## A Translation of the Nepalese Text of the Suśrutasaṃhitā

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## Introduction

What follows is a translation of selected chapters of the *Compendium of Su-śruta* ( $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$ ). This differs from former translations, being based on the Nepalese version of the text. The Nepalese version of the work has been reconstructed on the basis of three manuscripts from Kathmandu,

- 1. MS Kathmandu KL 699 (siglum K),
- 2. MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079 (N), and
- 3. MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 (H).

The first of these MSS is the oldest, dated to CE 878.<sup>2</sup> It covers most of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, but lacks the *Nidānasthāna* and the *Śārīrasthāna* (see Fig. 1). The second is undated but is datable on palaeographical grounds to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> It contains the *Sūtrasthāna* and *Nidānasthāna* but breaks off shortly afterwards. The third manuscript is the most complete, covering the whole of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. It is dated CE 1513.<sup>4</sup>

The text of this manuscript follows K very closely but is probably not a direct apograph.<sup>5</sup> I conjecture that it was either copied from an intermediary that followed K very closely or from a ancestor of K.<sup>6</sup>

See **wuja-2023** for an introduction to the Nepalese text and **wuja-2021b** for background on the Suśruta Project, 2021–2024.

<sup>2</sup> kleb-2021b.

<sup>3</sup> kleb-2021b.

I follow the arguments of **kleb-2021b** on the interpretation of the colophon although, as he pointed out, some interpret the date as CE 1573.

<sup>5</sup> chak-2022.

<sup>&</sup>quot;…as neither my own research … nor the study undertaken in Harimoto … could determine any linear connection between any of the Nepalese manuscripts of the SS, one may assume that [there exists] an older common ancestor of both of the manuscripts K and H." (kleb-2021a).

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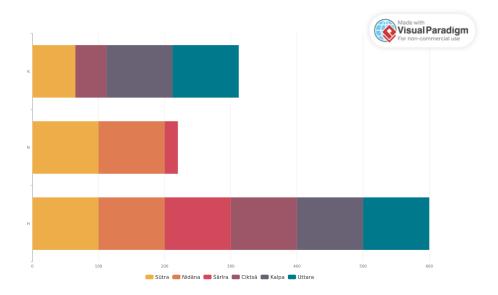


Figure 1: Coverage of the text by MSS K, N and H.

The translation follows the methods of rigorous philological care and modern principles of translation theory.<sup>7</sup> Major differences in sense from the vulgate text are marked in this manner.

The text-historical state of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* bears many resemblances to other early textual transmissions in South Asia. The situation was articulated particularly clearly for the case of Pāli by **hinu-1978**, in the opening of his chapter,

...we cannot go back beyond the council of Aluvihāra (Ālokavihāra) under Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya (29–17 B.C.) where the Pāli canon ws written down for the first time in Ceylon. This is the very starting point of our tradition handed down to us by the monks of the Mahāvihāra. About recensions of the Pāli canon different from the Mahāvihāra tradition and deviating from its wording... we scarcely have any knowledge at all.

Similarly, the manuscript evidence for the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* that is available

<sup>7</sup> See wuja-2003 and wuja-2021 for an overview.

today allows us to reconstruct a version of the work after it was consolidated into a text of five parts with a sixth or "later" (*uttara*) and somewhat different part already appended to the first five. The prehistory of the work before this form is tantalizingly unknown to us. That the work was assembled from diverse sources and that many hands were involved is without doubt. The oldest surviving manuscript, MS Kathmandu KL 699, gives us physical evidence for the state of the text in the ninth century. We little insight into the formational processes affecting the text before that time. But what we can see plainly is that the text was edited pervasively after that time, being influenced especially by the commentators Jejjaṭa, Candraṭa, Gayadāsa and Cakrapāṇidatta and the editor Candraṭa. However, a clear picture of how these later editorial processes took place will only be possible as a result of further research into a wider manuscript base.



# Sūtrasthāna 1: The Origin of Medical Knowledge

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>8</sup>

### **Translation**

- 1 "Now I shall narrate the chapter on the origin of this knowledge.9
- 2 "Now, as is well-known, Aupadhenava, Vaitaraṇa, Aurabhra, Puṣkalāvata, Karavīra, Gopurarakṣita, Bhoja, Suśruta and others addressed Lord Divodāsa, king of Kāśi, the best of the immortals, who was in his ashram surrounded by an entourage of sages.<sup>10</sup>

- Dalhaṇa understood the word "knowledge (veda)" as specifically "medical knowledge." He said that the word "longevity" (āyur) had been elided. After this opening statement, later manuscripts and commentaries include the attribution, "as the venerable Dhanvantari stated." The absence of this statement in the early Nepalese manuscripts is highly significant because it removes the outer narrative frame of the Su-śrutasaṃhitā (wuja-2013kleb-2021brai-2019birc-2021). On the figure of Dhanvatari in medical literature, see HIML: IA 358–361.
- 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 (susr-trikamji2), and was not included in HIML amongst "authorities mentioned in the Suśrutasaṃhitā." Meulenbeld gathered textual evidence about Bhoja at HIML:IA 690–691. kleb-2021a has discussed these authors in the context of an anonymous commentary on the Suśrutasaṃhitā that cites them.

<sup>8</sup> HIML: IA, 203–204.

- "O Lord, distress arose in our minds after witnessing people thrashing about with cries, assailed by different kinds of pain and injury (*vedanābhighāta*), feeling helpless in spite of having friends, because of diseases arising from the body, the mind and external sources.
- 4 "To quell the illnesses of those who seek happiness and for our own purpose of prolonging life, we desire the science of life (āyurveda) that is being taught. Welfare, both in this world and in the next, depends upon it. Therefore, we have come to the Lord in pupillage."
- The Lord said to them:
  "Welcome to you! My children, all of you are beyond reproach and worthy to be taught.
- 6 "As is well known, Ayurveda is the name of what is said to be the subsidiary part of the Atharvaveda.<sup>11</sup> Before creating people, Svayambhū composed it in hundreds of thousands of verses and a thousand chapters and, after observing the short lifespan and low intelligence of people, he presented it again in eight parts.<sup>12</sup>
- 7 "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, 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 **wuja-2022**.

<sup>12</sup> Svayambhū is another name for Brahmā, the creator.

<sup>13</sup> The identity of the metal in such early literature is somewhat moot. For discussion, see **wujad-2019**.

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8.4 "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, 4 Gandharvas, Yakṣas, demons, deceased ancestors, Piśācas, Vināyakas, 5 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.<sup>16</sup>
- 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.
  - "In this way, this Ayurveda 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". 17
- "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;

<sup>14</sup> Dānavas. The insertion marks ( $k\bar{a}kapadas$ ) below the text at this point appears to be by the original scribe.

<sup>15</sup> The vulgate doesn't have *vināyakas* but does add *asuras*, probably under the influence of Dalhana.

<sup>16</sup> The scribal insertion marks (crosses) above the line at this point in MS K appear to be in a later hand and their referent is lost in the damaged part of the folio. Although MSS MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079 and MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 include spiders  $(l\bar{u}t\bar{a})$  and creepy-crawlies  $(sar\bar{t}srpa)$  in the list, it does seem that MS K had a shorter list, and the vulgate edition adds rodents  $(m\bar{u}sika)$ .

For discussion of the text-critical significance of this passage, see hari-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.<sup>18</sup>

"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. <sup>19</sup> Alternatively, it can be considered as being fivefold. The multitude of beings in it are fourfold: they are termed "sweat-born, stone-born, caul-born and egg-born". <sup>20</sup> Where

<sup>18</sup> Note that this verse about the origin of surgery is the first place that the name "Dhanvantari" is introduced in the Nepalese version of the work. Dhanvantari is here identified with Brahmā, the creator of the world. For discussion, see birc-2021.

<sup>19</sup> wuja-2004

<sup>20</sup> This fourfold classification of beings is paralleled with closely-related vocabulary in *Bhelasaṃhitā* 4.4.4 (**kris-2000mook-1921**).

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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.<sup>21</sup>

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

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

"These too are located (adhisthāna) 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  $(o\dot{s}adh\bar{i}-)$ . There are two types: stationary  $(sth\bar{a}vara)$  and moving  $(ja\dot{n}gama)$ .
- "Of these, there are four types of stationary ones: fruit trees (*vanaspati*), flowering trees (*vṛkṣa*), herbs (*oṣadhi*) and shrubs (*vīrudh*).<sup>23</sup> Amongst these, the "fruit trees" have fruit but no flowers.<sup>24</sup> The "flowering trees" have flowers and fruit. The "herbs" die when the fruit is ripe. "Shrubs"

<sup>21</sup> Note that four humoral substances are assumed here.

<sup>22</sup> Pāṇini 6.3.132 provides that the final vowel of the noun oṣadhi may be lengthened  $(\to oṣadh\bar{\imath})$  under certain conditions. These conditions require that the word be used in a Vedic mantra and not in the nominative. Neither condition is met in this passage, yet the author uses the form  $oṣadh\bar{\imath}$ . This form is in fact not uncommon in medical literature as well as in epics, purāṇas, smṛtis, and other parts of Sanskrit literature.

<sup>23</sup> Ca.sū.1.71–72 also describes these four types of medicinal plant in similar terms but with slightly differing names: *oṣadhi* is a plant that ends after fruiting, *vīrudh* is a plant that branches out, *vanaspati* is a tree with fruit, and *vānaspatya* is a tree with fruit and flowers.

<sup>24</sup> The MSS agree in reading *phalavantyaḥ* "having flowers" which is grammatically non-standard. This form is also found in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (1.92.27, **sarm-1912**).

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 (*sarīsṛpa*) and snakes are "born of eggs." Worms (*kṛmi*), small insects (*kunta*) and ants (*pipīlika*) and others are born of sweat.<sup>25</sup> Shoots include red velvet mites (*indragopa*) and frogs (*maṇḍūka*).<sup>26</sup>|
- "In this context, among the stationary remedies, skin (tvak), leaves (patra), flowers (puṣpa), fruits (phala), roots ( $m\bar{u}la$ ), bulbs (kanda), sap ( $kṣ\bar{i}ra$ ), resin ( $niry\bar{a}sa$ ), essence ( $s\bar{a}ra$ ), oil (sneha), and juice extract (svarasa)<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup>
- "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). <sup>29</sup>
- "These naturally cause accumulation (sañcaya), irritation (prakopa), pacification (upaśama) and alleviation (pratīkāra) of the humours (doṣa). And they have practical purposes (prayojanavat).
- There are verses about this:

This fourfold category is taught by physicians as a cause for the agitation and quelling of bodily diseases.<sup>30</sup>

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

<sup>26</sup> On *indragopa*, see Lienhard 1978.

<sup>27</sup> On juice extract (*svarasa*) see CS 1.1.73, 1.4.7; Dalhana on 4.10.12 (Su 1938: 450).

<sup>28</sup> The flow of concepts in the treatise seems to be interrupted here.

<sup>29</sup> These units are presented at 1.6.5 (Su 1938: 24) and discussed by haya-2017.

<sup>30</sup> On the topic of the "group of four," the commentator Dalhana considered them to be "food, behaviour, earthen products and items created by time." He referred to

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There are two kinds of invasive diseases. Some certainly<sup>31</sup> 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 (*catuṣtaya*) is given:
  - human being (puruṣa),
  - disease (vyadhi),
  - remedies (oṣadhi),
  - the time for therapies (*kriyākāla*).

