

A Translation of the New Edition of the  
*Suśrutasamhitā*

Jason Birch      Dominik Wujastyk      Andrey Klebanov

Draft of 15th February 2023  
© Jason Birch and Dominik Wujastyk

## Contents

<b>The manuscripts and editions used in the vulgate editions by Yā-</b>	
<b>davaśarman Trivikrama Ācārya</b>	<b>5</b>
The sources of the 1915 edition . . . . .	5
The sources of the 1931 edition . . . . .	5
The sources of the 1938 edition . . . . .	6
Evaluation . . . . .	7
The 1939 edition . . . . .	8
The sources for the Bhānumatī . . . . .	8
The sources for the Suśrutasaṃhitā . . . . .	10
Evaluation . . . . .	10
<b>Features of the manuscript transmission</b>	<b>12</b>
Palaeographical features . . . . .	12
Chart of characters . . . . .	12
<b>Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 1</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 2</b>	<b>20</b>
Literature . . . . .	20
<b>Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 13: On Leeches</b>	<b>21</b>
Literature . . . . .	21
<b>Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 28</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Kalpasthāna, adhyāya 1</b>	<b>22</b>
Literature . . . . .	22
Manuscript notes . . . . .	23
Translation . . . . .	24
[Threats to the king] . . . . .	24
<b>Kalpasthāna, adhyāya 2</b>	<b>33</b>
Introduction . . . . .	33
Translation . . . . .	33
The effects of poisons . . . . .	38
Symptoms of tuber poisoning . . . . .	39
Slow-acting poison . . . . .	41

The stages of toxic shock . . . . .	43
Remedies for the stages of slow poisoning . . . . .	43
The invincible ghee . . . . .	46
Curing the 'slow-acting' poison . . . . .	46
<b>Kalpasthāna, adhyāya 3</b>	<b>47</b>
Introduction . . . . .	47
Translation . . . . .	47
The origin of poison . . . . .	51
Patients beyond help . . . . .	53
<b>Uttaratantra, adhyāya 16 (17 in the vulgate)</b>	<b>54</b>
Literature . . . . .	54
Translation . . . . .	54
[Complications] . . . . .	63
[Characteristics of the probe] . . . . .	64
[Complications] . . . . .	64
<b>Uttaratantra, adhyāya 38</b>	<b>67</b>
Introductory remarks . . . . .	67
Translation . . . . .	69
<b>Editions and Abbreviations</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>Index of Manuscripts</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>Glossary</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>Botanical Reference Works</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>Glossary and Index of Medical Substances</b>	<b>97</b>
On digital critical editions . . . . .	121

## Sūtrasthāna, adhyāya 13: On Leeches

### Literature

[HIML](#): IA, 209.

- 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, nervous people and women. It is said to be the most gentle means for letting blood.

# Kalpasthāna, adhyāya 3

## Introduction

## Translation

- 1 And now we shall explain the rule (*kalpa*) that is the required knowledge about mobile poisons.<sup>150</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>151</sup>
- 4 In that context, they are:<sup>152</sup>
  - gaze and breath,
  - teeth, nails, and bites
  - urine and faeces,
  - **menstrual blood**,
  - semen,
  - **tail**,
  - **contact with saliva**,
  - nipping with the mouth (*mu-*
  - hasaṃdaṃśā*),
  - fart (*avaśardhita*),<sup>153</sup>
  - **anus**,<sup>154</sup>
  - bones,
  - bile,
  - bristles (*śūka*), and
  - corpses.
- 5 In that context,

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

location of the poison	creatures <sup>155</sup>
in their breath and gaze	divine snakes
in their fangs	the ones on earth <sup>156</sup>

<sup>150</sup> In contrast to stationary, plant poisons. No reference is made to Dhanvantari (see Birch, Wujastyk, Klebanov, Parameswaran, et al. 2021).

<sup>151</sup> “Carrier” for base, foundation (*adhiṣṭhāna*) aims to capture the idea that the author will describe the creatures in which poisons inhere.

<sup>152</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>153</sup> This interpretation comes from Ḍaḥaṇa on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567), but he reads विशर्धित.

<sup>154</sup> Ḍaḥaṇa on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567) noted this reading.

<sup>155</sup> Many of these names are mere dubious placeholders.

<sup>156</sup> Ḍaḥaṇa on 5.3.5 (Su 1938: 567) cited the otherwise unknown authority Sāvitra on the topic of poisonous snakes (HIML: v. ???, ???).

<i>location of the poison</i>	<i>creatures</i>
in their nails, mouths and fangs	cats, dogs, monkeys, men ( <i>nara</i> ), <sup>157</sup> crocodiles, frogs, ‘cook-fish’ ( <i>pākamatsya</i> ), <sup>158</sup> monitor lizards, cone snails ( <i>śambūka</i> ), ‘poisonous snakes’ ( <i>pracalāka</i> ), <sup>159</sup> geckos ( <i>gṛhagoḍikā</i> ), <sup>160</sup> four-footed insects and others
in their urine and faeces	lice ( <i>kiṭīpa</i> ), ‘flat insects’ ( <i>piccīṭā</i> ), ‘orange-dwellers’ ( <i>kaṣāyavāsika</i> ), ‘pepper snakes’ ( <i>sarṣapaka</i> ), ‘angry beetles’ ( <i>toṭaka</i> ), dung beetles ( <i>varcaḥkīṭa</i> ), and ‘pot insects’ ( <i>kauṇḍinya</i> )
in their semen	mice
in their stings ( <i>śūla</i> )	scorpions, ‘earth scorpions’ ( <i>viśvambhara</i> ), wasps ( <i>varaki</i> ), <sup>161</sup> fish, crabs ( <i>uccīṭiṅga</i> ), and ‘wing-scorpions’ ( <i>patravṛścika</i> )
in their saliva, nails, urine, feces, blood, semen and fangs	spiders
in the bites of their mouths	flies, wasps ( <i>kaṇabha</i> ) and leeches
in the bites of their mouths, in their fangs, faces, †, farts, anuses and feces	‘speckle-heads’ ( <i>citraśīrṣa</i> ), ‘lids’ ( <i>śārava</i> ), ‘bellied’ ( <i>kuṣṣita</i> ), ‘wood-enemies’ ( <i>dārukāri</i> ), ‘liquors’ ( <i>medaka</i> ), and ‘darts’ ( <i>śārikā</i> ).

157 Probably dittography from the previous word, monkey (*vānara*). But it is supported in both Nepalese witnesses, so it must go back to an earlier exemplar.

158 MS KL 699 separates the words पाक and मत्स्य with a *daṇḍa*, indicating that the scribe thought they were separate terms. Ḍalhaṇa thought this was a kind of fiery insect (5.3.5 (Su 1938: 567)).

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

160 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 *Carakasamhitā* and elsewhere in literature. Hemacandra’s *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (4.364) mentions that गृहगोडिका and गृहगोलिका are synonyms (Rādhākāntā Deva 1876: 691a, *sub māṇikyā*).

161 वरटी is a wasp; वरकि in the Nepalese MSS may be an alternant of this word. Ḍalhaṇa on 5.3.5 (Su 1938: 568) remarked that some interpreted वरकिमत्स्य as two items, “wasp and fish,” others as a single one, “wasp-fish.”

---

Table 2: Passage 5, expressed in tabular format.

---

- 6 The enemies of the king pollute the waters, roads and foodstuffs in enemy territory. The experienced physician, who has learned how to purify things, should clean up those polluted things.
- 7 Polluted water is slimy and smells of tears.<sup>162</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>163</sup> He should try to purify that 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 catch tree. Then he should sprinkle that ash, cold, on the waters.
- 10–11 And in the same way, putting a handful of the ash in a pot, one may also purify water that one wants.  
If any one of the limbs of cows, horses, elephants, men or women, touch a place on the ground that enemies have spoiled with poison, or a ford or rock or a flat surface, then it swells up and burns and its hair and nails fall out on that place.<sup>164</sup>
- 12 In that situation, he should grind up country sarsaparilla together with all the aromatic items, with alcoholic drinks. And then he should

<sup>162</sup> अश्रु normally means “tears,” but rarely means “blood.”

<sup>163</sup> On the polysemy of elephant/snake (*nāga*), see Semeka-Pankratov 1979.

<sup>164</sup> “Swells up” translates an unclear reading that was probably श्यति, which may be an irregular form of √शू श्वा, श्वि (see Whitney 1885: 175–176).

- sprinkle the paths that need to be used with waters mixed with mud.<sup>165</sup>  
**And if there exists another path, he should go by that.**<sup>166</sup>
- 13 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.
- 14–15 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>167</sup> together with **gold and sarsaparilla**, and a portion of of **nutgrass** equal to that, together with the bile called “brown cow”.<sup>168</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>169</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>170</sup> and **peas, and beautyberry**.

165 Our “alcoholic drinks” translates सुरा. For a discussion of this term at our period see McHugh 2021: 37–39 *et passim*.

166 Ḍalhaṇa 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.”

167 “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, Ḍalhaṇa 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 1889–96: v. 5, 233) and the word पारद that Ḍalhaṇa 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 *Suśruta-saṃhitā* 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*).

168 सुरेन्द्रगोप and कुरुविन्द are both uncertain, see index. Ḍalhaṇa’s opinion has been followed here, but it seems fair to say that all commentators were guessing.

169 The syntax of this verse is somewhat loose; the vulgate has regularized it, smoothing out the difficulties.

170

write footnote: don’t repeat  
 ativīṣā; vulgate similar to H.



## The origin of poison

- 18 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>171</sup>
- 19 Pitiless Fury took a body and burst out of the mouth of furious Brahmā's store of fiery energy.<sup>172</sup>
- 20 He burned that great, thundering, apocalyptic demon. Then, after bringing about the annihilation of that demon, his amazing fiery energy increased.
- 21 And so, there was a sinking down (*viṣāda*) of the Daityas. Observing that, it was named "poison (*viṣa*)" because of its 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, whatever substance a poison reaches, it establishes itself there and by its nature it takes on that substance's savour.<sup>173</sup>
- 25 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>174</sup>
- 27 Breathing is obstructed because its pathway is blocked by phlegm. Even if life continues, a man remains without consciousness.
- 28 Similar to semen, the poison of all angry snakes pervades the whole body, and goes to the limbs like semen because of being stirred up.
- 29 The fang of snakes is like a hook. When it gets there, it sticks inside

---

171 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.

172 "Fury" is here anthropomorphised.

173 The scribal emendation in MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 of नियच्छति to निगच्छति suggests that the scribe had more than one manuscript before him, one of them representing the reading of the vulgate recension.

174 Probably a reference to the five breaths. Ḍalhaṇa referred to winds (वात), but this does not seem correct since it is a reference to humours rather than breaths.

- 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>175</sup>
- 31 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 †Having come upon a body,<sup>176</sup> in the case of corpses 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 admissible after three quarters of an hour, but without the poisoned arrow and the snakebite.
- 35.1 [At this point an Upajāti verse is added in the margin of K but is not fully legible; the version of the text in H is also incomplete and not fully comprehensible.]<sup>177</sup>
- 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.
- <sup>178</sup>
- 35.1 [śloka 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

175 The verb पठ् “is declared, read aloud” here could possibly suggest that the author is working within a written, not oral, tradition.

176 “Having come upon” translates प्रस्थाप्य, which is hard to interpret unless it is a rare form connected with the sense “to see.”

177 *Mādhavanidāna*, 69.20–21 (MN<sub>1</sub>: 480) has verses that are directly parallel to this section:

*darvīkarāṇāṃ viṣam āśughāti sarvāṇi coṣṇe dviguṇībhavanti ajīrṇapittātapapīḍiteṣu bāleṣu vṛddheṣu bubhukṣiteṣu* 20

*kṣīṇakṣate mohini kuṣṭhayukte rūkṣe 'bale garbhavatīṣu cāpi*

*śāstrakṣate 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 *Suśrutasamhitā* at this point. This suggests that Mādhavakara (fl. ca. 700, Bengal) knew and used the Nepalese version.

178 At this point, witness H inserts a marginal *Indravajrā* verse about diseases that afflict immoral women.

(*grhadhūma*) with wind,<sup>179</sup> and who vomits foam, as “someone who has drunk poison.”

