A Translation of the Nepalese Text of the Suśrutasaṃhitā

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Sūtrasthāna 1: The Origin of Medical Knowledge

Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.⁷

Translation

- 1 "Now I shall narrate the chapter on the origin of this knowledge.8
- 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.9

⁷ HIML: IA, 203–204.

Palhaṇa 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 *Su-śrutasaṃhitā* (Wujastyk 2013*b*: 148; Klebanov 2021*a*: § 3.1.2; Rai 2019; Birch et al. 2021). On the figure of Dhanvatari in medical literature, see HIML: IA 358–361.

⁹ 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 (2021*b*) has discussed these authors in the context of an anonymous commentary on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that cites them.

- "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.
- "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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹
- "Surgery, treatment of body parts above the clavicle, general medicine, knowledge of spirits, care of children, and the disciplines of antidotes, rejuvenation and aphrodisiacs.
- 8.1 "Now, a collection of the characteristics of each component of Āyurveda.
- 8.1a "Among them, the one called surgery has the goal of extracting various grasses, wood, stone, dust, iron, 2 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.
- 8.2 "The one 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.
- 8.3 "The one 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.

On the careful wording of this statement, that makes the Atharvaveda connection "something that people say," see Wujastyk 2022: 400–401.

¹¹ Svayambhū is another name for Brahmā, the creator.

¹² The identity of the metal in such early literature is somewhat moot. For discussion, see Wujastyk 2019.

"The one called "knowledge of spirits" is for appeasing demons by pacification rites and making food offerings for those whose minds have been possessed by gods, their enemies, "Gandharvas, Yakṣas, demons, deceased ancestors, Piśācas, Vināyakas, "A Nāgas and evil spirits that possess children.

Cite Paul Courtright, Ganesha book.

- 8.5 "The one 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.
- 8.6 "The one called "the discipline of toxicology" is for [knowing] the signs of poison from snake and insect bites and for neutralising various combinations of poisons.¹⁵
- 8.7 "The one called "the discipline of rejuvenation" is maintaining youth, bringing about a long life and mental vigour and for curing diseases.
- 8.8 "The one 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.
 - 9 "In this way, this Āyurveda is taught with eight components." "Among these [components], tell us which is for whom."
- They said, "After you have made the whole knowledge of surgery accessible, teach it to us, Lord". 16
- "So be it," he said.
- They then said, "After probing our opinion, we are unanimous: Suśruta will question you. We too will take in what is being taught to him."
- 13 "So be it," he said.
- 14–16 "Now, as is well-known, the aim of Āyurveda is eliminating the disease of one who has been assailed by disease and protecting the healthy;

¹³ Dānavas. The insertion marks ($k\bar{a}kapadas$) below the text at this point appears to be by the original scribe.

¹⁴ The vulgate doesn't have *vināyakas* but does add *asuras*, probably under the influence of Dalhana.

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 $(l\bar{u}t\bar{a})$ and creepy-crawlies $(sar\bar{s}rpa)$ in the list, it does seem that MS K had a shorter list, and the vulgate edition adds rodents $(m\bar{u}sika)$.

¹⁶ For discussion of the text-critical significance of this passage, see Harimoto 2013. I have read the passage as including the word अलङ्कृत्वा in the sense "make accessible" (cf. MW: 94, sub अलं विज्ञातुम्.

- Āyurveda is, "where they find a long life," or "that by which long life is known." You should take in its best component (aṅga), which is being taught without conflicting with tradition, perception, inference or analogy.
- "For this component is first, the most important, because it is referred to first; it cures wounds and joins together the most important thing, Yajña's head. For, just as it has been said of old, 'the head that had been cut off by Rudra was joined again by the two Aśvins.'
- "And also, of the eight disciplines of \bar{A} yurveda, [surgery] alone is the best because of the quick action of its procedures ($kriy\bar{a}$), its application of blunt instruments, knives, caustics and fire, and it is common to all disciplines.
- "Therefore, [surgery] is eternal, meritorious, leads to heaven, brings renown, bestows a long life, and affords a livelihood.
- "This is what Brahmā said: 'Prajāpati learned it. From him, the Aśvins. From the Aśvins, Indra. From Indra, I. In this world, I will transmit it to students, for the benefit of people.'
- 21 "There a verse on this:

For I 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.¹⁷

"In this context, as far as this discipline is concerned, a human being $(puru \circ a)$ 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

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. For discussion, see Birch et al. 2021.

¹⁸ See Wujastyk 2004.

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

they are concerned, the human being is the main thing; others are his support. Therefore, the human being (*puruṣa*) is the locus.

"Diseases are said to be the conjunction of the person and suffering (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.²⁰

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

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

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

- 27 "Scarification (*lekhana*), nourishment (*bṛṃhaṇa*), purification (*saṃśodhana*), 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 ($osadh\bar{u}$ -). 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 (vrksa), herbs (vsadhi) and shrubs (vrudh). Amongst these, the "fruit trees" have fruit but no flowers. The "flowering trees"

²⁰ Note that four humoral substances are assumed here.

²¹ 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.

²² 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.

²³ 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).

- have flowers and fruit. The "herbs" die when the fruit is ripe. "Shrubs" put out shoots.
- ^{*}As is well known, moving remedies are also of four types: those born in in a caul (*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, creepy-crawlies (*sarīṣṛpa*) and snakes are "born of eggs." Worms (*kṛmi*), small insects (*kunta*) and ants (*pipīlika*) and others are born of sweat.²⁴ Shoots include red velvet mites (*indragopa*) and frogs (*mandūka*).²⁵|
- "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)²⁶ are useful; among the moving remedies pelt (carman), hair, nails, and blood (rudhira) and so forth.
- 32 "And earth products (*pārthiva*) include gold and silver.²⁷
- "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 (ahoratra), a fortnight (paksa), a month ($m\bar{a}sa$), a season (rtu), a half-year (ayana), a year (samvatsara), and yuga (yuga). ²⁸
- "These naturally cause accumulation (sañcaya), irritation (prakopa), pacification (upaśama) and alleviation (pratīkāra) of the humours (doṣa). And they have practical purposes (prayojanavat).
- 35 "There are verses about this:

This fourfold category is taught by physicians as a cause for the agitation and quelling of bodily diseases.²⁹

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).

²⁵ On indragopa, see Lienhard 1978.

²⁶ On juice extract (*svarasa*) see CS 1.1.73, 1.4.7; Dalhana on 4.10.12 (Su 1938: 450).

²⁷ The flow of concepts in the treatise seems to be interrupted here.

²⁸ These units are presented at 1.6.5 (Su 1938: 24) and discussed by Hayashi (2017: § 59).

²⁹ On the topic of the "group of four," the commentator Dalhana considered them to

There are two kinds of invasive diseases. Some certainly³⁰ affect $(ni\sqrt{pat})$ the mind, others the body. Their treatment $(kriy\bar{a})$ 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).
- 38 "Along these lines (*evam*), this brief explanation of the four factors (*catustaya*) 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.

39 "There is a verse about this:

be "food, behaviour, earthen products and items created by time." He referred to the author of the lost commentary entitled $Pa\tilde{n}jik\bar{a}$, and to Jejjaṭa (HIML: IA, 372–3, 192). In his view, these early commentators do not agree that the fourfold grouping (caturvarga) refers to the quartet of stationary ($sth\bar{a}vara$), moving (jangama), earthen products ($p\bar{a}rthiva$) and items created by time ($k\bar{a}lakrta$) (Su 1938: 9a).

³⁰ The text uses an archaic interjection here, ha.

This seed of medicine has been declared in brief. Its explanation will be given in one hundred and twenty chapters.³¹

- 40 "There are one hundred and twenty chapters in five sections (*ad-hyāya*).³² 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.³³
- 41 "There is a verse about this:

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.

³¹ This is the number of chapters in the first five sections of the work, namely the *Sūtra-, Nidāna-, Śārīra-, Cikitsā-* and *Kalpa-sthāna*s. These have 46, 16, 10, 40 and 8 chapters respectively. The *Uttaratantra* has 66 chapters.

³² On viṃśa in the sense of "greater by 20" see P.5.2.46 śadantaviṃśateś ca.

³³ 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.

Sūtrasthāna 2: The Initiation of a Student

Literature

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

Translation

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Sūtrasthāna 3: The Table of Contents

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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.³⁶

A Persian version of this chapter of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* was included in *Sikandar Shāh's Mine of Medicine (Ma'din al-<u>sh</u>ifā' i Sikandar-<u>Sh</u>āhī) composed in 1512 by Miyān Bhūwah b. <u>Kh</u>awāṣṣ <u>Kh</u>ān.³⁷*

More recently Brooks has examined this chapter and leech therapy more broadly terms of leeches and classification, multispecies agencies, and the tactile and intersensory dynamics of leech therapy.³⁸

Translation

- 1 And now we shall explain the chapter about leeches.
- 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.
- 3 In relation to that, 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 made to flow by any of them in their particular way.³⁹

³⁶ HIML: IA, 209; IB, 324, n. 131.

³⁷ Siddiqi 1959: 96–109; Azeez Pasha 1971; Storey 1971: 231–232; HIML: IB, 324, n. 128; Speziale 2019: 8–9.

³⁸ Brooks 2020*a,b*; 2021*a,b*.

³⁹ 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

4 And there are the following about this:

A cow's horn is praised for being unctuous, smooth, and very sweet. Therefore, when wind is troubled, that is good for bloodletting.⁴⁰

- A horn shaped like a half-moon, with a large body the length of seven fingers, should first be placed on the incision. A strong person should suck with the mouth.⁴¹
- 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.⁴²
- 7 A gourd is well known for being pungent, dry and sharp. So when someone is afflicted 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.⁴³
- 9 Leeches are called " $jala-\bar{a}yu-ka$ " because their life ($\bar{a}yu$ -) is in water (jala).⁴⁴ "Home" (okas) means "dwelling;" their home is water, so they are called "water-dwellers (jalaukas)."

later Devanāgarī manuscript.

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 सिग्धशीतरूक्षत्वात् (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."

- 40 The vulgate replaced "smooth" with "hot."
- 41 This passage is not found in the vulgate, but it is similar to the passage cited by Palhaṇa 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).
- 42 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.
- 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. 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.
- 44 The lexeme -āyu- is known almost exclusively from the Rgveda.

There are twelve of them: six are venomous and just the same number are non-venomous.

- 11 Here is an explanation of the venomous ones, together with the therapy:
 - Black (kṛṣṇā)
 - Mottled (karburā)
 - Sting-gush (*alagardā*)⁴⁵
 - Rainbow (*indrāyudhā*)
 - Oceanic (sāmudrikā)
 - Cow-praising (govandanā)⁴⁶

Among 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 appearance 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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ 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 √गर्द then we might have "crying from the sting."

⁴⁶ The manuscripts all read गोवन्दना against the vulgate's गोचन्दना.

⁴⁷ Palhaṇa and the vulgate included errhines in the list of therapies, and Palhaṇa added that "etc." indicated sprinkling and immersion too. The "Great Antidote" is described in the Kalpasthāna, at 5.5.61–63ab (Su 1938: 578).

⁴⁸ The translations of the names of these leeches are slightly whimsical, but give a sense of the original; सावरिका remains etymologically puzzling.

- Tawny (kapilā)
- Ruddy (pingalā)
- Dart-mouth (śaṅkumukhī)
- Mouse (*mūsikā*)
- Lotus-mouth (pundarīkamukhī)
- Sāvarikā (*sāvarikā*)

Among 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.⁴⁹
- 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.⁵⁰ Those in

Some scholars have identified the name with modern Bodhan in Telangana (Sircar

⁴⁹ The compound स्निग्धमुद्भवर्ण्णा 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 Godavarī 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 reference to that, venomous leeches are those originating in decomposing venomous insects, frogs, urine, feces and in polluted water.⁵¹ 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 abound in water. Tradition teaches that they do not behave in a confused manner or lie in the mud.⁵²

16 They can be caught with a fresh hide or one may catch them by other means.⁵³

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 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.

- 51 The vulgate on 4.13.14 (Su 1938: 57) includes fish in this list.
- 52 Dalhaṇa on 1.13.14 (Su 1938: 57) discussed why non-venomous leeches would not "behave in a confused manner" (सङ्कीर्णचारिन्), saying that they do not "eat a diet that is contra-indicated because of poison etc." (विषादिविरुद्धाहारभुजः). On the use of the term विरुद्ध in the sense of "incompatible," see 4.23.4 (Su 1938: 485). Dalhaṇa there noted that such foods are explained in the chapter on wholesome and unwholesome foods (हिताहिताध्याय, 1.20 (Su 1938: 94–99)).
- 53 "Fresh hide" (आर्द्रचर्मन्) may suggest that the animal skin still includes meat or blood that is attractive to a leech.

Dalhaṇa 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.

The Nepalese witnesses all read गृहीत्वा "having (been) caught" for the vulgate's गृह्णी-यात् "one may grasp (by other means)." The Nepalese reading is hard to construe and we have emended to the vulgate's reading.

- 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 three days water and food. After seven nights one should transfer them to a different pot.
- 18 And on this:

One should not nurture those that are thick in the middle, that are injured,⁵⁴ or small, those that are not born in the proper habitat, those that will not attach, that drink little or those that are venomous.

- First of all, if the patient has an ailment that is treatable by bloodletting with leeches, get them to sit or lie down. Then, dry any place (avakāśa) that is diseased with powders of earth and cow-dung.⁵⁵

 Then the leeches, free from impurities, with their bodies smeared with Indian mustard and turmeric, moving about in the middle of a cup of water, should be made to attach to the site of the ailment. Now, for one that is not attaching, one should provide a drop of milk or a drop of blood. Alternatively, one should make some marks with a knife (śastrapada).⁵⁶ And if it still will not attach, make a different one attach.
- One can know that it is attached when it fixes on, making its mouth like a horse's hoof and hunching its neck. Then, one should cover it with a wet cloth and keep it there.
- Now, if one knows, from the arising of pricking and itching at the bite, that clean blood is being taken, one 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.

⁵⁴ Pace Dalhaṇa on 1.13.18 (Su 1938: 57) who glossed परिक्रिष्ट "injured" as अमनोज्ञदर्शन "disagreeable looking."

⁵⁵ Dalhaṇa on 1.13.19 (Su 1938: 57) read अरुजम् (n.), against the vulgate's अरुजः; Cakra-pāṇidatta on this verse (Su 1939: 98) read अरुजः. Both commentators specified that the Suśrutasaṃhitā said this procedure should only be applied when there is no wound or opening, for fear of exacerbating the condition. The Nepalese text is saying, differently, that the dessicating powders should be applied to a diseased wound.

⁵⁶ 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 482.

Then one 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 the left hand and very slowly rubbing it with the thumb and finger of the right hand in the proper direction, as far as the mouth, until it is properly purged.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸

One that protects its deflated head with its body, suddenly curls up and makes the water warm is traditionally said to have Indrapada.⁵⁹

Thus, one should keep such a one as before.⁶⁰

- After observing the proper or improper flow of the blood, one should rub the opening made by the leech with honey. Alternatively, one may bind it up and smear it with ointments that are astringent, sweet, oily and cold.
- 25 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.

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

⁵⁷ The expression शालितण्डुलकाण्डन, "rice-grain chaff" could be read as "paddy rice, rice grains and chaff" but this seems unlikely in the context.

⁵⁸ At this point, 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 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.

⁵⁹ At this point, witness H, the latest MS, reads इन्द्रपद as before, but the older witnesses K and N have muddled readings, इदमदः and इद्रमदः. The scribes may have been responding to a -पद ।-मद confusion about the name of this condition.

⁶⁰ The vulgate includes "well purged" as the object in this sentence, which makes better sense.

⁶¹ 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 the Properties of 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.⁶²

Translation

- 1 Now we shall declare the chapter about blood.
- Food is of four types.⁶³ It is endowed with six tastes and is made of the five elements.⁶⁴ It has either two or eight potencies, and is endowed with many qualities. ⁶⁵ Chyle (*rasa*) is the most intangible essence of this food that is properly transformed. It is of the nature of fire.
- 62 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.
- 63 Dalhaṇa 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 Carakasaṃhitā 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.
- 64 *Idem*, Earth, water, fire, air, space
- 65 Dalhana related these qualities to the twenty standard गुण of āyurveda; see, e.g., their listing by Vāgbhaṭa, translated by Wujastyk (2003b: 207).

Chyle is situated in the heart. From the heart, it enters into the twenty-four arteries—ten upward arteries, ten downward, and four sideways—and doing so day after day owing to the reaction of past activities that are caused by the invisible,⁶⁶ it satisfies the entire body, enlivens it, prolongs it,⁶⁷ 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 flowing⁶⁸ and due to attributes such as mobility, lubrication, enlivening, satisfaction, and supporting.⁶⁹

- 4 That watery chyle is then reddened after reaching the liver and spleen.
- 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.⁷⁰ That is due to the embryo being fiery and moist.⁷¹
- 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.

⁶⁶ সহস্ত (unseen): Doing any righteous or unrighteous action produces good merit and demerit respectively. This good merit and demerit are called সহস্ত (invisible) because it cannot be directly known but can only be assumed through logical deduction.

⁶⁷ In the sense of prolonging its lifespan

⁶⁸ 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).

⁷⁰ Dalhana commented that this is to distinguish the menstrual blood from regular blood that is gentle.

⁷¹ 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.

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

- Blood is formed from chyle, flesh from blood, lymph from flesh, bone from lymph, marrow from bone, semen from marrow, and progeny from semen.
- 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 preserve⁷² chyle by administering food and drink, being nicely disciplined with food⁷³.

- The verbal root *rasa* means movement.⁷⁴ Because it keeps moving day after day, it is called *rasa* (chyle).⁷⁵
- 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 group⁷⁶ is 18,090.

This is the particular transformation period regarding chyle that lasts for a person with mild fire⁷⁷. For a person with developed fire, one should know it to last for the exact same time⁷⁸

- 72 All three manuscripts have रक्षेत which is an incorrect form. रक्षेत् is the correct form.
- 73 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.
- 74 Bhishagratna 1907–16: 109
- 75 In the list of verbal roots of $P\bar{a}nini$, the verbal root $\overline{A}(rasa)$ means taste and moistening. It does not mean movement.
- 76 duration of chyle in all the body tissues as a whole
- 77 Perhaps this refers to the digestive fire.
- 78 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.

- Resembling the expanse of sound, flame, and water, that entity moves along in a minute manner throughout the entire body⁷⁹.
- 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 entities⁸⁰, it,⁸¹ 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 age⁸². 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 body⁸³.
- 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 blood⁸⁴ just as bile. The blood that has the combined characteristics of vitiations of two humours is vitiated by two humours.

⁷⁹ Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 63) that the expanse of sound indicates the sideways movement of chyle, the expanse of flame indicates the upward movement of chyle, and the expanse of water indicates the downward movement of chyle.

⁸⁰ This is the doctrine of pre-existence of the effect (सत्कार्यवाद, satkāryavāda) first propounded by Sāṅkhya philosophers.

⁸¹ fragrance

⁸² 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.

⁸³ 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.

⁸⁴ 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."

- 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 section.
- 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.
- 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), soot from the chimney (āgāradhūma), 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, foxtail millet, sappanwood, 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 cloth⁸⁵, 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 soup⁸⁶. 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 weak⁸⁷ 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.

⁸⁵ 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.

⁸⁶ Based on Dalhana's comment as found in Su 1938: 66

⁸⁷ This refers to the digestive fire.

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. 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 ⁸⁸ 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.

⁸⁸ Dalhaṇa 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 2002.⁸⁹ A book on this topic, arising out of the present project, with edition, translation and discussion of the Nepalese transmission is published by Wujastyk et al. 2023.

Translation

1 Now we shall expound the method for piercing the ear.90

90 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.

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 et al. 2021.

When commenting on this statement, Dalhana (Su1938:76) and Cakrapānidatta (Su1939:125) 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-

⁸⁹ HIML: IA, 211–212317.

- 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,⁹¹ on the lap of a wetnurse.⁹² Then, he should pull the ear with his left hand and pierce straight through with his right hand at a naturally-occurring cleft.⁹³ 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.⁹⁴
- 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.⁹⁵

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.

- 91 The causative form व्यथ्येत् 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.
- 92 The versions of 1.16.3 known to Cakrapāṇidatta (Su 1939: 126) and Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) have the additional compound कुमारधराङ्के ("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 बालक्रीडनकै: 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 बालक्रीडनकै:, but we see no trace of these small kindnesses in our witnesses.
- 93 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 (आदित्यकरावभासिते).
 - 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.
- 94 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).
- 95 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.⁹⁶

- Having removed the wick (*vartti*) because of the accumulation of humours or an unsatisfactory piercing at that location,⁹⁷ 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.⁹⁸
- 6 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.⁹⁹
- 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.¹⁰⁰

constructed on the basis of witnesses MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 and MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079.

- 96 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.'
- 97 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).
- 98 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.
- 99 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).
- 100 Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.6 (Su 1939:127) and Palhaṇa 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 humours¹⁰¹ 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. 102 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 (saṃkṣipta), Reduced-ear (hīnakarṇa), Creeper-ear (vallīkarṇa), Stick-ear (yaṣṭīkarṇa), and Crow's lip (kākauṣṭha). 103

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. 104

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.

¹⁰¹ 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.

¹⁰² 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.

¹⁰³ 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).

¹⁰⁴ 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. The five from compressed (saṃkṣipta) on are incurable. Among these, "Compressed" has a dry ear canal and the other flap is small. "Reduced ear" has flaps that have no base and have wasted flesh on their edges. "Creeper-ear" has flaps that are thin and uneven. "Stick-ear" has lumpy 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. The suppurating of the suppuration of the 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 to player of fermented liquor, milk, water, fermented rice-water, and powdered earthenware crockery (kapālacūrṇa).

¹⁰⁵ 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).

¹⁰⁶ 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.

¹⁰⁷ 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 चित्पठित्ते). However, in Trikamajī Ācārya's edition of the *Sūtrasthāna* 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.

¹⁰⁸ *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.5 (Su 1938: 18–23), probably verse 6 especially, that lists the equipment and medications that a surgeon should have ready.

¹⁰⁹ 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.

¹¹⁰ 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.¹¹¹ 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.¹¹²

- 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 $(k\bar{s}\bar{n}a)$ flesh and it will not grow. 114
- When the ear is properly healed and there are no complications, one may very gradually start to expand it. Otherwise, it may be inflamed

111 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.

enware vessels.

¹¹² Suśrutasaṃhitā 4.1 (Su 1938: 396–408).

^{113 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.

¹¹⁴ 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 Indian monitor lizard, scavenging and seed-eating birds, and creatures that live in marshes or water, ¹¹⁵ fat, marrow, milk, and sesame oil, and white mustard oil. ¹¹⁶ 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. ¹¹⁷ 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. 118
- 16 Ears which do not enlarge even when sweated and oiled, should be scarified at the edge of the hole, but not outside it.¹¹⁹
- In this tradition, experts know countless repairs to ears. So a physician who is very intent on working in this way may repair them. 120
- 115 For such classifications, see the analyses by Zimmermann (1999) and B. K. Smith (1994).
- 116 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.
- 117 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.
- 118 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.
- 119 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.
- 120 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 Dalhaṇa (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.¹²¹
- 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),¹²² with the same measurements, off the cheek, the end of the nose is then scarified.¹²³ 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, liquorice and Indian barberry should be sprinkled on it. 127
- 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

- 121 The order of verses 17 and 18 is reversed in Dalhana's version (Su 1938: 80).
- 122 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).
- 123 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.
- 124 Palhaṇa 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.
- 125 The Sanskrit term उन्नामयित्वा in 1.16.21 is non-Pāṇinian.
- 126 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.
- 127 Dalhaṇa glossed अञ्चन as रसाञ्चन, elixir salve (Su 1938: 81).

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.

instructions specific to him. 128

And once healed and really come together, what is left of that slice of flesh (vadhra) should then be trimmed.¹²⁹ If it is reduced, however, one should make an effort to stretch it, and one should make its overgrown flesh smooth.¹³⁰

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

¹²⁹ The vulgate transmission has lost the word ব্য and replaced it with अर्ध "half," which makes little sense in this surgical context.

¹³⁰ 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 2002.¹³¹

Goswami studied the commentaries of Dalhana and Cakrapānidatta on this and the following adhyāyas up to 32, focussing on the topic of omens (arista). He concluded that both authors were influenced by the Indriyas-thāna of the $Carakasanhit\bar{a}$ in their commentaries on this topic. ¹³²

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.¹³³

¹³¹ HIML: IA, 219.

¹³² Goswami 2011.

^{133 1.1.28 (}Su 1938: 7), tr. P. V. Sharma 1999–2001: 1, 21.

Sūtrasthāna 46: The Rules about Food and Drink

Introduction

• 83 ¹³⁴

¹³⁴ This is the first place at which the term दूषीविष occurs in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. The term दोष was given important discussion by Meulenbeld 1991; 1992; 2011. See also Das 2003: 548–550.



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. 135

Subject matter

The present chapter describes the diseases caused by vitiated wind and wind's mixing with other humours. Contemporary ayurvedic physicians consider these diseases to include rheumatism.

Translation

- 1 And now we shall explain the chapter about the aetiology of wind diseases.
- 3 After holding the feet of Dhanvantari, the foremost of the upholders of righteousness who emerged out of nectar, Suśruta makes this enquiry.136
- 4 O King! O best of orators! Explain the location and types of diseases of the wind, whether in its natural state or disordered. 137.

add refs to

¹³⁵ HIML: IA, 234. (Ruben 1954) studied the wind doctrines in the Carakasaṃhitā.

¹³⁶ Explain the nectar myth.

¹³⁷ MSS H and N both read भूपते instead of कोपनै: in the vulgate: instead of addressing the king, the vulgate is saying "by irritations of the wind...." The vulgate also has

- 5–9 On hearing his words, the venerable sage spoke. This lordly wind is declared to be self-born because it is independent, constant and omnipresent. It is worshipped by the whole world. Amongst all beings, it is the self of all. During creation, continued existence and destruction, it is the cause of beings.
 - It is unmanifest though its actions are manifest; it is cold, dry, light, and mobile. It moves horizontally, has two attributes and is full of dust (rajas).¹³⁸ It has inconceivable power. It is the leader of the humours¹³⁹ and the ruler of the multitude of diseases.
 - It moves fast, it moves constantly, it is located in the stomach and in the rectum. 140
- 9cd Now, learn from me the characteristics of wind as it moves inside the body.¹⁴¹
 - Wind connects the senses and the sense objects. Unvitiated, it maintains a state of equality between the humours (doṣa), the bodily tissues $(dh\bar{a}tu)$ and heat (agni) and the rightness $(\bar{a}nulomya)$ of actions. 142
 - Just as the fire is divided into five types by name, place and their actions, similarly, one type of air is divided into five types based on name, place, action and diseases.
 - 12 Five types of wind:

Suśruta asking about कर्म, whereas in the Nepalese version he asks only about the types of diseases. Note that Dhanvantari is here addressed as king, a title associated elsewhere with Divosdāsa.

¹³⁸ According to Dalhaṇa on 2.1.8 (Su 1938: 257), the two qualities are sound and tangibility. The word रजस् could also refer to the quality of activity in the three-quality (guṇa) theory, which is how Dalhaṇa interpreted it. On the semantic field of रजस्, see Das 2003: 14 note 26 and ff.

¹³⁹ Dalhana on 2.1.8 (Su 1938: 257) interpreted नेता "leader" as प्रेरक "impeller."

¹⁴⁰ MS H read आशुचारी, which we have translated ("moves fast"), but MS N and the commentators of the vulgate read आशुकारी, "quick-acting."

¹⁴¹ Dalhaṇa and Cakrapāṇidatta both interpreted मे as an ablative (2.1.8 (Su 1938: 258)).

¹⁴² According to Dalhaṇa on 1.6.3 (Su 1938: 23), सम्पत्तिः=सम्पन्नता. According to Dalhaṇa, Gayadāsa read इन्द्रियार्थोपसंप्राप्ति but Dalhaṇa did not accept this on the grounds that it was too verbose: गयदासाचार्यस्तु इमं श्लोकं 'इन्द्रियार्थोपसंप्राप्तिऽ इत्यादि कृत्वा पठित, स च विस्तरभयान्न लिखितः । But witnesses H and N suggest the reading इन्द्रियार्थोपसम्पत्तिः. The expression "qualities" is used advisedly. It is almost universal practice to refer to "balance" or "equilibrium" in such contexts, but this misrepresents the metaphor that the Sanskrit sources are using. As the commentators on Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā 1.1.20 (Ah 1939: 14) make abundantly clear, the expression doṣasāṃya means "equality of humours," as in quantitative equality, not balance.

- 1. Vital wind (*prāṇa*)
- 2. udāna
- 3. samāna
- 4. vyāna
- 5. apāna

above five types of wind remain in their state of equality and hold the body¹⁴³.

- 13–14ab The wind that flows through the mouth is called the vital wind (prāṇa). It propels down food inside and hold the breath of life. 144. Vitiated Vital wind mostly causes hiccups, asthma etc. diseases.
- The wind which flows upwards inside the body, which is the best among all five winds is called udāna. Singing, speech etc. individual things done by the same wind. Vitiated udāna wind mostly causes diseases above the collar bone e.g., nose, eyes, head and ears¹⁴⁵.
- The samāna wind flows in stomach and duodenum. It helps in the digestion of food and separates the substances produced from it e.g., chyle, impurities, urine and feces. Vitiated samāna wind causes diseases like a chronic enlargement of spleen (gulma) with अग्निसङ्ग, and diarrhea etc.
- 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 terrible diseases related to abdomen and anus.
- 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.

¹⁴³ According to Dalhaṇa स्थान=साम्य, यापयन्ति=धारयन्ति at 2.1.12 (Su1938:259). (All the manuscripts read प्राणोदानः समानश्च व्यानोपानस्तथैव च . against the vulgate's प्राणोदानौ समानश्च व्यानश्चापान एव च . हेरे, थे wओर्द्स् प्राणः अन्द् उदानः हवे उन्देर्गोने दोउब्ले सन्धि.सेए (ओबे-र्लिएस्२००३:पर१.८.४))

¹⁴⁴ According to Dalhaṇa, সাण stays in head, chest, throat and nose. (Su1938:259) Gayadāsa reads अग्नि for সাण.

¹⁴⁵ Palhaṇa suggests it also causes diseases like cough etc. (चकारादन्यादिप प्राणोदानौ, व्या-नापानौ कासादीन् करोति .)

- 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 Newa senses.
 - Residing in the skin, ¹⁴⁶ contaminated wind causes discoloration of skin, 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. ¹⁴⁷

 Residing in the artery it causes acute pain, contraction and filling up of the artery. ¹⁴⁸ It stuns, vibrates and destroys ¹⁴⁹ 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 may never be cured. Residing in the semen it causes non-production and distorted production of semen. ¹⁵⁰
 - 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 dosas (bile etc.) in the places men-

¹⁴⁶ 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.

¹⁴⁷ The MS H does not read व्रणांश्व रक्तगो ग्रन्थीन् सशूलान् मांससंश्रितः . against the vulgate. (Su 1938: 261).

¹⁴⁸ According to Dalhana सिराकुञ्चनं is also known as कुटिला सिरा (Su 1938: 262)

¹⁴⁹ 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) ...

¹⁵⁰ Dalhaṇa and Gayadāsa both suggest that a distorted production विकृतां प्रवृत्तिम् is too fast, too slow, knotty and discolored.

- tioned 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.
- 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.
 - 40–41 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.??
 - 42 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.
 - 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 Gout¹⁵¹.
 - 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 ¹⁵² 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.

¹⁵¹ In the medical term वातरक्त is known as Gout. Cakrapāṇi called it आढ्यरोगः Caraka-saṃhitā sū.14.18 and ci.28.66

¹⁵² Gayadāsa suggests सर्वे दुष्टाः शोणितं चापि nominative plural instead of locative singular.

- 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 ($\bar{a}k sepa$) it is called convulsions ($\bar{a}k sepaka$).
- Because in this situation a person often sees darkness and fall, it calls spasmodic contraction (apatānaka) 153. 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. 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.
 - 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 ¹⁵⁴.
- 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). ¹⁵⁵ 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. ¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵³ 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.

¹⁵⁴ According to Dalhana convulsion (ākṣepaka) is also known as अपतानक (Su 1938:266). He further mentions that even if fortunately, it is cured, it cripples the limb.

¹⁵⁵ 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.

¹⁵⁶ This verse is not available in vulgate. It deals with the symptoms when bile and

63 A paralysis (*pakṣāghāta*) caused by wind ¹⁵⁷ 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. Dalhaṇa 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 Dalhaṇa commented that the आक्षेपक and अपतानक is same (Su 1938:266) and again 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 अपतान्त्रक separately (Su 1938:267).
 - 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 paralysis 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).

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phlegm mix with the wind. It is already discussed in su.2.1.38.

¹⁵⁷ Here the term যুद्धवात suggests the meaning of the wind that is devoid of bile and phlegm.

¹⁵⁸ Dalhana suggests नेत्रादीनाम् इत्यादि शब्दात् भूगण्डादि उपसङ्गहः

¹⁵⁹ Both the MSS N and H read विश्वञ्चि instead of the vulgate reading विश्वाची. There is no

- 76 Vitiated wind and blood in the joint of knee causes synovitis of knee join (*kroṣṭukaśīrṣa*). In this extremely painful situation, the shape of swelling in knee joints seems like a head of Jackal.
- 77 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 वातकण्टक.
- 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. 160
- 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).¹⁶¹
- 85 Vitiated wind penetrating into the cheekbones, temporal bones, head and neck causes piercing pain in the ears. It is called ear-ache $(karnaś\bar{u}la)$.¹⁶²
- 86–87 The pain that arises from the bladder or feces goes down as if it were breaking the rectum and......? is called तूनी, whereas the pain, rising upward from the rectum extending up to the region of the intestines, is called प्रतितूनी.

such word found in other Ayurveda texts.

¹⁶⁰ Palhaṇa and Gayadāsa both have defined two diseases i.e., अंसशोष and अवबाहुक respectively.

¹⁶¹ 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.

¹⁶² In the medical terms, this disease is known as Otitis.

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 সুন্যাध्मान. 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 वाताष्ठीला. A tumour of similar shape rose obliquely in the abdomen obstructing the passage of wind, faeces and urine should be known as प्रत्यष्ठीला. Names of diseases discussed in the chapter 2.1

Gout (vātarakta) convulsion (ākṣepaka) paralysis of one side (pakṣāghāta) paralysis of the jaw-bones (ardita) sciatica (gṛdhrasī) paralysis of arms and back (viśvañci) synovitis of knee join (kroṣṭukaśīṛṣa) lathyrism (kalāyakhañja) (vātakaṇṭaka) (avabāhuka) (tūnī) (pratitūnī) tympanites (ādhmāna) (pratyādhmāna) (vātāṣṭhīlā) (pratyaṣṭhīla)

¹⁶³ There's an addition in MS N. नाभेरधस्तात् संजातः संचारी यदि वाऽचलः

Part 3. Śārīrasthāna

Śārīrasthāna 2: On Semen and Menstrual Fluid

Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.¹⁶⁴ 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*)¹⁶⁵ is incompetent to produce offspring if it is [characterized by] wind, bile, phlegm, blood (śοṇita),¹⁶⁶ decomposition (kuṇapa), clumps (granthi),¹⁶⁷ stinking pus (pūtipūya), low volume (kṣīṇa), urine, or feces.

¹⁶⁴ HIML: IA, 244-246.

¹⁶⁵ 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.

¹⁶⁶ 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).

¹⁶⁷ 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

- When the dysfunction 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 discolouration and suffering are characteristic for phlegm disease.
 - And if caused by blood (*śoṇita*) there will be a colouration due to blood and a sensation of a bile affliction. Moreover, when caused by blood (*rakta*) there is the smell of decomposition (*kuṇapa*). ¹⁶⁸
 - 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.¹⁶⁹

Cases of foul-smelling sperm, sperm with clumps, and when it reeks of pus are hard to treat. But when sperm contains urine or faeces there is no treatment.¹⁷⁰

Moreover, seasonal blood ($\bar{a}rtava$) too can become afflicted (upasṛṣṭa), seedless ($ab\bar{\imath}ja$) because of the three humours, and blood as the fourth, taken individually, in pairs or triples or all together. ¹⁷¹

This can also be known by means of the humour, colour and pain. In these cases, that which displays decomposition (kuṇ apa), 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 pu-

¹⁶⁸ 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

¹⁶⁹ 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*).

¹⁷⁰ 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.

¹⁷¹ 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.

trid 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 with special treatments such as unction and sweating, as well as by means of a urethral instillation (uttarabasti).¹⁷²

find out about uttarabasti

Therapies by humour

- 6.1 In that context, when the sperm is of the nature of wind, there is an enema (āsthāpana) consisting of Bengal quince, Indian kudzu and milk.¹⁷³ In the urethral instillations one should use sesame oil well cooked with mahua, grey orchid, deodar, and chir pine. One can also make the patient drink clarified butter with ripe pomegranate, citron fruit, rock salt, a caustic (ksāra), and two kinds of salt.¹⁷⁴
- 6.2 When the sperm is of the nature of bile, there is an enema of milk cooked with curds, Malay beechwood and liquoricek. One should also apply a paste (*kalka*) of white dammer tree and axlewood in the vagina. There is an oily enema (*anuvāsana*) of sesame oil cooked with liquorice; in the same way, it should only be applied as a urethral instillation. One should make him swallow ghee cooked with wild sugar cane, common smilax, heart-leaved moonseed, white teak, false daisy, and the five roots.
- 6.3 When the sperm is of the nature of phlegm, there is an enema (ās-thāpana) 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 a urethral instillation.

¹⁷² 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.

¹⁷³ These three recipes are not present in the vulgate text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

^{174 -}विपक्क "well cooked with..." might be interpreted as "with ripe...".

¹⁷⁵ By specifying "upper (i.e., urethral) instillation" the author is clarifying that this is not a rectal enema.

One should make him drink a ghee cooked with hairy bergenia, white teak, emblic myrobalan, long pepper, bearded premna, and prickly chaff-flower.

3.2.7 And there are verses about this.

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.

- 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.¹⁷⁶
 - 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. 177
 - 10 When it looks like feces, he should be made to drink ghee together with leadwort, vetiver and devil's dung.
 - 10.1 *In these six cases, a wise person should carry out the sequence that starts with oleation.*¹⁷⁸
- It deteriorates as a result of not having sex with women for a long time as well as from the use of actions, and from overusing the drugs that are astringent, spicy and sharp, that are acidic (amla), salty, sere (rūkṣa), sour (śukta) or stale (paryuṣita), and because of suppressing (vegāghāta) the impulses in vaginas and from intercourse (gamana).¹⁷⁹

to what?

¹⁷⁶ 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 śaṭī or in ash from a palāśa." The vulgate edition notes in a footnote that some vulgate manuscripts add an extra line, स्नेहादिश्च क्रमः षद्वेतासु विजानता. The Nepalese manuscripts read this line two verses further down.

¹⁷⁷ 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).

 $^{178\,}$ It is difficult to know which six cases the author intended. Dalhaṇa on 3.2.10 (Su 1938)

¹⁷⁹ This passage is hard to interpret and there are no parallels, commentary or meaningful alternate readings.

When there is a defect (doṣa) in the menstrual blood (ārtava) one should advise the therapy starting with oleation.

And one should use a urethral instillation (uttaravasti) exactly as was described before.

10.5

10.6

10.7

10.8

10.9

10.10

10.11

10.12 And there is a verse about this@

To purify the menstrual blood (ārtava), one should apply the procedure that finishes with a urethral installation.

From

Therapies for menstrual blood

- For purifying the menstrual blood one should follow the procedure, the last of which is a urethral instillation (*uttarabasti*).¹⁸⁰
 - One should use a paste (kalka) as well as cloths and a salutary lavages ($\bar{a}camana$).¹⁸¹
 - 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. 182

¹⁸⁰ The "procedure ending with a urethral instillation" probably refers to verse 6 above (see page 73).

¹⁸¹ The word आचमन, normally "sipping water from the palm" is here translated "lavage" following the context and Dalhaṇa 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."

¹⁸² The name चन्दन may refer to several types of sandalwood; presumably one is meant here that is different from white sandalwood, i.e., perhaps Pterocarpus santalinus Linn. f. The vulgate has an extra half-śloka here.