#### "In this context,

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

#### 39 "There is a verse about this:

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

<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup>

- "There are one hundred and twenty chapters in five sections (ad-hyāya).33 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.34
- 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.

<sup>32</sup> 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.

<sup>33</sup> On viṃśa in the sense of "greater by 20" see P.5.2.46 śadantaviṃśateś ca.

<sup>34</sup> The end of this sentence reads oddly. The vulgate edition adds an object: "[we shall mention] the remaining topics [in the Uttara]" which smooths out the difficulty, but this is supported in none of the Nepalese MSS. At the start of the Uttaratantra (Su 1938: 1.3–4ab) there is indeed a statement that picks up the point about there being 120 chapters.

## Sūtrasthāna 2: The Initiation of a Student

## Literature

prei-2007wujad-2012HIML: IA, 204.

## **Translation**

1

# Sūtrasthāna 3: The Table of Contents

## Literature

## **Translation**

54 <sup>35</sup>

# Sūtrasthāna 11: Preparing and using caustics

11 <sup>36</sup> content

## Sūtrasthāna 13: On Leeches

### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of studies on Indian leeches and their application.<sup>37</sup>

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.<sup>38</sup>* 

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.<sup>39</sup>

### **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.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> HIML: IA, 209; IB, 324, n. 131.

<sup>38</sup> sidd-1959azee-1971stor-1971HIML: IB, 324, n. 128spez-2019.

<sup>39</sup> broo-2020; broo-2020b; broo-2020c; broo-2021.

<sup>40</sup> This sentence is hard to construe grammatically, although its meaning seems clear. In place of विशेषस्तु, Cakrapāṇidatta and Dalhaṇa both read विशेषतस्, which helps interpretation (acar-1939, Su 1938: 55). It is noteworthy that the critical syllable स्तु is smudged or corrected in both MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079 and in 1-1146, a much later Devanāgarī manuscript.

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.<sup>41</sup>

- 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.<sup>42</sup>
- A leech lives in the cold, is sweet and is born in the water. So when someone is afflicted by bile, they are suitable for bloodletting.<sup>43</sup>
- 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.<sup>44</sup>
- Leeches are called "jala- $\bar{a}yu$ -ka" because their life ( $\bar{a}yu$ -) is in water (jala). "Home" (okas) means "dwelling;" their home is water, so they are called "water-dwellers (jalaukas)."

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 स्निग्धशीतरूक्षत्वात् (susr-trikamji2). 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."

- 41 The vulgate replaced "smooth" with "hot."
- 42 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).
- 43 Note that the particular qualities (*guṇas*) of the leech in this and the following verses counteract the quality of the affliction. See **broo-2018**.
- 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.
- 45 The lexeme -āyu- is known almost exclusively from the *Rgveda*.

Translation 33

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)<sup>46</sup>
  - Rainbow (*indrāyudhā*)
  - Oceanic (*sāmudrikā*)
  - Cow-praising (*govandanā*)<sup>47</sup>

#### 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.<sup>48</sup> A bite by the Rainbow leech is not treatable. These venomous ones have been explained together with their remedies.

- 12 Now the ones without venom.<sup>49</sup>
  - Tawny (kapilā)

<sup>46</sup> Treating गर्दा as गल्दा and translating as in RV 8.1.20, with **jami-2014**. But if गर्द is to be taken from  $\sqrt{\eta \xi}$  then we might have "crying from the sting."

<sup>47</sup> The manuscripts all read गोवन्दना against the vulgate's गोचन्दना.

<sup>48</sup> 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).

<sup>49</sup> The translations of the names of these leeches are slightly whimsical, but give a sense of the original; सावरिका remains etymologically puzzling.

- Ruddy (pingalā)
- Dart-mouth (śaṅkumukhī)
- Mouse (*mūṣikā* )
- 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.<sup>50</sup>
- The one called Ruddy is a bit red, has a round body, is yellowish, and moves fast.
- The one called Dart-mouth is the colour of liver, drinks fast and has a long mouth.
- The one called Mouse is the colour and shape of a mouse and has an undesirable smell.
- The one called Lotus is the colour of mung beans and has a mouth that looks like a lotus.
- The one called Sāvarikā has the colour of a lotus leaf and is eighteen centimetres long. But that one is used when the purpose is an animal.

The non-venomous ones have been explained.

13 Their lands are Yavana, Pāṇḍya, Sahya, Potana and so on.<sup>51</sup> Those in

Some scholars have identified the name with modern Bodhan in Telangana (sirc-1971schw-1978sen-1988), but this implausible identification is traceable to a speculative suggestion by rayc-1953 based on a variant form "Podana" found in some

<sup>50</sup> The compound स्निग्धमुद्भवण्णी 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 **kart-2015**. At the time of the composition of the *Su-śrutasaṃhitā*, Yavana would most likely have referred the Hellenistic Greek diaspora communities in Bactria and India (**law-1984mair-2013mair-2014**). Unproblematically, the Pāṇḍya country is the extreme south-eastern tip of the Indian subcontinent (**schw-1978**), and Sahya refers to the Western Ghats (**schw-1978**). 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-1984gupt-1989** with Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Paithan on the Godavari river. The recurring ancient epithet describing the Aśmaka kingdom is that it was on the Godāvarī, and Paithan is flanked to the south west and south east by this river.

Translation 35

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.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup>

- 16 They can be caught with a fresh hide or one may catch them by other means.<sup>54</sup>
- 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,

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 (নুকজ্ক) and "Pautana" as the Mathurā region. He also noted, as did Cakrapāṇidatta (acar-1939), 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.

- 52 The vulgate on 4.13.14 (Su 1938: 57) includes fish in this list.
- 53 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)).
- 54 "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.

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,<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup>

  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).<sup>57</sup> And if it still will not attach, make a different one attach.
- 20 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.
- 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

<sup>55</sup> Pace Dalhaṇa on 1.13.18 (Su 1938: 57) who glossed परिक्रिष्ट "injured" as अमनोज्ञदर्शन "disagreeable looking."

<sup>56</sup> Dalhaṇa on 1.13.19 (Su 1938: 57) read अरुजम् (n.), against the vulgate's अरुजः; Cakra-pāṇidatta on this verse (acar-1939) 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 desiccating powders should be applied to a diseased wound.

<sup>57</sup> On पद as a "mark," "imprint," or "place of application," cf. 4.1.29 (Su 1938: 399), 5.4.15 (Su 1938: 571), etc. See footnote 516.

the proper direction, as far as the mouth, until it is properly purged.<sup>58</sup> A properly purged leech placed in a goblet of water moves about, wanting to eat. If it sinks down, not moving, it is badly purged; one should make it vomit once again.

A badly purged leech develops an incurable disease called Indrapada.<sup>59</sup>

One that protects its deflated head with its body, suddenly curls up and makes the water warm is traditionally said to have Indrapada.<sup>60</sup>

Thus, one should keep such a one as before.<sup>61</sup>

- 24 After observing the proper or improper flow of the blood, one should rub the opening made by the leech with honey.<sup>62</sup> 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.

<sup>58</sup> The expression शालितण्डुलकाण्डन, "rice-grain chaff" could be read as "paddy rice, rice grains and chaff" but this seems unlikely in the context.

<sup>59</sup> At this point, the Nepalese witnesses read इन्द्रपद/इन्द्रापद, but the vulgate reads इन्द्रपद, a term that is found in other texts such as the **Manasollasa** 6.641 (vol. 1, 87), where it is a fever affecting fish, and the **Garudapurana** 1.147.3 (tr. **garuda**) where it is fever affecting clouds; see further **broo-inpress**.

<sup>60</sup> 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 ।-पद confusion about the name of this condition.

<sup>61</sup> The vulgate includes "well purged" as the object in this sentence, which makes better sense.

<sup>62</sup> In the Nepalese witnesses, the object of this passage is जलोकामुखम् "the mouth of the leech," that we have interpreted, perhaps freely, as "opening made by the leech." Logically and as transmitted in the vulgate, this passage should be about managing the wound on the patient that has been made by the leech.

# Sūtrasthāna 14: On 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.<sup>63</sup>

#### **Translation**

- 1 Now we shall declare the chapter about blood.
- Food is of four types.<sup>64</sup> It is endowed with six tastes and is made of the five elements.<sup>65</sup> It has either two or eight potencies, and is endowed with many qualities. <sup>66</sup> Chyle (*rasa*) is the most intangible essence of this food that is properly transformed. It is of the nature of fire.
- 63 HIML: IA, 209–201 and meul-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 (hoer-1897). meul-1990 also discussed Sanskrit veterinary texts in the light of their standard theory of four humours, including blood.
- 64 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 oliv-1995; oliv-2001 and the classic reference works by acha-1994; acha-1998. The long, final adhyāya of the Suśrutasaṃhitā's sūtrasthāna (ch. 46) is a treatise on food in āyurveda.
- 65 *Idem*, Earth, water, fire, air, space
- 66 Dalhaṇa related these qualities to the twenty standard गुण of āyurveda; see, e.g., their listing by Vāgbhaṭa, translated by wuja-2003.

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,<sup>67</sup> it satisfies the entire body, enlivens it, prolongs it,<sup>68</sup> and makes it grow. The motion of the entity that flows throughout the body should be understood by inference. That motion causes deterioration and growth.

With regards to the chyle that flows through all the limbs, humours, body tissues, and impurities of the body, the question arises, "Is it moist or is it fiery?" It is understood to be moist because of its fluidity while flowing<sup>69</sup> and due to attributes such as mobility, lubrication, enlivening, satisfaction, and supporting.<sup>70</sup>

- 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.<sup>71</sup> That is due to the embryo being fiery and moist.<sup>72</sup>
- 8 Others state that the embryo as constituted of the five elements and the preceptors call it the living blood.
- 9 There are verses about this.

<sup>67</sup> 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.

<sup>68</sup> In the sense of prolonging its lifespan

<sup>69</sup> The vulgate emends अनुसरणे to अनुसरण- against the Nepalese MSS. This is logical because mobility would seem to be one of the attributes. Although it is awkward, we read अनुसरणे as a locative absolute "while flowing."

<sup>70</sup> The duality being discussed here is that of the essential qualities of Fire and of Soma (*agni* and *soma*). See further discussion by **wuja-2004** and **ange-2021**.

<sup>71</sup> Dalhaṇa commented that this is to distinguish the menstrual blood from regular blood that is gentle.

<sup>72</sup> Dalhaṇa commented here that the embryo is called such because the menstrual blood is fiery and the semen is gentle (सौम्य). On the fiery/moist distinction (आग्नेय।सौम्य), see wuja-2004; ange-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 preserve<sup>73</sup> chyle by administering food and drink, being nicely disciplined with food<sup>74</sup>.

- The verbal root *rasa* means movement.<sup>75</sup> Because it keeps moving day after day, it is called *rasa* (chyle).<sup>76</sup>
- 14 Chyle stays in every body tissue for 2548 ((25\*100)+48) *kalās* and nine *kāṣṭhas*. As such, it becomes semen after a month. For women, it becomes menses.
- 15 Here are verses about this.

According to similar and dissimilar treatises, the quantity of kalās in this group<sup>77</sup> is 18,090.