- 37 Therefore, fire burns a heart that is pervaded by poison. For, having pervaded of its own accord the location of consciousness, it abides.<sup>180</sup>

### **Patients beyond help**

- 38 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, in Yama’s direction,<sup>181</sup>

---

179 गृहधूम is not a plant in this context *pace* MW: 362. See the discussion in note 87, p. 29.

180 Ḍalhaṇa 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.

## Editions and Abbreviations

Ah 1939	Kuṃṭe, Aṇṇā Moreśvara, Navare, Kṛṣṇaśāstrī, and Parādkar, Hariśāstrī (1939) (eds.), श्री-मद्वाग्भटविरचितम् अष्टाङ्गहृदयम्, श्रीमदरुणदत्तविरचितया सर्वाङ्गसुन्दराख्यया व्याख्यया, हेमाद्रिप्रणीतया आयुर्वेदरसा-यनाह्वया टीकया च समुल्लसितम् = <i>The Astāṅgahṛidaya</i> (6th edn., Mumbayyām: Nirṇayasāgara Press), <a href="https://nirnayasagara.org/ark:/13960/t3tt6967d">ark:/13960/t3tt6967d</a> .
Anup	<i>Anup Sanskrit Library</i> .
Apte	Apte, Vaman Shivaram (1992), <i>The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company), ISBN: 4-653-00038-7; Reprinted from Gode and Karve 1957–9.
AS	<i>Asiatic Society</i> .
As 1980	Āṭhavale, Anaṃta Dāmodara (1980) (ed.), <i>Aṣṭāṅgasan̄grahaḥ. Śrīmad Vṛddhavāg̃bhaṭaviracitaḥ Induvyākhyāsahitaḥ</i> (Pune: Maheśa Anaṃta Āṭhavale, Śrīmad Ātreya Prakāśanam), <a href="https://nirnayasagara.org/ark:/13960/t9773bb9z">ark:/13960/t9773bb9z</a> .
Bhela 1921	Mookerjee, Ashutosh, and Ananta Krishna Shastri, Vedantabisharad (1921) (eds.), <i>The Bhela Samhita. Sanskrit Text</i> (Calcutta: University of Calcutta), <a href="https://nirnayasagara.org/ark:/13960/t3sv3157j">ark:/13960/t3sv3157j</a> ; Based on two copies made of the Thanjavur codex unicus (MS Thanjavur TMSSML 10773, Burnell 1880: 63–4, P. P. S. Sastri 1933: #11085).
Bhela 2000	Krishnamurthy, K. H. (2000), <i>Bhela-saṃhitā. Text with English Translation, Commentary and Critical Notes</i> (Haridas Ayurveda Series, 8; Varanasi: Chaukhambha Visvabharati).
BL	<i>British Library</i> .

Ca. 1941	Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1941) (ed.), महर्षिणा पुनर्वसुनोपदिष्टा, तच्छिष्येणान्निवेशेन प्रणीता, चरक-दृढबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता चरकसंहिता, श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया आयुर्वेददीपिकाव्याख्यया संवलिता (3rd edn., Mumbai: Nirnaya Sagara Press), <a href="https://nirnayasangraha.org/ark:/13960/t48q2f20n">ark : /13960 / t48q2f20n</a> .
HIML	Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1999–2002), <i>A History of Indian Medical Literature</i> , 5 vols. (Groningen: E. Forsten), ISBN: 9069801248.
IOLR	Eggeling, Julius, et al. (1887–1935), <i>Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office</i> (London: Secretary of State for India), <a href="https://nirnayasangraha.org/ark:/13960/s2kbbk5zcrg9">ark : /13960 / s2kbbk5zcrg9</a> .
KL	<i>Kaiser Library</i> .
MN <sub>1</sub>	Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1920) (ed.), महामतिश्रीमाधवकरप्रणीतं माधवनिदानम् श्रीविजयरक्षित-श्रीकण्ठदत्ताभ्यां विरचितया मधुकोशाख्यव्याख्याया, श्रीवा-चस्पतिवैद्यविरचितया आतङ्कदर्पणव्याख्याया विशिष्टांशेन च समुल्लसितम् = <i>Mādhavanidāna by Mādhavakara with the Two Commentaries, Madhukosha by Vijayarakshita &amp; Shrikanthadatta and Ātankadarpaṇa by Vāchaspati Vaidya</i> (1st edn., Bombay: Nirnaya Sagara Press), <a href="https://nirnayasangraha.org/ark:/13960/t9z08jn5j">ark : /13960 / t9z08jn5j</a> .
MN <sub>3</sub>	Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1932) (ed.), महामतिश्रीमाधवकरप्रणीतं माधवनिदानम् श्रीविजयरक्षित-श्रीकण्ठदत्ताभ्यां विरचितया मधुकोशाख्यव्याख्याया, श्रीवा-चस्पतिवैद्यविरचितया आतङ्कदर्पणव्याख्याया विशिष्टांशेन च समुल्लसितम् = <i>Mādhavanidāna by Mādhavakara with the Two Commentaries, Madhukosha by Vi-jayarakshita &amp; Shrikanthadatta and Ātankadarpaṇa by Vāchaspati Vaidya</i> (3rd edn., Bombay: Nirnaya Sagara Press), <a href="https://nirnayasangraha.org/ark:/13960/t66452x0h">ark : /13960 / t66452x0h</a> ; Reprinted Varanasi: Chowkhambha, 1986.

MW	Monier-Williams, Monier, Leumann, E., Cappeller, C., et al. (1899), <i>A Sanskrit–English Dictionary Etymologically and Philologically Arranged, New Edition</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press); 1970 reprint.
NAK	<i>National Archives of Kathmandu.</i>
NCC	Raghavan, V., et al. (1949–), <i>New Catalogus Catalogorum, an Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors</i> , 39 vols. (Madras University Sanskrit Series; Madras: University of Madras); v.1: revised edition, 1968. Searchable at <a href="https://vmlt.in/ncc/">https://vmlt.in/ncc/</a> .
NGMCP	NGMCP (2014), “Nepal-german Manuscript Cataloguing Project. Online Title List and Descriptive Catalogue,” Universität Hamburg and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, <a href="#">URL</a> .
RORI	<i>Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute.</i>
Su 1889	Bhaṭṭācāryya, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (1889) (ed.), सुश्रुतः. सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पोत्तर-तन्त्र-कल्पित आयुर्वेद. भगवता धन्वन्तरिणोपदिष्टः सुश्रुतनामधेयेन तच्छिष्येण विरचितः (3rd edn., Calcutta: Saratī Press), <a href="https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:in:in-003-13960-t1nh6j09c">ark:/13960/t1nh6j09c</a> ; <a href="#">HIML</a> : IB, 311, edition b.
Su 1915	Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1915) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता, सुश्रुतेन विरचिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया समुल्लसिता, आचार्योपाह्वेन त्रिविक्रमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = <i>The Sushrutasamhita of Sushruta, the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shri Dalhaṇāchārya</i> (Mumbayyām: Nirṇayasāgaramudrāyantrālaye), <a href="https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:in:in-003-13960-t3sv0mt50">ark :/ 13960 / t3sv0mt50</a> , accessed 29/07/2020; <a href="#">HIML</a> : IB, 312 edition *v.

- Su 1931 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1931) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता, वैद्यवरश्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया समुल्लसिता, महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता, सूत्र-निदान-शारीर-चिकित्सा-कल्पस्थानोत्तरतन्त्रात्मकः. आचार्योपाह्वेन त्रिविक्रमात्मजेन यादवशर्मणा संशोधिता = *The Sushrutasamhitā of Sushruta with the Nibandhasangraha Commentary of Shree Dalhaṇāchārya* (2nd edn., Mumbayyām: Pāṇḍuraṅga Jāvajī at the Nirṇayasāgaramudrāyantrālaye), [ark:/13960/t9j41sg94](https://nirayasaagara.org/ark:/13960/t9j41sg94), accessed 09/06/2020; [HIML](https://nirayasaagara.org/HIML): IB, 312 edition \*v.
- Su 1938 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama, and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1938) (eds.), श्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया निदानस्थानस्य श्रीगयदासाचार्यविरचितया न्यायचन्द्रिकाख्यपञ्जिकाव्याख्यया च समुल्लसिता महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (3rd edn., Bombay: Nirṇayasāgara Press), [ark:/13960/t09x0sk1h](https://nirayasaagara.org/ark:/13960/t09x0sk1h); [HIML](https://nirayasaagara.org/HIML): IB, 313, edition cc ('the vulgate').
- Su 1938<sup>2</sup> Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama, and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (2004) (eds.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता, श्रीडल्हणाचार्यविरचितया निबन्धसंग्रहाख्यव्याख्यया निदानस्थानस्य श्रीगयदासाचार्यविरचितया न्यायचन्द्रिकाख्यपञ्जिकाव्याख्यया च समुल्लसिता (Vārāṇasī: Caukhambhā Kṛṣṇadāsa Akādamī); Reprint of the third, 1938 edition (Su 1938).
- Su 1939 Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama, and Śarman, Nandakiśora (1939) (eds.), सुश्रुतसंहितायाः सूत्रस्थानम्. श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया भानुमतीव्याख्याया समेतम् = *Sushrut-saṁhitā (sūtra Sthān) with Bhānumatī Commentary by Chakrapāṇi Datta with Introduction by Gaṇanāth Sen* (Śrīsvāmī Lakṣmīrāma Nidhi Granthamālā = Shri Swāmī Lakshmi Rām Trust Series, 1; [Jaipur]: Śyāmasundara Śarman), [ark:/13960/t54g0d12m](https://nirayasaagara.org/ark:/13960/t54g0d12m); Printed at the Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay.

Su 1945	Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikramācārya, and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1945) (eds.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (मूलमात्रा). पाठान्तर-परिशिष्टादिभिः संवलित = <i>the Suśruta-saṃhitā of Suśruta with Various Readings, Notes and Appendix etc.</i> (Mumbāi: Nirṇaya-sāgarākhyamudraṇālaye), <a href="#">ark :/ 13960 / t8kd4jh7n</a> .
TMSSML	Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji Saraswati Mahal Library.
Viṣṇudh.	Śarman, Madhusūdana, and Śarman, Mād-havaprasāda (1912) (eds.), विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणम् = [Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa] (Mumbai: Khem-arāja Śrīkrṣṇadāsa at the Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press), <a href="#">ark :/ 13960 / t6qz6fr23</a> ; Lithograph format. Edited on the basis of a manuscript belonging to the astrologer Śudhākaraśarman of the Varanasi Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā.

## Index of Manuscripts

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

Kathmandu NAK 5-333: 51

Thanjavur TMSSML 10773: 72

## References

Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikrama (1941) (ed.), महर्षिणा पुनर्वसुनोपदिष्टा, तच्छिष्येणाग्निवेशेन प्रणीता, चरकदृढबलाभ्यां प्रतिसंस्कृता चरकसंहिता, श्रीचक्रपाणिदत्तविरचितया आयुर्वेददीपिकाव्याख्यया संवलित (3rd edn., Mumbayyām: Nirṇaya Sagara Press), [ark:/13960/t48q2f20n](#).



