervaded by poison. For, having pervaded of its own accord the location of consciousness, it abides.<sup>421</sup>

### Patients beyond help

- Patients who should not be accepted include: those who have been bitten under a peepul tree, in a temple, in a cemetery, at an ant-hill, at dawn or dusk, at a crossroads, under Yama's asterism, <sup>422</sup> under the Great Bear and people who have been bitten in lethal spots.
- The poison of cobras kills rapidly. They all gain twice the intensity in those who have indigestion, those who are afflicted by bile or wind, old people, children and the hungry.
- 39.1 In those whose who are mad or intoxicated, or who suffer from anxiety, or who are unable to tolerate its various strengths, it becomes sharp. †...

39.2

vrddheşu bubhukşiteşu 20

kṣīṇakṣate mohini kuṣṭhayukte rūkṣe 'bale garbhavatīṣu cāpi

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

- 419 At this point, witness H inserts a marginal Indravajrā verse about diseases that afflict immoral women.
- 420 गृहध्म is not a plant in this context pace MW: 362. See the discussion in note 326, p. 120.
- 421 Dalhaṇa said that someone who has died from drinking poison has a heart that cannot be burned because it is pervaded by poison (5.3.37 (Su 1938: 570)). But the sense of the Nepalese MSS is the opposite.
- 422 याम्ये means "southerly" but Dalhana on 5.3.38 (Su 1938: 570) interpreted it as "in Yama's direction" as "under the seventh asterism."

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

- 3.4ocd–3.41 One should reject someone overcome by poison who does not bleed when cut with a knife, where weals do not appear as a result of lashes,<sup>423</sup> or where there is no horripilation because of cold water, whose mouth is crooked, whose hair is falling out of his head. A man who is fatigued and those who stammer,<sup>424</sup>
  - 3.42 one who has a black and red swelling at the site of the bite, with lockjaw, should be avoided. The same goes for someone who has a solid plug emerge from their mouth and someone who has blood running from above and below and
  - 3.43ab The physician should also avoid a person who has fangs that have not fallen out quickly.<sup>425</sup>

<sup>423</sup> Dalhaṇa, on 5.3.40 (Su 1938: 570), glossed लताभिस् "by means of whips," as "when the body is struck by whips."

<sup>424</sup> nāsāvasāda & plural sakanthabhangāh

<sup>425</sup> The grammatical verb-form परिवर्जयीत "he should avoid," opt., 3rd, sg., is unusual. Renou (1940:10 ff) documented such forms from the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* onwards. Oberlies (2003: ¶6.3.3 "Peculiar optative endings", pp. 176–177) showed that the form is well-documented in *manuscripts* of the *Mahābhārata*, but has been edited out of the printed critical edition in almost all cases. Cf. also Kulikov 2006.

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

## Kalpasthāna 4: Snakes and Invenomation

### Introduction

The fourth chapter of the Kalpasthāna of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* addresses the topic of snake bites and snake venom. Unusually for the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, the discussion is framed as a question from Suśruta to the wise Dhanvantari. Suśruta's questions are about the number of snakes, how they are classified, the symptoms of their bites and the pulses or stages of toxic shock experienced by a victim of snakebite and related topics. The taxonomy of snakes is presented in tabular form in Figures 1 and 2.426

### Literature

A brief survey of this chapter's contents and a detailed assessment of the existing research on it to 2002 was provided by Meulenbeld.<sup>427</sup> There also exists an substantial herpetological literature from colonial India as well as more recent studies of snakes in the context of cultural and religious life.

The ophiological literature of the colonial period began in the late nineteenth century with the work of Fayrer, whose publication included striking colour paintings of snakes.<sup>428</sup> Fayrer provided a biological taxonomy

<sup>426</sup> On the idea of notational variants in scientific translation, see Elshakry 2008; Sarukkai 2016; Wujastyk 2021*a*: 81–83.

<sup>427</sup> HIML: IA, 292–294. In addition to the translations mentioned by Meulenbeld (HIML: IB, 314–315), a translation of this chapter was included in P. V. Sharma 1999–2001: 3, 35–45. The classic work of Jolly (1951: ¶93) offered a short but accurate overview of Indian toxicology.

<sup>428</sup> Fayrer 1874, first published in 1872.

of snakes as well as chapters on mortality statistics during the nineteenth century, treatment and effects of poison, and experimental data. Ewart (1878) included descriptions of appearance and behaviour of poisonous snakes and sometimes their local names and reproducing Fayrer's illustrations. Wall (1913: 75–124) provided a useful analysis of the medical effects of snake envenomation in India arranged by the varied symptomology of different snakes. He also discussed the difference between the symptoms of toxicity and fright (69–75) and also the difficulties arising out of uncertainty about the effects of snake-bite (124–126). The *Suśrutasaṃhitā* too recognized the emotional and somatic effects of fright (see note 445 below). Wall (1921) provided a wealth of detail of the snakes of Sri Lanka, including line drawings.

Doniger (2015) provided a good survey of snakes as protagonists in religious literature from the *Atharvaveda* through the epics, *Purāṇas* and Buddhist literature. Semeka-Pankratov (1979) traced semiotics of the term *nāga* through Vedic, Pali and Sanskrit literature. Slouber (2016a: 31–33 *et passim*) discussed the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*'s *Kalpasthāna* as a precursor and influence on later Tantric traditions of snake-bite interpretation and therapy. In particular, the Tantric *Kriyākālaguṇottara* text that Slouber presented divided snakes into two basic categories, divine and mundane, as the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* does.<sup>430</sup> But unlike the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, in the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* the chief taxonomic principle for both groups is the four *varṇas*.

A discussion of this chapter specifically in the light of the Nepalese manuscripts was published by Harimoto.<sup>43¹</sup> After a close comparative reading of lists of poisonous snakes, Harimoto concluded that, "the Nepalese version is internally consistent while the [vulgate] editions are not." Harimoto showed how the vulgate editions had been adjusted textually to smooth over inconsistencies, and gave insights into these editorial processes.<sup>43²</sup>

<sup>429</sup> Calling his work a supplement to Fayrer (1874), but also being cited by Fayrer, Ewart 1878 evidently also collected local indigenous knowledge from his "snakeman" (p. 22).

<sup>430</sup> Slouber 2016a: 144-145.

<sup>431</sup> Harimoto 2011: 101–104.

<sup>432</sup> The two editions that Harimoto noted, Su 1938 and Su 1889, present identical texts.

### The Seven Stages of Toxic Shock

A prominent feature the  $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}'s$  interpretation of envenomation symptoms is the concept of seven successive stages or pulses (vega) of toxic shock after a bite. This is interestingly coordinated with the  $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}'s$  concept of the  $kal\bar{a}s$ , which are either seven layers of skin that come into existence during embryonic development or seven interstitial tissues that separate the various parts of the body.

Contemporary clinical studies of snake envenomation and treatment do not show any awareness of such a seven-stage symptomology of traditional Indian medicine.<sup>434</sup> Exceptionally, the studies by Barceloux and Özbulat et al., do identify and tabulate three stages of envenomation.<sup>435</sup> The symptoms of these three stages are mainly characterized by increasing degrees of edema. This differs from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*'s detailed characterization of changes in skin colour etc.<sup>436</sup>

### **Translation**

- 1 Now we shall explain the procedure (*kalpa*) that is what should be known concerning the venom in those who have been bitten by snakes.<sup>437</sup>
- 3 Suśruta, grasping his feet, questions the wise Dhanvantari, the expert in all the sciences.

<sup>433</sup> The system of the কলা is described at 4.4.4–20 (Su 1938: 355–357). Cf. Mahākośa: 1, 183–184, Śabdasindhu: 227–228, Kutumbiah 1962: 6, HIML: 1, 247–248 and notes. This system of dermal and interstitial কলা was not known to the Carakasaṃhitā as such; rather, the Carakasaṃhitā mentioned six kinds of skin (অঘ্) (4.7.4 (Ca 1941: 337)), with different names and characteristics, a contradiction discussed by the commentator Cakrapāṇidatta (idem). It appears in later works such as the fourteenth-century Śārngadharasaṃhitā (1.1.60 (P. Śāstrī 1931: 15)).

<sup>434</sup> E.g., Ellenhorn 1997; Weinstein et al. 2009; Pillay 2013: 1747–1749; WHO 2019: 19; Mehta and Sashindran 2002; Hamza et al. 2021; A. M. Deshpande et al. 2022.

<sup>435</sup> Barceloux 2008: 1017, Table 176.3, and Özbulat et al. 2021: 7, and Table 1, broadly following Barceloux.

<sup>436</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Jan Gerris (U. Ghent) and Prof. Jan Tytgat (KU Leuven) for assistance in finding relevant toxicological literature.

<sup>437</sup> The Sarvāngasundarī, commenting on Aṣṭāngahṛdayasaṃhitā 1.16.17 (Ah 1939: 246), glossed कल्प as प्रयोग.

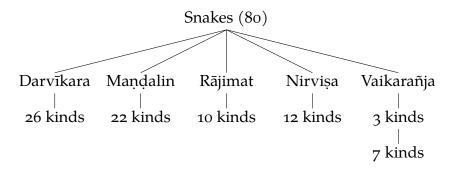


Figure 1: The taxonomy of snakes in the vulgate, 5.4.9–13ab (Su 1938: 571).

4 "My Lord, please speak about the number of snakes, and their divisions, the symptoms of someone who has been bitten, and the knowledge about the toxic reactions of poisoning".<sup>438</sup>

### [The Taxonomy of Snakes]

5 On hearing his query, that distinguished physician spoke. "The venerable snakes such as Vāsukī and Taksaka are uncountable.

6–9ab "They are snake-lords who support the earth, as bright as the ritual fire, ceaselessly roaring, raining and scorching. They hold up the earth, with its oceans, mountains and continents. If they are angered, they can destroy the whole world with a breath and a look. Honour to them. They have no role here in medicine.

"The ones that I shall enumerate in due order are those mundane ones with poison in their fangs who bite humans.<sup>439</sup>

9cd–10 "There are eighty kinds of snakes and they are divided in five ways:

<sup>438</sup> The expression "toxic reactions" translates वेग, which is other contexts may mean "(natural) urge." Here, it is rather the discrete stages or phases of physiological reaction to envenomation. Cf. the symptoms of cobra poisoning described by Wall (1913: 80).

<sup>439</sup> The next few verses are discussed in detail by Harimoto (2011: 101–104), who shows that in the taxonomy of snakes, the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* has greater internal coherence than the vulgate recension.

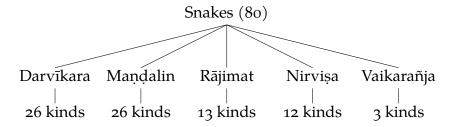


Figure 2: The taxonomy of snakes in the Nepalese version.

Darvīkaras, Maṇḍalins, Rājīmats, and Nirviṣas. And Vaikarañjas that are traditionally of three kinds.<sup>440</sup>

- "Of those, there are twenty and six hooded snakes, and the same number of Mandalins are known. There are thirteen Rājīmats.<sup>441</sup>
- "There are said to be twelve Niriviṣas and, according to tradition, three Vaikarañjas.

### [Behaviours]

- "If they are trodden on, ill-natured or provoked or even just looking for food, those very angry snakes will bite. And that is said to happen in three ways: serpented (*sarpita*), torn (*darita*) and thirdly without venom (*nirviṣa*). Some experts on this want to add "hurt by the snake's body".442
  - "The physician can recognize the following as "ophidian (*sarpita*)": Where a rearing snake makes one, two or more puncture-marks of its teeth, when they are deep and without much blood, 443 accompanied

Or "There phaṇins and 6 maṇḍalins The same number are known There are 13 Rājīmats.' Or even, "there are 20 Phaṇins and six of them are Maṇḍal-ins." Are really the same as darvīkaras?

<sup>440</sup> Harimoto (2011) translated these names as "hooded," "spotted," "striped," "harmless," and "hybrid." Figure 1 shows the taxonomy described in the vulgate text; Figure 2 shows the different and more logical division of the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasamhitā*.

<sup>441</sup> The phrasing of this śloka is awkward.

<sup>442</sup> This might refer to constriction. The phrase reads like a commentarial addition rather than the main text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

<sup>443</sup> The word उद्भूत "aroused" was glossed by Dalhaṇa at 5.4.15 (Su 1938: 571) as उन्मोट्य, a word not found as such in standard dictionaries (MW; KEWA; Mahākośa; Apte). Semantic considerations suggest that the word is not related to √muṭ "break" or mūta/mūṭa "woven basket." Perhaps it is related to the Tamil மோடி (mōṭi,) whose meanings include "arrogance, grandeur, display" (DED₂: #5133) or to faintly-documented forms like moṭyate "is twisted" (CDIAL: #10186). Dalhaṇa's उन्मोट्य may

grammar

- by a little ring of spots (*cuñcumālaka*),<sup>444</sup> lead to degeneration, and are close together and swollen.
- Where there are streaks with blood, whether it be blue or white, the physican should recognize that to be "torn (*darita*)," having a small amount of venom.
- 18 The physician can recognize the locations of the bites of a person in a normal state as being free from poison, when the location is not swollen, and there is little corrupted blood.
- 19 The wind of a timid person who has been touched by a snake can get irritated by fear. It causes swelling.<sup>445</sup> That is "hurt by a snake's body."
- 20 Locations bitten by sick or frightened snakes are known to have little poison. Similarly, a site bitten by very young or old snakes has little poison.
- Poison does not progress in a place frequented by eagles, <sup>446</sup> gods, holy sages, spirits, and saints, or in places full of herbs that destroy poison. <sup>447</sup>

thus mean "twisting up" or "making an arrogant display."

Note that  $\protect\mbox{\sc TG}$  "puncture-mark" (more literally, "footprint") is being used in the same sense as in 1.13.19 (Su 1938: 57) when describing the marks on the body where a knife scarifies the skin before leeching. See footnote 49.

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

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

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

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

Dave continued with interesting reference to Srīharṣa's *Nāgānanda*. 447 For "spirits" the Nepalese version has भूत while the vulgate reads यक्ष.

### [Characteristic Features of Snakes]

22 Darvīkara snakes are know to have hoods, to move rapidly, and to have rings, ploughs, umbrellas, crosses, and hooks on them.

- Maṇḍalin snakes are known for being large and slow-moving. They are decorated with many kinds of circles. They are like a flaming fire because of their poisons.
- Rājimat snakes are smooth and traditionally said to be, as it were, mottled with multicoloured streaks across and above.

### [Classes of Snake]

- Snakes that are shine like pearls and silver, and that are amber and that shine like gold, and smell sweet are traditionally thought of as being of the Brāhmaṇa caste.
- Warrior snakes, however, are those that look glossy and get very angry. The have the mark of the sun, the moon, the earth, an umbrella and bitumen.
- 27 Merchant snakes may traditionally be black, shine like diamond or have a red colour or be grey like pigeons.
- Any snakes that are coloured like a buffalo and a tiger, with rough skin and different colours are known as servants.<sup>448</sup>
- All snakes that are variegated (Rājīmats) move about during the first watch of the night. The rest, on the other hand, the Maṇḍalins and the Darvīkaras, are diurnal.<sup>449</sup>
- 29 Wind is irritated by all hooded snakes; bile by Maṇḍalins and phlegm by those with many stripes.
- Because of the two classes having greater, lesser or equal class, there is the characteristic of irritating two humours.

  And he will explain the opposing view that is to be known as a result
  - And he will explain the opposing view that is to be known as a result of the non-union of a male and female.<sup>450</sup>

<sup>448</sup> Presumably "different" from the earlier-mentioned castes.

The sequence of the following three verses is slightly different from the vulgate (5.4.29-31~(Su~1938:572)).

<sup>449</sup> The readings of the vulgate, that Rājīmats are active in the early night, the Maṇḍalins in the later night, and Darvīkaras in the day, seem clearer.

<sup>450</sup> The sense of the last phrase here is quite different from the vulgate, which says only that "details" will be explained below.

### [Enumeration of Snakes]

In that context, here are the Darvīkaras.

- The Black snake (krsnasarpa); (mahāpadma);
- The Big Black (mahākrsna); 16.
- The Black Belly (kṛṣṇodara); The Curd Mouth 3. 17.
- The All Black (sarvakṛṣṇa);451 4. The White Pigeon
- (śvetakapota);452
- 6. The Rain Cloud (valāhako);
- The Great Snake (mahāsarpa);
- 8. The Conch Keeper (śamkhapāla);
- The Red Eye (lohitākṣa);
- The Gavedhuka (gavedhuka); 10.
- The Snake Around 11. (parisarpa);
- The Break Hood 12. (khandaphana);
- The Kūkuta (kūkuta); 13.
- The Lotus (padma); 14.
- The Great Lotus 15.

- The Grass Flower (apuspa);
- (dadhimukha);
- The Lotus Mouth 18. (pundarīkamukha);
- The Brown Hut Mouth 19. (babhrūkuṭīmukha);
- The Variegated (vicitra); 20.
- The Flower Sprinkle Beauty 21. (puspābhikīrnnābha);
- The Mountain Snake 22. (girisarpa);
- The Straight Snake 23. (rjusarpa);
- The White Rip (*śvetadara*); 24.
- The Big Head (mahāśīrsa); 25. and
- The Hungry Sting (*alagarda*); 26.

#### Here are the Mandalins 34.2

- The Mirror Ring (ādarśamaṇḍala);
- The White Ring (śvetamandala);
- The Red Ring (raktamandala);
- The Speckled (prsata); 4.
- The Gift of God (devadinna); 5.
- 6. The Pilindaka (pilindaka);
- The Big Cow Snout 7. (vrddhagonasa);
- The Jackfruit (panasaka);

- The Big Jackfruit (mahāpanasaka);
- The Bamboo Leaf 10. (venupatraka);
- The Kid (śiśuka); 11.
- The Intoxicator (madanaka); 12.
- The Morning Glory 13. (pālindaka);
- The Stretch (tantuka); 14.
- The Pale as a Flower 15. (puspapāndu);

<sup>451</sup> Not in vulgate.

<sup>452</sup> The vulgate adds The Big Pigeon (*mahākapota*).

The Hand Decoration The Six Part (sadanga); The Flame (agnika); (hastābharaṇaka); 17. 18. The Brown (babhru); The Tatra (tatra);453 23. The Ochre (kasāya); The Mark (citraka); 19. 24. The Khaluşa (khaluşa); The Deer Foot (enīpada).454 20. 25. The Pigeon (pārāvata); Here are the Rājīmats.<sup>455</sup> 34.3 The Lotus (puṇḍarīka); The Grass Drier (*tṛṇaśoṣaka*); The Stripe Speckle (*rājicitra*); The White Jaw (svetahanu); The Finger Stripe (angulirāji); The Grass Flower 3. The Two Finger Stripe (darbhapuspa);<sup>456</sup> (dvyangulirāji); The Red Eye (lohitāksa);457 10. The Drop Stripe (bindurāji); The Ringed (cakraka); 11. The Mud (*kardama*); The Worm Eater (kikkisāda); 12. Here are the Nirvisas. The Rain Cloud (valāhako);<sup>458</sup> The Two-day (*dvyāhika*); Thei Snake Flag (ahipatāka); The Milk Flower 9. The White Leaf (*śukapatra*); (ksīrikāpuspa); The Goat Swallower The Flower All (puṣpasakalī); 10. (ajagara); The Chariot of Light The Stimulator (*dīpyaka*); (jyotīratha); The Ilikinī (*ilikinī*); 12. The Little Tree (*vṛkṣaka*);

### [Breeding and Gender]

The Year-Snake (varsāhīka);

34.5 The Vaikarañjas originate out of contrary unions amongst the three colours. 459 Thus:

453 This seems implausible, but otherwise the list of Mandalins would be short.

our" else-

where?

<sup>454</sup> The list is short by one item. Perhaps the one of the snakes named in the vulgate, *citramanḍala*, *gonasa* or *pingala*, should be considered here.

<sup>455</sup> The following list is one item short. The vulgate text, however, has several names that do not appear in the Nepalese Rājīmat list, for example Sarṣapaka and Godhūmaka.

<sup>456</sup> Also in the Darvīkara list.

<sup>457</sup> Also in the Darvīkara list.

<sup>458</sup> Also in the Darvīkara list.

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

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

- Amongst them, males have large eyes, tongues and heads. Females have small eyes, tongues and heads. Neuters have both characteristics, and are slow to exert themselves or be angry. 461
- 36 In that context we shall give instruction in a general way about the sign of having been bitten by any of the snakes.

For what reason?

Because poison acts quickly, like a fire with an oblation, a honed sword, or a thunderbolt.<sup>462</sup> And ignored for even a period of time, it can drag the patient away. There is not even an opportunity to follow the literature.<sup>463</sup>

And when the symptom of being bitten is stated, there will be three ways of treating it because there are three kinds of snake. Therefore we shall explain it in three ways. "For this is good for people who are ill, and it removes confusion and in this very case it prevents all symptoms".<sup>464</sup>

<sup>459</sup> The word *varṇa* in this chapter normally means "colour" not "class." ("Class is expressed by "jāti.") While *kṛṣṇasarpa* is clearly a colour-type, it is less obvious that *gonasī* is a special colour, and *rājimat* is a group of snakes.

<sup>460</sup> The vulgate includes the snake's mouth in this and the next list.

<sup>461</sup> The reading मन्दचेष्टाक्रोधा is an awkward compound; possibly the original reading was मन्दचेष्टाः + अक्रोधा and sandhi was applied twice.

<sup>462</sup> Perhaps the image suggested by "a fire with an oblation" is that of the Pravargya, in which a large flame rises suddenly from the ritual fire.

<sup>463</sup> The idea seems to be that there is no time to consult the verbose āyurvedic teachings. The "extensive meaning of the collection of statements (वाक्समूहार्थविस्तार)" is singled out as one of Āyurveda's virtues in 5.8.142 (Su 1938: 594). Alternatively, perhaps the patient is unable to understand what the doctor is saying to him.

<sup>464</sup> In the next passage, the symptoms of snake poisoning are indeed explained under

### [Symptoms of snakebite]

In this context, the poison of a Darvīkara causes the skin, nails, eyes, mouth, urine, feces, and the bitemark to be black; there is driness, the joints hurt and the head feels heavy; the waist, back and neck feel weak; there is yawning, the voice becomes faint, there is gurgling, paralysis, dry throat, cough, wheezing, and hiccups; the wind goes upwards, the patient convulses with sharp pain, black saliva dribbles out, foam appears, the ducts (*srotas*) are blocked and every kind of pain that is due to wind.<sup>465</sup>

The poison of a Maṇḍalin causes the skin, nails, eyes, teeth, mouth, urine, feces, bitemark to be yellow; there is a desire for cold, a temperature, giving off fumes, 466 a burning feeling, thirst, intoxication, fainting, fever, haemorrhaging (śonitāgamana), and the degeneration of the flesh and fat above and below. There is swelling, suppuration of the bite, metamorphopsia (viparītadarśana), anger caused by the suffering, and every kind of pain that is due to bile. 467

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

In that context, "someone bitten by a male gazes upwards, by a female horizontally, and by a neuter, downwards." One bitten by a pregnant snake has a pale face and becomes swollen (ādhmāta). One bitten by a

three headings.

<sup>465</sup> Cf. the similar symptoms of snake venom poisoning by the so-called Brahmin warriors of Harmatelia described by the classical author Diodorus Siculus (fl. ca. 30-60 BCE) (Eggermont 1975: 108).

<sup>466</sup> The term "giving of fumes (परिधूपायन)" is not in MW: 596 as such, although परिधूपन, परिधूमन and परिधूमायन are cited and referred to the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. "Giving off fumes (परिधूपन)" is listed at *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 2.6.13 (Su 1938: 291) amongst the symptoms of urinary disease caused by phlegm. The editors note a variant reading परिधूमायन but do not tell us in which manuscript (Su 1938: 291, n. 3). Dalhaṇa on 2.6.13 (Su 1938: 292) glossed परिधूपन as "hot all over (समन्ततस्तापः)" and in our current passage as "hot over the whole body (सर्वाङ्गसन्तापः)" (Su 1938: 573). See also *Mahākośa*: 1, 429: धूमायन "अङ्गानां धुमोद्गमनमिव" citing the *Suśrutasamhitā*.

<sup>467</sup> Ghosh et al. (2023) describes visual disturbances due to snake envenomation.

recently-delivered snake is afflicted with abdominal pain and urinates with blood. One bitten by a hungry snake craves food. Those bitten by an old snake have delayed and slow reactions. And one bitten by a young snake is fast and keen. One bitten by a non-venomous snake has the characteristic mark of non-poisoning. Some that are bitten by a blind snake become blind. A constrictor (*ajagara*) is deadly because it swallows, not because of poison.

### [toxic reactions]

39 In that context, all snake toxins have seven toxic reactions. 469

[Darvīkaras] Thus, at the first pulse of the Darvīkaras the poison corrupts the blood. That corrupted blood turns black. Because of that, blackness and a feeling of ants crawling about on the body develop.<sup>470</sup> In the second pulse, it corrupts the flesh. That causes extreme blackness and lumps.

In the third, it corrupts the fat. That causes a discharge at the bite, heaviness of the head and an eclipse of the vision.<sup>471</sup>

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

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

In the sixth pulse, it penetrates the marrow. That causes humours in the seat of fire in the gut  $(grahan\bar{\iota})$ , heaviness of the limbs, diarrhoea, pain in the heart and fainting.<sup>472</sup>

In the seventh, it penetrates the semen and greatly irritates the vyāna breath  $(vy\bar{a}na)$ , and causes the phlegm (kapha) to run imperceptibly out

<sup>468</sup> The grammar of अविषलिङ्गम् is not quite right; it should be a masculine or plural bahuvrīhi.

<sup>469</sup> Cf. the same concept in the context of plants, at 135

<sup>470</sup> Strictly, we would expect a dual verb here, instead of the plural of the witnesses.

<sup>471</sup> Dalhaṇa on 5.4.39 (Su 1938: 574) glossed the last expression as "blockage of the vision (दृष्ट्यवरोध)."

<sup>472</sup> The "seat of fire in the gut (ग्रहणी)" is an ayurvedic organ in the digestive tract that does not correspond to any specific organ known to contemporary anatomy. For discussion, see *Mahākośa*: v. 1, 304; Meulenbeld 1974*b*: 619; Das 2003: 544–545.

of the tubes (*srotas*). That causes the appearence of mucous (*śleṣman*), breaking of the hips, back and shoulders, impediment to all movements and shortness of breath.

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

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

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

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

In the fifth, it causes heat in all the limbs.

In the sixth and seventh, it is the same as before.

[Rājīmats] Thus, in the first pulse of the Rājīmats, the poison corrupts the blood. Corrupted by that, it turns yellow. It causes a person to have hair standing on end and a pale appearance.

In the second pulse, it corrupts the flesh. That causes him to become pale and to become extremely benumbed  $(j\bar{a}dya)$ .

In the third, it corrupts the fat. That causes moistness of the bite and runny eyes and nose.

In the fourth, it is the same as before. After penetrating, it brings on manyāstambha (*stiffness of the neck*) and heaviness of the head.

In the fifth, speech is slurred and there is a cold fever.

In the sixth and seventh, it is the same as before.

### [Summary Verses]

40 There are verses on this.

It is well known that there are seven interstitial layers (kalā) in between the bodily tissues (dhātu). Poison passing through these one by one produces the toxic reaction (vega).<sup>473</sup>

<sup>473</sup> See note 433 above.

- The interval taken by the deadly substance (kālakalpa), propelled ( $\sqrt{u}h$ ) by air (samīraṇa), to cut the layers of skin is known as the "pulse interval (vegāntara)".<sup>474</sup>
- In the first pulse, an animal has a swollen body, is distressed and broods.<sup>475</sup>
  - In the second, it dribbles somewhat,<sup>476</sup> the hair stands up on its body, and it has pain  $(\sqrt{p}\bar{l}d)$  in the heart.
- The third stage brings headache and it breaks the ears and necks.<sup>477</sup> In the fourth, the bewildered creature trembles and gnashing its teeth, it gives up life.
- Some experts say that elephants have three toxic reactions.<sup>478</sup>
  So, at the first toxic reaction, an bird becomes bewildered and is confused from that point on. At the second, the bird is distressed and, crying out, it dies.