This is the particular transformation period regarding chyle that lasts for a person with mild fire<sup>78</sup>. For a person with developed fire, one should know it to last for the exact same time<sup>79</sup>

- 73 All three manuscripts have रक्षेत which is an incorrect form. रक्षेत् is the correct form.
- 74 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.
- 75 bhis-1907
- 76 In the list of verbal roots of Pāṇini, the verbal root स(rasa) means taste and moistening. It does not mean movement.
- 77 The duration of chyle in all the body tissues as a whole.
- 78 Perhaps this refers to the digestive fire.
- 79 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 body<sup>80</sup>.
- 17 The aphrodisiac medicines, however, being used like a purgative due to their excessively strong characteristics, evacuate the semen.
- Just as it cannot be said that the fragrance in a flower bud is present in it or not, but accepting that there is the manifestation of existing entities<sup>81</sup>, it,<sup>82</sup> however, is not experienced only due to its intangibility. That same entity is experienced at another time in the blossomed flower. In the same way regarding children also, the manifestation of semen happens because of the advancement of age<sup>83</sup>. For women, the manifestation is different as rows of hair, menses, etc.
- 19 That very essence of food does not nourish very old people due to their decaying bodies.
- These entities are called body tissues ( $dh\bar{a}tu$ -s) because they bear the body<sup>84</sup>.
- Their decay and growth are due to blood. Therefore, I will speak about blood. In that regard: The blood that is foamy, tawny, black, rough, thin, quick-moving, and non-coagulating is vitiated by air. The blood that is dark green, yellow, green, brown, sour-smelling, and unpleasant to ants and flies is vitiated by bile. The blood that is orange, unctuous, cool, dense, slimy, flowing, and resembling the colour of flesh-muscles is vitiated by phlegm. The blood having all these characteristics is vitiated by the combination of all three of them. The blood that is extremely black is vitiated by blood<sup>85</sup> just as bile. The blood that has the combined characteristics of vitiations of two humours is vitiated by two humours.

<sup>80</sup> 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.

<sup>81</sup> This is the doctrine of pre-existence of the effect (सत्कार्यवाद, satkāryavāda) first propounded by Sāṅkhya philosophers.

<sup>82</sup> fragrance

<sup>83</sup> Since chyle becomes semen in a month's time, a question arises "Why then is semen absent in young children?". The reply is given in this passage.

<sup>84</sup> The etymological meaning of the Sanskrit word धातु (dhātu) is "that which bears [the body]". Thus, the body tissues are called dhātu-s because they bear the body. This means that the body tissues are the elements that make up the body and sustain it.

<sup>85</sup> Y. T. Ācārya and N. R. Ācārya (Su 1938: 64) quote Cakrapāṇidatta in a footnote: "This is the symptom when the blood vitiated in one part of the body vitiates the blood in another part."

- 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 cloth<sup>86</sup>, or vadhyāsita, or bone of cuttlefish, or powdered lac, along with the binding materials mentioned. After the piercing, the physician should pierce it again. The physician should serve cool clothing, food, a dwelling place, a bath, cooling ointments, and plastering. Or, one can cauterize it with heat. Or, as mentioned, one should give a decoction of kākolī, etc. sweetened by sugar and honey to drink. Or, one should consume the blood of black buck, deer, ram, buffalo, rabbit, or pig, accompanied by milk, green gram soup and meat soup<sup>87</sup>. The physician should treat the pains as mentioned.

36a Here are verses about this.

When blood flows out due to the decay of body tissue, fire becomes weak<sup>88</sup> and the wind becomes highly agitated because of that endeavour.

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

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

<sup>86</sup> Su 1938: 66 has क्षौमेण वा ध्मापितेन - "with linen reduced to ashes". Presumably, it is this ash that is also referred to in item 40.

<sup>87</sup> Based on Dalhana's comment as found in Su 1938: 66

<sup>88</sup> 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 <sup>89</sup> and not drain blood in excess.
44ab-cd	Blood is the basis of the body. It is sustained by blood only.
44ef	Blood is called life. One should therefore save blood.
45ab-cd	If the air in the person who underwent blood-letting is aggravated due to a cold shower, etc., the swelling with pricking pain should be sprinkled with lukewarm clarified butter.

<sup>89</sup> 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.<sup>90</sup> A book on this topic, arising out of the present project, with edition, translation and discussion of the Nepalese transmission is published by **wuja-2023**.

#### **Translation**

1 Now we shall expound the method for piercing the ear. 91

91 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 (acar-1939), 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 birc-2021.

When commenting on this statement, Dalhana (Su1938:76) and Cakrapāṇidatta (acar-1939) 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 children

<sup>90</sup> 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,<sup>92</sup> on the lap of a wetnurse.<sup>93</sup> Then, he should pull the ear with his left hand and pierce straight through with his right hand at a naturally-occurring cleft.<sup>94</sup> For a boy, do the right ear first; for a girl, do the left one. Use a needle on a thin ear; an awl on a thick one.<sup>95</sup>
- One may know that it was pierced in the wrong place if there is excess blood or too much pain. The absence of side-effects is a sign that it has been pierced in the right place.<sup>96</sup>

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.

- 92 The causative form व्यथ्येत् is known in Classical Sanskrit (whit-root).
  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.
- 93 The versions of 1.16.3 known to Cakrapāṇidatta (acar-1939) 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 बालक्रीडनकैः प्रलोभ्य ("having enticed with children's toys") to indicate that the child should be tempted with toys to stay on the assistant's lap. According to Dalhaṇa on 1.16.3 (Su 1938:76), the toys include replica elephants, horses, bulls and parrots. Dalhaṇa further mentions that others read भक्ष्यविशेषेर्वा ("or by special treats") before बालक्रीडनकैः, but we see no trace of these small kindnesses in our witnesses.
- 94 The versions of 1.16.3 of Cakrapāṇidatta (acar-1939) and Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 76) add that this naturally-occurring cleft is illuminated by a ray of sunshine (आदित्यकरावभा-सिते).
  - The syntax of this slightly long sentence is unusual because of the dual object तौ "the two (ears)" at the start of the sentence, which is remote from the main verb. The other singular accusatives referring to the ear being pierced are governed by absolutives.
- palhaṇa 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 Palhaṇa in twelfth-century Bengal. See Meulenbeld (HIML: IA, 386).
- 96 At this point, MS Kathmandu KL 699 is missing a folio, so the rest of this chapter is

4 In this context, if an ignorant person randomly pierces a duct there will be fever, burning, swelling, pain, lumps, paralysis of the nape of the neck, convulsions, headache or sharp pain in the ear.<sup>97</sup>

- Having removed the wick (*vartti*) because of the accumulation of humours or an unsatisfactory piercing at that location, <sup>98</sup> he should smear it with barley, liquorice, Indian madder, and the root of the castor oil tree, thickened with honey and ghee. And when it has healed well, he should pierce it again. <sup>99</sup>
- 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.<sup>100</sup>
- Once the ear is free from humours or side-effects, one should put in a light dilator (*pravardhanaka*) in order to enlarge it enough. 101
  - constructed on the basis of witnesses MS Kathmandu NAK 5-333 and MS Kathmandu NAK 1-1079.
- 97 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 (acar-1939) 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 (acar-1939) 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.'
- 98 In addition to these reasons, Dalhaṇa at 1.16.6 (Su 1938:77) added "because of piercing with a painful, crooked and unsatisfactory needle" (क्रिष्टजिह्माप्रशस्तसूचीव्यधात्) 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 meul-1992.
- 799 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.
- 100 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, **spen-1935**).
- 101 Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.6 (acar-1939) and Dalhaṇa on 1.16.8 (Su 1938: 77) pointed out that the dilator can be made of wood, such as that of the prickly chaff-flower, the neem

- 8 A person's ear enlarged in this way can split in two, either as a result of the humours<sup>102</sup> or a blow.
  - Listen to me about the ways of joining it can have.
- Here, there are, in brief, fifteen ways of mending the ear flap. 103 They are as follows: Rim-join (nemīsandhānaka), Lotus-splittable (utpalabhedyaka), Dried Flesh (vallūraka), Fastening (āsaṅgima), Cheek-ear (gaṇḍakarṇa), Take away (āhārya), Ready-Split (nirvedhima), Multi-joins (vyāyojima), Door-hinge (kapāṭasandhika), Half door-hinge (ardhakapāṭasandhika), Compressed (saṇkṣipta), Reduced-ear (hīnakarṇa), Creeper-ear (vallīkarṇa), Stick-ear (yaṣṭīkarṇa), and Crow's lip (kākauṣṭha). 104

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. 105

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.

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 लघुप्रवर्धनकमामुञ्चेत् at this point that include a scribal emendation, none of which construe plausibly. It is possible that the unusual verb form आ+√मुच् puzzled the scribes and caused the implausible scribal readings and emendations.

<sup>102</sup> Dalhaṇa on 1.16.9 (Su 1938: 77) notes that the word दोष here can refer to either a humour, such as wind, as we have understood it, or a disease generated from a humour.

<sup>103</sup> The Nepalese version uses the word सन्धान to refer to joining a split in an ear flap, which is consistent with the terminology in the verse cited above (8). However, 1.16.10 of Dalhaṇa's version (Su 1938:77) uses the term बन्ध here and at the very beginning of the chapter (i.e., 1.16.1) to introduce the topic of repairing the ear.

<sup>104</sup> For an artist's impression of these different kinds of joins in the ear flap, see **majn-1975** (reproduced as Figure 3.2 in **wuja-2003**).

<sup>105</sup> For an artist's impression of this join, see majn-1975 (reproduced as Figure 3.3 in wuja-2003).

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. 108

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

<sup>106</sup> Cakrapāṇidatta on 1.16.9–13 (**acar-1939**) 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 (*nemīsandhānaka*) is similar to the join of the rim of a wheel (*cakradhārā*).

<sup>107</sup> Dalhana on 1.16.10 (Su 1938: 77–78) mentions that some do not read the statement that only five are incurable, and they understand the causes of unsuccessful joins given below (i.e., heat, inflammation, suppuration and swelling) as also pertaining to the first ten when they do heal.

<sup>108</sup> The version of 1.16.11–13 known to Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 78) has four verses (श्लोक) 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 (acar-1939), introducing each one as 'some people read' (के चित्पठन्ति). 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.

<sup>109</sup> *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.5 (Su 1938: 18–23), probably verse 6 especially, that lists the equipment and medications that a surgeon should have ready.

<sup>110</sup> The reading in the Nepalese manuscripts of विशेषतश्चात्रोपहरणीयात् has been emended to विशेषतश्चात्रोपहरेत् to make sense of the list of ingredients, which is in the accusative case. Also, the repetition of अग्रोपहरणीयात् in the Nepalese version suggests that its second occurrence, which does not make good sense here, is a dittographic error.

<sup>111</sup> The term कपालचूर्ण is unusual. Palhaṇa (Su 1938: 79) defines it as the powder of fragments of fresh earthen pots and Cakrapāṇidatta (acar-1939) as the powder of earthenware vessels.

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

After arranging the join in the ear so that it is neither proud, depressed, nor uneven, and observing that the blood has stopped, one should anoint it with honey and ghee, bandage each ear with tree cotton and gauze (plota), and bind it up with a thread, neither too tightly nor too loosely. Then, the physician should sprinkle earthenware powder on it and provide medical advice ( $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rika$ ). And he should supplement with food as taught in the "Two Wound" chapter.<sup>113</sup>

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

<sup>112</sup> 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.