- Ācārya, Yādavaśarma Trivikramācārya, and Ācārya, Nārāyaṇa Rāma (1945) (eds.), महर्षिणा सुश्रुतेन विरचिता सुश्रुतसंहिता (मूलमात्रा). पाठान्तर-परिशिष्टादिभिः संवलिता = *the Suśrutasaṃhitā of Suśruta with Various Readings, Notes and Appendix etc.* (Mumbāi: Nirṇaya-sāgarākhyamudraṇālaye), [ark:/13960/t8kd4jh7n](https://niray.org/13960/t8kd4jh7n).
- Adriaensen, Rob, Barkhuis, Roelf, and Ruijters, Jean-Louis (1984), “An English Translation of Suśrutasaṃhitā, Nidānasthāna 1, 1–39, Together with Gayadāsa’s Nyāyacandrikā,” in Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Priorities in the Study of Indian Medicine* (Groningen: Forsten), 277–310.
- Adriaensen, Rob C. R., Barkhuis, Roelf, and Ruijters, Jean-Louis (1984), “An English Translation of Suśrutasaṃhitā, Nidānasthāna 1, 1–39, Together with Gayadāsa’s Nyāyacandrikā,” in Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Priorities in the Study of Indian Medicine* (Groningen: Forsten), 277–310.
- Āgāṣe, Ve. Śā. Rā. Rā. Kāśīnātha Śāstrī, and Āpaṭe, Hari Nārāyaṇa (1904) (eds.), वाचस्पतिमिश्रविरचितटीकासंवलितव्यासभाष्यसमेतानि पातञ्जल-योगसूत्राणि तथा भोजदेवविरचितराजमार्तण्डाभिधवृत्तिसमेतानि पातञ्जलयोगसूत्राणि (Ānandāśramasaṃskṛtagranthāvaliḥ, 47; Puṇyākhyā-pattana: Ānandāśramamudraṇālaya), [ark:/13960/t40s27g36](https://niray.org/13960/t40s27g36).
- Agrawal, V. S. (1963), *India As Known to Pāṇini: A Study of the Cultural Material in the Aṣṭādhyāyī* (2nd edn., Varanasi: Prthvi Prakashan); First published in 1953.
- Angermeier, Vitus (2020), *Regenzeiten, Feuchtgebiete, Körpersäfte. Das Wasser in der klassischen indischen Medizin* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften).
- Baber, Zaheer (1996), *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilization, and Colonial Rule in India* (Albany: State University of New York Press).
- Bakker, Hans T. (2019), “Some Methodological Considerations with Respect to the Critical Edition of Puranic Literature,” in *Holy Ground: Where Art and Text Meet* (Leiden: Brill), 175–84. doi: [10.1163/9789004412071\\_010](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004412071_010).

- Barceloux, Donald G. (2008), *Medical Toxicology of Natural Substances. Foods, Fungi, Medicinal Herbs, Plants, and Venomous Animals* (Hoboken, NJ, etc.: John Wiley & Sons), 1196 pp., ISBN: 047172761X, [URL](#).
- Bausi, Alessandro, et al. (2015), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition). doi: [10.5281/ZENODO.46784](#).
- Bedekar, V. M. (1967), "The Legend of the Churning of the Ocean in the Epics and the Purāṇas: A Comparative Study," *Purāṇa*, 9/1: 7–61, [ark:/13960/t57d2r97r](#).
- Bendall, Cecil (1883), *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in The, University Library, Cambridge: With Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palaeography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal* (Cambridge: University Press), [ark:/13960/t03x8vz7b](#).
- Bhaṭṭācārya, Candrakānta (1910–7) (ed.), सुश्रुतसंहिता प्रथमखण्डम् सूत्रस्थानात्मकम् हाराणचन्द्रचक्रवर्तिकविराजविरचितसुश्रुतार्थसन्दीपनभाष्य-समेतम्...चन्द्रकान्त भट्टाचार्य-प्रमुखैः संशोधितम् = [The *Suśrutasaṃhitā with the Commentary Suśrutārthasandīpanabhāṣya* by Hārāṇacandra Cakravarti] (Kalikātā: Satya Press); Edition "t" in [HIML](#): IB, 312.
- Bhattarai, Bidur (2020), *Dividing Texts. Conventions of Visual Text-Organisation in Nepalese and North Indian Manuscripts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures; Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter), 388.
- Birch, Jason, Wujastyk, Dominik, Klebanov, Andrey, Parameswaran, Madhu K., et al. (2021), "Further Insight into the Role of Dhanvantari, the Physician to the Gods, in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*," *Academia Letters*. doi: [10.20935/AL2992](#).
- Birch, Jason, Wujastyk, Dominik, Klebanov, Andrey, Rimal, Madhusudan, et al. (2021), "Ḍalhaṇa and the Early 'Nepalese' Version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*." doi: [10.20935/a13733](#).
- Bollée, Willem (2010), "Remarks on the Cultural History of the Ear in India," in Nalini Balbir (ed.), *Svasti: Essays in Honour of Professor Hampa Nagarajaiah for His 75th Birthday* (Bangalore: K. S. Mudappa Smaraka Trust), 141–67, [URL](#), accessed 23/01/2022.
- Breton, P. (1826), "On the Native Mode of Couching," *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta*, 2: 341–82, [ark:/13960/t3dz8nn5t](#), [URL](#), accessed 02/06/2021.

- Bronkhorst, Johannes (2016), *How the Brahmins Won: From Alexander to the Guptas* (Leiden: Brill). doi: [10.1163/9789004315518](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004315518).
- (2021), “Patañjali’s Āryāvarta = Śuṅga realm?,” *Academia Letters*. doi: [10.20935/a1291](https://doi.org/10.20935/a1291); Article 291.
- Bronner, Yigal (2021) (ed.), “The Pandit Project” (30 Sept.), [URL](#).
- Burghart, Marjorie (2016), “The TEI Critical Apparatus Toolbox: Empowering Textual Scholars through Display, Control, and Comparison Features,” *Journal of the Text Encoding Initiative*, 10/Issue 10. doi: [10.4000/jtei.1520](https://doi.org/10.4000/jtei.1520).
- (2017), “Textual Variants,” in Marjorie Burghart, James Cummings, and Elena Pierazzo (eds.), *Digital Editing of Medieval Texts: A Textbook* (DEMM), [URL](#), accessed 04/07/2021.
- Burnell, Arthur Coke (1880), *A Classified Index to the Sanskrit Mss. in the Palace at Tanjore* (London: Trübner), [ark : / 13960 / t4xh86j61](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-3960-t4xh86j61); *Bhelaṣaṃhitā* described on pp. 67 ff.
- Carpue, J. C. (1816), *An Account of Two Successful Operations for Restoring a Lost Nose from the Integuments of the Forehead...Including Descriptions of the Indian and Italian Methods* (London: Longman et al.), [ark : / 13960 / t2q57fn42](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-3960-t2q57fn42), accessed 20/03/2019.
- Chadha, Gita, and Thomas, Renny (2022) (eds.), *Mapping Scientific Method: Disciplinary Narrations* (Science and Technology Studies; Abingdon and New York: Routledge). doi: [10.4324/9781003298908](https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003298908).
- Cone, Margaret (2001), *A Dictionary of Pāli* (Oxford: The Pali Text Society), ISBN: 0 86013 394 x.
- Cordier, P. (1903), “Récentes découvertes de mss. médicaux sanscrits dans l’Inde (1898–1902),” *Muséon, Nouvelle Série*, 4: 321–52, [ark : / 13960 / t26b2j457](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-3960-t26b2j457), accessed 02/01/2020; Reprinted in Roṣu 1989: 539–70.
- Coults, Ro. (1731), “An Account of the Diseases of Bengall,” in *Indian Science and Technology in the Eighteenth Century* (Impex India), 141 f., 276.
- Crawford, D. G. (1930), *Roll of the Indian Medical Service, 1615–1930* (London, Calcutta, Simla: Thacker).

- Dave, K. N. (1985), *Birds in Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 0-89581-676-8, [ark:/13960/t2c94cv80](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:in:cc0:t2c94cv80).
- Deshpande, Madhav (1988), "Pāṇini and the Northwestern Dialect: Some Suggestions on Sūtra 3.3.10," in Mohammad Ali Jazayery and Werner Winter (eds.), *Languages and Cultures: Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé*, xxxvi (Trends in linguistics. Studies and monographs; Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter), 111–23.
- Deshpande, Madhav M. (2010), "Pañca Gauḍa and Pañca Drāviḍa: Contested Borders of a Traditional Classification," in Klaus Karttunen (ed.), *Anantaṃ Śāstram. Indological and Linguistic Studies in Honour of Bertil Tikkani* (Studia Orientalia, 108; Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society), 29–58, ISBN: 9789519380742.
- Deshpande, Vijaya (1999), "Indian Influences on Early Chinese Ophthalmology: Glaucoma As a Case Study," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 62: 306–22. DOI: [10.1017 / S0041977X00016724](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00016724).
- Deshpande, Vijaya (2000), "Ophthalmic Surgery: A Chapter in the History of Sino-indian Medical Contacts," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 63/3: 370–88, ISSN: 0041-977X. DOI: [10.1017/s0041977x00008454](https://doi.org/10.1017/s0041977x00008454).
- Dimitrov, Dragomir, and Tamot, Kashinath (2007), "Kaiser Shamsheer, His Library and His Manuscript Collection," *Kaiser Shamsheer, His Library and His Manuscript Collection*, 3 (Jan.): 26–36, [URL](#).
- Edgerton, Franklin (1939), "The Epic Triṣṭubh and Its Hypermetric Varieties," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 59/2: 159–74. DOI: [10.2307/594060](https://doi.org/10.2307/594060).
- (1953), *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary. Vol. 2: Dictionary* (William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series; New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Eggeling, Julius, et al. (1887–1935), *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (London: Secretary of State for India), [ark:/13960/s2kbk5zcrg9](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:in:cc0:s2kbk5zcrg9).

- Elliot, Robert Henry (1918), *The Indian Operation of Couching for Cataract: Incorporating the Hunterian Lectures Delivered before the Royal College of Surgeons of England on February 19 and 21, 1917* (London: H. K. Lewis).
- Emeneau, M. B. (1969), "Sanskrit Syntactic Particles – "kila, khalu, nūnam", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 11/4: 241–68.
- Falk, Harry (1991), "Silver, Lead and Zinc in Early Indian Literature," *South Asian Studies*, 7/1: 111–7. DOI: [10 . 1080 / 02666030 . 1991 . 9628430](https://doi.org/10.1080/02666030.1991.9628430).
- Fan, Ka Wai (2005), "Couching for Cataract and Sino-indian Medical Exchange From the Sixth to the Twelfth Century AD," *Clinical and Experimental Ophthalmology*: 188–90. DOI: [10 . 1111 / j . 1442 - 9071 . 2005 . 00978 . x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1442-9071.2005.00978.x); Unaware of V. Deshpande 1999; 2000.
- Fitzgerald, James L. (2009), "A Preliminary Study of the 681 Triṣṭubh Passages of the Mahābhārata," in Robert P. Goldman and Muneo Tokunaga (eds.), *Epic Undertakings* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publisher), 95–117.
- Gaṇapatiśāstrī, T. (1920–5), *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpaḥ* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 70; Anantaśayane: Rājākīyamudraṇayantrālaye), [ark: / 13960 / t4pk5sj0j](https://nopr.scribd.org/handle/123456789/13960/t4pk5sj0j).
- Gode, P. K., and Karve, C. G. (1957–9) (eds.), *Revised and Enlarged Edition of Prin. V. S. Apte's the Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Poona: Prasad Prakashan), [ark : / 13960 / t3gx47212](https://nopr.scribd.org/handle/123456789/13960/t3gx47212), accessed 20/10/2017.
- Gombrich, Richard (1979), "'He Cooks Softly': Adverbs in Sanskrit Grammar," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 42/2: 244–56. DOI: [10 . 1017 / s0041977x0014580x](https://doi.org/10.1017/s0041977x0014580x).
- Gupta, Sri Madhusudana (1835–6) (ed.), *Āyur-veda-prakāśa [also Called Suśruta-saṃhitā] by Suśruta. the Suśruta, or System of Medicine, Taught by Dhanwantari, and Composed by His Disciple Suśruta*, 2 vols. (Calcutta: Education Press and Baptist Mission Press), [ark: / 13960 / t6841qw6x](https://nopr.scribd.org/handle/123456789/13960/t6841qw6x).
- Harimoto, Kengo (2010), "[Preliminary Edition of the Nepalese MSS of the Suśrutasaṃhitā, adhyāyas 1.1–3, 6.4]" (prepublished).