Some people claim that where birds are concerned, there is really just a single toxic reaction (vega) and that amongst animals like cats and mongooses, poison does not take much effect.<sup>479</sup>

<sup>474</sup> Dalhaṇa on 5.4.41 (Su 1938: 574) glossed कालकल्प as मृत्युसदृशं विषं "the poison resembles death."

<sup>475</sup> The verb ्र प्रध्ये "meditate, be thoughtful, brood" is unexpected here and in the second class, an epic form. Dalhana on 5.4.42 (Su 1938: 574) noted that some manuscripts did not include the text about animals from this point on. The fact that these verses are present in the Nepales witnesses testifies to their antiquity.

<sup>476</sup> The Nepalese witnesses use लालि-, not लाला-, for "saliva."

<sup>477</sup> The scribe of MS H emended the text to read কত্ত্মীৰ with the vulgate. Intransitive use of pass. भञ्ज.

<sup>478</sup> On अन्तःस्वेद as "elephant," cf. Arthaśāstra 9.1.46 (Kangle 1965a: v. 1, 219; Olivelle 2013: 351): हस्तिनो ह्यन्तःस्वेदाः कुष्ठिनो भवन्ति ॥ ४६ ॥.

<sup>479</sup> See on this subject: T. L. Brunton and Fayrer 1909: 39-40; S. A. Minton and M. R. Minton 1969: 88-89 (references taken from HIML: 1B, 399, n. 124).

# Kalpasthāna 5: Therapy for those Bitten by Snakes

### Introduction

### Literature

A brief survey of this chapter's contents and a detailed assessment of the existing research on it to 2002 was provided by Meulenbeld.<sup>480</sup>

<sup>480</sup> HIML: IA, 294–295. In addition to the translations mentioned by Meulenbeld (HIML: IB, 314–315), a translation of this chapter was included in P. V. Sharma 1999–2001: 3, 35–45.

Passage numbers refer to the canonical numbering of the vulgate edition (Su 1938).

- 1 Now we shall explain the procedure (*kalpa*) that is the therapy for someone bitten by a snake.<sup>481</sup>
- For a person bitten on a limb by any snake, one should first of all make a strong binding, at four fingers measure above the bite.<sup>482</sup>
- 4 Poison does not move around into the body if it is prevented by bandages (*ariṣṭā*) or by any other soft items of cloth (*plota*), leather (*carmānta*) or bark.<sup>483</sup>
- 5 Where a bandage (*bandha*) is not suitable, one should raise the bite up and then cauterize it.<sup>484</sup> Suction, cutting and cauterizing are recommended in all cases.
- 6 Suction will be good after filling the mouth with earth  $(p\bar{a}m\dot{s}u)$ . Alternatively, the snake should be bitten by the person who knows that they have just been bitten. 486

<sup>481</sup> On कल्प, see note 437.

<sup>482</sup> Application of a tourniquet is deprecated by modern establishment medicine, which relies on antivenom medications (e.g., Pillay 2013: 150–151 et passim in the literature). The vulgate introduces the word अरिष्टा at this point. This may be a borrowing from Ci.23.251cd (Ca 1941: 582).

<sup>483</sup> It is hard to translate the word अरिष्टा otherwise than "bandage," as referred to by ब-भीयात् in the previous verse, and apparently similar to items of cloth etc., and called a बन्ध in the next verse. But in general Sanskrit literature, including medical literature, the word (in masc. gender) means either "an alcoholic tonic" or "an omen of death," (1.30.3 (Su 1938: 137)), or is a plant name. This raises a question mark over its unique meaning in the present context. The Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṃḥitā (Utt.36.42cd (Ah 1939: 910)) seems to be a gloss on अरिष्टा, saying "An expert in mantras may bind using a braid made of silk etc., empowered with mantras" (see also 5.5.8 (Su 1938: 575)). On problems that can arise from tying a bandage too tightly, see 5.5.56 (Su 1938: 577) below.

<sup>484</sup> The vulgate reads उत्कृत्य "having excised" rather than translate उद्धृत्य "having raised up."

<sup>485</sup> The vulgate recommends cloth, not earth (5.5.6 (Su 1938: 574)).

<sup>486</sup> The syntax is odd here, and the vulgate has removed the difficulties. Dalhaṇa on 5.5.6 (Su 1938: 574) noted that one should hold the snake firmly and give a good bite to its head and tail (हस्ताभ्यामुपसंगृह्य पुच्छे वक्रे च सर्पः सम्यग् दष्टव्यः). Our colleague Dr Madhu K. Paramesvaran reports that this procedure is known in Malayalam viṣavaidya treatises and is practiced in Kerala, though rarely: "this practice has been described as one of

7 Now, one should in no way cauterize someone bitten by a Maṇḍalin. Because of the over-abundance of poison in the bile (*pittaviṣa*), that bite will be lethal as a result of cauterization.<sup>487</sup>

### The application of mantras

- An expert in mantras should tie on a bandage  $(aristalata, \bar{t}a)$  too, with mantras. But they say that a bandage that is tied on with cords and so on causes the poison to be purified.<sup>488</sup>
- 9 Mantrās prescribed by gods and holy sages (*brahmarṣi*), that are imbued with truth and religious power (*tapas*) are inexorable and they rapidly destroy intractable poison.
- Drugs cannot eliminate poison as quickly as the application of mantras imbued with religious power (*tapas*) and imbued with truth, holiness (*brahma*) and religious power.<sup>489</sup>
- The mantras should be received by a person who is abstaining from women, meat and mead (*madhu*), who has a restricted diet, and who is pure and lying on a bed of halfa grass.
- For the mantras to be successful, one should diligently worship the deity ( $devat\bar{a}$ ) with perfume, garlands, and oblations ( $upah\bar{a}ra$ ), as well as sacrificial offerings (bali), and with mantra repetition (japa) and rituals.<sup>490</sup>
  - the first-response cares for snakebite in most of the Malayalam texts of Vishavaidya. I have never seen this happening in real life and my teachers used to consider it to be a method (albeit a bit outrageously dangerous) for self-reassurance by the patient." (Paramesvaran 2023). Cf. the Viṣavaidya text edited by Mahādeva Śāstrī (1958).
- 487 Verses 5.4.29, and 37 above note that the venom of Mandalins particularly irritates the bile.
- 488 Palhaṇa on 5.5.8 (Su 1938: 575) clarified that on the one hand the bandage must be accompanied with mantras, but on the other hand, it may also be used without mantras. The verse seems to put two points of view.
- 489 Palhaṇa on 5.5.10 (Su 1938: 575) noted that mantras like "kurukullā" and "bheruṇḍā" are explained in other treatises and therefore not explained further in his commentary. These two mantras are the names of tantric Śaiva and Buddhist goddesses. For a study on this specific subject see Slouber (2016b). HIML: IIB, 151, n. 344 provides a bibliography to 2002 of studies on Kurukullā, who is mentioned in Māhuka's *Haramekhalā*, and Meulenbeld 2008a: 30–34 includes discussion of Bheruṇḍa as a bird, with related terms.
- 490 Palhaṇa on 5.5.12 (Su 1938: 575) noted that उपहार includes incense, while बिल refers to sacrifice with an animal (सपश्नेवेद्य).

But mantras pronounced illicitly or that are deficient in accents (*svara*) and letters do not give success. So antitoxic (*agada*) procedures need to be employed.

### **Blood letting**

- A skilled physician should puncture a duct (*sirā*) which is located on the limb (*śākhāśrayā*), and comes from the bite and the general area. If the poison has spread, one on the forehead should be pierced.
- The blood being drawn out draws away all the poison.<sup>491</sup> Therefore one should cause blood to flow, for that is his very best procedure.
- 16 After incising (*pracchāna*) the area around the bite, one should smear it with antidotes and sprinkle it with water infused with sandalwood and cuscus grass.<sup>492</sup>

### **Internal medications**

- One should make him drink various antidotes together with milk, honey and ghee. If they are unavailable, the earth of black ants can be good.<sup>493</sup>
- 18 Alternatively, he should consume orchid tree, siris and purple calotropis or white siris too. He should not drink sesame oil or horse gram, nor wine or Indian jujube.
- 19 But after drinking any other liquid at all, he should throw up after drinking it. For on the whole, poison is easily removed by means of vomiting.

<sup>491</sup> The Nepalese version uses a present passive participle construction here, that is less common than the vulgate's locative absolute. The Nepalese version states that it is the blood coming out of the patient that carries away the venom; the vulgate text says merely that the venom emerges while the blood comes out.

<sup>492</sup> সম্ভান is the second of the two methods of blood letting described in the vulgate text of the Suśrutasaṃhitā at 1.14.25 (Su 1938: 64); this verse does not appear in the Nepalese version of the Suśrutasaṃhitā.

<sup>493</sup> This refers to earth taken from an anthill. In South Asia, there is a long tradition of considering such earth to be beneficial and even holy (e.g., Irwin 1982).

### Therapies at each pulse of toxic reaction

20 In the case of hooded snakes, when there is a toxic reaction (*vega*) first one should let blood. At the second, one should make him drink an antidote (*agada*) together with honey and ghee.<sup>494</sup>

- 21 At the third one should use errhines and collyrium ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ) that destroy poison.<sup>495</sup> At the fourth, when he has vomited, the physician should make him drink a gruel ( $yav\bar{a}g\bar{u}$ ) that destroys poison.
- At the fifth and sixth toxic reactions one should make the person drink something that aids cooling, that is cleansing and tīkṣṇa (sharp), and a well-regarded gruel too.
- But at the seventh, one should purge  $(\sqrt{sodh})$  his head with a sharp sternutatory.<sup>496</sup>

#### In the case of Mandalins

- 24 Amongst Maṇḍalins, the earliest toxic reaction (*vega*) should be treated in the same way as with Darvīkaras.<sup>497</sup>
- 25 At the second, one should make him drink ghee and honey and then make him vomit.<sup>498</sup>
- At the third, one should give the purged patient healthy gruel. At the fourth and the fifth too, one should do the same as for the Darvīkara.
- 494 This section reproduces some of the therapies from *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 5.2.40–43 (Su 1938: 566) on the stages of slow poisoning (*dūṣīviṣa*) by plant poisons; see translation on p. 135 above.
- 495 The rare word नस्तः "from or into the nose" in नस्तःकर्म "errhine" is supported by both Nepalese manuscripts. The term is more common in the *Carakasaṃhitā*, occurring eleven times, e.g., at 1.20.13 (Ca 1941: 114), 2.1.36 (Ca 1941: 203), et passim. The *Carakasaṃhitā* describes how collyriums, especially रसाञ्चन, cause phlegm to flow, thus clearing the eyes (1.5.14–19 (Ca 1941: 38–39)). This could be appropriate in expelling poisons.
- 496 The vulgate adds a half-verse here recommending the application of a collyrium ( $a\tilde{n}$ -jana) to a cut made on the patient's head.
- 497 The vulgate again adds a half-verse here, recommending the "crow's foot" incision on the patient's head. On this procedure, described in *Carakasaṃhitā* 6.23.66–67 (Ca 1941: 574), see Wujastyk 2003*b*: 145. This text is not supported here, as it was not in the Nepalese text at *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 5.2.43 (Su 1938: 566) either. See footnote 380, p. 136 above. As stated there, it appears that this procedure was known in the tradition of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, but not in the earliest text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.
- 498 Again, the vulgate text differs substantively, adding another half-verse. But the general idea of the treatment is the similar.

At the sixth, wholesome things from the group of plants starting with cottony jujube should be drunk and a sweet antidote. And at the seventh, a wholesome antidote that destroys poison in a sternutatory (avapīḍa). 500

### In the case of Rājimats

- 28 Now, Amongst Rājimats, one should let blood at the first toxic shock.<sup>501</sup>
- At the second, a patient who has vomited should be made to drink an antidote that destroys poison. At the third, fourth and fifth, the rule that applies to the Darvīkara is suitable.
- 30 At the sixth, use a very sharp collyrium (añjana), and at the seventh a sternutatory (avapīḍa). There is a prohibition on using blood-letting for pregnant women, children and the elderly.
- In those who are in pain because of poison, it is advised that the prescribed procedures be applied gently.

### 31ab In animals

In goats and sheep, bleeding and collyriums are the same as for people. 32cd In cows and horses, that is twice as much; three times as much for buffalos and camels, four times for elephants and simply (*kevala*) for all birds. 502503

write note on pariṣekān pradehāmś

<sup>499</sup> The "group of 17 plants beginning with cottony jujube" (काकोल्यादि गण) is described at *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.38.35–36 (Su 1938: 167). These plants pacify the bile, blood and wind and increase phlegm, body-weight, semen and breastmilk.

<sup>500</sup> The अवपीड is described at Suśrutasaṃhitā 4.40.44–45 (Su 1938: 556), where it is also recommended for victims of snakebite. It is a type of head-evacuant. Commenting on that passage, Dalhaṇa cited "other treatises" as saying that अवपीड treatment was suitable for restoring the consciousness of those who have been poisoned. He also quoted a text by an authority called Videha, that says the same. Videha was an author known to Dṛḍhabala (according to Cakrapāṇidatta) and often cited in the Madhukośa on the topic of eye diseases (HIML: IA, 132 et passim). See also Mahākośa: 1, 62–63.

<sup>501</sup> The vulgate text says that the blood-letting should be done with a gourd. It also has an extra half-verse here, prescribing an antitoxin to be drunk together with honey and ghee.

<sup>502</sup> Dalhaṇa on 5.5.32 (Su 1938: 576) explained "simply for all birds" as meaning that birds should receive just drugs, and not blood-letting or collyriums. See p. 160 for the toxic reactions in birds and other animals.

One should consider carefully with one's intellect the location, constitution (prakrti), suitability ( $s\bar{a}tmya$ ), the season, the poison, and the strength or weakness of the toxic reaction and then proceed with therapy.<sup>504</sup>

- 47–48ab One should eliminate this poison completely. It is extremely hard to overcome. For even a small amount remaining can strongly bring about a toxic reaction.<sup>505</sup>
- 48cd–49 Or it may lead to dejection, pallor, fever, cough and headaches, dessication, swelling, catarrh, poor vision, disinterest in food (aruci) or rigidity ( $j\bar{a}dyat\bar{a}$ ). 506 And in such cases one should apply the cure as appropriate. 507
- One should also treat the secondary ailments (*upadrava*) of a poisoned patient each as appropriate.

  Now, after the bandage (*ariṣṭā*) has been removed and after the place marked by it has been quickly incised (*pracchāna*) one may see poison that has leaked out there, and a toxic reaction may strongly result.

<sup>503</sup> The vulgate includes several verses after this sentence that give a recipe and also a list of specific items like place and constitution that should be given careful consideration. Dalhaṇa on 5.5.33 (Su 1938: 576) cited the opinions of Gayadāsa and Jejjaṭa on this recipe but stated that he preferred to follow the contrasting opinions of Vṛddhavāgbhaṭa (1.25.24cd-25aba (As 1980: 184)) and Suśruta (4.31.29cd-30ab (Su 1938: 511)) on this topic, as well as several citations "another work" (तन्त्रान्तर) that is unidentified.

<sup>504</sup> The vulgate here has twelve verses not found in the Nepalese version. These verses explicitly switch subject away from assesments according to toxic reactions and to the treatment of both mobile and immobile poisons, starting from physical symptoms such as swelling and discolouration as well as humoral theory. At the point where the vulgate summarizes the extra verses, saying that cases should be treated "according to their humors" (यथादोषं), the Nepalese witnesses have "as is appropriate" (यथायोगं, 5.5.49cd (Su 1938: 577)). This suggests that the text has been edited to fit the insertion of the verses referring to humoral therapy. These verses also include therapies such as the crow's foot treatment (see footnotes 380 and 497, pp. 136, 165 above) and the beating of drums that have been smeared with antidotes, as discussed in Suśrutasaṃlhitā 5.6 (Su 1938: 580–582) (see p. 171 below).

<sup>505</sup> The word अवतिष्ठं "remaining" is hard to parse. It cannot be a णमुल् formation (Pāṇini 3.4.22 ff), because of the root's reduplication, and should not be a present participle because it is not neuter. However, lack of gender concord is not unknown in Epic Sanskrit; several of the examples cited by Oberlies (2003: § 10.2.1) even involve present participles without gender concord. Cf. Edgerton 1953: 1, § 6.12 for examples in BHS.

<sup>506</sup> Dalhaṇa on 5.5.49ab (Su 1938: 577) reported a reading from Jejjaṭa of स्तैमित्य "immobility" instead of प्रतिश्याय "catarrh."

<sup>507</sup> The vulgate introduces दोष theory here, which is absent in the Nepalese version.

- 52.1 Once the poison has disappeared one can conquer irritated wind using items that restrain the wind. $^{508}$ 
  - One can conquer bile using substances that remove bile-fever (*pittajvara*), with decoctions, oleation and purges, combined with substances that remove poison, with the exception of sesame oil (*taila*), wine, horse gram, and mangosteen.<sup>509</sup>
  - One can conquer phlegm with the group that starts with golden shower tree, together with honey.<sup>510</sup>
  - If the the bandage (ariṣṭā) is bound tightly, or if it is incised (pracchita) with sharp ointment or with the remnants of the poison, then when the limb swells up, the the flesh weeps, smells a great deal, is putrid (śīrṇa) is designated "poison-stink (viṣapūti)."511
- One may be certain that a person has been struck by something poisoned (digdha) if their wound immediately starts to suppurate has black blood that flows and is inflamed, as well as having black, weeping and exceptionally foul-smelling flesh coming out of the wound and also someone who has thirst, fainting (mūrcchā), fever and a temperature.<sup>512</sup>
- One who is known to have these exact symptoms may have poison in their wound that is † given by mistake.† And they may have a wound that has been hit by something poisoned (digdha) and is full of poison. And others are sick because of a wound that stinks because of poison. The wise person debrides the excess flesh of such people and then, after removing the blood by means of leeches and after removing the humours from above and below, he should irrigate with cold bark decoctions from milky trees. And he should ap-

<sup>508</sup> This half-verse is is not present in the vulgate, but has broadly the same sense as 5.5.52cd (Su 1938: 577), that is not present in the Nepalese version.

<sup>509</sup> The vulgate reads "fish" in place of "wine."

<sup>510</sup> The आरंबधगण is listed at *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.38.6 (Su 1938: 164). These herbs are there explicitly said to pacify phlegm and to remove poison, etc. (1.38.7 (Su 1938: 164)).

<sup>511</sup> *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 5.5.16 (Su 1938: 575) (p. 164 above) suggests smearing an incised area with antidotes.

<sup>512</sup> The Nepalese witnesses describe someone who has been struck or hurt (ধ্বন, आहत), while the vulgate describes someone who is pierced (विद्ध). Dalhaṇa on 5.5.58ab (Su 1938: 576) interpreted the latter wording as being struck by a poison-smeared arrow.

ply items that destroy poison such as cloths containing ointments together with cold liquids mixed with ghee.

When the bone is injured with poisons, the very same rule as in bile poison should be followed. One should place the following in a horn: turpeth, weaver's beam tree, liquorice, the two kinds of turmeric, the Indian madder group, and all kinds of salt.

78 513

there is no mañjiṣṭhā varga.
There is a lavaṇavarga (1.46.313-321 (Su 1938: 236-237))

why are varga and lavana in the nominative; they should be the object of nidadhvāt.

<sup>513</sup> After this verse, the vulgate text adds five verses, 79–83, that do not appear in the Nepalese version.

### Kalpasthāna 6: Beating Drums

Introduction



# Uttaratantra 17: Preventing Diseases of the Pupil

### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>514</sup>

The history of couching in India has been discussed since the nineteenth century,  $^{515}$ 

The therapies in this chapter make frequent use of collyrium ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ). This substance and its uses and variants are described in  $Carakasamhit\bar{a}$  1.5.14–19 (Ca 1941: 38–39). In the  $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$ , they are included in the "group starting with  $a\tilde{n}jana$ " ( $a\tilde{n}jan\bar{a}digama$ ), that is listed at 1.38.41–42 (Su 1938: 167). They are described as valuable for counteracting blood-bile (raktapitta), poison and overheating ( $d\bar{a}ha$ ).

### **Translation**

- 1 Now I shall explain the counteraction (*pratiṣedha*) of diseases located in the pupil (*dṛṣṭi*).
- There are three curable  $(s\bar{a}dhya)$ , three incurable  $(as\bar{a}dhya)$ , and six mitigatible  $(y\bar{a}pya)$  diseases located in peoples eyes. Among these, three are curable  $(s\bar{a}dhya)$ . Amongst these three, the remedy  $(prat\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}ra)$  has been stated for the one called "seeing smoke  $(dh\bar{\imath}madarsin)$ ".<sup>516</sup>

<sup>514</sup> HIML: IA, 305-306.

<sup>515</sup> Scott 1817; Breton 1826; Jack 1884; Hendley 1895; Elliot 1918; V. P. Śāstrī 1940; V. Deshpande 1999; 2000; Wujastyk 2003*b*; Fan 2005; Leffler et al. 2020.

<sup>516</sup> This disease and its cure are described earlier (SS.6.7.39 and SS.6.10.16 (Su 1938: 609

with a knife related to

ing bile or phlegm.

masī burned charcoal Find refs When the eye is inflamed (vidagdha) by bile and when it is inflamed by phlegm, one should apply the method for removing bile and phlegm, using nasal medicines (nasya), irrigation (seka), application of collyrium (añjana), liniment (ālepa), and medicines cooked in a crucible (puṭapāka), together with an eyewash (tarpaṇa),517 but not cutting with a blade (*śastrakṣata*).<sup>518</sup>

One should drink ghee (*sarpis*) prepared with the three fruits (*triphalā*) 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 ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ), these four compounds (yoga) are beneficial in both cases:

- ochre (gairika), Sind salt (saindhava), long pepper (kṛṣṇā) and the black soot (*maṣī*) from cow's teeth;
- Cow's flesh (gomāmsa), black pepper, siris and red arsenic (manahśilā);
- stalk (vṛnta) from a wood apple with honey (madhu);<sup>519</sup>
- or the the fruits of the ??.
- The physician should make a collyrium (añjana) with ground up metal (kupyaka),520 Asoka tree, sal tree, mango, beautyberry, lotus, blue water-lily, together with peas, emblic, myrobalans, long pepper. It should be combined with ghee and honey (kṣaudra).
- 9–10 Also, when bile and phlegm have developed, the physician should apply peas with the expressed juice (svarasa) of the flowers from mango and jambul trees.

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>517</sup> These therapies are described in SS.6.18 (Su 1938: 633–640).

<sup>518</sup> Dalhana interpreted this as blood-letting (sirāvedha), which is discussed in SS.1.14 (Su 1938).

<sup>519</sup> Wood apple (कपित्थ) in this verse is ablative singular or accusative plural, neither of which construe obviously.

<sup>520</sup> A metal other than gold or silver, according to V. Jośī and N. H. Jośī (*Mahākośa*: 1, 217) (on কুप्प). The Nepalese witnesses have the rare কুप्पक rather than the vulgate's কুত্সক, which makes no real sense. Perhaps lead, which is used in making contemporary collyrium.

Then this collyrium  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$ , matured (vipakva) with ghee and honey (k saudra), should then be applied.

- Filaments ( $ki\tilde{n}jalka$ ) of lotus and blue water-lily, with ochre (gairika), and the juice of cow-dung ( $go\acute{s}akrt$ ) are a collyrium ( $a\~{n}jana$ ) in the form of a pill ( $gu\rlap/dik\={a}$ ). This is good for both day and night blindness.
- Elixir-salve ( $ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ ), honey (kṣaudra), ghee, scramberry, together with gold and ochre, with the juice of cow-dung (gośakṛt) are for an eye afflicted with bile.
  - Alternatively, wise physician should first grind together elixir-salve  $(\hat{sita})$  and stibnite  $(sauv\bar{i}raka)$ , infused  $(bh\bar{a}vita)$  with the blood of birds and animals (rasa). Then he mixes it with the bile of a tortoise or with extract of rohu carp (rauhita). It should always be used with powdered collyrium  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$  to quell the bile.
    - Thus, a collyrium ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ) of white teak flowers, liquorice, Indian barberry, lodh tree 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  $(nad\bar{\imath}ja)$ , conch shell and the three spices, collyrium  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$ , realgar  $(mana\dot{n}\dot{s}il\bar{a})$ , the two turmerics  $(rajana)^{522}$  and liver extract  $(yakrdrasa)^{.523}$
    - One should grind up kohl (*srotoja*),<sup>524</sup> and Sind salt (*saindhava*) and long pepper and also harenu (*harenu*). Such wicks with goats urine are good in a collyrium (*añjana*) for night blindness (*kṣanadāndhya*).
  - 17–18ab Alternatively, in such a case, grind together Indian sarsaparilla  $(k\bar{a}l\bar{a}nus\bar{a}riva)^{525}$  long pepper, dried ginger  $(n\bar{a}gara)$  and honey, the leaf of the scramberry  $(t\bar{a}l\bar{i}sapatra)$ , the two turmerics (rajana), a conch shell and liver extract (yakrdrasa). Then shade-dried wicks take away illness (ruj).

<sup>521</sup> This was Palhaṇa's preferred interpretation of rasa "juice" in this context. He also noted that some take elixir-salve  $(\hat{sita})$  to be camphor.

<sup>522</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>523</sup> This verse appears as no. 27 in the vulgate.

<sup>524</sup> Glossed by Dalhana as a kind of collyrium (*añjana*). Cf. **nadk-1954** and P. V. Sharma 1982: 197–198

<sup>525</sup> There are two forms of *sārivā* mentioned widely in Āyurvedic literature, the white and the black. Ideas on the identity of the black form are particularly fluid. See Sivarajan and Balachandran (ADPS: 434–438) for a clear discussion.

- 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>526</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 (añjana) is good.
    - Alternatively, a collyrium  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$  that is harenu (harenu) mixed with long pepper  $(m\bar{a}gadh\bar{\iota})$ , the bone and the marrow of a goat, cardamom  $(el\bar{a})$  and liver, together with liver extract, is good for eyes afflicted by phlegm.<sup>527</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 (añjana) certainly destroys night blindness.
    - After preparing both a spleen ( $pl\bar{l}han$ ) and a liver on a spit, one should eat them both with ghee and oil.<sup>528</sup>
- 25cd–26ab As is well known, there are six diseases that can be alleviated (*yāpya*);

<sup>526</sup> At SS 6.12.31, Dalhaṇa glossed *arṇavamala* as cuttlefish bone (*samudraphena*). It may be worth considering whether the unusual term *arṇavamala* "ocean-filth" might refer to ambergris.

<sup>527</sup> On the identities of <code>elā</code> and <code>hareṇu</code>, Watt (Watt\_Comm: 511 ff) described the former as "true" or "lesser" or "Malabar" cardamom, <code>Elettaria</code> cardamomum, Maton & White. In contrast, the "greater" cardamom is <code>Amomum</code> subulatum (that Watt discussed on p. 65) that is commonly used as an inferior substitute for <code>E. cardamomum</code>. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 467 f) provided an interesting discussion of <code>hareṇu</code>, noting that the term refers to two substances, first the <code>satīna</code> pulse (<code>Pisum sativum</code>, Linn.), and second an unknown fruit such as perhaps a <code>Vitex</code>. They noted, "None of the text commentators have attempted to disclose the nature of its source plant," although <code>Palhaṇa</code> described it as aromatic and identical to <code>reṇukā</code> (SS.ci.2.75).

<sup>528</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.