- 14ab When clumps (*granthi*) appear, he should drink velvet-leaf, three heating spices, and Indrajao. 183
- 14a 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 (*ṛtu*), starting from the first day onwards, the chaste woman (*brahmacāriṇī*) foregoes bathing, anointments, ornaments and grooming (*vilekhana*).¹⁸⁴ She should abstain from sleeping during the day, collyriums, weeping tears (*aśrupāta*), massages, cutting her nails, taking showers, laughing, telling stories, hearing too much noise and from exertion.¹⁸⁵

For what reason? By sleeping during the day, the fetus becomes deaf. 186 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). 187 From cutting 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 of ritual food, the husband should protect (\sqrt{rak}) the woman. She lies on a layer of halfa grass, and eats a different kind of food from the palm of her hand, or from a plate or from a leaf. ¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³ On ग्रन्थि, see note 167.

¹⁸⁴ 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.

¹⁸⁵ 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).

¹⁸⁶ Here, the vulgate reads स्वप्नशीलः "he tends to sleep."

¹⁸⁷ On translating কুম্ব in Āyurvedic texts, see Emmerick 1984: 96 ff.

¹⁸⁸ This sentence is hard to construe because हविष्यं "ritual food" cannot agree with - भोजिनीं.

On the forth day, one should show to the husband the woman who has had a purifying bath, is wearing unstitched clothes, is ornamented and who has chanted a benediction and recited a blessing.¹⁸⁹

What is the reason for that?

26 And there is a verse on this.

A woman has a bath after her period. The type of man she sees after that determines the type of son to whom she will give birth. She may then show her son to her husband.

- Next, the priest (upādhyāya) should perform the appropriate ritual for producing a son. At the end of the ritual, the expert (vicakṣaṇa) should anticipate the following procedure.
- Next, after the man has eaten a rice porridge with ghee and milk in the afternoon, having been celibate for a month, at night he should sexually approach the woman who has had a diet rich in oil and mung beans. He then soothes her in a friendly way and he may go to her optionally on the fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth or twelfth day.¹⁹⁰
- Henceforth, he should approach after a month [At this point there is a misplaced folio in MS N]
- 32 And when conception has occurred in this way

During one of these nights, the pregnant woman should press three or four drops of juice from one or other of the following: convolvulus, banyan, Indian bat tree, country mallow, carray cheddie. Then she should administer them in the right nostril if she desires a son and in the left if she wants a girl, and she should not sneeze them out.¹⁹¹

For certain, in the presence of these four, a fetus that follows the rules will come into being, just like a sprout is from a combination

29, 30 missing?

¹⁸⁹ See Wujastyk et al. 2023: 58 and fn. 167.

¹⁹⁰ In the Nepalese version, this text presents a general rule for lovemaking on even days. In the vulgate, the word पुत्रकाम is added, making this a specific rule for conceiving a male child. After this text, sections 29, 30 and 31 of the vulgate are not present in the Nepalese version. These verses state that the above-mentioned special days are beneficial, that odd days lead to the conception of a girl child, and finally the vulgate gives a list of the consequences of conceiving a child with a menstruating woman.

¹⁹¹ There is a textual problem at the start of this passage.

of field, seed, water and grass. 192

- Children born in this manner are beautiful, of noble character and enjoy long lives. They provide release from obligation (ṛṇa) and they themselves have children, benefitting their parents. 194
- In that context, the element of heat (tejas) is the most important factor as far as complexion (varṇa) is concerned. That being granted, at the moment the fetus is formed, when the food has water as its chief element, then the fetus is fair. When earth is the predominant element, it is dark (kṛṣṇa). When earth and ether are the chief elements, it is dark brown (śyāma). Some people say that the newborn (prasava) has the same colour as the colour of the food that the pregnant woman commonly eats. Similarly, creatures like snakes, scorpions and large geckos that inhabit black, yellow or white habitats are black, yellow or white. In that context, congenital blindness (jātyandha) is caused by the element of brilliance (tejas) not reaching the location of eye (dṛṣṭi). Similarly, red eyes are a consequence of blood, white eyes are a consequence

¹⁹² The Nepalese version reads क्षेत्रबीजोदकतृणाम् "of field, seed, water and grass" in contrast to the vulgate's ऋतुक्षेत्रामुबीजानाम् "of season, field, water and seed." This gives the two versions quite different meanings. In the Nepalese version, the author is referring to the four plants mentioned in the previous verse, convolvulus, banyan, Indian bat tree, country mallow, and carray cheddie. Then the author presents a simple agricultural simile. In the vulgate version, the words of the compound each have a double meaning: they can refer to the agricultural simile, but they can also be construed to mean "menstrual season, womb, nourishing bodily fluids, and male and female semen," a parallelism not present in the Nepalese transmission. This is how Þalhaṇa interpreted the verse.

¹⁹³ We translate महासत्त्वाः as "noble character;" Dalhaṇa, commenting on the vulgate reading सत्त्ववन्तः, refers to the गुणस्, interpreting the expression as "not strongly influenced by रजस् and तमस्."

¹⁹⁴ Children born in this manner fulfil their parent's obligation to have children and they themselves have children, thus continuing the family. The three debts are normally understood as being to the gods, the ancestors and to sages. But Dalhaṇa's phrasing is odd in that he says पितृणामृणत्रयमोक्षणशीलाः "behaving so as to provide release from the three debts to the ancestors."

¹⁹⁵ The food of the mother, that is.

¹⁹⁶ The terms कृष्ण and रयाम often mean more or less the same, a dark blue or black colour. The latter can shade into brown or dark green.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. also n., p. 187. Cf. HIML: IA, 70 and notes on these poisonous animals as described in the *Carakasaṃhitā*, and Meulenbeld 1974*b*: 455-456 on the names *kṛkalāsa/kṛkalāśaka*, *śaya* and *saraṭa* and the confusion surrounding this topic and the indigenous names of some species such as *ṭikṭikī*, *jyaṣṭhī*, *girgiṭ*.

of phlegm, yellow eyes are a consequence of bile, and dysfunctional eyes (*vikṛtākṣa*) are a consequence of wind.¹⁹⁸

35.1–4 And on this, there are the following:¹⁹⁹

If a pure wind affects someone's eyes, they become sunken, blue and dark.

When bile mixed with phlegm, with no impurity, goes into someone's eyes, their eyes are termed "yellowish-red."

When phlegm that is free of any impurity moves to the eyes, their eyes shine with a white circle within a circle.²⁰⁰

When blood mixed with phlegm moves into the eyes, those people have eyes that become pigeon-blue, or else bloodshot.

- 3.2.36 Just as the ghee in a pot placed on a fire melts, so the menstrual blood of a woman may flow out after sex with a man.²⁰¹
- 3.2.37 But when the wind splits the seed $(b\bar{\imath}ja)$, two lives $(j\bar{\imath}va)$ come into the belly (kuk;i). They are called "twins (yama)," being created from preceding virtue (dharma) or its opposite.²⁰²
- 3.2.37.1 When the mixing is happening, if the man's semen (retas) is plentiful and pure then the pregnant woman gives birth to two boys.

¹⁹⁸ The term विकृताक्ष was known to Kātyāyana (*Mahābhāṣya* on P.6.3.3, (Mahābhāṣya: 3,142)).

¹⁹⁹ The next four verses are absent in the vulgate; they were reproduced by the editor in a footnote (Su 1938: 348a, n. 3).

The phrase "and here are some verses" appears in the vulgate before 3.2.36.

²⁰⁰ Perhaps this describes the appearance of arcus senilis.

²⁰¹ It is difficult to know what the author means here, since menstruation is not physiologically caused by intercourse.

Note that the text actually says "a pot of ghee ... melts." But it's not the pot that melts, but the ghee. This may explain the vulgate reading ঘূর্নি "a lump of ghee." The reviser did not like the imprecise idea of a pot melting.

²⁰² Note the adverbial -पुरा at the end of a Bahuvrīhi.

The commentator Gayadāsa (cited here by Dalhaṇa) disagreed with this interpretation. He preferred to understand धर्मेतर not as "dharma and its opposite," but as "the opposite of dharma." He explained that according to both scripture and tradition, twins are the result of अधर्म "sin," and that is why penances are necessary after the birth of twins (on 3.2.27 (Su 1938: 348)).

The next two verses are absent in the vulgate; they were reproduced by the editor in a footnote (Su 1938: 348b, n. 3).

- 3.2.37.2 When the mixing is happening, if the woman has a lot of semen (śukra) then the pregnant woman gives birth to two girls. There is no doubt about this.
 - 3.2.38 The term for men and women who have diminished seed is "to be poured into (\bar{a} sekya)." Without doubt, after eating something white (\hat{s} ukla), his flag is raised.²⁰³

Think about this.

²⁰³ Dalhana on 3.2.38 (Su 1938: 348) made it clear that this is a metaphor for having a penile erection.

[&]quot;Eating something white" probably refers to যুক্ত "sperm," the reading of the vulgate, but note that works on aphrodisiacs and fertility (বার্जीकरण) in āyurveda and rasaśāstra routinely recommend white substances such as milk.

The vulgate has a different reading for the first half of this verse, stating that such a man is a product of parents with deficient seed. Dalhana also gave a detailed description of a man eating the semen ejaculated by another man, and he stated that the terms षण्ड and मुखयोनि were synonyms for such a person.

The term आसेक्य is given in MW: 161 as "impotent, a man of slight generative power." This is wrong. It is the referent of the term, not its meaning. Cf. Mahākośa: 1, 98 Some of the features referred to by the term षण्ड ।षण्ड may have included conditions today covered by Mayer-Rokitansky-Küster-Hauser syndrome and Morris syndrome. The central idea in the Sanskrit usages was that such a person cannot produce children.

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 2002.²⁰⁴ 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

204 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
- 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 <code>śarīra</code>.

Part 4. Cikitsāsthāna

Cikitsāsthāna 4: On the Treatment of Wind Diseases

Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.²⁰⁵

Translation

- 1 Now we shall describe the treatment of wind diseases. weight
- 3 When the wind enters the stomach, one should sequentially give to the patient, who has vomited, the formulation (*yoga*) with six-units (*ṣaḍ-dharaṇa*), together with tepid water, for seven nights.²⁰⁶

206 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 षद्गण 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."

²⁰⁵ HIML: IA, 265-266.

- "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.
- 6 When the wind has entered the bladder, a cleansing enema method should be carried out. And once an inflamed wind is in the ears and the like, a procedure that destroys wind should be done.
- When the wind has reached the skin, flesh, and blood, one should do an oil rub (*abhyaṅga*), apply a poultice (*upanāha*), rubbing (*mardana*) and ointments (*ālepana*). One should also perform blood-letting.²⁰⁷
- When the wind has got into the ligaments, joints, and bones, an expert should apply oleation (*sneha*), a poultice (*upanāha*), cauterization (*agnikarma*), binding, and rubbing (*unmardana*).
- When the wind is deep within the bone, then a strong physician should insert a tube $(n\bar{a}d\bar{\iota})$ into the bone, which has been split open by manual agitation $(p\bar{a}nimantha)$, and suck out the wind.²⁰⁸
- 10ab When the wind has reached the semen, one should perform the treatment for the defects of the semen.²⁰⁹
- When the wind has reached the whole body, an intelligent person should conquer it by means of immersion, sauna $(kut\bar{\imath})$, trench sweating $(kars\bar{\imath}u)$, blanket sweating (prastara), oil massage, enema, and blood-letting. Or, if is located in a single limb and is stuck there, a

²⁰⁷ On the translation of methods of medical touch, such as अभ्यङ्ग and संवाहन, see Brooks 2021b: 122–131. मर्दन, उन्मर्दन mean "pressing or vigorous rubbing." The vulgate includes ducts ($sir\bar{a}$) as an added place that wind can enter.

²⁰⁸ The expression "which is split" could be construed with "wind." The word order is not obvious. Dalhana on 4.4.9 (Su 1938: 420) interpreted पाणिमन्थ as the name of a particular awl and described the bone being pierced by this awl so that a double-headed tube can be inserted into the resulting opening. This verse is in *na* vipulā metre.

²⁰⁹ Palhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 421) that this treatment for the defects of the semen is mentioned [earlier] as the शुक्रशोणितशुद्धि, the purification of the semen and the blood. This is the Śārīrasthāna Ch. 2, शुक्रशोणितिवशुद्धि.

²¹⁰ These forms of sweating treatment are described in the *Carakasaṃhitā* (1.14.39–63 ($Ca_{1941:90-92}$)).

Regarding blood-letting, Dalhana on 4.4.11 (Su 1938: 421) commented that because the verse has the plural form सिरामोक्षेः, five blood vessels have to be drained of blood

thoughtful physician may conquer it with cow-horns.211

- Or, if it is mingled with phlegm (*balāsa*), bile, and blood, the physician should treat it with non-hostile remedies.²¹² However, when the wind is inactive, he should perform blood-letting many times.²¹³
- And one should lick the milk cooked in ?? together with salt and soot from the chimney ($\bar{a}g\bar{a}radh\bar{u}ma$), mixed with oil and also a juice (rasa) that has the sourness of a fruit.²¹⁴
- 14–15 Alternatively, cereal soup with a good amount of ghee is a wholesome food that repels wind. However, "Sālvala" is well-known to be a lukewarm and very salty substance that is the cottony jujube group combined with an item that repels wind and together with all the sour drugs and the meat of creatures from marshes and water that have all the oils.²¹⁵
- 16ab One should always apply a bandage with that to people who are ill with wind.
- 16cd-18ab One should tightly bind someone who is bent, afflicted by pain, or whose limbs are stabdha (numb), with a paṭṭa ($strip\ of\ cloth$) made of bark, cotton or wool ($\bar{u}rna$).

Alternatively, one should put it into a skin sack

Or, after massaging the affected body part and applying the śālvala²¹⁶

if the wind is not pacified by oil massage, etc.

²¹¹ প্রত্ন "cow-horns" refers to bloodletting by horn; see the description at *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.13.5 (Su 1938: 55).

²¹² The word ৰাজান is used here in the slightly unusual meaning "phlegm;" see Dalhana on 1.45.70, 6.61.33 (Su 1938: 202, 802) and *Mahākośa*: 553.

²¹³ We read सुप्तवाते with witness H, but Dalhana glosses सुप्ति-, the reading of the vulgate, "it is wind characterized by drowsiness (*supti*) caused by a covering of blood."

²¹⁴ The vulgate reading दिह्यात् for the Nepalese लिह्यात् changes the meaning to "one should smear."

Palhaṇa on 4.4.13 (Su 1938: 421) glossed पञ्चमूली as optionally the first or the second five roots. On this therapy, cf. Cakrapāṇi's commentary on 1.5.3 (Ca 1941: 36) for a similar therapy.

The "juice" (रस) was glossed by Dalhana as specifically being a meat broth (māṃsarasa). He said that the sourness may come from fruits such as pomegranate. रसाम्ल may mean a vinegar made from fruit (MW:70), so the expression फलाम्लो रसः in the text here may mean a vinegar made from sour fruit. Cf. धान्याम्ल.

²¹⁵ Cf. साल्वण "sweat from a poultice" in *Mahākośa*: 898. *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* 1.26.3a (As 1980: 188) describes a poultice called "sālvala" made with numerous ingredients (the commentator Indu elaborates, p. 189).

²¹⁶ This seems to be the correct spelling as against the unclarity in the earlier verses.

poultice on it, one should insert it into a sack made of the hide of a cat, mongoose, *udra*²¹⁷, or deer.

- Vomiting and an errhine done skilfully alleviate the wind that has entered the chest, between the shoulder-blades (*trika*), the shoulders, or the nape of the neck.²¹⁸ The wind located in the head is defeated by blood-letting and by the application of oil to the head (*śirobasti*).
- In that context, one should let the oil remain carefully for a one thousand measures $(m\bar{a}tr\bar{a})$. Only an enema (basti) can curtail the wind, whether it is throughout the whole body or in just one limb. Its force (vega) is like the wind. 220
- Oils, perspiration, oil massage, enema, unctuous purging of the bowels, *śirobasti*, oiling the head, unctuous smoke, gargling with lukewarm water, *nasya*, unctuous paste, milks, meats²²¹, soups, oils²²², any unctuous substance, unctuous and salty meals that are made sour by fruits, bathing with lukewarm water, massages, saffron, agarwood, 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.

Draft tr. from here 21cd-26

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

could also mean the

Terminalia

(विभीतक)

Oils, perspiration, oil massage, enema, unctuous purging of the bowels, $\dot{s}irobasti$, oiling the head, unctuous smoke, gargling with lukewarm water, nasya, unctuous paste, milks, meats²²³, soups, oils²²⁴, any unctuous substance, unctuous

²¹⁷ some aquatic animal

²¹⁸ On त्रिक, see *Mahākośa*: 1, 387, citing Dalhaṇa on 3.6.26 (Su 1938: 374) "the junction between the shoulder-blades and the neck."

²¹⁹ Dalhaṇa on 4.2.20 (Su 1938: 422) interpreted मात्रा as a measure of time, citing an unattributed verse defining it as the time of a blink, a snap of the fingers or the utterance of a single vowel. The expression might possibly be taken to refer to a measure of the oil's volume.

²²⁰ This phrase is awkward. The idea here seems to be that an enema decisively stops the wind. The vulgate revised this to make it more obvious: "only an enema can block the force of the wind, like a mountain."

²²¹ The plural indicates milk and meat from various animals.

²²² This is the second occurrence of the word स्रेहाः in this sentence. This seems to be an anomaly.

²²³ The plural indicates milk and meat from various animals.

²²⁴ This is the second occurrence of the word स्रेहाः in this sentence. This seems to be an anomaly.

and salty meals that are made sour by fruits, bathing with lukewarm water, massages, saffron, agarwood, 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.

27 One should take akṣa quantities of unguent pastes²²⁵ of turpeth, ²²⁶ red physic nut, ??, ??, the three myrobalans, and embelia, a Bengal quince fruit equivalent measure of viburnum-root and ??, two pātra quantities of both triphalā-decoction²²⁷ and yogurt, and one pātra measure of ghee. ²²⁸ One should mix these ingredients all at once and cook the mixture properly. This (resultant) is viburnum-ghee. ■ Unctuous purging of bowels is prescribed for treating wind disorders. ²²⁹

This procedure of making viburnum-ghee should also be referred for making Asoka tree-ghee and ??-ghee.²³⁰

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 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.²³¹ This is the anutaila

²²⁵ केल्क also means an unguent paste. Refer to Apte's dictionary.

²²⁶ In H, perhaps it should have been त्रिवृद् instead of तृवृत्.

²²⁷ त्रिफलारस is here taken to mean a decoction of triphalā.

²²⁸ The exact measurements of akṣa and $p\bar{a}tra$ are given in Palhaṇa's commentary in Su 1938: 422.

²²⁹ It should be understood here that the unctuous substance to be used for purging the bowels is the viburnum-ghee.

²³⁰ अशोक and रम्यक are the Ashoka and Chinaberry respectively.

²³¹ In H, the word दन्तप्रतीवायं in the compound word वातम्रोषधदन्तप्रतीवायं 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.

(अनुतैल)²³² that is mentioned in wind disorders. It is called anutaila because it is produced from tiny oily objects. 233 29 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 $oily^{234}$ in a big vessel and totally cover it with water. 235 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 possible²³⁶ with one thousand parts of each of the following --- a decoction of wind-alleviating herbs, meat soup, milk, and $k\bar{a}\tilde{n}jika^{237}$ ---and thus prepare the sahasra-pāka (that which is cooked with thousands). The admixture added to the oil contains the hemavata herbs238, 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 whisk fans should be waved. 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.

²³² The न् should be read ण्.

²³³ The word अनु in the compound word अनुतैलद्रव्येभ्यः should be read अणु.

²³⁴ In H, the word यावन् should have been यावान्.

²³⁵ The reading in H, कटाहेभ्यः सिंचेत्, does not make sense here. Thus, we have accepted the vulgate reading कटाहे ऽभ्यासिंचेत् for the translation.

²³⁶ The phrase "यावता कालेन राक्नुयात् 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.

²³⁷ Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 423) that the word अम्ल here means কাञ्जिक which is the water drained after boiling rice and is a little fermented. Refer Monier Willams's Sanskrit Dictionary.

²³⁸ 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.

²³⁹ These activities are a symbolic way of showing reverence.

Thus, that which is cooked with a thousand parts is called $sahasra-p\bar{a}ka$.

- 30 One should collect fresh leaves of castor oil tree, ??, ??, weaver's beam tree, Indian beech, ??, and leadwort. 240 These leaves should be completely pounded along with salt in a mortar. This mixture should be put in a pot filled with oil 241. It (pot) should be smeared 242 with cow-dung. Thereafter, the pot should be heated. This (resultant) is the patra-lavana (leaf-salt) that is mentioned in wind disorders.
- 31 In the same way, one should pound the stalks of ?? and eggplants smeared with salt and fill a pot with it.²⁴⁴ In that pot, one should add ghee, oil, fat, and marrow. Then, one should smear it²⁴⁵ and heat it as earlier. This (resultant) is the *sneha-lavaṇa* (fat-salt) that is mentioned in wind disorders.
- 32 One should collect the fresh fruits, roots, leaves, and branches of all the twenty [herbs]: ??, flame-of-the-forest, Tellicherry bark, Bengal quince, purple calotropis, ??, ??, weaver's beam tree, corky coral tree, ??, ??, ??, ??, ??, ??, ??, Indian beech, ??, poison berry, ??, marking-nut tree, Asoka tree, ??. One should then mix them with salt and heat them as earlier. 246 The oil on top should be poured out completely with the salty mixture intact [at the bottom]. This mixture should be cooked thoroughly. The admixture added to it consists of long pepper, etc. This (resultant) is the salt called kalyāṇaka that is mentioned in wind disorders and in meals and drinks for the patients troubled

240 In H, the ending नाम् should be णाम् due to sandhi.

Euphorbia Antiquorum (Antique spurge)

²⁴¹ स्नेहघट can also mean a pot filled with ghee

²⁴² The H or vulgate do not specify with words that it is the pot to be smeared. But, it is to be understood.

²⁴³ The word दाह्येत् usually refers to burning, but sometimes it can refer to heating.

²⁴⁴ In H, there should be a visarga after লব্দা.

²⁴⁵ As earlier, the pot should be smeared with cow-dung.

²⁴⁶ 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.

by $pl\bar{\imath}h\bar{a}gnisamga$, indigestion, loss of appetite, and piles. 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 2002.²⁴⁷

Translation

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

2

- One group says that the blood afflicted by wind (wind-blood) (vātarakta) is of two types: spreading out over a surface (उत्तान) and deep (अवगाढ).²⁴⁸ However, this is not correct.²⁴⁹ 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.²⁵⁰, 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.

²⁴⁷ HIML: IA, 266.

²⁴⁸ Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 424) that उत्तान refers to being situated in the skin and flesh, and अवगाढ refers to being situated internally.

²⁴⁹ In H, the word तन् should be तत्.

²⁵⁰ 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.²⁵¹ Later, it spreads throughout the body. Its early forms are pricking pain, burning, itching, ulcer, trembling²⁵², roughness of the skin, pulsation in the blood vessels, tendons, and tubular vessels²⁵³, 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.

- 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.
- 7 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.²⁵⁴ 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 uraria²⁵⁵, 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 uraria²⁵⁶, ??, wild asparagus, ??, and ??. This milk should then be used to cook oil with the admixture of pastes of ??, ??,

²⁵¹ In H, the word तन् should be तत्.

²⁵² In H, there should not have been the स् after स्तम्भ.

²⁵³ In addition to blood vessels, it would also include the nerves.

²⁵⁴ In H, the reading अम्लान does not make sense given the context. Therefore, we have accepted the vulgate reading ম্লান for the translation.

²⁵⁵ Dalhaṇa glosses (Su 1938: 425) śṛgālavinnā as pṛśniparṇī.

²⁵⁶ 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-flower²⁵⁷, ??, liquorice, giant potato, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, and ??²⁵⁸, with the admixture of cottony jujube, etc. Or, one should use the heart-leaf sida-oil that is cooked as śatapāka.²⁵⁹ 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.²⁶⁰ 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*²⁶¹ 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 uraria²⁶², ??, sugar, bulrush²⁶³, ??, and sweet flag. Or, the essence of unctuous fruits²⁶⁴ can be used as a poultice. Or, a veśavāra²⁶⁵ prepared from the flesh of a fat *cilicima* fish²⁶⁶ can be used instead. Or, [one

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

²⁵⁷ Dalhaṇa glosses (Su 1938: 425) mayūraka as apāmārga.

²⁵⁸ Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that halfa grass, ??, ??, halfa grass, ??, and ?? are called *tṛna* (grass).

²⁵⁹ 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.

²⁶⁰ 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).

²⁶¹ 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.

²⁶² śṛgālavinnā

²⁶³ For kaśerukā

²⁶⁴ Palhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that the unctuous fruits mentioned here are sesame, castor, flax, ??, etc.

²⁶⁵ 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.

²⁶⁶ 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-rind²⁶⁷, crape jasmine, deodar, ??, grey orchid, peas, costus, ??, liquor, yogurt, and whey. Or, [one can use] the ointment prepared by mixing citron, *amla*²⁶⁸, salt, and ghee with honey and horseradish tree-root. Or else, [one can use] the unctuous sesame paste.

8 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].²⁶⁹

[The patient] should be sprinkled with a decoction of ??, lotus stalk, white sandalwood, and wild Himalayan cherry mixed with goatmilk²⁷⁰, 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*²⁷¹ 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 ??, pussywillow, scramberry²⁷², ??, ??, turmeric, horned pondweed, sacred lotus, etc. The poultice should be mixed with ghee.

fat fish that is a ਜਲ (cilicima)".

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.

²⁶⁷ The word पेसिका in H should be read पेशिका.

²⁶⁸ Perhaps it could mean vinegar or sour curds. Refer to Monier Williams Sanskrit Dictionary.

²⁶⁹ 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.

²⁷⁰ The compound word ending with कषायेण is taken to be a bahuvrīhi for अजाक्षीरेण (goatmilk).

²⁷¹ Jīvanīya seems to be a group of medicinal herbs. There is an Ayurvedic preparation called jīvanīya-ghrta. Refer to the Āyurvedīya Śabdakośa vol. 1.

²⁷² 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 myrobalan 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 acidic²⁷³. 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, ??²⁷⁴, liquorice, ??²⁷⁵, and wild Himalayan cherry.

The poultice should be made of either the paste of white mustard, or the paste of sesame and Withania, or the paste of ??²⁷⁶, Indian cherry, and wood apple, or the paste of honey, horseradish tree, and hogweed,²⁷⁷ or the paste of dry ginger, long pepper, black pepper,²⁷⁸ hare foot uraria, and poison berry.²⁷⁹ 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.²⁸⁰

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].²⁸¹ In this way, one should

sional edition should be modified accordingly.

²⁷³ Reading the word सुक्त in H as शुक्त

²⁷⁴ Monier Williams states Rumex Vesicarius for śuktā

²⁷⁵ DCS has this entry: Cryptolepsis buchananii Roem. et Schult. (Surapāla (1988), 453) Decalepis hamiltonii Wight et Arn. (Surapāla (1988), 453)

²⁷⁶ According to V. S. Apte, दारु can mean देवदारु.

²⁷⁷ H has a short अ at the end instead of the long आ.

²⁷⁸ व्योषतिक्ता refers to the group of these three pungent spices. Also see Sūtrasthāna 14.35.

²⁷⁹ 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.

²⁸⁰ It means that the respective methods of treating the aggravation of individual humours should be combined.

²⁸¹ 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, loss of appetite, jaundice, abdominal affection, piles, heavy breathing, cough, wasting disease, weak digestion, and heart disease.

The poultice is a paste of ??, sandalwood, rajmahal hemp, ??, wild asparagus, bulrush,²⁸³ country mallow, wild Himalayan cherry, liquorice, Indian dill, ??, ??, 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 ??, ??, resin of white dammer tree, liquorice and the group of sweet herbs.

Old ghee that is cooked with emblic myrobalan 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 eating²⁸⁴. 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.²⁸⁵

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

15-16 Poultice, sprinkling [oil], plaster, oil massage,²⁸⁶ spacious and comfortable rooms²⁸⁷ with no wind, soft pillows, comfortable beds,

²⁸² Perhaps विषमज्वर could mean irregular fever.

²⁸³ H has कशेरुका.

²⁸⁴ Perhaps it means that one should eat foods cooked in that oil.

²⁸⁵ The word भवति in H should have been भवन्ति.

²⁸⁶ 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.

²⁸⁷ In H, read the स सरणानि as श.

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.

One should treat the person who is affected with spasmodic contraction, 288 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, 289 and who is not restrained externally. There at the beginning itself, 290 after rubbing the patient with oil and making him perspire, one should treat him with a strong avapīḍa²⁹¹ 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*²⁹² 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.²⁹³ Or else he should

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

²⁸⁸ In H, the reading अपताकिनम् should have been अपतानिकनम्.

²⁸⁹ V. S. Apte has खद्वयति. The *Āyurvedīya Śabdakośa* has the entry खद्वापातिन् 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.

²⁹⁰ In H, प्रागैव should have been प्रागेव.

²⁹¹ 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.

²⁹² It refers to an admixture of substances to medicines either during or after decoction. Refer to Monier-Williams's Sanskrit dictionary.

²⁹³ H has the reading रथाकारचूल्ल्याम् that means "fireplace shaped like a chariot", but the

be made to sweat by [a mixture of] ??, veśavāra,²⁹⁴ and milk.

Oil cooked with the juice of radish, ??, ??, spurge, and ?? should be used in sprinking, etc. for patients with spasmodic contractions. 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.²⁹⁶ 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,²⁹⁷ 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.²⁹⁸ Anutaila should be used for massage.²⁹⁹ Sālvala should be used for poultice.³⁰⁰ 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.

Search for the section where the treatment of $\bar{a}k$, $\hat{s}e$ -paka is described.

Make the first letter of sentence capital.

vulgate reading रथकारचुल्ल्याम् makes more sense here. Thus, we have accepted it.

²⁹⁴ Refer the above text no.7 for *veśavāra*. In H, the syllable ਕੈ should have been ਕੇ.

²⁹⁵ The word तैलम् is not present in H but is present in the vulgate. We have accepted it. 296 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.

²⁹⁷ According to P. V. Sharma, this refers to mild evacuatives (purgatives).

²⁹⁸ Refer Nidānasthāna 1.50-51 for ākṣepaka.

²⁹⁹ For the procedure of preparing anutaila, refer Cikitsāsthāna 4.28.

³⁰⁰ For the procedure of preparing sālvala, refer Cikitsāsthāna 4.14-15.

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- One should treat the patient with *ardita*³⁰¹ who is strong and possesses 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 (*pañcamūlī*) with grass and prepare its decoction in milk mixed with twice the water. Then, the decoction with the milk remaining³⁰² should be brought down [the stove] and filtered. It should then be mixed with a *prastha*³⁰³ 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 *kṣīrataila* that should be used in drinks, etc. for patients with *ardita*.
- 23 In the diseases of *gṛdhrasī*, *viścañcī*, *kroṣṭukaśīrṣa*, *paṅgukalāya*, lameness, *vātakaṇṭaka*, burning sensation in the foot, numbness of the foot, *avabāhuka*, deafness, and *dhamanīvāta*, one should pierce the blood vessel as described earlier and, barring the case of *avabāhuka*, one should look up the treatment for wind diseases.
- 24 However, in the case of *karṇamūla*,³⁰⁴ lukewarm juice of ??³⁰⁵ mixed with liquorice, oil, and salt should be put into the ears.³⁰⁶ 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.³⁰⁷ 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

tubes. One should also look up the treatment for wind diseases. More will be said later.

³⁰¹ Refer Nidānasthāna 1.71-72 for ardita.

³⁰² It means that the water has evaporated.

³⁰³ Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that a *prastha* is a measure of weight that is equal to 32 *pala-s*.

³⁰⁴ The vulgate has the reading कर्णशूले which appears to be a more credible reading according to the context.

³⁰⁵ পূব্লবাং appears to be a name of ginger. Refer to the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams.

³⁰⁶ In H, the reading रसैः does not seem to make sense here. Hence we have accepted the vulgate reading रसम्.

³⁰⁷ In H, the word ਹੈਲ should have been ਹੈਲਸ਼ to make proper sense. The vulgate has this reading. Thus we have accepted it.

- 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 the patient drink ghee that is made thick with asafoetida and ??.³⁰⁸ One should also treat the patient with enemas.
- In the case of ādhmāna,³⁰⁹ however, one should do avatarpaṇa,³¹⁰ heating the hands, phalavartikriyā,³¹¹ stimulation of digestion, and [administer] digestives. One should also employ the purging of bowels and enemas. In the case of pratyādhmāna,³¹² one should employ vomiting, fasting, and stimulation of digestion.
- 27 In the case of aṣṭhīlā and pratyaṣṭhīlā,³¹³ 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, wild spider flower, 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

³⁰⁸ यवश्वार is an alkali prepared from the ashes of burnt green barleycorns. Refer to the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams.

³⁰⁹ Refer to *Nidānasthāna* 1.88. V. S. Apte explains it as "swelling of the belly". P.V. Sharma has translated it as flatulence.

³¹⁰ We are unclear about its meaning. The vulgate has the reading अपतर्पण that means fasting.

³¹¹ 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.

³¹² Refer to *Nidānasthāna* 1.89. According to the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams, it is a kind of tympanites or wind-dropsy.

³¹³ Refer to Nidānasthāna 1.90 and 1.91.

understood as either pure or vitiated by humours³¹⁴ and should be 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.³¹⁵
- That is called ūrūstambha. Others call it āḍhyavāta. In that case, one should drink the ṣaṇḍharaṇa powder with cool water.
- 34 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 Indian bdellium-tree 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.³¹⁶

One should eat old ??s, ??, etc. along with uncooked³¹⁷ 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.

³¹⁴ 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 conditions of the wind as stated in the verse.

³¹⁵ 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.

³¹⁶ The word दिहेत् in H is not a proper Sanskrit word. We have taken its proper form दिह्यात् as given in the vulgate.

³¹⁷ 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 $2002.^{318}$ Das made observations about the afterbirth ($apar\bar{a}$) that is mentioned in 4.15.17 (Su 1938: 432).³¹⁹ Selby has explored gyencological narratives in ayurveda.³²⁰

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.

³¹⁸ HIML: IA, 271-272.

³¹⁹ Das 2003: 517.

³²⁰ 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 (মণ্ডলাম) 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.

Part 5. Kalpasthāna

Kalpasthāna: Introduction

The Sequence of Chapters

The Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* reverses the sequence of chapters 6 and 7.

Chapter title	Nepalese	vulgate
Annapānarakṣākalpa	1	1
Sthāvaraviṣavijñāna	2	2
Jaṅgamaviṣavijñāna	3	3
Sarppadastavijñāna	4	4
Sarppadastacikitsita	5	5
Mūṣikākalpa	6	7
Dundubhisvana	7	6
Kīṭakalpa	8	8

This difference in sequence does not have an immediately obvious significance.

Kalpasthāna 1: Protecting the King from Poison

Introduction

The meaning of "kalpa"

What does "kalpa" mean in the context of this section of the Suśrutasaṃ-hitā? In medical contexts, this polysemic term can mean an appropriate drug recipe, a suitable medication, or any proper therapy. The present section of the Suśrutasaṃhitā deals with poisonous herbs, animals and insects, so one might expect the term to refer to antidotes or at least drugs. However, the usage here points more to the sense "procedure," or "formal procedure," a sense that, in a secular context, echoes the kalpa of the Kalpasūtras, the "formal procedures" of Vedic ritual.³²¹ The twelfth-century author Aruṇadatta,³²² glossed कल्प simply as प्रयोगः "procedure" and as योजनम्.³²³

Chapter 1 of the Kalpasthāna

The first chapter of the Kalpasthāna of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* addresses the topic of protecting a king from those who would assassinate him using

³²¹ Winternitz (1981–85: 252) translated कल्प in the Vedic context simply as "ritual." He went on to describe the *Kalpasūtras* as, "born out of the necessity to compile the rules for the sacrificial ritual...for the practical purposes of the priests." Gonda (1977: 467) also used "ritual practice," giving useful further notes from classical authors in footnote 8.

^{322 &}quot;A learned man with a great command of a number of sciences," (HIML: 1A, 661).

³²³ *Sarvāngasundarī* on *Aṣṭāngahṛdayasaṃhitā* 1.16.17ab (Ah 1939: 246) and 5.1 *gadyasūtre* 2 (Ah 1939: 735) respectively.

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.³²⁴

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.³²⁵

The work then moves on to the various symptoms experienced by the king after being poisoned, and remedies appropriate to each case. Poison exhibits characteristic signs when added to milk and other drinks.³²⁶ 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.³²⁷ Translations of this chapter since Meulenbeld's listing have appeared by Wujastyk

³²⁴ *Arthaśāstra* 1.21.8 (Kangle 1965: 1, 30), translation by Olivelle (2013: 97).

³²⁵ Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.6, ibid., Olivelle (2013: 96).

³²⁶ Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.6 again.

³²⁷ HIML: IA, 289-290.

(2003*b*: 131–139), P. V. Sharma (1999–2001: 3, 1–15), and Srikantha Murthy (2000–02).³²⁸

Manuscript notes

 MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 has foliation letter numerals, for example on f. 323a, that are similar to MS Cambridge CUL Add.1693,³²⁹ dated to 1165 CE.³³⁰

³²⁸ For a bibliography of translations to 2002, including Latin (1847), English (1877), Gujarati (1963) and Japanese (1971), see HIML: IB, 314–315. Singhal and Dwivedi (1976) translated this sthāna.

³²⁹ Scan at cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01693/1.

³³⁰ See Bendall's chart of Nepalese letter-numerals (Bendall 1883: Lithograph V, after p. 225).

- 1–2 And now I shall explain the formal procedure (*kalpa*) for safeguarding food and drink, as were declared by the Venerable Dhanvantari.³³¹
 - 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.³³²

[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.³³³
 - 6 Therefore, a king should always be protected from poison by a physician.
 - 331 MS H adds in the margin अथ खलु वत्स सुभ्रतः "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 one of the few places 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 one of the few times 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 concluded that the earliest recoverable recension of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* may have had the phrase only at this point and not elsewhere in the work. See the further discussion by Birch et al. (2021). "Dhanvantari" is mentioned in the Nepalese version at 1.1.21, 1.19.37, 1.46.3, 1.29.71, 1.34.1.1, 2.1.3, 2.7.3, 3.19.13.3, 4.2.3, (5.1.2, note), 5.4.3, 6.60.2, 6.64.84.
 - 332 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."
 - 333 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.

Is Dh. the teacher of Su. elsewhere?

7 The racehorse-like fickleness of men's minds is well known. And for this reason, a king should never trust anyone.³³⁴

- 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,³³⁵ have clean utensils and be staffed by men and women who have been vetted.³³⁶
- 17–18ab The chefs, bearers (voḍhāra), and makers of boiled rice soups and cakes and whoever else might be there, must all be under the strict control of the doctor.³³⁷
- 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.³³⁸ 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 snuff (nasya), inhaled smoke (dhūma), eye make-up (añjana), etc., and any other things which are commonly poisoned. Then, I shall

334 The verb $\sqrt{\text{syas}}$ is conjugated as a first class root in the Nepalese manuscripts.

Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.8.

³³⁵ We read महच्छुचिः with the Nepalese manuscripts and against the vulgate's महच्छुचि. We understand शुचिस् as a neuter noun meaning "light" following Apte (Apte: 1050a).

³³⁶ Verses detailing the ideal staff are omitted in the Nepalese manuscripts. Cf. Su 1938: 560; Wujastyk 2003*b*: 132.

³³⁷ The word सौपोदनैकपूपिक "chefs for the boiled rice soups and cakes" is grammatically interesting. The term सूपोदन (as opposed to सूपोदन) 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).

³³⁸ The word ध्याम is glossed by Dalhana (in a variant reading) as someone who is the colour of dirty clothes 5.1 (Su 1938: 560).

- also explain the remedy.
- Flies or crows or other creatures that eat a poisonous morsel (*bali*) 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.³³⁹ 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.³⁴⁰ The chital deer sheds tears and the monkey releases excrement.³⁴¹
- Vapour rising from tainted food gives rise to a pain in the heart, it makes the eyes roll, and it gives one a headache.³⁴²
- 35, 36cd In such a case, an errhine and a collyrium that are costus, ??, spikenard and honey (*madhus*);³⁴³ a paste of sandalwood on the heart may also

³³⁹ The verb अर्च्छित "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), Dalhaṇa interestingly gives the colloquial versions of several Sanskrit bird names, even singling out pronunciation in the specific location of Kāṇyakubja. 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, Dalhaṇa calls the bird क्रोञ्चिर, क्रोञ्च, and कैचर (1.46.105 (Su 1938: 223), 6.31.154 (Su 1938: 684) and (6.58.44 (Su 1938: 790) respectively).

³⁴⁰ Palhaṇa 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."

³⁴¹ 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.