<sup>113</sup> Suśrutasaṃhitā 4.1 (Su 1938: 396–408).

<sup>114 1.16.17</sup> 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.

<sup>115</sup> In his edition of Suśrutasaṃhitā, Ācārya (Su 1938: 79 n. 1) includes in parentheses the following treatment for these conditions, which according to a footnote is not found in the palm-leaf manuscript he used: 'One should sprinkle it with raw sesame oil for three days and one should renew the cotton bandage after three days' (आमतैलेन त्रिरात्रं परिषेचयेत्रिरात्राञ्च पिचुं परिवर्तयेत्).

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, <sup>116</sup> fat, marrow, milk, and sesame oil, and white mustard oil. <sup>117</sup> Then cook the oil with an admixture of the following: purple calotropis, white calotropis, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, country sarsaparilla, Indian kudzu, liquorice, and hornwort. <sup>118</sup> This should then be deposited in a well-protected spot.

- 15 The wise man who has been sweated should rub the massaged ear with it. Then it will be free of complications, and will enlarge properly and be strong. 119
- 16 Ears which do not enlarge even when sweated and oiled, should be scarified at the edge of the hole, but not outside it.<sup>120</sup>
- In this tradition, experts know countless repairs to ears. So a physician who is very intent on working in this way may repair them. 121

116 For such classifications, see the analyses by zimm-1999 and smit-1994.

- 117 Dalhaṇa's version of 1.16.19 (Su 1938: 79) includes ghee. However, Dalhaṇa's remarks on this passage and Cakrapāṇidatta's on 1.16.18 (acar-1939) indicate that they knew a version of this recipe, perhaps similar to the Nepalese one, that did not include ghee. Dalhaṇa 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.
- 118 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.
- 119 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 (acar-1939) 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.
- 120 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.
- 121 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 (acar-1939) and Ḍalhaṇa (Su 1938:80) stated that some read 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

- 18 If an ear has grown hair, has a nice hole, a firm join, and is strong and even, well-healed, and free from pain, then one can enlarge it slowly.<sup>122</sup>
- 19 Now I shall describe the proper method of making a repair when a nose is severed. First, take from the trees a leaf the same size as the man's nose and hang it on him.
- Next, having cut a slice of flesh (vadhra),<sup>123</sup> with the same measurements, off the cheek, the end of the nose is then scarified.<sup>124</sup> Then the undistracted physician, should quickly put it back together so that it is well joined.
- Having carefully observed that it has been sewn up properly, he should then fasten it along with two tubes. Having caused it to be raised, the powder of sappanwood, it liquorice and Indian barberry should be sprinkled on it. 128
- 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 instructions specific to him.<sup>129</sup>
  - with a discussion of the disease परिपोट. Dalhana went on to say that some believe that these verses were not composed by sages and, therefore, do not read them.
- 122 The order of verses 17 and 18 is reversed in Dalhana's version (Su 1938: 80).
- 123 The version of 1.16.28b known to Dalhaṇa (Su 1938: 81) reads "bound, connected (baddham)" 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 (wuja-2003).
- 124 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, Dalhaṇa (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.
- 125 Dalhaṇa noted that the two tubes should be made of reed or the stalk of the leaf of the castor-oil plant (on 1.16.21 (Su 1938: 81)). They should not be made of lead or betel nut because the weight will cause them to slip down.
- 126 The Sanskrit term उन्नामियत्वा in 1.16.21 is non-Pāṇinian.
- 127 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.
- 128 Dalhana glossed अञ्चन as रसाञ्चन, elixir salve (Su 1938: 81).
- 129 The expression स्वयथोपदेश is ungrammatical but supported in all available witnesses.

And once healed and really come together, what is left of that slice of flesh (vadhra) should then be trimmed.<sup>130</sup> If it is reduced, however, one should make an effort to stretch it, and one should make its overgrown flesh smooth.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>130</sup> The vulgate transmission has lost the word ব্য and replaced it with अर्ध "half," which makes little sense in this surgical context.

<sup>131</sup> Dalhaṇa accepted a verse following this, 1.16.32 (Su 1938:81), which pointed out that the procedure for joining the nose is similar to that of joining the lips without fusing the ducts. He noted that earlier teachers did not think this statement on the nose and lips was made by sages, but he included it because it was accepted by Jejjaṭa, Gayadāsa and others, although they did not comment on it because it was easy to understand. Cakrapāṇidatta also did not comment on this additional verse (acar-1939).

# 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.<sup>132</sup>

**gosw-2011** studied the commentaries of Dalhaṇa and Cakrapāṇidatta on this and the following adhyāyas up to 32, focussing on the topic of omens (ariṣṭa). He concluded that both authors were influenced by the Indriyasthāna of the  $Carakasaṇhit\bar{a}$  in their commentaries on this topic. <sup>133</sup>

### **Translation**

Thus, living creatures and their strength, complexion (*varṇa*) and energy (*ojas*) are rooted in food. That (food) depends on the six flavours (*rasa*). Thus, the flavours depend on substance (*dravya*), and substances depend on medicinal herbs. There are two kinds of them (herbs): stationary and mobile.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>132</sup> HIML: IA, 219.

<sup>133</sup> gosw-2011.

<sup>134 1.1.28 (</sup>Su 1938: 7), tr. shar-1999.

## Sūtrasthāna 46: The Rules about Food and Drink

### Introduction

83 135

<sup>135</sup> This is the first place at which the term दूषीविष occurs in the Suśrutasaṃhitā. The term दोष was given important discussion by meul-1992; meul-1991; meul-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.<sup>136</sup>

### 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.

We have not translated the terms prāṇa ... because the text defines them.



### **Translation**

- 1 And now we shall explain the chapter about the aetiology of wind diseases.
- After holding the feet of Dhanvantari, the foremost of the upholders of righteousness who emerged out of nectar, Suśruta makes this enquiry.<sup>137</sup>
- 4 O King! O best of orators! Explain the location and types of diseases of the wind, whether in its natural state or disordered.<sup>138</sup>.



add refs to Divodāsa as king.

- 136 HIML: IA, 234. (Ruben 1954) studied the wind doctrines in the *Carakasaṃhitā*.
- 137 Explain the nectar myth.
- 138 MSS H and N both read भूपते instead of कोपनै: in the vulgate: instead of addressing

- 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). It has inconceivable power. It is the leader of the humours and the ruler of the multitude of diseases.
  - It moves fast, it moves constantly, it is located in the stomach and in the rectum.<sup>141</sup>
- 9cd Now, learn from me the characteristics of wind as it moves inside the body.<sup>142</sup>
  - 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. 143
  - 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.

the king, the vulgate is saying "by irritations of the wind...." The vulgate also has 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.

<sup>139</sup> 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.

<sup>140</sup> Dalhana on 2.1.8 (Su 1938: 257) interpreted नेता "leader" as प्रेरक "impeller."

<sup>141</sup> MS H read आशुचारी, which we have translated ("moves fast"), but MS N and the commentators of the vulgate read आशुकारी, "quick-acting."

<sup>142</sup> Dalhaṇa and Cakrapāṇidatta both interpreted मे as an ablative (2.1.8 (Su 1938: 258)).

<sup>143</sup> 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.

#### 12 Five types of wind:

- 1. prāṇa,
- 2. udāna,
- 3. samāna,
- 4. vyāna,
- apāna.<sup>144</sup>

The above five types of wind remain in their state of equality and support the body.<sup>145</sup>

- The wind that flows through the mouth is called the vital wind  $(pr\bar{a}na)$ , the sustainer of the body. It causes food to enter within and supports the breaths. It mostly causes diseases like hiccups and wheezing  $(\dot{s}v\bar{a}sa)$ .
- The wind which flows upwards, which is the best among winds, is called udāna. Special acts like speech and singing are all initiated by the it. It particularly causes diseases above the collar bone (*jatru*). 148
- 16–17ab The samāna wind flows in the receptacles of raw and of digested matter. Assisting the digestive fire (*agni*), it cooks food and separates out the substances produced from it. 150

<sup>144</sup> We use the Sanskrit terms which are generally recognizable to English readers.

<sup>145</sup> According to Dalhaṇa on 2.1.12 (Su 1938: 259), स्थान=साम्य, यापयन्ति=धारयन्ति. All the manuscripts read प्राणोदानः समानश्च व्यानोपानस्तथैव च I against the vulgate's प्राणोदानौ स-मानश्च व्यानश्चापान एव च I.

<sup>146</sup> According to Dalhaṇa on 2.1.13–14ab (Su 1938: 259), সাण also resides in the throat and nose.

<sup>147</sup> According to Dalhaṇa on 2.1.14cd–15 (Su 1938: 260), the places of udāna wind are not mentioned here, but it also flows in the navel, stomach and throat. In yoga literature, it is more common for prāṇa to be called the principle breath.

<sup>148</sup> Dalhaṇa noted that "above the collar bone" would include eyes, nose, ears, face, and head. Meulenbeld cited discussions on the difficulties of interpreting the term जत्रु (Meulenbeld 1974b: 465).

<sup>149</sup> The "receptacle of raw matter" (आमाराय) is described at 1.21.12 (Su 1938: 102) as one of the locations of phlegm, and the place where food arrives, just above the location of bile, and where the food is moistened and broken down for easy digestion. The "receptacle of digested matter" (पकाराय) is described at 1.21.6 (Su 1938: 100) as being located below the navel and above the pelvis and rectum.

<sup>150</sup> Gayadāsa had the same reading सहायवान् as the Nepalese version (Su 1938: 260, note 1 and the text of the *Nyācacandrikā*). This suggests that it is the samāna that cooks food, while the vulgate reading involves the equal participation of digestive fire.

- It mainly causes abdominal swelling (*gulma*), diminished digestive fire (*agnisanga*) and diarrhoea. <sup>151</sup>
- 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 down wind, urine, feces, semen, womb and menstruation to come out of the body at their proper time. Contaminated apāna wind causes terrible diseases that occur in the bladder and anus.
- 20cd—21ab Irritated 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.
  - 25–29 Residing in the skin,<sup>152</sup> contaminated wind causes discolouration 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.<sup>153</sup>
    - Residing in the artery it causes acute pain, contraction and filling up of the artery.<sup>154</sup> It stuns, vibrates and destroys<sup>155</sup> the muscle tissues by

<sup>151</sup> Dalhana on 1.11.8 (Su 1938: 46) described अग्निसङ्ग as "the fire is stuck, dissolved."

<sup>152</sup> Dalhaṇa and Gayadāsa both suggest त्वक्=रस. Gayadāsa explained that chyle stays in the skin and therefore, in the verse त्वकस्थ should be read as रसस्थ as we read secondary meaning in the sentences like गङ्गायां घोषः.

<sup>153</sup> The MS H does not read व्रणांश्व रक्तगो ग्रन्थीन् सशूलान् मांससंश्रितः . against the vulgate. (Su 1938: 261).