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>529</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>530</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>531</sup>
  - 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-ground three fruits mixed with ghee off his hand (sapāṇa).532
  - 29cd Alternatively, someone afflicted by phlegm should apply them (the three fruits) mixed with oil and steeped (*pragāḍha*) in honey.
    - The very best oil, well-cooked with a decoction of cow-dung, is good in cases of partial blindness, taken as an errhine.

      In cases caused by bile, ghee by itself is good, as is oil when it arises from wind and blood.
    - 31 And in the case of wind one should apply turpeth (trivrt) based on strong mallow  $(atibal\bar{a})$ , and country mallow  $(bal\bar{a})$  in an errhine (nasya).<sup>533</sup>
      - Ghee which has been extracted from milk cooked with the meat of

<sup>529</sup> Palhaṇa said that the unexpressed topic of this recipe is partial blindness (*timira*).

<sup>530</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>531</sup> The expression "the fragrant one in oil (*tailasugandhi*)" is puzzling. The word *sugandhi* has different referents in the *Nighaṇṭu* literature but is not common as a noun in the extant literature. "Sandal" is just one of its possible meanings.

<sup>532 &</sup>quot;Off his hand" translates the adverbial *sapāṇam*, an unusual word. Dalhaṇa reproduced a reading close to the Nepalese recension but says that Jejjaṭa rejects it and so he also does (Su 1938: 627).

<sup>533 &</sup>quot;Based on" translates -āśrita "depending on" which does not construe easily here. The vulgate has śṛṭa "cooked" which makes easier sense but is not supported by the Nepalese MSS.

- aquatic creatures and those from marshlands should be prescribed.
- 32 †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>534</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  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$ . †535
- Having prepared (nisevita) a collyrium ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ) made of kohl (srotas) and gradually combine it with juices (rasa), milk and ghee.<sup>536</sup> For thirty days, this collyrium ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ) is put in the mouth of a black snake that is covered with kuśa grass (kuśa).
- Next, a collyrium ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ) that is milk containing long pepper ( $m\bar{a}gadh\bar{i}$ ), lye (k; $\bar{a}raka$ ) and Sindh salt (saindhava) that has been repeatedly prepared with the mouth of a black snake, is good in the case of bloodshot blindness ( $r\bar{a}gin\ timira$ ). 537
- They say that ghee may be produced from that and combined with sweet herbs is good as an errhine for eye-diseases caused by bile. And here, an eyewash (*tarpaṇa*) is good that is a combination that is the flesh of wild animals taken hot (*puṭāhvaya*).<sup>538</sup>
- 36 And realgar (*manaḥśilā*) mixed with elixir salve (*rasāñjana*) and honey is a liquid collyrium (*dravāñjana*) which is, in this case, combined with

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.

- 535 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.
- 536 Dalhana specified that the juices are meat soups of various animals (Su 1938:628).
- 537 Dalhana described this blindness as a type of  $k\bar{a}ca$  disease caused by wind (Su 1938: 628). The expression "bloodshot blindness" is an attempt to capture the idea of a blind eye that is dyed or coloured (not colour-blindness). This verse is quite different from the vulgate and also syntactically challenging.
- 538 The expression taken hot (puṭāhvaya) is a guess.

<sup>534</sup> Palhaṇa noted (Su 1938: 628a) that puṭāhvaya (see verse 35 below) is a synonym for puṭapāka, and that the process is described in the Kriyākalpa chapter, i.e., SS.6.18.33–38 (Su 1938: 635). On the puṭa process in the Suśrutasaṃhitā, which is earlier and different than that of rasaśāstra literature, see the discussion by Wujastyk (2019: 83):

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- mahua (madhūka).539
- Alternatively, experts on this say that finely ground blue vitriol (tuttha) extracted from a gold mine is the "same collyrium ( $sam\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ )". 540
- 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>541</sup>
  - The extracts (rasa) produced from aflame of the forest ( $pal\bar{a}\acute{s}a$ ), Rohīta tree ( $roh\bar{\imath}ta$ ),  $^{542}$  mahua ( $madh\bar{\imath}ka$ ), ground with the supernatant layer (agra) of the spirits (madira) is applied.
- Alternatively, one should cook an errhine with cuscus grass (*uśīra*), lodh tree (*lodhra*), the three fruits (*triphalā*), beauty berry (*priyaṅgu*) to pacify eye diseases caused by phlegm.<sup>543</sup>
  - One should apply smoke of the bark of embelia ( $vida\dot{n}ga$ ), velvet leaf ( $p\bar{a}th\bar{a}$ ), white siris ( $kinih\bar{\iota}$ ), and desert date ( $i\dot{n}gud\bar{\iota}$ ); and cuscus grass ( $u\dot{s}\bar{\imath}ra$ ) alone.
- A ghee that is cooked (*bhāvita*) from a decoction of a non-flowering tree (*vanaspati*)<sup>544</sup> as well as turmeric (*haridrā*) and spikenard (*nalada*) is good in a eyewash (*tarpaṇa*).
  - Alternatively, one may have an enclosed roasting ( $puṭap\bar{a}ka$ ) done with arid-land animals ( $j\bar{a}\dot{n}gala$ )<sup>545</sup> and a plentiful amount of long pepper ( $m\bar{a}gadha$ ), Sindh salt and honey.
- 40 A treatment  $(kriy\bar{a})$  with realgar  $(mana \dot{p} \dot{s} i l \bar{a})$ , the three spices, conch, honey, along with Sindh salt, green vitriol  $(k\bar{a}s\bar{i}sa)$  and elixir salve

<sup>539</sup> The expression liquid collyrium (*dravāñjana*) is only known from Dalhaṇa's comments on 6.17.11ab (Su 1938: 626). The recipe in the present collyrium is different from that discussed by Dalhaṇa.

<sup>540</sup> On *tuttha*, which may also be identified with zinc oxide or as crushed sea-urchin shells, see Falk (1991: 112 ff.); zinc oxide is a component of skin-balms but is not recommended for application in the eyes themselves. The expression "same collyrium (*samāñjana*)" is a hapax legomenon glossed inexplicably by Dalhaṇa as "a collyrium with an equal amount of fermented barley" (*tulyasauvīrāñjana*) (Su 1938: 628).

<sup>541</sup> The ablative "from collyrium" is hard to construe, but Dalhana used this term and phrase in his commentary on 6.17.41ab (Su 1938: 629).

<sup>542</sup> Probably Soymida febrifuga A. Juss.

<sup>543</sup> Palhaṇa invoked a general rule ( $paribh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$ ) to indicate that this mixture should be cooked with sesame oil.

<sup>544</sup> These are fig trees. The *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu* (252) specifies the Udumbara. Cf. the classification in CS.1.1.71–72, 1.8, *et passim*.

<sup>545</sup> On this term, see SS.1.35.42 (Su 1938: 157) and the discussion by Zimmermann (1999: 25–31).

 $(ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana).546$ 

They say that an elixir salve (*rasāñjana*) combined with myrobalans, treacle and dried ginger is good.<sup>547</sup>

- Alternatively, a collyrium  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$  that has been prepared many times in the eight types of urine<sup>548</sup> is put into water with the three fruits. Having stored it in the mouth of a nocturnal creature  $(nis\bar{a}cara)^{549}$  one should place it in a conch (salilotthita) for two months.<sup>550</sup>
- One should apply that collyrium (añjana) together with the flowers of mahua (madhūka) and horseradish tree (śigru) 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>551</sup>

- For one who has a humour, the physician should consider the rule in all humoral cases and then smear the ointment on the face.<sup>552</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>553</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>554</sup>
- Someone who uses matured ghee, the three fruits, wild asparagus, as well as mung beans, emblic and barley has nothing to fear from cases

find ref.

Check out these refs.

meaning kalpa

<sup>546</sup> Palhaṇa glossed treatment ( $kriy\bar{a}$ ) specifically as inspissation ( $rasakriy\bar{a}$ ) (Su 1938: 629).

<sup>547</sup> We emend हिते to हितम्, against the MSS.

<sup>548</sup> See Suśrutasaṃhitā mūtravarga

<sup>549</sup> Dalhaṇa glossed nocturnal creature (niśācara) as "vulture," although elsewhere in the Suśrutasaṇhitā 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>550</sup> We interpret "water-born (*salilotthita*)" as "conch" in line with *jalodbhava*, but the term is uncertain.

<sup>551</sup> The vulgate follows Þalhaṇa in glossing mlāyin as parimlāya. The description of this condition at SS.6.7.27−28 appears to refer to "blue dot" or "cerulean" cataract. √mlai derivatives can mean "dark" or "black."), which is normally a different ailment.

<sup>552</sup> The vulgate edition omits part of this verse (ab) combining earlier and later passages.

<sup>553</sup> The term watery eye (*syanda*) refers to the specific disease *abhiṣyanda*. See SS.6.6.5, 1.46.51, etc.

<sup>554</sup> Dalhana noted that *Kalpa* means the Uttaratantra adhyāya 18 (Su 1938: 633 ff).

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- 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.
- 47 When there is bloodshot blindness (*rāgiṇi timire*), the wise physician should not cut a vein. A humour injured (*utpīḍita*) by the instrument rapidly destroys vision.
- 48 Non-bloodshot blindness ( $araga\ timira$ ) in the first layer (paṭala) is treatable. And bloodshot blindness ( $r\bar{a}gini\ timire$ ) in the second layer, with difficulty. And in the third layer it can be mitigated ( $y\bar{a}pya$ ). 555
- 49 I shall explain the therapy for success when there is a cataract (*liṅganāśa*) caused by phlegm. It may be white, like a full moon, an umbrella, a pearl (*muktā*) or a spiral (*āvarta*).
- 50 Or it may be uneven, thin in the middle, streaked or have excessive shine (*prabha*). A humour (*doṣa*) in the pupil may be characterized as being painful or having blood.<sup>556</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 the black part (krsna) and from the outer corner of the eye  $(ap\bar{a}nga)$ . Then he should press  $(p\bar{i}d-)$  properly into the eye,  $^{557}$  at the naturally-occurring (daivakre) opening (chidra) with a probe  $(sal\bar{a}k\bar{a})$  made of copper or iron, with a tip like a barley-corn, held by a steady hand with the middle finger, forefinger and thumb, the left one with the right hand and the other one contrariwise.

When the piercing is done properly, there is the issue of a drop of liquid and a sound.<sup>558</sup>

<sup>555</sup> Although the text says with difficulty (krechra), the implication is that it is untreatable ( $as\bar{a}dhya$ ) (cf. 6.17.2 (Su 1938: 625) above). The three categories, treatable, untreatable and possibly mitigated are standard categories of triage.

<sup>556</sup> In the vulgate, and in parallel passages in the AS, the reading "it may be (*bhavet*)" is replaced with the negative "if, then not (*na ced*)" (cf. utt.17.1–3a (As 1980: 712)). These characteristics are then read as conditions that preclude surgery; for the Nepalese recension, they are simply descriptions of the appearance of a cataract.

<sup>557</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>558</sup> <code>Dalhaṇa</code> remarked on 6.17.61ab (Su 1938:630) that when the piercing is not correctly done, blood issues and there is no sound.

- The expert should moisten the exact place of piercing with a woman's breast-milk. Then he should scratch the circuit of the pupil (dṛṣṭimaṇḍala) with the tip of the probe (śalākā).<sup>559</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).<sup>560</sup>
- 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>561</sup>
- But if the humour cannot be destroyed or if it comes back, one should apply the piercing (*vyadha*) once again, with appropriate oils and so on.
- Now the pupil (drsti) shines like the sun (hari) in a cloudless sky; then, when objects become visible, one may slowly remove the probe  $(sal\bar{a}k\bar{a}).^{562}$
- Having smeared ghee on the eye, one should cover it with a bandage. Then, he must lie down supine in a house free from disturbances.<sup>563</sup>
- At that time, he should not belch, cough, sneeze, spit or shiver. Afterwards there should be restrictions  $(yantranaa \bar{a})$  as in the case of someone who has drunk oil. 564
- 62 Every three days one should wash it with decoctions (*kaṣāya*) that remove wind. After three days, one should sweat the eye externally because of the danger of wind.
- 559 The anatomy of the eye is described in 6.1.14-16 (Su 1938: 596). The disks or *maṇḍalas* are the circuits or disks of the eye.
- 560 Palhaṇa described sniffing (ucchingana) at 6.19.8 (Su 1938: 641), clearly intending inward sniffing.
- 561 We interpret *bhanga* as leaves, following the usage elsewhere in this sthāna 4.32.9, 6.11.5 (Su 1938: 513, 614) where *bhanga* means shoots (*pallava*). A similar procedure is described at 6.17.25a (As 1980: 716a), where sweating of the eye is done by means of the leaves of a castor-oil plant.
- 562 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.
- 563 Dalhaṇa explained disturbances specifically as dust, smoke, drafts and sunlight 6.17.67 (Su 1938: 631a).
- 564 Dalhaṇa glossed "restrictions (*yantraṇā*)" as having a controlled diet and the other restrictions appropriate to someone who is taking oil as a preparation before further therapy (6.17.68 (Su 1938: 631)). These restrictions are also described at 6.18.28 (Su 1938: 635) and 1.16.25cd (Ah 1939: 249).

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Having restrained himself in this way for ten days he should thereafter take a beneficial regimen (*karma*) that clears the pupil (*dṛṣṭi*) and also he should take light food in measure.

# [Complications]

- When there is a misshapen eyeball (*vilocana*), the eye may fill because of the release of blood from a vein.<sup>565</sup>
  - A hard probe leads to shooting pain  $(\hat{sula})$ , a thin to unsteadiness of the humours (dosapariplava),  $^{566}$
- a thick-tipped probe leads to a large wound, and a sharp one may cause harm in many ways; a very irregular one may cause a discharge of water, a rigid (*sthirā*) one brings about a loss of function (*kriyāsaṅga*).<sup>567</sup>
- 66 Therefore, one should make a good probe that is free from these defects.

# [Characteristics of the probe]

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

67 A commendable probe should be made of silver, iron or gold ( $\dot{satak}$ - $umbh\bar{\iota}$ ). $^{568}$ 

<sup>565</sup> The condition of "misshapen eye" is referred to briefly in 6.61.9 (Su 1938: 800), where Dalhana glossed it as "bent brow and eye (*vakrabhrūnetra*)." The vulgate's reading of "with blood (*śonitena*)" is easier to construe.

<sup>566</sup> There is a medically significant difference here from the vulgate, which reads "a rough (*khara*) probe" not a "thin" probe.

<sup>567</sup> This translation of loss of function (*kriyāsaṅga*) is given on the basis of Dalhaṇa's gloss of *kriyāsaṅgakarin* at 3.8.19 (Su 1938: 382) as "causing the destruction of actions such as moving (*gamanādikriyāvināśakarī*)."

<sup>568</sup> The vulgate reads "copper (tāmra)" in place of "silver."

# [Complications]

Redness, swelling, lumps, driness (coṣa), bubbling (budbuda),  $^{569}$  pigs' eye  $(s\bar{u}kar\bar{a}kṣit\bar{a})$ ,  $^{570}$ , irritation (adhimantha), etc. and other diseases arise from faults in the piercing,

- or even from bad behaviour. One should treat them each accordingly. Listen to me once again about compounds for painful red eyes. Red chalk (*gairikaḥ*), Indian sarsaparilla (*śārivā*), panic grass (*dūrvā*), and ghee ground with barley.
  - 71 This face ointment is to be used for quelling pain and redness. Or else it may be taken combined with the juice of citron (*mātuluṅga*) with sesame gently fried, mixed with white mustard (*siddhārthaka*).<sup>571</sup> This is immediately beneficial when someone is looking for relief.
  - 72 A paste with Holostemma (payasyā),<sup>572</sup> Indian sarsaparilla (śārivā), cassia cinnamon (patra), Indian madder (mañjiṣṭhā), and liquorice (madhukair) stirred with goat's milk, pleasantly warmed, is said to be healthy.<sup>573</sup>
  - Alternatively, it can be made in this way with Himalayan cedar, Himalayan cherry (*padmaka*) and dried ginger. Or, in the same way, with grapes, liquorice and the Lodh tree mixed with Sindh salt.
  - Alternatively, goats' milk with the Lodh tree, Sindh salt, red grapes and liquorice, cooked, should be used in irrigation because it removes pain and redness.
  - Having cooked it with liquorice, water-lily, and costus, mixed with grapes  $(dr\bar{a}k\bar{s}\bar{a})$ , lac  $(l\bar{a}k\bar{s}\bar{a})$ , white sugar  $(sit\bar{a})$ , with wild asparagus, Hare Foot Uraria  $(prthakparn\bar{i})$ ,  $^{574}$  nutgrass  $(must\bar{a})$ , liquorice, Hi-

<sup>569</sup> Dalhaṇa glossed "bubbling (budbuda)" as "prolapse (māṃsanirgama) that looks like bubbles."

<sup>570</sup> The expression "pigs' eye" appears to be a *hapax*. It was glossed as "downward vision (*adhodṛṣṭitva*)" by Dalhaṇa.

<sup>571</sup> On the adverbial use of gently (*mṛdu*), see Gombrich 1979.

<sup>572</sup> The identity of *payasyā* is debated (GVDB: 538), and was already in doubt at the time of Dalhaṇa but likely candidates may be those suggested by Dalhaṇa, who suggests either *arkapuṣpī* or *kṣīrakākolī*, that may be *Holostemma adakodien* Schult. and *Leptadenia reticulata* (Retz.) Wight & Arn. (ADPS: 195-196). The *Sauśrutanighaṇṭu* glosses it as *kṣīrikā* or *arkapuṣpikā* (Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: v. 307).

<sup>573</sup> The expression "stirred with goat's milk (*ajākṣīrārdita*)" is difficult. It may be connected with the rare root *ard* documented by Whitney (1885:15). Cf. √*ard gatau* (*Dhātupāṭha* 1.56).

<sup>574</sup> Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: 18.

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malayan cherry (padmaka), and Sindh salts, one should apply it [irrigation] gently warm.

- Ghee that has been cooked in four times the amount of milk that has 76cd-77ab itself been cooked with drugs that destroy wind. 575 This has an admixture of cottony jujube  $(k\bar{a}kol\bar{i})$  etc., should be prescribed in all treatments.576
- 77cd-78ab If pain does not end in this way, one should administer blood-letting to the vein of someone who has previously been oiled and sweated. Then the wise physician should apply cauterization in the advised manner. 577
- Now listen to two excellent collyriums for making the pupils clear. 78cd–8oab After grinding the flowers of perploca of the woods (mesaśrnga), siris (śirīṣa), axelwood (dhava) royal jasmine (jātī), pearl and beryl (vaidūrya) with goat's milk, one should put it in a copper pot for seven days.
  - Having made it into wicks (vartti), the physician should apply it as a 80cd-81 collyrium (añjana). Alternatively, one should make kohl (*srotoja*), coral or a dual? (vidruma), cuttlefish bone (phena), and realgar (manahśilā) and peppers into wicks as before. One should apply these wicks, which are good in a collyrium, to steady the pupil.

82 I shall again discuss the foremost collyriums at length in the *Kriyākalpa* section. Those various methods may be applied here too.

<sup>575</sup> Dalhana mentioned that these drugs include Deodar (bhadradāru) and other winddestroying drugs. The vātasamśamana group is listed in Suśrutasamhitā sūtrasthāna

<sup>576</sup> Dalhana noted that this would include errhines, ointments, etc.

<sup>577</sup> The vulgate reads vāpi for cāpi, so Dalhaṇa saw blood-letting and cautery as alternatives, not a sequence of treatments. Dalhana listed the places that cauterization may be applied, such as the brow, forehead, etc.

# Uttaratantra 38: Diseases of the Female Reproductive System

# Introduction

The chapter talks about various diseases of the female reproductive system and, in doing so, combines both aspects that go into a representation of diseases in āyurvedic literature: signs, symptoms and pathogenesis ( $ni-d\bar{a}na$ ), on the one hand, and medical treatment ( $cikits\bar{a}$ ), on the other. In chapters of the Uttaratantra, these two aspects are sometime dealt with in two different chapters  $X-vij\bar{n}\bar{a}n\bar{i}ya$  and X-pratisedha. There are, however, many examples where this distinction is not made.

## Literature

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

# Placement of the Chapter

In the vulgate text (Su 1938) the current chapter, 6.38, is found after the Uttaratantra's subsection on paediatrics, the *Kumāratantra*, see Table 3.578 But in the Nepalese version, this is chapter 6.58 of the Uttaratantra. And it is also counted as chapter 23 of the subsection *Kāyācikitsā*.

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

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

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

Several things are noteworthy in this regard:

• In the placement of the vulgate, this chapter follows upon 6.37 *Grahotpatti* (6.35 in the Nepalese version), a chapter that talks about the origination of nine demons (*graha*) that are responsible for all children's diseases described in previous chapters of the *Kumāratantra*. In this way, the current chapter retains the general focus on the child bearing (*kaumārabhṛtya*), but, at the same time, marks a change to a distinct, less mystical approach to the topic at hand (that could originate in a cultural milieu different from that of the preceding eleven chapters). Dalhaṇa explained how the chapter fits its context in the following way:

It is appropriate that, for the sake of treating the disorders of the female reproductive system, the chapter called "Countermeasures Against Disorders of the Female Reproductive System" is taught immediately after the chapter called "The Origination of Demons (*graha*)." It is because (1) there is an explicit mention of the word "*yoni*" in the statement "born in the womb (*yoni*) of animal and human" [in 6.37.13bc (Su 1938: 667)] and because (2) the disorders of the female reproductive system are the causes for the inborn disorders of children.<sup>579</sup>

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

<sup>579</sup> Dalhaṇa on 6.38.1 (Su 1938: 668): ग्रहोत्पत्त्यध्यायानन्तरं 'तिर्यग्योनिं मानुषं च' इति वचनेन योने-र्नामसंकीर्तनात् कुमारजन्मविकारकारणत्वाञ्च योनेर्व्यापञ्चिकित्सितार्थं योनिव्यापत्प्रतिषेधाध्यायारम्भो यु-ज्यत [...]।

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- 6.56 Mūtrāghātapratiṣedha (6.58 in Su 1938) and
- 6.57 Mūtrakṛcchrapratiṣedha (6.59 in Su 1938), two chapters dealing with the diseases of the urinary tract.

The current chapter carries on with the topic of diseases that affect genitalia. In its Nepalese version, the chapter opens with two verses that explain the reasons for treating the particular set of diseases. These lack any reference to the inborn disorders of children, mentioned by Dalhaṇa, and instead highlight the importance of curing female diseases for the satisfaction of male partner.

- SS.1.3 in both Su 1938 and the Nepalese version lists the chapter at the place where it is found in the vulgate.<sup>580</sup>
- Parallel chapters in the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* and the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃ-hitā* form a part of the *Śalyatantra* section of each text.

### **Parallels**

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

A close literary parallel to the first part of the chapter is found in  $M\bar{a}dhavanid\bar{a}na$  (MN<sub>3</sub>) 62, or at least its version printed in Y. T.  $\bar{A}c\bar{a}rya$  (MN<sub>3</sub>: 361). The readings of the MN<sub>3</sub> as it stands now usually side with the vulgate version rather than with the Nepalese. In addition to the basic text, there are several valuable pointers made in the Madhukośa, an early commentary on the MN<sub>3</sub>. This part of the text is authored by Śrīkaṇṭhadatta, who was most like a direct student of Vijarakṣita. The latter wrote the first part of the Madhukośa, up to chapter 32, and, what is more, can be dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries.<sup>581</sup>

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

<sup>580</sup> See 1.3.37ab (Su 1938: 15): नैगमेषचिकित्सा च ग्रहोत्पत्तिः सयोनिजा ॥. 581 Meulenbeld 1974b: 22–26.

# Philological notes

#### Metrical alterations

The first two verses in the Nepalese version, 6.38.2.1 and 6.38.4.1, are written in a classical variety of the *upajāti* metre:  $\bigcup \bigcup \bigcup \bigcup \bigcup \bigcup \bigcup \bigcup \bigcup \bigcup \bigcup$  In content, they are only approximately parallel to three hemistichs in *anuṣṭubh* metre found in the vulgate.<sup>582</sup> The latter verses lack the apologetic explanation concerning the reasons for this chapter being taught.

## The original opening verses

From verse *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 6.38.5.1 onwards, the Nepalese version of the text continues with three hemistichs in the same classical *upajāti* metre (the syllabic pattern above).<sup>583</sup> By contrast, the vulgate contains two complete verses (four hemistichs) in the *anuṣṭubh* metre, again with only loosely-related content.<sup>584</sup> The three final hemistichs of this group are borrowed verbatim from the *Carakasaṃhitā*.<sup>585</sup> We can be sure of the direction of borrowing because one of these shared verses says that the twenty kinds of diseases of the female reproductive system "have already been indicated in the *Compendium of Diseases* (rogasaṃgraha)".<sup>586</sup> This statement does not make any sense in the context of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, where no such Compendium exists.<sup>587</sup> By contrast, in the *Carakasaṃhitā* this reference points back to chapter 1.19 (Ca 1941: 109–112), which calls itself "The Compendium of Diseases".<sup>588</sup> This Compendium lists all the diseases dealt with in later sections of the text, and specifically mentions the twenty diseases of female reproductive system.<sup>589</sup> Even the vocabulary and wording of this

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582 Suśrutasaṃhitā 6.38.3–4ab (Su 1938: 668).
583 The metre of these verses is not perfect.
584 Suśrutasaṃhitā 6.38.4cd–6ab (Su 1938: 668).
585 Carakasaṃhitā 6.30.7cd–8 (Ca 1941: 634).
586 Suśrutasaṃhitā 6.38.5ab (Su 1938: 668): विंशतिर्व्यापदो योनेर्निर्दिष्टा रोगसंग्रहे ॥ ← Carakasaṃhitā 6.30.7cd (Ca 1941: 634).
587 The remark was not commented on by Ḍalhaṇa.
588 Carakasaṃhitā 1.19.9cd (Ca 1941: 112): रोगाध्याये प्रकाशिताः.
589 Carakasaṃhitā 1.19.3 (Ca 1941: 110): विंशतिर्योनिव्यापदः।
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passage is identical to the later verses. It is beyond doubt that this passage originated in the *Carakasaṃhitā* and was borrowed by the editors of the vulgate text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. $^{590}$ 

<sup>590</sup> The above three hemistichs in *anuṣṭubh* are also repeated in the  $MN_3$  62.1–2ab. Given that the subsequent verses in the  $MN_3$  stem from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, it is likely that  $MN_3$  62.1–2ab too was borrowed from from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and not from its original location in the *Carakasaṃhitā*).

#### **Translation**

- 1 And now I shall explain the countermeasures against disorders of the female reproductive system (*yonivyāpat*).<sup>591</sup>
- \*3 Since for good men, a woman is the most pleasurable thing, therefore a physician should diligently attend to the diseases located in the female reproductive system (*yoni*), because he is entirely devoted to it (that is, to curing these diseases) for the sake of (people's) happiness.<sup>592</sup>
- \*4 A corrupted female reproductive system (yoni) cannot consume semen  $(b\bar{\imath}ja)$ , and therefore, the woman cannot take a fetus (that is, become pregnant). She gets severe prolapses  $(ar\acute{s}as)$ , abdominal lump (gulma) and similarly many other diseases (roga).
- \*5 Humours (doṣa), wind  $(v\bar{a}ta)$ , etc., corrupted due to faulty medical treatment  $(mithyopac\bar{a}ra)$ , 593 sexual activity, fate, and also defects (doṣa) of menstrual blood  $(\bar{a}rtava)$  and semen  $(b\bar{\imath}ja)$ , produce various diseases in the female reproductive organ (yoni). These 20 diseases are taught here distinctly and one by one along with their treatment

<sup>591</sup> On this broad understanding of the term *yoni* as "female reproductive system" see Das 2003: pp. 572–5.

<sup>592</sup> As our translation indicates, the sentence construction does not allow an unambiguous identification of who or what is the referent of the pronoun *tad* in the compound form *tadadhīna* 'devoted to it.' Our current understanding is that *tad* refers to the 'most pleasurable thing' mentioned in pāda a. It could, however, also refer to 'them,' that is, the 'good men.'