^{342 &}quot;Tainted" translates उपक्षिप्त. 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 भोक्तुं दत्तस्य), but he noted that some people read "उखाक्षिप्त" or "thrown into a pan." Other translators have commonly translated it as "served," perhaps influenced by Dalhaṇa's "given (दत्त)."

³⁴³ 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.

- provide relief.344
- 37 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.³⁴⁵
- 38–39 If he eats that food, through inattention or by mistake, then his tongue will feel like a pebble ($a\underline{s}\underline{t}h\bar{t}l\bar{a}$) and it will lose its sense of taste. It stings and burns, and his saliva ($\underline{s}l\underline{e}\underline{s}man$) dribbles out.³⁴⁶ In such a case, he should apply the treatment recommended above for vapour ($b\bar{a}\underline{s}pa$), and what will be stated below under "toothbrush twigs".³⁴⁷
 - 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.³⁴⁸
 - 344 Singhal et al. (1972–82: 350) discussed the difficulties in identifying लामज्ज, a plant cited more often in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* than in the *Carakasaṃhitā*; Dalhaṇa adopted the common view that 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."
 - 345 "Beautyberry" (Callicarpa macrophylla Vahl.) is one identification of श्यामा, but vaidyas and commentators have different ideas about the plant's identity (see glossary). On translating इन्द्रगोप as "velvet-mite," see Lienhard 1978. Dalhana's remarks show that he had a reading इन्द्रागोपा before him, and he tries to explain इन्द्रा and गोपा as separate plants. But he also says that some people read इन्द्रगोप. Dalhana 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 गुडूची, others for ब्राह्मी or चन्द्रतरु. Dalhana 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).
 - 346 The word अष्ठीला is normally feminine. The Nepalese manuscripts read it with a short अ- ending. Gayadāsa noticed that some manuscripts read अष्ठील with a short -अ ending (MS Bikaner RORI 5157, f. 5v:7–8) and Dalhana reproduced his observation. The vulgate reading चास्यात् "and from his mouth" is more obvious (*lectio facilior*), but is not attested in the Nepalese manuscripts.
 - 347 Poisoned toothbrushes are discussed in verses 48 ff. below.
 - 348 I translate मुर्च्छा in the light of the metaphors discussed by Meulenbeld (2011), that

- In this case, vomiting must quickly be induced using the fruits of emetic nut, gourd, red gourd, and luffa, taken with milk and watered buttermilk, 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 ($\bar{a}\rlap{t}opa$) 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 $(d\bar{\imath}u\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}vi\bar{\imath}a\bar{\imath}ri)$ ' should be drunk with honey and curds (dadhi).³⁴⁹
- 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.³⁵⁰
- 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.³⁵¹
- When a toothbrush twig has poison on it, the bristles are corroded and the flesh of the tongue, gums and lips swells up.³⁵²
- 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.³⁵³
- 50 Alternatively, the rubbing (*pratisāraṇa*) can be done with either the roots of sage-leaved alangium, the bark of blackboard tree or siris

I'm still unhappy about this verse.

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

fn about sadyas+

include thickening and losing consciousness.

³⁴⁹ The 'slow-acting poison' is discussed at 5.2.25 ff. (Su 1938: 565).

³⁵⁰ 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.

³⁵¹ The root $\sqrt{3}$ श्र् "stink, putrify, rot" is apparently known only from its few uses in the Suśrutasaṃhitā.

³⁵² Gayadāsa and Dalhaṇa pointed out that "tooth socket (दन्तवेष्ट)" and "gum (दन्तमांस)" have the same meaning (2.16.14–26 (Su 1938: 331–332)).

³⁵³ This recipe is different from the vulgate.

seeds.354

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

- 51cd Massage oil that has been laced with poison is slimy, thick and discoloured.
 - 52 When the massage oil has been contaminated with poison, boils arise, pain, a discharge $(sr\bar{a}va)$, inflammation of the skin, and sweating. And the flesh splits open.
- 53–54 In such a case, sandalwood, crape jasmine, costus, and vetiver, 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.³⁵⁶
 - 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*).³⁵⁷
- 56–58 When a comb has poison in it, the hair falls out, the head aches and blood oozes from the follicles (*kha*) and lumps (*granthi*) appear on the head. In such a case, one should repeatedly apply an ointment of black earth soaked with bear's bile, ³⁵⁸ ghee, beautyberry, ³⁵⁹ black creeper, and amaranth. Good alternatives are either the fluid extract of cowdung, or the juice of royal jasmine, the juice of purging nut tree, or household soot. ³⁶⁰



³⁵⁴ The spelling of the name अङ्कोल varies अङ्कोट, अङ्कोठ, 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 the ablative singular of the Nepalese witnesses. We follow Dalhaṇa in interpreting the compound to refer to the distinctive bean-like siris seeds, rather than to mung beans (5.1.50 (Su 1938: 562)).

³⁵⁵ The feminine स्फोटा for "boils" is unattested.

³⁵⁶ 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.

³⁵⁷ See verse 52 above.

³⁵⁸ 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).

³⁵⁹ See note 345.

³⁶⁰ The plant identifications in this passage follow Dalhana's glosses, although he noted

- If either massage oil for the head, or a helmet for the head, in a wash, turban, or garlands that are contaminated with poison, then one should treat it in the same way as a comb.
- 60–61 When face make-up is poisoned, the face becomes dark and has the symptoms found with poisoned massage oil. It is covered with spots (kaṇṭaka) that are like lotus-spots (padminīkaṇṭaka).³⁶¹ In this case, the drink is honey and ghee, and the ointment (pralepa) is sandalwood with ghee, curds, honey, verbena, scarlet mallow and hogweed.³⁶²

punarṇṇavā in the N & K MSS

- 62–63ab Elephants and the like become ill and they dribble saliva. And the rider gets spots (*sphoṭa*) and a discharge on his scrotum, penis, and rectum. In this case, one prescribes the same therapy as for poisoned massage oil for both the rider and the mount.
- 63cd–65ab When there is poison in snuff (*nasya*) or smoke, the symptom (*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.

- 65cd–66 Flowers lose their fragrance and colour, and wilt. On smelling them, he gets a headache and his eyes fill with water. In this case, the treatment is what was proposed above for vapour $(b\bar{a}spa)$ and that which is traditional for face make-up.
 - 67–68 When it is in ear-oil, there is degeneration in the ear, and painful swelling. There is also a discharge from the ear and in such a case it needs to be irrigated (*pratipūraṇa*) promptly with ghee and honey. Extracted juice (*svarasa*) of wild asparagus and very cold juice of white cutch tree

śrita for śrta

a difference of opinion on the identity of purging nut tree (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

preted 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 455, p. 151.

³⁶¹ 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.

³⁶² 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.

are also recommended as something good.363

When poison is mixed in with eye make-up (añjana), he gets tears and rheum (upadeha), with a burning feeling, pain, faulty vision (dṛṣtivibhrama), and possibly even blindness.³⁶⁴

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 (sphoṭa) 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 $(avad\bar{a}rana)$.³⁶⁵
- One should apply the stated procedure for massage oil (*abhyaṅga*) 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.³⁶⁶
- 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

explain more

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.

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

prāpta are hard to translate. prāptāḥ → kṣipram is an ex-ample of the vulgate banalizing the Sans-krit text to make sense of a diffi-

cult passage.

out the difficulties. 364 The term translated as "faulty vision" could also mean "rolling eyes." "Eye make-up"

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

is normally made of Indian barberry. 365 The reading अवदारुण in MS Kathmandu KL 699 is not attested elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. On "sepsis" for पाक, see Wujastyk 2003b: xlv–xlvi.

³⁶⁶ 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

- that is mixed with poison will be rendered free of poison.³⁶⁷
- 79cd–80 He should always guard his heart when amongst people who are not his friends. He should drink the kinds of ghee called "Invincible" and "Immortal". 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,³⁷⁰ liquorice, and sugar to the meats of Indian 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.³⁷¹
 - 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.

³⁶⁷ In early Ayurvedic literature, the plant अजरुहा is mentioned only here and its identity is unknown. It may be a fern of the Nephrodium family, according to 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 अजरुहा as a white root with spots on it that looks like collyrium when it is split; when drunk with sandalwood it causes poison to be digested.

³⁶⁸ The Carakasaṃhitā described "protecting the heart" (हदयावरण) 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).

³⁶⁹ These ghee compounds are described in later chapters: see 5.2.47–49 (Su 1938: 566) and 5.6.13 (Su 1938: 581).

³⁷⁰ Dalhana on 5.1.82 (Su 1938: 563) equated this with turpeth.

³⁷¹ 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, Dalhana, 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.³⁷²

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.³⁷³ 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.³⁷⁴

³⁷² 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).

³⁷³ See Wujastyk 2003*b*: 80–81.

³⁷⁴ Valuable reference sources on Indian plant toxicology in general include Pillay 2013: chs. 10, 11 and Barceloux 2008: parts 1.II, 3 and 4. More generally **down** comments usefully of herbs in general that "it goes without saying that if they can do good, they must contain substances that in excess can poison."

Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.³⁷⁵

Translation

- 1 And now I shall explain required knowledge (*vijñānīya*) about stationary poisons.³⁷⁶
- 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 $(niry\bar{\imath} sa)$, the elements $(dh\bar{\imath} tu)$, and the tuber.
- 5 In that context,
 - the eight root-poisons are:377
 - 1. liquorice (?),³⁷⁸
 - 2. sweet-scented oleander,³⁷⁹
 - 3. jequirity,³⁸⁰
 - 4. false daisy,³⁸¹

³⁷⁵ HIML: IA, 290-291.

³⁷⁶ No reference is made to Dhanvantari (see Birch et al. 2021). "Stationary" here is a term contrasted with "moving," and signifies plants as opposed to animals and insects.

³⁷⁷ Some South Asian plants with poisonous roots that we would expect to see in this list include *Croton tiglium*, L., *Calotropis* spp., *Citrullus colocynthus* L. Schrad., and *Ricinus communis* L. (CIPP).

³⁷⁸ 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."

³⁷⁹ The roots of sweet-scented oleander are highly toxic, as are most parts of the plant (Pillay and Sasidharan 2019).

³⁸⁰ 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.

³⁸¹ 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).

- 5. emetic nut (?),382 and ending with
- 6. leadwort, ³⁸³
- 7. country sarsaparilla (?),384 and
- 8. medhshingi,³⁸⁵
- the leaf-poisons include:
 - aconite leaf (?),
 - drum-giver (?),
 - thorn apple, and
 - big thorn apple;
- the fruits of items like: jequirity, marking-nut, and poison-altar (?) are
 - water snowflake (?),
 - pollen (?),
 - bluebell barleria,
 - unknown fruit poison,
 - thorn apple
 - big thorn apple (?)
 - spurge (?),
 - crow (?),
- the flower-poisons include those of:

³⁸² This poisonous root cannot at present be securely identified. Similar-sounding candidates include *karkaṭaka*, *karahāṭa* (emetic nut), and *karaghāṭa*, 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 *karaṭa* (mn.) with safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*, L.), but this plant does not have a poisonous root.

³⁸³ The roots of both rose and white leadwort are very toxic.

³⁸⁴ 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.

³⁸⁵ 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.

- rattan,
- kadam flowers (?),
- mung beans,
- thorn apple, and
- big thorn apple (?).
- the seven bark, pith $(s\bar{a}ra)$ and resin $(niry\bar{a}sa)$ poisons are:
 - red wisteria (?),
 - blade (?),
 - wild mustard,
 - emetic nut,
 - thorn apple,
 - ??, and
 - munj grass;
- the three milky sap ($k \bar{s} \bar{t} r a$)-poisons are:
 - purple calotropis (*kumudaghnī* \rightarrow *arka*?)ⁱ,³⁸⁶
 - oleander spurge (*snuhī*)ⁱⁱ, and
 - 'web-milk' (jālakṣīri)ⁱⁱⁱ;
- the two element $(dh\bar{a}tu)$ -poisons are:
 - 'foam-stone' (phenāśma)iv, and
 - orpiment (*haritāla*)^v;³⁸⁷
- the thirteen tuber-poisons are:

³⁸⁶ The name of this poison, <code>kumuda-ghnī</code>, means 'lotus killer'. In Sanskrit literature, the <code>kumuda</code> 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, <code>arka</code>, is also the name of <code>Calotropis gigantea</code>, which indeed has a milky juice which is a violent purgative, poison and abortifacient.

³⁸⁷ Dutt (Dutt: 38–42) conjectured that 'foam-stone' may be impure white arsenic obtained by roasting orpiment.

i Calotropis gigantea, (L.) R. Br.; see ADPS 52, AVS 1.341, NK #427, Potter 63

ii Euphorbia neriifolia, L., or E. antiquorum, L.; see ADPS 448, AVS (2.388), 3.1, NK #988, IGP 457b

iii unknown; see?

iv unknown; see?

v Arsenii trisulphidum; see NK v. 2, p. 20 ff.

- jequirity (*kālakūta*)^{vi},³⁸⁸
- wolfsbane (vatsanābha)^{vii},
- Indian mustard (sarṣapa)^{viii},
- leadwort $(p\bar{a}laka \rightarrow citraka)^{ix}$,
- 'muddy' (kardama)^x, the
- 'Virāṭa's plant' (vairāṭaka)^{xi},
- nutgrass (mustaka)^{xii},
- atis root (śṛṅgīviṣa) xiii,
- sacred lotus (prapuṇḍarīka)^{xiv},
- radish (mūlaka)^{xv},
- 'alas, alas' (hālāhala)^{xvi},
- 'big poison' (mahāviṣa)^{xvii}, and
- galls (*karkaṭa*)^{xviii}.³⁸⁹

388 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.

389 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 (hālāhala) 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 je-

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

vii Aconitum napellus, L.; see AVS 1.47, NK #42, Potter 4 f.

viii Brassica juncea, Czern. & Coss.; see AVS 1.301, NK #378

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

x unknown; see?

xi unknown; see?

xii Cyperus rotundus, L.; see ADPS 316, AVS 2.296, NK #782

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

xiv Nelumbo nucifera, Gaertn.; see Dutt 110, NK #1698

xv Raphanus sativus, L.; see NK #2098

xvi unknown; see Cf. Sodhalanighantu p.43 (sub bola) = stomaka = vatsanābha

xvii unknown; see?

xviiiRhus succedanea, L.; see NK #2136

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, 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).³⁹⁰

The milky sap $(k \circ \bar{\imath} ra)$ -poisons make one froth at the mouth, cause loose stool, and make the tongue feel heavy.³⁹¹ The element $(dh \bar{\imath} tu)$ -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 $(k\bar{a}lak\bar{u}ta)^{xix}$, there is numbness and very severe trembling. With wolfsbane $(vatsan\bar{a}bha)^{xx}$, there is rigidity of the neck, and

quirity. Agrawal (1963: 126) makes the intriguing suggestion that the word <code>hālāhala</code>, possibly to be identified with Pāṇini's <code>hailihila</code> (P.6.2.38), may be of Semitic origin, although his evidence seems uncertain (Steingass (1930: 1506a) cites Persian <code>halāhil</code> 'deadly (poison)' as a loan from Sanskrit). KEWA: iii.585 also cites a claim for an Austro-Asiatic origin for the word.

³⁹⁰ At 1.2.6 (Su 1938: 11), Dalhaṇa glossed hoarseness (*pāruṣya*) as *vāgrūkṣatā*, "a rough, dry voice."

³⁹¹ At 6.54.10 (Su 1938: 773), Dalhaṇa glossed loose stool (viḍbheda) as dravapurīṣatā, "having liquid stool."

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

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

the faeces, and urine become yellow.

With sārṣapa $(s\bar{a}rṣapa)$,³⁹² 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 $(p\bar{a}laka \rightarrow citraka)^{xxi}$, there is weakness in the neck, and speech gets jumbled.³⁹³

With the one called 'muddy' (*kardama*)^{xxii}, there is a discharge (*praseka*), the faeces pour out, and the eyes turn yellow. The 'Virāṭa's plant' (*vairāṭaka*)^{xxiii} 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*).³⁹⁴

With great aconite ($mah\bar{a}vi$;a) one's limbs grow weak, there is a burning feeling and swelling of the belly.³⁹⁵

-> ativișa

- 16a With puṇḍarīka (puṇḍarīka), one's eyes go red, and one's belly becomes distended.³⁹⁶
- 16b With mūlaka ($m\bar{u}laka$), one's body is drained of colour and the limbs are paralysed.³⁹⁷

Look up the ca. reference.

- 392 *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.
- 393 The verse in the Nepalese version ends with a plural verb that does not agree with the dual of the sentence subject.
- 394 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.
- 395 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.
- 396 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.
- 397 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.

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

- 17a With aconite (hālāhala), a man turns a dark colour (dhyāma), and gasps.³⁹⁸
- 17b With atis root $(\dot{srng\bar{i}vişa})^{xxiv}$, one gets violent knots (granthi) and stabbing pains in the heart.³⁹⁹
- 18a With markaṭa (*monkey*), one leaps up, laughs, and bites.⁴⁰⁰
- 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.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁸ Identification of *hālāhala* is uncertain. It may simply be a mythical poison, or its specific identity may have been lost over the centuries. Late *nighaṇṭu*s 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.

³⁹⁹ T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 407) noted that *vatsanābha* and *śṛṅgīviṣa* are two different varieties of poisonous Aconites that are difficult to distinguish.

⁴⁰⁰ T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 299) said of *markaṭa*, "an unidentified vegetable poison." Cf. Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: v.36 for synonyms that lead to the non-toxic jujube tree.

⁴⁰¹ We read the active *vikaroti* with Palhana against the transmitted passive *vikriyeta*, since it must be the parts of the body that are distorted, not the poison.

Because it is fast-acting it kills quickly, and because of its pervasiveness it affects one's whole physical constitution (prakrti). 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 spontaneously lost its features, 403 becomes a slow-acting poison $(d\bar{u}\bar{s}\bar{\imath}vi\bar{s}a)$. 404 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 a sour, bad taste and is very thirsty. Speaking nonsensically and close to death, wandering about, he may feel faint, giddy, and aroused.⁴⁰⁵
 - 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.⁴⁰⁶ and it rapidly becomes inflamed on days that are nasty because of cold and wind.
- 29d–31 Listen to its initial symptoms (*liṅga*): it causes heaviness due to sleep, yawning, disjunction (*viśleṣa*) and horripilation (*harṣa*) and a bruising

⁴⁰² Palhaṇa on 5.2.22 (Su 1938: 565) explained this as "takes the form of pervading the whole body (akhiladehavyāptirūpam)."

⁴⁰³ Dalhana specified that this refers to the ten qualities that are mentioned above (5.2.26 (Su 1938: 565)).

⁴⁰⁴ Dalhana cited this verse at 1.46.83 (Su 1938: 222) while explaining dūṣīviṣa (see p.,141.

⁴⁰⁵ 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.

⁴⁰⁶ The expression *ayathāyathoktān* "stated to be unsuitable" is hard to understand here, but is clearly transmitted in the Nepalese version.

of the limbs (aṅgamarda).⁴⁰⁷ 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),⁴⁰⁸ dwindling away (kṣaya) of flesh, swelling of the feet, hands, and face, the fever called pralepaka, vomiting and diarrhoea.⁴⁰⁹ 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 another pallid skin disease (*kustha*).
- Something is "corrupted" by repetitively keeping to bad locations, times, foods, and sleeping in the daytime. Or, traditionally, "corrupting poison" (slow-acting poison ($d\bar{u}s\bar{\iota}-visa$)) 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 (\hat{sula}) in the stomach $(\bar{a}m\bar{a}\hat{s}aya)$, 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*).
- In the sixth, he loses consciousness and he completely loses control of his bowels.

⁴⁰⁷ Palhaṇa 5.2.30ab (Su 1938: 565) glossed "disjunction" as the loss of function of the joints in regard to movement.

⁴⁰⁸ The last ailment could perhaps be ringworm.

⁴⁰⁹ 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

39b In the seventh, there are breaks in his shoulders, back and loins, and he stops breathing.⁴¹⁰

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;
- 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.⁴¹¹
- In the fifth, he should be prescribed the antidote together with a decoction (*kvātha*) of honey and liquorice.
 - 43 In the sixth, the cure (*siddhi*) is the same as for diarrhoea. And in the seventh, he perishes.⁴¹²
 - 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.
 - 410 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).
 - 411 At 6.52.30 (Su 1938: 769) Dalhana noted that *sindhu* can be interpreted as salt (*saindhava*).
 - 412 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 Dalhaṇa 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).

45–46 A gruel ($yav\bar{a}g\bar{u}$) made of the following items in a stewed juice ($nihkv\bar{a}tha$) destroys the two poisons: luffa gourd, wild celery, and Indian cherry, white siris, the two kinds of turmeric, and the two kinds of poison berry, hogweed, peas, the three heating spices, the two kinds of Indian sarsaparilla and blue water-lily.

⁴¹³ 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.

⁴¹⁴ 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.

⁴¹⁵ 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 synonym 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).

⁴¹⁶ I.e., turmeric and Indian barberry.

⁴¹⁷ I.e., poison berry and yellow-berried nightshade.

⁴¹⁸ 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, foxtail millet, rosha grass, the two turmerics,⁴¹⁹ the two Indian nightshades,⁴²⁰ the two kinds of Indian sarsaparilla,⁴²¹ beggarweed, and heart-leaf sida.

Curing the 'slow-acting' poison

- 50–52 Someone suffering from "slow-acting poison $(d\bar{u}$ $s\bar{i}vi$ sa)" 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 ochre, as well as gold, and pondweed.
 - This antitoxin, taken with honey, eliminates slow-acting poison. It is called the "enemy of slow-acting poison $(d\bar{u}_{\bar{s}\bar{t}vi\bar{s}\bar{a}ri})$," 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.

⁴¹⁹ I.e., turmeric and Indian barberry.

⁴²⁰ I.e., poison berry and yellow-berried nightshade.

⁴²¹ 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 2002.⁴²²

Translation

- And now we shall explain the formal procedure (*kalpa*) that is the required knowledge about mobile poisons.⁴²³
- 3 The full explanation about the sixteen carriers (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the mobile poisons, that have been mentioned by me in brief, will be stated.⁴²⁴
- 4 In that context, they are:⁴²⁵
 - gaze and breath,
 - teeth, nails, and bites
 - urine and faeces,
 - menstrual blood,

- semen,
- tail
- nipping with the mouth (mukhasaṃdaṃśā),

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

⁴²² HIML: IA, 291–292.

⁴²³ In contrast to stationary, plant poisons. No reference is made to Dhanvantari (see Birch et al. 2021).

^{424 &}quot;Carrier" for base, foundation (*adhiṣṭhāna*) aims to capture the idea that the author will describe the creatures in which poisons inhere.

⁴²⁵ 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 2021: 81–83.

⁴²⁶ This interpretation comes from Dalhana on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567), but he reads विशर्धित.

- fart (avaśardhita),⁴²⁶
- anus,⁴²⁷
- bones,

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

5 In that context,

location of the poison	creatures ⁴²⁸
in their breath and gaze	divine snakes
in their fangs	the ones on earth ⁴²⁹
in their nails, mouths and fangs a	cats, dogs, monkeys, men (nara), ⁴³⁰ crocodiles, frogs, 'cook-fish' (pākamatsya), ⁴³¹ monitor lizards, cone snails (śambūka), 'poisonous snakes' (pracalāka), ⁴³² geckos (gṛhagoḍikā), ⁴³³ 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

⁴²⁷ Dalhana on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567) noted this reading.

⁴²⁸ Many of these names are mere dubious placeholders.

⁴²⁹ Dalhaṇa on 5.3.5 (Su 1938: 567) cited the otherwise unknown authority Sāvitra on the topic of poisonous snakes (HIML: IA, 377, IB 497, n. 105).

⁴³⁰ 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.

⁴³¹ 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)).

⁴³² *Arthaśāstra* 14.1.14, 23 (Olivelle 2013: 448), where it might also be a chameleon; but the latter are not venomous.

⁴³³ The scribe of MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 noted in the margin that some of his sources read गलगोडिका, which is the name of a snake known also in the *Carakasaṃhitā* and elsewhere in literature (cf. note 197, p. ??). 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), 434 fish, crabs (ucciṭinga), 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,	'speckle-heads' (citraśīrṣa), 'lids' (śārava), 'bellied' (kukṣita), 'wood-enemies'
faces, †, farts, anuses	(dārukāri), 'liquors' (medaka), and 'darts'
and feces	(śārikā).
continue	continue
continue	continue

Table 2: Passage 5, expressed in tabular format.

435

- 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.⁴³⁶ 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.⁴³⁷ 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

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⁴³⁴ वरटी is a wasp; वरिक in the Nepalese MSS may be an alternant of this word. Dalhaṇa 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."

⁴³⁵ Kaur and L. Singh 2018 is unhelpful, in spite of a section on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (pp. 61–63).

⁴³⁶ अस्र normally means "tears," but rarely means "blood."

⁴³⁷ On the polysemy of elephant/snake (*nāga*), see Semeka-Pankratov 1979.

- coral tree, and small-flowered crape myrtle and weaver's beam tree, and with golden shower tree and white cutch tree.⁴³⁸ 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.⁴³⁹
 - 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. 440 And if there exists another path, he should go by that. 441
 - When grasses and foods are polluted, people collapse, fall unconscious. And others vomit. They get loose stool (*viḍbheda*) or they die.⁴⁴² 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 minerals⁴⁴³ together

⁴³⁸ Cf. with the recipe at $Su\'{srutasamhit\bar{a}}$ 5.6.3 (Su 1938: 580) for a paste to put on drums etc., p. 181 below.

^{439 &}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).

⁴⁴⁰ Our "alcoholic drinks" translates सुरा. For a discussion of this term at our period see McHugh 2021: 37–39 et passim.

⁴⁴¹ 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."

⁴⁴² In "they get loose stool," the verb आच्छेन्ति (√ऋ), transmitted in both Nepalese manuscripts, has an irregular initial strong vowel. Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, it is a combination of आ+√ऋ, conjugated unusually as a class 6 verb, but with an appropriate sense of "to fall into (misfortune)."

^{443 &}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_{Dict}: 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

with gold and sarsaparilla, and a portion of of nutgrass equal to that, together with the bile called "brown cow". 444 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.⁴⁴⁵
- 17 The smoke and air can be purified by putting into the air: lac, turmeric, Himalayan monkshood, and myrobalan, with Himalayan mayapple, costus, cardamom,⁴⁴⁶ and peas, and foxtail millet.

write footnote: 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. 447
- 19 Pitiless Fury took a body and burst out of the mouth of furious Brahmā's store of fiery energy.⁴⁴⁸
- 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 (visada) of the Daityas. Observing that, it was named "poison (visa)" 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.

the study by Wujastyk (2013*a*: 17, et passim).

⁴⁴⁴ 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.

⁴⁴⁵ The syntax of this verse is somewhat loose; the vulgate has regularized it, smoothing out the difficulties.

⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁷ 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-tarangiṇī 2019.

^{448 &}quot;Fury" is here anthropomorphised.

- 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.⁴⁴⁹
 - 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.⁴⁵⁰
 - 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.
 - 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.⁴⁵¹
 - 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,⁴⁵² 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 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.] 453

⁴⁴⁹ 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.

⁴⁵⁰ 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.

⁴⁵¹ The verb पठ् "is declared, read aloud" here could possibly suggest that the author is working within a written, not oral, tradition.

^{452 &}quot;Having come upon" translates प्रख्याप्य, which is hard to interpret unless it is a rare form connected with the sense "to see."

 $^{453 \,} M\bar{a}$ dhavanidāna, $69.20-21 \, (MN_1:480)$ has verses that are directly parallel to this sec-

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.⁴⁵⁴

- 35.1 [ślokas in the MSS that aren't in the vulgate. The first line doesn't scan. Witness K addsa part of the start of this in the bottom margin. This material is repeated at 3.39.2in MS H.]
- 35cd & 36cd One designates a person who has diarrhoea of feces looking like soot $(grhadh\bar{u}ma)$ with wind, 455 and who vomits foam, as "someone who has drunk poison."
 - Therefore, fire burns a heart that is pervaded by poison. For, having pervaded of its own accord the location of consciousness, it abides.⁴⁵⁶

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, 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. †...

tion:

darvīkarāṇāṃ viṣam āśughāti sarvāṇi coṣṇe dviguṇībhavanti ajīrṇapittātapapīḍiteṣu bāleṣu vṛddheṣu bubhukṣiteṣu 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.

- 454 At this point, witness H inserts a marginal Indravajrā verse about diseases that afflict immoral women.
- 455 गृहधुमांs not a plant in this context pace MW: 362. See the discussion in note 360, p. 127.
- 456 Dalhana 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.
- 457 याम्ये means "southerly" but Dalhana on 5.3.38 (Su 1938: 570) interpreted it as "in Yama's direction" as "under the seventh asterism."

39.2 ⁴⁵⁸

- 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, 459 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, 460
 - 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.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁸ Material corresponds to SS.1.45.205ab, where it describes how alcohol produces intoxication because it is fine, hot and sharp and travels through the vessels disturbing the senses and the mind and intoxicating the potency.

⁴⁵⁹ Dalhaṇa, on 5.3.40 (Su 1938: 570), glossed लताभिस् "by means of whips," as "when the body is struck by whips."

⁴⁶⁰ nāsāvasāda & plural sakaņţhabhangāḥ

⁴⁶¹ 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 venomous creature remain in the bite-wound. This requires construing the expression as a *bahuvrīhi* compound: देष्ट्रा or देष्ट्र + अनिपातः.

Kalpasthāna 4: Snakes and Envenomation

Introduction

The fourth chapter of the Kalpasthāna of the Suśrutasamhitā addresses the topic of snake bites and snake venom. Exceptionally for the Nepalese version of the Suśrutasamhitā, 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 2 and 3.462 The Carakasaṃhitā also addressed this topic of snake taxonomy, but only included the first three of the Suśrutasamhitā's types, namely Darvīkara, Maṇḍalī and Rājimān.⁴⁶³ These three categories of snakes are framed within a humoral scheme, aggravating wind, bile and phlegm respectively, a scheme that is carried forward into symptoms and therapy.⁴⁶⁴ The Suśrutasamhitā does not use this snake-humour parallelism. By contrast, the system of seven pulses or toxic shocks (*vega*) that is central to the Suśrutasamhitā's understanding of envenomation is absent from the Carakasamhitā. 465

⁴⁶² On the idea of notational variants in scientific translation, see Elshakry 2008; Sarukkai 2016; Wujastyk 2021: 81–83.

^{463 6.23.124} ff. (Ca 1941: 577).

⁴⁶⁴ *Carakasaṃhitā* 6.23.165–176 (*Ca* 1941: 579). Note that the *Carakasaṃhitā* then described symptoms and therapies without reference to the three-humour scheme: 6.23.177–254 (*Ca* 1941: 579–582).

⁴⁶⁵ One mention of the term in the *Carakasaṃhitā* refers to the peak of a tertian fever (6.3.70 (Ca 1941: 404). In other contexts, it had the ordinary-language meaning of a natural "impulse" or "pressure" that should not be suppressed (1.25.40 et passim

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.⁴⁶⁶ There also exists a 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 nine-teenth century with the work of Fayrer, whose publication included striking colour paintings of snakes. ⁴⁶⁷ Fayrer provided a biological taxonomy 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. ⁴⁶⁸ Wall (1913:75–124) provided a useful analysis of the medical effects of snake envenomation in India arranged by the varied symptomatology 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 *Suśruta-saṃhitā* too recognized the emotional and somatic effects of fright (see note 484 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 *Su*-

⁽Ca 1941: 131–132)).

⁴⁶⁶ 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.

⁴⁶⁷ Fayrer 1874, first published in 1872.

⁴⁶⁸ 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).

Literature 155

śrutasaṃhitā does. 469 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.⁴⁷⁰ 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.⁴⁷¹

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 symptomatology as found in traditional Indian medicine.⁴⁷³ Exceptionally, the studies by Barceloux and Özbulat et al., do identify and tabulate three stages of envenomation.⁴⁷⁴ The symptoms of these three stages are mainly characterized by increasing

⁴⁶⁹ Slouber 2016a: 144–145.

⁴⁷⁰ Harimoto 2011: 101–104.

⁴⁷¹ The two editions that Harimoto noted, Su 1938 and Su 1889, present identical texts.

⁴⁷² 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 (অच्) (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)).

⁴⁷³ 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.

⁴⁷⁴ Barceloux 2008: 1017, Table 176.3, and Özbulat et al. 2021: 7, and Table 1, broadly following Barceloux.

degrees of edema. This differs from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*'s detailed characterization of changes in skin colour etc.⁴⁷⁵

Translation

- 1 Now we shall explain the procedure (*kalpa*) that is required knowledge (*vijñānīya*) concerning the venom in those who have been bitten by snakes.⁴⁷⁶
- 3 Suśruta, grasping his feet, questions the wise Dhanvantari, the expert in all the sciences.
- 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".⁴⁷⁷

[The Taxonomy of Snakes]

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. 478

⁴⁷⁵ I am grateful to Prof. Jan Gerris (U. Ghent) and Prof. Jan Tytgat (KU Leuven) for assistance in finding relevant toxicological literature.

⁴⁷⁶ The Sarvāṅgasundarī, commenting on Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā 1.16.17 (Ah 1939: 246), glossed कल्प as प्रयोग.

⁴⁷⁷ 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).

⁴⁷⁸ 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 vulgate, 5.4.9–13ab (Su 1938: 571).



Figure 3: The taxonomy of snakes in the Nepalese version.

- 9cd–10 "There are eighty kinds of snakes and they are divided in five ways: Darvīkaras, Maṇḍalins, Rājīmats, and Nirviṣas. And Vaikarañjas that are traditionally of three kinds.⁴⁷⁹
 - "Of those, there are twenty and six hooded snakes, and the same number of Maṇḍalins are known. There are thirteen Rājīmats.⁴⁸⁰
 - "There are said to be twelve Niriviṣas and, according to tradition, three Vaikarañjas.

[Behaviours]

13–14ef "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

Or "There are 20 phanins and 6 mandalins. The same number are known. There are 13 Rājīmats." Or even, "there are 20 Phanins and six of them are Mandalins." Are phanins really the same as darvikaras.

⁴⁷⁹ Harimoto (2011) translated these names as "hooded," "spotted," "striped," "harmless," and "hybrid." Figure 2 shows the taxonomy described in the vulgate text; Figure 3 shows the different and more logical division of the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

⁴⁸⁰ The phrasing of this śloka is awkward.

- venom (*nirviṣa*). Some experts on this want to add "hurt by the snake's body".⁴⁸¹
- "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, accompanied by a little ring of spots (cuñcumālaka), 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.⁴⁸⁴ 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.

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 56.

- 483 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.
- 484 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.

grammar

⁴⁸¹ This might refer to constriction. The phrase reads like a commentarial addition rather than the main text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

⁴⁸² The word उद्भूत "aroused" was glossed by Dalhana at 5.4.15 (Su 1938: 571) as उच्चोट्य, 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 மோ்டி (mōṭi,) whose meanings include "arrogance, grandeur, display" (DED₂: #5133) or to faintly-documented forms like moṭyate "is twisted" (CDIAL: #10186). Dalhaṇa's उच्चोट्य may thus mean "twisting up" or "making an arrogant display."

Note that पढ़ "puncture-mark" (more literally, "footprint") is being used in the same

Poison does not progress in a place frequented by eagles, ⁴⁸⁵ gods, holy sages, spirits, and saints, or in places full of herbs that destroy poison. ⁴⁸⁶

[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.
- 23 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.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁵ 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 Śrīharṣa's *Nāgānanda*.

⁴⁸⁶ For "spirits" the Nepalese version has भूत while the vulgate reads যধ্ব.

⁴⁸⁷ 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)).

- 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.⁴⁸⁸
- 29 Wind is irritated by all hooded snakes; bile by Maṇḍalins and phlegm by those with many stripes.
- 30 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 of the non-union of a male and female.⁴⁸⁹

[Enumeration of Snakes]

34.1 In that context, here are the Darvīkaras.

-				
	1.	The Black snake (kṛṣṇasarpa);		(mahāpadma);
	2.	The Big Black (mahākṛṣṇa);	16.	The Grass Flower (apuspa);
	3.	The Black Belly (kṛṣṇodara);	17.	The Curd Mouth
	4.	The All Black (sarvakṛṣṇa);490		(dadhimukha);
	5.	The White Pigeon	18.	The Lotus Mouth
		(śvetakapota); ⁴⁹¹		(puṇḍarīkamukha);
	6.	The Rain Cloud (valāhako);	19.	The Brown Hut Mouth
	7.	The Great Snake		(babhrūkuṭīmukha);
		(mahāsarpa);	20.	The Variegated (vicitra);
	8.	The Conch Keeper	21.	The Flower Sprinkle Beauty

- 9. The Red Eye (lohitākṣa);
- 10. The Gavedhuka (gavedhuka);
- 11. The Snake Around (parisarpa);

(śamkhapāla);

- 12. The Break Hood (khaṇḍaphaṇa);
- 13. The Kūkuṭa (kūkuṭa);

The Lotus (padma);

15. The Great Lotus

- 21. The Flower Sprinkle Beauty (puṣpābhikīrṇnābha);
- **22.** The Mountain Snake (*girisarpa*);
- 23. The Straight Snake (*rjusarpa*);
- 24. The White Rip (*śvetadara*);
- 25. The Big Head (*mahāśīrṣa*); and
- 26. The Hungry Sting (alagarda);

14.

⁴⁸⁸ 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.

⁴⁸⁹ The sense of the last phrase here is quite different from the vulgate, which says only that "details" will be explained below.

⁴⁹⁰ Not in vulgate.

⁴⁹¹ The vulgate adds The Big Pigeon (mahākapota).

34.2 Here are the Mandalins The Mirror Ring The Morning Glory (pālindaka); (ādarśamandala); The White Ring The Stretch (tantuka); 14. (śvetamandala); The Pale as a Flower 15. The Red Ring (raktamandala); (puspapāndu); The Speckled (*pṛṣata*); 16. The Six Part (*sadanga*); The Gift of God (devadinna); The Flame (agnika); 17. The Pilindaka (*pilindaka*); The Brown (babhru); 18. The Big Cow Snout The Ochre (kasāya); 19. (vrddhagonasa); The Khaluşa (*khaluşa*); 20. 8. The Jackfruit (panasaka); The Pigeon (pārāvata); 21. The Big Jackfruit The Hand Decoration 22. (mahāpanasaka); (hastābharanaka); The Bamboo Leaf The Tatra (tatra);492 23. (venupatraka); The Mark (citraka); 24. 11. The Kid (*śiśuka*); 25. The Deer Foot (*enīpada*).⁴⁹³ The Intoxicator (*madanaka*); Here are the Rājīmats.⁴⁹⁴ 34.3 The Lotus (pundarīka); The Grass Drier (*tṛṇaśoṣaka*);

- The Stripe Speckle (*rājicitra*);
- The Finger Stripe (aṅgulirāji); 3.
- The Two Finger Stripe (dvyangulirāji);
- The Drop Stripe (bindurāji);
- The Mud (*kardama*);

- The White Jaw (svetahanu);
- The Grass Flower 9. (darbhapuspa);⁴⁹⁵
- 10. The Red Eye (lohitākṣa);⁴⁹⁶
- The Ringed (cakraka); 11.
- 12. The Worm Eater (kikkisāda);

Here are the Nirvisas.

⁴⁹² This seems implausible, but otherwise the list of Mandalins would be short.

⁴⁹³ The list is short by one item. Perhaps the one of the snakes named in the vulgate, citramandala, gonasa or pingala, should be considered here.

⁴⁹⁴ 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.

⁴⁹⁵ Also in the Darvīkara list.

⁴⁹⁶ Also in the Darvīkara list.

- 1. The Rain Cloud (valāhako);⁴⁹⁷
- 2. Thei Snake Flag (ahipatāka);
- 3. The White Leaf (*śukapatra*);
- 4. The Goat Swallower (ajagara);
- 5. The Stimulator (*dīpyaka*);
- 6. The Ilikinī (*ilikinī*);

- 7. The Year-Snake (*varṣāhīka*);
- 8. The Two-day (dvyāhika);
- 9. The Milk Flower (ksīrikāpuṣpa);
- 10. The Flower All ($puspasakal\bar{\iota}$);
- 11. The Chariot of Light (*jyotīratha*);
- 12. The Little Tree (*vrksaka*);

[Breeding and Gender]

- 34.5 The Vaikarañjas originate out of contrary unions amongst the three colours. 498 Thus:
 - 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. 499 Females have small eyes, tongues and heads. Neuters have both characteristics, and are slow to exert themselves or be angry. 500
- 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?