<sup>154</sup> According to Dalhaṇa सिराकुञ्चनं is also known as क्रुटिला सिरा (Su 1938: 262)

<sup>155</sup> Dalhaṇa and Gayadāsa both suggest the meaning of हन्ति for being not capable of both stretching and contraction. सन्धिगतः संधीन् हन्ति प्रसारणाकुञ्चनयोरसामर्थ्यं करोति

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.<sup>156</sup>

- 30–31ab Contaminated wind moves from the hand, foot, head, then it may be omnipresent or pervade the entire body of men and causes stiffness, convulsion, numbness and acute pain.
- 31cd-32ab Wind (5 types) mixed with other doṣas (bile etc.) in the places mentioned above produces mixed types of pains.
- 34cd-35ab Prāṇa wind surrounded by bile causes vomiting and burning sensation, by phlegm it causes weakness, exhaustion, laziness and bad taste.
- 35cd–36ab Udāna wind surrounded by bile causes loss of consciousness, stupor, dizziness and fatigue, by phlegm it causes absence of perspiration, slowness of digestion, sensation of coldness.
- 36cd-37ab Samāna wind surrounded by bile causes perspiration, a burning sensation, heat and stupor, association with phlegm it causes erection in urine, feces and limbs.
- 37cd-38ab Apāna wind associated with bile causes a burning sensation, heat and the voiding of blood with urine, with phlegm it causes a feeling of heaviness in the lower part of the body and coldness.
- 38cd-39ab Vyāna wind surrounded by bile causes a burning sensation, tossing of the limbs and fatigue, by phlegm it causes stiffening limbs, uddaṇḍaka? and pain in the swelling.
  - Persons who are of delicate nature, follow faulty diet and lifestyle, also afflicted with intoxicating drinks, sexual enjoyment, exercise causes vitiation of wind and blood.??
    - Riding elephant, horse and camel, lifting great weights, consuming vegetables which are pungent, hot, sour, alkali and being frequently distressed situation causes contamination of wind.
  - 43–44 Blood flowing in the body blocks the passage of contaminated wind which moves quickly in the body. Excessively irritated wind-being contaminated by wind and dominance of wind, it is called वातरक्त Gout<sup>157</sup>.

<sup>(</sup>Su 1938: 262) ...

<sup>156</sup> Dalhaṇa and Gayadāsa both suggest that a distorted production विकृतां प्रवृत्तिम् is too fast, too slow, knotty and discolored.

<sup>157</sup> In the medical term वातरक्त is known as Gout. Cakrapāṇi called it आढ्यरोगः Caraka-

- Vātarakta causes pricking pain, dryness, loos of sensation in the feet. Contaminated Bile mixed with blood causes sharp burning sensation, excessive heat and soft swelling with red color in the feet. Contaminated Phlegm mixed with the blood causes itching in the feet. It makes feet white, cold, dry, thick and hard. All defects <sup>158</sup> in the blood contaminated by humours (wind, bile, phlegm) manifest their symptoms in the feet.
  - 48 This disease spreads all over the body like rat poison by staying in feet or sometimes hands.
  - Gout spreads in the knee and the skin bursts and starts bleeding makes it incurable. It is mitigatable if it is of a year's old.
- 50–51 When vitiated wind enters in the all arteries it causes quickly convulsions again and again and because of frequent contractions ( $\bar{a}k\bar{s}epa$ ) it is called convulsions ( $\bar{a}k\bar{s}epaka$ ).
- Because in this situation a person often sees darkness and fall, it calls spasmodic contraction (apatānaka) 159 . 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.
  - 58 Aggravated phlegm and bile mixed with wind or only vitiated wind causes fourth convulsive disease due to trauma.
  - Convulsions due to miscarriage, excessive bleeding, and injury are incurable <sup>160</sup>.
- 60–62 When excessively agitated and strong wind flows in the arteries which

saṃhitā sū.14.18 and ci.28.66

<sup>158</sup> Gayadāsa suggests सर्वे दुष्टाः शोणितं चापि nominative plural instead of locative singular.

<sup>159</sup> Gayadāsa accepted the Nepalese reading ताम्यते which vulgate does not read. Gayadāsa gives definition of अपतानक as येनापताम्यते means a situation in that a person sees the dark.

<sup>160</sup> According to Dalhaṇa convulsion (ākṣepaka) is also known as अपतानक (Su 1938:266). He further mentions that even if fortunately, it is cured, it cripples the limb.

spread downward, upward, and sideways, it loses the joints and kills the other side of body. The best of physicians calls it paralysis (*pakṣāghāta*). <sup>161</sup> Then half of his entire body becomes inefficient and unconscious. Afflicted by wind he suddenly falls or dies.

- 62.1 Bile integrates with wind causes burning sensation, affliction, and infatuation. When it integrates with phlegm causes coldness, morbid swelling, and heaviness. <sup>162</sup>.
  - A paralysis (*pakṣāghāta*) caused by wind <sup>163</sup> is curable with most difficulty. It becomes curable when caused by bile and phlegm mix with the wind. It becomes incurable when caused by the loss of bodily constituents.
- Verses from 64–66 are not found in the Nepalese manuscripts. These verses discuss the term spasmodic contradiction (āpatantraka) which is the same as अपतानक. 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 अपतन्त्रक separately (Su 1938:267).
  - 67 This verse also not found in the Nepalese Manuscripts. The verse describes rigidity of neck (*manyāsthambha*). According to Dalhaṇa, rigidity of neck is a prior symptom of spasmodic contradiction.
- 68–72 By speaking very loudly, eating hard foods, excessively laughing and yawning, lifting heavy loads and sleeping in an awkward position, vitiated wind lodges into face painfully and produces 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.<sup>164</sup> Experts in diseases call this disease spasm of

<sup>161</sup> In the ca.6.28.55 पक्षाघात is described as monoplegia (*ekāṅgaroga*). In that case it damages one of the limbs. In the medical terms paralysis (*apakṣāghāta*) is known as hemiplegia.

<sup>162</sup> This verse is not available in vulgate. It deals with the symptoms when bile and phlegm mix with the wind. It is already discussed in su.2.1.38.

<sup>163</sup> Here the term যুদ্ধবান suggests the meaning of the wind that is devoid of bile and phlegm.

<sup>164</sup> Dalhana suggests नेत्रादीनाम् इत्यादि शब्दात् भूगण्डादि उपसङ्गहः

- 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*).

  165
- 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 (*khañja*) and when it attacks on both the thighs a person becomes lame (*paṅgu*).
- 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. 166
- 83 Vitiated wind singly or mixed with phlegm cover the channel of ears causes deafness.
- 84 Vitiated wind saturated with phlegm covering the arteries which conduct the sound of speech makes a person inactive (*akriya*), dumb (*mūka*). He mumbles (*mimmira*) through the nose and stammers

<sup>165</sup> Both the MSS N and H read विश्वञ्च instead of the vulgate reading विश्वाची. There is no such word found in other Āyurveda texts.

<sup>166</sup> Dalhana and Gayadāsa both have defined two diseases i.e., अंसशोष and अवबाहुक respectively.

- (gadgad).167
- 85 Vitiated wind penetrating into the cheekbones, temporal bones, head and neck causes piercing pain in the ears. It is called ear-ache (karṇaśūla).<sup>168</sup>
- 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 प्रतित्नी.
- 88–89 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)

<sup>167</sup> Nepalese Manuscripts read मिर्मिर instead of the Vulgate's reading मिन्मिण. Dictionary of MW suggests the meaning of मिर्मिर = having fixed unwinking eyes which is not relevant to the disease of tongue.

<sup>168</sup> In the medical terms, this disease is known as Otitis.

<sup>169</sup> 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.<sup>170</sup> Das (2003: chs 6–8) also studied topics of this chapter and in chapter 13 provided an overview of the conceptual background of ayurveda on the topics discussed in this chapter.

# **Translation**

- 1 We shall now explain the anatomy that is the purification of sperm (*śukra*) and blood (*śoṇita*).
- 3 Semen (*retas*)<sup>171</sup> is incompetent to produce offspring if it is [characterized by] wind, bile, phlegm, blood (śοṇita),<sup>172</sup> decomposition (kuṇapa), clumps (granthi),<sup>173</sup> stinking pus (pūtipūya), low volume (kṣīṇa), urine, or feces.

<sup>170</sup> HIML: IA, 244–246.

<sup>171</sup> The Nepalese version has -रेतांसि "semen" (in the plural) as the subject of the sentence: "seeds are unable to produce offspring...." In the vulgate, -रेतसः is a masculine bahuvrīhi, making "men whose semen has..." the subject of the sentence.

<sup>172</sup> Note that the list begins with the four entities, wind, bile, phlegm and blood, hinting at a four-humour system (**wuja-2000**).

<sup>173</sup> Modern Establishment Medicine (MEM) understands that normal ejaculate contains coagula which, however, dissolve after about half an hour. But coagula that do not dissolve may sometimes be a sign of an underlying disorder (see, e.g., lamm-1990; cohe-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*).<sup>174</sup>
  - 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.<sup>175</sup>

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.<sup>176</sup>

Moreover, seasonal blood ( $\bar{a}rtava$ ) too can become afflicted (upasrsta), seedless ( $ab\bar{\imath}ja$ ) because of the three humours, and blood as the fourth, taken individually, in pairs or triples or all together. <sup>177</sup>

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-

<sup>174</sup> Note that the text mentions both शोणित and रक्त. This raises the question of whether the author considered these to be different, or whether it is an artefact of textual transmission.

<sup>175</sup> The expression "humoral colligation," translating

<sup>•</sup> सन्निपात, refers to the simultaneous

<sup>•</sup> disorder of three humors at the same time, a condition that is difficult to treat (wuja-2016).

<sup>176</sup> Note that the above characterizations presuppose the direct inspection of an ejaculate. The process of collection is not described in the sources in this chapter.

<sup>177</sup> This translates the text of the oldest surviving witness, N, and the vulgate. But MS H, that normally follows K very closely, has a negative particle, ¬¬, reversing the sense of the sentence.

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). $^{178}$ 



### 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. 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 (kṣāra), and two kinds of salt.
- 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.

<sup>178</sup> Dalhaṇa on 3.2.6 (Su 1938: 345) noted that "unction and sweating" indicates the "five treatements": वमन, विरेचन, अनिरूह, अनुवासन and उत्तरबस्ति. He noted that the explicit mention of urethral enema in the verse was for the purpose of highlighting its priority. However, a natural reading of the verse does not suggest that these distinctions were in the author's mind.

<sup>179</sup> These three recipes are not present in the vulgate text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

<sup>180 -</sup>विपक्क "well cooked with..." might be interpreted as "with ripe...".

<sup>181</sup> 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. 182
  - 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. 183
  - 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. 184
- 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).<sup>185</sup>



<sup>182</sup> 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 षद्भेतासु विजानता. The Nepalese manuscripts read this line two verses further down.

<sup>183</sup> 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).

<sup>184</sup> It is difficult to know which six cases the author intended. Dalhana on 3.2.10 (Su 1938)

<sup>185</sup> 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.

#### 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*). 186
  - One should use a paste (kalka) as well as cloths and a salutary lavages ( $\bar{a}camana$ ).<sup>187</sup>
  - In case of a bad smell and the appearance of pus, or the appearance of marrow in the blood.
  - 15 He should drink a decoction (*kvātha*) of white sandalwood or a decoction of red sandalwood. 188
- 14ab When clumps (*granthi*) appear, he should drink velvet-leaf, three heating spices, and Indrajao. 189
- 14a He should drink a a decoction ( $nihkv\bar{a}tha$ ) that is the extracted juice (surasa) of a caustic ( $ks\bar{a}ra$ ), dried ginger, and devil's dung.
- Thus a man has unblemished semen and a woman has pure menstrual blood. 190
- 186 The "procedure ending with a urethral instillation" probably refers to verse 6 above (see page 77).
- 187 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."
- 188 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.
- 189 On ग्रन्थि, see note 168.
- 190 On this and the following texts, cf. **smet-2010**.