<sup>593</sup> In our translation of the compound मिथ्योपचार, we decided for the technical meaning of the term उपचार, that is, "medical application" or "treatment." The combination मिथ्या+उप- $\sqrt{=}$ र् is attested several times in medical literature. At least once, at *Caraka*saṃhitā 3.3.38 (Ca 1941: 245), it is given an explicit gloss by Cakrapāṇidatta: मिथ्यो-पचरितानिति असम्यक् चिकित्सितान् "... given improper therapy". In the Suśrutasaṃhitā (Su 1938), it is used once in a passage (6.18.30 (Su 1938:635)) where it refers specifically to the wrong application of irrigation (tarpaṇa) and roasting (puṭapāka), both of which are mentioned in the previous verse. Another use of the compound in a similar meaning is found in a citation from Bhoja's work quoted by Gayadāsa at Suśrutasaṃhitā 2.5.17 (Su 1938: 287): श्वित्रं तु द्विविधं प्रोक्तं दोषजं व्रणजं तथा। तत्र मिथ्योपचारा-द्धि व्रणस्य व्रणजं स्मृतम् ॥ "... arises from wrong treatment of the wound." In contrast to this, the parallel verse in Suśrutasamhitā 6.38.5ab (Su 1938: 668) = Carakasamhitā 6.30.8 (Ca 1941: 634) = MN<sub>3</sub> 62.1 reads मिथ्याचार "wrong conduct." All commentators (Cakrapāṇidatta on the Carakasaṃhitā, Śrīkaṇṭhadatta on the MN<sub>3</sub>, and Dalhaṇa on the Suśrutasaṃhitā) explain that the wrong conduct stands here specifically for unwholesome diet. The parallel in *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṃhitā* 6.33.27 (Ah 1939: 895) = *Aṣṭāṅ*gasaṅgraha 6.38.34a (As 1980: 829) plainly reads दुष्तभोजन "corrupted food" instead.

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

- \*6.1 Because of wind (*vāta*), female reproductive organ (*yoni*) becomes:
  - 1. udāvartā (udāvartā),
  - 2. called Infertile (vandhyā), and
  - 3. Sprung (plutā),
  - 4. Flooded (pariplutā), and
  - 5. Windy (vātalā).
- \*6.2 And because of choler (*pitta*), occur:
  - 1. With bloodloss (raktakṣayā),
  - 2. Vomiting (*vāminī*), and
  - 3. Causing a Fall (*sraṃsanī*),
  - 4. Child-murderess (putraghnī), and also
  - 5. Bilious / Choleric (*pittalā*).
- \*7.1 And because of phlegm (*kapha*) occur:
  - 1. Extremely Excited (atyānandā),
  - 2. Protuberant (karninī), and
  - 3. & 4. two Caraṇī (caraṇī), and
    - 5. other Phlegmatic (*śleṣmalā*).
- \*7.2 And similarly there are other (kinds of morbid female reproductive system) involving all *doṣa*s:
  - 1. Impotent (śandhī),
  - 2. With testicles (andīnī),
  - 3. two Huge (mahatī),
  - 4. With a needle-like opening (sūcīvaktrā),
  - 5. Sarvātmikā (sarvātmikā).

# Uttaratantra 65: Rules of Interpretation

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>588</sup> Other explorations of this topic include Nārāyaṇa 1949; Dasgupta 1952; Oberhammer 1968; TYV; Lele 1981; Scharfe 1993; Mejor 2000; A. Singh 2003.

Frauwallner 1958 discussed the influence of the *tantrayuktis* in the Sāṅkhya tradition. Preisendanz (2013: 105–106, fn. 109) provided further references to the discussion of *yukti* in Buddhist literatures. Manevskaia (2008) gave examples of the use of tantrayuktis in Buddhist commentarial literature. Chevillard (2009) discusses the translation of the *tantrayuktis* in Tamil literary tradition, with a specific focus on *Tolkāppiyam* and its commentaries.

# **Early Sources**

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

#### The Arthaśāstra

The enumeration and definitions of the *tantrayuktis* in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* closely parallel their treatment in the *Arthaśāstra*. *Tantrayuktis* are discussed in the fifteenth and final chapter of the *Arthaśāstra*, called the *Tantrayukti*. For a side-by-side comparison of the *tantrayuktis* in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and the *Arthaśāstra*, please refer to Table 4.

## The Yuktidīpikā

Yuktidīpikā (circa late sixth to early eighth century), an anonymous commentary on Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṅkhyakārikā, initiates its discourse with a detailed discussion of the characteristics of a scientific treatise, some of which align with the tantrayuktis.<sup>590</sup> In the Yuktidīpikā, these terms are referred to as tantraguṇa or tantrasampat. They are: (1) sūtropapatti (2) pramāṇopapatti (3) avayavopapatti (4) anyūnatā (5) saṃśayokti (6) nirṇayokti (7) uddeśa (8) nirdeśa (9) anukrama (10) saṃjñā and (11) upadeśa.<sup>591</sup> Apart from these, the Yuktidīpikā also exemplifies (12) utsarga (general rule), (13) apavāda (exception), and (14) atideśa (extended application). However, utsarga and apavāda are not considered tantrayuktis in other comprehensive lists. The Yuktidīpikā further states that while other tantrayuktis can be demonstrated in a similar manner, since they are peripheral topics, the text does not delve into their discussion.<sup>592</sup>

### Tamil literature

Discussions on the *tantrayuktis* are also found in Tamil technical literature, the earliest of which is the *Tolkāppiyam*.<sup>593</sup> A list of 32 *tantrayuktis*, called

<sup>589</sup> Arthaśāstra: 280–283

<sup>590</sup> See Oberhammer 1968: 605–614 for a detailed discussion of the use of the *tantrayuktis* in the *Yuktidīpikā*.

<sup>591</sup> सूत्रप्रमाणावयवोपपत्तिरन्यूनता संशयनिर्णयोक्तिः। उद्देशनिर्देशमनुक्रमश्च संज्ञोपदेशाविह तन्त्रसम्पत्॥ Yuktidīpikā: 3

<sup>592</sup> एवम्प्रकारा अन्येऽपि द्रस्तव्याह् । तद्यथोत्सर्गोऽपवादोऽतिदेश इत्यादि ।...इत्येवमन्या अपि तन्त्रयुक्तयः श-क्या इह प्रदर्शयितुम् । अतिप्रसङ्गस्तु प्रकृतं तिरोदधातीति निवर्त्यते । सिद्धं तन्त्रयुक्तीनां सम्बन्धोपपत्तेस्त-न्त्रम् इदम् इति ।.Yuktidīpikā: 8

<sup>593</sup> For a detailed discussion of the treatment of the *tantrayuktis* in the *Tolkāppiyam* see Chevillard 2009.

utti or tantiravutti in Tamil, are given in the 27<sup>th</sup> (the final) chapter titled Marapiyal "Chapter on conventions" of the last book called Poruļ "Matters" of the Tolkāppiyam. There is no consensus regarding the dating of the Tolkāppiyam. However, if we endorse Zvelebil's view, which posits that the final redaction of the Tolkāppiyam occurred around the fifth century AD, it follows that this section of the Tolkāppiyam cannot postdate the fifth century. If we follow the dating of Zvelebil, we can safely argue that by that time, Sanskrit tantrayuktis had already been translated into Tamil. Nevertheless, determining the correspondence between specific tantrayuktis and Tamil uttis poses a challenge. A major factor contributing to this challenge is the disagreement between two commentators of the Tolkāppiyam, namely Iļampūraṇar (11th or 12th century) and Pērāciriyar (possibly 13th century), regarding the interpretation of the list of uttis. It is still not clear which list of 32 tantrayuktis was before the author of the Tolkāppiyam.

After the *Tolkāppiyam*, several other Tamil texts refer to the *tantrayuktis*. Among them the *Yāpparuṅkalam* (possibly 10th century), the *Vīracoliyam* (11th century), *Naṇṇūl* (late 12th or early 13th century), and their commentaries hold significant importance in this context.

## The Vișnudharmottarapurāņa

The third book of the *Viṣṇudharmattarapurāṇa*, believed to have been composed between the fifth and seventh centuries, includes a chapter dedicated to the *tantrayuktis*. <sup>594</sup> Unlike the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Suśrutasaṇhitā*, this chapter lacks illustrative examples of the *tantrayuktis*. The chapter lists 32 *tantrayuktis* followed by definitions. Notably, the list and definitions given here – we are using the critical edition by Priyabala Shah – in most cases bear a striking resemblance to those found in the *Suśrutasaṇ-hitā*. Given the striking alignment between the list and definitions of *tantrayuktis*, one could suggest that the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*'s chapter on *tantrayuktis* likely draws directly or indirectly from the *Suśrutasaṇhitā* or from a common source. The designations and the order of the *tantrayuktis* in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* are almost identical. The only differences in the order are as follows:

1. *Viparyaya* is placed after *vidhāna* whereas in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* it follows *arthāpatti*.

- 2. *Anumata* is placed after *vyākhyāna* whereas in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* it follows *niṛṇaya*.
- 3. *Anāgatāvekṣaṇa* (*anāgatāpekṣaṇa* in the Nepalese version) occurs after *atikrāntāvekṣaṇa* (*atikrāntāpekṣaṇa* in the Nepalese version) whereas the order is reverse in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

For a side-by-side comparison of the *tantrayukti*s in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, please refer to Table 4.

#### The Saddanīti

A list of the 32 tantrayuktis accompanied by definitions also appear in the final chapter (*Pariccheda* 28) of the final book (book 3: *Suttamālā*) of the renowned Pali grammar *Saddanīti* composed by Aggavaṃsa in Arimaddanapura (modern Bagan, Burma) in the twelfth-century.<sup>595</sup> Just as the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, this list also does not provide examples of the *tantrayuktis*. Although written in Pali, the order and the definition of the *tantrayuktis* (*tantiyutti* in Pali) closely resemble those of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. There are, however, a few differences:

- 1. The *tantrayukti pradeśa* is referred to as *paṭidesa* (Sanskrit *pratideśa*) and is positioned after *atidesa* (Sanskrit *atideśa*) whereas in the *Su-śrutasaṃhitā* it follows *apadeśa*.
- 2. Atikrāntāpekṣaṇa is designated as atītāpekkhana (Sanskrit atītāpekṣaṇa).
- 3. Svasanjina is designated as ananna sakasanjina (Sanskrit ananya svasanjina) and is defined with subtle variations.
- 4. Ūhya is designated as upānīya.

For a side-by-side comparison of the *tantrayukti*s in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* and the *Saddanīti*, please refer to Table 4.

Table 4: Tantrayuktis in  $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$  (S),  $Vișnu-dharmottarapur\bar{a}na$  (V),  $Artha\acute{s}\bar{a}stra$  (A), and  $Saddan\bar{\imath}ti$  (N)

Sequence	Terms	Definitions
(S) 1. (V) 1.	adhikaraṇa adhikaraṇa	तत्र यमर्थमधिकृत्योच्यते तदधिकरणम् । तत्र यमर्थमधिकृत्योच्यते तदधिकरणम् ।
(A) 1. (N) 1.	adhikaraṇa adhikaraṇa	यमर्थमधिकृत्योच्यते तदधिकरण । तत्थ यं अधिकिच्च वुच्चति, तं अधिकरणं ।
(S) 2.	yoga	येन वाक्यं युज्यते स योगः। यथा व्यत्यासेनो- क्तानां सन्निकृष्टविप्रकृष्टानां पदार्थानाम् एकी- करणम्।
(V) 2. (A) 3.	yoga yoga	येन वाक्यार्थो युज्यते स योगः। वाक्ययोजना योगः।
(N) 2.	yoga	पुब्बापरवसेन वुत्तानं सन्निहितासन्निहितानं प- दानं एकीकरणं योगो;।
(S) 3.	padārtha	योऽर्थोऽभिहितः सूत्रे पदे वा स पदार्थः। पदस्य पदयोः पदानां वा योऽर्थः स पदार्थः। अपरिमि- ताश्च पदार्थाः।
(V) 3.	padārtha	योऽर्थो विधिकृतः सूत्रपदे स पदार्थः।
(A) 4.	padārtha	पदावधिकः पदार्थः।
(N) 3.	padattha	सुत्तपदेसु पुब्बापरयोगतो यो अत्थो विहितो, सो पदत्थो।
(S) 4.	hetvartha	यदुक्तं साधनं भवति स हेत्वर्थः।
(V) 4.	hetvartha	यदन्यद्युक्तिमदर्थस्य साधनं स हेत्वर्थः।
(A) 5.	hetvartha	हेतुरर्थसाधको हेत्वर्थः।
(N) 4.	hetuattha	यं वुत्तत्थसाधकं, सो हेतुअत्थो।
(S) 5.	uddeśa / samuddeśa	समासवचनं स्मुद्देशः।
(V) 5.	uddeśa	समासवचनमुद्देशः।
(A) 6.	uddeśa	समासवाक्यमुद्देशः।
(N) 5.	uddesa	समासवचनं उद्देसो।
(S) 6.	nirdeśa	विस्तरवचनं निर्देशः।
(V) 6.	nirdeśa	विस्तरवचनं निर्देशः।
(A) 7.	nirdeśa	व्यासवाक्यं निर्देशः।
(N) 6.	niddesa	वित्थारवचनं निद्देसो।

Soguence	Torms	Definitions
Sequence	Terms	Deminons
(S) 7.	upadeśa	एवमित्युपदेशः।
(V) 7.	upadeśa	एवमेवेत्युपदेशः।
(A) 8.	upadeśa	एवं वर्तितव्यमित्युपदेशः।
(N) 7.	upadesa	एवन् ति उपदेसो।
(S) 8.	apadeśa	अनेन कारणेनेत्यपदेशः।
(V) 8.	apadeśa	अनेन कारणेनेत्यपदेशः।
(A) 9.	apadeśa	एवमसावाहेत्यपदेशः।
(N) 8.	apadesa	अनेन कारणेना ति अपदेसो।
(S) 9.	pradeśa	प्रकृतस्यातिक्रान्तेन साधनं प्रदेशः।
(V) 9.	pradeśa	प्रकृतस्यानागतेन साधनं प्रदेशः।
(A) 11.	predeśa	वक्तव्येन साधनं प्रदेशः।
(N) 10.	paṭidesa	पकतस्स अनागतेन अत्थसाधनं पटिदेसो।
(S) 10.	atideśa	प्रकृतस्यानागतेन साधनम् अतिदेशः।
(V) 10.	atideśa	अतिक्रमणेन अतिदेशः।
(A) 10.	atideśa	उक्तेन साधनमतिदेशः।
(N) 9.	atidesa	पकतस्स अतिक्कन्तेन साधनं अतिदेसो।
(S) 11.	apavarga	अभिप्रमृज्यापकर्षणमपवर्गः ।
(V) 11.	apavarga	अभिप्रायानुकर्षणमपवर्गः ।
(A) 22.	apavarga	अभिप्लुतव्यपकर्षणमपवर्गः।
(N) 11.	apavagga	अतिव्यापेत्वा अपनयनं अपवग्गो।
(S) 12.	vākyaśeṣa	येन पदेनानुक्तेन वाक्यं समाप्यते स वाक्य- शेषः।
(V) 12.	vākyaśeṣa	येनार्थः परिसमाप्यते पदेनाहार्येण स वाक्य-
, ,	·	शेषः।
(A) 17.	vākyaśeṣa	येन वाक्यं समाप्यते स वाक्यशेषः।
(N) 12.	vākyadosa	येन पदेन अवुत्तेन वाक्यपरिसमापनं भवति, सो वाक्यदोसो।
(S) (V)		
(A) 12.	иратāпа	दृष्टेनादृष्टस्य साधनमुपमानम्।
(N)		
(S) 13.	arthāpatti	यदकीर्तितमर्थादापद्यते सार्थापत्तिः।
(V) 13.	arthāpatti	यदकीर्तितमर्थादापद्यते सार्थापत्तिः।

Sequence	Terms	Definitions
(A) 13.	arthāpatti	यदनुक्तमर्थादापद्यते सार्थापत्तिः।
(N) 13.	atthāpatti	यद् अकित्तितं अत्थतो आपज्जति, सा अत्था-
		पत्ति ।
(S) 14.	viparyaya	यद्यस्य प्रातिलोम्यं तद्विपर्ययः।
(V) 20.	viparyaya	तस्य प्रातिलोम्यं विपर्ययः।
(A) 16.	viparyaya	प्रतिलोमेन साधनं विपर्ययः।
(N) 14.	vipariyaya	यं यत्थ विहितं, तत्र यं तस्स पटिलोमं, सो वि- परिययो।
(S) 15.	prasaṅga	प्रकरणान्तरेण समानः प्रसङ्गः।
(V) 14.	prasaṅga	प्रकरणाभिहितोऽर्थः केनचिदुपोद्घातेन पुनरु-
, , ,	, 0	च्यमानः प्रसङ्गः।
(A) 15.	prasaṅga	प्रकरणान्तरेण समानोऽर्थः प्रसङ्गः।
(N) 15.	pasaṅga	पकरणन्तरेन समानो अत्थो पसङ्गो ।
(S) 16.	ekānta	यदवधारणेनोच्यते स एकान्तः।
(V) 15.	ekānta	यथा तथा स एकान्तः।
(A) 26.	ekānta	सर्वत्रायत्तमेकान्तः।
(N) 16.	ekānta	सब्बथा यं तथा, सो एकान्तो।
(S) 17.	anekānta	क्वचित्तथा क्वचिदन्यथा सोऽनेकान्तः।
(V) 16.	anekānta	क्वचित्तथा क्वचिदन्यथाऽसावनेकान्तः।
(A)		
(N) 17.	anekānta	यो पन कत्थचि अञ्जथा सो अनेकान्तो।
(S) 18.	pūrvapakṣa	यस्तु निःसंशयमभिधीयते स पूर्वपक्षः।596
(V) 17.	pūrvapakṣa	प्रतिषेधवचनं पूर्वपक्षः।
(A) 24.	pūrvapakṣa	प्रतिषेद्धव्यं वाक्यं पूर्वपक्षः।
(N) 18.	pubbapakkha	[यो] तु निस्सन्देहम् अभिधीयते, सो पुब्बप- क्खो।
(S) 19.	nirṇaya	तस्योत्तरं निर्णयः।
(V) 18.	nirṇaya	उत्तरवचनं निर्णयः।
(A) 25.	uttarapakṣa	निर्णयवाक्यमुत्तरपक्षः।
(N) 19.	niṇṇaya	तस्स यं उत्तरं, सो निण्णयो ।
(S) 20.	anumata	परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतम् ।
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<sup>596</sup> This definition of *pūrvapakṣa* in the Nepalese version is problematic.

Sequence	Terms	Definitions
(V) 25.	anumata	परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतम् ।
(A) 18.	anumata	परवाक्यमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतम्।
(N) 20.	anumata	परमतम् अप्पटिसिद्धं अनुमतं।
(S) 21.	vidhāna	प्रकरणानुपूर्व्यादभिहितं विधानम् ।
(V) 19.	vidhāna	प्रकरणानुपूर्वं विधानम्।
(A) 2.	vidhāna	शास्त्रस्य प्रकरणानुपूर्वी विधानम् ।
(N) 21.	vidhāna	पकरणानुपुब्बं विधानं ।
(S) 22.	anāgatāpekṣaṇa	एवं वक्ष्यतीत्यनागतापेक्षणम् ।
(V) 22.	anāgatāpekṣaṇa	परत्र वक्षामीत्यनागतावेक्षणम् ।
(A) 27.	anāgatāvekṣaṇa	पश्चादेवं विहितमित्यनागतावेक्षणम् ।
(N) 22.	anāgatāpekkhana	एवं वक्खामि ति अनागतापेक्खनं।
(S) 23.	atikrāntāpekṣaṇa	इत्युक्तमित्यतिक्रान्तापेक्षणम् ।
(V) 21.	atikrāntāpekṣaṇa	इत्युक्तमतिक्रान्तावेक्षणम् ।
(A) 28.	atikrāntāvekṣaṇa	पुरस्तादेवं विहितमित्यतिक्रान्तावेक्षणम्।
(N) 23.	atītāpekkhana	इति वुत्तन् ति अतीतापेक्खनं ।
(S) 24.	saṃśaya	उभयहेतुनिदर्शनं संशयः।
(V) 23.	saṃśaya	उभयतो हेतुदर्शनं संशयः।
(A) 14.	saṃśaya	उभयतो हेतुमानर्थः संशयः।
(N) 24.	saṃsaya	उभयहेतुदस्सनं संसयो।
(S) 25.	vyākhyāna	तत्रातिशयोपवर्णनं व्याख्यानम् ।
(V) 24.	vyākhyāna	तत्रातिशयवर्णनातिव्याख्यानम् ।
(A) 19.	vyākhyāna	अतिशयवर्णना व्याख्यानम् ।
(N) 25.	vyākhyāna	संवण्णना व्याख्यानम् ।
(S) 26.	svasaṃjñā	अन्यशास्त्रासामान्या स्वसंज्ञा।
(V) 26.	svasaṃjñā	परैरसम्मतः शब्दः स्वसंज्ञा ।
(A) 23.	svasaṃjñā	परैरसमितः शब्दः स्वसंज्ञा ।
(N) 26.	anaññā sakasaññā	भूतानं पवत्ता आरम्भचिन्ता अनञ्जा, सस्स सा-
		धारणा सकसञ्जा।
(S) 27.	nirvacana	लोकप्रथितमुदाहरणं निर्वचनम्।
(V) 27.	nirvacana	लोके प्रतीतमुदाहरणं निर्वचनम्।
(A) 20.	nirvacana	गुणतः शब्दनिष्पत्तिर्निर्वचनम्।
(N) 27.	nibbacana	लोकप्पतीतम् उदाहरणं निब्बचनं।

Sequence	Terms	Definitions
(S) 28. (V) 28. (A) 21. (N) 28. (S) 29. (V) 29. (A) 29. (N) 29. (S) 30. (V) 30. (A) 30.	nidarśana nidarśana nidarśana nidassana niyoga niyoga niyoga niyoga vikalpa vikalpa vikalpa	दृष्टान्तव्यक्तिर्निदर्शनम्। तद्युक्तिनिदर्शनं दृष्टान्तः। दृष्टान्तो दृष्टान्तयुक्तो निदर्शनम्। दिट्ठन्तसंयोगो निदस्सनं। इदमेवेति नियोगः। एवेति नियोगः। एवं नान्यथेति नियोगः। इदम् एवा ति नियोगो। । इदं वेदं वेति विकल्पः। अनेन वानेन वेति विकल्पः।
(N) 30. (S) 31. (V) 31. (A) 31. (N) 31. (S) 32. (V) 32. (A) (N) 32.	vikappa samuccaya samuccaya samuccaya samuccaya ūhya ūhya ūhya upānīya	इदं वा ति विकप्पो। । इदं चेदं चेति समुच्चयः। अनेन चानेन चेति समुच्चयः। संखेपवचनं समुच्चयो। यदनिर्दिष्टं बुद्धिगम्यं तदूह्यम्। अत्र यदनिर्दिष्टं युक्तिगम्यं तदूह्यम्। अनुक्तकरणमूह्यम्। यद् अनिद्दिट्ठं बुद्धिया अवगमनीयं, तद् उपानी- यन् ति।

# **Āyurvedic literature**

# **Primary texts**

While references to *tantrayuktis* can be found across various disciplines, Āyurveda places a particular emphasis on their discussion, especially evident in key texts of Āyurveda, such as the *Caraka*- and the *Suśruta- saṃ-hitās*, as well as the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*. The *Carakasaṃhitā* and *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* present an identical list of *tantrayuktis* contained in a stanza of four

anuṣṭubh verses.<sup>597</sup> However, unlike the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* they lack explicit definitions and examples. This list of the *tantrayuktis* appear in the final chapter of the last book in both *Carakasaṃhitā* (41b–45a, chapter 12, *Siddhisthāna*) and *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* (150–153, chapter 50, *Uttarasthāna*). The same has been quoted by Aruṇadatta in his commentary *Sarvāṅgasundarī* on the *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛḍaya* while elucidating the concept of *tantraguṇa* (qualities of the system).<sup>598</sup> Notably, this list consists of 36 *tantrayuktis* instead of 32 found in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and other texts. The additional four are: *prayojana* (objective), *pratyutsāra* (rebuttal), *uddhāra*, and *sambhava* (origin).

The presence of identical verses enumerating the tantrayuktis in the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā, Carakasaṃhitā and Sarvāṅgasundarī strongly suggests a shared origin. However, a critical issue arises due to the absence of a comprehensive critical edition of the chapter 12 of the Siddhisthāna of the Carakasaṃhitā, leaving uncertainty about the total number of tantrayuktis recognized by Dṛḍhabala in this section. The problem arises from different readings of the half-verse that occurs right before the list of 36 tantrayuktis. In MS Kathmandu NAK 1/1648 (dated 1183 AD, the oldest dated manuscript of the Carakasaṃhitā known to us), the reading of this verse is: पद्गिराद्धिविचित्राभिभू[ष]तं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः॥ This number of 36 tantrayuktis perfectly agrees with the following list of the 36 tantrayuktis. A similar reading is found in Trikamji's 1933 Carakasaṃhitā

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597 तत्राधिकरणं योगो हेत्वर्थोऽर्थः पदस्य च।
    प्रदेशोद्देशनिर्देशवाक्यशेषाः प्रयोजनम्॥
    उपदेशापदेशातिदेशार्थापत्तिनिर्णयाः।
    प्रसङ्गैकान्तनैकान्ताः सापवर्गो विपर्ययः॥
    पूर्वपक्षविधानानुमतव्याख्यानसंशयाः।
    अतीतानागतापेक्षास्वसंज्ञोह्यसमुच्चयाः॥
    निदर्शनं निर्वचनं नियोगोऽथ विकल्पनम्।
    प्रत्युत्सारस्तथोद्धारः सम्भवस्तन्त्रयुक्तयः॥
    Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha 6.50.150–153a (As 1980: 959).
                                                               Carakasaṃhitā 8.12.41b–45a
    (Ca 1941: 736) reads almost the same. The only two variants are (1) अतीतानाग-
    तावेक्षा... and (2) निर्वचनं संनियोगो विकल्पनम्.
598 Aruṇadatta on the Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṃḥitā 6.40.78 (Ah 1939: 946).
599 We know from internal textual evidence that the Siddhisthāna of the Carakasamhitā in
    which the list of the tantrayuktis appear was originally authored by Drdhabala, who
    lived in a town called Pancanada sometime between 300 and 500 AD.
    Cf. अखण्डार्थं दृढबलो जातः पञ्चनदे पुरे।
    कृत्वा बहुभ्यस्तन्त्रेभ्यो विशेषोञ्छशिलोच्चयम्॥
    सप्तदशौषधाध्यायसिद्धिकल्पैरपुरयत्।
    8.12.39-40a (Ca 1941: 735)
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edition which contains only the mūla-text. 600 However, although most of the other editions consist of the same reading, a number of editions show quite a lot of discrepancies with the number. For example, Trikamji's 1941 edition of the Carakasamhitā reads the same half-verse as षड्विंशता विचित्राभिभृषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः। 8.12.41a (Ca 1941: 735). In the same edition, the reading of Cakrapāni's *Āyurvedadīpikā* supports the reading: षड्गिंशत्तन्त्रयुक्तिभिर्भृषितमपुरयदृढबल इति योजना. However, after this verse, the same edition consists of the versified list of the 36 tantrayuktis and commenting on these verses, the *Āyurvedadīpikā* confirms the total number of the tantrayuktis as 36: इत्येताः षद्विंशत्तन्त्रयुक्तयो व्याहृताः।. 601 Moreover, the edition of Rāmaprasāda Vaidyopādhyāya reads the half-verse as— पञ्च-त्रिंशद्विचित्राभिर्भूषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः. 602 Rāmaprasāda Vaidyopādhyāya excludes ūhya. 603 The same reading is found in Satīśacandra Śarmā's third edition of the Carakasamhitā. 604 However, adding more troubles to it, Satīśacandra Sarmā, in his Bengali translation, says that there are 34 tantrayuktis (even though the main Sanskrit text of his edition counts 35). Then he in fact illustrates 36 tantrayuktis making a remark that states—

"in Gaṅgadhara's reading, there are 36 tantrayuktis because he counts saṃśaya twice in his commentary. But 35 was reckoned in his mūla-text. Another manuscript reckons 34 tantrayuktis excluding apadeśa. This edition reads thirty-five instead of thirty-four or thirty-six." 605

In the edition of Narendranātha Senagupta and Balāicandra Senagupta that includes Cakrapāṇi's *Āyurvedadīpikā* and Gaṅgādhara's *Jalpakalpataru*, the Sanskrit *mūla* and the *Jalpakalpataru* enumerate 36

<sup>600</sup> षद्विंशता विचित्राभिभूषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः॥ 8.12.70a (Ca 1933: 972).