⁴⁹⁷ Also in the Darvīkara list.

⁴⁹⁸ 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.

⁴⁹⁹ The vulgate includes the snake's mouth in this and the next list.

⁵⁰⁰ The reading मन्दचेष्टाक्रोधा is an awkward compound; possibly the original reading was मन्दचेष्टाः + अक्रोधा and sandhi was applied twice.

Because poison acts quickly, like a fire with an oblation, a honed sword, or a thunderbolt.⁵⁰¹ And ignored for even a period of time, it can drag the patient away. There is not even an opportunity to follow the literature.⁵⁰²

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".⁵⁰³

[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.⁵⁰⁴

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,⁵⁰⁵ a burning feeling, thirst, intoxication, fainting,

⁵⁰¹ 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.

⁵⁰² 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.

⁵⁰³ În the next passage, the symptoms of snake poisoning are indeed explained under three headings.

⁵⁰⁴ 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).

⁵⁰⁵ The term "giving of fumes (परिधूपायन)" is not in MW: 596 as such, although परिधूपन, परिधूपन and परिधूपायन 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 परिधूपायन 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

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.⁵⁰⁶

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 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.⁵⁰⁸

[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.⁵⁰⁹ In the second pulse, it corrupts the flesh. That causes extreme blackness and lumps.

over the whole body (सर्वाङ्गसन्तापः)" (Su 1938: 573). See also *Mahākośa*: 1, 429: धूमायन "अङ्गानां धूमोद्वमनमिव" citing the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

⁵⁰⁶ Ghosh et al. (2023) describes visual disturbances due to snake envenomation.

⁵⁰⁷ The grammar of अविषलिङ्गम् is not quite right; it should be a masculine or plural bahuvrīhi.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. the same concept in the context of plants, at 140

⁵⁰⁹ Strictly, we would expect a dual verb here, instead of the plural of the witnesses.

In the third, it corrupts the fat. That causes a discharge at the bite, heaviness of the head and an eclipse of the vision.⁵¹⁰

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.⁵¹¹

In the seventh, it penetrates the semen and greatly irritates the vyāna breath (*vyāna*), and causes the phlegm (*kapha*) to run imperceptibly out 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.

⁵¹⁰ Dalhaṇa on 5.4.39 (Su 1938: 574) glossed the last expression as "blockage of the vision (दृष्ट्यवरोध)."

⁵¹¹ 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 1974b: 619; Das 2003: 544–545.

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 stiffness of the neck (*manyāstambha*) 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). 512

- 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)".⁵¹³
- In the first pulse, an animal has a swollen body, is distressed and broods.⁵¹⁴
 - In the second, it dribbles somewhat,⁵¹⁵ the hair stands up on its body, and it has pain $(\sqrt{p_1}d)$ in the heart.
- The third stage brings headache and it breaks the ears and necks.⁵¹⁶
 In the fourth, the bewildered creature trembles and gnashing its teeth, it gives up life.

⁵¹² See note 472 above.

⁵¹³ Dalhaṇa on 5.4.41 (Su 1938: 574) glossed कालकल्प as मृत्युसदृशं विषं "the poison resembles death."

⁵¹⁴ The verb ्र प्रध्ये "meditate, be thoughtful, brood" is unexpected here and in the second class, an epic form. Dalhaṇa 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.

⁵¹⁵ The Nepalese witnesses use ਲਾलਿ-, not ਲਾला-, for "saliva."

⁵¹⁶ The scribe of MS H emended the text to read কত্ত্মীৰ with the vulgate. Intransitive use of pass. মস্ত্ৰ.

44–45 Some experts say that elephants have three toxic reactions.⁵¹⁷

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.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁷ On अन्तःस्वेद as "elephant," cf. Arthaśāstra 9.1.46 (Kangle 1965: v. 1, 219; Olivelle 2013: 351): हस्तिनो ह्यन्तःस्वेदाः कुष्ठिनो भवन्ति ॥ ४६ ॥.

⁵¹⁸ See on this subject: 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.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁹ 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 formal procedure (*kalpa*) that is the therapy for someone bitten by a snake.⁵²⁰
- 3 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.⁵²¹
- 4 Poison does not move around into the body if it is prevented by bandages $(ariṣṭ\bar{a})$ or by any other soft items of cloth (plota), leather $(car-m\bar{a}nta)$ or bark.⁵²²
- 5 Where a bandage (*bandha*) is not suitable, one should raise the bite up and then cauterize it.⁵²³ Suction, cutting and cauterizing are recommended in all cases.
- 6 Suction will be good after filling the mouth with earth (*pāṇṇśu*).⁵²⁴ Alternatively, the snake should be bitten by the person who knows that they have just been bitten.⁵²⁵

⁵²⁰ On कल्प, see note 476.

⁵²¹ 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 अरिष्ठा at this point. This may be a borrowing from Ci.23.251cd (Ca 1941: 582).

⁵²² It is hard to translate the word अरिष्ठा 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 अरिष्ठा, 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.

⁵²³ The vulgate reads उत्कृत्य "having excised" rather than translate उद्भृत्य "having raised up."

⁵²⁴ The vulgate recommends cloth, not earth (5.5.6 (Su 1938: 574)).

⁵²⁵ The syntax is odd here, and the vulgate has removed the difficulties. Dalhana 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.⁵²⁶

The application of mantras

- 8 An expert in mantras should tie on a bandage $(ariṣṭ\bar{a})$ too, with mantras. But they say that a bandage that is tied on with cords and so on causes the poison to be purified.⁵²⁷
- 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.⁵²⁸
- 11 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.⁵²⁹
 - 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).
- 526 Verses 5.4.29, and 37 above note that the venom of Mandalins particularly irritates the bile.
- 527 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.
- 528 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.
- 529 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.
- 15 The blood being drawn out draws away all the poison. 530 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 vetiver.⁵³¹

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.⁵³²
- 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.
- 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.

⁵³⁰ 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.

⁵³¹ प्रच्छान 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*.

⁵³² 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

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.⁵³³

- At the third one should use errhines and collyrium $(a\tilde{n}jana)$ that destroy poison.⁵³⁴ 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 sharp $(t\bar{t}ks,na)$, and a well-regarded gruel too.
- But at the seventh, one should purge (\sqrt{sodh}) his head with a sharp sternutatory.⁵³⁵

In the case of Mandalins

- 24 Amongst Maṇḍalins, the earliest toxic reaction (*vega*) should be treated in the same way as with Darvīkaras.⁵³⁶
- 25 At the second, one should make him drink ghee and honey and then make him vomit.⁵³⁷
- 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.
- 533 This section reproduces some of the therapies from $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$ 5.2.40–43 (Su 1938: 566) on the stages of slow poisoning $(d\bar{u}s\ddot{v}isa)$ by plant poisons; see translation on p. 141 above.
- 534 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.
- 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.
- 736 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 412, p. 141 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*.
- 537 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). 539

In the case of Rājimats

- Now, Amongst Rājimats, one should let blood at the first toxic shock.⁵⁴⁰
- 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. 541542

write note on parișekān pradehāṃś

⁵³⁸ The "group of seventeen 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.

⁵³⁹ 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.

⁵⁴⁰ 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.

⁵⁴¹ 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. 166 for the toxic reactions in birds and other animals.

Subsequent therapies

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.⁵⁴³

- 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.⁵⁴⁴
- Or it may lead to dejection, pallor, fever, cough and headaches, dessication, swelling, catarrh, poor vision, disinterest in food (*aruci*) or rigidity (*jāḍyatā*).⁵⁴⁵ And in such cases one should apply the cure as appropriate.⁵⁴⁶
- 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

⁵⁴² 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.

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 412 and 536, pp. 141, 171 above) and the beating of drums that have been smeared with antidotes, as discussed in Suśrutasaṃlhitā 5.6 (Su 1938: 580–582) (see p. 181 below).

⁵⁴⁴ 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.

⁵⁴⁵ Palhaṇa on 5.5.49ab (Su 1938: 577) reported a reading from Jejjaṭa of स्तैमित्य "immobility" instead of प्रतिश्याय "catarrh."

⁵⁴⁶ The vulgate introduces दोष theory here, which is absent in the Nepalese version.

marked by it has been quickly incised (*pracchāna*) one may see poison that has leaked out there, and a toxic reaction may strongly result.

Treatment of secondary ailments

- 52.1 Once the poison has disappeared one can conquer irritated wind using items that restrain the wind.⁵⁴⁷
 - 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.⁵⁴⁸
 - One can conquer phlegm with the group that starts with golden shower tree, together with honey.⁵⁴⁹
 - 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 flesh weeps, smells a great deal and is is putrid (śīrṇa), it is designated "poison-stink (viṣapūti)."550
- 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.⁵⁵¹
- 58.1–60 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

⁵⁴⁷ 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.

⁵⁴⁸ The vulgate reads "fish" in place of "wine."

⁵⁴⁹ 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)).

⁵⁵⁰ *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 5.5.16 (Su 1938:575) (p. 170 above) suggests smearing an incised area with antidotes.

⁵⁵¹ 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.

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 apply items that destroy poison such as cloths containing ointments together with cold liquids mixed with ghee.

61ab

When the bone is injured by poisons, the very same rule should be followed as for bile poison.

Antitoxin drugs

61cd-63ab

The following items are powdered, mixed with honey and put in a horn: turpeth, weaver's beam tree, liquorice, the two kinds of turmeric, Indian madder and Himalayan mayapple,⁵⁵² and all kinds of salt.⁵⁵³ This antidote, taken with drinks, collyrium (añjana), oil rubs (abhyañjana), errhines and drugs, destroys poison.

With its relentless potency (vīrya) and as a destroyer of the toxic reaction (vega) to poison, it is called "The Great Antidote" and has great power.

63cd-65ab

Very fine embelia, velvet-leaf, the three myrobalans, wild celery, and devil's dung, as well as Himalayan mayapple and the three pungent drugs, the whole group of salts, together with leadwort and honey should be placed in a cow's horn and covered with something made of cow's horn. It should be set aside for two weeks. This antidote is called "Unbeaten" because it conquers both stationary and mobile poisons.

65cd-68ab

One should make a fine powder of the following items and place them in a horn, together with honey: long-stamen Wendlandia (?), deodar, grey orchid, black creeper, kutki, Himalayan yew, rosha grass, wild Himalayan cherry, Alexandrian laurel, ??, natron, sedge, cardamom, blue Indian symphorema, powdered ruffle lichen, costus, crape jasmine, foxtail millet, lodh tree, Indian bdellium-tree, red ochre, rock salt, long pepper, and dried ginger.

⁵⁵² There is no मञ्जिष्ठा group, but there is a plant वक्र.

⁵⁵³ There is a लवणवर्ग, (1.46.313-321 (Su 1938: 236-237)).

This antidote (agada) is identified as "Garuḍa (tārkṣya)." It can even destroy the poison of the snake prince Takṣaka (takṣaka).

69cd-72ab

One should make powder of the following items and place it in a horn: spikenard, peas, the three myrobalans, horseradish tree, Indian madder, liquorice, wild Himalayan cherry, embelia, ??, Indian sarsaparilla, cardamom, cinnamon, costus, Himalayan mayapple, sandalwood, verbena, bitter gourd, white siris, velvet-leaf, colocynth, hare foot uraria, black creeper, Asoka tree, mulberry, toothed-leaf limonia, and the flower that is the blossom (prasūna) born from the fruit of the marking-nut.⁵⁵⁴ The bile derived from boars, monitor lizards, peacocks, and porcupines is to be added, with honey, and the products of civet, chital deer and mongoose.⁵⁵⁵

This properly-prepared antidote is called "Bull." Someone who has it in the house is called "Bull Amongst Men." There will be no snakes there, nor even insects: they lose their potency and their toxins too.

72cd-73ab

Drums and tabors smeared with this rapidly destroy poison when they are sounded. Smeared flags flags being looked upon easily and quickly overcome poison.

73ab-75ab

One should make a powder of the following items and place the collection in a cow's horn, mixed with turmeric, and mingled with honey and ghee. As before, there is a cover: lac, the two peass, spikenard, foxtail millet, Indian madder, liquorice and gummy gardenia. It should then be used with collyrium (añjana), drinks and errhines. This antidote is called "Resuscitator (sañjīvana)" because it brings to life the dead whose breath is almost gone.

75cd-76ab

The best antidote for the poisons of Darvīkaras and Rājilas is Indian cherry, 556 bayberry, citron, white clitoria, winged-stem canscora,

⁵⁵⁴ Palhaṇa on 5.5.70 (Su 1938: 579) glossed प्रसून more specifically as तुलसीपुष्प "the Tulasi flower."

⁵⁵⁵ All three animals produce musk. Dalhana on 5.5.71 (Su 1938: 579) remarked that some people thought शिखी was a cock, not a peacock. He also here glossed पृषत as चित्तल.

⁵⁵⁶ Dalhana on 5.5.75 (Su 1938: 579) noted the common name बहुवार for श्लेष्पातकी.

white siris, and sugar, taken with amaranth.557

76cd-78ab

The best antidote for the poison of Maṇḍalins is grapes, Withania, Indian frankincense, ground white clitoria, combined in equal amounts and given with two parts of the leaves of holy basil, and those from wood apple, Bengal quince and pomegranate, as well as one measure from those of white Indian symphorema sage-leaved alangium seed as well as red ochre.⁵⁵⁸

84ab-86

The following group is known as the One Essence (ekarasa):⁵⁵⁹ beautyberry, hibiscus (?), weevil wort, and mango, as well as maloo creeper, Indian pennywort, three-leaved caper, spurge, hogweed, smooth angelica, croton tree, and Indian snakeroot as well; black earth (bhūmī),⁵⁶⁰ and bluebell barleria. Whether used separately or in pairs, it removes poison.

⁵⁵⁷ रাजिल appears to be a synonym for राजिमत्, a "striped" snake. Dalhana on 5.5.76ab (Su 1938: 579) once again gives interesting local synonyms for these plant names.

⁵⁵⁸ After this passage, the vulgate has five and a half verses that do not appear in the Nepalese version.

⁵⁵⁹ The vulgate reads एकसर, "one run." Dalhaṇa on 5.5.86 (Su 1938: 580) also read एकसर and glossed it as the proper name of a गण.

⁵⁶⁰ A hapax in this meaning *Mahākośa*: 1, 582. So glossed by Dalhana on 5.5.86 (Su 1938: 580): भूमि: कृष्णमृत्तिका ॥;

Kalpasthāna 6: Mice and rats

Introduction

This chapter is numbered 6 in the Nepalese version, but 7 in the vulgate.

Literature

In 2004, Umberto Eco published a characteristically subtle and enlightening book about translation entitled *Mouse or Rat*. ⁵⁶¹ The title alluded to Eco's discussion of the example of translating words for mice and rats across several European languages that do not always distinguish these animals from each other, or confuse them in other ways. In Sanskrit too, $m\bar{u}$, in the title of this chapter, does not distinguish between mouse and rat.

Translation

1 Now I shall explain the procedure (kalpa) on the topic of mice ($m\bar{u}$ sik \bar{a}). 562

3

⁵⁶¹ Eco 2004.

⁵⁶² The word मूचिका does not distinguish between rats and mice; the same is true for MIA and NIA derivatives CDIAL: #10258.

Kalpasthāna 7: Beating Drums

Introduction

This chapter is numbered 7 in the Nepalese version, but 6 in the vulgate.

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.⁵⁶³

Translation

- 1 Now I shall explain the procedure (*kalpa*) on the topic of sounding the kettle drum (*dundubhi*).⁵⁶⁴
- One should take the ash of the following items, mix it with cows' urine and an caustic (*kṣāra*) compound, take an extract and cook it thoroughly: axlewood, garjan oil tree, sandan, neem, weaver's beam tree, corky coral tree,⁵⁶⁵ cluster fig, emetic nut, arjun, white dammer tree, white siris (?), Indian cherry, sage-leaved alangium, Tellicherry bark, shami tree, wood apple, maloo creeper, purple calotropis, Indian elm, oleander spurge, tree of heaven, liquorice, horseradish tree, teak,

⁵⁶³ HIML: IA, 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, 61–66.

⁵⁶⁴ This title suggests that the chapter may once have begun with the words "the drums are to be sounded" or at least that this is the subject of the chapter (Pāṇini 4.3.87). On the translation "kettle drum" see Hopkins 1889: 318; Rossi 2014.

⁵⁶⁵ The ingredients to this point are similar to the water-detoxifier described in *Suśruta-saṃhitā* 5.3.9 (Su 1938: 568), p. 148 above.

prickly-leaved elephant's foot, Himalayan birch,⁵⁶⁶ viburnum, marsh barbel, woody-fruited jujube, and white babool.

One should add to this the powder of the following items, together with an equal quantity of metals: long pepper, long pepper root, amaranth, cinnamon, smooth angelica, Indian madder, pongame oiltree, gajpipul, embelia, soot, Indian symphorema, soma, ⁵⁶⁷ chir pine, saffron, halfa grass, mango, Indian mustard, three-leaved caper, Indian laurel, itchytree, castor-oil tree, pussywillow, purging nut, blackboard tree, Indian trumpet tree, cherry, croton tree, ⁵⁶⁸ Himalayan monkshood, deodar, black pepper, costus, and sweet flag. ⁵⁶⁹ Once it has been brought to the boil with the alkali, one should take it down and place it in a iron pot. ⁵⁷⁰

- 4 One should smear this onto a drum as well as onto flags and carpets.⁵⁷¹ One is released from all poisons as a result of seeing and hearing these.⁵⁷²
- 5–6 This is called "The Caustic Antidote (*kṣārāgada*)".⁵⁷³ It should be given in cases of small urinary stones (*śarkarā*), urinary stones (*áśmarī*),⁵⁷⁴

- 567 The literature on the identification of Soma is large and continuing (Wujastyk 2003*b*: 76–78, 125–131; Clark 2017). To the cited literature, the useful historical discussion by T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 449–455) gave special attention to the āyurvedic literature. Its presence in this recipe may add special value or power to the resulting compound.
- 568 Dalhaṇa on 5.6.3 (Su 1938: 580) glossed नागदन्ती as a type of इन्द्रवारुणी (colocynth), but he noted that Jejjaṭa had thought it was दन्ती (red physic nut).
- 569 Palhaṇa on 5.6.3 (Su 1938:580) noted that Gayadāsa omitted several of the above ingredients, keeping thirty.
- 570 Dalhaṇa on 5.6.3 (Su 1938: 580) explained that the above substances, from pepper onwards, should be placed in liquid alkali and then cooked until they are neither too runny nor too viscous (a phrase he copied from 1.11.11 (Su 1938: 47)). The preparation of पाक is particularly common in the Suśrutasaṃhitā and the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā. Cf. the very similar ingredients and procedure in the chapter on alkali preparations, Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.11.11 (Su 1938: 46–47), p. 25 above.
- 571 The vulgate has तोरण "gateways" instead of आस्तरण "carpets." On the meaning of the latter term, see Bailey 1970: 31, 33 *et passim* and the remarks of Rotman (2008: 1, 390–391, note 171).
- 572 The vulgate adds "and touching" 5.6.4 (Su 1938: 580). Note the ditransitive (द्विकर्मक) -मुच्यते; cf. *Meghadūta*, uttaramegha 33 (Kale 1947: ७१, 120).
- 573 Cf. 4.23.95-104 (Ca 1941: 575-576).
- 574 अरमरी and रार्करा are described in Suśrutasaṃhitā 2.3 (Su 1938: 276–280), the latter be-

⁵⁶⁶ Note the unanimous Nepalese MS reading भूज, the Middle Indo-Aryan form of Sanskrit भूजं (CDIAL:#9570).

hemorrhoids, wind-swelling ($v\bar{a}tagulma$), cough, abdominal gripes ($s\bar{u}la$) and swollen belly (udara). It should be given for indigestion, humours of the abdomen ($grahan\bar{u}dosa$), 575 and severe aversion to food (bhaktadvesa), 576 in swelling, mouth ulcer (sarvasara), 577 and persistent asthma ($sv\bar{a}sa$).

- 7 This is to be employed in all cases where someone is suffering as a result of any poison. Thus, it is the antidote that is the Snakes' Controlling Hook (*sarpāṅkuśa*) even for the snakes led by Takṣaka.^{578,579}
- 12–13 Grind prickly chaff-flower seeds and the beans of siris, the two white clitorias and black nightshade with cows' urine. A ghee mixed with these is the most effective means of soothing poison. It is famous under the name "Immortal (Amṛta)." It can revive even the dead.
- 14–23 Collect together the following requisites: sandalwood, agarwood, costus, crape jasmine, wild spider flower,

ing smaller and more easily expelled (2.3.13cd–14 (Su 1938: 279); cf. *Mahākośa*: 1,67–68, 808–809). The commentators Cakrapāṇidatta and Dalhaṇa discussed the lack of a firm distinction between these categories.

⁵⁷⁵ On the organ called ग्रहणी, see the useful summary by Ramachandra Rao and Sudarshan (1985–2005: 2, 20–21, 96 et passim).

⁵⁷⁶ A sign of impending death according to $\textit{Su\'srutasaṃhit\bar{a}}$ 1.32.4 (Su 1938:142).

⁵⁷⁷ See *Mahākośa*: 1, 888 and *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 2.16.65–66 (Su 1938: 336) and 4.23.3 (Su 1938).

⁵⁷⁸ तक्षक is an ancient name for a Nāga, mentioned in the *Kauśikasūtra* (28.1 *et passim*, Bloomfield 1890: 78). Takṣaka is mentioned briefly in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Pollock 1991: 292, n. 13) and more in later works. See further, Slouber 2016a: 22, 26, 37, *et passim*. The *Kriyākālottaratantra*, edited by Slouber, contains a similar sentence (7.26cd, p. 232): "Even someone bitten by Takṣaka will be rapidly cured of poison."

⁵⁷⁹ There follow four verses in the vulgate, 8–11, that are not present in the Nepalese version. These list ingredients that form a ghee called The Salutary (kalyāṇaka). This ghee recipe with the same name is also present in the Uttaratantra at 6.39.229–232 (Su 1938: 689), where it is a treatment for mostly similar ailments: chronic fever, asthma, cough, swelling, madness and a toxic potion (gara) (defined at 5.8.24cd–25ab (Su 1938: 587) as something manufactured, कृतिम). However, in the Nepalese version at 6.39.232, the vulgate statement of this name "एतत्कल्याणकं नाम सर्पिमोङ्गल्यमुत्तमम्" is not present. Thus, in the Nepalese version, The Salutary (kalyāṇaka) is not named. The same named ghee also appears in the Carakasaṇhitā at 6.9.35–42ab (Ca 1941: 471), where it is presented as a treatment for madness (unmāda) as well as many other ailments including those mentioned above in the Suśrutasaṃhitā (excluding swelling); it is possible that this is a case where a text from the Carakasaṃhitā was added to the Suśrutasaṃhitā after the Nepalese version.

⁵⁸⁰ On the BHS form पीषयेत्, see Edgerton 1953: 2, 346, Edgerton 1953: 1, §28.4, p. 220.

long-stamen Wendlandia (?), spikenard, chir pine, deodar, white sandalwood, plants like asthma plant and Gulf sandmat, verbena, indigo, Indian sarsaparilla, woody turmeric, wild Himalayan cherry, liquorice, thorny (sanakha) spikenard, Alexandrian laurel, cardamom, cherry, red ochre, rosha grass, scented pavonia, resin of white dammer tree, spikenard, Indian dill, peas, scramberry, cardamom, foxtail millet, sedge, sesame flowers, powdered ruffle lichen, cassia cinnamon, black sarsaparilla, the three pungent drugs, camphor, white teak, kutki, purple fleabane, Himalayan monkshood, gummy gardenia, colocynth, vetiver and lemon grass (?), three-leaved caper, coriander, sweet hoof, cinnamon, smooth angelica, 581 scutch grass, 582 chebulic myrobalan, the two types of clitoria, the two types of turmeric, Himalayan yew, lac, and the salts,⁵⁸³ white water-lily, blue water-lily, sacred lotus flowers, pale Java tea and the flowers of champak, Asoka tree, royal jasmine, long-stamen Wendlandia (?),584 weaver's beam tree, silk-cotton tree, Indian cherry, siris, toothed-leaf limonia, Arabian jasmine, Indian symphorema, axlewood, garjan oil tree, and sandan.

Collect these ingredients and then have a fine powder made out of them and place that in a horn together with cow's bile, honey and ghee.

- This foremost antidote can rescue a man, with hunched shoulders and rolling eyes, from within the jaws of death.
- This antidote can even destroy the irresistible, fire-like poison of Vāsuki, the lord of all the snakes, who is angry, and infinitely ardent.⁵⁸⁵
- 26 Out of all the royal antidotes, this one, called The Great Perfume

⁵⁸¹ The plant is usually called चोरक, literally "thief." The Nepalese text here uses the unusual expression तस्करसाह्व "called the same as 'thief'."

⁵⁸² The preceding three plants are in a half-verse that appears in the Nepalese version of the Suśrutasaṃhitā but not in the vulgate. It is notable that चोरक (syn. तस्कर) is distributed across Afghanistan, Himalaya and western Tibet. ग्रन्थिला (more commonly ग्रन्थिल, n.) is mentioned in the version of this Mahāsugandha recipe in the Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha, Utt.47.69a (As 1980: 899) (but not in the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā), suggesting that the Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha at this point had access to sources similar to the Nepalese witnesses.

⁵⁸³ Dalhana specified "the five salts" (Dalhana on 5.6.19 (Su 1938: 581)).

⁵⁸⁴ The Nepalese witnesses unanimously read तिलक not the vulgate's तिल्वक. Both plants have fragrant flowers.

⁵⁸⁵ This Nepalese MSS unanimously read सर्वनागगित "the progress of all the snakes" for the vulgate's विषं नागपित "the poison of the king of snakes." We emend to सर्वनागपित "the lord of all the snakes."

- (*Mahāsugandha*), assembled out of eighty-five components, should always be in the king's hand.
- A king anointed with this will become beloved of all the people. He becomes refulgent even when surrounded by his enemies.
- 28 For those afflicted by poison, the expert should apply a therapy that avoids heat. The exception is insect poison, because coldness makes that grow.⁵⁸⁶
- Someone suffering from poison should avoid sleeping during the day, sexual intercourse, exercise, anger, the heat of the sun, wine $(sur\bar{a})$, sesame and horse gram.⁵⁸⁷
- A physician can recognize that a person is free of poison if their humours are calm, if their tissues $(dh\bar{a}tu)$ are in a normal state, if they have an appetite, if their urine and feces are regular (sama), and if the movement of their senses and mind is calm.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸⁶ Verses 29 and 30 of the vulgate, giving dietary advice, are not present in the Nepalese version.

⁵⁸⁷ Palhaṇa on 5.6.31 (Su 1938: 581) took the "and" in this sentence to mean the inclusion of a list of additional avoidances, from long pepper to river dolphins and tortoises.

⁵⁸⁸ This verse is much clearer in the Nepalese version. The vulgate seems to have acquired corrupted readings before the time of Dalhana.

Kalpasthāna 8: Poisonous insects

Introduction

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Uttaratantra 17: Preventing Diseases of the Pupil

Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.⁵⁹⁰

The history of couching in India has been discussed since the nineteenth century,⁵⁹¹

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 $(dh\bar{\imath}madarsin)$ ". 592

⁵⁹⁰ HIML: IA, 305-306.

⁵⁹¹ 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.

⁵⁹² 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.

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),593 but not cutting with a blade (*śastrakṣata*).⁵⁹⁴

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 with viburnum extract 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:

- red ochre, rock salt, long pepper and the black soot (maṣī) from cow's teeth;
- cow's flesh (gomāmsa), black pepper, siris and realgar;
- stalk (*vṛnta*) from a wood apple with honey (*madhu*);⁵⁹⁵
- or the the fruits of the velvet bean.
- The physician should make a collyrium (añjana) with ground up metal (kupyaka),⁵⁹⁶ Asoka tree, sal tree, mango, foxtail millet, lotus, blue water-lily, together with peas, emblic myrobalan, myrobalans, long pepper. It should be combined with ghee and honey.
- 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.

Then this collyrium $(a\tilde{n}jana)$, matured (vipakva) with ghee and honey, should then be applied.

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.

⁵⁹³ These therapies are described in SS.6.18 (Su 1938: 633–640).

⁵⁹⁴ Dalhana interpreted this as blood-letting (sirāvedha), which is discussed in SS.1.14 (Su 1938).

⁵⁹⁵ Wood apple (कपित्थ) in this verse is ablative singular or accusative plural, neither of which construe obviously.

⁵⁹⁶ 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.

10–11ab Filaments ($ki\tilde{n}jalka$) of lotus and blue water-lily, with red ochre, and the juice of cow-dung ($go\acute{s}akrt$) are a collyrium ($a\~{n}jana$) in the form of a pill ($gudik\bar{a}$). This is good for both day and night blindness.

- Elixir-salve (*rasāñjana*), honey, 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 (añjana) of white teak flowers, liquorice, Indian barberry, lodh tree and elixir salve (rasāñjana) 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 $(rajana)^{598}$ and liver extract $(yakrdrasa)^{.599}$
 - One should grind up kohl (*srotoja*), and ?? and long pepper and also harenu (*harenu*). Such wicks with goats urine are good in a collyrium (*añjana*) for night blindness (*kṣaṇadāndhya*).
 - 17–18ab Alternatively, in such a case, grind together Indian sarsaparilla $(k\bar{a}l\bar{a}nus\bar{a}riva)^{601}$ long pepper, dried ginger $(n\bar{a}gara)$ and honey, the leaf of the scramberry $(t\bar{a}l\bar{i}\acute{a}apatra)$, the two turmerics (rajana), a conch shell and liver extract (yakrdrasa). Then shade-dried wicks take away illness (ruj).
- 18cd–19ab Wicks made of red arsenic ($mana h sil \bar{a}$), chebulic myrobalan ($abhay \bar{a}$), the three spices (vyo sa). Indian sarsaparilla ($s\bar{a}riva$), cuttlefish bone

⁵⁹⁷ This was Dalhaṇa's preferred interpretation of rasa "juice" in this context. He also noted that some take elixir-salve $(s\bar{\imath}ta)$ to be camphor.

⁵⁹⁸ 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.

⁵⁹⁹ This verse appears as no. 27 in the vulgate.

⁶⁰⁰ Glossed by Dalhana as a kind of collyrium (*añjana*). Cf. Nadkarni 1954: 2.M13 and P. V. Sharma 1982: 197–198

⁶⁰¹ 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.

(samudraphena), combined with goat's milk are good.

- One should cook a honey collyrium (k = audr a n jana) either in the juices of cow's urine (gom u tra), and bile, spirits (madir a), liver (yak = rt), and emblic ($dh a tr \bar{t}$) or else in the juice of the liver (yak = rt) of something different, or else with the extract of the three fruits (triphal a). One of these should be mixed with cow urine, ghee and cuttle fish (ar = ava = rt) with long pepper, honey and box myrtle (at = rt). 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. 603
 - 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.⁶⁰⁴
- 25cd–26ab As is well known, there are six diseases that can be alleviated $(y\bar{a}pya)$; in those cases (tatra) one should release the blood by bloodletting. And for the sake of wellbeing one should also purge using aged ghee

⁶⁰² 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.

⁶⁰³ 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>Dalhaṇa</code> described it as aromatic and identical to <code>reṇukā</code> (SS.ci.2.75).

⁶⁰⁴ 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.

combined (upahita) with purgative aids (anga).

When an eye-disease is caused by wind (*pavanodbhava*) they say that castor oil (*pañcāṅgulataila*) mixed with milk is good.⁶⁰⁵ In the case of diseases of blood (*śonita*) and bile (*pitta*), one should drink ghee with the three fruits; it is particularly cleansing.⁶⁰⁶ 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).⁶⁰⁷

- 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). 608
 - 29cd Alternatively, someone afflicted by phlegm should apply them (the three fruits) mixed with oil and steeped (*pragāḍha*) in honey.
 - The very best oil, well-cooked with a decoction of cow-dung, is good in cases of partial blindness, taken as an errhine.

 In cases caused by bile, ghee by itself is good, as is oil when it arises from wind and blood.
 - And in the case of wind one should apply turpeth (trivrt) based on strong mallow $(atibal\bar{a})$, and country mallow $(bal\bar{a})$ in an errhine (nasya).
 - Ghee which has been extracted from milk cooked with the meat of aquatic creatures and those from marshlands should be prescribed.
 - 32 †Ân enclosed roasting (puṭākhya) with Sindh salt and the product of

605 Palhana said that the unexpressed topic of this recipe is partial blindness (*timira*).

⁶⁰⁶ 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

⁶⁰⁷ 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.

^{608 &}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).

^{609 &}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.

- the meat of a carnivore (kravyabhuj) and a deer (eṇa), is combined with honey and ghee.⁶¹⁰
- Fat $(vas\bar{a})$ from a horse, a vulture, a snake, and a cock $(t\bar{a}mrac\bar{u}da)$, combined with mahua is always good in a collyrium $(a\tilde{n}jana)$.†
- Having prepared (nisevita) a collyrium ($a\tilde{n}jana$) made of kohl (srotas) and gradually combine it with juices (rasa), milk and ghee. 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 ($m\bar{a}gadh\bar{\iota}$), lye ($k\bar{s}araka$) and ?? that has been repeatedly prepared with the mouth of a black snake, is good in the case of bloodshot blindness ($r\bar{a}gin\ timira$). 613
- 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*).⁶¹⁴
- 36 And realgar (*manaḥśilā*) mixed with elixir salve (*rasāñjana*) and honey is a liquid collyrium (*dravāñjana*) which is, in this case, combined with mahua.⁶¹⁵
- 610 Dalhaṇa 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):
 - 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.
- 611 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.
- 612 Dalhana specified that the juices are meat soups of various animals (Su 1938: 628).
- 613 Dalhana described this blindness as a type of *kāca* 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.
- 614 The expression taken hot (puṭāhvaya) is a guess.
- 615 The expression liquid collyrium ($drav\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$) is only known from <code>Dalhaṇa's</code> comments on 6.17.11ab (Su 1938: 626). The recipe in the present collyrium is different from that discussed by <code>Dalhaṇa</code>.

Alternatively, experts on this say that finely ground blue vitriol (*tuttha*) extracted from a gold mine is the "same collyrium (*samāñjana*)". 616

- 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 ($a\tilde{n}jana$).
 - The extracts (rasa) produced from aflame of the forest $(pal\bar{a} \pm a)$, Rohīta tree $(roh\bar{t}a)$, 618 mahua, ground with the supernatant layer (agra) of the spirits (madira) is applied.
- 38 Alternatively, one should cook an errhine with cuscus grass ($u\acute{s}\bar{\imath}ra$), lodh tree (lodhra), the three fruits ($triphal\bar{a}$), beauty berry (priyangu) to pacify eye diseases caused by phlegm.⁶¹⁹
 - One should apply smoke of the bark of embelia (vidanga), velvet leaf ($p\bar{a}th\bar{a}$), white siris ($kinih\bar{\iota}$), and desert date ($ingud\bar{\iota}$); and cuscus grass ($us\bar{\iota}ra$) alone.
- A ghee that is cooked ($bh\bar{a}vita$) from a decoction of a non-flowering tree (vanaspati)⁶²⁰ as well as turmeric ($haridr\bar{a}$) 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 ($j\bar{a}\dot{n}gala$)⁶²¹ and a plentiful amount of long pepper ($m\bar{a}gadha$), Sindh salt and honey.
- 40 A treatment ($kriy\bar{a}$) with realgar ($mana h sil\bar{a}$), the three spices, conch, honey, along with Sindh salt, green vitriol ($k\bar{a}s\bar{i}sa$) and elixir salve ($ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$). 622
 - They say that an elixir salve (rasāñjana) combined with myrobalans,

⁶¹⁶ 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).

⁶¹⁷ 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).

⁶¹⁸ Probably Soymida febrifuga A. Juss.

⁶¹⁹ Dalhaṇa invoked a general rule ($paribh\bar{a}s\bar{a}$) to indicate that this mixture should be cooked with sesame oil.

⁶²⁰ These are fig trees. The *Sauśrutanighanṭu* (252) specifies the Udumbara. Cf. the classification in CS.1.1.71–72, 1.8, *et passim*.

⁶²¹ On this term, see SS.1.35.42 (Su 1938: 157) and the discussion by Zimmermann (1999: 25–31).

⁶²² Palhaṇa glossed treatment $(kriy\bar{a})$ specifically as inspissation $(rasakriy\bar{a})$ (Su 1938: 629).

treacle and dried ginger is good.⁶²³

- Alternatively, a collyrium $(a\tilde{n}jana)$ that has been prepared many times in the eight types of urine⁶²⁴ is put into water with the three fruits. Having stored it in the mouth of a nocturnal creature $(nis\bar{a}cara)^{625}$ one should place it in a conch (salilotthita) for two months.⁶²⁶
- One should apply that collyrium $(a\tilde{n}jana)$ together with the flowers of mahua and horseradish tree $(\dot{s}igru)$ when [the disease] is caused by all [the humours].
 - But alternatively, all treatments apply when blood is the cause. The procedure that removes bile is good when there is blue dot cataract $(ml\bar{a}yin)$.
- For one who has a humour, the physician should consider the rule in all humoral cases and then smear the ointment on the face. The treatment that is good for removing watery eye (*syanda*) should be properly applied in all these humoral cases, according to the individual. 429
- 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.⁶³⁰
- Someone who uses matured ghee, the three fruits, wild asparagus, as well as mung beans, emblic and barley has nothing to fear from cases of severe blindness (*timira*).
- 46 Blindness is dispelled by milk prepared with wild asparagus or in emblics, or again cooked barley (*yavaudana*) followed by the water of three

find ref.

Check out these refs.

meaning o

⁶²³ We emend हिते to हितम्, against the MSS.

⁶²⁴ See Suśrutasaṃhitā mūtravarga

⁶²⁵ Palhaṇa 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.

⁶²⁶ We interpret "water-born (*salilotthita*)" as "conch" in line with *jalodbhava*, but the term is uncertain.

⁶²⁷ The vulgate follows Dalhaṇa in glossing $ml\bar{a}yin$ as $pariml\bar{a}ya$. The description of this condition at SS.6.7.27–28 appears to refer to "blue dot" or "cerulean" cataract. \sqrt{mlai} derivatives can mean "dark" or "black."), which is normally a different ailment.

⁶²⁸ The vulgate edition omits part of this verse (ab) combining earlier and later passages.

⁶²⁹ The term watery eye (*syanda*) refers to the specific disease *abhiṣyanda*. See SS.6.6.5, 1.46.51, etc.

⁶³⁰ Dalhana noted that Kalpa means the Uttaratantra adhyāya 18 (Su 1938: 633 ff).

- fruits with plenty of ghee.
- When there is bloodshot blindness (*rāgiṇi timire*), the wise physician should not cut a vein. A humour injured (*utpīḍita*) by the instrument rapidly destroys vision.
- 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 ($y\bar{a}pya$).⁶³¹
- 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.⁶³²
- 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, 633 at the naturally-occurring (daivakrte) 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. ⁶³⁴
 - The expert should moisten the exact place of piercing with a woman's breast-milk. Then he should scratch the circuit of the pupil

⁶³¹ 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.

⁶³² 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.

⁶³³ 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.

⁶³⁴ Dalhana remarked on 6.17.61ab (Su 1938: 630) that when the piercing is not correctly done, blood issues and there is no sound.

- (*dṛṣṭimaṇḍala*) with the tip of the probe ($śal\bar{a}k\bar{a}$).⁶³⁵
- Without injuring, gently pushing the phlegm in the circuit of the pupil against the nose, he should remove it by means of sniffing (*ucchingana*).⁶³⁶
- 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 ($s\bar{u}c\bar{\imath}$) properly.⁶³⁷
- 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 $(sal\bar{a}k\bar{a})$.
- 60 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. 639
- At that time, he should not belch, cough, sneeze, spit or shiver. Afterwards there should be restrictions ($yantran\bar{a}$) as in the case of someone who has drunk oil.⁶⁴⁰
- 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.
- Having restrained himself in this way for ten days he should thereafter take a beneficial regimen (*karma*) that clears the pupil (*dṛṣṭi*) and also

⁶³⁵ 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.

⁶³⁶ Palhaṇa described sniffing (ucchingana) at 6.19.8 (Su 1938: 641), clearly intending inward sniffing.

⁶³⁷ 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.

⁶³⁸ 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.

⁶³⁹ Dalhaṇa explained disturbances specifically as dust, smoke, drafts and sunlight 6.17.67 (Su 1938: 631a).

⁶⁴⁰ Palhaṇa 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).