## **During menstruation**

During the season (*ṛtu*), starting from the first day onwards, the chaste woman (*brahmacāriṇī*) foregoes bathing, anointments, ornaments and grooming (*vilekhana*).<sup>191</sup> 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.<sup>192</sup>

For what reason? By sleeping during the day, the fetus becomes deaf. 193 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). 194 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.<sup>195</sup>

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.<sup>196</sup>

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.

<sup>191</sup> The word ऋतु "season" in āyurvedic texts can, according to context, refer either to the period of menstruation or else to the period of fecundity following menstruation (Das 2003: 15 ff., note 27, et passim). Dalhaṇa on 3.2.25 (Su 1938: 347) noted that the woman's abstention should last three days from the first appearence of her menses.

<sup>192</sup> On the similar prohibitions relating to a menstruating woman as described in Dharmaśāstra literature, as well as the similar defects accruing from disobedience (lesl-1989).

<sup>193</sup> Here, the vulgate reads स्वप्नशीलः "he tends to sleep."

<sup>194</sup> On translating কুষ্ট in Āyurvedic texts, see emme-1984.

<sup>195</sup> This sentence is hard to construe because हिवष्यं "ritual food" cannot agree with - भोजिनीं.

<sup>196</sup> See wuja-2023.

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.<sup>197</sup>
- Henceforth, he should approach after a month [At this point there is a misplaced folio in MS N]
- 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.<sup>198</sup>
- 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 of field, seed, water and grass.<sup>199</sup>
- Children born in this manner are beautiful, of noble character and enjoy long lives. They provide release from obligation (ṛṇa) and they



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.

<sup>198</sup> There is a textual problem at the start of this passage.

<sup>199</sup> 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 Dalhana interpreted the verse.

<sup>200</sup> We translate महासत्त्वाः as "noble character;" Dalhana, commenting on the vulgate

themselves have children, benefitting their parents.<sup>201</sup>

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.<sup>202</sup> When earth is the predominant element, it is dark (kṛṣṇa). When earth and ether are the chief elements, it is dark brown (śyāma).<sup>203</sup> 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.<sup>204</sup>

In that context, congenital blindness ( $j\bar{a}tyandha$ ) is caused by the element of brilliance (tejas) not reaching the location of eye (drsti). Similarly, red eyes are a consequence of blood, white eyes are a consequence of phlegm, yellow eyes are a consequence of bile, and dysfunctional eyes ( $vikrt\bar{a}ksa$ ) are a consequence of wind.

35.1–4 And on this, there are the following:<sup>206</sup>

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."

reading सत्त्ववन्तः, refers to the गुणस्, interpreting the expression as "not strongly influenced by रजस् and तमस्."

<sup>201</sup> 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."

<sup>202</sup> The food of the mother, that is.

<sup>203</sup> 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.

<sup>204</sup> Cf. also n., p. 208. Cf. HIML: IA, 70 and notes on these poisonous animals as described in the *Carakasaṃhitā*, and Meulenbeld 1974b: 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, jyaṣṭhi, jyaiṣṭhī, girgiṭ.

<sup>205</sup> The term विकृताक्ष was known to Kātyāyana (Mahābhāṣya on P.6.3.3, (kiel-1880)).

<sup>206</sup> 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.

When phlegm that is free of any impurity moves to the eyes, their eyes shine with a white circle within a circle.<sup>207</sup>

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.<sup>208</sup>
- 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 si). They are called "twins (yama)," being created from preceding virtue (dharma) or its opposite.<sup>209</sup>
- 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.
- 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.

# Types of persons

3.2.38 The term for men and women who have diminished seed is  $\bar{A}$  sekya. Without doubt, after eating something white ( $\acute{s}$  ukla), his flag is raised. The term for men and women who have diminished seed is  $\bar{A}$  sekya. The term for men and women who have diminished seed is  $\bar{A}$  sekya. The term for men and women who have diminished seed is  $\bar{A}$  sekya. The term for men and women who have diminished seed is  $\bar{A}$  sekya. The term for men and women who have diminished seed is  $\bar{A}$  sekya. The term for men and women who have diminished seed is  $\bar{A}$  sekya. The term for men and women who have diminished seed is  $\bar{A}$  sekya. The term for men and women who have diminished seed is  $\bar{A}$  sekya.

208 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.

209 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).
- 210 Etymologically, "to be poured into." On this and the following typologies, see the brief treatment by **meul-1997**.
- 211 Dalhaṇa on 3.2.38 (Su 1938: 348) made it clear that this is a metaphor for having a penile erection.

<sup>207</sup> Perhaps this describes the appearance of arcus senilis.

39 Someone who is born in a foul womb is termed a *Saugandhika*. That person gains strength from smelling a vagina and a penis.<sup>212</sup>

40abc A man, who has activity in his own anus because of being celibate and then has activity amongst his own women is known as a *Kumbhīka*. Add—41abc Hear about the next one, the *Īrṣyaka*. Someone who has sexual activity after seeing the copulation of other people is termed an *Īrsyaka*.

"Eating something white" may refer to মুক্ন "sperm," as the vulgate reads. But note that works on aphrodisiacs and fertility (वाजीकरण) in āyurveda and rasaśāstra routinely recommend white substances such as milk for strengthening reproductive ability. See, for example, 4.26.27–31ab (Su 1938: 498) and 6.2, all of sub-chapter 2 (Ca 1941: 392–394).

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. Dalhaṇa 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.

- 212 Etymologically, "Sweet Smelling."
- 213 The vulgate adds an avagraha before ब्रह्मचर्याद्, meaning "because of not being celibate." Dalhana on 3.2.40abc (Su 1938: 348-349) read the text this way, paraphrasing अब्रह्मचर्यात्, thus inverting the meaning but not clarifying what he thought it meant. But he then cited a passage from "others" that read ब्रह्मचर्यात्, i.e., the anal sex followed or was caused by celibacy, ब्रह्मचर्यात् क्रैब्यवशसंजाताप्रवृत्तित्वात् "because of celibacy, that is, because of being unable to perform because of the effect of impotence." These unnamed commentators also referred explicitly to erectile dysfunction, शिथिले-नैव मेहनेन, as the result of this celibacy and proposed that a man could get an erection through abnormal (विप्रकृत्या) means and as a result could have sex as a male with a woman. Dalhana also stated that the origin of a person with such a condition was described "in another book" (तन्त्रान्तरे), and proceeded to cite Carakasaṃhitā 4.2.20 (Ca 1941: 303). Dalhana then also cited another verse from Gāyadāsa, who himself ascribed it to Kāśyapa (HIML: IA, 164–166), saying that, "A Kumbhila (sic) is born when a man with phlegm for semen has sex with a woman who is not passionate (or not menstruating) during her season, when the love is attached to another." (Also cited in *Mahākośa*: 1, 220a–b.)

It is noteworthy that the  $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$  is factual and descriptive in these passages, as befits a medical work, while the commentators introduce a moralistic and critical tone.

214 Etymologically "one who envies."

Here again, Dalhana on 3.2.40–41 (Su 1938: 349) cited the opinion of "another book"

Hear about the fifth, the Sandhaka. A man who, out of delusion, has sexual activity with a young girl ( $kaum\bar{a}r\bar{\iota}$ ) during her season as if he were a woman. In such a case, a male is born who looks and behaves like a woman. He is termed a Sandha.

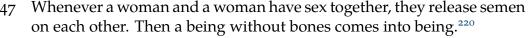
- Moreover, if a woman, during her season, has sexual activity like a man, then if a girl is born she will have the behaviours of a man.
- The *Āsekya*, the *Sugandhin*, the *Kumbhīka* and the *Īrṣyaka* are known to have semen. The man with no semen is termed a Ṣaṇḍha.<sup>216</sup>
- In both of these cases, they have a semen-carrying vessel that dilates as a result of unnatural excitement.<sup>217</sup> Then the flag may be raised.<sup>218</sup>

# Birth irregularities

The appearance, behaviour and mentality that is associated with a man and a woman is also the same as that which their offspring (*garbha*) has.<sup>219</sup>

and cited a passage from *Carakasaṃhitā* 4.2.20 (Ca 1941: 303) that covers similar ground. The description of the *Carakasaṃhitā* is causally framed in terms of the factors वायु and अग्नि.

- 215 The vulgate's भार्या "woman, wife" for the Nepalese version's कौमारी "girl" is probably bowdlerization.
- 216 It remains a question as to whether the authors meant the absence of an ejaculate or the clinical observation of childlessness even in the presence of an ejaculate. For a discussion of the present passages and further literature on षण्ढ, see Das 2003: 581–584; on आसेक्य, see ibid., 527. See also swee-1993zwil-2000zwil-2010.
- 217 Palhaṇa on 3.5.45 (Su 1938: 349) cited the expression नरनारीषण्डौ from the *Carakasaṃ-hitā* (Ca4.2.17303, reads -नारि) to establish that women too may have these unnatural excitements.
  - We have emended the Nepalese verb to the singular, because witness H clearly has शुक्रवहा सिरा "semen-carry vessel" in the singular. Does Ayurvedic anatomy have a single vessel or many? Carakasaṃhitā 3.5.8 (Ca 1941: 250) has a plural, शुक्रवहानां स्रोतसां. But the Suśrutasaṃhitā 3.9.12 (Su 1938: 3.9.12) has a clear statement that there are two ducts (srotas) that carry semen: शुक्रवहे द्वे तयोर्मूलं स्तनौ वृषणौ च "there are two vessels that carry semen. They are rooted in the breasts and the testicles." The Ayurvedic Man painting has a single शुक्रमार्ग (wuja-2008a). The Jaina Tandulaveyāliya lists 10 sperm-carrying vessels (दस सिराओ सुक्खधारिणीओ, schu-1969cail-2019; I am grateful to Jan Gerris for this reference).
- 218 On this euphemism, see footnote 206 above.
- 219 The vulgate has "food" for the Nepalese version's आकार "appearance," and "son" for "offspring." The Nepalese version seems more perceptive on this point of heredity.



- Offspring (garbha) of a deformed shape like a gourd, a scorpion or a snake and others of the same type are known to be often brought about by sin.<sup>221</sup>
- Offspring that is  $vim\bar{a}nita\dot{h}$  by irritation of wind and by pregnant longing may become hunchbacked, have a shrivelled hand  $(k\bar{u}ni)$ , be lame, mute or have a stutter.<sup>222</sup>
- The newborn may have abnormalities because of the bad behaviour of its mother and father and because of bad actions from the past, by means of the irritation of wind etc.<sup>223</sup>
- The child in the womb does not make wind, urine and feces because it has little impurity and because the wind in the stomach is not functioning.
- The child in the womb does not cry out because the movement of the wind is obstructed since the mouth is covered by the caul and the throat is surrounded by phlegm.
- The inward and outward breathing, movement and sleep that the fetus adopts conform to the inward and outward breathing, movement and

- 221 The vulgate version of this text says that it is sinful behaviour of women that causes abnormalities. The Nepalese version is quite different, simply attributing deformity to sin and not blaming women at all.
- 222 The Nepalese version has कूनि while the vulgate reads कुणि. Dalhaṇa on 3.2.51 (Su 1938: 349) felt the need to explain the unusual term, saying कुणि: विकलपाणि: "having a crippled hand," but acar-1939 noted a variant विकृतपाणि:, suggesting some instability in the interpretation of this term. Cakrapāṇidatta on 8.2.21 (acar-1939) gave the meaning कुब्जितकर: "having a hunched hand" (where there is also a variant reading नष्टकरः), cf. Mahākośa: 1, 216. The Tamil lexemes kūn means "bend, curve, hump on the back, humpback" and kūni means "... become hunchbacked" (DED2: #1927). It seems likely that this is a Dravidian word that has been absorbed into Ayurvedic terminology at an early period.
- 223 Dalhaṇa on 3.2.52 (Su 1938: 349) took the position that the bad actions were those of the parents, not the child.