<sup>601</sup> Ca 1941: 737.

<sup>602</sup> Ca 1911: 1913.

<sup>603</sup> Understanding the tantrayukti samuccaya as asamuccaya, he reads the verse where ūhya appears as— अतीतानागतापेक्षा स्वसंज्ञा ह्यसमुञ्चयाः. Surely, this reading is erroneous as the plural ending after samuccaya does not make sense.

<sup>604</sup> Ca 1923: 1020. His first edition, however, reads the half-verse the same as the reading in Ca 1933. (Ca 1904: 884)

<sup>605 &</sup>quot;গঙ্গাধর পাঠ— তন্ত্রযুক্তি ছত্রিশ প্রকার। তিনি টীকাতে সংশয়কে দুই বার উল্লেখ করিয়া ছত্রিশ প্রকার গণনা করিয়াছেন, কিন্তু তাঁহার মূলে পঁয়ত্রিশ প্রকার আছে; গ্রন্থান্তরে ৩৪ প্রকার আছে; তাহাতে 'অপদেশ' ধর্ত্তব্য হয় নাই। এই অনুবাদের মূলে চতুস্ত্রিংশৎ বা ষট্ত্রিংশৎ স্থলে পঞ্চত্রিংশৎ লিখিত হইল।" Ca 1923: 1022.

tantrayuktis. However, in the same edition, the Āyurvedadīpikā reads, पञ्च- त्रिंशत्तन्त्रयुक्तिभिर्भूषितमपूरयदृढबल इति योजना. 606 Again, after the illustrations of the 36 tantrayuktis it reads, इत्येताः षट्टिंशत्तन्त्रयुक्तयो व्याहृताः. 607 In his edition of the Tantrayuktivicāra, Muthuswami also mentions that 35 tantrayuktis are reckoned in the Carakasaṃhitā. 608 Jivānanda Vidyāsagara's edition gives no number at all— तथा च ता विचित्राभिभ्षितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः. 609

Commentaries on the Carakasamhitā prior to Cakrapāni's Ayurvedadīpikā, such as the Carakanyāsa of Bhaṭṭāra Hariścandra (c. mid-sixth century) or *Nirantarapadavyākhyā* of Jejjaṭa (c. 7th or 8th century AD) do not help much because the extant portions of these commentaries do not include the concerned section of the 12th chapter of the Siddhisthāna. However, Hariscandra was possibly not aware of the total number and the list of the tantrayuktis in the final chapter of the Siddhisthāna because he discussed the *tantrayuktis* right at the beginning of his commentary and showed no indication to the awareness about the discussion on the tantrayuktis at the end of the text. Moreover, he discusses 40 tantrayuktis instead of 36. It is not yet settled whether or not Hariscandra was aware of Drdhabala's redaction of the Carakasamhitā. However, Hariścandra's treatment of the *tantrayuktis* supports the latter.<sup>610</sup>. It is clear from Cakrapāṇi's commentary on the Carakasamhitā that in the version of the text he commented upon contained the four verses that list the 36 tantrayuktis. It is, however, not improbable that the four verses that list the 36 tantrayuktis were later added to the Carakasanhitā sometime between the sixth (the date of Hariscandra) and the eleventh century (the date of Cakrapāṇi) and the discrepancy appeared when the previous verse that gives the total number of the tantrayuktis was not properly emended by the scribes complying with the following list of 36 tantrayuktis. There is a need of a critical edition of the twelfth chapter of the Siddhisthāna of the *Carakasamhitā* to address these issues definitely.

<sup>606</sup> N. Senagupta and B. Senagupta 1928–33: III, 3814. 607 N. Senagupta and B. Senagupta 1928–33: III, 3822. 608 'पञ्चत्रिंशद्विचेत्राभिर्भूषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः।' इति चरके। द्वात्रिंशदिति सुश्रुतः।(fn.2 TYV:2). 609 Ca 1877: 961. 610 HIML: IA, 189.

#### **Commentaries**

The commentators who extensively delved into the discussion of the *tantra-yuktis* are Hariścandra, the author of *Carakanyāsa*, and Aruṇadatta, who authored his commentary *Sarvāṅgasundarī* on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa. Hariścandra meticulously defined and analyzed 40 *tantrayuktis* at the beginning of his work. The four additional *tantrayuktis* are: *paripraśna* (question), *vyākaraṇa* (grammatical clarification), *vyutkrāntābhidhāna* (overpassing statement) and *hetu* (means of knowledge).<sup>611</sup>

Arunadatta, while discussing the concept of tantraguna at the end of the Astāngahrdaya, provided an elaborate description of tantrayuktis, considering them as part of a system of ninety-five tantragunas. Śrīdāsapandita (14th century), a commentator on the *Aṣṭāngahṛdaya*, echoed Aruṇadatta's exploration of tantrayuktis in the beginning of his commentary, Hrdayabodhikā.612 Thus, both Hariścandra and Śrīdāsapandita engage with this topic right at the beginning, underscoring the significance they attribute to the subject. Other noteworthy commentators who discussed the topic of tantrayukti are Cakrapāṇi (11th century) and Indu (sometime between 8th and 12th century). Cakrapāṇi and Indu defined and illustrated the tantrayuktis mentioned in the Carakasamhitā and the Astāngasangraha, respectively. They affirm the inclusion of the four additional tantrayuktis in Hariścandra's list. Cakrapāṇi, aligning them with existing concepts, incorporates paripraśna, vyākarana, and vyutkrāntābhidhāna under the tantrayuktis uddeśa, vyākhyāna, and nirdeśa, respectively. According to him, hetu serves as an overarching term encompassing all *pramāṇa*s (means of knowledge) such as pratyaksa (perception) and others. Indu, however, outlines three possible reasons for not incorporating these tantrayuktis into the list: (1)

612 HIML: IA, 680.

<sup>611</sup> This text has only been published once (only until the third chapter of Sūtrasthāna) by Masta Ram Shastri from Lahore in 1932/33. (HIML: IB, 290) Unfortunately, it is currently inaccessible to us. Although some fragmented manuscripts of the Carakanyāsa exist, for this section (Chapter 1, Sūtrasthāna), we were able to consult only MS MS Jamnagar GAU 114. This is a recent apograph with several lacunae and corruptions. The list of the tantrayuktis provided in the Carakanyāsa is as follows (with some emendations made in the reading): तन्त्रस्य युक्तयोऽधिकरणाद्याश्चत्वारिंशत्।... युक्तय-स्तावद्धिकरणं योगो हेत्वर्थ उद्देश उपदेशोऽपदेशोऽतिदेशः प्रदेशो निर्णयोऽर्थापत्तिर्वाक्यशेषः प्रयोजनं प्रसङ्ग एकान्तोऽनेकान्तो विपर्ययोऽपवर्गः पूर्वपक्षो विधानमनुमतं व्याख्यानं परिप्रश्नो व्याकरणमतीतापेक्षणमनागतापेक्षणं संशयः स्वसंज्ञोह्यः समुच्चयो निदर्शनं निर्वचनं नियोगो विकल्पः प्रत्युत्सार उद्धारः सम्भवो व्युत्क्रान्ताभिधानं हेतुरिति।

they lack direct mention in the main text, (2) they could be considered as falling within the scopes of already enumerated *tantrayuktis*, or (3) they are not recognized as *tantrayuktis*. *Jalpakalpataru*, a nineteenth-century commentary on the *Carakasaṃhitā* by Gaṅgādhara Kavirāja from Bengal also discusses the *tantrayuktis*. He defines the *tantrayuktis* most often as defined in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* making explicit quotations from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* itself.

#### Monographs

two texts authored by Āyurvedic scholars exclusively delve into the topic of *tantrayukti*. The first is the *Tantrayuktivicāra* by a physician named Nīlamegha (also known as Vaidyanātha), while the second is called the *Tantrayukti*, which is a sort of recast of the former by an anonymous author. The anonymous author describes himself as being from the same lineage as Nīlamegha and asserts that Nīlamegha belongs to the same lineage of Bhiṣagārya (also known as Nārāyaṇa Bhiṣaj). Both Nīlamegha and the author of Tantrayukti are likely from Kerala or coastal Karnataka. According to Koļatteri Śaṅkaramenon and Meulenbeld, Nīlamegha flourished in the first half of ninth century. The *Tantrayukti* was very likely composed after the sixteenth century.

<sup>613</sup> Kolatteri Sankaramenon, the first editor of the *Tantrayuktivicāra*, believes that Nīlamegha hails from Kerala. This conclusion is drawn from Nīlamegha's reference to his guru as Sundara, whom Sankaramenon identifies as the same individual credited with composing the *Lakṣaṇāmṛta*, a treatise on toxicology. This assertion is plausible because the only known manuscript of *Tantrayuktivicāra* belongs to a member of one of the Aṣṭavaidya families of Kerala, aligning with the Vāgbhaṭa school, to which Nīlamegha also belongs.( (HIML: IIA, 143)) On the other hand, the anonymous author of the *Tantrayukti* associates Nīlamegha with the lineage of Bhiṣagārya, who hails from Uṇṭuru, a village located 3 kilometers from Gokarṇa which is in coastal Karnataka.(Nārāyaṇa 1949: 30).

<sup>614</sup> Nīlamegha mentions Vāhaṭa (Vāgbhaṭa), Indu, and Jejjaṭa in his work. This places him definitively after the seventh century. The Buddhist influence in the Tantrayukti indicates a date not much later than 800 AD. (TYV: अवतारिका ५–६, HIML: IIA, 143.)

<sup>615</sup> From the explicit mention of Nīlamegha and Bhiṣagārya in the work *Tantrayukti*, we can say that the author flourished after them. Determining the date of Bhiṣagārya is problematic. However, since the Kairalī commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṃhitā* frequently quotes from Bhiṣagārya's *Abhidhānamañjarī*, it indicates that Bhiṣagārya predates the composition of this commentary. Meulenbeld suggests the end of the seventeenth century as the terminus post quem for the Kairalī (HIML: IA, 675).

Nīlamegha's *Tantrayuktivicāra* is a versified text accompanied by an autocommentary. The text comprises eighteen verses plus a hemistich, resulting in a total of 37 hemistichs. Each hemistich serves as a definition for a *tantrayukti*. Nīlamegha enumerates a total of 36 *tantrayuktis*, as mentioned in the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* and *Carakasaṃhitā*. The additional hemistich defines *aviparyaya*, which, according to Nīlamegha, is sometimes considered instead of *viparyaya*. This substitution occurs when one understands that the negative prefix *a*- is deleted due to a *pūrvarūpa sandhi*—  $sāpavargaḥ + aviparyayaḥ \rightarrow sāpavargo viparyayaḥ$  (See footnote 597.).

The text of the *Tantrayukti* includes some verses at the beginning and end, where the author discusses the lineage of Nīlamegha. The author explicitly states that his text is a revised version of Nīlamegha's *Tantrayuktivicāra* because the available manuscripts were mostly corrupt. It is evident that there are substantial reproductions of parts of the *Tantrayuktivicāra* and its autocommentary. The total number of *tantrayuktis* and their enumeration remains identical to that of the *Tantrayuktivicāra*. What distinguishes it from the *Tantrayuktivicāra* is the incorporation of a list of other *tantraguṇas* and 14 *tantradoṣas*. This list of *tantraguṇas* includes 15 types of *vyākhyā*, 7 types of *kalpanā*, 20 types of *āśraya*, and 17 types of metaphoric and metonymic devices, such as *tācchīlya* and so on.

# Tantrayukti-inventories

It is evident from the discussion on the early sources that all these listings of the *tantrayukti*s in the early sources can be grouped into two categories. For the ease of our following discussion, we name these two inventories as (1) earlier listing and (2) later listing.

Moreover, he views  $Abhidh\bar{a}nama\tilde{n}jar\bar{\iota}$  as a work composed after the sixteenth century, citing details within it that affirm its posteriority to the  $R\bar{a}janighan\mu u$  and  $Bh\bar{a}vaprak\bar{a}\acute{s}a$  (HIML: IIA, 442).

616 वैद्यनाथोपसृष्टानां लक्ष्यलक्षणवाप्नुषाम् ॥ तासां प्रायः प्रकाशानां दुर्लेखापङ्कदूषणात् । क्रियते साम्प्रतं कृच्छादुद्धृत्य परिमार्ज्जनम् ॥ Nārāyaṇa 1949: 1

## **Earlier Listing**

The four inventories of tantrayuktis from the Arthaśāstra, Suśrutasaṃhitā, Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, and Saddanīti belong to what we call the "earlier Listing." The reason to call this listing as "earlier listing" is: two early Sanskrit texts, viz., the Arthaśāstra and the Suśrutasaṃhitā consists of this listing. The Tamil list of the tantrayuktis as found in the Tolkāppiyam also belongs to this group, even though not all of the uttis in this list might correspond accurately to the Sanskrit and Pali lists. A defining characteristic of this listing is that each inventory explicitly states the total number of tantrayuktis as thirty-two. Even though there are sometimes different tantrayuktis enumerated in different lists, the total count always remains consistent at 32. As demonstrated in Table 4, the Sanskrit and Pali lists are similarly ordered and are always accompanied by similar or identical definitions. This list appears across diverse disciplines.

## **Later Listing**

The "later listing" is the one we find in the Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha, Caraka-saṃhitā, the commentaries on the Carakasaṃhitā, Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha and Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā and the two monographs, the Tantrayuktivicāra and Tantrayukti. This list has sprung from a single source— a versified list of thirty-six tantrayuktis comprising four verses that appear in the Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha, Carakasaṃhitā and Aruṇadatta's commentary on the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā. It remains unclear whether these verses initially appeared in the Dṛḍhabala's redaction of the Carakasaṃhitā or Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha. Unlike the "earlier Listing," this list lacks definitions of the tantrayuktis. Definitions and illustrations are given by the authors of the commentaries and monographs as discussed in the previous section. Although Hariścandra's list includes 40 tantrayuktis instead of 36, his enumeration aligns more closely with "later listing" than the earlier one. Despite the earlier listing's corss-disciplinary appearance, the later listing

<sup>617</sup> तद् द्वात्रिंशद् युक्तियुक्तम् । (5.1.3 Kangle 1965a: 1, 280) "that (Arthaśāstra) is furnished with thirty-two logical methods of the system", तत्र द्वात्रिंशत् तन्त्रयुक्तयो भवन्ति । (Suśrutasaṃ-hitā6.64.2) "there are thirty-two logical methods of the system", battiṃsa tantiyuttiyo bhavanti/ (Suttamālā, 28 Saddanīti 3: 920) "there are thirty-two logical methods of the system", எண்ணான்கு உத்தியின்... "It employs thirtytwo rules of criticism regarding writing." (Naṇṇūl: 9–10)

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notably influences the field of Āyurveda, likely due to the popularity of Vāgbhaṭa's works. The *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, incorporating the "earlier listing" distinguishes itself among Āyurvedic texts that list the *tantrayuktis*.

# **Terminology**

The terms have been translated into English in numerous books and articles. English renditions of the terms can be found in English translations of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* such as in Singhal and Mitra 1980: 171–172, and P. V. Sharma 1999–2001: 3, 631–639; in translations of the *Carakasaṃhitā* such as in R. K. Sharma and B. Dash 2006: 436–444 and in Shree Gulabkunverba Ayurvedic Society 1949: 1050, in the translation of the *Arthaśāstra* such as in Shamasastry 1951: 459, Kangle 1965a: 593, Unni 2006: 1103 and Olivelle 2013, and by K. Srikanta Moorthy in TYV: Appendix xi–xxxiv. They are also found in various books and articles dedicated to discussing the *tantrayuktis* such as in Oberhammer 1968: 601–602, Solomon 1976–78: 1, 72, Lele 1981: 34–155, 2006: 36–150 and so on. German translations of the terms can be found in Meyer 1926: 663–664 (German translation of the *Arthaśāstra*) and in Prets and Prandstetter 1991–2006.

The definitions of *tantrayukti*s exhibit numerous variations across different texts. Here we will discuss each of the *tantrayukti*s that occur in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* in comparison with their definitions in other texts. As indicated in Table 4, the definitions of *tantrayukti*s in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* are frequently either identical or nearly identical to those found in the *Arthaśāstra*, *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* and *Saddanīti*. Therefore, unless the definitions in these two texts notably deviate from those in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, we will not make explicit references to them in the subsequent elucidation of the terms.

# 1. adhikarana

Adhikaraṇa appears as the first tantrayukti in all traditional enumerations. It is among those tantrayuktis for which there is little disagreement concerning its definition. This tantrayukti functions as a structural and interpretative device. With a tautological expression, the Suśrutasaṇhitā defines adhikaraṇa as something, with reference to which statements are made. While defining adhikaraṇa, the text employs the same verb, adhi- kṛ- (to refer),

whence the noun *adhikaraṇa* has been derived. The text supplies examples of *rasa* (taste) and *doṣa* (humour), for which two chapters of the *Uttaratantra*, namely chapter 62 ( $K\bar{a}yacikits\bar{a}$  27) and chapter 65 ( $K\bar{a}yacikits\bar{a}$  30) are dedicated. Clearly, *adhikaraṇa* is the topic or theme.

Cakrapāṇi and Gaṅgādhara define adhikaraṇa in almost the same way as does the Suśrutasaṇhitā.<sup>619</sup> Aruṇadatta's definition is similar but he specifies that adhikaraṇa can be of an entire discipline (śāstra), or a book (sthāna) of it, or a chapter (adhyāya), or a section (prakaraṇa), or even of a sentence (vākya).<sup>620</sup> However, in the commentaries of Hariścandra and Indu, we explore two more aspects of the concept of adhikaraṇa. According to Hariścandra, adhikaraṇa is the reason or ground referring to which the authors direct their discourse. For example, diseases create misery and the authors of Āyurveda began their discussion addressing them.<sup>621</sup> Thus disease is the adhikaraṇa or theme of their discussion. Indu identifies adhikaraṇa as a binding force that links ideas. According to him, adhikaraṇa as an introductory reference and it exposes a general statement to a specific context.<sup>622</sup>

Nīlamegha defines adhikaraṇa using the Paninian terminology. According to him, adhikāraṇa is the locus in which the tātparya, "reference" lies. 623 Adhikaraṇa is one of the six kāraka-s (a sort of semantic roles recognized by Sanskrit grammarians). Pāṇini calls it a locus (ādhāra). 624 Through metaphorical extensions, the idea of a locus can apply to abstract domains and not merely to physical locus. In traditional Sanskrit grammar, a metonymic or metaphorical domain is called vaiṣayika adhikaraṇa. Patañjali considers vaiṣayika as one of the three types of adhikaraṇa. Patañjali considers vaiṣayika as one of the tantrayukti adhikaraṇa. He quotes Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-saṃhitā Sūtrasthāna 1.5b-6a and explains how the eight limbs of Āyurveda

<sup>618</sup> They are chapters 63 and 66 in A (Su 1938: B).

<sup>619</sup> यमर्थमधिकृत्य प्रवर्तते कर्ता। यथा "विघ्नभूता यदा रोगा" इत्यादि। अत्र रोगादिकमधिकृत्यायुर्वेदो महिष्मिः कृत इति 'रोगाः' इत्यधिकरणम्। Āyurvedadīpikā (Ca 1941: 736). तद् यमर्थमधिकृत्योच्यते; Jalpakalpataru (N. Senagupta and B. Senagupta 1928–33: III, 3815).

<sup>620</sup> तत्र अधिकरणं नाम, यद्धिकृत्य प्रवर्तते शास्त्रं स्थानमध्यायं प्रकरणं वाक्यं वा ।... (Ah 1939: 947).

<sup>621</sup> तत्राधिकरणं नाम यन्निमित्तमधिकृत्य प्रवर्तते कर्ता।... उत वा विघ्नभूता यदा रोगाः प्रादुर्भूताः तदिदं निमि-त्तमधिकृत्य जगदनुकम्पया महर्षिभिरयमायुर्वेद आगमः। एवमधिकरणव्याख्या वर्णयितव्या। MS Jamnagar GAU 114, p.4–5.

<sup>622</sup> अधिकरणं प्रस्तावः सामान्येनोक्तमप्यर्थजातं यद्गलाद्विशेषेऽवस्थाप्यते तद्धिकरणम् । (As 1980: 959).

<sup>623</sup> तत्राधरोऽधिकरणं तात्पर्यं तत्र तिष्ठति । 1[2]muth-1976.

<sup>624</sup> आधारोऽधिकरणम् । *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.4.45.

<sup>625</sup> On Aṣṭādhyāyī 6.1.72 Mahābhāṣya: 3, 51.

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serve as the *adhikaraṇa*s of *cikitsā* "treatment". In Nīlamegha's understanding, *adhikaraṇa* "theme" is the domain of a reference. The *Tantrayukti* repeats Nīlamegha's idea but it also adds different types of *adhikaraṇa* as suggested by Aruṇadatta.

In the *Tolkāppiyam*, however, the equivalent expression for this *tantrayukti* remains unclear, as commentators, namely Iļampūraṇar and Pērāciriyar, list the item differently. In Sastri's translation of the *Tolkāppiyam*, *adhikaraṇa* was identified with *atikāra murai*, the second element in Iḷampūraṇar's list. Sastri translates this expression as "deciding the extent where one serves as *adhikāra sūtra* or a word or words in a sūtra taken along with the *sūtra*-s that follow."626 However, Dikshitar, in his brief article on the *tantrayuktis*, equates *adhikaraṇa* with *nutaliyatu arital*, the first element in Pērāciriyar's list, and translates it as "that division of a book which centers around a chief topic and deals wholly with that topic."627 Clearly, Dikshitar's interpretation stands close to our definition of *adhikaraṇa*. Sastri's interpretation, on the other hand, corresponds to the concept of *adhikāra* "heading" and *anuvṛtti* "recurrence" in the *sūtra* literature, especially in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.628

The translators usually translated this *tantrayukti* as "topic" or "subject matter".

#### 2. yoga

This tantrayukti typically occupies the second position in most lists, except in the Arthaśāstra where it appears third following vidhāna. Functioning as a syntactic and semantic tool, yoga, as defined in the Suśrutasaṃhitā, represents the faculty responsible for the cohesion of a sentence. If we consider the main purpose of the tantrayuktis as narrated in the Suśrutasaṃhitā, namely, cohesion of a sentence (vākyayojana) and cohesion of meaning (arthayojana), it becomes evident that this tantrayukti is one of the fundamental tantrayuktis functioning as the device for vākyayojana. The Suśrutasaṃhitā further describes yoga as a syntactic connection between words, facilitating the linking of words even when they are in reverse order or placed apart. However, this paraphrased statement is absent

<sup>626</sup> P. S. S. Sastri 2002: 233. 627 Dikshitar 1930: 85

<sup>628</sup> See Chevillard 2009: 111.

in the vulgate; instead, it appears in the commentary of Dalhana with a minor variation. The definitions of *yoga* in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* and *Arthaśāstra* closely mirror that of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. However, the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*'s definition introduces a slight variation by including the term *artha* "meaning". According to this definition, *yoga* is that by which the meaning of a sentence coheres. The *Arthaśāstra* employs a nominalized verb in a compound noun instead of a relative clause— *vākyayojanā* "connecting a sentence". The definition we find in the *Saddanīti* is close to the paraphrased part of the definition of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. 630

For illustration, a verse from chapter 18 of the Cikitsāsthāna is quoted in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*—

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तैलं पिबेच् चामृतवल्लिनिम्बहंसाह्वयावृक्षकपिप्पलीभिः।
सिद्धं बलाभ्याञ् च सदेवदारु हिताय नित्यं गलगण्डरोगे॥<sup>631</sup>
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In this verse, the noun sesame oil (*tailam*) appears at the beginning of the first hemistich, while its adjective cooked (*siddham*) is placed at the beginning of the final hemistich. Despite not being colocated, the *tantrayukti yoga* effectively connects them, facilitating our comprehension of the intended meaning. Evidently, this exemplifies a device for linking words within a sentence.

In the commentaries of Hariścandra, Indu, Cakrapāṇi and Aruṇa, however, the *tantrayukti yoga* is used in a broader sense. In these interpretations, *yoga* serves not only as a device for cohesion within a sentence but also fosters coherence among sentences in a discourse. Hariścandra identifies three alternative interpretations of yoga. Aruṇadatta also interprets yoga in a similar fashion but instead of three alternatives he talks about the first two alternatives of Hariścandra. In the first alternative, yoga is coherence between the main statement ( $s\bar{u}tra$ ) and its gloss ( $bh\bar{a}sya$ ). Aruṇadatta expands its scope to coherence between mention (uddeśa) and description (nirdeśa) as well.<sup>633</sup> In the second alternative, yoga is

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629 See 6.65.9 (Su 1938: 815).
630 See Table 4.
631 4.18.47 (Su 1938: 474).
632 योगो नाम योजना ग्रन्थानां यथार्थसूत्रभाष्यसूत्रयोः... पञ्चलक्षणो वा योगः। प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणनिगमनानि...
यदिह युज्यते स योग इत्येके। (MS Jamnagar GAU 114, p.5.)
633 योगो नाम योजना, उद्देशनिर्देशयोः सूत्रभाष्ययोर्वा। 6.40.80 (Ah 1939: 947).
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reasoning (yukti) having five types: (1) pratijñā "proposition", (2) hetu "reason", (3) udāharana "exemplification" (4) upanaya "application", and (5) nigamana "conclusion", resembling the five-membered syllogism of inference (anumāna) in the Nyāya-Vaiśesika school.<sup>634</sup> Hariścandra also notes a different understanding of this tantrayukti by some others. In this sense, yoga is connectedness. This alternative definition is close to that of the Suśrutasamhitā. In Indu's interpretation, yoga is lexical cohesion, as he understands yoga as a relation between a word and its meaning or a sentence and its meaning. 635 Cakrapāni, while defining yoga in a fashion similar to the Suśrutasamhitā, exemplifies it as a connection between five logical elements, namely pratijñā, hetu, udāharaṇa, upanaya and nigamana, conflating the definition of yoga with Hariścandra's second alternative i.e. yoga is reasoning (yukti). 636 Nīlamegha defines yoga as connecting words one by one coherently.<sup>637</sup> As he further explains in the autocommentary with examples from the Aṣṭāngahṛdayasamhitā, it is evident that he understands yoga as coherence between a part of a sentence and the discourse. 638 Neither V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar nor P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri identified the tantrayukti yoga with any utti mentioned in the *Tolkāppiyam*. <sup>639</sup>

The word yoga derives from the Sanskrit root  $\sqrt{yuj}$  "to connect" with the primary suffix  $GHa\tilde{N}$ , which is often used for creating action nouns. In Sanskrit technical literature, the term yoga is used in a broad sense to mean any kind of linguistic connection or connectedness. In the  $Astadhya\bar{y}\bar{i}$  of Pāṇini, it often refers to the connection with a word or a word-element. Hence, it refers to a morphosemantic or syntaco-semantic connection. Patañjali uses this term several times in his  $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}sya$ . In the  $Susrutasamhit\bar{a}$  the word yoga is primarily used to mean the connection between words in a sentence. According to this definition and illustration, it is primarily intrasentential cohesion. Unlike the later commentators on the works of Caraka and Vāgbhaṭa, it does not extend the scope of this term to inter-sentential

<sup>634</sup> युक्तिर्वा योगः, प्रतिज्ञा हेतुर्दृष्टान्त उपनयो निगमनमिति पञ्चविधः। 6.40.80 (Ah 1939: 947).