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.⁶⁴¹
 - A hard probe leads to shooting pain $(s\bar{u}la)$, a thin to unsteadiness of the humours (dosapariplava), ⁶⁴²
- 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*).⁶⁴³
- 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} - $umbh\bar{\iota}$). 644

[Complications]

Redness, swelling, lumps, driness (coṣa), bubbling (budbuda), 645 pigs' eye $(s\bar{u}kar\bar{a}kṣit\bar{a})$, 646 , irritation (adhimantha), etc. and other diseases arise from faults in the piercing,

⁶⁴¹ 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.

⁶⁴² There is a medically significant difference here from the vulgate, which reads "a rough (*khara*) probe" not a "thin" probe.

⁶⁴³ 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*)."

⁶⁴⁴ The vulgate reads "copper (tāmra)" in place of "silver."

⁶⁴⁵ Palhaṇa glossed "bubbling (budbuda)" as "prolapse (māṃsanirgama) that looks like bubbles."

⁶⁴⁶ The expression "pigs' eye" appears to be a *hapax*. It was glossed as "downward vision (*adhodṛṣṭitva*)" by Dalhaṇa.

- 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*).⁶⁴⁷ This is immediately beneficial when someone is looking for relief.
 - 72 A paste with Holostemma (payasyā),⁶⁴⁸ Indian sarsaparilla (śārivā), cassia cinnamon (patra), Indian madder (mañjiṣṭhā), and liquorice (madhukair) stirred with goat's milk, pleasantly warmed, is said to be healthy.⁶⁴⁹
 - 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 (*drākṣā*), lac (*lākṣā*), white sugar (*sitā*), with wild asparagus, Hare Foot Uraria (*pṛthakparṇī*),⁶⁵⁰ nutgrass (*mustā*), liquorice, Himalayan cherry (*padmaka*), and Sindh salts, one should apply it [irrigation] gently warm.
- 76cd–77ab Ghee that has been cooked in four times the amount of milk that has itself been cooked with drugs that destroy wind. This has an admixture of cottony jujube $(k\bar{a}kol\bar{\imath})$ etc., should be prescribed in all treat-

⁶⁴⁷ On the adverbial use of gently (*mṛdu*), see Gombrich 1979.

⁶⁴⁸ The identity of *payasyā* is debated (GVDB: 538), and was already in doubt at the time of Palhaṇa but likely candidates may be those suggested by Palhaṇa, 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).

⁶⁴⁹ 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).

⁶⁵⁰ Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: 18.

⁶⁵¹ Dalhaṇa mentioned that these drugs include Deodar (*bhadradāru*) and other wind-destroying drugs. The *vātasaṃśamana* group is listed in *Suśrutasaṃhitā sūtrasthāna* 1.39.7.

ments.652

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. 653

- 78cd–80ab Now listen to two excellent collyriums for making the pupils clear. After grinding the flowers of perploca of the woods (meṣaśṛṅga), siris (śirīṣa), axelwood (dhava) royal jasmine (jātī), pearl and beryl (vaiḍūrya) with goat's milk, one should put it in a copper pot for seven days.
 - 8ocd–81 Having made it into wicks (*vartti*), the physician should apply it as a collyrium (*añjana*). Alternatively, one should make kohl (*srotoja*), coral (*vidruma*), cuttlefish bone (*phena*), and realgar (*manaḥśilā*) 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.

652 Dalhana noted that this would include errhines, ointments, etc.

⁶⁵³ The vulgate reads *vāpi* for *cāpi*, so Dalhaṇa saw blood-letting and cautery as alternatives, not a sequence of treatments. Dalhaṇa 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 $3.^{654}$ 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*.

⁶⁵⁴ 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.⁶⁵⁵

- In the placement of the Nepalese version,
 - 6. *Yonivyāpatpratiṣedha* is preceded by

⁶⁵⁵ Dalhaṇa on 6.38.1 (Su 1938: 668): ग्रहोत्पत्त्यध्यायानन्तरं 'तिर्यग्योनिं मानुषं च' इति वचनेन योने-र्नामसंकीर्तनात् कुमारजन्मविकारकारणत्वाञ्च योनेर्व्यापञ्चिकित्सितार्थं योनिव्यापत्प्रतिषेधाध्यायारम्भो यु-ज्यत [...]।

Parallels 209

- 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. 656
- 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 $M\bar{a}dhavanid\bar{a}na$ (MN₃) 62, or at least its version printed in Y. T. $\bar{A}c\bar{a}rya$ (MN₃: 361). The readings of the MN₃ 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 MN₃. 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. 657

Another most interesting parallel is found in *Carakasaṃhitā* 6(Ci).30.

⁶⁵⁶ See 1.3.37ab (Su 1938: 15): नैगमेषचिकित्सा च ग्रहोत्पत्तिः सयोनिजा ॥. 657 Meulenbeld 1974b: 22–26.

Philological notes

Metrical alterations

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). By contrast, the vulgate contains two complete verses (four hemistichs) in the *anuṣṭubh* metre, again with only loosely-related content. The three final hemistichs of this group are borrowed verbatim from the *Carakasaṃhitā*. 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)". This statement does not make any sense in the context of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, where no such Compendium exists. By contrast, in the *Carakasaṃhitā* this reference points back to chapter 1.19 (Ca 1941: 109–112), which calls itself "The Compendium of Diseases". This Compendium lists all the diseases dealt with in later sections of the text, and specifically mentions the twenty diseases of female reproductive system. Even the vocabulary and wording of this

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658 Suśrutasaṃhitā 6.38.3–4ab (Su 1938: 668).
659 The metre of these verses is not perfect.
660 Suśrutasaṃhitā 6.38.4cd–6ab (Su 1938: 668).
661 Carakasaṃhitā 6.30.7cd–8 (Ca 1941: 634).
662 Suśrutasaṃhitā 6.38.5ab (Su 1938: 668): विंशतिर्व्यापदो योनेर्निर्दिष्टा रोगसंग्रहे ॥ ← Carakasaṃhitā 6.30.7cd (Ca 1941: 634).
663 The remark was not commented on by Ḍalhaṇa.
664 Carakasaṃhitā 1.19.9cd (Ca 1941: 112): रोगाध्याये प्रकाशिताः.
665 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*. 666

⁶⁶⁶ 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 $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$, it is likely that MN_3 62.1–2ab too was borrowed from from the $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$ and not from its original location in the $Carakasamhit\bar{a}$).

- 1 And now I shall explain the countermeasures against disorders of the female reproductive system (*yonivyāpat*). 667
- *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.⁶⁶⁸
- *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 $(mithyopac\bar{a}ra)$, 669 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

⁶⁶⁷ On this broad understanding of the term *yoni* as "female reproductive system" see Das 2003: pp. 572–5.

⁶⁶⁸ 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.'

⁶⁶⁹ 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-√चर् 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) = MN₃ 62.1 reads मिथ्याचार "wrong conduct." All commentators (Cakrapāṇidatta on the Carakasaṃhitā, Śrīkaṇṭhadatta on the MN₃, and Dalhaṇa on the Suśrutasaṃhitā) explain that the wrong conduct stands here specifically for unwholesome diet. The parallel in Astangahrdayasamhita 6.33.27 (Ah 1939: 895) = Astangahrdayasamhita 6.33.27 (Ah 1939: 895) gasaṅgraha 6.38.34a (As 1980: 829) plainly reads दुष्तभोजन "corrupted food" instead.

(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 *doṣas*:
 - 1. Impotent (*śaṇḍhī*),
 - 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. Other explorations of this topic include TY; Dasgupta 1952; Oberhammer 1968; TYV; Lele 1981; Scharfe 1993; Mejor 2000; A. Singh 2003.

Frauwallner 1958 discussed the influence of the *tantrayukti*s 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. 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. 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.

Tamil literature

Discussions on the *tantrayuktis* are also found in Tamil technical literature, the earliest of which is the *Tolkāppiyam*. A list of 32 *tantrayuktis*, called

⁶⁵³ Arthaśāstra: 280-283

⁶⁵⁴ See Oberhammer 1968: 605–614 for a detailed discussion of the use of the tantrayuktis in the $Yuktid\bar{t}pik\bar{a}$.

⁶⁵⁵ सूत्रप्रमाणावयवोपपत्तिरन्यूनता संशयनिर्णयोक्तिः। उद्देशनिर्देशमनुक्रमश्च संज्ञोपदेशाविह तन्त्रसम्पत्॥ Yuktidīpikā: 3

⁶⁵⁶ एवमारा अन्येऽपि द्रस्तव्याह् । तद्यथोत्सर्गोऽपवादोऽतिदेश इत्यादि ।...इत्येवमन्या अपि तन्त्रयुक्तयः शक्या इह प्रदर्शयितुम् । अतिप्रसङ्गस्तु प्रकृतं तिरोदधातीति निवर्त्यते । सिद्धं तन्त्रयुक्तीनां सम्बन्धोपपत्तेस्तन्त्रम् इदम् इति ।.Yuktidīpikā: 8

⁶⁵⁷ For a detailed discussion of the treatment of the *tantrayuktis* in the *Tolkāppiyam* see Chevillard 2009.

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utti or tantiravutti in Tamil, are given in the 27th (the final) chapter titled Marapiyal "Chapter on conventions" of the last book called Porul "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 Tolkappiyam 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 $Tolk\bar{a}ppiyam$, several other Tamil texts refer to the tantrayuktis. Among them the $Y\bar{a}pparunkalam$ (possibly 10th century), the $V\bar{i}racoliyam$ (11th century), $Nann\bar{u}l$ (late 12th or early 13th century), and their commentaries hold significant importance in this context.

The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa

The third book of the *Viṣṇudharmattarapurāṇa*, believed to have been composed between the fifth and seventh centuries, includes a chapter dedicated to the *tantrayuktis*. ⁶⁵⁸ 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. 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 4.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁹ Saddanīti 3: 920–921.

⁶⁶⁰ For the reading of *Saddanīti*, we used the edition by H. Smith who also provided an apparatus with variants. However, the edition by Thera sometimes consists of variants which do not appear in the apparatus of Helmer Smith's edition. In those cases, we noted the variants in footnotes.

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Table 4: Tantrayuktis in $Su\acute{s}rutasaṃhit\bar{a}$ (S), Viṣṇu-dharmottarapurāṇa (V), $Artha\acute{s}\bar{a}stra$ (A), and $Saddan\bar{\imath}ti$ (N)

Sequence	Terms	Definitions
(S) 1.	adhikaraṇa	तत्र यमर्थमधिकृत्योच्यते तद्धिकरणम्।
(V) 1.	adhikaraṇa	तत्र यमर्थमधिकृत्योच्यते तदधिकरणम्।
(A) 1.	adhikaraṇa	यमर्थमधिकृत्योच्यते तद्धिकरण् ।
(N) 1.	adhikaraṇa	तत्थ यं अधिकिच्च वुच्चति, तं अधिकरणं।
(S) 2.	yoga	येन वाक्यं युज्यते स योगः। यथा व्यत्यासेनो-
		क्तानां सन्निकृष्टविप्रकृष्टानां पदार्थानाम् एकी- करणम्।
(V) 2.	yoga	येन वाक्यार्थो युज्यते स योगः।
(A) 3.	yoga	वाक्ययोजना योगः।
(N) 2.	yoga	पुब्बापरवसेन वुत्तानं सन्निहितासन्निहितानं प-
(11)	9-8"	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,
(14) 3.	panarina	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।661
(S) 5.	uddeśa / samuddeśa	समासवचनं समुद्देशः।
(V) 5.	uddeśa	समासवचनमुद्देशः।
(A) 6.	uddeśa	समासवाक्यमुद्देशः।
(N) 5.	uddesa	समासवचनं उद्देसो।
(S) 6.	nirdeśa	विस्तरवचनं निर्देशः।
(V) 6.	nirdeśa	विस्तरवचनं निर्देशः।
, ,		

⁶⁶¹ yam vuttaatthasādhanam? so hetuttho. Thera 1909: 807.

Sequence	Terms	Definitions
(A) 7.	nirdeśa	व्यासवाक्यं निर्देशः।
(N) 6.	niddesa	वित्थारवचनं निद्देसो।
(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	अभिप्रायानुकर्षण्मपवर्गः ।
(A) 22.	apavarga	अभिप्लुतव्यपकर्षणमपवर्गः।
(N) 11.	apavagga	अतिव्यापेत्वा अपनयनं अपवग्गो।
(S) 12.	vākyaśeṣa	येन पदेनानुक्तेन वाक्यं समाप्यते स वाक्य-
(T.T)	-1 (शेषः।
(V) 12.	vākyaśeṣa	येनार्थः परिसमाप्यते पदेनाहार्येण स वाक्य- शेषः।
(A) 17.	vākyaśeṣa	येन वाक्यं समाप्यते स वाक्यशेषः।
(N) 12.	_	येन पदेन अवुत्तेन वाक्यपरिसमापनं भवति,
	· ·	सो वाक्यदोसों ।
(S)		
(V)		
(A) 12.	иратāпа	दृष्टेनादृष्टस्य साधनमुपमानम्।
(N)		

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Sequence	Terms	Definitions	
(S) 13.	arthāpatti	यदकीर्तितमर्थादापद्यते सार्थापत्तिः।	
(V) 13.	arthāpatti	यदकीर्तितमर्थादापद्यते सार्थापत्तिः।	
(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।662	
(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।	
() 3	1	•	

 $[\]overline{\text{662 This definition of } p\bar{u}rvapakṣa \text{ in }}$ the Nepalese version is problematic.

Coguenas	Томпос	Definitions	
Sequence	Terms	Definitions	
(N) 19.	піṇṇауа	तस्स यं उत्तरं, सो निण्णयो।	
(S) 20.	anumata	परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतम् ।	
(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 विहित्मित्यनागता्वेक्षणम्।	
(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.	svasamฺjñā	अन्यशास्त्रासामान्या स्वसंज्ञा।	
(V) 26.	svasamjñā	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।	
		·	

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Sequence	Terms	Definitions
(A) 20.	nirvacana	गुणतः शब्दनिष्पत्तिर्निर्वचनम् ।
(N) 27.	nibbacana	लोकप्पतीतम् उदाहरणं निब्बचनं ।
(S) 28.	nidarśana	दृष्टान्तव्यक्तिर्निदर्शनम् ।
(V) 28.	nidarśana	तद्युक्तिनिदर्शनं दृष्टान्तः।
(A) 21.		दृष्ट्रान्तो दृष्टान्तयुक्तो निदर्शनम् ।
(N) 28.	nidassana	दिट्ठन्तसंयोगो निंदस्सनं ।
(S) 29.	niyoga	इदमेवेति नियोगः।
(V) 29.		एवेति नियोगः।
(A) 29.		एवं नान्यथेति नियोगः।
(N) 29.	niyoga	इंदम् एवा ति नियोगो।
(S) 30.	vikalpa	1
(V) 30.	vikalpa	इदं वेदं वेति विकल्पः।
(A) 30.	vikalpa	अनेन वानेन वेति विकल्पः।
(N) 30.	vikappa	इदं वा ति विकप्पो।
(S) 31.	samuccaya	1
(V) 31.	samuccaya	इदं चेदं चेति समुच्चयः।
(A) 31.	samuccaya	अनेन चानेन चेति समुच्चयः।
(N) 31.	samuccaya	संखेपवचनं समुच्चयो।
(S) 32.	ūhya	यदनिर्दिष्टं बुद्धिगम्यं तदूह्यम् ।
(V) 32.	ūhya	अत्र यदनिर्दिष्टं युक्तिगम्यं तदूह्यम् ।
(A)	ūhya	अनुक्तकरणमूह्यम् ।
(N) 32.	ирāпīуа	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. 663 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 Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya while elucidating the concept of tantraguṇa (qualities of the system) 664 and by Śrīdāsa Paṇḍita in the prefatory section of his commentary Hṛdayabodhikā on the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā. 665 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 *tantrayukti*s in the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*, *Carakasaṃhitā*, *Sarvāṅgasundarī* and *Hṛdayabodhikā* 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 *tantrayukti*s recognized by Dṛḍhabala in this section. The problem arises from different readings of the half-verse that occurs right before the list of 36 *tantrayukti*s. In MS Kathmandu NAK 1/1648 (dated 1183 AD, the oldest dated manuscript of the *Carakasaṃhitā* known to

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663 तत्राधिकरणं योगो हेत्वर्थोऽर्थः पदस्य च।
    प्रदेशोद्देशनिर्देशवाक्यशेषाः प्रयोजनम्॥
    उपदेशापदेशातिदेशार्थापत्तिनिर्णयाः।
    प्रसङ्गेकान्तनैकान्ताः 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.
664 Arunadatta on the Aṣṭāngahṛdayasamhitā 6.40.78 (Ah 1939: 946).
665 AHS 1940: 1-2.
666 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॥
    सप्तदशौषधाध्यायसिद्धिकल्पैरप्रयत्।
    8.12.39-40a (Ca 1941: 735)
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us), the reading of this verse is: षद्विंशद्भिर्विचित्राभिर्भृषि]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 Carakasamhitā edition which contains only the mūla-text.⁶⁶⁷ 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 षड्रिंशता विचित्राभिभृषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः। 8.12.41a (Ca 1941: 735). In the same edition, the reading of Cakrapāni's *Āyurvedadīpikā* supports the reading: षड्गिंशत्तन्त्रयुक्तिभिभृषितमपुरयदृढबल 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।. 668 Moreover, the edition of Rāmaprasāda Vaidyopādhyāya reads the half-verse as— पञ्च-त्रिंशद्विचित्राभिर्भूषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः. 669 Rāmaprasāda Vaidyopādhyāya excludes *ūhya*. ⁶⁷⁰ The same reading is found in Satīśacandra Śarmā's third edition of the *Carakasamhitā*. ⁶⁷¹ 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." 672

In the edition of Narendranātha Senagupta and Balāicandra Senagupta that includes Cakrapāṇi's *Āyurvedadīpikā* and Gaṅgādhara's

⁶⁶⁷ षद्विंशता विचित्राभिभूषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः ॥ 8.12.70a (Ca 1933: 972).

⁶⁶⁸ Ca 1941: 737.

⁶⁶⁹ Ca 1911: 1913.

⁶⁷⁰ Understanding the tantrayukti samuccaya as asamuccaya, he reads the verse where ūhya appears as— अतीतानागतापेक्षा स्वसंज्ञा ह्यसमुच्चयाः. Surely, this reading is erroneous as the plural ending after samuccaya does not make sense.

⁶⁷¹ Ca 1923: 1020. His first edition, however, reads the half-verse the same as the reading in Ca 1933. (Ca 1904: 884)

^{672 &}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 চতুন্ত্রিংশৎ বা ষট্ত্রিংশৎ স্থুলে পঞ্চত্রিংশৎ লিখিত হইল।" Ca 1923: 1022.

Jalpakalpataru, the Sanskrit mūla and the Jalpakalpataru enumerate 36 tantrayuktis. However, in the same edition, the Āyurvedadīpikā reads, पञ्चित्रंशत्तन्त्रयुक्तिभिर्भूषितमपूरयद्दढबल इति योजना. Again, after the illustrations of the 36 tantrayuktis it reads, इत्येताः षट्टिंशत्तन्त्रयुक्तयो व्याहृताः. In his edition of the Tantrayuktivicāra, Muthuswami also mentions that 35 tantrayuktis are reckoned in the Carakasaṃhitā. Jivānanda Vidyāsagara's edition gives no number at all— तथा च ता विचित्राभिर्भृषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः.

Commentaries on the Carakasamhitā prior to Cakrapāni's Āyurvedadīpikā, 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, Hariścandra 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 Hariścandra was aware of Drdhabala's redaction of the Carakasamhitā. However, Hariścandra's treatment of the tantrayuktis supports the latter.⁶⁷⁷. It is clear from Cakrapāṇi's commentary on the Carakasaṇhitā 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 Carakasamhitā sometime between the sixth (the date of Hariścandra) 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.

⁶⁷³ Ca 1928-33: III, 3814.

⁶⁷⁴ Ca 1928-33: III, 3822.

⁶⁷⁵ 'पञ्चित्रंशिद्विचित्राभिर्भूषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः।' इति चरके । द्वात्रिंशिदिति सुश्रुतः।(TYV: 2, fn. 2).

⁶⁷⁶ Ca 1877: 961.

⁶⁷⁷ HIML: IA, 189.

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Commentaries

The commentators who extensively delved into the discussion of the tantrayuktis are Hariścandra, the author of Carakanyāsa, and Aruṇadatta (12th century),⁶⁷⁸ 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).⁶⁷⁹

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. Śrīdāsa Paṇḍita (14th century), a commentator on the *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdaya*, echoed Aruṇadatta's exploration of tantrayuktis in the beginning of his commentary, Hrdayabodhikā. 680 Thus, both Hariścandra and Śrīdāsa Pandita 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, vyākaraṇa, and vyutkrāntābhidhāna under the tantrayuktis uddeśa, vyākhyāna, and nirdeśa, respectively. According to him, hetu serves as an overarching term encompassing all *pramāṇas* (means of knowledge) such as pratyaksa (perception) and others. Indu, however, outlines three

680 HIML: IA, 680.

⁶⁷⁸ HIML: IA, 663–664.

⁶⁷⁹ 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 युक्तयोऽधिकरणाद्याश्चल्वारिंशत् ।... युक्तयस्तावद-धिकरणं योगो हेत्वर्थ उद्देशो [निर्देश] उपदेशोऽपदेशोऽतिदेशः प्रदेशो निर्णयोऽर्थापत्तिर्वाक्यशेषः प्रयोजनं प्रसङ्ग एकान्तोऽनेकान्तो विपर्ययोऽपवर्गः पूर्वपक्षो विधानमनुमतं व्याख्यानं परिप्रश्नो व्याकरणमतीतापेक्ष-णमनागतापेक्षणं संशयः स्वसंज्ञोह्यः समुच्चयो निदर्शनं निर्वचनं नियोगो विकल्पः प्रत्युत्सार उद्धारः सम्भवो व्युत्क्रान्ताभिधानं हेतुरिति।

possible reasons for not incorporating these *tantrayuktis* into the list: (1) 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*.

Detailed discussions on the *tantrayuktis* also appear in the *Jalpakalpataru*, a nineteenth-century commentary on the *Carakasaṃhitā* by Gaṅgādhara Kavirāja from Bengal. Gaṅgādhara included the commentary with his *editio princeps* of the *Carakasaṃhitā*. He defines the *tantrayuktis* most often as defined in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* making explicit quotations from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* itself. Hence, this commentary serves as a testimonium for most part of the *tantrayukti* section of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

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.

⁶⁸¹ 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.(TY: 30).

⁶⁸² 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.)

⁶⁸³ 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

Nīlamegha's $Tantrayuktivic\bar{a}ra$ 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 $Aṣṭ\bar{a}ngasangraha$ and Carakasanhita. 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 $p\bar{u}rvar\bar{u}pa$ sandhi— $s\bar{a}pavargah$ + aviparyayah $\rightarrow s\bar{a}pavargo$ viparyayah (See footnote 663.).

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 *tantrayuktis* in the early sources can be grouped into two categories.

is problematic. However, since the Kairalī commentary on the <code>Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā</code> frequently quotes from Bhiṣagārya's <code>Abhidhānamañjarī</code>, 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). Moreover, he views <code>Abhidhānamañjarī</code> as a work composed after the sixteenth century, citing details within it that affirm its posteriority to the <code>Rājanighaṇṭu</code> and <code>Bhāvaprakāśa</code> (HIML: IIA, 442).

⁶⁸⁴ वैद्यनाथोपसृष्टानां लक्ष्यलक्षणवाप्नुषाम् ॥ तासां प्रायः प्रकाशानां दुर्लेखापङ्कदूषणात् । क्रियते साम्प्रतं कृच्छादुद्भृत्य परिमार्ज्जनम् ॥ TY: 1

For the ease of our following discussion, we name these two inventories as (1) earlier listing and (2) later listing.

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.⁶⁸⁵ 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.

⁶⁸⁵ तद् द्वात्रिंशद् युक्तियुक्तम् । (5.1.3 Kangle 1965: 1, 280) "that (*Arthaśāstra*) is furnished with thirty-two logical methods of the system", तत्र द्वात्रिंशत् तन्त्रयुक्तयो भवन्ति । (*Suśrutasaṃ-hitā*6.64.2) "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." (Nannūl: 9–10)

Although Hariścandra's list includes 40 *tantrayukti*s 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 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 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 1965: 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 *tantra-yuktis* 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 interpretat-

ive device. With a tautological expression, the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* defines *adhi-karaṇa* 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 *Uttara-tantra*, namely chapter 62 (*Kāyacikitsā* 27) and chapter 65 (*Kāyacikitsā* 30) are dedicated. Clearly, *adhikaraṇa* is the topic or theme.

Cakrapāṇi and Gaṅgādhara define adhikaraṇa in almost the same way as does the Suśrutasaṇhitā. 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). Srīdāsa Paṇḍita follows Aruṇadatta. 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. 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.

Nīlamegha defines *adhikaraṇa* using the Paninian terminology. According to him, *adhikāraṇa* is the locus in which the *tātparya*, "reference" lies. ⁶⁹² *Adhikaraṇa* is one of the six *kāraka*-s (a sort of semantic roles recognized by Sanskrit grammarians). Pāṇini calls it a locus (*ādhāra*). ⁶⁹³ 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

⁶⁸⁶ They are chapters 63 and 66 in A (Su 1938: B).

⁶⁸⁷ यमर्थमधिकृत्य प्रवर्तते कर्ता। यथा "विघ्नभूता यदा रोगा" इत्यादि। अत्र रोगादिकमधिकृत्यायुर्वेदो मह-र्षिभिः कृत इति 'रोगाः' इत्यधिकरणम्। Āyurvedadīpikā (Ca 1941: 736). तद् यमर्थमधिकृत्योच्यते; Jalpakalpataru (Ca 1928-33: III, 3815).

⁶⁸⁸ तत्र अधिकरणं नाम, यद्धिकृत्य प्रवर्तते शास्त्रं स्थानमध्यायं प्रकरणं वाक्यं वा।... (Ah 1939: 947).

⁶⁸⁹ AHS 1940: 2.

⁶⁹⁰ तत्राधिकरणं नाम यन्निमित्तमधिकृत्य प्रवर्तते कर्ता।... उत वा विघ्नभूता यदा रोगाः प्रादुर्भूताः तदिदं नि-मित्तमधिकृत्य जगदनुकम्पया महर्षिभिरयमायुर्वेद आगमः। एवमधिकरणव्याख्या वर्णयितव्या। MS MS Jamnagar GAU 114, p.4–5.

⁶⁹¹ अधिकरणं प्रस्तावः सामान्येनोक्तमप्यर्थजातं यद्बलाद्विशेषेऽवस्थाप्यते तदधिकरणम् । (As 1980: 959).

⁶⁹² तत्राधरोऽधिकरणं तात्पर्यं तत्र तिष्ठति । 1 TYV: 2.

⁶⁹³ आधारोऽधिकरणम् । *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.4.45.

vaiṣayika as one of the three types of adhikaraṇa. ⁶⁹⁴ Nīlamegha applies this idea to his definition of the tantrayukti adhikaraṇa. He quotes Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-saṇhitā Sūtrasthāna 1.5b-6a and explains how the eight limbs of Āyurveda serve as the adhikaraṇas 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 Ilampūraṇar and Pērāciriyar, list the item differently. In Sastri's translation of the *Tolkāppiyam*, *adhikaraṇa* was identified with *atikāra murai*, the second element in Ilampūraṇar'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."⁶⁹⁵ 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."⁶⁹⁶ 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 Pānini's *Astādhyāqī*.⁶⁹⁷

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

⁶⁹⁴ On Aṣṭādhyāyī 6.1.72 Mahābhāṣya: 3, 51.

⁶⁹⁵ Sastri 2002: 233.

⁶⁹⁶ Dikshitar 1930:85

⁶⁹⁷ See Chevillard 2009: 111.

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 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. 699

For illustration, a verse from chapter 18 of the *Cikitsāsthāna* is quoted in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*—

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तैलं पिबेच्चामृतवल्लिनिम्बहंसाह्वयावृक्षकपिप्पलीभिः।
सिद्धं बलाभ्याञ्च सदेवदारु हिताय नित्यं गलगण्डरोगे॥<sup>700</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 $yoga.^{701}$ 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

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698 See 6.65.9 (Su 1938: 815).
699 See Table 4.
700 4.18.47 (Su 1938: 474).
701 योगो नाम योजना ग्रन्थानां यथार्थसूत्रभाष्यसूत्रयोः... पञ्चलक्षणो वा योगः। प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणनिगमनानि...
यदिह युज्यते स योग इत्येके। (MS Jamnagar GAU 114, p.5.)
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expands its scope to coherence between mention (uddeśa) and description (*nirdeśa*) as well.⁷⁰² In the second alternative, *yoga* is reasoning (*yukti*) having five types: (1) pratijñā "proposition", (2) hetu "reason", (3) udāharaṇa "exemplification" (4) upanaya "application", and (5) nigamana "conclusion", resembling the five-membered syllogism of inference (anumāna) in the Nyāya-Vaiśesika school.⁷⁰³ Śrīdāsa Pandita's comment is similar to that of Arunadatta.704 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.⁷⁰⁵ Cakrapāṇi, 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 Hariscandra's second alternative i.e. *yoga* is reasoning (*yukti*).⁷⁰⁶ Nīlamegha defines *yoga* as connecting words one by one coherently.⁷⁰⁷ As he further explains in the autocommentary with examples from the Astāngahrdayasamhitā, it is evident that he understands yoga as coherence between a part of a sentence and the discourse.⁷⁰⁸ Neither V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar nor P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri identified the tantrayukti yoga with any utti mentioned in the *Tolkāppiyam*.⁷⁰⁹

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.⁷¹⁰ 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 $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$

⁷⁰² योगो नाम योजना, उद्देशनिर्देशयोः सूत्रभाष्ययोर्वा । Sarvāṅgasundarī on 6.40.80 (Ah 1939: 947). 703 युक्तिर्वा योगः, प्रतिज्ञा हेतुर्दृष्टान्त उपनयो निगमनमिति पञ्चिष्यः । 6.40.80 (Ah 1939: 947). 704 AHS 1940: 2. 705 योगो नाम योगः सम्बन्धः स च पदार्थयोर्वाक्यार्थयोर्वा । Śaśilekhā on 6.50.150aa (As 1980: 959). 706 योगो नाम योजना व्यस्तानां पदानामेकीकरणम् । उदाहरणं तावद्यथा प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणोपनयनिगमनानि । 8.12.41 (Ca 1941: 736). 707 योगः पदानामेकैकमर्थोचित्येन योजना । 2 TYV: 3. 708 TYV: 3. 709 Chevillard 2009: 84. 710 Joshi and Roodbergen 1991: 64.

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 cohesion and coherence. Keeping in mind such definition given in the Suśrutasamhitā, we translate the term as cohesion even though no other translators of the *tantrayuktis* used this translation. In some other contexts, however, yoga can be extended to coherence. Both coherence and cohesion are derived from the Latin verb cohaere- (< con-"with" haereō "cling") "to cling together." In other translations of the tantrayuktis (see p. 237), yoga 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 *prayoga*, not *yoga*. 'Rational linking' disregards the grammatical aspect of yoga. 'Conjoiner', 'connecting', 'union', 'uniting' or 'arrangement' are vague and they do not reflect the technical import of the term *yoga*.

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.⁷¹¹ Dalhaṇa also supports this perspective, indicating that the term *padārtha* refers to a specific

⁷¹¹ See fn. 765.

meaning of a word or words.712

In (Su 1938), a variant reading of the definition of padārtha is noted: सूत्रपदे in the place of सूत्रे पदे वा. It remains unclear which reading was available to Dalhaṇa. 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 mutually exclusive entities. Thus, if Dalhaṇa'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.⁷¹³ The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa adopts a definition of padārtha close to this variant reading.⁷¹⁴

The tantrayukti padārtha is illustrated with two examples in the Suśruta-saṃhitā. In the first example, three polysemous words—sneha, sveda and abhyañjana— are provided. Dalhaṇa gave various meanings of these words—sneha can mean lubricity or grease or affection; sveda can mean sauna either with fire (sāgni) or without fire (niragni); abhyañjana may mean the black eye make-up or oil rub (abhyaṅga).⁷¹⁵ In the case of such polysemy, padārtha or relevant meaning will be the meaning which coheres with the prior and subsequent elements (pūrvāparayogasiddha). The definition of this tantrayukti in Saddanīti corresponds to this explanation.⁷¹⁶ Thus, padārtha is that meaning which fits the context.

The second example is taken from the very beginning of the first chapter of the *Sūtrasthāna* that says वेदोत्पत्तिमध्यायं व्याख्यास्यामः, "I shall narrate the chapter on the origin of knowledge (*veda*)." The problem is, what does this word "*veda*" refer to? Is it the *Veda*, as in *Sāmaveda*? Or something

⁷¹² अधुना बहुषु पदार्थेषु निर्धार्य विशिष्टपदार्थग्रहणाय पदार्थबहुत्वं प्रतिपादयति— अपरिमिता इत्यादि। Palhaṇa on 6.65.10 (Su 1938: 816).

⁷¹³ अन्ये तु सूत्रपदे इति पठित्वा व्याख्यानयन्ति--- सूत्रस्य पदं सूत्रपदं तस्मिन् योऽर्थः स पदार्थः। fn.2 (Su 1938: 813).

⁷¹⁴ See table 4.

⁷¹⁵ तत्र स्नेहराब्दे निर्दिष्टे हि गुणप्रेमसर्पिषां त्रयाणामर्थानामुपपत्तिर्दृश्यते, स्वेदराब्देनापि साग्निनिरग्निकयोरूष्म-णोः प्राप्तिः, अञ्जनशब्देनापि नयनाञ्जनाभ्यङ्गयोः प्राप्तिः। Dalhaṇa on 6.65.10 (Su 1938: 816). 716 See table 4.

derived from the roots $\sqrt{vi(n)}d$ or \sqrt{vid} ? Context ("prior and subsequent elements") can help us to know that "veda" means only $\bar{a}yurveda$ and that the $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$ is talking about the origin of $\bar{a}yurveda$, specifically. The same issue is also addressed by Palhaṇa at 1.1.1 (Su 1938: 1).

Among the texts of the early listing, the *Arthaśāstra* presents a notably distinct definition of *padārtha*. Here, it is defined as that which has its limit within the word.⁷¹⁷ Though somewhat ambiguous, this definition implies that *padārtha* is the referent indicated by a word or in other words, *padārtha* is the scope of meaning that corresponds to a word. Hence, this definition of *padārtha* does not necessarily refer to a contextual meaning. It indirectly suggests that *padārtha* is basically the meaning of a word.

Similar to Arthaśāstra's understanding, the commentators Hariścandra, Indu, Cakrapāṇi, Aruṇadatta and Śrīdāsapaṇḍita interpret padārtha as the referents indicated by a word. However, by this time, the term padartha became an important point of discussion among certain philosophical schools, particularly Vaiśesika and Nyāya.⁷¹⁸ In the Vaiśesika ontology, padartha is the term used for denoting the fundamental ontological categories. Such a wider use of the term among philosophical schools also influenced the Brhattrayī commentators, most prominently Hariścandra, whose interpretation of padārtha aligns with the framework of Vaiśeṣika philosophy. Following the Vaiśeṣika doctrine, he lists six types of padārthas, namely, substance (dravya), attribute (guṇa), movement (karman), universality (sāmānya), individuality (viśesa), and inherence (samavāya).⁷¹⁹ In his understanding, a word (pada) is a universal category that may have several referents called *padārtha*. While other commentators such as Indu, Arunadatta, Śrīdāsa Pandita follow Hariścandra while defining this tantrayukti and cite Vaiśesika padārthas such as dravya or guna as instances of padārtha, it is not clear whether they endorse the Vaiśeṣika interpretation.⁷²⁰ Cakrapāṇi adopts the literal definition of padārtha as

⁷¹⁷ पदावधिकः पदार्थः। (15.1.10 Kangle 1965: 1, 280).

⁷¹⁸ The concept *padārtha* is also discussed by grammarians such as Patañjali and others. For the treatment of the term *padārtha* in different Indian philosophical schools, see Prets and Prandstetter 1991–2006: 2, 153–154.

⁷¹⁹ पदार्थो नाम य एकेन पदेनानेकार्थो गम्यते। यथा द्रव्यं गुणः कर्म सामान्यं विशेषः समवायः।. MS Jamnagar GAU 114, p.6.

⁷²⁰ पदार्थो नाम येनार्थो गम्यते। यथा गुर्वादयो गुणशब्दादवगम्यते। *Śaśilekhā* on 6.50.150aa (As 1980: 959). पदार्थो नाम, पदेनार्थो गम्यते। यथा द्रव्यमिति पदं, तस्यार्थो भूजलादिः। गुण इति पदं तस्यार्थो गुर्वादिः। *Sarvāṅgasundarī* on 6.40.80 (Ah 1939: 947). The same reading appears

mentioned in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. With examples, he emphasizes that word-meaning (*padārtha*) can stem from one word, two words or more.⁷²¹ Gaṅgādhara, however, defined *padārtha* in the line of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* considering *padārtha* as relevant word sense.⁷²²

Nīlamegha presents a distinct perspective, defining padārtha as polysemy within a given context.⁷²³ In his autocommentary, he also acknowledges another viewpoint that perceives *padārtha* as synonymy within a context.⁷²⁴ The author of the *Tantrayukti* merely quoted Nīlamegha's statements on this matter while incorporating the additional definition of *padārtha* found in commentaries such as those of Aruṇadatta, Indu, or Śrīdāsa Paṇḍita.⁷²⁵ Neither V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar nor P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri identified the *tantrayukti padārtha* with any *utti* mentioned in the *Tolkāppiyam*.⁷²⁶

From the discussion above, it is clear that <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code>'s understanding of the <code>tantrayukti</code> <code>padārtha</code> is distinct from its definition offered by the later commentators of the works of Dṛḍhabala and Vāgbhaṭa. The <code>Arthaśāstra</code>, which most often defines the <code>tantrayuktis</code> similarly to the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code>, provides a definition of <code>padārtha</code> that is closer to the understanding of the commentators such as Hariścandra and so on. In the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code>, <code>padārtha</code> is not merely the meaning of a word or words but the meaning arising within a particular context or co-text. It is the result of word sense disambiguation. Singhal and Mitra translates <code>padārtha</code> as "context." However, <code>padārtha</code> denotes not the context but rather the meaning intended in a context or co-text. Most other translators render this term as "import of words," which fits better in this case. The translation chosen here is "relevant meaning" because in the <code>Suśrutasamhitā</code>, <code>padārtha</code> refers

in Hṛdayabodhikā (AHS 1940: 2).

⁷²¹ पदस्य पदयोः पदानां वाऽर्थः पदार्थः। तत्र द्रव्यमिति पदेन खादयश्चेतनाषष्ठा उच्यन्ते; पदयोरर्थो नाम यथा—'आयुषो वेद' इति पदयोरायुर्बोधकं तन्त्रमित्यर्थः, एवं पदानामप्यर्थ उदाहार्यः। Āyurvedadīpikā on 8.12.41 (Ca 1941:736).

⁷²² अर्थः पदस्य चेति पदार्थो नाम तन्त्रयुक्तिः सा योऽर्थोऽभिहितः सूत्रे पदे वा। पदार्थस्त्वनेकस्तत्र योऽर्थः पूर्वापरयोगिसद्धो भवित सोऽर्थो ग्राह्यः। Jalpakalpataru on (Ca 1928-33: 3, 3816).

⁷²³ पदार्थस्तु पदैक्येऽपि भिन्नमर्थं प्रकाशयेत् । 4 TYV: 4.

⁷²⁴ केचित्तु "पदार्थः पदभेदेऽपि न भेदः पुनरर्थतः।/ TYV: 5.

⁷²⁵ पदार्थस्तु य ऐक्येऽपि भिन्नमर्थं प्रकाशयेत् ...पदार्थोऽपि च भेदेऽपि न भेदः पुनरर्थतः। पदेन योऽर्थो ज्ञायते यथा गुर्वादयो गुणे॥
TY: 8–10.

⁷²⁶ Chevillard 2009: 84.

to the meaning that is relevant within a context or co-text.

3. hetvartha

Hetvartha appears after padārtha in the earlier listing and before padārtha in the later listing. The word hetvartha is a compound of two words—reason (hetu) and purpose (artha). Although the term hetvartha is present in all lists of the tantrayuktis, it has not been lexicalized as a compound word. Thus, we need to understand the term through its components—hetu and artha. Depending on the meaning of the word artha, the word hetvartha can have different meanings. For example, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita uses the term hetvartha to mean simply the sense of a cause.⁷²⁷ As a tantrayukti, hetvartha is a logical device that serves as the purpose (artha) of a reason (hetu).