- (2011), “In Search of the Oldest Nepalese Manuscript,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 84/1–4: 85–106, ISSN: 0392-4866, [URL](#), accessed 08/09/2019.
- (2014), “Nepalese Manuscripts of the Suśrutasaṃhitā,” *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu)*, 62/3: 23–29 (1087-1093). DOI: [10.4259/ibk.62.3\\_1087](#), [URL](#), accessed 08/09/2019.
- Hayashi, Takao (2017), “The Units of Time in Ancient and Medieval India,” *History of Science in South Asia*, 5/1: 1–116. DOI: [10.18732/h2ht0h](#).
- Hemarāja Śarman (1938) (ed.), काश्यपसंहिता (वृद्धजीवकीयं तन्त्रं वा) महर्षिणा मारीचकश्यपेनोपदिष्टा ... हेमराजशर्मणा लिखितेन विस्तृतेन उपोद्धातेन सहिता ... सत्यपाल भिषगा कृतया विद्योतिनी हिन्दीव्याख्यया ... समुल्लसिता (1st edn., Mumba: Nirṇayasāgara Press), [ark:/13960/t3mw5gb9p](#).
- Hendley, T. Holbein (1895), *A Medico-topographical Account of Jeypore, Based on the Experience of Twenty Years' Service As a Residency Surgeon and Thirteen As Superintendent of Dispensaries at Jeypore, Rajputana* (Calcutta: Calcutta Central Press Company).
- Hessler, Franciscus (1844–55), *Suśrutasaṃhitā: id est Medicinae Systema a Venerabili Dhanvantare Demonstratum a Susruta Discipulo Compositum; Nunc Primum Ex Sanskrita in Latinum Sermonem Vertit, Introductionem, Annotationes Et Rerum Indice Franciscus Hessler* (Erlangen: Ferdinandum Enke), [ark:/13960/t17m45r97](#).
- Hoernle, A. F. Rudolf (1893–1912) (ed.), *The Bower Manuscript: Facsimile Leaves, Nagari Transcript, Romanised Transliteration and English Translation with Notes* (New Imperial Series, 22; Calcutta: Government of India and under the patronage of the Bengali Government, Archaeological Survey of India), [ark:/13960/t05z1bg4q](#).
- (1897), सुश्रुतसंहिता = *The Suśruta-Saṃhitā or the Hindū System of Medicine According to Suśruta Translated from the Original Sanskrit* (Bibliotheca Indica, 911; Calcutta: Asiatic Society), [ark:/13960/t8pd1kw9r](#), accessed 03/01/2018; No more published; Hoernle does not state which edition he is translating, but it includes the “Dhanvantari phrase”.



- (1906a), “Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine I: The Commentaries on Suśruta,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: 283–302, [URL](#), accessed 26/06/2019.
- (1906b), “Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine II: On Some Obscure Anatomical Terms,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4: 915–41, [URL](#), accessed 25/06/2019.
- (1907a), “Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine II: On Some Obscure Anatomical Terms (Continued from the the Journal, 1906, p. 941),” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: 1–18, [URL](#), accessed 25/06/2019.
- (1907b), *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India: Osteology or the Bones of the Human Body* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), [ark:/13960/t1pg9cq8b](#).
- Hofer, Theresia (2007), “Swami Laxmi Ram’s Ayurvedic Pharmacy in Jaipur, India,” *Wellcome History*, 34: 2–3, [URL](#), accessed 01/07/2021.
- Holwell, J. Z. (1767), *An Account of the Manner of Inoculating for the Small Pox in the East Indies With...Observations on The...Mode of Treating That Disease in Those Parts* (London: T. Becket & P. A. de Hondt), [ark:/13960/t3ws9h63c](#).
- Jack, David Morton (1884), “A Thesis on Cataract in India: Its Pathology and Treatment,” Wellcome Library, London, MS 3007, [URL](#), accessed 02/06/2021.
- Jośī, Veṇīmādhavaśāstrī, and Jośī, Nārāyaṇa Harī (1968), आयुर्वेदीय महाकोशः अर्थात् आयुर्वेदीय शब्दकोशः संस्कृत-संस्कृत (Mumbaī: Mahārāṣṭra Rājya Sāhitya āṇi Saṃskṛti Maṇḍala), [ark:/13960/t22c41g8t](#).
- Kangle, R. P. (1969), *The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* (2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 81-208-0042-7, [ark:/13960/t3gz6qh1s](#), accessed 23/09/2021.
- Keith, Arthur Berriedale (1908), review of A. F. Rudolf Hoernle (1907), “Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine II: On Some Obscure Anatomical Terms (Continued from the the Journal, 1906, p. 941),” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: 1–18, [URL](#), accessed 25/06/2019, in *Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1/62: 134–9, [URL](#), accessed 17/04/2021.

- Klebanov, Andrey (2010), "The \*Nepalese Version of the Suśrutasaṃhitā and Its Interrelation with Buddhism and the Buddhists," MA thesis (Hamburg: Hamburg University, Sept.), [URL](#), accessed 08/09/2019.
- (2021a), "On the Textual History of the Suśrutasaṃhitā (1): A Study of Three Nepalese Manuscripts," *eJIM: Electronic Journal of Indian Medicine*, 12/1: 1–64. doi: [10.21827/ejim.12.1.37385](#).
- (2021b), "On the Textual History of the Suśrutasaṃhitā, (2): An Anonymous Commentary and its Identified Citations," in Toke Lindegaard Knudsen, Jacob Schmidt-Madsen, and Sara Speyer (eds.), *Body and Cosmos: Studies in Early Indian Medical and Astral Sciences in Honor of Kenneth G. Zysk* (Leiden, Boston: Brill), 110–39.
- Kuist, James M. (1982), *The Nichols File of The Gentleman's Magazine* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), ISBN: 0-299-08480-9, [ark:/13960/t53g2ct2z](#).
- Lariviere, Richard W. (2003), *The Nāradaśmṛti. Critically Edited with an Introduction, annotated Translation, and Appendices* (2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 8120818040; First edition: Philadelphia, 1989.
- Leffler, Christopher T., et al. (2020), "The History of Cataract Surgery: From Couching to Phacoemulsification," *Annals of Translational Medicine*, 8/22: 1551–97, ISSN: 2305-5847. DOI: [10.21037/atm-2019-rct-04](#), [URL](#), accessed 02/11/2020.
- Li, Charles (2017), "Critical Diplomatic Editing: Applying Text-critical Principles As Algorithms," in Peter Boot et al. (eds.), *Advances in Digital Scholarly Editing. Papers Presented at the Dixit Conferences in the Hague, Cologne, and Antwerp* (Leiden: Sidestone Press), 305–10, ISBN: 978-90-8890-485-1, [URL](#), accessed 10/11/2020.
- Li, Charles (2017–), "Saktumiva," [URL](#), accessed 21/01/2023.
- (2018), "Limits of the Real: A Hypertext Critical Edition of Bhartṛhari's Dravyasamuddeśa, with the Commentary of Helārāja," en, PhD thesis (Cambridge: University of Cambridge). doi: [10.17863/CAM.31454](#).



- (2022a), “Helayo: Reconstructing Sanskrit Texts from Manuscript Witnesses,” *Journal of Open Source Software*, 7/71: 4022. DOI: [10.21105/joss.04022](https://doi.org/10.21105/joss.04022).
- (2022b), “Reconstructing a Sanskrit Text” (19 Nov.), [URL](#), accessed 20/01/2023.
- Lienhard, Siegfried (1978), “On the Meaning and Use of the Word Indragopa,” *Indologica taurinensia*, 6: 177–88, [URL](#), accessed 06/02/2021; The indragopa is a ‘red velvet mite’.
- Longmate, Barak (1794), “A Curious Chirurgical Operation,” *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 64.4 (Oct.): 883, 891, 892; I am grateful to the late John Symons of the Wellcome Library who identified the author ‘B. L.’ as the journalist Barak Longmate. See also Kuist [1982](#): 87.
- Maas, Philipp André (2013), “A Concise Historiography of Classical Yoga Philosophy: leslie,” in Eli Franco (ed.), *Historiography and Periodization of Indian Philosophy* (Vienna: Sammlung de Nobili), 53–90, [URL](#), accessed 27/05/2016.
- Majno, Guido (1975), *The Healing Hand. Man and Wound in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), [ark:/13960/t4hm7xf2c](https://doi.org/10.2307/13960/t4hm7xf2c).
- Malamoud, Charles (1996), “Paths of the Knife: Carving up the Victim in Vedic Sacrifice,” in *Cooking the World: Ritual and Thought in Ancient India. Translated from the French by David White* (Delhi, Bombay, etc.: Oxford University Press), 169–80.
- Mānasa-taraṅgiṇī (2019), “Kaiṭabha, Poison and Death: Meanderings through Tradition,” mAnasa-taraMgiNI Blog (1 Sept.), [URL](#), accessed 31/01/2023.
- Manucci, Niccolò (1907–8), *Storia Do Mogor or, Mogul India, 1653–1708 by Niccolao Manucci, Venetian; Translated with Introduction and Notes, by William Irvine* (The Indian Texts Series; London: J. Murray), [URL](#), accessed 04/10/2021.
- Masai, François (1950), “Principes et conventions de l’édition diplomatique,” *Scriptorium*, 4: 177–93. DOI: [10.3406/scrip.1950.2294](https://doi.org/10.3406/scrip.1950.2294).

- Mayrhofer, Manfred (1953–72), *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen; a Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag).
- (1986–2001), *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag), ISBN: 3-533-03826-2.
- McHugh, James (2021), *An Unholy Brew: Alcohol in Indian History and Religions* (New York: Oxford University Press), 416 pp., ISBN: 9780199375936.
- Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1974b), *The Mādhavanidāna and Its Chief Commentary: Chapters 1–10. Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Leiden: Brill), ISBN: 978-90-04-03892-9, [ark:/13960/t25b8q97g](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:nl:po:book-13960-t25b8q97g).
- (1984), “The Surveying of Sanskrit Medical Literature,” in id. (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Priorities in the Study of Indian Medicine* (Groningen: Forsten), 37–56.
- (1989), “The Search for Clues to the Chronology of Sanskrit Medical Texts As Illustrated by the History of Bhaṅgā (cannabis Sativa Linn.),” *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 15: 59–70.
- (1992), “The Characteristics of a Doṣa,” *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society*, 2/1: 1–5, [URL](#), accessed 31/08/2021.
- (2008), *The Mādhavanidāna with “Madhukośa,” the Commentary by Vijayarakṣita and Śrīkaṇṭhadatta (Ch. 1-10). Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass).
- (2011), “The Relationships between Doṣas and Dūṣyas: A Study on the Meaning(s) of the Root Murch-/mūrch,” *eJournal of Indian Medicine*, 4/2: 35–135, [URL](#), accessed 13/10/2017.
- Miles, M. (1999), “Personal Communication,” Mar.; Letter of 4 March.
- Moureaux, Sébastien. (2015), “The Apparatus Criticus,” in Alessandro Bausi et al. (eds.), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Hamburg: Tredition), 348–52, ISBN: 978-3-7323-1768-4, [URL](#), accessed 04/07/2021.

- Mukhopādhyāya, Girindranāth (1913), *The Surgical Instruments of the Hindus, with a Comparative Study of the Surgical Instruments of the Greek, Roman, Arab, and the Modern European (sic) Surgeons* (Calcutta: Calcutta University), [ark : 13960 / t1zd2pq29](#), accessed 29/01/2018; Vol.2: [ark:/13960/t9r25qd8m](#). Reprinted as a single volume, New Delhi, 1987.
- Narayana, Ala, and Thrigulla, Saketh Ram (2011), “Tangible Evidences of Surgical Practice in Ancient India,” *Journal of Indian Medical Heritage*, 16: 1–18, [URL](#), accessed 02/06/2021.
- NGMCP (2014), “Nepal-german Manuscript Cataloguing Project. On-line Title List and Descriptive Catalogue,” Universität Hamburg and Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, [URL](#).
- Oberlies, Thomas (2003), *A Grammar of Epic Sanskrit* (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, 5; Berlin: De Gruyter), ISBN: 9783110144482. DOI: [10.1515/9783110899344](#).
- Olivelle, Patrick (2005), *Manu’s Code of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Manava-dharmasastra*, With the editorial assistance of Suman Olivelle (South Asia research; New York: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 0195171462.
- (2013), *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India: Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra. a New Annotated Translation* (New York: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 9780199891825. DOI: [10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199891825.003.0001](#).
- Osbaldeston, Tess Anne, and Wood, R. P. A. (2000), *Dioscorides. De Materia Medica. Being an Herbal with Many Other Medicinal Materials Written in Greek in the First Century of the Common Era. a New Indexed Version in Modern English* [Introductory Notes by R. P. Wood] (Johannesburg: IBIDIS Press), ISBN: 0-620-23435-0, [URL](#).
- Pandey, Anshuman (2012), “Proposal to Encode the Newar Script in ISO/IEC 10646,” [URL](#).
- Pass, Gregory (2003), *Descriptive Cataloging of Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance, and Early Modern Manuscripts* (Chicago: American Library Association), ISBN: 0-8389-8218-2, [URL](#).
- Pillay, V. V. (2013), *Modern Medical Toxicology* (New Delhi: Jaypee Brothers Pvt. Ltd), ISBN: 9789350259658.