<sup>220</sup> The grammar of the Nepalese and vulgate versions of this verse are quite different. This striking verse has been discussed by several scholars (**smet-2006**). The concept of a being born with flesh but no bone and vice versa occurs in <code>Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa 1.259</code> and <code>Ṣaḍviṃśabrāhmaṇa 2.1.1</code> (**kolh-2005**) and later in Purāṇic literature (**doni-1980**). The Nepalese version of the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> does not have the following two verses that occur in the vulgate. <code>Dalhaṇa</code> on <code>3.2.48-48</code> (<code>Su 1938: 349</code>) said that Jejjaṭa did not read these two verses. Thus, the Nepalese version is the same as Jejjaṭa's version, as far as this omission is concerned.

- sleep of the mother.
- The composition of the body parts, the descent and appearance of the teeth, the absence of hair on the palms all happen by themselves.<sup>224</sup>
- Those cultivated people who in previous embodiments were constantly aware of the scriptures are rich in sattva and have memory of their previous births.<sup>225</sup>

Here ends the second chapter that is the anatomy.

<sup>224</sup> The text reads रारीराणाम् "of the bodies" that we have translated "of the body parts," following Dalhaṇa's interpretation. He also said that "palms" included the soles of the feet.

<sup>225</sup> The vulgate text adds a final verse about how the karma of a previous embodiment follows a person to his new life. Witness L adds yet another verse that says the lack of hair on the palms is because they come from the mother, while the areas of the body from the father have much hair.

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

## Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>226</sup> Important subsequent studies of the chapter include those of Das and of **krit-2009**.<sup>227</sup>.

- 1 We shall now explain the anatomy that is the descent of the embryo.
- 3 Semen is of the nature of Soma (saumya) and menstrual blood is of the nature of Agni ( $\bar{a}gneya$ ).<sup>228</sup> Furthermore, in this context there also exists a proximity of the other elements ( $bh\bar{u}ta$ ), by way of a minute special property, because they help one another and they enter into one another.<sup>229</sup>
- 4 In this case, when there is a union of a husband and wife, the heat from the body stimulates the wind.
  - In that case, because of the combination (*sannipāta*) of fire and wind, the semen that is ejaculated finds its way to the vagina.
  - It is commingled with menstrual blood ( $\bar{a}rtava$ ), then because of the joining together of Agni and Soma, what is being mingled together arrives in the receptacle of the fetus.
  - He is referred to by names that express synonyms such as, the knower of the field, the sentient, the toucher, the smeller, the seer, the hearer, the taster, the human, the goer, the witness, the creator, the speaker, the one who is, "who is the one that is life at the start?"<sup>230</sup>
- 4 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.
- 228 On the Saumya–Agni classification, see **wuja-2004ange-2021**Das 2003: 521–527. The fiery nature of menstrual blood is already stated in 1.14.7 (Su 1938: 59), "...but menstrual blood is of the nature of Agni, because the embryo is of the nature of fire and water."
- 229 Palhaṇa on 3.3.3 (Su 1938: 350) glossed अणुना विशेषेण "by way of a minute special property" as सूक्ष्मप्रकारेण "in an attenuated manner."
  Palhaṇa on 3.3.3 (Su 1938: 350) drew attention to 3.1.21ab (Su 1938: 343) where the idea of this interpenetration (अनुप्रवेश) is mentioned.
- 230 The last phrase is awkward. It translates यः कोऽसावाद्य आयुरित, which could be paraphrased, "the one who is the answer to the question 'who is the one who is life at the outset?'." The text differs from he vulgate's यः को ऽसाव् इति, that omits आद्य आयुर् (3.3.4 (Su 1938: 350)). Most other early editions print यः ऽसाव् इति No other translators translate this phrase, nor does Dalhana gloss it.

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

- 19 And here are some more verses. Indeed that pregnant woman desires .............. (bhoktum) the objects of the senses during the course (of her pregnancy); for fear of injury to the foetus a physician, after having fetched these things, should give any desired object.
- 20 She should give birth to a son endowed with virtues; if the pregnant woman does not obtain (what she desires), he (the foetus?) (or she, the woman?) also becomes equally insecure him-/her-self.
- 21 With respect to all those desires of the senses in which the pregnant mother was slighted, she will give birth to a son who is defective in each of all those same corresponding senses.
- 22 A king in an interview with whom a woman during her pregnancy wins and she gives birth to a son who is wealthy and is highly fortunate.\*
- 23 A pregnant woman, dressed in fine cloth, wearing silk and other things, gives birth to a charming son decorated (alankā) .......... resinam
- 24 If (she goes) to a hermitage, she brings forth someone who is self-restrained and a stone-pillar of religion, resembling a godhead and begotten in the utmost happiness. Upon seeing someone in a high position designed by birth, she gives birth to a stone-pillar of violence.
- 25 If she feels like eating the flesh of an Iguana (she produces) a son who is drowsy and who has the nature of a killer; by means of beef meat a son who is wild and who is

- powerful because he is savage in everything.
- 26 When from the pregnant woman (there is a wish for meat of) buffalo a son is produced who has fearful red-eyes and who looks shaggy.
- 27 Lacking
- 28 Hence, she who during her pregnancy considers what people eat, wishes for her offspring the same via the food habits of the body.
- 29 And that which has yet to happen again when the child is growing up, should be such that through divine intervention the pregnant woman should produce it during her pregnancy.
- 30 In the fifth (month of pregnancy) the mindbecomes more and more awakened; in the sixth intelligence (becomes awakened); in the seventh all the limbs and smaller body parts (are in place); if in the eighth (month) the ojas is not stable in that case the child does not live\* he is provided with a share (of it) by the demons- so then strong excellent meat should be provided to him; if he is not yet caused to be born in the ninth, tenth, eleventh or twelfth (month), then there is something wrong.
- 31 Furthermore, the umbilical cord is securely fastened to both juice-carrying vessels of the mother and carries the power (energy?) of the essential juice coming from the food of the mother and what causes (the baby) to live is the distribution of the life juice,\* over all the body parts of the not yet (existing) newborn, from the beginning of conception (?) (niḥṣekān), and over (all) the transportation channels, running in all directions because of that intimate connection of the vessels.
- 32 Mainly, the developments of the foetus are: śaunakasays says that the head develops first because it is at the basis of this (development). Kṛtavīryasaysit 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.\*\*

34 In this context a woman in whose right breast milk appears

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

This is the third chapter of the śarīra.

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.<sup>231</sup>

### 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.<sup>232</sup>

<sup>231</sup> HIML: IA, 265-266.

<sup>232</sup> The vulgate has the reading छर्दित्वा 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. Dalhaṇa on 4.4.3 (Su 1938: 420) noted that ঘ্ৰেড়া in this context means a particular weight characterized as equivalent to 21 medium-sized hyacinth beans. shar-1999 proposed that that the formulation contains six ingredients each the weight of a dharaṇa. See 4.31.7 (Su 1938: 508) where the term ঘ্ৰেড়া is defined in terms of other weights. (In epigraphical Sanskrit, a ঘ্ৰেড়া may be a silver or gold coin (sirc-1966).)

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

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

- 4 "Six-unit" is traditionally the formulation that is leadwort, Indrajao, velvet-leaf, kutki, Indian aconite, 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.<sup>233</sup>
- 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  $(n\bar{a}d\bar{i})$  into the bone, which has been split open by manual agitation  $(p\bar{a}nimantha)$ , and suck out the wind.<sup>234</sup>
- 10ab When the wind has reached the semen, one should perform the treatment for the defects of the semen.<sup>235</sup>
- When the wind has reached the whole body, an intelligent person should conquer it by means of immersion, sauna  $(kut\bar{i})$ , trench sweating  $(kars\bar{u})$ , blanket sweating (prastara), oil massage, enema, and blood-letting.<sup>236</sup> Or, if is located in a single limb and is stuck there, a

<sup>233</sup> On the translation of methods of medical touch, such as अभ्यङ्ग and संवाहन, see **broo-2021**. मर्दन, उन्मर्दन mean "pressing or vigorous rubbing." The vulgate includes ducts (*sirā*) as an added place that wind can enter.

<sup>234</sup> 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 पाणिमन्य 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.

<sup>235</sup> 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.

<sup>236</sup> These forms of sweating treatment are described in the Carakasaṃhitā (1.14.39–63 (Ca 1941: 90–92)).

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

- thoughtful physician may conquer it with cow-horns.<sup>237</sup>
- Or, if it is mingled with phlegm ( $bal\bar{a}sa$ ), bile, and blood, the physician should treat it with non-hostile remedies.<sup>238</sup> However, when the wind is inactive, he should perform blood-letting many times.<sup>239</sup>
- 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.<sup>240</sup>
- 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.<sup>241</sup>
- 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 śālvala<sup>242</sup>

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

<sup>237</sup> শ্বদ্ধ "cow-horns" refers to bloodletting by horn; see the description at *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.13.5 (Su 1938: 55).

<sup>238</sup> The word बलास 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.

<sup>239</sup> 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."

<sup>240</sup> 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.

<sup>241</sup> Cf. साल्वण "sweat from a poultice" in *Mahākośa*: 898. *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* 1.26.3a (atha-1980) describes a poultice called "sālvala" made with numerous ingredients (the commentator Indu elaborates, p. 189).

<sup>242</sup> 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,  $udra^{243}$ , 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.<sup>244</sup> The wind located in the head is defeated by blood-letting and by the application of oil to the head (*śirobasti*).
- 20–21ab 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.  $^{246}$
- Oils, perspiration, oil massage, enema, unctuous purging of the bowels, *śirobasti*, oiling the head, unctuous smoke, gargling with lukewarm water, *nasya*, unctuous paste, milks, meats<sup>247</sup>, soups, oils<sup>248</sup>, any unctuous substance, unctuous and salty meals that are made sour by fruits, bathing with lukewarm water, massages, saffron, agarwood, malabathrum, 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).

Perhaps

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, meats<sup>249</sup>, soups, oils<sup>250</sup>, any unctuous substance, unctuous

<sup>243</sup> some aquatic animal

<sup>244</sup> On त्रिक, see *Mahākośa*: 1, 387, citing Dalhaṇa on 3.6.26 (Su 1938: 374) "the junction between the shoulder-blades and the neck."

<sup>245</sup> 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.

<sup>246</sup> 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."

<sup>247</sup> The plural indicates milk and meat from various animals.

<sup>248</sup> This is the second occurrence of the word स्रेहाः in this sentence. This seems to be an anomaly.