The Suśrutasaṃhitā provides an analytical definition of hetvartha, where it is described as a statement functioning as a premise (*sādhana*). The text supplies an example about moistening of wounds by milk etc. on the basis of the known fact that water moistens a lump of earth. Notably, the word *ukta* in the definition likely does not imply an explicit statement in the text. As appears in the example, it can be a known fact from the outside world that aids in predicting a similar case related to our body.⁷²⁸ The Suśrutasamhitā does not mention that water moistens a lump of earth; this is understood from general empirical knowledge. The Suśrutasaṃhitā prescribes moistening of a wound in certain cases but does not explicitly state how to do so. The knowledge that milk and similar substances can be used to moisten a wound derives from the empirical knowledge of moistening a lump of earth with water. The causal relationship between water and moistening a lump of earth serves a purpose elsewhere as a premise for understanding the causal relationship between milk or other similar substances and moistening of a wound.⁷²⁹ The definition is clearer in 6.65.11 (Su 1938: 813) because it includes the word other (anya), emphasizing that

⁷²⁷ हेत्वर्थे तृतीया स्यात् | SiddhKau: 137.

⁷²⁸ Cf. अत्र बाह्येन मृत्पिण्डदृष्टान्तेन माषदुग्धयोगादिभिराभ्यन्तरो व्रणप्रक्लेदः साध्यते। Dalhana on 6.65.11 (Su 1938: 813).

⁷²⁹ The definition is similar in *Saddanīti*. In the *Arthaśāstra*, *hetvartha* is defined as a cause that serves a purpose. Although phrased differently, this definition refers to the same concept. See table 4.

an idea stated in one one context serves a purpose in another.⁷³⁰ The author of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* as well as commentators such as Hariścandra, Cakrapāṇi, Indu, Aruṇadatta, and Śrīdāsa Paṇḍita define this *tantrayukti* similarly.⁷³¹ However, in their interpretation, the term stated (*ukta*) means an explicit statement in the text.

A different definition appears in Nīlamegha's *Tantrayuktivicāra*, where he defines *hetvartha* as a situation where an entity is represented by its cause. For example, in the statement, रोगस् तु दोषवैषम्यम्, "disease, however, is the disproportion of the humours," the cause "disproportion of the humours" represents its effect, "disease." It can also be the reverse, where disease is the cause of disproportion of the humours. When a cause and its effect are considered equivalent and one represents the other, it is called *hetvartha*.732 This definition by Nīlamegha is not found elsewhere. This may explain why the author of the *Tantrayukti* does not refer to this definition at all, even though he frequently quotes Nīlamegha. Instead, the author of *Tantrayukti* uses Aruaṇadatta's definition without attribution. He concludes with another definition, describing *hetvartha* as a statement where a reason is expressed.733 Neither V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar nor P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri identified *hetvartha* with any *utti* mentioned in the *Tolkāppiyam*.734

The term *hetvartha* has been translated in various ways, including "extension of argument," "implication," "goal of a reason," and merely

⁷³⁰ यदन्यदुक्तमन्यार्थसाधकं भवति स हेत्वर्थः। 6.65.11 (Su 1938:813). The testimonium in Gaṅgādhara's *Jalpakalpataru* supports the reading of (Su 1938). In his own definition, Gaṅgādhara merely reproduces the definition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. Ca 1928-33: 3, 3815.

⁷³¹ The definition of hetvartha is quite consistent across all the commentaries. Cakrapāṇi's definition: हेत्वर्थो नाम यदन्यत्राभिहितमन्यत्रोपपद्यते । Āyurvedadīpikā on 8.12.41 (Ca 1941: 736). Indu's definition: हेत्वर्थो नाम यदेकत्रोच्यमानमन्यत्रापि तथैवोपयुज्यते । Śaśilekhā on 6.50.150aa (As 1980: 959). Hariścandra's definition is also quite similar: हेत्वर्थो नाम यदन्यप्रस्तावाभिहितमर्थजातमन्यत्रापि तथैवापाद्यते । MS Jamnagar GAU 114 p. 5. Aruṇadatta's definition: हेत्वर्थो नाम यदन्यप्रस्तावोक्तमन्यत्रापि तथैवापाद्यते । Sarvāṅgasundarī on 6.40.80 (Ah 1939: 947). Śrīdāsa Paṇḍita's definition: हेत्वर्थो नामान्यप्रस्तावोक्तमन्यत्रापि तथैवापाद्यते । Hṛdayabodhikā (AHS 1940: 2).

⁷³² हेत्वर्थो हेतुनैव स्यात् तत्तदर्थप्रकाशनम् ॥३॥ यथा—'रोगस्तु दोषवैषम्यम्ऽ (अ.ह्.सू. १.२९) इत्यादौ रोगो नाम दोषवैषम्यहेतुः। न तु दोषवैषम्यम्। तत्तु वृद्धिः क्षयो वा। अतो हेतोर् एव रोगः। अत्र तुशब्देन रोगोऽपि दोषवैषम्यस्य हेतुरिति द्योतयति।. TYV: 4.

⁷³³ हेतुना सह यत्रोक्तिः स हेत्वर्थः प्रकीर्तितः॥ TY:8.

⁷³⁴ Chevillard 2009: 84.

"reason." We chose to translate *hetvartha* as "purpose of a reason" based on the components of the compound, which closely aligns with Olivelle's translation, "goal of a reason."⁷³⁵ While other translations may capture the application of *hetvartha*, they do not convey the lexical meaning of the term.

5–6. uddeśa and nirdeśa

It is necessary to consider the *tantrayuktis uddeśa* and *nirdeśa* in relation to each other as they form a pair of relational antonyms. They consistently appear together in all listings—following *hetvartha* in the earlier listing and *pradeśa* in the later listing. The *Suśrutasaṃhitā* defines *samuddeśa* as a brief statement and *nirdeśa* as a detailed statement. An example of *uddeśa* is given as the simple mention of the word "spike (*śalya*)." In contrast, the example of *nirdeśa* is the phrase "in the body or exogenous," where spike is described in more detail as being of two kinds. These two *tantrayuktis* are stylistic structural devices used in scientific compositions for precision and clarity.

The texts of the earlier listing provide identical or near-identical definitions of *uddeśa* and *nirdeśa*.⁷³⁶ They are also similarly defined and exemplified in the *Yuktidīpikā*.⁷³⁷ Commentators on the works of Dṛḍhabala and Vāgbhaṭa also defined *uddeśa* and *nirdeśa* similarly.⁷³⁸ However, Indu's definitions of these two *tantrayuktis* are more informative. According to him, *uddeśa* refers to objects mentioned merely by single words, while *nirdeśa* involves restating those objects to show their specific features.⁷³⁹

⁷³⁵ Olivelle 2013: 436.

⁷³⁶ See table 4.

⁷³⁷ Yuktidīpikā: 7.

⁷³⁸ उद्देशो नाम सङ्क्षेपाभिधानम्...निर्देशो नाम विस्ता... MS Jamnagar GAU 114 p.6. उद्देशो नाम सङ्क्षेपाभिधानम्...निर्देशो नाम संख्येयोक्तस्य (सङ्क्षेपोक्तस्य ?) विवरणम् । Āyurvedadīpikā on 8.12.42 (Ca 1941:736). उद्देशो नाम सङ्क्षेपाभिधानम्...निर्देशो नाम तस्यैव विस्तारोक्तिः । Sarvāṅgasundarī on 6.40.80 (Ah 1939:947) and Hṛdayabodhikā (AHS 1940:2). उद्देशो नाम तन्त्रयुक्तिः सा, यत् समासकथनम् ।...निर्देशो नाम तन्त्रयुक्तिः सा, यद् विस्तरेणोच्यते । Jalpakalpataru, Ca 1928-33: 3, 3816.

⁷³⁹ उद्देशो नाम यत्रार्थानां शब्दमात्रेणैव कीर्तनमुद्देशः।...निर्देशो नाम यच्छब्दमात्रेण निर्दिष्टानां स्वरूपविशेषप्र-दर्शनाय पुनः कीर्तनं निर्देशः। *Śaśilekhā* on 6.50.150ba (As 1980: 960).

There is a difference between the examples of *uddeśa* and *nirdeśa* in the Suśrutasamhitā and other texts. In the Suśrutasamhitā, the example of uddeśa is a single word, not a complete sentence, while in other texts, including the *Arthaśāstra*, it is a complete sentence, usually a simple equative sentence. For instance, Arunadatta and Śrīdāsa Paṇḍita quote 1.1.6b (Ah 1939: 6) as an example of uddeśa: वायुः पित्तं कफश्चेति त्रयो दोषाः समासतः।, "the three humours are wind, bile, and phlegm." As an example of nirdeśa, they quote 1.1.11 (Ah 1939: 9), which describes the characteristics of wind: तत्र रूक्षो ल-घुः शीतः खरः सूक्ष्मश्चलोऽनिलः।, "wind is rough, light, cold, harsh, subtle, and mobile." Even in these cases, where *uddeśa* is given with a complete sentence, uddeśa is exemplified by the individual items in those sentences. Thus, there are three *uddeśas* in that sentence, and the description of each functions as nirdeśa. What constitutes uddeśa and nirdeśa is contextually determined. In the example of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, spike (*śalya*) is the *uddeśa*, and its nirdeśa is the expression that provides its two varieties: (1) in the body and (2) extraneous. When each variety is further described, each variety of the spike functions as *uddeśa*. The author of the *Tantrayukti* indicates this mutual relatedness of *uddeśa* and *nirdeśa* in a verse.⁷⁴⁰ He also provides a versified definition of these two tantrayuktis, in addition to repeating Nīlamegha's statements.⁷⁴¹ Nīlamegha also defined these tantrayuktis in a similar fashion.⁷⁴² Similar *utti*s also appear in the *Tolkappiyam*. However, Sastri and Dikshitar differently identified these tantrayuktis with the *uttis* of *Tolkāppiyam*.⁷⁴³

Uddeśa is a common technical term in Sanskrit literature.⁷⁴⁴ Sometimes it appears paired with *lakṣaṇa*, where *uddeśa* means mentioning an item by name, and *lakṣaṇa* is its definition. In this sense, *lakṣaṇa* and *nirdeśa* are

similar. However, *nirdeśa* means any elaboration of the mentioned item, whereas *lakṣaṇa* refers to precise features. In Pakṣilasvāmin's *Nyāyabhāṣya*, the term *uddeśa* appears with *lakṣaṇa* and investigation (*parīkṣā*), and the triad of these three is called the course of the discipline.⁷⁴⁵

We mentioned before that Hariścandra added four more *tantrayuktis* to the later listing. Indu and Cakrapāṇi suggested that the scope of these *tantrayuktis* could be included in those already enumerated. According to Cakrapāṇi *paripraśna* could be included in *uddeśa* and *vyutkrāntābhidhāna* is a variety of *nirdeśa.*⁷⁴⁶ The only manuscript of Hariścandra's *Carakanyāsa* available to us (MS MS Jamnagar GAU 114) is full of lacunae, making it challenging to determine its reading. It seems that asking a question about a topic is *paripraśna*, and stating something without mentioning the order of its items or objects is *vyutkrāntābhidhāna*. Including *paripraśna* and *vyutkrāntābhidhāna* under *uddeśa* and *nirdeśa* respectively may be an oversimplification.

The tantrayukti *uddeśa* has been variously translated as enunciation, concise statement, allusion, mention, etc. We chose the translation "mention." The expressions enunciation, allusion, and concise statement are vaguer than "mention." The *tantrayukti nirdeśa* is translated as elaboration, detailed statement, explanation, amplification, exposition, etc. All these translations are accurate. We translated *nirdeśa* as "exposition."

Notes on Significant Variants

...द्वितीये पादे...

The Nepalese version reads द्वितीये पादे which would properly mean the second quarter of the first line; the vulgate reads तृतीये पादे "third quarter" which seems more correct.

⁷⁴⁵ त्रिविधा चास्य शास्त्रस्य प्रवृत्तिः, उद्देशो लक्षणं परीक्षा चेति । तत्र नामधेयेन पदार्थमात्रस्याभिधानमुद्देशः । तत्रोद्दिष्टस्यातत्त्वव्यवच्छेदको धर्मो लक्षणम् । लक्षितस्य यथालक्षणमुपपद्यते न वेति प्रमाणैरवधारणं परी-क्षा । Jośī 1922:14.

⁷⁴⁶ तत्र परिप्रश्न उद्देशेऽन्तर्भवति,...व्युत्क्रान्ताभिधानं निर्देशप्रभेदः \bar{A} yurvedad \bar{i} pik \bar{a} on 8.12.41b–45a (Ca 1941: 737).

यत्र तु स्नेहस्वेदाभ्यञ्जनेषु...पूर्वापरयोगसिद्धो भवति।

There is a dangling relative clause, योऽर्थः, in the Nepalese version that is avoided in the vulgate recension by the addition of स ग्रहीतव्यः. There are two possible explanations for this discrepancy: firstly, the missing main clause may have been present in the archetype but inadvertently omitted in the Nepalese version due to a scribal error. Alternatively, the main clause could have been elliptical in the archetype. The scribes of the Nepalese manuscripts accurately transmitted the text. However, at some stage during the transmission process, the main clause was supplied as an attempt to rectify the ungrammatical sentence. The interpolation may also stem from Dalhaṇa's commentary in which the exact clause was used.⁷⁴⁷ Considering the principle *lectio difficilior potior*, we may posit that the second scenario is more plausible. This is because the subject of the main clause can be inferred from the subject of the previous sentence, and within the context, the meaning of the sentence remains totally intelligible even without the explicit main clause.

सामवेदादयश्च वेदाः

Both , Su 1938 and the excerpts from the Suśrutasaṃhitā cited in the Jalpakalpataru read ऋग्वेदादयस्तु वेदाः, ê "Rgveda and so on are the Vedas." Traditionally, the Rgveda, being the earliest composed Veda, is often considered the prototype. However, the selection of Sāmaveda as the prototype in the Nepalese Version of the Suśrutasaṃhitā is intriguing. This choice brings to mind a verse from the Bhagavadgīta where Kṛṣṇa declares, वेदानां सामवेदोऽस्मि⁷⁴⁸, "I am the Sāmaveda among the Vedas." With its incorporation of musical elements, the Sāmaveda holds a unique charm compared to the Rgveda. Thus, the decision to prioritize the Sāmaveda as the prototype may stem from its intrinsic appeal or enchantment rather than chronological precedence.⁷⁴⁹ However, this reading not just appear

⁷⁴⁷ तत्र योऽर्थ इत्यादि । पूर्वोक्तपरोक्तवाक्यसम्बन्धेनोपपन्नो योऽर्थो भवति स ग्रहीतव्य इत्यर्थः Dalhaṇa on 6.65.10 (Su 1938: 816).

^{748 10.22} BhaGī: 456.

⁷⁴⁹ Cf. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's comment on the same verse: चतुर्णां वेदानां मध्ये गानमा-धुर्येणातिरमणीयः सामवेदोऽहमस्मि (10.22 BhaGī: 456), "amongst the four Vedas I am the Sāmaveda, which is extremely delightful due to its musical charm."

in the Nepalese version. Another early *Suśrutasaṃhitā* manuscript from 1595 also keeps the same reading.⁷⁵⁰

...विद विन्द इत्येतयोश्च धात्वोः...

Three issues need to be addressed here: (1) nomenclature of the verb roots in Sanskrit, (2) the homonymy of vid, and (3) variant readings in , Su 1938 and Jalpakalpataru.

- (1) The text suggests the etymology of the word veda by mentioning two verb roots, namely vinda and vida. It is worth noting that there are multiple ways of representing Sanskrit verb roots, even within traditional Sanskrit grammar like that of Pāṇini. Verb roots are presented in various forms, including mere lexical root forms, 751 forms ending in $^{-a}$, 752 ending in $^{-i}$, 753 or with the ending $^{-ti}$ in the present stem, 754 or sometimes with indicatory sounds (anubandha) as found in the $Dhātupāṭha^{755}$ In the reading of the Nepalese version of the $Su\acute{s}rutasaṃhita$, the second option, representing the verbs with a final $^{-a}$, is adopted.
- (2) The second issue pertains to the homonymy of vid in Sanskrit $Dh\bar{a}tup\bar{a}thas$, where at least four homonymous verbs are mentioned. They all belong to different classes and signify different meanings: \sqrt{vid} "to know" belongs to the second class $(ad\bar{a}di)$ or the root class), \sqrt{vid} "to find, to attain" to the sixth class $(tud\bar{a}di)$ or the suffixally accented thematic class), \sqrt{vid} "to consider" to the 7th class $(tudh\bar{a}di)$ or the athematic nasal infix class) and \sqrt{vid} "to exist" to the fourth class $(div\bar{a}di)$ or the thematic ya-suffix class). 756 A 10th-class verb \sqrt{vid} is also mentioned in the $Dh\bar{a}tup\bar{a}tha$ but this appears to be derived from the other vid verbs with a pleonastic causative suffix. The 4th-class vid is also originally a derivative

⁷⁵⁰ MS Jodhpur RORI 20060 f.265r5.

⁷⁵¹ E.g. as \(\gamma up, \sqrt{tij}, \) and \(\sqrt{kit} \) are mentioned in गुप्तिज्किद्भ्यः सन् (Aṣṭādhyāyī: 3.1.5).

⁷⁵² E.g. as \sqrt{gam} , \sqrt{han} , \sqrt{vid} , and $\sqrt{vi\acute{s}}$ are mentioned in विभाषा गमहनविद्विशाम् (Aṣṭādhyāyī: 7.2.68).

⁷⁵³ E.g. as √mṛj is mentioned in मृजेर्विभाषा (Aṣṭādhyāyī: 3.1.113).

⁷⁵⁴ E.g. as √as, √vac, and √khyā are mentioned in अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ् (Aṣṭād-hyāyī: 3.1.52).

⁷⁵⁵ E.g. as \sqrt{i} \$ is mentioned in इषुगिमयमां छः (Asṭādhyāyī: 6, 7.3.77). Cf. इषुम्ँ इच्छायाम् (Dhātupātha 6.78).

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. सत्तायां विद्यते ज्ञाने वेत्ति विन्ते विचारणे। विन्दते विन्दति प्राप्तौ श्यन्लुक्श्नम्शेष्विदं क्रमात्॥ (SiddhKau: 402).

of the other vid verbs formed with the passive suffix. The sixth-class verb vid belongs to a subclass called $muc\bar{a}di$, characterized by a nasal infix. Thus, it is clear that vinda, the first of the two verbs mentioned in the $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$, is the vid of the 6th class. The form vinda is, therefore, the present stem of the sixth-class verb $vid.^{757}$ The other one may be the 2nd-or the 7th-class vid. The nominalized form of all of these verbs, using the suffix $GHa\tilde{N}$, is veda. This is where the ambiguity appears.

(3) In , Su 1938, the verbs are represented as they appear in the Paninian Dhātupāṭha, with indicatory letters (anubandha) and meanings attached to the roots: विद विचारणे, विदू लाभे. 758 However, the citation from the Jalpakalpataru presents another variant— विद् विचारणे विद् विन्दित 759. In both of these variants, the meanings of the verb roots appear. The verbs mentioned here are the 7th- and the 6th-class \sqrt{vid} respectively. The absence of meanings attached to the verb roots in the Nepalese version suggests the preservation of an older form of the text. 760

...धात्वोरेकार्थः। पश्चात् पदं भवति...

The Nepalese version of this passage significantly diverges from other witnesses. For a comparison the readings of four witnesses are provided:

- पूर्वापरम् उपलक्ष्य विन्द विद इत्येतयोश्च धात्वोरेकार्थः | पश्चात् पदम् भवति आयुर्वे-दोत्पत्तिमयं विवक्षुरिति (Nepalese version)
- 2. तत्र पूर्वापरयोगमुपलभ्य विंदतीत्येतयोश्च धात्वोरेकार्थयोः पश्चात् पदं भवति आयुर्वेदो-त्पत्तिमयं विवक्षुरिति (Śuśrutapāṭhaśuddhi MS London BL IOLR 1842)
- 3. तत्र पूर्वापरयोगमुपलभ्य विद् विचारणे विद् विन्दतीत्येतयोश्च धात्वोरनेकार्थयोः प्रयोगः पश्चात् प्रतिपत्तिर्भवति आयुर्वेदोत्पत्तिमयं विवक्षुरिति (Jalpakalpataru)
- 4. विद विचारणे, विद्रु लाभे, इत्येतयोश्च धात्वोरनेकार्थयोः प्रयोगात्, तत्र पूर्वापरयोगमु-पलभ्य प्रतिपत्तिर्भवति आयुर्वेदोत्पत्तिमयं विवक्षरिति (Su 1938)

⁷⁵⁷ Mentioning verbs in their present stem forms is not uncommon. The same 6th class verb \sqrt{vid} is mentioned as vinda in this rule: अनुपसर्गाल्लिम्पविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजिचेतिसाति-साहिभ्यश्च (Aṣṭādhyāyī: 3.1.138).

^{758 6.65.10 (}Su 1938: 813).

⁷⁵⁹ Ca 1928-33: 3, 3816.

⁷⁶⁰ Scholars believe that meanings were not initially attached to verb roots in the original Paninian *Dhātupāṭha* and were later additions, possibly by Bhīmasena. See Cardona 1976: 161–163.

Evidently, the readings gradually change across these manuscripts, with the Nepalese version representing the earliest and the last drawing from more recent manuscripts. Two key issues emerge: firstly, the contradictory readings of एकार्थः or एकार्थयोः versus अनेकार्थयोः, and secondly, the syntactic structure of the sentence.

- (1) The Nepalese version and MS London BL IOLR 1842 uphold the former of the contradictory readings, while the Jalpakalpataru and (Su 1938) adhere to the latter. Dalhana's commentary provides no definitive insight about his preferred reading. Nevertheless, the earlier reading appears more coherent. Although the two homonymous verbs bear distinct meanings, the context fails to privilege one over the other. In essence, we are not able to grasp the relevant meaning (padārtha) of the word *veda* by choosing one or the other meanings of the homonymous verb vid—be it Sāmaveda or Ayurveda, the meaning of the root vid does not change. The comprehension of veda as Ayurveda only occurs upon encountering the word "āyurveda" itself appearing after two sentences.⁷⁶¹. Hence, the reading अनेकार्थयोः appears less tenable. But if we take the meaning of the word artha as "meaning," the phrase विन्द विद इत्येतयोश्च धात्वरिकार्थः does not make sense either because these two homonymous verbs indeed have two different meanings. However, interpreting the word artha as "purpose" offers a more plausible explanation—both verbs, regardless of their individual meanings, serve the same purpose when nominalized with the suffix *GHaN*, yielding the same form *veda*.
- (2) The other issue pertains to the sentence's syntax. In the Nepalese version, there are two separate sentences: "पूर्वापरमुपलक्ष्य विन्द विद इत्येतयोश्च धात्वोरेकार्थः" and "पश्चात् पदम् भवति...", whereas all other witnesses present a unified sentence. The fact of having two different sentences in the Nepalese version is determined by the use of the nominative case in the word एका-र्थः, while the nominative of the second sentence is पदम्. In other readings, the genitive case is employed (एकार्थयोः) and thus the entire chunk in question constitutes a single sentence. Under this interpretation, the sentence conveys the meaning as: "when the prior and the subsequent elements are considered, after the fact that the roots vind and vid have the same meaning, the clue appears that he wants to talk about the origin of Āyurveda." Here, the word पदम् likely denotes a sign or a clue, rather than its conven-

⁷⁶¹ Cf. 'आयुर्वेदिमच्छाम इहोपिदश्यमानम्' इत्यस्मिन्नायुर्वेदशब्दः श्रूयते, अतोऽत्र वेद आयुर्वेद इत्यभिप्रायः॥ (Dalhaṇa on 6.65.10 (Su 1938: 816)).

tional meaning "word", which would be incongruous in this context.

यदुक्तं साधनं भवति स हेत्वर्थः

The reading in 6.65.11 (Su 1938: 813) is यदन्यदुक्तमन्यार्थसाधकं भवति स हेत्वर्धः. The same reading appears in MS London BL IOLR 1842 and the testimonium in the Jalpakalpataru. MS Jodhpur RORI 20060 reads यदुक्तमुभयार्थ-साधनं भवति स हेत्वर्थः. Clearly, the reading in the Nepalese version represents an older stage of the textual transmission, while the vulgate version indicates an attempt to clarify the definition. A comparison with the readings found in the texts of earlier listing may also suggest that the reading in the Nepalese version is older.

...तथा माषदुग्धप्रभृतिभिर्व्रणः क्लिद्यते

The reading माषद्वाध...presents some challenges. The Nepalese manuscripts, (Su 1938), Dalhaṇa's reading in (Su 1938), and MS London BL IOLR 1842—all have māṣadugdha-. However, this reading does not make much sense. Should we interpret it as a dvandva (beans and milk) or a tatpuruṣa (milk mixed with beans or bean milk)? The first option (dvandva) is untenable because a wound cannot be moistened with a solid substance like beans. The second option is also unlikely for two reasons:

- 1. In the Suśrutasaṃhitā, the word -prabhṛti- typically follows more than one item in a dvandva compound. Therefore, the reading माषदुग्धप्र- भृतिभिः, where māṣadugdha signifies one item, is statistically improbable.
- 2. Does *māṣadugdha* mean bean milk? This expression is not found elsewhere. Does it mean milk mixed with beans? If so, it should be used for a specific remedial recipe and mentioned in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. However, there is no such reference to *māṣadugdha* in the text. If māṣadugdha is not mentioned elsewhere, it is unlikely the author intended such a complex example.

We conjecture that the original term was not $m\bar{a}$ sadugdha- but $c\bar{a}$ jyadugdha- or \bar{a} jyadugdha-. MS Jodhpur RORI 20060 supports this reading. In this manuscript, The character before jya is unclear, but it is clear that there is a medial vowel \bar{a} before jya. The expression \bar{a} jyadugdha- appears in other

Sanskrit texts. If we read $\bar{a}jya$ - or $c\bar{a}jya$ - instead of $m\bar{a}sa$, it would mean "a wound gets moistened with ghee, milk, etc.," which makes much more sense. If $\bar{a}jya$ - or $c\bar{a}jya$ - was the original reading, the scribal error likely occurred quite early when the ligature jya looked similar to sa.

समासवचनं समुद्देशः |

The reading समुद्देशः appears in the Nepalese manuscripts and MS Jodhpur RORI 20060. Everywhere else, the reading is उद्देश, which matches the list of tantrayuktis provided at the beginning of the chapter. The version of the Jalpakalpataru includes another variant, समासकथनम्, which is not supported by any other witnesses.

Characteristics of the Manuscript Transmission

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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 (nirṇaya)
3.	relevant meaning (padārtha)	20.	consent (anumata)
4.	purpose of a reason	21.	itemization (vidhāna)
	(hetvartha)	22.	future reference
5.	mention (samuddeśa)		(anāgatāpekṣaṇa)
6.	exposition (<i>nirdeśa</i>)	23.	past reference
7.	prescription (upadeśa)		(atikrāntāpekṣaṇa)
8.	statement of reason (apadeśa)	24.	doubt (saṃśaya)
9.	indication (<i>pradeśa</i>)	25.	explication (<i>vyākhyāna</i>)
10.	prediction (atideśa)	26.	field-specific term
11.	exception (apavarga)		(svasaṃjñā)
12.	ellipis (<i>vākyaśeṣa</i>)	27.	interpretation (nirvacana)
13.	implication (arthāpatti)	28.	illustration (<i>nidarśana</i>)
14.	contraposition (viparyaya)	29.	compulsion (niyoga)
15.	recontextualization	30.	option (vikalpa)
	(prasaṅga)	31.	aggregation (samuccaya)
16.	invariable statement (<i>ekānta</i>)	32.	deducible ($\bar{u}hya$)
17.	variable statement (anekānta)		

- 4 It is said about this, "what is the purpose of these methods?" The answer is, "cohesion of a sentence and cohesion of meaning". 762
- 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.

⁷⁶² Dalhaṇa 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."

- 8 Among them, "topic (*adhikaraṇa*)" refers to the object, with reference to which statements are made, such as flavour (*rasa*) or humour (*doṣa*).⁷⁶³
- "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.⁷⁶⁴ 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 relevant meaning $(pad\bar{a}rtha)$. The meaning that is attached to one or more words is the meaning of one or more words $(pad\bar{a}rtha)$. There are innumerable meanings of a word or words.⁷⁶⁵

Where two or three meanings of words such as *sneha*, *sveda* or *añjana* appear to be possible, the relevant meaning is the one that coheres with prior and subsequent elements. For example, when it is said that, "We

⁷⁶³ 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

⁷⁶⁴ See note on 250.

⁷⁶⁵ 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 "relevant meaning" and the subsequent use as mere "meaning of one or more words." Without presupposing the distinct usage of the word padārtha in this passage, the statement, अपरिमित्ताश्च 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.

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are going to explain the chapter on the *veda*-origin" the mind may be confused about which "*veda*" will be spoken about. *Sāmaveda* 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.⁷⁶⁶ Subsequently, the understanding takes place that there is a wish to talk about the origin of *āyurveda*. So that is the meaning of the word.

- The purpose of a reason (hetvartha) is a statement that becomes a premise ($s\bar{a}dhana$). e For example, just as a lump of earth is moistened by water, so a wound is moistened by substances like milk with green gram.
- 12 A mention (*samuddeśa*) is a brief statement such as "spike (*śalya*)".⁷⁶⁷
- 13 A exposition (*nirdeśa*) is a detailed statement. For example, "in the body or exogenous".⁷⁶⁸
- "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.
- "Statement of reason" (*apadeśa*) refers to statements like "this happens because of this." For example, in the sentence "Sweet substances increase phlegm," the reason is stated.⁷⁶⁹
- 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."⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁶ 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* opens with a statement saying that it will describe the "origin of the *veda*" (*vedotpatti*). The problem is, what does this word "*veda*" refer to? Is it the Veda, as in Sāmaveda? Or something derived from the roots $\sqrt{\text{vind}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{vid}}$? Context ("prior and subsequent elements") can help us to know that "*veda*" means only "āyurveda" and that the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* is talking about the origin of ayurveda, specifically. This same issue is also addressed by Dalhaṇa at 1.1.1 (Su 1938: 1).

⁷⁶⁷ Generally, शल्य refers to any painful foreign body embedded in the flesh that requires surgical removal.

⁷⁶⁸ This is a reference to 1.26.4 (Su 1938: 121) where शल्य is described in more detail as being of two kinds.

⁷⁶⁹ A techical term also in Nyāyaśāstra (Jhalakīkar 1978: 54).

⁷⁷⁰ A techical term also in Nyāyaśāstra (Jhalakīkar 1978: 6–7).

- 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.
- 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.
- 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 (*prasaṅga*) refers to a concept common to another section. For example, a concept belonging to another section is brought up by mentioning it repeatedly throughout.
- Invariable statement ($ek\bar{a}nta$) 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 incurable?
- 26 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.
- 28 Consent (*anumata*) 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.
- Itemization (*vidhāna*) refers to sequentially ordered statements within a chapter. For example, the eleven lethal points of thigh are mentioned

See chapter 40 of Sūtrasthāna.

vasā / medas / majian

⁷⁷¹ 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.

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- 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."
- 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 (sam say a). For example, a blow to the sole-heart (talah rday a)⁷⁷² is fatal, whereas cutting hands and feet is not fatal.
- An elaborate description is explication (*vyākhyāna*). For example, the twenty-fifth entity, person (*puruṣa*), is being explicated here. Thus, no other Āyurvedic texts discuss entities beginning with matters.
- A field-specific term ($svasamj\tilde{n}a$) is uncommon in other fields of studies. The term used in one's own systems is called field-specific term, such as in this system, pair (mithuna) denotes honey and ghee, and triad (mithuna) 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.
- 37 A statement like "This is the only way..." ... compulsion (*niyoga*). For example, one should consume only a healthy diet.
- 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.⁷⁷³
- A summarized statement is aggregation (*samuccaya*).⁷⁷⁴ 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

Does bhūtādi a compound or it means ahaṅkāra or ego?

triad? -DW

⁷⁷² तलहृदय is one of the muscle-group of lethal points mentioned in 3.6.7 (Su 1938: 370).

⁷⁷³ The example here matches समुच्च (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.

⁷⁷⁴ As stated in the previous footnote, the example here is of विकल्प, not समुच्चय.

39 idam vedam veti vikalpah / yathā rasodanah kṣīrodanah 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".

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 Astāngaḥṛidaya (6th edn., Muṃbayyām: Nirṇayasāgara Press), ark:/13960/t3tt6967d.
AHS 1940	Mūss, C. N. Nārāyaṇan (1940) (ed.), श्रीमद्वाहटाचार्यप्रणीतम् अष्टाङ्गहृदयम् । श्रीदासपण्डितविरचितया हृदयबोधिकाख्यया व्याख्यया समलङ्कृतम् (Śrīcitrāyurvedagranthamālā, 4; Trivandrum: Rājakīyamudrāśālā), ark:/13960/s23qzpqc61j.
Apte	Apte, Vaman Shivaram (1992), <i>The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company), ISBN: 4-653-00038-7; Reprinted from gode-apte .
Arthaśāstra	Kangle, R. P. (1960), <i>The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra</i> (University of Bombay Studies Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali, 1; Bombay: University of Bombay), accessed 23/09/2021.
As 1980	Āṭhavale, Anaṃta Dāmodara (1980) (ed.), अष्टाङ्गसङ्ग्रहः श्रीमद्भृद्धवाग्भटविरचितः इन्दुव्याख्यासहितः [= Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅ-gasaṅgraha with Indu's Commentary] (Puṇe: M. A. Āṭhavale, Śrīmad Ātreya Prakāśanam), ark:/13960/s25bwqsd0n7.
Aṣṭādhyāyī	Sharma, Rama Nath (2002–03), <i>The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini</i> , 6 vols. (Second revised and enlarged edition, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.).
BhaGī	Paṇśīkar, Wāsudev Laxmaṇ Shāstrī (1936) (ed.), श्री- मद्भगवद्गीता श्रीमच्छाङ्करभाष्येण-आनन्दगिरिकृतव्याख्यायुजा

संवलिता तथा नीलकण्ठी-भाष्योत्कर्षदीपिका-श्रीधरीयसुबोधिनी-अभिनवगुप्ताचार्यव्यास्था-श्रीमधुसूदनसरस्वतीस्वामिकृतगूढार्थदीपिकाख्यव्याख्यासहिता तद्भ्याख्यानेन श्रीधर्मदत्तशर्म(प्रसिद्धबच्चाशर्म)विरचित-गूढार्थतत्त्वालोकेन युता च (2nd edn., Bombay: Nirṇaya-Sāgar Press), ark:/ 13960/t7jq76w6m.

Bhela 1921

Mookerjee, Ashutosh, and Ananta Krishna Shastri, Vedantabisharad (1921) (eds.), *The Bhela Samhita. Sanskrit Text* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta), ark:/13960/t3sv3157j; Based on two copies made of the Thanjavur codex unicus (MS Thanjavur TMSSML 10773, burn-clas, sast-desc16).

Bhela 2000

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Abbreviations

ADPS	Sivaraian.	V.	V	and	Balachandran,	Indira	(1994). Auur-
11010	or varajari,	٠.	••,	aria	Daiacitatiati	IIIMIIM	(1 7 7 4 /)

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Calcutta: Oxford & IBH Publishing).

AVS Warrier, P. K., Nambiar, V. P. K., and Ramankutty, C.

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BIA Prater, S. H. (1993), The Book of Indian Animals (3rd edn.,

Bombay, Delhi, etc.: Oxford University Press), ark:/13960/t6356w32f; 4th impression of 3rd corrected 1980

edition.

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Chopra, I. C. Chopra, and Varma (Chopra_{sup}).

Chopra IDG Chopra, R. N., Chopra, I. C., Handa, K. L., et al. (1958),

Chopra's Indigenous Drugs of India (2nd edn., Calcutta: Dhur

& Sons), ark:/13960/t9673t140.

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Chopra_{sup} Chopra, R. N., Chopra, I. C., and Varma, B. S. (1969), *Sup*plement to Glossary of Indian Medicinal Plants (Reprint 1986, New Delhi: National Institute of Science Communication), ISBN: 8185038872.

CIPP Pillay, V. V. (2010), "Common Indian Poisonous Plants," in D. A. Warrell, T. M. Cox, and J. D. Firth (eds.), Oxford Textbook of Medicine (5th edn., Oxford University Press), 1371– 5. DOI: 10.1093/med/9780199204854.003.090302.

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Dutt

Dymock

GJM₁

GJM₂

GVDB

Abbreviations 297

HK Hilgenberg, Luise, and Kirfel, Willibald (1941), Vāgbhata's Astāṅgahrdayasamhitā, ein altindisches Lehrbuch Heilkunde, aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übertragen mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Indices (Leiden: Brill), ark:/13960/t52h05616. Griffiths, Mark (1994), The New Royal Horticultural Society **IGP** *Index of Garden Plants* (London: Macmillan), ark:/13960/ t2q61gn9z. Issar, T. P. (1994), Blossoms of Bangalore (Bangalore: T. P. Issar Issar). IW Israel, Samuel, et al. (1988), Indian Wildlife: Sri Lanka Nepal (Insight Guides; Singapore etc.: APA Publications), ISBN: 9780245545238, ark:/13960/s2p9d5pqd1w. K & B Kirtikar, K. R., Basu, B. D., and an I.C.S (1987), Indian Medicinal Plants, ed. E. Blatter, J. F. Caius, and K. S. Mhaskar, 8 vols. (2nd edn., Dehradun: International Book Distributors); First published in Allahabad, 1918. **MBG** Missouri Botanical Garden (2024), "Missouri Botanical Garden: Plant Finder," Missouri Botanical Garden, url. NK Nadkarni, K. M. (1982), Dr. K. M. Nadkarni's Indian Materia Medica, with Ayurvedic, Unani-tibbi, Siddha, Allopathic, Homeopathic, Naturopathic & Home Remedies, Appendices & *Indexes ... in Two Volumes*, ed. A. K. Nadkarni, 2 vols. (3 ed., revised and enlarged by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay: Popular Prakashan), ISBN: 8171541429, URL; First published in 1954. Peter Peter, K. V. (2012) (ed.), Handbook of Herbs and Spices (Food Science, Technology and Nutrition, 228; 2nd edn., Oxford, Cambridge, Philadelphaia, New Delhi: Woodhead Publishing), ISBN: 9780857090393. Potter Wren, R. C. (1956), Potter's New Cyclopaedia of Botan-

ical Drugs and Preparations, ed. R. W. Wren (7th edn., Rustington, Sussex: Health Science Press), ark:/13960/

t14n65c9g.

 $Potter_{rev}$ Wren, R. C., Williamson, Elizabeth M., and Evans, Fred J. (1994), Potter's New Cyclopaedia of Botanical Drugs and Preparations (Saffron Walden: C. W. Daniel Company Ltd.); Reprint of revised 1988 edition. **POWO** Kew Gardens (2024), "Plants of the World," Royal Botanic Gardens, URL. Reptiles Daniel, J. C. (1983), The Book of Indian Reptiles (Bombay: Oxford University Press). **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. $Watt_{Comm}$ Watt, George (1908), The Commercial Products of India, Being an Abridgement of "the Dictionary of the Economic Products of *India*" (London: John Murray), ark:/13960/t8cg7dm79. Watt, George (1889–96), A Dictionary of the Economic $Watt_{Dict}$ Products of India (Calcutta: Dept. Revenue and Agriculture, Government of India), URL, accessed 28/04/2021.