- Pillay, Vijay V., and Sasidharan, Anu (2019), "Oleander and Datura Poisoning: An Update," *Indian Journal of Critical Care Medicine*, 23/ Supplement 4: 5250–5. DOI: [10.5005/jp-journals-10071-23302](https://doi.org/10.5005/jp-journals-10071-23302).
- Preisendanz, Karin (2007), "The Initiation of the Medical Student in Early Classical Āyurveda: Caraka's Treatment in Context," in Birgit Kellner et al. (eds.), *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ. Papers Dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday. Part 2*, ii, 2 vols. (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, 70.2; Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische Und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien), 629–68, ISBN: 9783902501097, [URL](https://www.wien.ac.at/stz/bibliographie/steinkellner.htm).
- Price, Kenneth M. (2013), "Electronic Scholarly Editions," in Ray Siemens and Susan Schreiban (eds.), *A Companion to Digital Literary Studies* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd), 434–50. DOI: [10.1002/9781405177504.ch24](https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405177504.ch24), [URL](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781405177504.ch24), accessed 04/07/2021.
- Rādhākāntā Deva, Rājā (1876), *शब्दकल्पद्रुमः = Shabda Kalpadrumah, Or, the Tree Bearing All the Words That May Be Wished For* (Calcutta: Baradākānta Mitra & Co. at the New Bengal Press), [ark:/13960/t9x10x61b](https://nnp.sdl.org/ark:/13960/t9x10x61b).
- Rai, Saurav Kumar (2019), "Invoking 'Hindu' Ayurveda: Communalisation of the Late Colonial Ayurvedic Discourse," *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, 56/4: 411–26. DOI: [10.1177/0019464619873820](https://doi.org/10.1177/0019464619873820); Online first.
- Rama Rao, B., et al. (2005), *Sanskrit Medical Manuscripts in India* (New Delhi: Central Council for Research in Ayurveda & Siddha), [ark:/13960/t88h7763b](https://nnp.sdl.org/ark:/13960/t88h7763b).
- Rama Sastri and Krishnamurthi Sastri, S. R. (1952) (eds.), *पातञ्जलयोग-सूत्रभाष्यविवरणम्। (शङ्करभगवत्पादप्रणीतम्) = Pātñjala[sic]-yogasūtra-bhāṣya Vivaraṇam of Śaṅkara-Bhagavatpāda. Critically Edited with Introduction* (Madras Government Oriental Series, 94; Madras: Government Oriental Manuscripts Library), [ark:/13960/t7jq3m14w](https://nnp.sdl.org/ark:/13960/t7jq3m14w), accessed 20/10/2017.
- Rây, Priyadarajan, Gupta, Hirendra Nath, and Roy, Mira (1980), *Suśruta Saṁhita (a Scientific Synopsis)* (New Delhi: Indian National Science Academy), [ark:/13960/t64511t6v](https://nnp.sdl.org/ark:/13960/t64511t6v), accessed 13/09/2019.

- Rhys Davids, Thomas William, and Stede, William (1921–5), *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (London: The Pali Text Society), [ark:/13960/t4nk3nc12](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsz:13960-t4nk3nc12).
- Rimal, Madhusudana, and Wujastyk, Dominik (2022), “MS Kathmandu NAK 1/1146,” Pandit Project (18 May), [URL](https://panditproject.org/).
- Roelli, Philipp (2020) (ed.), *Handbook of Stemmatology* (Berlin: De Gruyter). doi: [10.1515/9783110684384](https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110684384).
- Roşu, Arion (1989), *Un demi-siècle de recherches āyurvédiques. Gustave Liétard et Palmyr Cordier: Travaux sur l'histoire de la médecine indienne* (Paris: Institut de Civilisation Indienne).
- Saha, Mridula (2015), *The History of Indian Medicine Based on the Vedic Literature Satapatha Brahmana* (Kolkata: The Asiatic Society), ISBN: 978-9381574294.
- Sarukkai, Sundar (2016), “Translation As Method: Implications for History of Science,” in Bernard Lightman, Gordon McOuat, and Larry Stewart (eds.), *The Circulation of Knowledge Between Britain, India and China* (Leiden: BRILL), 309–29. doi: [10.1163/9789004251410\\_014](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004251410_014).
- Sastri, Hrishikesh, and Gui, Siva Chandra (1895–1917), *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of Calcutta Sanskrit College* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press).
- Sastri, P. P. S. (1933), *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library Tanjore: Natya, Sangita, Kamasastra, Vaidya & Jyotisa, nos. 10650 – 11737* (Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press), [ark:/13960/t3nw8bc12](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsz:13960-t3nw8bc12).
- Śāstrī, Vardhamāna Pārśvanātha (1940) (ed.), *उग्रादित्याचार्यकृत कल्याणकारक (राष्ट्रभाषानुवादसहित) = The Kalyāṇa-kāraṇam of Ugrādityacharya, Edited with Introduction, Translation, Notes, Indexes and Dictionary* (Sakhārāma Nemacaṇḍa Gramṭhamālā, 129; Solāpura: Seṭha Goviṇḍajī Rāvājī Dośī), [ark:/13960/t2q617g4d](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsz:13960-t2q617g4d).
- Scott, H. (1817), “Some Remarks on the Arts of India, with Miscellaneous Observations on Various Subjects,” *Journal of Science and the Arts*, 2: 67–72, ill. after 133, [ark:/13960/t9870jt4g](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsz:13960-t9870jt4g); Breton 1826: 358–363 cites Scott's description of cataract couching.

Semeka-Pankratov, Elena (1979), "A Semiotic Approach to the Polysemy of the Symbol *nāga* in Indian Mythology," in Irene Portis Winner and Jean Umiker-Sebeok (eds.), *Semiotics of Culture* (Approaches to Semiotics, 53; The Hague, Paris, NY: Mouton), 237–90. DOI: [10.1515/9783110823134-009](https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110823134-009); The contents of this volume were published simultaneously in *Semiotica* (1/3) 1979.

Sena, Gaṅgāprasād, et al. (1886–93) (eds.), सुश्रुतसंहिता...दल्लनाचार्य-कृत-निबन्ध-संग्रह, चक्रपाणिदत्त-कृत-भानुमती-टीका...वङ्गानुवाद...इंरैजि प्रतिशब्द (Calcutta: Maṇirāma Press); Edition "g" in [HIML](https://www.himl.org/): IB, 311.

Sharma, Har Dutt (1939), *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts Deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVI, Part I, Vaidyaka* (Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Manuscripts Library, XVI.I; Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute), [ark:/13960/t0ms6rc70](https://nms.library.utoronto.ca/ark:/13960/t0ms6rc70), accessed 23/10/2019.

Sharma, Priya Vrat (1972), *Indian Medicine in the Classical Age* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office).

— (1975), *Āyurved Kā Vaijñānik Itihāsa* (Jayakṛṣṇadāsa Āyurveda Granthamālā; Vārāṇasī: Caukhambā Orientalia).

— (1982), *Ḍalhaṇa and his Comments on Drugs* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal).

— (1999–2001a), *Suśruta-Saṃhitā, with English Translation of Text and Ḍalhaṇa's Commentary Alongwith (sic) Critical Notes*, 3 vols. (Haridas Ayurveda Series, 9; Varanasi: Chaukhambha Visvabharati).

— (1999–2001b), *Suśruta-Saṃhitā, with English Translation of Text and Ḍalhaṇa's Commentary Alongwith (sic) Critical Notes*, 3 vols. (Haridas Ayurveda Series, 9; Varanasi: Chaukhambha Visvabharati).

Shastri, R. Shama (1920) (ed.), बोधायनगृह्यसूत्रम् *The Bodhāyana Grihyasutra* (Mysore: University of Mysore), [ark:/13960/t2t492622](https://nms.library.utoronto.ca/ark:/13960/t2t492622).

Singhal, G. D., et al. (1972–82), *Diagnostic [and Other] Considerations in Ancient Indian Surgery* (Varanasi: Singhal Publications); A translation of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* in 10v.

Sircar, Dinesh Chandra (1987), "6. Rākshashkhāli (Sundarban) Plate; Śaka 1118," *Epigraphia Indica* (1953–54), 30: 42–3.



- Sleeman, W. H. (1893), *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official* (London: Constable), [ark :/ 13960 / t22c4bx7w](https://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t22c4bx7w), accessed 14/03/2018; V.2 at <http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t2s52bq7w>.
- Smith, Brian K. (1994), *Classifying the Universe: The Ancient Indian Varna System and the Origins of Caste* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press), ISBN: 0-19-508498-5.
- Spink, M. S., and Lewis, G. L. (1973) (eds.), *Albucasis on Surgery and Instruments: A Definitive Edition of the Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary* (London: Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine).
- Srikantha Murthy, K. R. (2000–2), *Illustrated Suśruta Saṃhitā: Text, English Translation, Notes, Appendices and Index* (Jaikrishnadas Ayurveda Series, 102; 1st edn., Varanasi: Chaukhambha Orientalia).
- Steingass, F. (1930), *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to Be Met with in Persian Literature* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner), [ark:/13960/s25bwz0337d](https://n2t.net/ark:/13960/s25bwz0337d); Reprint, Delhi: Oriental Reprint, 1973.
- Strauss, Bettina (1934), “Das Giftbuch des Śānāq: eine Literaturgeschichtliche Untersuchung,” *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, 4/2: [89]–[152] followed by Arabic text, [ark:/13960/s2hb5j66s95](https://n2t.net/ark:/13960/s2hb5j66s95).
- Suvedī, K. S., and Tīvārī, N. (2000) (eds.), सौश्रुतनिघण्टुः ग्रन्थादौ विस्तृतेन ग्रन्थवैशिष्ट्यप्रकाशकेनोपोद्धातेन अवसाने च द्रव्याणाम् अनेकभाषानाम् आवली-पर्यायसङ्ग्रहाभ्यां समलङ्घितः सुश्रुतसंहितायां प्रयुक्तानाम् औषधद्रव्याणां पर्याय-गुणकर्मवर्णात्मको पूर्वग्रन्थः (Belajhundi, Dān: Mahendrasaṃskṛtaviśvavidyālayaḥ).
- Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste (1684), *Collections of Travels through Turkey (sic), into Persia, and the East-Indies* (London: M. Pitt), [ark:/13960/t9g45vn74](https://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t9g45vn74).
- The TEI Consortium (2010), *TEI P5: Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Interchange*, ed. C. M. Sperberg-McQueen et al. (Oxford, Providence, Charlottesville, Nancy: TEI Consortium), [URL](https://www.tei-c.org/).
- The Unicode Consortium (1991–2020), “The Unicode Standard 13.0, NewaRange: 11400–1147F,” [URL](https://www.unicode.org/), accessed 20/07/2021.

Thorburn, S. S. (1876), *Bannu; or Our Afghan Frontier* (London: Trübner & Co.), [ark:/13960/t39z96g7m](#); Reprinted Lahore: Niaz Ahmad, 1978.

UNESCO (2013), “International Memory of the World Register Susruta Samhita (Nepal),” UNESCO, [URL](#), accessed 11/09/2019.

Unschuld, Paul Ulrich (1984), *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press), ISBN: 0520050231.

Valiathan, M. S. (2007), *The Legacy of Suśruta* (Hyderabad, Chennai, etc.: Orient Longman).