<sup>635</sup> योगो नाम योगः सम्बन्धः स च पदार्थयोर्वाक्यार्थयोर्वा । 6.50.150a (As 1980: 959).

<sup>636</sup> योगो नाम योजना व्यस्तानां पदानामेकीकरणम् । उदाहरणं तावद्यथा प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणोपनयनिगमनानि । 8.12.41 (Ca 1941: 736).

<sup>637</sup> योगः पदानामेकैकमर्थौचित्येन योजना । 2[3]muth-1976.

<sup>638</sup> I TYV: 3.

<sup>639</sup> Chevillard 2009: 84.

<sup>640</sup> Joshi and Roodbergen 1991: 64.

cohesion and coherence. Keeping in mind such definition given in the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code>, we translate the term as cohesion even though no other translators of the <code>tantrayuktis</code> used this translation. In some other contexts, however, <code>yoga</code> can be extended to coherence. Both coherence and cohesion are derived from the Latin verb <code>cohaere-(<con-"with" haereō</code> "cling") "to cling together." In other translations of the <code>tantrayuktis</code> (see p. 221), <code>yoga</code> is variously translated as employment, arrangement, conjoiner, connecting, concomitance, uniting, union, rational linking, joining and so on. We preferred the term cohesion because the other options are either too narrow or too vague. 'Employment' is rather <code>prayoga</code>, not <code>yoga</code>. 'Rational linking' disregards the grammatical aspect of <code>yoga</code>. 'Conjoiner', 'connecting', 'union', 'uniting' or 'arrangement' are vague and they do not reflect the technical import of the term <code>yoga</code>.

#### 3. padārtha

In the earlier listing, padārtha follows yoga, while in the later listing, this tantrayukti is enumerated after hetvartha, possibly due to metrical requirements. The Suśrutasaṃhitā dedicates more words to describing this tantrayukti than any other early texts.

The description in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* commences with the definition of *padārtha*, which is articulated as the meaning conveyed in an aphorism or a word. It then delves into the literal interpretation of the term *padārtha*. The straightforward meaning of the compound *padārtha*, obtained by dissecting its components—*pada* "word," and *artha* "meaning"—is "the meaning of one or more words." After presenting the literal interpretation of *padārtha*, the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* provides the rationale why mere word meanings cannot suffice as the *tantrayukti padārtha*—since a word or words may have multiple meanings. Therefore, as a *tantrayukti*, the term *padārtha* denotes the meaning of a word or words within a specific context.<sup>641</sup> Dalhaṇa also supports this perspective, indicating that the term *padārtha* refers to a specific meaning of a word or words.<sup>642</sup>

In (Su 1938), a variant reading of the definition of padārtha is noted: सूत्र-पदे in the place of सूत्रे पदे वा. It remains unclear which reading was available

<sup>641</sup> See fn. 647.

<sup>642</sup> अधुना बहुषु पदार्थेषु निर्धार्य विशिष्टपदार्थग्रहणाय पदार्थबहुत्वं प्रतिपादयति--- अपरिमिता इत्यादि। Dalhaṇa on 6.65.10 (Su 1938: 816).

to Palhaṇa. He proposed an etymological meaning of the word pada, defining it as that by which a meaning is understood, and includes sūtra under the semantic scope of pada. Essentially, he viewed sūtra as a type of pada because, by conveying a meaning, a sūtra falls under the category of pada, which by definition signifies a meaning-conveying unit. This interpretation does not separate sūtra and pada as distinct entities. Thus, if Palhaṇa's reading of the text is सूत्रे पदे वा, he perceived pada as a synonym or an alternative term for sūtra. On the other hand, if the reading was सूत्रपदे, he understood the meaning of the word सूत्रपदे as pada (a meaning-conveying unit) in the form of a sūtra. The editor of (Su 1938) offered a more straightforward explanation of the variant reading सूत्रपदे—a word (pada) in a sūtra is a sūtrapada. The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa adopts a definition of padārtha close to this variant reading, stating that padārtha is the meaning employed in a word of a sūtra (see table 4).

### **Characteristics of the Manuscript Transmission**

<sup>643</sup> अन्ये तु सूत्रपदे इति पठित्वा व्याख्यानयन्ति--- सूत्रस्य पदं सूत्रपदं तस्मिन् योऽर्थः स पदार्थः। fn.2 (Su 1938: 813).

#### **Translation**

- 1 Now we shall explain the chapter called, "the enunciation of the logical methods of the system (*tantrayukti*)."
- 3 There are thirty-two logical methods of the system. They are as follows:

1.	topic (adhikaraṇa)	18.	objection (pūrvapakṣa)	
2.	cohesion (yoga)	19.	determination (nirnaya)	
3.	signification (padārtha)	20.	consent (anumata)	
4.	premise (hetvartha)	21.	itemization (vidhāna)	
5.	mention (samuddeśa)	22.	future reference	
6.	description (nirdeśa)		(anāgatāpekṣaṇa)	
7.	prescription (upadeśa)	23.	past reference	
8.	statement of reason (apadeśa)		(atikrāntāpekṣaṇa)	
9.	indication ( <i>pradeśa</i> )	24.	doubt (saṃśaya)	
10.	prediction (atideśa)	25.	explication ( <i>vyākhyāna</i> )	
11.	exception (apavarga)	26.	field-specific term	
12.	ellipis ( <i>vākyaśeṣa</i> )		(svasaṃjñā)	
13.	implication (arthāpatti)	27.	interpretation (nirvacana)	
14.	contraposition (viparyaya)	28.	illustration ( <i>nidarśana</i> )	
15.	recontextualization	29.	compulsion (niyoga)	
	(prasaṅga)	30.	option (vikalpa)	
16.	invariable statement ( <i>ekānta</i> )	31.	aggregation (samuccaya)	
17.	variable statement (anekānta)	32.	deducible ( $\bar{u}hya$ )	

- 4 It is said about this, "what is the purpose of these methods?" The answer is, "cohesion of a sentence and cohesion of meaning". 644
- 5-6 There are two verses about this:

The logical methods of the system prohibit statements employed by people who do not speak the truth. They also bring about the validity of one's own statements. And they also clarify meanings that are stated back to front, that are implicit, unclear and any that are partially stated.

<sup>644</sup> <code>Palhaṇa</code> on 6.65.4 (Su 1938:815) explained "cohesion of a sentence" as "connecting up a sentence that is not connected," and "cohesion of meaning" as "clarifying or making appropriate a meaning that is implied or inappropriate."

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8 Among them, "topic (*adhikaraṇa*)" refers to the object, with reference to which statements are made, such as flavour (*rasa*) or humour (*doṣa*).<sup>645</sup>

9 "Cohesion (*yoga*)" is that by which a sentence coheres, as when words that are in a reversed order, whether placed close or apart, have their meanings unified.

Sesame oil he should drink, with heart-leaved moonseed creeper, neem tree, maidenhair fern, Indrajao, and long pepper

that is cooked with heart-leaf sida and country mallow, and deodar, always for a benefit in the case of the disease goitre.

In this verse, one ought to say, first, "one should drink cooked...." However, the word "cooked" is used in the second line. <sup>646</sup> Unifying the meanings of words in this way, even though they are far apart, is cohesion.

The meaning that is conveyed in an aphorism  $(s\bar{u}tra)$  or a word is called signification  $(pad\bar{a}rtha)$ . The meaning that is attached to one or more words is the meaning of the words  $(pad\bar{a}rtha)$ . There are innumerable meanings of a word or words.<sup>647</sup>

Where two or three meanings of words such as *sneha*, *sveda* or *añjana* appear to be possible, the signification is the one that coheres with prior

<sup>645</sup> The idea here is that "rasa" may be the topic of a chapter, and statements in that chapter are all understood to be about that topic

<sup>646</sup> The Nepalese version reads द्वितीये पादे which would properly mean the second quarter of the first line; the vulgate reads "third quarter" which seems more correct.

<sup>647</sup> Contrary to the translations by previous translators Singhal and Mitra and P. V. Sharma, we believe that there is a distinction in how the term padārtha is employed in the first sentence, which serves as the definition of this tantrayukti, and in the two subsequent sentences, which pertain to the non-technical understanding of the word padārtha. We have translated the initial use of the word padārtha as "signification" and the subsequent use as "meanings of a word or words." Without presupposing the distinct usage of the word padārtha in this passage, the statement, अपरिमिताश्च पदार्थाः, might seem out of context, as it would not make sense to assert that there are innumerable padārthas once the text has already specified that padārtha refers to the particular meaning conveyed in a sūtra or a word. Furthermore, the subsequent illustration featuring three polysemic words—sneha, sveda, and añjana—also supports our argument. Through these examples, the text advocates for the perspective that in cases where a word has multiple meanings, only the interpretation that aligns with the preceding and subsequent elements should be regarded as padārtha.

See also Dalhaṇa at 1.1.1 (Su 1938: 1)

- and subsequent elements. For example, when it is said that, "We are going to explain the chapter on the veda-origin" the mind may be confused about which "veda" will be spoken about.  $S\bar{a}maveda$  and so on are the Vedas. Taking note of the prior and subsequent elements, the two roots vind "find" and vid "know" have a single meaning. Subsequently, the understanding takes place that there is a wish to talk about the origin of  $\bar{a}yurveda$ . So that is the meaning of the word.  $^{649}$
- The sense of the cause (hetvartha) is a statement that is a premiss ( $s\bar{a}dhana$ ). For example, just as a lump of earth is moistened by water, so a wound is moistened by substances like milk with green gram. <sup>650</sup>
- 12 A mention (*samuddeśa*) is a brief statement such as "spike (*śalya*)". <sup>651</sup>
- 13 A description (*nirdeśa*) is a detailed statement. For example, "in the body or exogenous". <sup>652</sup>
- "Prescription (*upadeśa*)" refers to statements like "it should be this way." For example, one should not stay awake at night; one should not sleep during the day.

<sup>648</sup> There is a dangling relative clause, योऽर्थः, in the Nepalese version that is avoided in the vulgate recension by the addition of स ग्रहीतव्यः.

<sup>649</sup> The Nepalese text here is hard to follow, and the vulgate has a significantly different reading. But the problem situation seems to be as follows. The <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> opens with a statement saying that it will describe the "origin of the <code>veda"</code> (<code>vedotpatti</code>). The problem is, what does this word "<code>veda"</code> refer to? Is it the Veda, as in Sāmaveda? Or something derived from the roots <code>vind</code> or <code>vid</code>? Context ("prior and subsequent elements") can help us to know that "<code>veda"</code> means only "āyurveda" and that the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> is talking about the origin of ayurveda, specifically. This same issue is also addressed by <code>Dalhaṇa</code> at 1.1.1 (Su 1938: 1).

<sup>650</sup> The way this principle is expressed here seems to be describing the application of a general principle (water makes things wet) to a specific context. We can know the moistening of a wound because we know the more general case of moistening earth. However, etymologically, हेल्लर्थ does not mean "analogy," but rather, something like "purpose of the reason." The phrase "the sense of cause" that we have used leans on the use of the term in commentaries on the <code>Aṣṭādhyāyī</code> (Kaumudī on 2.3.23). The vulgate of the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> rewrites the principle, making it clearer that the principle means "clarification by analogy." Cf. also Cakrapāṇi's discussion at Si.12.41 (Ca 1941:736), where he explained the principle as using an explanation from one situation to clarify another situation. Cf. <code>Arthaśāstra 5.1.13</code> (Olivelle 2013: 436), which is also unclear.

<sup>651</sup> Generally, शल्य refers to any painful foreign body embedded in the flesh that requires surgical removal.

<sup>652</sup> This is a reference to 1.26.4 (Su 1938: 121) where शल्य is described in more detail as being of two kinds.

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"Statement of reason" refers to statements like "this happens because of this." For example, in the sentence "Sweet substances increase phlegm," the reason is stated. 653

- 16 Substantiation of the subject matter through past evidence is "indication (*pradeśa*)." For example, he pulled out Devadatta's splinter (*śalya*), therefore he will pull out Yajñadatta's.
- Substantiation of the subject matter through a future event is "prediction (*atideśa*)." For example, if his wind moves upwards, that will cause him to have colic."<sup>654</sup>
- A deviation after generalization is exception (*apavarga*). For example, those afflicted by poison should not go through sudorific treatment other than the cases of poisoning by urinary worms.
- 19 Ellipsis (*vākyaśeṣa*) refers to an unstated word that completes a sentence. For example, despite not mentioning the word 'person', when mentioning someone as 'the one having a head, hands, feet, flanks, and abdomen,' it's apparent that the reference is to a person.
- arthāpatti (*Implication*) refers to an unstated idea that becomes evident through context. For example, when one said, "We will eat rice" it becomes evident from the context that he did not wish to drink gruel.
- When there is the reversal of it it is contraposition (*viparyaya*). For example, when it is said, "Weak, dyspneic, and fearful people are difficult to treat," the converse holds true: "Those who are strong and so on are easily treatable."
- Recontextualization (*prasanga*) refers to a concept common to another section. For example, a concept belonging to another section is brought up by mentioning it repeatedly throughout.
- 23 Invariable statement (*ekānta*) is one that is stated with certainty. For example, turpeth causes purgation; emetic nut induces vomiting.
- Variable statement (*anekānta*) is one that is true in one way in some cases and in another way elsewhere. For example, some teachers identify the main element as substance, others as fluid, some as semen, and some as digestion.
- A first point of view ( $p\bar{u}rvapak$ ;a) is something stated with certainty. For example, how are the four types of diabetes caused by wind incur-

See chapter 40 of Sūtra sthāna.

<sup>653</sup> A techical term also in Nyāyaśāstra (Jhalakīkar 1978: 54).

<sup>654</sup> A techical term also in Nyāyaśāstra (Jhalakīkar 1978: 6–7).

vasā / medas / majable?655

- Its answer is determination. For example, afflicting the body and trickling downwards, it creates urine mixed with fat, fatty tissues, and marrow. Thus, those caused by wind are incurable.
- Consent refers to others' opinion that is not rejected. For example, when the assertor says that there are six flavours and that somehow gets accepted with affirmation, it is termed consent.
- 29 Itemization (*vidhāna*) refers to sequentially ordered statements within a chapter. For example, the eleven lethal points of thigh are mentioned sequentially in a chapter.
- 30 A statement like "Thus will be stated" is future reference (anāg-atāpekṣaṇa) such as when he says in the Sūtrasthāna, "I will mention it in the Cikitsāsthāna."
- 31 A statement like "Thus has been stated" is past reference (atikrāntāpekṣaṇa) such as when one says in the Cikitsāsthāna, "As mentioned in the Sūtrasthāna..."
- An indication pointing to causes on both sides is doubt (*saṃśaya*). For example, a blow to <sup>656</sup> is fatal, whereas cutting hands and feet is not fatal.
- An elaborate description is explication (*vyākhyāna*). For example, the twenty-fifth entity, , is being explicated here. Thus, no other Āyurvedic texts discuss entities beginning with matters.
- Field-specific term (*svasaṃjñā*) is uncommon in other field of studies. The term used in one's own systems is called field-specific term, such as in this system, denotes honey and ghee, and denotes ghee, sesame oil and fat.
- A customary potrayal is interpretation (*nirvacana*). For example, one goes along the shade fearing heat.
- Providing examples is illustration (*nidarśana*). For example, just as fire spreads rapidly in a dry forest when accompanied by wind, a wound intensifies affected by wind, bile, and phlegm.
- A statement like "This is the only way..." ...compulsion (*niyoga*). For example, one should consume only a healthy diet.

Does bhūtādi a compound or it means ahaṅkāra or ego?

<sup>655</sup> The adverb निःसंशयम् is problematic: the example expresses a query or doubt, the opposite of certainty, which is answered in the next passage. It would seem to make more sense to read something like यस् तु ससंशयम् अभिधीयते स पूर्वपक्षः, but our manuscripts are unanimous in their reading.

<sup>656</sup> तलहदय is one of the muscle-group of lethal points mentioned in 3.6.7 (Su 1938: 370).

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A statement like "This and this..." is option (*vikalpa*). For example, in the section on meat, the major ones are blackbuck, deer, quail and partridge. 657

- A summarized statement is aggregation (*samuccaya*). For example, let there be rice with meat broth, rice with milk, or burley with ghee.
  - A meaningful reading of these two rules would be 39 idam vedam veti vikalpaḥ / yathā rasodanaḥ kṣīrodanaḥ saghṛtā vā yavāgūr bhavatv iti //
  - 38 saṃkṣepavacanaṃ samuccayaḥ / yathā māṃsavarge eṇahariṇalāvatittirāḥ pradhānā iti
- What is not explicitly stated but can be understood through discernment is deducible  $(\bar{u}hya)$ . For example, in the section on rules of foods and drinks, four types of foods and drinks are mentioned—masticable (bhak sya), edible (bhojya), suckable (lehya), and drinkable (peya). Thus, while four types are needed to be stated, two types are actually mentioned. Here it is deducible that in the section on foods and drinks, by specifically mentioning two types, the four types are also mentioned. Furthermore, a masticable item is not excluded from the category of food because it shares the same characteristic of solidity. A suckable item is not excluded from being classified as a drink because it shares the same characteristic of liquidity. Four types of aliments are rare. They are usually just twofold. Therefore, lord Dhanvantari says "Twofold is popular".

<sup>657</sup> The example here matches समुच्चय (next text), not विकल्प. There seems to have been a metathesis of terms. Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya (Su 1945: 1005, footnote 6) notes that this text and the next have been swapped in the Calcutta edition that includes Hārāṇacandra's commentary Bhaṭṭācārya 1910–17: 2, in the same way as in the Nepalese version.

<sup>658</sup> As stated in the previous footnote, the example here is of विकल्प, not समुच्चय.

## **Editions and Abbreviations**

Ah 1939 Kuṃṭe, Aṇṇā Moreśvara, Navare, Kṛṣṇaśāstrī, and

Parādkar, Hariśāstrī (1939) (eds.), श्रीमद्वाग्भटविरचितम् अष्टाङ्गहृदयम्, श्रीमदरुणदत्तविरचितया सर्वाङ्गसुन्दराख्यया व्याख्यया, हेमाद्रिप्रणीतया आयुर्वेदरसायनाह्वया टीकया च समुल्लसितम् = The Astāngahṛidaya (6th edn., Muṃbayyām: Nirṇayasāgara

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Anup Anup Sanskrit Library.

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DED<sub>2</sub> Burrow, Thomas, and Emeneau, Murray B. (1984), *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (2nd edn., Oxford: Clarendon Press), ark:/13960/t4wj06g26, URL.

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

IOLR Eggeling, Julius, et al. (1887–1935), Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office (London: Secretary of State for India), ark:/13960/s2kbk5zcrg9.

KEWA Mayrhofer, Manfred (1953–72), Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen; a Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag).

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PW Böhtlingk, Otto, and Roth, Rudolph (1855-75), Sanskrit-

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PWK Böhtlingk, Otto (1879), Sanskrit-wörterbuch in kürzerer

fassung (St. Petersburg: Kaiserlichen Akademie der

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RORI Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute.

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aconite leaf (?) (viṣapatrikā) Unknown. Cf.
                                              barley (yava) Hordeum vulgare, L. See
   perhaps, vatsanābha (wolfsbane). Cf.
                                                  HK: 752: 99
   GVDB: 373: 116
                                              bearded premna (vasuka) Premna barbata
'alas, alas' (hālāhala) unknown. See Cf.
                                                  Wall. (\leftarrow vasuhatta), according to
   Sodhalanighantu p.43 (sub bola) =
                                                  Cakrapāṇidatta. See the discussion by
   stomaka = vatsanābha:
                                                  T. B. Singh and Chunekar
Alexandrian laurel (punnāga)
                                                  (GVDB: 362–363), where other
   Calophyllum inophyllum, L. See
                                                  candidate species such as Osmanthus,
   AVS: 1, 338, NK: 1, #425:
                                                  Calotropis, and Trianthema are
amaranth (tandulīyaka) Amaranthus
                                                  discussed. T. B. Singh and Chunekar
   hypochondriacus, L. See King 321,
                                                  (GVDB: 363) note that when vasuka is
                                                  mentioned with vasira, two varieties of
   NK: 1, #144, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 15. Cf.
                                                  salt are often meant (see vasukavasirā).
   AVS: 1, 121: 118
                                                  See also NK: #1299 who identifies it
arjun (arjuna) Terminalia arjuna, Bedd.
   See HK: 738: 36, 65
                                                  with Indigofera enneaphylla, Linn.
                                                  (Birdsville Indigo), apparently without
ash gourd (k\bar{u}sm\bar{a}nda) \rightarrow puspaphala.
                                                  controversy: 65
   Beninkasa hispida, (Thunb.) Cogn. See
                                              beautyberry (priyangu) \rightarrow śyāmā.
   AVS: 2, 1127; cf. AVS: 1, 261:
Asoka tree (aśoka) Saraca indica Linn.,
                                                  Callicarpa macrophylla, Vahl. See
                                                  AVS: 1, 334, NK: 1, #420. Some say also
   GVDB: 26: 90, 92, 174
                                                  Setaria italica Beauv. GVDB: 263-264.
atis root (śrngīvisa) Aconitum
                                                  See also GVDB: 413: 36, 122, 125, 174
   heterophyllum, Wall. ex Royle. See
   AVS: 1, 42, NK: 1, #39:
                                              beautyberry (śyāmā) Callicarpa
axlewood (dhava) Anogeissus latifolia
                                                  macrophylla, Vahl. See AVS: 1, 334,
                                                  NK: 1, #420: 94, 116, 118
   (Roxb. ex DC.) Wall. ex Guill & Perr.
   See AVS: 1, 163 f, Chopra: 20: 36, 65, 124
                                              beggarweed (amśumatī) Desmodium
                                                  gangeticum (L.) DC (Dymock: 1, 428,
bamboo leaves (venupatrikā) Bambusa
   bambos, Druce. See NK: 1, #307: 118
                                                  GJM1: 602, NK: 1, #1192; ADPS: 382,
                                                  414 and AVS: 2, 319, 4.366 are
banyan (nyagrodha) Ficus bengalensis, L.
   See HK: 748:
                                                  confusing): 122
banyan (vaṭa) Ficus bengalensis Linn.,
                                              beggarweed (vid\bar{a}rigandh\bar{a}) \rightarrow \dot{s}\bar{a}laparn\bar{\iota}.
   GVDB: 356:66
                                                  Desmodium gangeticum (L.) DC. See
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#1192; ADPS: 382, 414 and AVS: 2, 319, 4.366 are confusing: 45, 99, 288 beggarweed ( $\delta \bar{a} laparn\bar{i}$ )  $\rightarrow sthir\bar{a}$ . Desmodium gangeticum (L.) DC. See Dymock: 1, 428, GJM1: 602, NK: 1, #1192; ADPS: 382, 414 and AVS: 2, 319, 4.366 are confusing: Bengal quince (bilva) Aegle marmelos (L.) Corr. See AVS: 1, 62, Chevallier 159, NK: 1, #62, (MW: 732a): 65, 90, 92, 96, 285 'big poison' (mahāviṣa) unknown. See ?: 'big thorn apple' (mahākarambha) Datura metel, L.?. See thorn apple (karambha): bitumen (adrija)  $\rightarrow$  śilājit. A tar-like, black, resinous rock exudate. See Mahākośa: 1, 21: 129 black cardamom (Xharenu) Amomum subulatum, Roxb.?. See PVS Caraka 2.734, AVS: 1, 128, NK: 1, #154, pace GVDB: 467-468: black creeper (pālindī) Ichnocarpus frutescens, (L.) R.Br. or Cryptolepis buchanani, Roemer & Schultes. See AVS: 3, 141, 145, 203, NK: 1, #1283, 1210, ADPS: 434. Palhana on SS 5.1.82 identified *pālindī* with *trivṛt* (turpeth) and T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 246) supported this as a usual identification: 118, 121, 122 black pepper (marica) Piper nigrum, L. See ADPS: 294, NK: 1, #1929: 100, 174 black pepper  $(vall\bar{\imath}ja) \rightarrow marica$ . Piper nigrum, L.?. See NK: 1, #1929; Rā.6.115, Dha.4.85, Dha.2.88: blackboard tree (saptachada) Alstonia scholaris R. Br. GVDB: 420: 117 blackbuck (harina) Antilope cervicapra, L. See BIA: 270 IW: 95, 165, et passim: 121 'blade' (kartarīya) unknown. See ?: blue water-lily (utpala) Nymphaea stellata, Willd. See GJM1: 528, IGP 790; Dutt: 110, NK: 1, #1726: 27, 116, 121, 122, 174, 175

Dymock: 1, 428, GJM1: 602, cf. NK: 1,

- bottle gourd (ālābūka) Lagenaria siceria (Molina) Standl. See IGP 645, NK: 1, #1419:
- bull's head (*gokṣura*) Tribulus terrestris L. GVDB: 144–145, 193. A component of lesser five roots: 282
- bull's head (*trikaṇṭaka*) → bull's head (*gokṣura*) GVDB: 193. A component of lesser five roots: 288
- bulrush (*kaśeru*) "Two species, Scirpus kysoor Roxb., and S. grossus Linn. f. are used" GVDB: 85. Also kaśeruka and kaseru: 94, 95, 98
- calamine lotion (*amṛtāsaṅga*) → amṛtāsaṅga. Zinc carbonate. See NK: 2, #56:
- camphor  $(karp\bar{u}ra) \rightarrow \hat{s}\bar{\imath}ta\hat{s}iva$ . Cinnamomum camphora, (L.) Sieb. See IGP 253:
- cannabis (*vijayā*) Cannabis sativa, L. See AVS: 1, 356, NK: 1, #442:
- caper (*karīra*) Capparis decidua (Forsk.) Edgew. See AVS: 1, 368, (MW: 255b):
- cardamom ( $el\bar{a}$ ) Elettaria cardamomum, Maton. See AVS: 2, 360, NK: 1, #924, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 66: 90, 122, 125
- carmarī (carmarī) unknown. See ?:
- carray cheddie  $(g\bar{a}ngeruk\bar{\iota}) \rightarrow$  viśvadevā. Canthium parviflorum, Lam. See AVS: 1, 366 f:
- cassia cinnamon (*patra*) Cinnamomum tamala, (Buch.-Ham.) Nees. See AVS: 2, 84, NK: 1, #589: 90, 96, 118, 122
- castor oil tree (gandharvahasta)  $\rightarrow eranda$ . GVDB: 135, K&B: 3, 2277: 41, 92
- castor-oil (*eraṇḍa*) Ricinus communis, L. See NK: 1, #2145, Chopra: 214: 46
- catechu (*khadira*) Senegalia catechu (L.f.)
  P. J. Hurter & Mabb = Acacia catechu
  Willd. GVDB: 129–130: 65
- certain minerals ( $t\bar{a}r\bar{a}vit\bar{a}ra$ ) Unknown. It is not even certain that these are minerals. The variant reading in the vulgate,  $t\bar{a}rah$ ,  $sut\bar{a}rah$  was glossed by Dalhaṇa on 5.3.14 (Su 1938: 568) as follows  $t\bar{a}ro$