Flora

aconite leaf (?) (visapatrikā) Unknown. Cf. sometimes identified with tandulīyaka, perhaps, vatsanābha (wolfsbane). Cf. but A. spinosus L. is better known and GVDB: 373: 133 attested in the first millennium BCE (Saraswat 1991): 127, 182, 274 agarwood (aguru) Aquilaria malaccensis Lam., GVDB: 3: 94, 95, 183 Arabian jasmin (*trnaśūnya*) see Arabian jasmine (*mallikā*), GVDB: 190 MW: 453 Alexandrian laurel (punnāga) says Jasminium sambac. GVDB: 190 Calophyllum inophyllum, L. See also suggest screwpine (ketaka): 274 AVS: 1, 338, NK: 1, #425: 175, 184 Arabian jasmine (*mallikā*) Jasminum amaranth (tandulīya) see amaranth sambac (L.) Aiton, GVDB: 300: 274 (taṇḍulīyaka): 177 Arabian jasmine (*tṛṇaśūlya*) probably an amaranth (tandulīyaka) Amaranthus alternative pronunciation for Arabian spinosus L. See GVDB: 174, Dutt: 321, jasmin (*tṛṇaśūnya*), GVDB: 190: 184 NK: 1, #144, Potter_{rev}: 15. Cf. arjun (arjuna) Terminalia arjuna, Bedd. See AVS: 1, 121. Amaranth (etym. amṛta!) is HK: 738: 40, 74, 181 a large family, many originally endemic to S. America. A. hypochondriacus L. is Asoka tree (aśoka) Saraca indica Linn.,

GVDB: 26: 95, 97, 176, 184, 192, 287 axlewood (*dhava*) Anogeissus latifolia (Roxb. ex DC.) Wall. ex Guill & Perr. See AVS: 1, 163 f, Chopra: 20: 40, 73, 147, 181, 184

bamboo leaves (*veṇupatrikā*) Bambusa bambos, Druce. See NK: 1, #307: 127 banyan (*vaṭa*) Ficus benghalensis Linn., GVDB: 356: 74, 77, 78

barley (*yava*) Hordeum vulgare, L. See HK: 752: 105

bayberry (kaṭphala) M. esculenta
Buch.-Ham. ex D.Don, which is is
native to the Himalaya, from Kashmir
to Assam, as well as S. China and SE
Asia. Nageia nagi (Thunb.) Kuntze
(syn of Myrica nagi Thunb.), as
suggested by T. B. Singh and Chunekar
(GVDB: 66), is native to East Asia, not
India: 176

bearded premna (vasuka) Premna barbata Wall. (← vasuhaṭṭa), according to Cakrapāṇidatta. See the discussion by T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 362–363), where other candidate species such as Osmanthus, Calotropis, and Trianthema are discussed. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 363) note that when vasuka is mentioned with vasira, two varieties of salt are often meant (see vasukavasirā). See also NK: #1299 who identifies it with Indigofera enneaphylla, Linn. (Birdsville Indigo), apparently without controversy: 74

beautyberry (*śyāmā*) Callicarpa macrophylla, Vahl. See AVS: 1, 334, NK: 1, #420: 100, 125, 127, 177

beggarweed (amśumatī) Desmodium gangeticum (L.) DC (Dymock: 1, 428, GJM1: 602, NK: 1, #1192; ADPS: 382, 414 and AVS: 2, 319, 4.366 are confusing): 143

beggarweed ($vid\bar{a}rigandh\bar{a}$) \rightarrow $s\bar{a}laparn\bar{n}$. Desmodium gangeticum (L.) DC. See Dymock: 1, 428, GJM1: 602, cf. NK: 1, #1192; ADPS: 382, 414 and AVS: 2, 319, 4.366 are confusing: 49, 105, 284

beleric myrobalan (*bibhītaka*) Terminalia bellirica Roxb. One of the components of the three myrobalans (*triphalā*) GVDB: 274, 196: 290

Bengal quince (*bilva*) Aegle marmelos (L.) Corr. See AVS: 1, 62, Chevillard: 161, NK: 1, #62, i(MW:732a): 73, 95, 97, 102, 177, 279, 289

big thorn apple (?) (mahākarambha)
Perhaps Datura metel, L.?. See thorn
apple (karambha): 133, 134

bitter gourd (*paṭolī*) see pointed gourd (*paṭola*), cite[233]gvdb: 176

bitumen (*adrija*) → *śilājit*. A tar-like, black, resinous rock exudate. See *Mahākośa*: 1, 21:159

black creeper (kālānusārī) Ichnocarpus frutescens R. Br. or Cryptolepis buchanani Roemer & Schultes. Probably a synonym for kṛṣṇasārivā (GVDB: 94–95). I. frutescens has dark, rust-colored stems, so has been preferred here. However, Cryptolepis grandiflora, Wight, also has black stems. Synonym of kālānusāriṇī, kālānusārivā. kālanusārya may be a synonym of tagara, itself hard to identify: 175, 275

black creeper ($p\bar{a}lind\bar{\imath}$) Ichnocarpus frutescens, (L.) R.Br. or Cryptolepis buchanani, Roemer & Schultes. See AVS: 3, 141, 145, 203, NK: 1, #1283, 1210, ADPS: 434. Dalhaṇa on SS 5.1.82 identified $p\bar{a}lind\bar{\imath}$ with trivrt (turpeth) and T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 246) supported this as a usual identification: 127, 130, 142, 143, 176

black nightshade (*kākamācī*) Solanum nigrum, Linn., GVDB: 86–87. May also be the less poisonous S. dulcamara, "bittersweet nightshade," K & B: 1, 889–892: 183, 278

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ADPS: 294, NK: 1, #1929: 106, 182,
   192, 290
black sarsaparilla (kālānusārivā) see Indian
   sarsaparilla (sārivā); see also black
   creeper (kālānusārī). Problems about
   identifying this plant are discussed at
   GVDB: 94-95 and GVDB: 429-431: 184
blackboard tree (saptachada) Alstonia
   scholaris R. Br. GVDB: 420: 126, 275
blackboard tree (saptaparṇa) see
   blackboard tree (saptachada): 182
blackbuck (harina) Antilope cervicapra, L.
   See BIA: 270 IW: 95, 165, et passim: 130
blade (?) (kartarīya) unknown vegetable
   poison, GVDB: 82; also karttarīya: 134
blue water-lily (utpala) Nymphaea stellata,
   Willd. See GJM1: 528, IGP 790;
   Dutt: 110, NK: 1, #1726: 31, 125, 142,
   143, 184, 192, 193, 279
bluebell barleria (kuravaka) see bluebell
   barleria (kuruvaka): 177
bluebell barleria (kuruvaka) Or kurubaka.
   T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 108)
   notes that this is sometimes listed as a
   type of rice, as at Suśrutasamhitā 1.46.8
   (Su 1938: 215). Further discussion at
   GVDB: 447–448, sub bluebell barleria
   (saireyaka), where kurubaka is said to be
   identifiable with baka and būka.
   T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB)
   finally propose a red-flowering
   Rhododendron, admitting that this is a
   novel suggestion: 133, 275
bluebell barleria (saireyaka) A Barleria,
   perhaps B. cristata L. that is particularly
   well-known in South India. Four kinds
   are distinguished in ayurveda, based
   on the colour of their flowers. See
   substantive discussion at
   GVDB: 444-449: 276
bull's head (gokṣura) Tribulus terrestris L.
   GVDB: 144–145, 193. A component of
   lesser five roots: 276
bull's head (trikanṭaka) \rightarrow bull's head
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black pepper (marica) Piper nigrum, L. See

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(gokṣura) GVDB: 193. A component of
   lesser five roots: 284
bulrush (kaśeru) "Two species, Scirpus
   kysoor Roxb., and S. grossus Linn. f.,
   are used" GVDB: 85. Also kaśeruka and
   kaseru: 100, 101, 104
calabash gourd (k\bar{u}smānda) \rightarrow puspaphala.
   Beninkasa hispida, (Thunb.) Cogn. See
   AVS: 2, 1127; cf. AVS: 1, 261: 285
camphor (karp\bar{u}ra) \rightarrow s\bar{\imath}tasiva.
   Cinnamomum camphora, (L.) Sieb. See
   IGP 253: 276
camphor (śītaśiva) rarely mentioned.
   Taken as rock salt (saindhava) or shami
   tree (\acute{s}am\bar{\imath}), etc., by some authors,
   GVDB: 402. Palhana on 5.6.18
   (Su 1938: 581) glossed it as camphor
   (karpūra), but noticed other
   interpretations: 184
cardamom (elā) Elettaria cardamomum,
   Maton. See AVS: 2, 360, NK: 1, #924,
   Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 66: 94, 95, 143, 149, 175, 176,
   184, 276
cardamom (ksudrail\bar{a}) see cardamom (el\bar{a}),
   GVDB: 128. This expression, "small
   cardamom" is only used at
   Suśrutasamhitā Kalpasthāna 6.17: 184
carray cheddie (viśvadevā) → gāngerukī
   Canthium parviflorum, Lam. See
   AVS: 1, 366 f. Or Sida rhombifolia Linn.
   (GVDB: 372, 444 ff. et passim): 77, 78
cassia cinnamon (patra) Cinnamomum
   tamala, (Buch.-Ham.) Nees. See
   AVS: 2, 84, NK: 1, #589: 94, 95, 102,
   127, 143, 184
castor oil tree (gandharvahasta) \rightarrow eranda.
   GVDB: 135, K & B: 3, 2277: 45, 97
castor-oil (eranda) Ricinus communis, L.
   See NK: 1, #2145, Chopra: 214: 50, 276
castor-oil tree (vardhamāna) see castor-oil
   (eranda), GVDB: 361: 182
catechu (khadira) Senegalia catechu (L.f.)
   P. J. Hurter & Mabb = Acacia catechu
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Willd. GVDB: 129-130: 74

certain minerals (tārāvitāra) Unknown. It is

not even certain that these are minerals. colocynth (*mrgādanī*) see colocynth The variant reading in the vulgate, (indravāruņī) GVDB: 46, 318: 176 tāraḥ sutāraḥ was glossed by Ḍalhaṇa on common smilax (śvadamśtra) Smilax 5.3.14 (Su 1938: 568) as follows *tāro* aspera L., GVDB: 414: 73 rūpyam, sutārah pāradah, "tāra means convolvulus (laksmanā) Sivarajan and silver; sutāra means mercury.": 148 Balachandran (ADPS: 273–275) chaff (kāndana) The word kāndana is not suggest Ipomoea marginata (Desr.) found in dictionaries; kandana is Verdc. or I. obscura (Linn.) threshing, separating the chaff from the AVS: 3, 237–238 suggests Ipomoea grain in a mortar. Cf. Hemādri's sepiaria Roxb. (looks like a little boy Caturvargacintāmani (PWK: 2, 8) (putraka), and generates a boy (Siromani 1873: 1, 138: 21, citing the (putrajananī), according to the *Vāyupurāna*): 33, 288 Bhāvaprakāśa). Sivarajan and champak (campaka) Magnolia champaca Balachandran (ADPS: 273–275) firmly (L.) Baill. ex Pierre, GVDB: 154: 184 reject Mandragora officinalis which is chebulic myrobalan (harītakī) Terminalia European; but possible consideration chebula Retz. GVDB: 466: 103, 126, could be given to Mandragora 184, 290 caulescens C.B.Clarke, a variant that is known in South Asia. Cf. cherry (elavālu) Prunus cerasus, L. See GVDB: 346-347. NK: #1546, #2323 GVDB: 58 for a thoughtful discussion suggests Mandragora officinalum, NK: 1, #2037.: 143, 184, 276 Linn., known as *putrada*: 77, 78 cherry (elavāluka) see cherry (elavālu): 182 coriander (dhānyaka) Coriandrum sativum chir pine (sarala) Pinus roxburghii, Sarg. L., GVDB: 213: 277 GVDB: 423: 73, 104, 182, 183 coriander (kustumburya) see coriander cinnamon (tvac) Cinnamomum cassia, (dhānyaka), GVDB: 113: 184 Blume. See NK: 1, #579: 184, 277 corky coral tree (pāribhadra) Erythrina cinnamon (tvak) see cinnamon (tvac): 176 suberosa Roxb. See GVDB: 245: cinnamon (varāṅga) see cinnamon (tvac), GVDB: 360: 182 corky coral tree (pāribhadraka) see corky citron (mātulunga) Citrus medica, Linn. coral tree (pāribhadra): 97, 181 GVDB: 276, 306. Also spelled mātulinga, mātulanga, mātulānga: 73, 102, 107, costus (kuṣṭha) Saussurea costus, Clarke. See NK: 1, #2239: 94, 95, 102, 127, 143, 108, 176 149, 175, 176, 182, 183 cluster fig (udumbara) Ficus racemosa, L. cottony jujube (kākolī) Ziziphus See ADPS: 487: 181 mauritanica, Lam. See IGP: 1233, NK: 1, cobra's saffron $(n\bar{a}gapuspa) \rightarrow n\bar{a}gakeśara$. Mesua ferrea, L. See NK: 1, #1595, #2663; IGP 1233. Cf. NK: 1, #1170: 93, 101, 102, 172 GVDB: 220: 143 country mallow (atibalā) Abutilon colocynth (indravāruṇī) Citrullus indicum, (L.) Sweet, but may be other colocynthis (L.) Schrad., GVDB: 46. kinds of mallow, e.g., Sida rhombifolia, The two varieties of this plant are discussed by (ADPS: 180–183); the first L.. See NK: 1, #11, IGP: 1080, NK: 1, #2300, ADPS: 71, 77: 49, 101, 104, 258 is agreed to be colocynth, the second is country mallow ($sahadev\bar{a}$) $\rightarrow bal\bar{a}$ debated but is likely to be a Curcubitaceae: 182, 184, 277 (GVDB: 428). Contains ephedrine: 77,

country sarsaparilla (anantā) Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. See ADPS: 434, AVS: 3, 141–145, 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): 49, 133, 142, 143, 148 crape jasmine (tagara) Tabernæmontana divaricata (L.) R.Br. ex Roem. & Schultes. See GJM1: 557, AVS: 5, 232. Synonym of *nata*. 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 or a Nymphoides (see water snowflake (?) (*kumudavatī*)), but there remain many historical questions about the ancient and regional identities of this plant See, e.g., AVS: 5, 334, 345. See also IGP: 1147, K & B: 1, 796, #758: 94, 95, 102, 127, 143, 175, 183, 280, 292 crimson trumpet-flower tree (pātalā) Stereospermum chelonides, (L. f.) A. DC. See GJM1: 573, AVS: 5, 192 ff, ADPS: 362 f, AVS: 3, 1848 f, IGP 1120, Dymock: 3, 20 ff: 279, 292 croton tree (nāgadantī) Croton persimilis Müll.Arg., GVDB: 222: 182, 278, 287 croton tree (nāgavinnā) Croton persimilis Müll.Arg. GVDB: 222 I have taken this as croton tree (nāgadantī) because of context in Suśrutasamhitā Kalpasthāna crow (?) (kāka2) an unidentified poisonous plant apparently called "crow." T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 86) note that several drugs named after the crow are unidentifiable. Black nightshade, (kākamācī) is toxic, but this

is a stretch: 133

78, 104

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AVS: 2, 305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī),
   NK: 1, #796 ff. Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 292 f,
   ADPS: 132: 46
deodar (bhadradāru) Cedrus deodara,
   (Roxb.ex D.Don) G. Don. See AVS 41,
   NK: 1, #516: 40, 101, 105, 143, 182
deodar (devadāru) Cedrus deodara (Roxb.)
   Loud. GVDB: 206–207: 73, 102, 183,
   258, 278
deodar (suradāru) see deodar (devadāru):
devil's dung (hingu) Ferula foetida Regel.,
   GVDB: 471–472: 74, 76, 175
dried ginger (n\bar{a}gara) \rightarrow dried ginger
   (śuṇṭhī) GVDB: 221–222: 76, 175
dried ginger (śunthī) Zingiber officinale,
   Roscoe. See ADPS: 50, NK: 1, #2658,
   AVS: 5, 435, IGP: 1232: 100, 278, 290
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): 31
drum-giver (?) (lambaradā) Unknown; cf.
   GVDB: 348: 133
elixir salve (ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana) \rightarrow a\tilde{n}jana. See
   Indian barberry: 40, 50
embelia (vidanga) Embelia ribes, Burm. f.
   See ADPS: 507, AVS: 2, 368, NK: 1,
   #929, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 113: 40, 73, 95, 143, 175,
   176, 182
emblic myrobalan (āmalaka) Phyllanthus
   emblica, L. See AVS: 4, 256: 74, 103,
   104, 192, 290
emetic nut (karaghāṭa) Probably a synonym
   for karahāta (emetic nut), q.v.,
   GVDB: 74: 134, 278
emetic nut (karaghātaka) see emetic nut
   (karaghāṭa): 181
emetic nut (karahāta) 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
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datura (dhattūra) Datura metel, L. See

and pointed rather to Gardenia turgida Roxb. on the basis of local knowledge in U. P.: 278 emetic nut (?) (karaṭā) Not in GVDB. Cf. perhaps karahāṭa (emetic nut): 133 emetic nut (madana) Randia dumetorum, Lamk. See NK: 1, #2091: 125, 260 false daisy (*bhṛṅga*) Eclipta prostrata (L.) L. See GVDB: 288: 73 false daisy (subhangurā) (su)bhangura = bhṛṅga? Eclipta prostrata (L.) L. See GVDB: 288: 132 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: 47, 48 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: 129 fire-flame bush (dhātakī) Woodfordia fruticosa (L.) Kurz. See AVS: 5, 412, NK: 1, #2626: 74, 126 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: 73 flame-of-the-forest (palāśa) Butea monosperma (Lam.) Taub. GVDB: 241. pālāśa in some sources: 74, 97 flax (atasī) Linum usitatissimum, L. See NK#1495: 101 foxtail millet (priyangu) \rightarrow $\acute{s}y\bar{a}m\bar{a}$. Setaria italica (L.) P. Beauvois GVDB: 263-264, GJM1: 576. The most widely-grown species of millet in Asia. Some say Callicarpa macrophylla, Vahl. See

AVS: 1, 334, NK: 1, #420. The fruits of

a synonym for karaghāṭa, emetic nut,

S. italica and C. macroyphylla are similar. See also GVDB: 413, where the authors suggest that *priyangu* is meant by gondī or gondanī and may have originally been called gundrabīja: 40, 143, 149, 175, 176, 192, 279 foxtail millet (priyangū) see foxtail millet (*priyangu*): 184 fragrant lotus (saugandhika) A type of white water-lily (kumuda) or blue water-lily (utpala), GVDB: 457: 31 fruit of the marking-nut (āruṣkara) see marking-nut (aruṣkara). "āruṣkara = aruşkara phala" ADPS: 23; see also MW: 151: 176 gajpipul (gajapippalī) GVDB: 469, 132, syn. hastipippalī. A controversial plant, but the conjecture of T. B. Singh and Chunekar that Scindapsus officinalis (Roxb.) Schott is the more ancient identity is accepted here: 279 gajpipul (hastipippalī) see gajpipul (gajapippalī), GVDB: 469, 132: 182 galangal (galangala) Alpinia galanga (L.) Sw. Identified with grey orchid in Kerala (ADPS: 398). The name is borrowed from Chinese, perhaps via Persian or Arabic (Peter: 2, 304), and the name does not occur in early āyurvedic literature (GVDB): 280 garjan oil tree (aśvakarna) Dipterocarpus turbinatus Gaertn. f. See GVDB: 28, Chopra: 100: 147, 181, 184 giant potato ($k \bar{s} \bar{\imath} r a v i d \bar{a} r \bar{\imath}$) possibly \rightarrow kṣīraśukla. Ipmoea mauritiana, Jacq. See ADPS: 510, AVS: 3, 222, AVS: 3, 1717 ff: 101, 282, 285-287 ginger (mahausadha) Zingiber officinale, Roscoe. See ADPS: 50, NK: 1, #2658, IGP: 1232: 130 gold (hema) gold: 143 gold and sarsaparilla (*surendragopa*) Unknown. Dalhana 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": 149
- golden shower tree (*rājadruma*) rājadruma = āragvadha. Cassia fistula L. See GVDB 37: 148
- golden shower tree ($r\bar{a}javrk$, $sa) \rightarrow r\bar{a}jadruma$ = $\bar{a}ragvadha$. Cassia fistula L. See GVDB: 37: 73
- golden shower tree (*āragvadha*) Cassia fistula L. GVDB: 37–38. The plant has many synonyms.: 103, 174
- gourd (*alābu*) Lagenaria siceraria Standl. GVDB: 25. Some say Lagenaria vulgaris, Seringe (NK: 1, #1419) but this is not appropriate for blood-letting: 27, 28, 125, 172
- grapes $(dr\bar{a}k \circ \bar{a})$ Vitis vinifera L. GVDB: 208–209: 177
- greater five roots (*bṛhatpañcamūla*)

 Described at *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.38.68–69
 (Su 1938: 169). Consists of Bengal
 quince, migraine tree, Indian trumpet
 tree, crimson trumpet-flower tree, and
 white teak: 279, 283, 290
- green gram (*māṣa*) Vigna radiata (L.) R. Wilcz. See ADPS: 296, IGP 1204: 40, 101, 259
- grey orchid (rāsnā) Vanda tessellata (Roxb.) Hook. ex G.Don, usually. But Pluchea lanceolata, Oliver & Hiern, is a more common identification in Punjab and Gujarat (GVDB: 337-338); Alpinia galanga (L.) Sw. is more common in Kerala (ADPS: 398; Peter: 2, 303–318), though this is usually identified with galangal. As all authorities note, the identification of this plant is debated. Sivarajan and Balachandran (ADPS: 398–401) note that sources describe it as having leaves like cardamom and sweet-smelling roots and that "there is great confusion with regard to the identity of the drug.": 73, 100, 102, 175, 279

- gummy gardenia (*pṛthvīkā*) ← hiṅgupatrikā, Gardenia gummifera L.f., GVDB: 257, q.v. for discussion: 176, 184
- hairy bergenia (*pāṣāṇabheda*) Bergenia ligulata (Wall.) Engl. GVDB: 246–247: 74
- halfa grass (*darbha*) Demostachya bipinnnata Stapf. GVDB: 201. Synonym of *kuśa*: 76, 101
- halfa grass (*kuśa*) Desmostachya bipinnata, (L.) Stapf. GVDB: 111, AVS: 2, 326: 101, 169, 182
- hare foot uraria (kroṣṭakamekhalā) see hare foot uraria (pṛśniparṇī)

 Mahākośa: 1, 246. kṛoṣṭaka can mean

 "jackal" śṛgāla, as in śṛgālavinna, "a kind of pṛśnaparṇī) Mahākośa: 1, 839: 176
- hare foot uraria (*pṛthakparṇī*) → hare foot uraria (*pṛśniparṇī*) and rajmahal hemp (*mūrvā*) GVDB: 257. A component of lesser five roots: 103, 284
- hare foot uraria (pṛśniparṇī) → sahā?
 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: 100, 101, 280
- heart-leaf sida (*balā*) Sida cordifolia, Linn. See ADPS: 71, NK: 1, #2297: 49, 101, 104, 106, 143, 258
- heart-leaved moonseed (amṛtā) → guḍūcī. Tinospora cordifolia, (Willd.) Hook.f. & Thoms.? See ADPS: 38, NK: 1, #2472, 624, Dastur #229: 127, 142
- 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): 73, 102
- heart-leaved moonseed (somavallī) Tinospora cordifolia (Thunb.) Miers.

GVDB: 456. Likely, but uncertain: 127 heart-leaved moonseed creeper (amṛtavalli) See amṛtā: 258 henna (madayantikā) Lawsonia inermis, L. See AVS: 3, 303, NK: 1, #1448, Potter_{rev}: 151: 128 hibiscus (?) (ambaṣṭhā) possibly Hibiscus rosa-sinensis L.? T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 18–19) discuss the confusions surrounding the identity of this plant, and especially between this plant and velvet-leaf ($p\bar{a}th\bar{a}$); they must be different items. T. B. Singh and Chunekar propose that *ambasthā* is either the fruit of Hibiscus or the galls of a Quercus or Tamarix species. According to Meulenbeld 1974*b*: 599, vanakārpāsī is more likely a name for a hibiscus: 177 Himalayan birch (*bhūja*) see Himalayan birch (*bhūrja*): 182 Himalayan birch (*bhūrja*) Betula utilis D. Don, GVDB: 287: 280 Himalayan mayapple (vakra) Podophyllum hexandrum, Royle (NK: #1971), K & B: 1, 68. But perhaps a synonm of crape jasmine (tagara, nata q.v. (GVDB: 354)): 149, 175, 176 Himalayan monkshood ($ativis\bar{a}$) $\rightarrow vis\bar{a}$ Aconitum heterophyllum Wall. GVDB: 12, NK: 1, #39. Also "atis roots": 92, 128, 130, 149, 182, 184 Himalayan monkshood ($vis\bar{a}$) $\rightarrow ativis\bar{a}$ GVDB: 12, 373 : 286 Himalayan yew (sthauneya) see Himalayan yew (sthauneyaka): 184 Himalayan yew (sthauneyaka) T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 458–459) suggested Taxus baccata L., but that tree is endemic to the Mediterraenean

and not South Asia. Poudel et al. 2013 show that T. contorta Griff., T mairei

Kush - Himalaya region. The Nepalese

(Lemée & Lév.) and T. wallichiana

Zucc. are distributed in the Hindu

name Thuneraka is etymologically cognate with the Sanskrit name. T. contorta is of medicinal importance, so its common name is used here: 175, 281 hogweed (punarnavā) Boerhaavia diffusa, L. See ADPS: 387, AVS: 1, 281, NK: 1, #363:103, 128, 142, 177 Holostemma creeper $(j\bar{\imath}vant\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow$ sūryavallī? Holostemma ada-kodien, Schultes. See ADPS: 195, AVS: 3, 167, 169, NK: 1, #1242: 104, 286 holy basil (surasa) Ocimum tenuiflorum, Linn. GVDB: 438-439: 177 honey (ksaudra) Eight varieties of honey are described in the Suśrutasamhitā (NK: 2, Appendix 192). *Ksaudra* is the product of a small bee of tawny colour, called *kṣudra* : 109, 130, 192, 193 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: 102, 281, 286 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: 49 horse gram (kaulattha) See horse gram (*kulattha*): 170 horse gram (kulattha) Macrotyloma uniflorum (Lam.) Verdcourt, syn. Dolichos biflorus, L., D. uniflorus, Lam., GVDB: 109, POWO: sub Macrotyloma uniflorum: 105, 106, 174, 185, 281 horseradish tree (madhukaśigru) Moringa

oleifera Lam., GVDB: 398-399. See

horseradish tree (*murungī*) see horseradish tree (*śigru*) (GVDB: 311): 176 horseradish tree (śigru) Moringa oleifera Lam. See IGP: 759, GJM1: 603, Dymock: 1, 396, GVDB: 398-399: 102, 103, 281 hyacinth beans (*nispāva*) Lablab purpureus (L.) Sweet (1826) GVDB: 228: 91 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: 50, 129, 278 Indian barberry (dāruharidrā) Berberis aristata, DC. See Dymock: 1, 65, NK: 1, #685, GJM1: 562, IGP: 141, GVDB: 203: 142, 143, 281, 290 Indian barberry $(d\bar{a}rv\bar{\iota}) \rightarrow$ Indian barberry (dāruharidrā)GVDB: 203: 193 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: 127 Indian bat tree $(\acute{s}u\acute{n}g\bar{a}) \rightarrow parkat\bar{\imath}vrkṣa$ according to *Śabdasindhu*: 1058; idem also suggests vaṭavṛkṣa, i.e., Ficus benghalensis Linn. and āmrātaka, Spondias pinnata (L.f.) Kurz. (native to S.E Asia but naturalized in S. Asia). Contrasted with vaţa at Suśrutasaṃhitā 3.2.32. Cf. MW: 1081.: 77, 78 Indian bdellium-tree (guggula) See Indian bdellium-tree guggulu: 175 Indian bdellium-tree (*guggulu*) Commiphora wightii (Arn.) Bhandari (GVDB: 140). This is a flowering shrub or small tree that produces a fragrant resin commonly called guggulu. The name sometimes refers to the plant and sometimes to the resin: 109, 282 Indian beech (naktamāla) Pongamia

pinnata, (L.) Pierre. See AVS: 4, 339,

Forssk. See GJM1: 529 (2), IGP: 291b, cf.

Indian cherry (*śelu*) Cordia myxa, L. non

NK: 1, #2003: 40, 97

horseradish tree (*śigru*): 181

AVS: 3, 1677 f; cf. AVS: 2, 180 (C. dichotoma, Forst.f.), NK: 1, #672 (C. latifolia, Roxb.). See Indian cherry (śleṣmātakī) : 103, 142 Indian cherry ($\acute{s}el\bar{u}$) see Indian cherry (śleṣmātakī), GVDB: 408: 184 Indian cherry (śleṣmātakā) see Indian cherry (śleṣmātakī): 181 Indian cherry (ślesmātakī) Cordia dichotoma G. Forst., AVS: 2, 180–183. See POWO, sub C. dichotoma; Cordia myxa L., according to T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 413–414), although they also suggest C. dichotoma (synonym of C. wallichii G. Don.) and C. rothii (synonym of Cordia sinensis Lam.): 176, 282 Indian dill (śatapuṣpā) Anethum graveolens L. May also be Foeniculum vulgare Mill. See GVDB: 388 for discussion: 104, 184 Indian elm (cirabilva) Holoptelea integrifolia (Roxb.) Planch. GVDB: 158, who also say that *pūtika* is a synonym; but that must be different than pūtikā: 282 Indian elm (ciribilva) see Indian elm (*cirabilva*) : **181** Indian frankincense (gajavrttikā) Boswellia serrata Roxb.; equated with Indian frankincense (\acute{s} alla $k\bar{\imath}$) by some, GVDB: 392: 177 Indian frankincense (śallakī) Boswellia serrata Roxb., GVDB: 392: 282 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: 49, 102, 286 Indian jujube (sauvīraka) Zizphus jujuba Mill., GVDB: 458, MBG: sub jujuba:

Indian kudzu ($vid\bar{a}r\bar{\iota}$) $\rightarrow payasy\bar{a}$. Pueraria

101, 170

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tuberosa (Willd.) DC. See ADPS: 510,
                                                  AVS: 3, 141–145, NK: 1, #1210,
   AVS: 1, 792 f, AVS: 4, 391; not
                                                  GVDB: 430: 283
   Dymock: 1, 424 f. See GJM2: 444, 451,
                                              Indian snakeroot (sarpagandhā) Rauvolfia
   AVS: 1, 187, but AVS: 3, 1719 = Ipmoea
                                                  serpentina, (L.) Benth. ex Kurz. See
   mauritiana, Jacq: 49, 73
                                                 NK: 1, #2099, ADPS: 439, GVDB: 425;
Indian laurel (plakṣa) Ficus microcarpa, L.
                                                  cf. SS 5.5.76-78: 177
   f. See ADPS: 377: 182
                                              Indian symphorema (ananta) Not in GVDB
                                                  but MW: 25 says "sinduvāra" on no
Indian madder (mañjisthā) Rubia
   cordifolia, L. See IGP, Chopra: 215,
                                                  authority (see Indian symphorema: 182
                                              Indian symphorema (sinduvāra)
   GVDB: 289: 45, 143, 175, 176, 182
                                                  T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 435)
Indian mottled eel (varmimatsya) Almost
                                                  settles on Symphorema polyandrum
   certainly the mottled eel. MW: 962c
   noted that the varmi fish "is commonly
                                                  Wight as the identity of this plant.
   called vāmi." The "vam fish," or "বান
                                                  Other authors choose Vitex negundo
                                                 Linn. See further NK: 1, #2603 (cf. use
   মাছ (bān māch)" in Bengal, is a marine
                                                  of leaves), IGP: 1210a, MW: 1088b.
   and freshwater eel, Anguilla bengalensis.
                                                  Discussion by GVDB: 433-435: 175,
   It is the most common eel in Indian
   inland waters and a prized food fish
                                                  177, 184, 283
                                              Indian trumpet tree (śyonāka) Oroxylum
   (Froese and Pauly 2022). However,
   some NIA languages identify the
                                                  indicum (L.) Benth. ex Kurz.
   "vam" fish with the Indian Pike
                                                  GVDB: 172–173. A component of
   Conger, Congresox talabonides (Bleeker)
                                                  greater five roots: 283
   (Talwar and Kacker 1984: 235, 236): 29
                                              Indian trumpet tree (tintuka) \rightarrow Indian
                                                  trumpet tree (śyonāka). Oroxylum
Indian mustard (sarsapa) Brassica juncea,
   Czern. & Coss. See AVS: 1, 301, NK: 1,
                                                  indicum (L.) Benth. ex Kurz.
   #378: 32, 182
                                                  GVDB: 172–173. A component of
                                                  greater five roots: 279
Indian pennywort (mandūkaparnī) Centella
                                              Indian trumpet tree (tuntuka) see Indian
   asiatica (L.) Urban. See GVDB: 290,
                                                  trumpet tree (śyonāka),
   ADPS: 289-291: 177
                                                  GVDB: 172-173: 182
Indian sarsaparilla (sugandhikā) see Indian
                                              indigo (nīlinī) Indigofera tinctoria, L. See
   sarsaparilla (śvetasārivā) GVDB: 430,
                                                  NK: 1, #1309, GVDB: 229-230: 283
   436: 176, 184
                                              indigo (n\bar{\imath}l\bar{\imath}) see indigo (n\bar{\imath}lin\bar{\imath}): 184
Indian sarsaparilla (s\bar{a}riv\bar{a}) \rightarrow anant\bar{a}. The
                                              Indrajao (indrayava) see vṛksaka (Indrajao)
   śveta variety is Hemidesmus indicus,
                                                 Holarrhena pubescens Wall. ex G.Don
   (L.) R. Br. ADPS: 434, AVS: 3, 141–145,
                                                  1837 GVDB: 376, 45 and 84: 92
   NK: 1, #1210, GVDB: 430; and the black
                                              Indrajao (vrksaka) \rightarrow indrayava, indrabīja,
   form, black creeper, pālindī.
   Ichnocarpus frutescens, (L.) R.Br. or
                                                 kalinga, and kutaja. Holarrhena
   Cryptolepis buchanani, Roemer &
                                                  pubescens Wall. ex G.Don 1837
   Schultes AVS: 3, 141, 145, 203, NK: 1,
                                                  GVDB: 376, 45 and 84: 76, 258, 283
                                              itchytree (nicula) Barringtonia acutangula
   #1283, 1210, ADPS: 429-430: 142, 143,
   275, 279, 283
                                                  (L.) Gaertn., GVDB: 224: 182
Indian sarsaparilla (śvetasārivā)
                                              jambul (jambū) Syzygium cumini, (L.)
   Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. See
                                                  Skeels. See ADPS: 188, NK: 1, #967,
   Indian sarsaparilla (sārivā). ADPS: 434,
                                                  Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168, Wujastyk 2003a: 126, 192
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jequirity (guñjā) Abrus precatorius, L. See
                                                   (madhuka): 50
   AVS: 1, 10, NK: 1, #6, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168:
                                                lodh tree (lodhra) Symplocos racemosa,
   132, 133
                                                   Roxb. See GJM1: 597, ADPS: 279 f,
kadam flowers (?) (kādamba) kādamba is a
                                                   NK: 1, #2420. T. B. Singh and Chunekar
   hapax, meaning "a kind of flower
                                                   (GVDB: 351–352) notes that there are
   poison" GVDB: 90. But kădamba is
                                                   two varieties, S. racemosa, qualified as
   Neolamarckia cadamba (Roxb.) Bosser,
                                                   śāvara, and S. crataegoides Buch.-Ham.
   wild chinchona, NK: 1, #204,
                                                   for paṭṭikā lodhra: 40, 143, 175, 193
   GVDB: 70. Kadam flowers are not
                                                long pepper (krsn\bar{a}) see long pepper
   reported to be toxic: 134
                                                    (pippalī): 192
kutki (kaṭukā) Picrorhiza kurroa Royle ex
                                                long pepper (māgadha) see long pepper
   Benth. (GVDB: 64–65): 92, 109, 283
                                                    (pippalī): 129
kutki (katurohaṇ\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow kutki (katuk\bar{a}),
                                                long pepper (pippali) see long pepper
   GVDB: 66, 64–65: 175
                                                   (pippalī): 175
kutki (katurohinī) see kutki (katukā),
                                                long pepper (pippalī) Piper longum, L. See
   GVDB: 66, 64–65: 184
                                                   ADPS: 374, NK: 1, #1928,
leadwort (agniśikhā) Plumbago zeylanica
                                                   GVDB: 249-250, but cf. AVS: 3, 245: 73,
   (or rosea?), L. See NK: 1, #1966, 1967:
                                                   74, 97, 103, 104, 108, 109, 130, 143, 182,
                                                   185, 192, 258, 284, 290
leadwort (citraka) Plumbago zeylanica (or
                                                long pepper root (pippalīmūla) see long
   indica?), L. See RĀ. 6.124, ADPS: 119,
                                                   pepper (pippalī): 182
   NK: 1, #1966, 1967: 40, 74, 92, 97,
                                                long-stamen Wendlandia (?)
   108, 175
                                                   (prapaundarīka) See the substantial
leadwort (vidyutśikhā) see leadwort
                                                   discussion by T. B. Singh and Chunekar
   (agniśikhā): 133
                                                   (GVDB: 261). They note that it is used
lemon grass (u\acute{s}\bar{\imath}rabheda) \rightarrow l\bar{a}majja.
                                                   mainly in eye troubles and frequently
   Cymbopogon jwarancusa (Jones ex
                                                   with liquorice, than which it is has been
   Roxb.) Schult.. See NK: 1, #176: 291
                                                   said to be thicker, and sweet in taste. A
lesser five roots (laghupañcamūla)
                                                   candidate they suggest is Wendlandia
                                                   heynei (Schult.) Santapau & Merchant
   Described at Suśrutasamhitā 1.38.66-67
   (Su 1938: 169). Consists of bull's head,
                                                   (formerly W. exserta), native to India; I
                                                   have accepted that provisionally: 175,
   poison berry, yellow-berried
   nightshade, hare foot uraria, and
                                                   183, 284
   beggarweed: 276, 279, 280, 290, 294
                                                long-stamen Wendlandia (?) (tilaka) see
                                                   long-stamen Wendlandia (?)
liquorice (?) (klītaka) Glycyrrhiza glabra,
                                                   (prapaundarīka), GVDB: 183–184.
   L.? GVDB: 123–124 discuss the many
                                                   Sometimes thought to be a synonym of
   difficulties in identifying this plant: 132
                                                   viburnum (tilvaka), q.v., but this is
liquorice (madhuka) also yasti(ka/k\bar{a}),
                                                   probably erroneous: 184, 291
   yastīmadhuka, Glycyrrhiza glabra, L.
                                                lotus (nalina) see sacred lotus (kamala),
   AVS: 3, 84, NK: 1, #1136, GVDB: 329 f.:
                                                   GVDB: 218: 192, 193
   49, 73, 100-105, 107, 130, 141, 143, 175,
                                                lotus stalk (mṛṇāla) "Leaf stalk of sacred
   181, 184, 193, 284
liquorice (yaṣṭī) see liquorice (madhuka):
                                                   lotus" GVDB: 318: 102
                                                luffa (kos\overline{\imath}tak\overline{\imath}) = kos\overline{\imath}tak\overline{\imath}. Luffa cylindrica,
   176
liquorice (yaṣṭīmadhuka) see liquorice
                                                   (L.) M. J. Roem. or L. acutangula, (L.)
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(DC.) Seemann (ADPS: 518;