Velankar, H. D (1925–30), *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskr̥ta and Prākṛta Manuscripts in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Bombay: Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay), [ark:/13960/t53g00h0n](#); Biswas #0115.

Watt, George (1889–96), *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* (Calcutta: Dept. Revenue and Agriculture, Government of India), [URL](#), accessed 28/04/2021.

— (1908), *The Commercial Products of India, Being an Abridgement of “the Dictionary of the Economic Products of India”* (London: John Murray), [ark:/13960/t8cg7dm79](#).

Whitney, William Dwight (1885), *The Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language. A Supplement to his Sanskrit Grammar* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel), [ark:/13960/t3qv3p906](#).

Wilson, H. H. (1823), “On the Medical and Surgical Sciences of the Hindus,” *The Oriental Magazine and Calcutta Review*, 1: 207–12, 349–56, [URL](#).

Wujastyk, Dagmar (2012), *Well-mannered Medicine: Medical Ethics and Etiquette in Classical Ayurveda* (New York: Oxford University Press). DOI: [10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199856268.001.0001](#).

— (2013a), “Perfect Medicine. Mercury in Sanskrit Medical Literature,” *Asian Medicine: Tradition & Modernity*, 8/1 (Sept.): 15–40, ISSN: 1573-4218. DOI: [10.1163/15734218-12341278](#).



- (2019), “Iron Tonics: Tracing the Development from Classical to Iatrochemical Formulations in Ayurveda,” *HIMALAYA, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, 39/1, ISSN: 2471-3716, [URL](#), accessed 23/07/2019.
- Wujastyk, Dominik (1993), “Indian Medicine,” in W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (eds.), *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, i (London: Routledge), chap. 33, 755–78, ISBN: 0-415-04771-4, [URL](#).
- (2002), “Cannabis in Traditional Indian Herbal Medicine,” in Ana Salema (ed.), *Āyurveda at the Crossroads of Care and Cure. Proceedings of the Indo-European Seminar on Ayurveda held at Arrábida, Portugal, in November 2001* (Lisbon: Centro de História de Além-Mar, Universidade Nova de Lisboa), 45–73, ISBN: 972-98672-5-9, [URL](#), accessed 27/05/2019.
- (2003a), “Black Plum Island,” in *2nd International Conference on Indian Studies. Proceedings* (Kraków: Jagiellonian University, Institute of Oriental Philology and Księgarnia Akademicka), 637–49.
- (2003b), *The Roots of Ayurveda: Selections from Sanskrit Medical Writings* (Penguin Classics; 3rd edn., London, New York, etc.: Penguin Group), ISBN: 0-140-44824-1.
- (2004), “Agni and Soma: A Universal Classification,” *Studia Asiatica: International Journal for Asian Studies*, IV–V, ed. Eugen Ciurtin: 347–70, ISSN: 1582–9111, [URL](#).
- (2013b), “New Manuscript Evidence for the Textual and Cultural History of Early Classical Indian Medicine,” in *Medical Texts and Manuscripts in Indian Cultural History*, ed. Dominik Wujastyk, Anthony Cerulli, and Karin Preisendanz (New Delhi: Manohar), 141–57, [URL](#).
- (2021a), “A New Translation of Carakasamhitā, Vimānasthāna, Chapter 1, Based on the Vienna Critical Edition,” in Toke Lindegaard Knudsen, Jacob Schmidt-Madsen, and Sara Speyer (eds.), *Body and Cosmos. Studies in Early Indian Medical and Astral Sciences in Honor of Kenneth G. Zysk* (Leiden, Boston: Brill), chap. 6, 77–109. doi: [10.1163/9789004438224\\_007](#).
- (2021b), “MS London BL H. T. Colebrooke 908,” [URL](#), accessed 03/07/2021.

- (2021–), “Sushrutaproject: Version Control for Suśruta Text TEI Transcriptions: Suśruta Project Manuscript Transcriptions,” University of Alberta, [URL](#), accessed 21/01/2023; archived at DOI: [10.5281/zenodo.6471655](#).
- Wujastyk, Dominik, et al. (2021–), “The Suśruta Project: The Textual and Cultural History of Medicine in South Asia Based on Newly-Discovered Manuscript Evidenc,” ed. Dominik Wujastyk, Jason Birch, Andrey Klebanov, et al., [URL](#), accessed 21/01/2023.
- Wujastyk, Dominik, Birch, Jason, Klebanov, Andrey, et al. (2021–) (eds.), “New Digital Edition of the Suśrutasamhitā: The Suśruta Project at Saktumiva,” University of Alberta, [URL](#).
- Wujastyk, Dominik, Pollock, Sheldon, et al. (2008–), “SARIT: Search and Retrieval of Indic Texts,” [URL](#), accessed 21/01/2023.
- Wujastyk, Dominik, SKSEC Team, and Kessler, O. (2020), “Suśrutasamhitā,” PanditProject (6 Oct.), [URL](#), accessed 14/09/2022.
- Yagi, Toru (1994), “A Note on bhojya- and bhakṣya-,” in Yasuke Ikari (ed.), *A Study of the Nīlamata. Aspects of Hinduism in Ancient Kashmir* (Kyoto: Kyoto Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University).
- Yano, Michio (1986), “A Comparative Study of *Sūtrasthānas*: Caraka, Suśruta, and Vāgbhaṭa,” in Teizo Ogawa (ed.), *History of Traditional Medicine: Proceedings of the 1st and 2nd International Symposia on the Comparative History of Medicine—East and West* (Osaka: Division of Medical History, the Taniguchi Foundation), 325–44.
- Zimmermann, Francis (1983), “Suśrutasamhita,” review of G. D. Singhal et al. (1972–82), *Diagnostic [and Other] Considerations in Ancient Indian Surgery* (Varanasi: Singhal Publications); A translation of the *Suśrutasamhitā* in 10v. In *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 57/2: 291–3, ISSN: 00075140, [JSTOR](#), [URL](#).
- (1999), *The Jungle and the Aroma of Meats* (2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass), ISBN: 8120816188.
- Zysk, Kenneth G. (1984), “An Annotated Bibliography of Translations into Western Languages of Principle Sanskrit Medical Treatises,” *Clio Medica*, 19/3–4: 281–91.

- (1985), *Religious Healing in the Veda: With Translations and Annotations of Medical Hymns from the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda and Renderings from the Corresponding Ritual Texts* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society), ISBN: 0871697572.
- Zysk, Kenneth G. (1986), "The Evolution of Anatomical Knowledge in Ancient India with Special Reference to Cross-cultural Influences," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 106: 687–705. DOI: [10.2307/603532](https://doi.org/10.2307/603532).
- (2000), *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India: Medicine in the Buddhist Monastery* (Indian Medical Tradition; 2nd edn., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass); First published 1991. Reprint of 1998 edition.

## Glossary

‘angry beetles’	- <i>adhiṣṭhāna</i> : 47	- <i>viḍbheda</i> : 50
- <i>toṭaka</i> : 48	<i>citraśīrṣa</i>	<i>medaka</i>
‘bellied’	- ‘speckle-heads’:	- ‘liquors’: 48
- <i>kukṣita</i> : 48	48	men
‘cook-fish’	cone snails	- <i>nara</i> : 48
- <i>pākamatsya</i> : 48	- <i>śambūka</i> : 48	monkey
‘darts’	crabs	- <i>vānara</i> : 48
- <i>śārikā</i> : 48	- <i>uccītiṅga</i> : 48	<i>mukhasaṃdamśā</i>
‘earth scorpions’	<i>dārukāri</i>	- nipping with the
- <i>viśvambhara</i> : 48	- ‘wood-enemies’:	mouth: 47
‘flat insects’	48	<i>nāga</i>
- <i>piccītā</i> : 48	dung beetles	- elephant/snake:
‘lids’	- <i>varcaḥkīṭa</i> : 48	49
- <i>śārava</i> : 48	elephant/snake	<i>nara</i>
‘liquors’	- <i>nāga</i> : 49	- men: 48
- <i>medaka</i> : 48	fart	nipping with the
‘orange-dwellers’	- <i>avaśardhita</i> : 47	mouth
- <i>kaṣāyavāsika</i> : 48	geckos	- <i>mukhasaṃdamśā</i> :
‘pepper snakes’	- <i>grhagoḍikā</i> : 48	47
- <i>sarṣapaka</i> : 48	<i>grhadhūma</i>	<i>pākamatsya</i>
‘poisonous snakes’	- soot: 53	- ‘cook-fish’: 48
- <i>pracalāka</i> : 48	<i>grhagoḍikā</i>	<i>patravṛścika</i>
‘pot insects’	- geckos: 48	- ‘wing-
- <i>kaunḍinya</i> : 48	<i>kalpa</i>	scorpions’: 48
‘speckle-heads’	- rule: 47	<i>piccītā</i>
- <i>citraśīrṣa</i> : 48	<i>kaṇabha</i>	- ‘flat insects’: 48
‘wing-scorpions’	- wasps: 48	<i>pracalāka</i>
- <i>patravṛścika</i> : 48	<i>kaṣāyavāsika</i>	- ‘poisonous
‘wood-enemies’	- ‘orange-	snakes’: 48
- <i>dārukāri</i> : 48	dwellers’: 48	rule
<i>adhiṣṭhāna</i>	<i>kaunḍinya</i>	- <i>kalpa</i> : 47
- base,	- ‘pot insects’: 48	<i>śambūka</i>
foundation: 47	<i>kiṭīpa</i>	- cone snails: 48
- carriers: 47	- lice: 48	<i>śārava</i>
<i>avaśardhita</i>	<i>kukṣita</i>	- ‘lids’: 48
- fart: 47	- ‘bellied’: 48	<i>śārikā</i>
base, foundation	lice	- ‘darts’: 48
- <i>adhiṣṭhāna</i> : 47	- <i>kiṭīpa</i> : 48	<i>sarṣapaka</i>
bristles	loose stool	- ‘pepper snakes’:
- <i>śūka</i> : 47		48
carriers		

soot	- 'angry beetles':	- dung beetles: 48
- <i>gr̥hadhūma</i> : 53	48	<i>viḍbheda</i>
stings	<i>uccīṭiṅga</i>	- loose stool: 50
- <i>śūla</i> : 48	- crabs: 48	<i>viśvambhara</i>
<i>śūka</i>		- 'earth
- bristles: 47	<i>vānara</i>	scorpions': 48
<i>śūla</i>	- monkey: 48	
- stings: 48	<i>varaki</i>	wasps
	- wasps: 48	- <i>kaṇabha</i> : 48
<i>toṭaka</i>	<i>varcaḥkīṭa</i>	- <i>varaki</i> : 48

## Botanical Reference Works

ADPS	Sivarajan, V. V., and Balachandran, Indira (1994), <i>Ayurvedic Drugs and Their Plant Sources</i> (New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta: Oxford & IBH Publishing).
AVS	Warrier, P. K., Nambiar, V. P. K., and Ramankutty, C. (1994–6) (eds.), <i>Indian Medicinal Plants: A Compendium of 500 Species. Vaidyaratnam P. S. Varier's Arya Vaidya Sala, Kottakal</i> (Madras: Orient Longman).
BIA	Prater, S. H. (1993), <i>The Book of Indian Animals</i> (3rd edn., Bombay, Delhi, etc.: Oxford University Press); 4th impression of 3rd corrected 1980 edition.
Chopra GIMP suppl.	Chopra, R. N., Chopra, I. C., and Varma, B. S. (1969), <i>Supplement to Glossary of Indian Medicinal Plants</i> (Reprint 1986, New Delhi: National Institute of Science Communication), ISBN: 8185038872.
Chopra, GIMP	Chopra, R. N., Nayar, S. L., and Chopra, I. C. (1956), <i>Glossary of Indian Medicinal Plants</i> (3rd reprint, 1992, New Delhi: Council of Scientific and Industrial Research); vol. 2: R. N. Chopra, I. C. Chopra, and Varma ( <a href="#">Chopra GIMP suppl.</a> ).