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rūpyam, sutārah pāradah, "tāra means
   silver; sutāra means mercury.": 124
Ceylon iron wood (kṣīrikā) Mimusops
   hexandra, Roxb. (GVDB: 126-127):
chaff (kāndana) The word kāndana is not
   found in dictionaries; kandana is
   threshing, separating the chaff from the
   grain in a mortar. Cf. Hemādri's
   Caturvargacintāmaņi (PWK: 2, 8)
   (Śiromaṇi 1873: 1, 138: 21, citing the
   Vāyupurāna): 28, 291
chaulmoogra (tuvaraka) Hydnocarpus
   wightiana Blume, but see the
   discussion by (GVDB: 188) for the
   difficulties in identifying tuvaraka. See
   also AVS: 3, 185–188:
chebulic myrobalan (harītakī) Terminalia
   chebula Retz. GVDB: 466: 97, 117
cherry (elavālu) Prunus cerasus, L.?. See
   BVDB 58, NK: 1, #2037, GVDB: 58: 122
chir pine (sarala) Pinus roxburghii, Sarg.
   GVDB: 423: 65, 98
chital deer (pṛṣata) Axis axis, Erxleben. See
   BIA: 292, IW: 93: 121
'choice tree' (varadāru) unknown. See ?:
chukar partridge (cakora) Alectoris chukar.
   See Woodcock 1980: 45:
cinnamon (tvac) Cinnamomum cassia,
   Blume. See NK: 1, #579:
citron (mātuluṅga) Citrus medica, Linn.
   GVDB: 276, 306. Also spelled
   mātulinga, mātulanga, mātulānga: 65, 96,
   101, 102
cluster fig (udumbara) Ficus racemosa, L.
   See ADPS: 487:
cobra's saffron (nāgapuṣpa) → nāgakeśara.
   Mesua ferrea, L. See NK: 1, #1595,
   GVDB: 220: 122
common crane (krauñca) Grus grus. See
   Woodcock 1980: 47:
common mallow (suvarcalā) perhaps
   Malva sylvestris, L. A difficult plant to
   identify, see T. B. Singh and Chunekar
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(GVDB: 280, 440–441):

common mallow (sūryāvarta) Malva

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sylvestris, L. Cakrapānidatta and
   Dalhana identify it with suvarcalā, itself
   a difficult plant to identify. Perhaps
   Helianthus, see T. B. Singh and
   Chunekar (GVDB: 280):
common smilax (śvadamśtra) Smilax
   aspera L., GVDB: 414:65
corky coral tree (pāribhadra) Erythrina
   suberosa Roxb. See GVDB 245: 124
costus (kustha) Saussurea costus, Clarke.
   See NK: 1, #2239: 90, 96, 118, 122, 125
cottony jujube (kākolī) Ziziphus
   mauritanica, Lam. See IGP: 1233,
   NK: 1, #2663; IGP 1233. Cf. NK: 1,
   #1170:89,95,96,137
country mallow (atibalā) Abutilon
   indicum, (L.) Sweet, but may be other
   kinds of mallow, e.g., Sida rhombifolia,
   L.. See NK: 1, #11, IGP: 1080, NK: 1,
   #2300, ADPS: 71, 77: 45, 95, 98, 229
country sarsaparilla (anantā) Hemidesmus
   indicus, (L.) R. Br. See ADPS: 434,
   AVS: 3, 141–5, NK: 1, #1210. But see
   GVDB: 13 for complications that may
   suggest that it is to be equated with
   sārivā, which may sometimes be
   Cryptolepis or Ichnocarpus fruitescens
   R. Rr. (GVDB: 429-431): 45, 116, 121,
   122, 124
crape jasmine (nata) \rightarrow crape jasmine
   GVDB: 215: 283, 286
crape jasmine (tagara) Tabernaemontana
   divaricata (L.) R.Br. ex Roem. &
   Schultes. See GJM1: 557, AVS: 5, 232.
   Synonym of crape jasmine. But some
   say Valeriana jatamansi, Jones See
   GVDB: 173-174 for discussion (and
   charming comments on brain liquid
   testing). Some say tagara is Indian
   rose-bay or Indian valerian, but there
   remain many historical questions about
   the ancient and regional identities of
   this plant See, e.g., AVS: 5, 334: 90, 96,
   118, 122, 283, 286
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crimson trumpet-flower tree (pāṭalā)

DC. See GJM1: 573, AVS: 5, 192 ff, ADPS: 362 f, AVS: 3, 1848 f, IGP 1120, Dymock: 3, 20 ff: 124, 285 cucumber (trapusa) Cucumis sativus, L. See AVS: 2, 231, NK: 1, #731: cuscus grass (uśīra) Andropogon murcatus, Retz. Also "vetiver grass." See NK: 1, #180: 66, 118, 136 datura (dhattūra) Datura metel, L. See AVS: 2, 305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK: 1, #796 ff. Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 292 f, ADPS: 132: 42 deodar (bhadradāru) Cedrus deodara, (Roxb.ex D.Don) G. Don. See AVS 41, NK: 1, #516: 36, 95, 99, 122 deodar (devadāru) Cedrus deodara (Roxb.) Loud. GVDB: 206-207: 65, 96, 229 devil's dung (hingu) Ferula foetida Regel., GVDB: 471–472: 66, 67 dhaman tree (dhanvanga)  $\rightarrow$  dhammana? Grewia tiliaefolia, Vahl. See AVS: 3, 104, IK, AVS: 1, 386, IGP 529 (tiliifolia): dried ginger ( $n\bar{a}gara$ )  $\rightarrow$  dried ginger (śuṇṭhī) GVDB: 221–222 : 67 dried ginger (śunthī) Zingiber officinale, Roscoe. See ADPS: 50, NK: 1, #2658, AVS: 5, 435, IGP: 1232: 94, 284 dried meat (vallūra) MW: 929, *Mahākośa*: 1, 730. The term is used, rarely, in both the CS (1.5.10) and SS (1.13. 16, 6.42.75–76). It is a Dravidian loanword and occurs in the Arthaśāstra etc. (KEWA: 3, 167): 27 drum-giver (?) (lambaradā) Unknown; cf. GVDB: 348: 116 elixir salve ( $ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ )  $\rightarrow a\tilde{n}jana$ . See Indian barberry: 36, 46 embelia (vidanga) Embelia ribes, Burm. f. See ADPS: 507, AVS: 2, 368, NK: 1, #929, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 113: 36, 65, 90, 122 emblic (āmalaka) Phyllanthus emblica, L. pālāśa in some sources: 66, 92, 285 See AVS: 4, 256: 65, 97, 98, 174 emetic nut (karaghāṭa) Probably a synonym flame-of-the-forest (pālāśa) See

Stereospermum chelonides, (L. f.) A.

for karahāṭa (emetic nut), q.v., GVDB: 74: 284 emetic nut (karahāṭa) Randia dumetorum, Lamk. See GVDB: 291–292 and NK: 1, #2091. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 74, 77–78) noted that it may be a synonym for karaghāṭa, emetic nut, and pointed rather to Gardenia turgida Roxb. on the basis of local knowledge in U. P.: 284, 288 emetic nut (madana) Randia dumetorum, Lamk. See NK: 1, #2091: 116, 231 false daisy (bhṛṅga) Eclipta prostrata (L.) L. See GVDB: 288: 65 false daisy (subhangura) (su) bhangura = bhrnga? Eclipta prostrata (L.) L. See GVDB: 288: 115 fermented rice-water ( $dh\bar{a}ny\bar{a}mla$ )  $\rightarrow k\bar{a}\tilde{n}j\bar{\iota}$ , kāñjikā, sauvīra. GVDB: 458, NK: 2, appendix VI, #18: 43, 44 fern (ajaruhā) Nephrodium species GVDB: 7, uncertain. Perhbaps Christella dentata(Forssk.) Brownsey & Jermy, which is reported to have folk applications against skin diseases in India: 120 fire-flame bush (dhātakī) Woodfordia fruticosa (L.) Kurz. See AVS: 5, 412, NK: 1, #2626:65, 117 five roots (pañcamūla) Described at Suśrutasamhitā 1.38.66-69 (Su 1938: 169). There are two pañcamūlas, the laghupañcamūla (the lesser five roots) and brhatpañcamūla (greater five roots), with differing properties. Combined they are called daśamūla (ten roots). See also Mahākośa: 1, 468:65 five-leaved chaste tree (śephālikā) Vitex negundo, L. See NK: 1, #2603 (cf. use of leaves), IGP: 1210a, MW: 1088b: flame-of-the-forest (palāśa) Butea monosperma (Lam.) Taub. GVDB: 241.

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flame-of-the-forest (palāśa). The variant
                                                  = āragvadha. Cassia fistula L. See
   name with long initial vowel appears in
                                                  GVDB: 37:65
   Nepalese manuscripts:
                                              golden shower tree (āragvadha) Cassia
flax (atasī) Linum usitatissimum, L. See
                                                  fistula L. GVDB: 37–38. The plant has
   NK#1495:95
                                                  many synonyms.: 97, 138
'foam-stone' (phenāśma) unknown. See ?:
                                              gourd (alābu) Lagenaria siceraria Standl.
fragrant lotus (saugandhika) A type of
                                                  GVDB: 25. Some say Lagenaria
   kumuda or utpala (GVDB: 457): 27
                                                  vulgaris, Seringe (NK: 1, #1419) but
galangal (galangala) Alpinia galanga (L.)
                                                  this is not appropriate for
   Sw. Identified with grey orchid in
                                                  blood-letting: 23, 24, 116, 137
   Kerala (ADPS: 398). The name is
                                              greater five roots (brhatpañcamūla)
   borrowed from Chinese, perhaps via
                                                  Described at Suśrutasamhitā 1.38.68-69
   Persian or Arabic (Peter: 2, 304), and
                                                  (Su 1938: 169). Consists of Bengal
   the name does not occur in early
                                                  quince, migraine tree, Indian trumpet
   āyurvedic literature (GVDB): 285
                                                  tree, crimson trumpet-flower tree, and
galls (karkaṭa) Rhus succedanea, L. See
                                                  white teak: 284, 287, 288, 293
   NK: 1, #2136:
                                              green gram (māṣa) Vigna radiata (L.) R.
garden pea (kalāya) Pisum sativum, L. See
                                                  Wilcz. See ADPS: 296, IGP 1204: 36,
   AVS: 4, 308, IGP 901; cf. NK: 1, #1940:
                                                  95, 230
garjan oil tree (aśvakarna) Dipterocarpus
                                              grey orchid (rāsnā) Vanda tessellata
   turbinatus Gaertn. f. See GVDB: 28,
                                                  (Roxb.) Hook. ex G.Don, usually. But
   Chopra: 100: 124
                                                  Pluchea lanceolata, Oliver & Hiern, is a
'gentle' (somā) Ruta graveolens, L., or
                                                  more common identification in Punjab
   Sarcostemma brevistigma, W & A, etc.
                                                  and Gujarat (GVDB: 337-338); Alpinia
                                                  galanga (L.) Sw. is more common in
   See NK: 1, #2179, 2228; Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 262:
giant potato (k \bar{s} \bar{\imath} r a v i d \bar{a} r \bar{\imath}) possibly \rightarrow
                                                  Kerala (ADPS: 398; Peter: 2, 303–318),
                                                  though this is usually identified with
   kṣīraśukla. Ipmoea mauritiana, Jacq. See
   ADPS: 510, AVS: 3, 222, AVS: 3, 1717 ff:
                                                  galangal. As all authorities note, the
                                                 identification of this plant is debated.
   95, 287, 289-291
                                                 Sivarajan and Balachandran
ginger (mahausadha) Zingiber officinale,
   Roscoe. See ADPS: 50, NK: 1, #2658,
                                                  (ADPS: 398–401) note that sources
                                                  describe it as having leaves like
   IGP: 1232 : 121
                                                  cardamom and sweet-smelling roots
'gladdener' (nandana) unknown. See ?:
                                                  and that "there is great confusion with
gold (hema) gold: 122
                                                  regard to the identity of the drug.": 65,
gold and sarsaparilla (surendragopa)
                                                  94, 96, 285
   Unknown. Dalhana on 5.3.15
                                              'gutboiler' (antrapācaka) unknown. See ?:
   (Su 1938: 568) glossed surendra as
                                              hairy bergenia (pāṣāṇabheda) Bergenia
   "gold" and gopā as "Indian
                                                  ligulata (Wall.) Engl. GVDB: 246–247:
   sarsaparilla." He also noted other
   opinions that surendra was "Tellicherry
   bark": 124
                                              halfa grass (darbha) Demostachya
golden shower tree (rājadruma) rājadruma
                                                  bipinnnata Stapf. GVDB: 201. Synonym
   = āragvadha. Cassia fistula L. See
                                                  of kuśa: 67, 95
   GVDB 37: 124
                                              halfa grass (kuśa) Desmostachya bipinnata,
golden shower tree (r\bar{a}javrkṣa) \rightarrow r\bar{a}jadruma
                                                  (L.) Stapf. GVDB: 111, AVS: 2, 326:
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hare foot uraria ( $prthakparn\bar{t}$ )  $\rightarrow$  hare foot uraria (pṛśniparṇī) and ?? (mūrvā) GVDB: 257. A component of lesser five roots: 97, 288 hare foot uraria ( $pr\acute{s}niparn\bar{\iota}$ )  $\rightarrow sah\bar{a}$ ? Uraria lagopoides, DC. and U. picta Desv. See GVDB: 257-258, GJM1: 577, Dymock: 1, 426, AVS: 1, 750 ff, NK: 1, #2542; ADPS: 382, AVS: 2, 319 and AVS: 4, 366 are confusing. Also called pṛthakparṇī. A component of lesser five roots: 94, 95, 286 heart-leaf sida (balā) Sida cordifolia, Linn. See ADPS: 71, NK: 1, #2297: 45, 95, 98, 100, 122, 229 heart-leaved moonseed  $(amrt\bar{a}) \rightarrow gud\bar{u}c\bar{\iota}$ . Tinospora cordifolia, (Willd.) Hook.f. & Thoms.? See ADPS: 38, NK: 1, #2472, 624, Dastur #229: 118, 121 heart-leaved moonseed (guḍūcī) Tinospora cordifolia, (Thunb.) Miers. ADPS: 38, NK: 1, #2472 & #624, Dastur #229, GVDB: 141–142. Also identified as Cocculus cordifolius DC. by Nadkarni (NK) and others (see also the Tropicos botanical database): 65, 96 heart-leaved moonseed (somavallī) Tinospora cordifolia (Thunb.) Miers. GVDB: 456. Likely, but uncertain: 118 heart-leaved moonseed creeper (amṛtavalli) See amṛtā: 229 heliotrope (hastiśunda)  $\rightarrow$  ibhagandhā? Heliotropium indicum, L. See AVS: 3, 136, NK: 1, #1203: henna (madayantikā) Lawsonia inermis, L. See AVS: 3, 303, NK: 1, #1448, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 151: 119 hill myna (sārikā) Acridotheres tristis tristis, L., etc. See Ali #1006, Dave (1985: 28 ff.), Woodcock (1980: 119): Himalayan mayapple (vakra) Podophyllum emodi, Wall. (NK: #1971). But perhaps a synonm of crape jasmine and crape

jasmine (GVDB: 354): 125

95, 136

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Himalayan monkshood (ativis\bar{a}) \rightarrow vis\bar{a}
   Aconitum heterophyllum Wall.
   GVDB: 12, NK: 1, #39. Also "atis
   roots": 87, 119, 121, 125
Himalayan monkshood (vis\bar{a}) \rightarrow ativis\bar{a}
   GVDB: 12, 373: 290
hogweed (punarnavā) Boerhaavia diffusa,
   L. See ADPS: 387, AVS: 1, 281, NK: 1,
   #363: 97, 119, 121
Holostemma creeper (j\bar{\imath}vant\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow
   sūryavallī? Holostemma ada-kodien,
   Schultes. See ADPS: 195, AVS: 3, 167,
   169, NK: 1, #1242: 98, 290
honey (ksaudra) Eight varieties of honey
   are described in the SS (NK: 2,
   Appendix 192). Kṣaudra is the product
   of a small bee of tawny colour, called
   kṣudra: 103, 121
horned pondweed (śaivāla) also śaivāla,
   śevāra. Zannichellia palustris L. The
   uncertainties of this identification are
   discussed by T. B. Singh and Chunekar
   (GVDB: 409). Sometimes identified
   with scutch grass (d\bar{u}rv\bar{a}) (GVDB: 409).
   Identified as Ceratophyllum demersum
   Linn. ("hornwort") by AVS: 2, 56–57x:
   96, 286, 291
hornwort (jalanīlikā) Ceratophyllum
   demersum, L. See AVS: 2, 56, IGP 232:
hornwort (jalaśūka) \rightarrow jalanīlikā.
   Ceratophyllum demersum, L. See
   AVS: 2, 56, IGP: 232. T. B. Singh and
   Chunekar (GVDB: 166) suggest horned
   pondweed. Dalhana noted on 1.16.19
   (Su 1938: 79) that some people
   interpret it as a poisonous, hairy,
   air-breathing, underwater creature: 45
horse gram (kaulattha) See horse gram
   (kulattha): 136
horse gram (kulattha) Macrotyloma
   uniflorum (Lam.) Verdcourt, syn.
   Dolichos biflorus, L., D. uniflorus,
   Lam., GVDB: 109, Kew: sub
   Macrotyloma uniflorum: 99, 100,
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137, 286

horseradish tree (śigru) Moringa oleifera Lam. See IGP 759, GJM1: 603, Dymock: 1, 396: 96, 97 hyacinth bean (śimbī) Dolichos lablab, L. See NK: 1, #870: hyacinth beans (*niṣpāva*) Lablab purpureus (L.) Sweet (1826) **gvdp**: 87 Indian antelope (ena) Antilope cervicapra, L. See BIA: 70: Indian barberry  $(a\tilde{n}jana) \rightarrow ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ , dāruharidrā. Berberis aristata, DC. Dymock: 1, 65, NK: 1, #335, GJM1: 562, IGP: 141: 46, 120, 284 Indian barberry (dāruharidrā) Berberis aristata, DC. See Dymock: 1, 65, NK: 1, #685, GJM1: 562, IGP 141: 121, 122, 287 Indian barberry  $(d\bar{a}rv\bar{\iota}) \rightarrow$  Indian barberry (dāruharidrā) GVDB: 203: 175 Indian barberry  $(k\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}yaka) \rightarrow d\bar{a}ruharidr\bar{a}$ , añjana. Berberis aristata, DC. See Dymock: 1, 65, NK: 1, #685, GJM1: 562, IGP: 141: 118 Indian beech (naktamāla) Pongamia pinnata, (L.) Pierre. See AVS: 4, 339, NK: 1, #2003: 36, 92 Indian ipecac (payasyā) Uncertain. Possibly Tylophora indica (Burm.f.) Merr. Perhaps a synonym of panacea twiner, giant potato, purple roscoea, and plants like asthma plant and Gulf sandmat (GVDB: 237–238). Also "curds" when not a plant: 45, 96, 290 Indian jujube (sauvīra) Zizphus jujuba Mill., GVDB: 458, MBG: sub jujuba: Indian jujube (sauvīraka) Zizphus jujuba Mill., GVDB: 458, MBG: sub jujuba: 95, 136 Indian kudzu ( $vid\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ )  $\rightarrow payasy\bar{a}$ . Pueraria tuberosa (Willd.) DC. See ADPS: 510, AVS: 1, 792 f, AVS: 4, 391; not Dymock: 1, 424 f. See GJM2: 444, 451, AVS: 1, 187, but AVS: 3, 1719 = Ipmoea mauritiana, Jacq: 45, 65 Indian laburnum (śampāka) Cassia fistula,

L. See ADPS: 48, AVS: 2, 11 ff,

AVS: 2, 854, IGP 215: Indian laurel (plaksa) Ficus microcarpa, L. f. See ADPS: 377: Indian madder (mañjiṣṭhā) Rubia cordifolia, L. See IGP, Chopra: 215, GVDB: 289: 41, 122, 138 Indian mottled eel (varmimatsya) Almost certainly the mottled eel. MW: 962c noted that the *varmi* fish "is commonly called vāmi." The "vam fish," or "বান মাছ (bān māch)" in Bengal, is a marine and freshwater eel, Anguilla bengalensis. It is the most common eel in Indian inland waters and a prized food fish (Froese and Pauly 2022). However, some NIA languages identify the "vam" fish with the Indian Pike Conger, Congresox talabonides (Bleeker) (Talwar and Kacker 1984: 235, 236): 25 Indian mustard (sarṣapa) Brassica juncea, Czern. & Coss. See AVS: 1, 301, NK: 1, #378:28 Indian pennywort (mandūkaparnī) Centella asiatica (L.) Urban. See GVDB: 290, ADPS: 289-291: Indian sarsaparilla  $(s\bar{a}riv\bar{a}) \rightarrow anant\bar{a}$ . Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. ADPS: 434, AVS: 3, 141-5, NK: 1, #1210; and black creeper, pālindī. Ichnocarpus frutescens, (L.) R.Br. or Cryptolepis buchanani, Roemer & Schultes AVS: 3, 141, 3.145, 3.203, NK: 1, #1283, 1210, ADPS: 434: 121, 122, 285 Indian snakeroot (sarpagandhā) Rauvolfia serpentina, (L.) Benth. ex Kurz. See NK: 1, #2099, ADPS: 439, GVDB: 425; cf. SS 5.5.76-78: Indian spinach (pūtīkā) Basella alba, L. See NK: 1, #318 (rubra), ADPS: 489, AVS: 1, 253, IGP 129b: Indian trumpet tree (śyonāka) Oroxylum indicum (L.) Benth. ex Kurz. GVDB: 172–173. A component of greater five roots: 287

Indian trumpet tree (tintuka)  $\rightarrow$  Indian

trumpet tree (śyonāka). Oroxylum indicum (L.) Benth. ex Kurz. GVDB: 172–173. A component of greater five roots: 285 indigo (nīlinī) Indigofera tinctoria, L. See NK: 1, #1309: Indrajao (indrayava) see vṛkṣaka (Indrajao) Holarrhena pubescens Wall. ex G.Don 1837 GVDB: 376, 45 and 84: 87 Indrajao (vrksaka)  $\rightarrow$  indrayava, indrabīja, kalinga, and kutaja. Holarrhena pubescens Wall. ex G.Don 1837 GVDB: 376, 45 and 84: 67, 229, 288 jackfruit (panasa) Artocarpus heterophyllus, Lam. See NK: 1, #249, IGP 99: jambul (jambū) Syzygium cumini, (L.) Skeels. See ADPS: 188, NK: 1, #967, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168, Wujastyk 2003a: 117, 174 jasmine (*mālatī*) Jasminium grandiflorum, L. See NK: 1, #1364: 118 jequirity (guñjā) Abrus precatorius, L. See AVS: 1, 10, NK: 1, #6, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168: jequirity (*kālakūṭa*) Abrus precatorius, L.? Cf. RRS 21.14. See AVS: 1, 10, NK: 1, #6, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168: 'juice-cooker' (sārapāka) unknown. See ?: (?) (karatā) Not in GVDB. Cf. perhaps karahāṭa (emetic nut): 115 khesari pea (triputa) triputa(kalāya). Lathyrus sativus, L. See IGP 651, NK: 1, #1439: koel (kokila) Eudynamys scolopacea. See Woodcock 1980: 66: kumudvatī (kumudvatī) unknown. See ?: kutki (aristā) Picrorhiza kurroa Royle ex Benth.  $\rightarrow katuk\bar{a}$  (kutki) q.v. (GVDB: 22–23): kutki (*kaṭukā*) Picrorhiza kurroa Royle ex Benth. (GVDB: 64–65): 87, 103, 288

lac (*jatu*) Kerria lacca (Kerr.). See

lac (*lākṣā*) Kerria lacca (Kerr.). See

GJM1: 445, NK: 2, #32. Watt

http://www.icar.org.in/ilri/default.htm:

(Watt $_{Comm}$ : 1053–1066) is characteristically informative, and is definite about the antiquity of lac in India: 125 lāmajja grass (*lāmajj*) Andropogon iwarancusa, Roxb. See NK: 1, #176: lāmajja grass ( $u\acute{s}\bar{\imath}rabheda$ )  $\rightarrow l\bar{a}majja$ . Andropogon iwarancusa, Roxb. See NK: 1, #176: leadwort (agniśikhā) Plumbago zeylanica (or rosea?), L. See NK: 1, #1966, 1967: 288 leadwort (citraka) Plumbago zeylanica (or indica?), L. See RA. 6.124, ADPS: 119, NK: 1, #1966, 1967: 36, 66, 87, 92, 102 leadwort ( $p\bar{a}laka$ )  $\rightarrow$  citraka. Plumbago zeylanica (indica? rosea?), L. See Rā. 6.124, ADPS: 1, 119, NK: 1, #1966, 1967: leadwort (vidyutśikhā) Synonym of agniśikhā (leadwort), q.v.: 116 lesser five roots (laghupañcamūla) Described at Suśrutasamhitā 1.38.66-67 (Su 1938: 169). Consists of bull's head, poison berry, yellow-fruit nightshade, hare foot uraria, and beggarweed: 282, 284, 286, 293, 295 liquorice (?) (klītaka) Glycyrrhiza glabra, L.? GVDB: 123–124 discuss the many difficulties in identifying this plant: 115 liquorice (madhuka) see yastīmadhuka: 45, 65, 94–99, 101, 121, 120, 122, 138, 175 liquorice (yaṣṭīmadhuka) Glycyrrhiza glabra, L. AVS: 3, 84, NK: 1, #1136, GVDB: 329 f.: 46 'little bamboo' (venukā) Bambusa bambos, Druce?. See NK: 1, #307: lodh tree (lodhra) Symplocos racemosa, Roxb. See GJM1: 597, ADPS: 279 f, NK: 1, #2420. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 351–352) notes that there are two varieties, S. racemosa, qualified as śāvara, and S. crataegoides Buch.-Ham. for paṭṭikā lodhra: 36,