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Roxb. ADPS: 252–253, NK: 1, #1514 etc.
   GVDB: 121: 125, 142, 284
                                                 GVDB: 373 f, a plant used as an
                                                 abortifacient and fish poison
luffa gourd (kośavat\bar{\imath}) = koṣ\bar{\imath}tak\bar{\imath}, luffa : 142
mahua (madhūka) Madhuca longifolia,
                                                  (NK: #862): 133
                                              migraine tree (agnimantha) Premna
   (Koenig) Macbride. See AVS: 3, 362 f:
   73, 196–198
                                                 corymbosa, Rottl. See AVS 1927,
                                                 ADPS: 21, NK: 1, #2025, AVS: 4, 348;
maidenhair fern (haṃsāhvayā) Adiantum
                                                 GJM1: 523: = P. integrifolia/serratifolia,
   lunaluatum Burm f. GVDB: 463: 258
                                                 L: 142, 279
Malay beechwood (śr\bar{\imath}parn\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow k\bar{a}śmar\bar{\imath}.
                                              milk-white (kṣīraśuklā) An unidentified
   Gmelina arborea Linn., GVDB: 412,
                                                 plant. GVDB: 126: see purple roscoea
   96-97:73
                                                 and giant potato: 49, 287
maloo creeper (aśmantaka) T. B. Singh and
                                              mulberry (kramuka) probably the mulberry
   Chunekar (GVDB: 27) note that thisis
                                                  (t\bar{u}da); see discussion by T. B. Singh
   the name of two different drugs,
                                                 and Chunekar (GVDB: 122): 176
   Piliostigma malabaricum
                                              mulberry (tūda) Morus indica L.,
   (Roxb.)Benth. or Phanera vahlii.
   (Wight & Arn., 1834) Benth.
                                                 GVDB: 189: 285
                                              mung beans (mudga) Phaseolus radiatus L.
   (non-lactiferous), and Ficus cordifolia
   Roxb. (lactiferous). I have selected P.
                                                 GVDB: 310-311: 101, 104, 198
   vahlii in this context because of its
                                              mung beans (māsaka) Phaseolus mungo
   abundance in S. Asia and its Himalayan
                                                 Linn. GVDB: 308: 127
   and Nepalese distribution: 177, 181
                                              mung beans (vallīja) This is a guess.
mango (āmra) Mangifera indica Linn.
                                                  According to some lexical sources, \rightarrow
   GVDB: 37: 126, 177, 182, 192
                                                 marica. Piper nigrum, L. (MW: 929),
mangosteen (amla) Garcinia pedunculata
                                                 but this seems unlikely. See NK: 1,
   Roxb. ex Buch.-Ham. See GVDB: 20-21:
                                                 #1929. T. B. Singh and Chunekar
                                                  (GVDB: 362) note that valliphalamay be
                                                 calabash gourd; the related spiny bitter
marking-nut (aruskara) Semecarpus
   anacardium L. See bhallātaka
                                                  gourd has poisonous seeds, but not
                                                 flowers. Commenting on Bṛhatsaṃhitā
   (marking-nut tree), GVDB: 23,
                                                 8.13ab and 16.24ab, Bhattotpala glossed
   ADPS: 85–86: 133, 279
                                                 it as mudgādi, "mung beans etc.": 134
marking-nut tree (bhallātaka) Semecarpus
                                              munj grass (nārācaka) Saccharum
   anacarium, L. See NK: 1, #2269,
                                                 bengalense, Retz.?. See NK: 1, #2184:
   AVS: 5, 98, ADPS: 85–86: 97, 129, 285
marsh barbel (iksuraka) Hygrophila
                                              myrobalan (abhayā) Terminalia chebula,
   auriculata (Schumach.) Heine (syn.
                                                 Retz. See ADPS: 172, NK: 1, #2451,
   Asteracantha longifolia (L.) Nees.),
                                                 Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 214: 92, 142, 149
   GVDB: 42–43: 182
                                              myrobalans (pathyā) Terminalia chebula
medhshingi (vijayā-2) Dolichandrone
                                                 Retz. See NK: 1, #2451: 192
   falcata (Wall. ex DC.) Seem. The
                                              natron (suvarcikā) Sodium carbonate.
   Sauśrutanighantu gives a number of
   synonyms for vijayā (Suvedī and Tīvārī
                                                 NK: 2, #45. Dalhana identifies suvarcikā
                                                 with svarjikṣāra 4.8.50 (Su 1938: 441):
   2000: 5.77, 10.143). But one of them,
   viṣāṇī (also meṣaśṛṅgī), is sometimes
                                                  108, 143, 175
   equated with Dolichandrone falcata
                                              neem (picumarda) see neem tree (nimba),
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GVDB: 247-248: 181
neem tree (nimba) Azadirachta indica A.
   Juss., GVDB: 226: 45, 258, 285
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: 149
nutgrass (mustā) Cyperus rotundus, L. See
   ADPS: 316, AVS: 2, 296, NK: 1, #782:
oleander spurge (mahāvṛkṣa) see oleander
   spurge (snuhī), GVDB: 302-303: 181
oleander spurge (nand\bar{a}) see oleander
   spurge (snuhī), GVDB: 215: 290
oleander spurge (snuhī ) Euphorbia
   neriifolia, L., or E. antiquorum, L. See
   ADPS: 448, AVS: 2, 388, AVS: 3, 1,
   NK: 1, #988, IGP: 457b. T. B. Singh and
   Chunekar (GVDB: 459) discuss the two
   varieties distinguished by Caraka on
   the basis of their spines. Euphorbia all
   share the feature of having a
   poisonous, latex-like sap: 285, 290
orchid tree (kovidāra) Bauhinia purpurea
   Linn. or B. variegata Linn. (probably
   the former), GVDB: 120,
   AVS: 1, 256–260: 170
paddy rice (śāli) Oriza sativa, Linn.
   GVDB: 395–396 mentioning 33 Sanskrit
   sub-variety names; AVS: 4, 193: 33, 288
pale Java tea (arjaka) Orthosiphon pallidus
   Royle ex Benth., GVDB: 24, based on
   Dalhana's descriptions, and by
   P. V. Sharma 1982: 127, #60. But
   Ocimum basilicum L., according to
   AVS: 4, 160: 184
panacea twiner (arkapuṣp\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow arkaparn\bar{\imath},
   Tylophora indica (Burm. f.) Merr.
   GVDB: 23–24. Maybe identical to
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Indian ipecac, giant potato and similar

sweet, milky plants. See GVDB: 24, 127,

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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:
   142, 282
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: 102, 142, 143,
   149, 176, 192, 286
peas (harenukā) see peas (harenu): 184
peepul tree (aśvattha) Ficus religiosa, L.
   See ADPS: 63: 151
periploca of the woods (meṣaśṛṅga)
   Gymnema sylvestre (Retz.) R. Br. See
   AVS: 3, 107, NK: 1, #1173: 129
phalsa (parūṣaka) Grewia asiatica Linn.,
   GVDB: 238: 74
plants like asthma plant and Gulf sandmat
   (dugdhikā) synonym of plants like
   asthma plant and Gulf sandmat
   (kṣīriṇī), GVDB: 204–205, 127: 286
plants like asthma plant and Gulf sandmat
   (kṣīrinī) various milky plants, perhaps
   including Euphorbia hirta Linn.
   (asthma plant) and E. microphylla
   Heyne (Gulf sandmat) (GVDB: 127):
   282, 286
plants like asthma plant and Gulf sandmat
   (yavaphalā) synonym of plants like
   asthma plant and Gulf sandmat
   (dugdhikā), and plants like asthma
   plant and Gulf sandmat (kṣīriṇī), q.v.,
   GVDB: 327, 127: 183
plumed cockscomb (indīvara) Uncertain;
   possibly Celosia argentea Linn. But see
   the useful discussion in GVDB: 44-45.
   Possibly another name for thorn apple
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(*karambha*), q.v.: 290

pointed gourd (patola) Trichosanthes

dioica, Roxb., GVDB: 232-233: 102,

poison berry (*bṛhatī*) Solanum violaceum, Ortega. See ADPS: 100, NK: 1, #2329, AVS: 5, 151: 97, 103, 142, 143, 284 poison-altar (?) (visavedikā) Unknown. Possibly, at a guess, viṣamuṣṭika (strychnine tree)? GVDB: 373 Or viṣā (Himalayan monkshood): 133 pollen (?) (renukā) An unidentifiable plant. Perhaps a misreading for peas (harenu), although this is a long shot. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 339) suggests, on no authority, the synonyms vrksaruhā, māmsarohinī, or *durvā*, none of which help: 133 pomegranate (dādima) Punica granatum Linn. GVDB: 201–202: 73, 74, 107, 108, 177 pondweed (paripelavā) Normally a neuter noun. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (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: 143 pondweed (śevāla) Zannichellia palustris L. See horned pondweed: 31 pongame oiltree (karañjikā) T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 74-76) discuss complications, but probably Pongamia pinnata (L.) Pierre in Suśrutasamhitā 5.6.3: 182 powdered ruffle lichen (śaileya) Parmotrema perlatum (Huds.) M.Choisy (1952), although there are some inconsistencies in groups and synonyms. See GVDB: 408-409, AVS: 4, 222–225. The plant has a notably complex taxonomic history: 184, 287 powdered ruffle lichen (śaileyaka) see powdered ruffle lichen (śaileya): 175 prickly chaff-flower (apāmārga) Achyranthes aspera, L. See GJM1: 524 f, AVS: 1, 39, ADPS: 44 f, AVS: 3, 2066 f,

Dymock: 3, 135: 45, 49, 101, 183, 287

142, 275

prickly chaff-flower (vasira) also vaśīra. Perhaps Achyranthes aspera, L. GVDB: 362 describes several possible identities, including *sūryāvarta*, prickly chaff-flower and markatatrna. See also vasukavasira (GVDB: 363): 74 prickly-leaved elephant's foot (*gojihvā*) syn. gojī. Elephantopus scaber, L. See AVS: 2, 357. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 145–146) argue that *gojihvā śāka* is Launaea asplenifolia (Willd) Hook. f. (creeping Launaea), a plant with Himalayan to SE Asian distribution: 287 prickly-leaved elephant's foot (gojī) T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 145–146) observe that this plant name is unique to the Suśrutasamhitā. Since the usage is similar to that of prickly-leaved elephant's foot (gojihvā), q.v, it is almost certain to be the same plant.: 182 purging nut (*dravantī*) Jatropha curcas, L. See AVS: 3, 261, NK: 1, #1374. A.k.a. mūṣikaparṇī: 287 purging nut (mūṣikā) Jatropha curcas, L. See AVS: 3, 261, NK: 1, #1374: 129 purging nut (putraśrenī) Commonly identified as croton tree ($n\bar{a}gadant\bar{i}$), GVDB: 253 "a variety of red physic nut $(dant\bar{\iota})$." But it appears in a list with nāgadantī at Suśrutasamhitā 5.6.3, and Dalhana identified it there as purging nut $(dravant\bar{\imath})$: 182 purging nut tree (mūṣikakarṇī) Jatropha curcas, L. AVS: 3, 261, NK: 1, #1374, GVDB: 317. GVDB: 317; ADPS: 23-25 discuss this issue well: 127 purple calotropis (arka) Calotropis gigantea, (L.) R. Br. See ADPS: 52, AVS: 1, 341, NK: 1, #427, Potter_{rev}: 57, Chopra IDG: 305–308: 40, 49, 97, 170, 181 purple fleabane (somarājī) see scurfy pea

(bākucī), but GVDB: 455–456 note that

two areas of therapy (antitoxin, antileucoderma) may point to two plants being used under this name or a different plant with two active ingredients. A particular candidate is Baccharoides anthelmintica (L.) Moench.: 184

- 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: 101, 282, 285
- pussy willow (*vetasa*) Salix caprea L., GVDB: 380–381, q.v. for the argument that this is not the same as rattan (*vetra*): 287
- pussywillow (vañjula) see pussy willow (vetasa); T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 356) note that this is a tree in the nyagrodha group and has sometimes been equated with Asoka tree (aśoka) and sometimes with sandan (tiniśa): 102, 182
- radish (*mūlaka*) Raphanus sativus, L. See NK: 1, #2098: 106
- rajmahal hemp (*moraṭa*) → *mūrvī*, Marsdenia tenacissima (Roxb.) Wight et Arn. Good discussion at GVDB: 314–316, 324: 142
- rajmahal hemp (mūrvā) Gongronemopsis tenacissima (Roxb.) S.Reuss, Liede & Meve (= Marsdenia tenacissima (Roxb.) Moon), GVDB: 314–316. One of the twenty-two drugs in the group madanādi. T. B. Singh and Chunekar and ADPS: 310–313 discuss the long controversy about the identity of this plant. Sansevieria roxburghiana Schult. & Schult.f. ("Indian bowstring hemp") was preferred by Meulenbeld (GJM1: 590) and the sources he cited, including NK: 1, #2216, K & B: 4, 2457; ADPS: 310 mention this identity as being local to Bengal, but note that the

plant is not a creeper: 104, 280 rattan (*vetra*) Calamus rotang, L. See AVS: 1, 330, NK: 1, #413. T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 381) prefer C. tenuis, Roxb., which is also native to S. and S.E. Asia: 134, 287

- realgar (*manaḥśilā*) Arsenii disulphidium NK: 2, #11: 192
- red gourd (*bimbī*) Coccinia indica, W. & A. See PVS 1994.4.715; NK: 1, #534: 125
- red ochre (*gairika*) Hellwig 2009: 140–141. NK: 2, #40; the same source, at #6, gives kaoolinum or china clay: 143, 175, 177, 184, 192, 193
- red physic nut (*dantī*) Baliospermum solanifolium (Burm.) Suresh, GVDB: 200: 95, 182, 287
- red wisteria (?) (antrapācaka) a plant poison, perhaps Sesbania grandiflora (L.) Poiret (MW: 44) (source unknown). S. grandiflora is normally agastya (GVDB: 3): 134
- resin of white dammer tree (*sarjarasa*) GVDB: 424–425. See white dammer tree (*sarja*): 104, 184
- rice grains (taṇḍula) Oriza sativa, Linn. Same as paddy rice (śāli) GVDB: 174; or just "grains": 33
- rice-grain chaff (śālitaṇḍulakāṇḍana) See chaff: 32
- rock salt (*saindhava*) See NK: 2, M#48, Watt_{Comm}: 963–971: 32, 73, 108, 175, 192, 276
- rosha grass (*dhyāmaka*) Cymbopogon martinii (Roxb.) Wats. See AVS: 2, 285, NK: 1, #177: 143, 175, 184
- royal jasmine (*mālatī*) Jasminium grandiflorum, L. See NK: 1, #1364, ADPS: 285–288: 127, 288
- royal jasmine (*sumanā*) see royal jasmine (*mālatī*), GVDB: 437: 184
- sacred lotus (*kamala*) Nelumbo nucifera, Gaertn., GVDB: 73–74, Dutt: 110, NK: 1, #1698: 284, 288
- sacred lotus (padma) see sacred lotus

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(kamala), GVDB: 235-236: 31, 102,
                                                 #1822:184
                                              scramberry (tālīsapatra) see scramberry
   127, 184
saffron (bāhlīka) syn. of saffron (kuṅkuma),
                                                 (t\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}\acute{s}a):184
   q.v., GVDB: 273-274: 182
                                              scramberry (tālīśa) T. B. Singh and
saffron (kuńkuma) Crocus sativus Linn.,
                                                 Chunekar (GVDB: 179, 458–459)
   GVDB: 100: 288
                                                 discusses the several identifications
sage-leaved alangium (ankolla) Alangium
                                                 and regional differences in identifying
   salvifolium (Linn. f.) Wang.
                                                 this plant. Taxus baccata Linn. is a
   GVDB: 5–6. See also AVS: 1, 77; cf.
                                                 common candidate, as is Flacourtia
   NK: 1, #88: 126, 177, 288
                                                 jangomas (Lour.) Raeusch.
sage-leaved alangium (ankotha) see
                                                 (scramberry): 102, 193, 289
   sage-leaved alangium (ankolla): 181
                                              screwpine (ketaka) Pandanus tectorius
sal group of trees (śālasārādi) śālasārādi is a
                                                 Parkinson ex Du Roi, GVDB: 116: 274
   group (gaṇa) of twenty-three trees
                                              scurfy pea (bākucī) Identified as Cullen
   listed at 1.38.8–9 (Su 1938: 165),
                                                 corylifolia (L.) Medik. ADPS: 69-70,
   Mahākośa: 1,898:74
                                                 GVDB: 272: 287
sal tree (\dot{sala}) Shorea robusta, Gaertn.f. See
                                              scutch grass (dūrvā) Cynodon dactylon
   AVS: 5, 124: 192
                                                  (Linn.) Pers., GVDB: 205: 281, 289
sandalwood (candana) Santalum album, L.
                                              scutch grass (granthilā) see scutch grass
   See ADPS: 111, NK: 1, #2217. See
                                                  (dūrvā), Mahākośa: 1, 303, citing the
   GVDB: 152–153 for discussion of types,
                                                 Rājanighantu. It should be an aromatic
   including white and red (Pterocarpus
                                                 in this context. Monier-Williams
   santalinus (L.f.)): 75, 102, 104, 143, 170,
                                                 et al.: 371 said "two kinds of Dūrvā
   176, 183, 292
                                                 grass and of a kind of Cyperus" on
sandan (tiniśa) Ougeinia oojeinensis
                                                 lexical authority, perhaps also the
   (Roxb.) Hochr. GVDB: 181, q.v. for
                                                 Rājanighantu where it is listed amongst
   discussion about whether tiniśa and
                                                 sweet-smelling plants. Other sources
   syandana are to be separated. If other
                                                 identify it as Cissus quadrangularis, L.,
   trees are in the frame for either name,
                                                 i.e., Veltd grape (S. Gupta 1887: 272), or
   T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB)
                                                 Bengal quince (bilva): 184
   suggest Lagerstroemeia parviflora
                                              sedge (kutannata) \rightarrow plava, tagara, or
   Roxb. (sidhraka/siddhaka) and L.
                                                 śyonāka, according to commentators
   flos-reginae Retz. (jārula by some). See
                                                  (GVDB: 102–103). T. B. Singh and
   GVDB: 432: 181, 184, 287
                                                 Chunekar leans towards the plava, but
sappanwood (pattānga) Also pattanga.
                                                 that plant too is difficult to identify.
   Caesalpinia sappan, L. AVS: 1, 323, K &
                                                 Various sources identify kuţannaţa as
   B: 2, 847 f, GVDB: 234: 40, 50
                                                 Cyperus rotundus L., C, scariosus R.
scarlet mallow (bandhujīva) Pentapetes
                                                 Br., Oroxylum indicum (L,) Benth. ex
                                                 Kurz ( = Bignonia Indica L.) or even
   phoenicea, L. NK: #1836, GVDB: 268:
   128
                                                 Cinnnamomum verum J.Presl. The
scented pavonia (bālaka) Pavonia odorata,
                                                 Cyperus genus comprises about 700
   Willd. See ADPS: 498, NK: 1, #1822:
                                                 species of sedges, and I have chosen
                                                 "sedge" as a generic indication of the
                                                 likely identity of this plant: 175, 289
scented pavonia (toya) → bālaka? Pavonia
   odorata, Willd. ADPS: 498, NK: 1,
                                              sedge (kutannata) see sedge (kutannata):
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sesame (<i>tila</i>) Sesamum indicum L. GVDB: 183: 184, 185 sesame oil (<i>taila</i>) Sesamum indicum L. GVDB: 183: 49, 170 shami tree (<i>śamī</i>) Prosopis cineraria (L.) Druce GVDB: 390: 181, 276 silk-cotton tree (<i>śālmalī</i>) Bombax malabarica. See Issar: 152: 184 siris (<i>śirīṣa</i>) Albizia lebbeck, Benth. See AVS: 1, 81, NK: 1, #91, GVDB: 399–400. Cf. white siris: 142, 170, 183, 184, 192, 293 siris seeds (<i>śirīṣamāṣaka</i>) Albizia lebbeck, Benth. See AVS: 1, 81, NK: 1, #91: 126 small-flowered crape myrtle (<i>sidhraka</i>) Lagerstroemia parviflora Roxb., GVDB: 432: 147 smooth angelica (<i>coraka</i>) Angelica glauca Edgw. GVDB: 161. Distribution: Afghanistan, Himalaya, western Tibet (POWO). Edgeworth even recorded the indigenous name "chura" (Edgeworth 1851: 53): 177, 182, 289 smooth angelica (<i>taskara</i>) see smooth angelica (<i>coraka</i>), GVDB: 176: 184 snakeroot (<i>sugandhā</i>) → <i>sarpagandhā</i> Rauvolfia serpentina Benth. ex. Kurz. See <i>sarpagandhā</i> . But may be Aristolochia indica Linn. Has been identified with <i>nākulī</i> , or <i>gandhanākulī</i> . See (GVDB: 219, 436): 132 spikenard (<i>jaṭāmāṃsī</i>): 184 spikenard (<i>jaṭāmāṃsī</i>) Nardostachys jatamansi (D.Don) DC, GVDB: 163. See also NK: 1, #1691: 290 spikenard (<i>māṃsī</i>) see spikenard (<i>jaṭamāṃsī</i>): 124, 176, 184 spikenard (<i>nalada</i>) see spikenard (<i>jaṭamāṃsī</i>): 124, 176, 183 spiny bitter gourd (<i>karkāruka</i>) Momordica cochinchinensic (Lour.) Spreng, (Thunh) Cogn ScoAVS: 2, 1457 ICP	hispida?AVS: 2, 1127; cf. AVS: 1, 261). M cochinchinensis has poisonous seeds (bown-2001): 285 spurge (?) (nandanā) an unknown poisonous plant, a.k.a. (equally obscurely) udīmānaka, GVDB: 215 (where it is m.). Perhaps a synonym of oleander spurge (snuhī), like oleander spurge (nandā): 133 spurge (saptalā) T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 421-422) discuss the four candidates for this plant, three of which are Euphorbias: 106, 177 strychnine tree (viṣamuṣṭika) Strychnos nux vomica Linn. GVDB: 373: 286 sugar (sitā) Dalhaṇa makes this equation at 1.37.25 (Su 1938:162): 143, 177 sugar (śarkara) Saccharum officinarum, Linn. NK: #2182: 130 sugar cane (ikṣu) Saccharum officinarum, Linn. NK: #2182: 130 sunflower (sūryavallī) → ādityavallī, sūryamukhī, Helianthus annūs Linn. GVDB: 35, 443: 142 sweet flag (vacā) Acorus calamus Linn. See GVDB: 352-355: 101, 108, 182 sweet plants (madhuravarga) The sweet plants are enumerated at Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.42.11. See also GVDB: 127: 49 sweet-scented oleander (aśvamāraka) Nerium oleander, L. See ADPS: 223, NK: 1, #1709, GVDB: 77, which discusses the white and red forms: 132 teak (ṣāka) Tectona grandis, L.f. See AVS: 5, 245, (MW: 1061): 181 Tellicherry bark (kuṭaja) Holarrhena pubescens Wall. ex G.Don, with Wrightia tinctoria and W. arborea considered GVDB: 101-102, ADPS: 267-270: 97, 181, 279 ten roots (daśamūla) Described at Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.38.70-71 (Su 1938: 169)
cochinchinensis (Lour.) Spreng., (Thunb.) Cogn. SeeAVS: 2, 1135, IGP 754 (or Beninkasa	Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.38.70–71 (Su 1938: 169) as a combination of the lesser five roots and the greater five roots: 279

the three myrobalans (triphalā) chebulic myrobalan beleric myrobalan and emblic myrobalan (harītakī bibhītaka and āmalaka) One of the most-often mentioned drugs in the Brhattrayī GVDB: 194–196: 95, 175, 176, 275 the three pungent drugs (kaṭutrika) see the three pungent drugs (trikațu): 184 the three pungent drugs (trikatu) dried ginger, long pepper, and black pepper (śunthī, pippalī, and marica) GVDB: 193: 175, 290 the two types of clitoria (*śvete*) see white clitoria (śvetā): 184 the two types of turmeric (haridre) see turmeric (*haridrā*) and Indian barberry (dāruharidrā), GVDB: 465–466: 184 thorn apple (karambha) Datura metel, L. See GVDB: 76 for useful discussion. Also, AVS: 2, 305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī), NK: 1, #796 ff. Potter_{rev}: 292 f, ADPS: 132. Possibly the same plant as plumed cockscomb (indīvara) (GVDB: 76, 44-45): 133, 134, 275, 286 three heating spices (tryūṣaṇa) śuṇṭhī (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: 76, 142 three-leaved caper (varuna) Crataeva magna (Lour.) DC. See AVS: 2, 202; cf. NK: 1, #696: 129, 177, 182, 291 three-leaved caper (varuṇaka) see three-leaved caper (varuna): 184 toothed-leaf limonia (surasī) Naringi crenulata (Roxb.) Nicolson (formerly Limonia crenulata Roxb.), GVDB: 439:

top layer of fermented liquor (*surāmaṇḍa*) K & B: 2, 502, NK: 2, appendix VI, #49,

McHugh 2021: 39: 47, 48

176, 184

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: 46, 291 tree cotton (picu) See tree cotton (kārpāsa): 48, 50 tree of heaven (arala) probably Alianthus excelsa Roxb., GVDB: 21-22: 181 turmeric (gaurī) Curcuma longa, L. See ADPS: 169, AVS: 2, 259, NK: 1, #750: 102 turmeric (haridrā) Curcuma longa Linn. GVDB: 465: 103, 142, 149, 175, 290 turmeric (rajanī) Curcuma longa, L. ADPS: 169, AVS: 2, 259, NK: 1, #750: 32, 143, 176 turpeth $(trivrt) \rightarrow trvrt\bar{a}$. Operculina turpethum (Linn.) Silva Manso = Ipmoea turpethum R. Br. GVDB: 197.: 95, 130, 175, 260, 275 two kinds of salt (vasukavasira) See the discussion by T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 362–363), who note that when vasuka is mentioned together with vasira, two varieties of salt are often meant (see vasukavasirā): 73 unknown fruit poison (venuka) see unknown fruit poison (venukā): 133 unknown fruit poison (venukā) Bambusa bambos, Druce?. See NK: 1, #307, GVDB: 380. The Nepalese transmission has the m. venuka, not the f. venukā T. B. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 380) note that this is an unknown fruit-poison: 291 velvet bean (svayamguptā) Mucuna pruriens DC., GVDB: 461: 192 velvet-leaf (pāṭhā) Cissampelos pariera, L. See ADPS: 366, NK: 1, #592, GJM1: 573, AVS: 1, 95; cf. AVS: 2, 277: 40, 76, 92, 108, 142, 175, 176, 280

velvet-mite (indragopa) Kerria lacca

(Kerr.). Lienhard 1978: 125

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verbena (bhārgī) see verbena (bhārṅgī):
   176, 183
verbena (bh\bar{a}rng\bar{\iota}) \rightarrow phañj\bar{\iota}.
   Clerodendrum serratum (L.) Moon or
   C. serratum; see AVS: 2, 121, ADPS: 87:
   291
verbena (phañjī) Clerodendrum serratum,
   L. See AVS: 2, 121, ADPS: 87: 128
vetiver (uśīra) Chrysopogon zizanioides
   (L.) Roberty, also called "khus." NK: 1,
   #180, GVDB: 54 identify it as vetiver:
   74, 127, 170, 291
vetiver and lemon grass (?) (uśīre) "the
   two uśīras," perhaps vetiver (uśīra) and
   lemon grass (uśīrabheda): 184
viburnum (tilvaka) Viburnum nervosum
   D.Don. In their thoughtful article,
   T. B. Singh and Chunekar
   (GVDB: 185–186) separate tilvaka from
   lodhra, a conflation they attribute to
   Dṛḍhabala. AVS: 5, 219 makes the same
   separation, noting that in Kerala the
   plant Jatropha curcas L. is used in this
   context. Cf. many varieties listed by
   Griffiths (IGP: 1200 ff.). POWO
   confirms that V. nervosum has an
   appropriate Himalayan distribution.
   viburnum (tilvaka) is sometimes
   wrongly considered to be a synonym of
   long-stamen Wendlandia (?) (tilaka)
   (GVDB: 186): 95, 182, 284, 291, 292
viburnum extract (tailvaka) see viburnum
   (tilvaka): 192
water snowflake (?) (kumudavatī) This is
   an unidentifiable plant whose name
   means, etymologically, "with lilies."
   MW: 292 gives Nymphoides indica (L.)
   Kuntze (formerly Villarsia indica) on
   no authority; I have used the common
   name of N. indica as a possiblity, but
   this is not known to be poisonous; on
   the contrary, it is used medicinally
   (Khan et al. 2018). N. indica is
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illustrated on p. 6 of the Voynich

manuscript. Khan et al. (2018) assert

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that this is the same plant as tagara,
   although this is not a widely-held view
   (see crape jasmine): 133, 277
watered buttermilk (udaśvit) MW: 183: 125
weaver's beam tree (moksaka) see weaver's
   beam tree (muṣkaka): 292
weaver's beam tree (muskaka) Schrebera
   swietenioides, Roxb. See AVS: 5, 88,
   Lord, NK: 1, #2246, GVDB: 242-243:
   97, 147, 292
weaver's beam tree (p\bar{a}tal\bar{\iota}) usually a
   synonym for crimson trumpet-flower
   tree (pātalā), but T. B. Singh and
   Chunekar (GVDB: 242–243) argue that
   it is weaver's beam tree (moksaka)
   because some authors distinguish two
   colours (unlike pāṭalā): 97, 181, 184
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 pāṭalā, kāṣṭhapāṭalā,
   and agniśikhā tree, all of which may be
   called śvetamokṣaka or kuberākṣī : 175
weevil wort (tālamūlikā) GVDB: 178–179:
weevil wort (t\bar{a}lapatr\bar{i}) \rightarrow t\bar{a}lam\bar{u}lik\bar{a}, weevil
   wort, q.v. GVDB: 178: 177
white babool (arimeda) Acacia
   leucophloea, (Roxb.) Willd. See
   AVS: 1, 23: 40, 182
white calotropis (alarka) Calotropis
   procera, (Ait.) R. Br. See NK: 1, #428,
   Chopra: 46b, Chopra IDG: 305–308: 49
white clitoria (śvetā) Clitoria ternatea, L.
   See AVS: 2, 129, NK: 1, #621.
   GVDB: 416–417 notes that there are two
   types, kṣudrā (white, according to
   Dalhana) and mahā (blue, according to
   Dalhana). Sometimes given as a
   synonym for winged-stem canscora,
   but sometimes as a contrasting plant:
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127, 176, 177, 183, 290

madhuparnī. Gmelina arborea, Roxb.

white cutch tree (somavalka) Acacia

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polyacantha, Willd. See AVS: 1, 30, IGP
                                                   See GJM1: 543, Trees: 51, ADPS: 240,
                                                   GVDB: 96-97: 102, 104, 279, 293
   7, GJM1: 602, AVS: 2, 935; pace NK: 1,
   #1038: 128, 148
                                                white teak (madhuparnī) \rightarrow k\bar{a} \pm mar\bar{i} : 73
white dammer tree (sarja) Vateria indica,
                                                white water-lily (kumuda) Nymphaea alba,
   L. See NK: 1, #2571, AVS: 5, 349 f,
                                                   Linn., GVDB: 105: 31, 184, 279
   AVS: 1, 292 f, Chopra: 253a. T. B. Singh
                                                wild asparagus (bahuputrā) Asparagus
   and Chunekar (GVDB: 424) discussed
                                                   racemosus, Willd. See further wild
   whether this term might be broadened
                                                   asparagus (śatāvarī) Possibly a syn. for
   to any resinous tree and decided
                                                   nandana. The bark of wild asparagus is
   against: 40, 73, 288, 292
                                                   toxic: 128
white dammer tree (sarjja) see white
                                                wild asparagus (śatāvarī) Asparagus
   dammer tree (sarja): 181
                                                   racemosus, Willd. See ADPS: 441,
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white sandalwood (bhadraśrī) Santanlum
                                                wild celery (agnika) \rightarrow may be bhall\bar{a}taka,
   album Linn. see sandalwood (candana)
                                                   lāngalī, ajamodā, morata, or agnimantha,
   GVDB: 152, 282 and Carakasamhitā
                                                   GVDB: 4. Uncertain A plant often cited
   ci.4.102 (Ca 1941: 434) where it is
                                                   in Suśrutasamhitā, but rarely in
   contrasted with lohitacandana: 75, 292
                                                   Carakasamhitā (GVDB: 4). Dalhana
white siris (?) (kapītana) T. B. Singh and
                                                   glossed it at 5.2.45 (Su 1938: 566) as
   Chunekar (GVDB: 72–73) note that this
                                                   ajamodā but noted that others consider
   stands for at least two plants, milky and
                                                   it to be morata. There is considerable
   non-milky. For the latter type, they
                                                   complexity surrounding the
   propose Albizia procera (Roxb.)
                                                   identification of morața/mūrvā itself and
   Benth., Thespesia (hibiscus-like, but
                                                   related synonyms (GVDB: 314-316):
   not endemic to S. Asia) or Spondias
                                                   142, 293
   (cashew). Six different identifications
                                                wild celery (ajamodā) Apium graveolens,
   are made by Monier-Williams et al.
                                                   L. Sometimes identified with agnika
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white siris (kaṭabhī) Albizia procera
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   (Roxb.) Benth. or A. lebbeck (Linn.)
                                                   cerasoides D.Don, GVDB: 236,
   Benth. GVDB: 63-64, AVS: 1, 81-84. Cf.
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wild spider flower (tailaparnika) see wild winged-stem canscora (*giryāhvā*) see spider flower: 183 winged-stem canscora (girikarnikā): wild spider flower (tilaparṇī) Cleome Withania (aśvagandhā) Withania somnifera gynandra L., GVDB: 184–185, but see the discussion of the other drug plants (L.) Dunal. See AVS: 5, 409 f, sometimes intended by this name: 293 Dymock: 2, 566 f, 150, GVDB: 29, wild sugar cane (kāṇḍekṣu) Saccharum Chevillard: 152: 49, 96, 103, 177 spontaneum L., GVDB: 90: 73 wolfsbane (vatsanābha) Aconitum napellus, L. See AVS: 1, 47, NK: 1, #42, winged-stem canscora (*girihvā*) see winged-stem canscora (girikarnikā): Potter_{rev}: 4 f. Or Aconitum chasmanthum Stapf ex Holmes, 176 winged-stem canscora (*girikarnikā*) GVDB: 357: 274 sometimes \rightarrow *śvetā*, in which case wood apple (kapittha) Limonia acidissima, L. See AVS: 3, 327, NK: 1, #1021:103, possibly Clitoria ternatea, L., see AVS: 2, 129, NK: 1, #621. Since *śvetā* 127, 129, 177, 181, 192 and *girihvā* are cited as separate woody turmeric (kāleyaka) Coscinium constitutents of one formula (e.g., fenestratum (Goetgh.) Colebr., *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 5.5.75 (Su 1938: 579) GVDB: 95. See V. K. Gupta et al. they cannot be the same plant. 2015: 173-175: 184 GVDB: 138-139 argued for woody-fruited jujube (gopaghoṇṭā) Symphorema polyandrum Wight, Ziziphus xylopyra (Retz.) Willd. which they also assigned to sinduvāra. GVDB: 147 \rightarrow ghoṇṭā: 182 When discussing *śańkhapuspī*, another vellow-berried nightshade (kantakārī) possible synonym, Sivarajan and Solanum virginianum L. (also called Balachandran (ADPS: 425–427) also Solanthum xanthocarpum, Schrad. & suggest Canscora alata (Roth) Wall. Wendl.) GVDB: 68-69. A component of (syn of Canscora decussata Schultes & lesser five roots: 284, 294 Schultes f.) and Convulvulus yellow-berried nightshade (ksudrā) see pluricaulis Chois. The former has a yellow-berried nightshade (kantakārī), more appropriate distribution and is ADPS: 100, NK: 1, #2329, AVS: 5, 164: chosen here: 293, 294 142, 143

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chital deer (*pṛṣata*) Axis axis, Erxleben. BIA: 295–296. In *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 5.5.71 (Su 1938: 579) it seems to be specifically the musk that is meant. so the reference may be to the Musk Deer (Moschus moschiferus L.). But all species produce musk, so *pṛṣata* may also be simply Chital or Spotted Deer. See also IW: 93: 130, 176

civet (mārjāra) BIA: ch. 4 et passim,

McHugh 2012: 176

iguana (godheraka) The गौधेरक is described in the Carakasaṃhitā as a four-legged snake born of a Indian monitor lizard that is similar to a black snake and has several species (6.23.134 (Ca 1941: 577)). CDIAL: 1, #4286 identifies this as an iguana: 187, 294 Indian monitor lizard (godhā) Varanus bengalensis (Daudin, 1802),

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Reptiles: 58–60, ill.: 49, 130, 294 lac $(l\bar{a}ks\bar{a})$ Kerria lacca (Kerr.). See GJM1: 445, NK: 2, #32, Varshney 2000. Watt (Watt $_{Comm}$: 1053–1066) is characteristically informative, and is definite about the antiquity of lac in India: 149, 176, 184

large gecko (galagodikā) A poisonous insect, amphibian or reptile described in *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 5.8.29 (Su 1938: 588) as a biting creature that may be white, black, with red stripes or rings or spotted. It is described just after the iguanas (godheraka) and before centipedes. The name is unstable, e.g., गलगोलिका, गलदोडी, गलगोली. Cf. the remarks on geckos in note 433, p. 146. The similarity of names suggests that a गलगोडिका may be a non-domestic creature that looks similar to a domestic gecko. Cf. other IA parallels at CDIAL: 1, #4324, 4431, which points to a Dravidian origin for the lexeme (DED₂: #1125) and suggests "iguana." The tokay gecko (Gekko gecko (Linnaeus, 1758)) is a large gecko endemic to South Asia having a blue-gray skin with red or orange spots and speckles that may change

according to its environment like a chameleon. Tokay geckos, especially males, are aggressive and territorial and can inflict a strong bite. However, many agamids and skinks are also endemic to South Asia, and have markings that could match the description of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. See further Deuti 2020; IW: 40, 135–136.: 78

mongoose (*nakula*) Urva edwardsii or the often sympatric U. auropunctatus (small Indian mongoose, usually an eater of smaller creatures than snakes) (BIA: ch. 5), On mongooses and snakes, see BIA: 98–99; IW: 112: 130, 176

river dolphin (śiśumāra) Platanista gangetica (Lebeck), BIA: 313–314, plate on p. 289, MW: 1076: 185

sweet hoof (*nakha*) Unguis odoratus or Onycha, McHugh 2013, from which I adopt the name "sweet hoof." See especially McHugh's very interesting discussion about translating this term, pp. 56 ff. See also MW: 524 (on no authority): 184

tortoise (*kūrma*) Perhaps Geochelone elegans (Schoepff), Reptiles: 30 and plate, MW: 1076: 185

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windy - vātalā: 213	yuga - yuga: 18
wine - <i>surā</i> : 187	yuga - yuga: 18

Todo list

Cite Paul Courtright, Ganesha book
Can't be "sedation"
add footnote here
add refs to Divodāsa as king
find out about uttarabasti
to what?
29, 30 missing?
Problematic passage in the edition
Think about this
Perhaps kalka here could also mean the Terminalia Bellerica (विभीतक). 94
Perhaps kalka here could also mean the Terminalia Bellerica (विभीतक). 94
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 $N\bar{\imath}tiratna$. I could not find this text
The provisional edition should be modified accordingly 103
There, Dalhana comments that deliberation on avapīda had been
done earlier when it was mentioned. Find that description to
know more details
Search for the section where the treatment of $\bar{a}k$, $\bar{a}k$ is described. 106
Make the first letter of sentence capital
?
?
?
(?)
Is Dh. the teacher of Su. elsewhere?
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	126
I	fn about sadyas+	
į	Bear's bile instead of deer's bile	127
į	punarṇṇavā in the N & K MSS	
į	srita for srta	128
į	explain more	128
į	Medical difference from Sharma	
į	example where the vulgate clarifies that these should be used sep-	
	arately; appears to be a gloss inserted into the vulgate text	129
I	The two uses of prāpta are hard to translate. prāptā $h \rightarrow k$ ṣipram is	
	an example of the vulgate banalizing the Sanskrit text to make	
	sense of a difficult passage	120
I	$\sqrt{\text{vyadh not }\sqrt{\text{vedh (also elsewhere and for the ears)}}$, causative	
	optative	129
I	-> ativișa	137
į	Look up the ca. reference	
į	Come back to the issue of "kalpa". Look up passages in the Kośa.	
İ	got to here - 2023-01 continue with table for #5	_
į	write footnote: don't repeat ativiṣā; vulgate similar to H	149
İ	Or "There are 20 phanins and 6 mandalins. The same number are	
	known. There are 13 Rājīmats." Or even, "there are 20 Phaṇins	
	and six of them are Mandalins." Are phanins really the same as	
	darvīkaras?	156
	grammar	
İ	ri- ṛ-?	160
ĺ	varṇa means "colour" elsewhere?	162
Ì	write note on pariṣekān pradehāṃś	172
	where is cutting with a knife related to removing bile or phlegm	192
	maṣī burned charcoal. Find refs	192
	find ref	198
	Check out these refs	198
	meaning of kalpa	198
	or a dual?	203
Ì	Footnote here about who is speaking to whom	
	a kind of asthma?	213
Ì	Not happy with the last part	213
į	connecting with the previous pāda?	212

(atyartha? excessive?)
fordvādaśādikaḥ)? not clear to me, is it dvādaśādhikaḥ? 214
(any better medical terms for them?)
(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)
(āmadoṣa? Not too sure)
(2nd hemistich is incomplete)
(not too sure about the meaning of vyapada)
not so sure about sodāvarte
not so sure about it, MW mentions others like Cordia Myxa and
Alangium hexapetalum
not sure about it
(sāmāhāya- any better word?)
Not so happy with this translation
(Not happy with it)
(the second hemistich is incomplete)
can śṛta mean here boiled milk? Not happy with the last part 219
the rest of the text is unclear to me
(not so sure about it). [ghṛtābhyaṅgonavasthāsu should it be like
ghṛtābhyaṅgo 'navasthāsu?, svedā lepaḥ ghṛtābhyaṅgonavas-
thāsu ca yojayet] (Not so happy with the translation) 220
See chapter 40 of Sūtrasthāna
vasā / medas / majjan
Does bhūtādi a compound or it means ahaṅkāra or ego? 261
triad? –DW