	(Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag), chap. Appendix 1, 425–65, ISBN: 9783515046633; Supplement to <a href="#">GJM1</a> .
GVDB	Singh, Thakur Balwant, and Chuneekar, K. C. (1972), <i>Glossary of Vegetable Drugs in Brhat-trayī</i> (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office), <a href="#">ark:/13960/s2cvp72x58j</a> .
IGP	Griffiths, Mark (1994), <i>The New Horticultural Society Index of Garden Plants</i> (London: Macmillan).
IW	Israel, Samuel, et al. (1988), <i>Indian Wildlife: Sri Lanka Nepal</i> (Insight Guides; Singapore etc.: APA Publications), ISBN: 9780245545238.
K&B	Kirtikar, K. R., Basu, B. D., and an I.C.S (1987), <i>Indian Medicinal Plants</i> , ed. E. Blatter, J. F. Caius, and K. S. Mhaskar, 8 vols. (2nd edn., Dehradun: International Book Distributors); First published in Allahabad, 1918.
NK	Nadkarni, K. M. (1982), <i>Dr. K. M. Nadkarni's Indian Materia Medica, with Ayurvedic, Unani-tibbi, Siddha, Allopathic, Homeopathic, Naturopathic &amp; Home Remedies, Appendices &amp; Indexes ... in Two Volumes</i> , ed. A. K. Nadkarni, 2 vols. (3 ed., revised and enlarged by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay: Popular Prakashan), ISBN: 8171541429, <a href="#">URL</a> ; First published in 1954.
Potter	Wren, R. C. (1956), <i>Potter's New Cyclopaedia of Botanical Drugs and Preparations</i> , ed. R. W. Wren (7th edn., Rustington, Sussex: Health Science Press), <a href="#">ark:/13960/t14n65c9g</a> .
Potter <sub>rev</sub>	Wren, R. C., Williamson, Elizabeth M., and Evans, Fred J. (1994), <i>Potter's New Cyclopaedia of Botanical Drugs and Preparations</i> (Saffron Walden: C. W. Daniel Company Ltd.); Reprint of revised 1988 edition.

## Trees

Bole, P. V., and Vaghani, Yogini (1986), *Field Guide to the Common Trees of India* (Bombay, Delhi, Oxford, etc.: World Wildlife Fund – India and Oxford University Press), ISBN: 0-19-561595-6; 4th reprint.

## Glossary and Index of Medical Substances

- amaranth (*taṇḍulīyaka*) *Amaranthus hypochondriacus*, L. See King 321, NK: v. 1, #144, *Potter*<sub>rev</sub>: 15. Cf. AVS: v. 1, 121, 29
- axlewood (*dhava*) *Anogeissus latifolia* (Roxb. ex DC.) Wall. ex Guill & Perr. See AVS: v. 1, 163 f, Chopra, GIMP: 20, 49
- bamboo leaves (*veṇupatrikā*) *Bambusa bambos*, Druce. See NK: v. 1, #307, 29
- beautyberry (*priyaṅgu*) ← *śyāmā*. *Callicarpa macrophylla*, Vahl. See AVS: v. 1, 334, NK: v. 1, #420. Some say also *Setaria italica* Beauv. GVDB: 263–264. See also GVDB: 413, 46, 50
- beautyberry (*śyāmā*) *Callicarpa macrophylla*, Vahl. See AVS: v. 1, 334, NK: v. 1, #420, 27, 29
- beggarweed (*aṃśumatī*) *Desmodium gangeticum* (L.) DC (Dymock: v. 1, 428, GJM1: 602, NK: v. 1, #1192; ADPS: 382, 414 and AVS: v. 2, 319, 4.366 are confusing), 46
- bitter gourd (*alābu*) *Lagenaria vulgaris*, Seringe. See NK: v. 1, #1419, 28
- black creeper (*pālindī*) *Ichnocarpus frutescens*, (L.) R.Br. or *Cryptolepis buchanani*, Roemer & Schultes. See AVS: v. 3, 141, 3.145, 3.203, NK: v. 1, #1283, 1210, ADPS: 434, 29, 32, 45, 46
- blackboard tree (*saptachada*) *Alstonia scholaris* R. Br. GVDB: 420, 28
- blackbuck (*hariṇa*) *Antelope cervicapra*, L. See BIA: 270 IW: 95, 165, *et passim*, 32
- cardamom (*elā*) *Elettaria cardamomum*, Maton. See AVS: v. 2, 360, NK: v. 1, #924, *Potter*<sub>rev</sub>: 66, 46, 50
- cassia cinnamon (*patra*) *Cinnamomum tamala*, (Buch.-Ham.) Nees. See AVS: v. 2, 84, NK: v. 1, #589, 29, 46
- certain minerals (*tārāvitāra*) Unknown. It is not even certain that these are minerals. The variant reading in the vulgate, *tāraḥ sutāraḥ* was glossed by Dalhaṇa on 5.3.14 (*Su* 1938: 568) as follows *tāro rūpyaṃ, sutāraḥ pāradah*, “tāra means silver; sutāra means mercury.”, 50
- chebulic myrobalan (*harītakī*) *Terminalia chebula* Retz. GVDB: 466, 28
- cherry (*elavālu*) *Prunus cerasus*, L.?. See BVDB 58, NK: v. 1, #2037, GVDB: 58, 46
- chital deer (*pr̥ṣata*) *Axis axis*, Erxleben. See BIA: 292, IW: 93, 32
- cobra’s saffron (*nāgapuṣpa*) → nāgakeśara. *Mesua ferrea*, L. See NK: v. 1, #1595, GVDB: 220, 46
- corky coral tree (*pāribhadra*) *Erythrina suberosa* Roxb. See GVDB 245, 49
- costus (*kuṣṭha*) *Saussurea costus*, Clarke. See NK: v. 1, #2239, 29, 46, 50
- country sarsaparilla (*anantā*) *Hemidesmus indicus*, (L.) R. Br. See ADPS: 434, AVS: v. 3, 141–5, NK: v. 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 frutescens* R. Rr. (GVDB: 429-431), 34, 45, 46, 49
- crape jasmine (*tagara*) *Tabernaemontana divaricata* (L.) R.Br. ex Roem. & Schultes. See GJM1: 557, AVS: v. 5, 232. Synonym of ?? . 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: v. 5, 334, 29, 46, 117
- crimson trumpet-flower tree (*pāṭalā*) *Stereospermum chelonides*, (L. f.) A. DC. See GJM1: 573, AVS: v. 5, 192 ff, ADPS: 362 f, AVS: v. 3, 1848 f, IGP 1120, Dymock: v. 3, 20 ff, 49
- cuscut grass (*uśīra*) *Andropogon murcatus*, Retz. Also “vetiver grass.” See NK: v. 1, #180, 29
- deodar (*bhadrādāru*) *Cedrus deodara*, (Roxb.ex D.Don) G. Don. See AVS 41, NK: v. 1, #516, 46
- embelia (*viḍaṅga*) *Embelia ribes*, Burm. f. See ADPS: 507, AVS: v. 2, 368, NK: v. 1, #929, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 113, 46
- emetic nut (*madana*) *Randia dumetorum*, Lamk. See NK: v. 1, #2091, 27
- false daisy (*subhaṅgurā*) (*su*)*bhaṅgura* = *bhṛṅga*? *Eclipta prostrata* (L.) L. See GVDB: 288, 34
- 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, 31
- fire-flame bush (*dhātakī*) *Woodfordia fruticosa* (L.) Kurz. See AVS: v. 5, 412, NK: v. 1, #2626, 28
- garjan oil tree (*aśvakarṇa*) *Dipterocarpus turbinatus* Gaertn. f. See GVDB: 28, Chopra, GIMP: 100, 49
- giant potato (*kṣīravidārī*) possibly → *kṣīraśukla*. *Ipomoea mauritiana*, Jacq. See ADPS: 510, AVS: v. 3, 222, AVS: v. 3, 1717 ff, 117-119
- ginger (*mahaśadha*) *Zingiber officinale*, Roscoe. See ADPS: 50, NK: v. 1, #2658, IGP: 1232, 32
- gold (*hema*) gold, 46
- gold and sarsaparilla (*surendragopa*) Unknown. Ḍalhaṇa on 5.3.15 (Su 1938: 568) glossed *surendra* as “gold” and *gopā* as “Indian sarsaparilla.” He also noted other opinions that *surendra* was “Tellicherry bark”, 50
- golden shower tree (*rājadruma*) *rājadruma* = *āragvadha*. *Cassia fistula* L. See GVDB 37, 49
- heart-leaf sida (*balā*) *Sida cordifolia*, Linn. See ADPS: 71, NK: v. 1, #2297, 46
- heart-leaved moonseed (*amṛtā*) → *guḍūcī*. *Tinospora cordifolia*, (Willd.) Hook.f. & Thoms.?. See ADPS: 38, NK: v. 1, #2472, 624, Dastur #229, 29, 44
- heart-leaved moonseed (*somavallī*) *Tinospora cordifolia* (Thunb.) Miers. GVDB: 456. Likely, but uncertain, 29
- henna (*madayantikā*) *Lawsonia inermis*, L. See AVS: v. 3, 303, NK: v. 1, #1448, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 151, 30
- Himalayan mayapple (*vakra*) *Podophyllum emodi*, Wall. (NK: #1971). But perhaps a synonym of crape jasmine and ?? (GVDB: 354), 50
- Himalayan monkshood (*ativiṣā*) *Aconitum heterophyllum* Wall. GVDB: 12, NK: v. 1, #39. Also “atis

- roots", 30, 32, 50
- hogweed (*punarnavā*) Boerhaavia diffusa, L. See ADPS: 387, AVS: v. 1, 281, NK: v. 1, #363, 30, 45
- Holostemma creeper (*jīvantī*) → *sūryavallī*? Holostemma ada-kodien, Schultes. See ADPS: 195, AVS: v. 3, 167, NK: v. 1, #1242, AVS: v. 3, 1619, 118
- Indian barberry (*añjana*) → *rasāñjana*, *dāruharidrā*. Berberis aristata, DC. Dymock: v. 1, 65, NK: v. 1, #335, GJM1: 562, IGP: 141, 31
- Indian barberry (*dāruharidrā*) Berberis aristata, DC. See Dymock: v. 1, 65, NK: v. 1, #685, GJM1: 562, IGP 141, 45, 46
- Indian barberry (*kālīyaka*) → *dāruharidrā*, *añjana*. Berberis aristata, DC. See Dymock: v. 1, 65, NK: v. 1, #685, GJM1: 562, IGP: 141, 29
- Indian ipecac (*payasyā*) Uncertain. Possibly Tylophora indica (Burm.f.) Merr. Perhaps a synonym of panacea twiner, giant potato, purple roscoe, and plants like asthma plant and Gulf sandmat (GVDB: 237–238). Also "curds" when not a plant, 118
- Indian madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*) Rubia cordifolia, L. See IGP, Chopra, GIMP: 215, GVDB: 289, 46
- Indian sarsaparilla (*sārivā*) → *anantā*. Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. ADPS: 434, AVS: v. 3, 141–5, NK: v. 1, #1210; and black creeper, pāṇḍī. Ichnocarpus frutescens, (L.) R.Br. or Cryptolepis buechanani, Roemer & Schultes AVS: v. 3, 141, 3.145, 3.203, NK: v. 1, #1283, 1210, ADPS: 434, 45, 46, 117
- jambul (*jambū*) Syzygium cumini, (L.) Skeels. See ADPS: 188, NK: v. 1, #967, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168, Wujastyk 2003a, 28
- jasmine (*mālātī*) Jasminium grandiflorum, L. See NK: v. 1, #1364, 29
- jequirity (*guñjā*) Abrus precatorius, L. See AVS: v. 1, 10, NK: v. 1, #6, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168, 34
- lac (*lākṣā*) Kerria lacca (Kerr.). See GJM1: 445, NK: v. 2, #32. Watt (1908: 1053–1066) is characteristically informative, and is definite about the antiquity of lac in India, 50
- liquorice (?) (*klītaka*) Glycyrrhiza glabra, L.? GVDB: 123–124 discuss the many difficulties in identifying this plant, 34
- liquorice (*madhuka*) Glycyrrhiza glabra, L. See AVS: v. 3, 84, NK: v. 1, #1136, 32, 46
- lodh tree (*lodhra*) Symplocos racemosa, Roxb. See GJM1: 597, ADPS: 279 f, NK: v. 1, #2420. Singh and Chuneekar (GVDB: 351–352) notes that there are two varieties, S. racemosa, qualified as śāvāra, and S. crataegoides Buch.-Ham. for paṭṭikā lodhra, 46
- long pepper (*māgadha*) Piper longum, L. See NK: v. 1, #1928; but cf. AVS: v. 3, 245, 31
- long pepper (*pippalī*) Piper longum, L. See ADPS: 374, NK: v. 1, #1928, 32, 46
- luffa (*koṣṭikā*) = koṣṭakā. Luffa cylindrica, (L.) M. J. Roem. or L. acutangula, (L.) Roxb. ADPS: 252–253, NK: v. 1, #1514 etc. GVDB: 121, 28, 44
- mango (*āmra*) Mangifera indica Linn. GVDB: 37, 28
- marking-nut tree (*bhallātaka*) Semecarpus anacarium, L. See NK: v. 1, #2269, AVS: v. 5, 98, 31
- medhshingi (*viṣayā*) Dolichandrone falcata (DC.) The Sauśrutaniḥaṇṭu gives a number of synonyms for viṣayā (Suvedī and Tivārī 2000: 5.77, 10.143). But one of them, viṣāṇī (also meṣāśṛṅgī), is sometimes equated with Dolichandrone falcata (DC.)