122, 175

lodh tree (rodhra) Symplocos racemosa,

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Roxb. See ADPS: 279, NK: 1, #2420:
                                                  falcata (DC.) The Sauśrutanighantu
lodh tree (\dot{savara}) \rightarrow lodhra. Symplocos
                                                  gives a number of synonyms for vijayā
   racemosa, Roxb. See ADPS: 279, NK: 1,
                                                   (Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: 5.77, 10.143).
                                                  But one of them, viṣāṇī (also
   #2420:
long pepper (māgadha) Piper longum, L.
                                                  mesaśringī), is sometimes equated with
                                                  Dolichandrone falcata (DC.) Seemann
   See NK: 1, #1928; but cf. AVS: 3, 245:
                                                  (ADPS: 518; GVDB: 373 f, a plant used
                                                  as an abortifacient and fish poison
long pepper (pippalī) Piper longum, L. See
                                                  (NK: #862): 116
   ADPS: 374, NK: 1, #1928: 65, 92, 97, 98,
                                               Midday flower (bandhūka) Pentapetes
   101-103, 121, 122, 174, 229
                                                  phoenicea, L. See NK: 1, #1836,
lotus (nalina) \rightarrow sacred lotus (kamala)
                                                  GVDB: 268:
   GVDB: 218: 174, 175
lotus stalk (mṛṇāla) "Leaf stalk of sacred
                                               migraine tree (agnimantha) Premna
                                                  corymbosa, Rottl. See AVS 1927,
   lotus" GVDB: 318: 96
                                                  ADPS: 21, NK: 1, #2025, AVS: 4, 348;
luffa (garāgarī) → gargaraka? Luffa
                                                  GJM1: 523: = P. integrifolia/serratifolia,
   echinata, Roxb. See NK: 1, #1517:
                                                  L: 121, 285
luffa (kośātaka) = koṣītakī, luffa:
luffa (koṣātakya) Luffa cylindrica, (L.) M. J.
                                               milk-white (ksīraśuklā) An unidentified
                                                  plant. GVDB: 126: see purple roscoea
   Roem. or L. acutangula, (L.) Roxb. See
                                                  and giant potato: 45, 291
   ADPS: 252, NK: 1, #1514 etc:
                                               mongoose (nakula) nakula. Urva edwardsii
luffa (kosītak\bar{\imath}) = kos\bar{\imath}tak\bar{\imath}. Luffa cylindrica,
                                                  or the often sympatric U.
   (L.) M. J. Roem. or L. acutangula, (L.)
                                                  auropunctatus (small Indian
   Roxb. ADPS: 252-253, NK: 1, #1514 etc.
                                                  mongoose, usually an eater of smaller
   GVDB: 121: 116, 121, 289
                                                  creatures than snakes) (BIA: ch. 5), On
luffa gourd (kośavat\bar{\imath}) = koṣ\bar{\imath}tak\bar{\imath}, luffa : 121
                                                  mongooses and snakes, see BIA: 98-99;
mahua (madhūka) Madhuca longifolia,
                                                  IW: 112: 121
   (Koenig) Macbride. See AVS: 3, 362 f:
                                               monitor lizard (godhā) Varanus
                                                  bengalensis, Schneider. See
maidenhair fern (hamsāhvayā) Adiantum
                                                  Reptiles: 58: 45, 121
   lunaluatum Burm f. GVDB: 463: 229
                                               monkey jack (lakuca) Artocarpus lakoocha,
Malay beechwood (śr\bar{\imath}parn\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow k\bar{a}\acute{s}mar\bar{\imath}.
                                                  Roxb. ex Buch.-Ham. See GJM1: 597,
   Gmelina arborea Linn., GVDB: 412,
                                                  IGP 99, IPM 3.2338f., pace AVS: 1, 215:
   96-97:65
                                               'muddy' (kardama) unknown. See ?:
mango (āmra) Mangifera indica Linn.
                                               mung beans (mudga) Phaseolus radiatus L.
   GVDB: 37: 117, 174
                                                  GVDB: 310-311: 95, 98, 180
mangosteen (amla) Garcinia pedunculata
                                               mung beans (māṣaka) Phaseolus mungo
   Roxb. ex Buch.-Ham. See GVDB: 20-21:
                                                  Linn. GVDB: 308: 118
                                               muni grass (nārācaka) Saccharum
marking-nut tree (aruskara) Semecarpus
                                                  bengalense, Retz.?. See NK: 1, #2184:
   anacardium L. See bhallātaka
                                               myrobalan (abhayā) Terminalia chebula,
   (marking-nut tree): 116
marking-nut tree (bhallātaka) Semecarpus
                                                  Retz. See ADPS: 172, NK: 1, #2451,
   anacarium, L. See NK: 1, #2269,
                                                  Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 214: 87, 121, 125
   AVS: 5, 98: 92, 120, 289
                                               myrobalans (pathyā) Terminalia chebula
medhshingi (vijayā2) Dolichandrone
                                                  Retz. See NK: 1, #2451: 174
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NK: 2, #45. Dalhana identifies suvarcikā
   with svarjikṣāra 4.8.50 (Su 1938: 441):
neem tree (nimba) Azadirachta indica A.
   Juss. GVDB: 226: 42, 229
nutgrass (kuruvinda) Unknown. Dalhana
   on 5.3.15 (Su 1938: 568) glossed the
   term as nutgrass, but noted other
   opinions that it was a whetstone or a
   very special metallic gem. T. B. Singh
   and Chunekar (GVDB: 108) added that
   it could be a variety of rice, sastika
   dhānya : 124
nutgrass (mustaka) Cyperus rotundus, L.
   See ADPS: 316, AVS: 2, 296, NK: 1,
nutgrass (mustā) Cyperus rotundus, L. See
   ADPS: 316, AVS: 2, 296, NK: 1, #782:
oleander spurge (snuhī) Euphorbia
   neriifolia, L., or E. antiquorum, L. See
   ADPS: 448, AVS: 2, 388, AVS: 3, 1,
   NK: 1, #988, IGP 457b:
orchid tree (kovidāra) Bauhinia purpurea
   Linn. or B. variegata Linn. (probably
   the former), GVDB: 120,
   AVS: 1, 256–260: 136
orpiment (haritāla) Arsenii trisulphidum.
   See NK v. 2, p. 20 ff:
panacea twiner (arkaparṇī) See arkapuṣpī,
   panacea twiner:
panacea twiner (arkapusp\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow arkaparn\bar{\imath},
   Tylophora indica (Burm. f.) Merr.
   GVDB: 23-24. Maybe identical to
   Indian ipecac, giant potato and similar
   sweet, milky plants. See GVDB: 24, 127,
   238, 441, 443 for discussion. For
   discussion in the context of
   Holostemma creeper, see ADPS: 195
   and AVS: 3, 171. The etymology of the
   name suggests Helianthus annus Linn.,
   but this plant is native to the Americas:
   121, 287, 290
parakeet (śuka) Psittacula
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natron (suvarcikā) Sodium carbonate.

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krameri/eupatria/cyanocephala. See
   Woodcock 1980: 64:
peacock (mayūra) Pavo cristatus. See
   Woodcock 1980: 39:
peas (harenu) harenu = satīna. Pisum
   sativum, L. T. B. Singh and Chunekar
   (GVDB: 419–420, 467–468) notes that
   two plants are usually meant under this
   name, but there is no agreement on the
   identity of the second: 96, 121, 122,
   125, 174
peepul tree (aśvattha) Ficus religiosa, L.
   See ADPS: 63: 126
'pendent' (lambā) unknown. GVDB: 348.
   Known only from Suśrutasamhitā 5.2.5.
   Identified by Monier-Williams et al.
   (MW: 897) on no sound basis as "a
   kind of bitter gourd or cucumber":
periploca of the woods (mesaśrnga)
   Gymnema sylvestre (Retz.) R. Br. See
   AVS: 3, 107, NK: 1, #1173: 120
phalsa (parūsaka) Grewia asiatica Linn.,
   GVDB: 238:66
pheasant peacock (jīvajīvaka) jīvajīvaka. ?.
   See?:
plants like asthma plant and Gulf sandmat
   (kṣīriṇī) various milky plants, perhaps
   including Euphorbia hirta Linn.
   (asthma plant) and E. microphylla
   Heyne (Gulf sandmat) (GVDB: 127):
plumed cockscomb (indīvara) Uncertain;
   possibly Celosia argentea Linn. But see
   the useful discussion in GVDB: 44-45.
   Possibly another name for thorn apple
   (karambha), q.v.: 293
pointed gourd (patola) Trichosanthes
   dioica, Roxb. GVDB: 232-233: 96, 121
poison berry (bṛhatī) Solanum violaceum,
   Ortega. See ADPS: 100, NK: 1, #2329,
   AVS: 5, 151: 92, 97, 121, 122, 288
poison-altar (?) (visavedikā) Unknown.
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Possibly, at a guess, viṣamuṣṭika

(Himalayan monkshood): 116

(strychnine tree)? GVDB: 373 Or viṣā

pomegranate (dāḍima) Punica granatum potato: 95, 287, 289 Linn. GVDB: 201–202: 65, 101, 102 racket-tailed drongo (bhrngarāja) Dicrurus pondweed (paripelavā) Normally a neuter paradiseus. See Woodcock 1980: 123: noun. T. B. Singh and Chunekar radish (*mūlaka*) Raphanus sativus, L. See (GVDB: 238, 264-265, 409) argued that NK: 1, #2098: 99, 100 plava and śaivāla are the same thing, and rajmahal hemp  $(morața) \rightarrow m\bar{u}rv\bar{\iota}$ , may be either Zannichellia palustris, L., Marsdenia tenacissima (Roxb.) Wight or Potamogeton pectinatus, L: 122 et Arn. Good discussion at pondweed (śevāla) Zannichellia palustris GVDB: 314-316, 324: 121 L. See horned pondweed: 27 rajmahal hemp  $(m\bar{u}rv\bar{i}) \rightarrow morața$ , portia tree (pārīṣa) Thespesia populnea Marsdenia tenacissima (Roxb.) Wight et Arn. Good discussion at (L.) Sol. ex. Corr. See ADPS: 352: prickly chaff-flower (apāmārga) GVDB: 314–316, 324: Achyranthes aspera, L. See GJM1: 524 f, rattan (vetra) Calamus rotang, L. See AVS: 1, 330, NK: 1, #413: AVS: 1, 39, ADPS: 44 f, AVS: 3, 2066 f, Dymock: 3, 135: 41, 45, 95, 291 red chalk (gairika) gairika: 122 prickly chaff-flower (vasira) also vaśīra. red gourd (bimbī) Coccinia indica, W. & A. Perhaps Achyranthes aspera, L. See PVS 1994.4.715; NK: 1, #534: 116 GVDB: 362 describes several possible ribbed gourd (karkotaka) Luffa acutangula, identities, including *sūryāvarta*, prickly (L.) Roxb.? (Mormodica chaff-flower and markatatrna. See also cochinchinensis, Spreng.? Cf. Luffa vasukavasira (GVDB: 363): 65, 291 tuberosa). See AVS: 3, 347 (NK: 1, prickly chaff-flower (vaśira) See prickly #1640 1643; NK: 1, #1520): chaff-flower: rice grains (tandula) Oriza sativa, Linn. prickly-leaved elephant's foot  $(gojihv\bar{a}) \rightarrow$ Same as unhusked rice (*śāli*) gojī. Elephantopus scaber, L. See GVDB: 174; or just "grains": 28 AVS: 2, 357: rice-grain chaff (śālitandulakāndana) See chaff: 28 purging nut  $(dravant\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow m\bar{u}sikaparn\bar{\imath}$ . Jatropha curcas, L. See AVS: 3, 261, rock salt (saindhava) See NK: 2, M#48, NK: 1, #1374: Watt<sub>Comm</sub>: 963–971: 28, 65, 102 purging nut (mūṣikā) Jatropha curcas, L. rosha grass (dhyāmaka) Cymbopogon See AVS: 3, 261, NK: 1, #1374: 120 martinii (Roxb.) Wats. See AVS: 2, 285, NK: 1, #177:122 purple calotropis (arka) Calotropis sacred lotus (kamala) Nelumbo nucifera gigantea, (L.) R. Br. See ADPS: 52, AVS: 1, 341, NK: 1, #427, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 57, Gaertn., GVDB: 73-74: 289 Chopra IDG: 305–308: 36, 45, 92, 136 sacred lotus (padma) Nelumbo nucifera, purple calotropis (*khadyotaka*)  $\rightarrow$  arka? Gaertn. See NK: 1, #1698: 27, 96, 118 Calotropis gigantea, (L.) R. Br. See sacred lotus (prapundarīka) Nelumbo ADPS: 52, AVS: 1, 341, NK: 1, #427, nucifera, Gaertn. See Dutt 110, NK: 1, #1698: Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 63: sage-leaved alangium (ankolla) Alangium purple roscoea (kṣīrakākolī) GVDB: 89 notes that many physicians use Roscoea salvifolium (Linn. f.) Wang. procera Wall. in this context. But the GVDB: 5-6: 117 sage-leaved alangium (ankota) Alangium identification is uncertain. Possibly

salvifolium, (L. f.) Wang. See

connected to milk-white or giant

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AVS: 1, 77; cf. NK: 1, #88:
                                              selu plum (śelu) Cordia myxa, L. non
sal (\dot{s}\bar{a}las\bar{a}ra) \rightarrow ?? (\dot{s}\bar{a}la):
                                                  Forssk. See GJM1: 529 (2), IGP: 291b, cf.
                                                  AVS: 3, 1677 f; cf. AVS: 2, 180 (C.
sal group of trees (śālasārādi) śālasārādi is a
                                                  dichotoma, Forst.f.), NK: 1, #672 (C.
   group (gana) of twenty-three trees
                                                  latifolia, Roxb.): 97, 121
   listed at 1.38.8–9 (Su 1938: 165),
                                              sesame (tila) Sesamum indicum L.
   Mahākośa: 1,898:66
                                                  GVDB: 183:
sal tree (śālā) Shorea robusta, Gaertn.f. See
                                              sesame oil (taila) Sesamum indicum L.
   AVS: 5, 124: 174
                                                  GVDB: 183: 45, 136
sandalwood (bhadraśriya) Santanlum
                                              sheep (urabhra) Ovis orientalis, Gmelin?.
   album Linn. See white sandalwood
                                                  See BIA 249:
   (bhadraśrī): 96
sandalwood (candana) Santalum album, L.
                                              silk-cotton tree (śālmalī) Bombax
                                                  malabarica. See Issar: 152:
   See ADPS: 111, NK: 1, #2217: 66, 96, 98,
                                              siris (śirīsa) Albizia lebbeck, Benth. See
   122, 136, 294
                                                  AVS: 1, 81, NK: 1, #91, GVDB: 399-400.
sappan wood (patanga) Caesalpinia
                                                  Cf. white siris: 121, 136, 174, 294
   sappan, L. See AVS: 1, 323, AVS: 2,
                                              siris seeds (śirīṣamāsaka) Albizia lebbeck,
                                                  Benth. See AVS: 1, 81, NK: 1, #91: 117
sappanwood (pattānga) Also pattanga.
                                              small-flowered crape myrtle (sidhraka)
   Caesalpinia sappan, L. AVS: 1, 323,
                                                  Lagerstroemia parviflora Roxb. See
   K&B: 2,847 f, GVDB: 234:46
scaly, red-streaked fish (cilicima) An
                                                  GVDB: 432: 124
                                              'snake mallow' (mah\bar{a}bal\bar{a}) \rightarrow sahadevā.
   unidentified fish that is absolutely not
                                                  Sida spinosa, L. See NK: 1, #2301,
   to be eaten with milk. Described in
                                                  ADPS: 74, Index Kewensis:
   Bhela (1.12.7), Caraka (1.26.83) and
                                              'snake-killer' (sarpaghāti) unknown. See ?:
   Suśruta (1.20.8, 13). Circular, red
   streaks, round eyes and prominent
                                              snakeroot (sugandh\bar{a}) \rightarrow sarpagandh\bar{a}
                                                  Rauvolfia serpentina Benth. ex. Kurz.
   scales, and "normally goes on land.":
                                                  See sarpagandhā. But may be
scarlet mallow (bandhujīva) Pentapetes
   phoenicea, L. NK: #1836, GVDB: 268:
                                                  Aristolochia indica Linn. Has been
                                                  identified with nākulī, or gandhanākulī.
   119
                                                  See (GVDB: 219, 436): 115
scented pavonia (bālaka) Pavonia odorata,
                                              soda crystals (suvarjikā) Sodium
   Willd. See ADPS: 498, NK: 1, #1822:
                                                  carbonate. See NK: 2, #45:
                                              spiked ginger lily (śatī) Hedychium
scented pavonia (toya) → bālaka? Pavonia
                                                  spicatum Sm. in A. Rees,
   odorata, Willd. ADPS: 498, NK: 1,
                                                  GVDB: 386–387. Also sometimes śaṭhī:
   #1822:
                                              spikenard (jaṭāmāṃsī) Nardostachys
scramberry (tālīśa) T. B. Singh and
   Chunekar (GVDB: 179, 458–459)
                                                  jatamansi DC GVDB: 163, etc:
                                              spikenard (māmsī) Nardostachys
   discusses the several identifications and
   regional differences in identifying this
                                                  grandiflora, DC. See NK: 1, #1691: 122
                                              spikenard (nalada) \rightarrow māṃsī.
   plant. Taxus baccata Linn. is a common
   candidate, as is Flacourtia jangomas
                                                  Nardostachys grandiflora, DC. See
   (Lour.) Raeusch. (scramberry): 96, 175
                                                  NK: 1, #1691: 115
scutch grass (dūrvā) Cynodon dactylon
                                              spiny bitter cucumber (karkāruka)
   (Linn.) Pers. (GVDB: 205): 286
                                                  Momordica cochinchinensis (Lour.)
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Spreng., (Thunb.) Cogn. SeeAVS: 2, 1135, IGP 754 (or Beninkasa hispida?AVS: 2, 1127; cf. AVS: 1, 261): strychnine tree (visamustika) Strychnos nux vomica Linn. GVDB: 373: 290 sugar (sitā) Dalhaṇa makes this equation at 1.37.25 (Su 1938: 162): 122 sugar (śarkara) Saccharum officinarum, Linn. NK: #2182: 121 sugar cane (iksu) Saccharum officinarum, Linn. NK: #2182: 121 sunflower  $(s\bar{u}ryavall\bar{\iota}) \rightarrow \bar{a}dityavall\bar{\iota}$ , sūryamukhī, Helianthus annūs Linn. GVDB: 35, 443: 121 swan (hamsa) hamsa. ?. See ?: sweet flag (vacā) Acorus calamus Linn. See GVDB: 352-355: 95, 102 sweet melon (ervāruka) Cucumis melo, L. See AVS: 2, 227;AVS: 2, 1140-3, IGP 325–6, NK: 1, #729 (C. momordica): sweet plants (madhuravarga) The sweet plants are enumerated at Suśrutasamhitā 1.42.11. See also GVDB: 127: 45 sweet-scented oleander (aśvamāra) Nerium oleander, L. See ADPS: 223, NK: 1, #1709: 44, 46 sweet-scented oleander (aśvamāraka) Nerium oleander, L. See ADPS: 223, NK: 1, #1709: 115 teak (śāka) Tectona grandis, L.f. See AVS: 5, 245, (MW: 1061): Tellicherry bark (kutaja) Holarrhena pubescens Wall. ex G.Don, with Wrightia tinctoria and W. arborea 28, 122 considered GVDB: 101-102, ADPS: 267–270: 92, 285 ten roots (daśamūla) Described at Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.38.70–71 (Su 1938: 169) as a combination of the lesser five roots and the greater five roots: 284 thorn apple (karambha) Datura metel, L. (GVDB: 362–363), who note that when See GVDB: 76 for useful discussion. vasuka is mentioned together with

Also, AVS: 2, 305 (cf.

Abhidhānamañjarī), NK: 1, #796 ff.

Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 292 f, ADPS: 132. Possibly the same plant as plumed cockscomb (indīvara) (GVDB: 76, 44-45): 116, 282, 290 three heating spices (tryūṣaṇa) śunthī (Dried ginger) Zingiber officinale, Roscoe. ADPS: 50, NK: 1, #2658, AVS: 5, 435, IGP 1232, pippalī (long pepper) Piper longum, L.ADPS: 374, NK: 1, #1928, and marica (black pepper) Piper nigrum, L.ADPS: 294, NK: 1, #1929: 67, 121 three-leaf soapberry (ariṣṭaka) Sapindus trifoliatus L. (GVDB: 22): three-leaved caper (varuna) Crataeva magna (Lour.) DC. See AVS: 2, 202; cf. NK: 1, #696: 120 top layer of fermented liquor (surāmaṇḍa) K&B: 2, 502, NK: 2, appendix VI, #49, McHugh 2021: 39: 43, 44 tree cotton (*kārpāsa*) G. arboreum L. ADPS: 231. Pace the identifications of T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 92, 247), since G. barbadense L. is native to South America and G. herbaceum L. which is native to Africa: 42, 293 tree cotton (picu) See tree cotton ( $k\bar{a}rp\bar{a}sa$ ): turmeric (gaurī) Curcuma longa, L. See ADPS: 169, AVS: 2, 259, NK: 1, #750: 96 turmeric (haridrā) Curcuma longa Linn. GVDB: 465: 97, 121, 125, 138 turmeric (rajanī) Curcuma longa, L. ADPS: 169, AVS: 2, 259, NK: 1, #750: turpeth  $(trivrt) \rightarrow trvrt\bar{a}$ . Operculina turpethum (Linn.) Silva Manso = Ipmoea turpethum R. Br. GVDB: 197.: 90, 121, 138, 231, 282 two kinds of salt (vasukavasira) See the discussion by T. B. Singh and Chunekar

vasira, two varieties of salt are often

meant (see vasukavasirā): 65

unhusked rice (śāli) Oriza sativa, Linn. GVDB: 395-396: 28, 291 various kinds of honey (madhuvarga) Suśrutasamhitā's eight categories of honey. See Suśrutasamhitā 1.45.132 and Dutt: 278-279: velvet bean (svayamguptā) Mucuna pruriens DC., GVDB: 461: velvet-leaf (pāthā) Cissampelos pariera, L. See ADPS: 366, NK: 1, #592, GJM1: 573, AVS: 1, 95; cf. AVS: 2, 277: 36, 67, 87, 102, 121 velvet-mite (indragopa) Kerria lacca (Kerr.). Lienhard 1978: 116 verbena ( $bh\bar{a}r\dot{n}g\bar{\imath}$ )  $\rightarrow$  phañjī. Clerodendrum serratum, L. See AVS: 2, 121, ADPS: 87: verbena (phañjī) Clerodendrum serratum, L. See AVS: 2, 121, ADPS: 87: 119 'Virāṭa's plant' (vairāṭaka) unknown. See ?: watered buttermilk (udaśvit) MW: 183: 116 watermelon (kālindaka) Citrullus lanatus (Thumnb.) Matsum & Nak. See IGP 257, NK: 1, #596, AVS: 2, 1149: weaver's beam tree (muskaka) Schrebera swietenioides, Roxb. See AVS: 5, 88, Lord, NK: 1, #2246: 92, 124 weaver's beam tree (viśalyā) Schrebera swieteniodes Roxb.  $\leftarrow$  *kuberāksī*. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 371) notes that this name is a synonym for many other plants, including lāṅgālī, indravāruni, gudūcī etc. Dalhana identified it with pātalā, kāsthapātalā, and agniśikhā tree, all of which may be called śvetamokṣaka or kuberākṣī: 138 'web-milk' (jālakṣīri) unknown. See ?: wheat (godhūma) Triticum vulgare, L. See HK: 744: white babool (arimeda) Acacia leucophloea, (Roxb.) Willd. See AVS: 1, 23: 36 white calotropis (alarka) Calotropis procera, (Ait.) R. Br. See NK: 1, #428,

Chopra: 46b, Chopra IDG: 305-308: 45

white clitoria ( $Xsit\bar{a}$ ) Possibly  $\rightarrow$  white clitoria? Clitoria ternatea, L. See AVS: 2, 129, NK: 1, #621: white clitoria  $(giry\bar{a}hv\bar{a}) \rightarrow \acute{s}vet\bar{a}$ . Clitoria ternatea, L. See AVS: 2, 129, NK: 1, #621: white clitoria ( $\acute{s}vet\bar{a}$ )  $\rightarrow giry\bar{a}hv\bar{a}$ . Clitoria ternatea, L. See AVS: 2, 129, NK: 1, #621:118, 294 white cutch tree (somavalka) Acacia polyacantha, Willd. See AVS: 1, 30, IGP 7, GJM1: 602, AVS: 2, 935; pace NK: 1, #1038: 119, 124 white dammer tree (sarja) Vateria indica, L. See NK: 1, #2571, AVS: 5, 349 f, AVS: 1, 292 f, Chopra: 253a: 36, 65 white sandalwood (bhadraśrī) Santanlum album Linn. see sandalwood (candana) GVDB: 152, 282 and Carakasamhitā ci.4.102 (Ca 1941: 434) where it is contrasted with lohitacandana: 66, 292 white siris (kaṭabhī) Albizia procera (Roxb.) Benth. or A. lebbeck (Linn.) Benth. GVDB: 63-64, AVS: 1, 81-84. Cf. Cf. siris: 136, 292 white siris (*kiṇihī*) Albizia procera, (Roxb.) Benth. See GVDB 98, NK: 1, #93: 121 white teak  $(k\bar{a}r\acute{s}mar\bar{\iota}) \rightarrow k\bar{a}\acute{s}mar\bar{\iota}$ : 175 white teak  $(k\bar{a}\pm mary\bar{a}) \rightarrow k\bar{a}\pm mar\bar{i} : 65$ white teak  $(k\bar{a} \pm mar\bar{\iota}) \rightarrow k\bar{a} \pm mar \mu a$ ,  $k\bar{a} + mar \bar{\iota}$ , madhuparnī. Gmelina arborea, Roxb. See GJM1: 543, Trees: 51, ADPS: 240: 96, 98, 285 white teak ( $madhuparn\bar{i}$ )  $\rightarrow k\bar{a} \pm mar\bar{i} : 65$ white water-lily (kumuda) Nymphaea alba, Linn. GVDB: 105: 27 wild asparagus ( $bahuputr\bar{a}$ )  $\rightarrow$  nandana? Asparagus racemosus, Willd. See further wild asparagus (śatāvarī): 119 wild asparagus (śatāvarī) Asparagus racemosus, Willd. See ADPS: 441, AVS: 1, 218, NK: 1, #264, IGP: 103, AVS: 4, 249 ff, Dymock: 3, 482 ff: 94-96, 98, 180, 294

wild celery (agnika)  $\rightarrow$  may be  $bhall\bar{a}taka$ ,

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lāngalī, ajamodā, moraţa, or agnimantha,
                                               GVDB: 357: 281
   GVDB: 4. Uncertain: 121
                                            wood apple (kapittha) Limonia acidissima,
wild celery (ajamodā) Apium graveolens,
                                               L. See AVS: 3, 327, NK: 1, #1021: 97,
   L.: 121
                                               118, 120, 174
wild chinchona (kādamba) Anthocephalus
                                            woodrose (mūṣikakarṇī) Jatopha curcas, L.
   cadamba, Miq. See NK: 1, #204:
                                               AVS: 3, 261, NK: 1, #1374. GVDB: 317;
wild mustard (saurīyaka) Cleome viscosa,
                                               ADPS: 23–25 discuss this issue well: 118
   L.? (cf. Rā.4.144). See AVS: 2, 116,
                                            woodworm (ghuṇa) See note to
   NK: 1, #615:
                                               Atharvaveda 4.16:
wild sugar cane (kāṇḍekṣu) Saccharum
                                            yellow-berried nightshade (kṣudrā)
   spontaneum L., GVDB: 90: 65
                                               Solanum virginianum, L. See
Withania (aśvagandhā) Withania somnifera
                                               ADPS: 100, NK: 1, #2329, AVS: 5, 164:
   (L.) Dunal. See AVS: 5, 409 f,
                                               121, 122
   Dymock: 2, 566 f., Chevallier 150: 45,
                                            yellow-fruit nightshade (kanṭakārī)
   91, 97
wolfsbane (vatsanābha) Aconitum
                                               Solanum virginianum L. (also called
   napellus, L. See AVS: 1, 47, NK: 1, #42,
                                               Solanthum xanthocarpum, Schrad. &
   Potter_{rev}: 4 f. Or Aconitum
                                               Wendl.) GVDB: 68-69. A component of
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## **Todo list**

Can't be "sedation"
find out about uttarabasti
This is a change we should make in the edition. $\dots \dots 88$
You need not give all the grammatical details about śrotādi. As-
sume you are talking to knowledgeable Sanskrit scholars 88
Perhaps kalka here could also mean the Terminalia Bellerica (विभीतक). 90
Euphorbia Antiquorum (Antique spurge)
The webpage https://hindi.shabd.in/vairagya-shatakam-bhag-
acharya-arjun-tiwari/post/117629 says that this verse belongs
to the <i>Nītiratna</i> . I could not find this text
The provisional edition should be modified accordingly 99
There, Palhaṇa comments that deliberation on avapīḍa had been
done earlier when it was mentioned. Find that description to
know more details
Search for the section where the treatment of $\bar{a}$ $k$ $s$ $e$ $s$ $d$ $s$ $d$ $s$ $d$ $s$ $d$ $s$ $d$ $s$ $d$
Make the first letter of sentence capital
?
?
?
(?)
Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.8
I'm still unhappy about this verse
Mention this in the introduction as an example of the scribe know-
ing the vulgate
fn about sadyas+
Bear's bile instead of deer's bile
punarṇṇavā in the N & K MSS
śrita for śrta

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(since the word lagha is not clear to me)
(Not too happy with it.)
(not sure about it)
(Not in vulgate)
(I am looking for a better translation)
(I'd need to rework on it)
(I'd need to rework on it and think about the sequencing of the
number)
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