- Seemann* (ADPS: 518; GVDB: 373 f, a plant used as an abortifacient and fish poison (NK: #862), 35
- migraine tree (*agnimanthā*) *Premna corymbosa*, Rottl. See AVS 1927, ADPS: 21, NK: v. 1, #2025, AVS: v. 4, 348; GJM1: 523: = *P. integrifolia/serratifolia*, L, 44
- milk-white (*kṣīraśuklā*) An unidentified plant. GVDB: 126: see purple roscoea and giant potato, 119
- monitor lizard (*godhā*) *Varanus bengalensis*, Schneider. See *Book of Indian Reptiles*, 58, 32
- mung beans (*māṣaka*) *Phaseolus mungo* Linn. GVDB: 308, 29
- myrobalan (*abhayā*) *Terminalia chebula*, Retz. See ADPS: 172, NK: v. 1, #2451, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 214, 44, 50
- natron (*suvarcikā*) Sodium carbonate. NK: v. 2, #45. Ḍalhaṇa identifies *suvarcikā* with svarjikṣāra 4.8.50 (Su 1938: 441), 46
- nutgrass (*kuruvinda*) Unknown. Ḍalhaṇa 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. Singh and Chuneekar (GVDB: 108) added that it could be a variety of rice, *ṣaṣṭika dhānya*, 50
- nutgrass (*mustā*) *Cyperus rotundus*, L. See ADPS: 316, AVS: v. 2, 296, NK: v. 1, #782, 118
- panacea twiner (*arkapuṣpī*) → *arkaparnī*, *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: v. 3, 171. The etymology of the name suggests *Helianthus annuus* Linn., but this plant is native to the Americas, 45, 117
- peas (*hareṇu*) *hareṇu* = *satina*. *Pisum sativum*, L. Singh and Chuneekar (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, 45, 46, 50
- peepul tree (*aśvattha*) *Ficus religiosa*, L. See ADPS: 63, 53
- periploca of the woods (*meṣaśṛṅga*) *Gymnema sylvestre* (Retz.) R. Br. See AVS: v. 3, 107, NK: v. 1, #1173, 31
- 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), 117
- pointed gourd (*paṭola*) *Trichosanthes dioica*, Roxb. GVDB: 232–233, 44
- poison berry (*brhatī*) *Solanum violaceum*, Ortega. See ADPS: 100, NK: v. 1, #2329, AVS: v. 5, 151, 45, 46
- pondweed (*paripelavā*) Normally a neuter noun. Singh and Chuneekar (GVDB: 238, 264–265, 409) argued that *plava* and *śaivāla* are the same thing, and may be either *Zannichellia palustris*, L., or *Potamogeton pectinatus*, L, 46
- purging nut (*mūṣikā*) *Jatropha curcas*, L. See AVS: v. 3, 261, NK: v. 1, #1374, 31
- purple roscoea (*kṣīrakākolī*) GVDB: 89 notes that many physicians use *Roscoea procera* Wall. in this context. But the identification is uncertain. Possibly connected to **milk-white** or **giant potato**., 117, 118
- rajmahal hemp (*moraṭa*) → *mūrvī*, *Marsdenia tenacissima* (Roxb.) Wight et Arn. Good discussion at GVDB: 314–316, 324, 44
- red chalk (*gairika*) *gairika*, 46

- red gourd (*bimbī*) *Coccinia indica*, W. & A. See PVS 1994.4.715; NK: v. 1, #534, 28
- rosha grass (*dhyāmaka*) *Cymbopogon martinii* (Roxb.) Wats. See AVS: v. 2, 285, NK: v. 1, #177, 46
- sacred lotus (*padma*) *Nelumbo nucifera*, Gaertn. See NK: v. 1, #1698, 29
- sage-leaved alangium (*aṅkolla*) *Alangium salvifolium* (Linn. f.) Wang. GVDB: 5–6, 28
- sandalwood (*candana*) *Santalum album*, L. See ADPS: 111, NK: v. 1, #2217, 46
- scarlet mallow (*bandhujīva*) *Pentapetes phoenicea*, L. NK: #1836, GVDB: 268, 30
- scented pavonia (*bālaka*) *Pavonia odorata*, Willd. See ADPS: 498, NK: v. 1, #1822, 46
- selu plum (*śelu*) *Cordia myxa*, L. non Forssk. See GJM1: 529 (2), IGP: 291b, cf. AVS: v. 3, 1677 f; cf. AVS: v. 2, 180 (*C. dichotoma*, Forst.f.), NK: v. 1, #672 (*C. latifolia*, Roxb.), 45
- siris (*śirīṣa*) *Albizia lebbbeck*, Benth. See AVS: v. 1, 81, NK: v. 1, #91, 44
- siris seeds (*śirīṣamāṣaka*) *Albizia lebbbeck*, Benth. See AVS: v. 1, 81, NK: v. 1, #91, 28
- small-flowered crape myrtle (*sidhraka*) *Lagerstroemia parviflora* Roxb. See GVDB: 432, 49
- spikenard (*māmsī*) *Nardostachys grandiflora*, DC. See NK: v. 1, #1691, 46
- spikenard (*nalada*) → *māmsī*. *Nardostachys grandiflora*, DC. See NK: v. 1, #1691, 26
- sugar (*sitā*) *Ḍalhaṇa* makes this equation at 1.37.25 (Su 1938: 162), 46
- sunflower (*sūryavallī*) → *ādityavallī*, *sūryamukhī*, *Helianthus annuus* Linn. GVDB: 35, 443, 44
- sweet-scented oleander (*aśvamāraka*) *Nerium oleander*, L. See ADPS: 223, NK: v. 1, #1709, 34
- Tellicherry bark (*kuṭaja*) *Holarrhena pubescens* Wall. ex G.Don, with *Wrightia tinctoria* and *W. arborea* considered GVDB: 101–102, ADPS: 267–270, 117
- three heating spices (*tryūṣaṇa*) *śuṇṭhī* (Dried ginger) *Zingiber officinale*, Roscoe. ADPS: 50, NK: v. 1, #2658, AVS: v. 5, 435, IGP 1232, pippalī (long pepper) *Piper longum*, L. ADPS: 374, NK: v. 1, #1928, and marica (black pepper) *Piper nigrum*, L. ADPS: 294, NK: v. 1, #1929, 45
- three-leaved caper (*varuṇa*) *Crataeva magna* (Lour.) DC. See AVS: v. 2, 202; cf. NK: v. 1, #696, 31
- turmeric (*haridrā*) *Curcuma longa* Linn. GVDB: 465, 45, 50
- turmeric (*rajanī*) *Curcuma longa*, L. ADPS: 169, AVS: v. 2, 259, NK: v. 1, #750, 46
- velvet-leaf (*pāthā*) *Cissampelos pariera*, L. See ADPS: 366, NK: v. 1, #592, GJM1: 573, AVS: v. 1, 95; cf. AVS: v. 2, 277, 44
- velvet-mite (*indragopa*) *Kerria lacca* (Kerr.). Lienhard 1978, 27
- verbena (*phañjī*) *Clerodendrum serratum*, L. See AVS: v. 2, 121, ADPS: 87, 30
- watered buttermilk (*udaśvit*) MW: 183, 28
- water-lily (*utpala*) *Nymphaea stellata*, Willd. See GJM1: 528, IGP 790; dutt, NK: v. 1, #1726, 27, 45, 46
- weaver's beam tree (*muṣkaka*) *Schrebera swietenoides*, Roxb. See AVS: v. 5, 88, Lord, NK: v. 1, #2246, 49
- white clitoria (*śvetā*) → *giryāhvā*. *Clitoria ternatea*, L. See AVS: v. 2, 129, NK: v. 1, #621, 29
- white cutch tree (*somavalka*) *Acacia polyacantha*, Willd. See AVS: v. 1, 30, IGP 7, GJM1: 602, AVS: v. 2, 935; pace

- NK: v. 1, #1038, 30, 49  
white siris (*kiṇihī*) *Albizia procera*,  
(Roxb.) Benth. See [GVDB](#) 98,  
NK: v. 1, #93, 45  
wild asparagus (*bahuputrā*) → *nandana*?  
*Asparagus racemosus*, Willd. See  
[ADPS](#): 441, [AVS](#): v. 1, 218, NK: v. 1,  
#264, [IGP](#): 103, [AVS](#): v. 4, 2499 ff,  
[Dymock](#): v. 3, 482 ff, 30  
wild celery (*agnika*) → may be *bhalātaka*,  
*lāṅgalī*, *ajamodā*, *moraṭa*, or *agnimantha*,  
[GVDB](#): 4. Uncertain, 44  
wild celery (*ajamodā*) *Apium*  
graveolens, L., 44  
wood apple (*kapittha*) *Limonia*  
acidissima, L. See [AVS](#): v. 3, 327,  
NK: v. 1, #1021, 29, 31  
woodrose (*mūṣikakarṇī*) *Jatopha curcas*,  
L. [AVS](#): v. 3, 261, 1[#1374]NK.  
[GVDB](#): 317; [ADPS](#): 23–25 discuss this  
issue well, 29  
yellow-berried nightshade (*kṣudrā*)  
*Solanum virginianum*, L. See  
[ADPS](#): 100, NK: v. 1, #2329,  
[AVS](#): v. 5, 164, 45, 46

## Todo list

■ Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.8. . . . .	25
■ I'm still unhappy about this verse. . . . .	28
■ Mention this in the introduction as an example of the scribe knowing the vulgate. . . . .	28
■ fn about sadyas+ . . . . .	28
■ Bear's bile instead of deer's bile. . . . .	29
■ punarṇavā in the N & K MSS . . . . .	30
■ śrita for śṛta . . . . .	30
■ explain more . . . . .	30
■ Medical difference from Sharma. . . . .	31
■ example where the vulgate clarifies that these should be used separately; appears to be a gloss inserted into the vulgate text. . . . .	31
■ The two uses of prāpta are hard to translate. prāptāḥ → kṣi- praṃ is an example of the vulgate banalizing the Sanskrit text to make sense of a difficult passage. . . . .	31
■ √ vyadh not √ vedh (also elsewhere and for the ears), caus- ative optative. . . . .	31
■ opposite of the vulgate Same as 1.8.89 (As 1980: 79). . . . .	32
■ -> ativiṣa . . . . .	40
■ Look up the ca. reference. . . . .	40
■ Come back to the issue of "kalpa". Look up passages in the Kośa. . . . .	47
■ write footnote: don't repeat ativiṣā; vulgate similar to H. . . . .	50
■ where is cutting with a knife related to removing bile or phlegm. . . . .	54
■ maṣī burned charcoal. Find refs. . . . .	54
■ find ref. . . . .	60
■ Check out these refs. . . . .	61
■ meaning of kalpa . . . . .	61
■ or a dual? . . . . .	65