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and salty meals that are made sour by fruits, bathing with lukewarm water, massages, saffron, agarwood, malabathrum, costus, cardamom, crape jasmine, garments made of silk, wool, and fur, soft cotton garments, inner rooms with sunlight, no wind flow, and a soft bed, taking the warmth of fire, and celibacy, etc. are to be collectively employed for patients with wind diseases.

One should take ak ildes a quantities of unguent pastes<sup>251</sup> of turpeth,<sup>252</sup> red physic nut, ??, ??, the three myrobalans, and embelia, a Bengal quince fruit equivalent measure of viburnum-root and ??, two  $p\bar{a}tra$  quantities of both  $triphal\bar{a}$ -decoction<sup>253</sup> and yogurt, and one  $p\bar{a}tra$  measure of ghee.<sup>254</sup> 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.<sup>255</sup>

This procedure of making viburnum-ghee should also be referred for making Asoka tree-ghee and ??-ghee.<sup>256</sup>

One should collect the wooden logs of the instruments that have been used for a long time for extracting oil from sesame seeds. One should then have them chopped into very tiny pieces and then pound those pieces. Next, one should put them in a big vessel, submerge them in water, and boil them. Thereafter, one should collect the oil from the surface of the water with a goblet or by hand. Thereafter, one should properly cook wind-alleviating herbs with this oil that was effectively cooked.<sup>257</sup> This is the anutaila

<sup>251</sup> केल्क also means an unguent paste. Refer to Apte's dictionary.

<sup>252</sup> In H, perhaps it should have been त्रिवृद् instead of तृवृत्.

<sup>253</sup> त्रिफलारस is here taken to mean a decoction of triphalā.

<sup>254</sup> The exact measurements of akṣa and  $p\bar{a}tra$  are given in Palhaṇa's commentary in Su 1938: 422.

<sup>255</sup> It should be understood here that the unctuous substance to be used for purging the bowels is the viburnum-ghee.

<sup>256</sup> अशोक and रम्यक are the Ashoka and Chinaberry respectively.

<sup>257</sup> In H, the word दन्तप्रतीवायं in the compound word वातप्नौषधदन्तप्रतीवायं 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)<sup>258</sup> that is mentioned in wind disorders. It is called anutaila because it is produced from tiny oily objects. 259 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  $oily^{260}$  in a big vessel and totally cover it with water. 261 The oil that rises up in that vessel should be taken out with both hands and kept nicely covered. Thereafter, one should properly cook that oil for as long as possible 262 with one thousand parts of each of the following --- a decoction of wind-alleviating herbs, meat soup, milk, and  $k\bar{a}\tilde{n}jika^{263}$ ---and thus prepare the sahasra-pāka (that which is cooked with thousands). The admixture added to the oil contains the hemavata herbs<sup>264</sup>, 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.

<sup>258</sup> The न् should be read ण्.

<sup>259</sup> The word अनु in the compound word अनुतैलद्रव्येभ्यः should be read अण्.

<sup>260</sup> In H, the word यावन् should have been यावान्.

<sup>261</sup> The reading in H, कटाहेभ्यः सिंचेत्, does not make sense here. Thus, we have accepted the vulgate reading कटाहे ऽभ्यासिंचेत् for the translation.

<sup>262</sup> 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.

<sup>263</sup> Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 423) that the word अम्ल here means কাञ्चिक which is the water drained after boiling rice and is a little fermented. Refer Monier Willams's Sanskrit Dictionary.

<sup>264</sup> The word should be हैमवताः as in the vulgate. It means "the herbs of the snowy mountains". Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 423) that हैमवताः refers to the herbs that grow in the northern region.

<sup>265</sup> 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. 266 These leaves should be completely pounded along with salt in a mortar. This mixture should be put in a pot filled with oil 267. It (pot) should be smeared 268 with cow-dung. Thereafter, the pot should be heated. 269 This (resultant) is the patra-lavaṇa (leaf-salt) that is mentioned in wind disorders.
- 31 In the same way, one should pound the stalks of oleander spurge and eggplants smeared with salt and fill a pot with it.<sup>270</sup> In that pot, one should add ghee, oil, fat, and marrow. Then, one should smear it<sup>271</sup> and heat it as earlier. This (resultant) is the *sneha-lavaṇa* (fat-salt) that is mentioned in wind disorders.
- 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, oleander spurge, ??, weaver's beam tree, corky coral tree, ??, ??, ??, ??, ??, ??, Indian beech, ??, hairy-fruited eggplant, ??, marking-nut tree, Asoka tree, ??. One should then mix them with salt and heat them as earlier. 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

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

Euphorbia Antiquorum (Antique spurge)

<sup>267</sup> स्नेहघट can also mean a pot filled with ghee

<sup>268</sup> The H or vulgate do not specify with words that it is the pot to be smeared. But, it is to be understood.

<sup>269</sup> The word दाहयेत् usually refers to burning, but sometimes it can refer to heating. 270 In H, there should be a *visarga* after लवणा.

<sup>271</sup> As earlier, the pot should be smeared with cow-dung.

<sup>272</sup> It is to be understood that all these fresh branches, leaves, fruits, and roots of the herbs should be completely pounded together with salt. The mixture should then be put into a pot filled with oil or ghee. The pot should be smeared with cow-dung and then heated.

for the patients troubled 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.<sup>273</sup>

### **Translation**

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

2

- 3 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).<sup>274</sup> However, this is not correct.<sup>275</sup> Why? Just as leprosy, after spreading over a surface it (afflicted blood) becomes deeply situated. Therefore, its being of two different types is refuted.
- When the wind is aggravated by fighting a strong person, etc.<sup>276</sup>, one's corrupted blood caused by eating heavy or hot food before the last meal is digested blocks the path of the aggravated wind. It then combines with the wind and simultaneously creates pain due to the wind-blood.

<sup>273</sup> HIML: IA, 266.

<sup>274</sup> Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 424) that उत्तान refers to being situated in the skin and flesh, and अवगाढ refers to being situated internally.

<sup>275</sup> In H, the word तन् should be तत्.

<sup>276</sup> These factors that aggravate the wind are mentioned in Nidānasthāna, Ch. 12, text 6.

This [condition] is called wind-blood (*vāta-śoṇita*). At first, it is situated in the hands and feet.<sup>277</sup> Later, it spreads throughout the body. Its early forms are pricking pain, burning, itching, ulcer, trembling<sup>278</sup>, roughness of the skin, pulsation in the blood vessels, tendons, and tubular vessels<sup>279</sup>, weakness of the thighs, as well as the sudden appearance of dark brown, tawny, or red spots on the soles of the feet, fingers, ankles, and wrists. The disease becomes fully manifest in the person who does not undertake the means to revert the disease or applies a wrong treatment. Its symptoms have been mentioned. Among them, weakness occurs for the one who does not counter the disease.

- 5 Generally, wind-blood occurs in those who are very delicate, those who eat the wrong foods and enjoy improperly, those who are fat, and even in those who indulge in pleasure.
- In that regard, one should treat the patient who is not degenerating due to wasting of life air, thirst, fever, unconsciousness, dyspnea, trembling, and loss of appetite, is not oppressed by the contraction [of limbs], is strong, composed, and has the means.
- In the treatment, at the beginning itself one should do blood-letting of the wind-affected body part little by little and more than once. That (slow blood-letting) is because of the danger of further aggravation of wind. One should avoid doing blood-letting of the part hardened or weakened by excessive wind.<sup>280</sup> Thereafter, one should make the patient do the remedies of vomiting, etc. If the wind that is mixed [with blood] or separated is very aggravated then one should make him consume aged ghee or goat-milk. Or, [one can give him] half a measure of oil added with an *akṣa* of liquorice and cooked with hare foot uraria<sup>281</sup>, or the oil that is sweetened by sugar and honey and cooked with dried ginger and bulrush. Or, one should boil milk with an eight times volume of the decoction of the following herbs: beautyberry, grey orchid, ??, hare foot uraria<sup>282</sup>, ??, wild asparagus, ??, and ??. This milk should then be used to cook oil with the admixture of pastes of ??, ??,

<sup>277</sup> In H, the word तन् should be तत्.

<sup>278</sup> In H, there should not have been the स् after स्तम्भ.

<sup>279</sup> In addition to blood vessels, it would also include the nerves.

<sup>280</sup> In H, the reading अम्लान does not make sense given the context. Therefore, we have accepted the vulgate reading ম্লান for the translation.

<sup>281</sup> Dalhaṇa glosses (Su 1938: 425) śṛgālavinnā as pṛśniparṇī.

<sup>282</sup> According to Dalhaṇa, śṛgālavinnā is pṛśniparṇī.

??, ??, deodar, sweet flag, and ??. This (resultant) should be utilised in drinks, etc. Or, one should use the oil that is cooked with a decoction of wild asparagus, prickly chaff-flower<sup>283</sup>, ??, liquorice, giant potato, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, and ??<sup>284</sup>, with the admixture of cottony jujube, etc. Or, one should use the heart-leaf sida-oil that is cooked as śatapāka.<sup>285</sup> Or, [the affected body part] should be moistened with milk that is boiled with the roots of wind-alleviating herbs, or it should be moistened with sour things.<sup>286</sup> In that regard, five remedies prepared with milk are described. For preparing a poultice, milk should be cooked in ghee, oil, fat, marrow, and dugdha<sup>287</sup> separately with each of these powdered grains or pulses—barley, wheat, sesame, mung beans, or green gram—that is mixed with unctuous pastes of cottony jujube, purple roscoea, ??, ??, heart-leaf sida, country mallow, hare foot uraria<sup>288</sup>, ??, ??, sugar, bulrush<sup>289</sup>, ??, and sweet flag. Or, the essence of unctuous fruits<sup>290</sup> can be used as a poultice. Or, a veśavāra<sup>291</sup> prepared from the flesh of a fat *cilicima* fish<sup>292</sup> 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 Nitinatna. I could not find this

<sup>283</sup> Dalhaṇa glosses (Su 1938: 425) mayūraka as apāmārga.

<sup>284</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that halfa grass, ??, ??, halfa grass, ??, and ?? are called *trna* (grass).

<sup>285</sup> Śatapāka seems to be an oil that is prepared with a hundred parts of some things similar to sahasrapāka that is prepared with one thousand parts of some herbs. Refer Cikitsāsthāna Ch. 4 text 29 for the preparation of sahasrapāka.

<sup>286</sup> Dalhaṇa comments (Su 1938: 425) that the sour things (amla) are ??, Indian jujube, ??-water, etc. Surā is some kind of liquor, sauvīraka is perhaps the fruit of the jujube tree, and tuṣa is perhaps Terminalia Bellerica (विभीतक).

<sup>287</sup> In the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, the word for milk is *kṣīra* or *payas* but not *dugdha*. Therefore, the word *dugdha* here can mean the sap of plants or something that is extracted.

<sup>288</sup> śṛgālavinnā

<sup>289</sup> For kaśerukā

<sup>290</sup> Palhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that the unctuous fruits mentioned here are sesame, castor, flax, ??, etc.

<sup>291</sup> In H, the reading वैशवारो does not make sense. It should have been वेशवारो, as shown in the vulgate, which is the reading we have accepted here.

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

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

<sup>292</sup> H has the compound word नलपीनमत्स्य. नलमीन is a particular fish known as cilicima (चिलिचिमः). See Amarakośa. Also, if the name is नलमत्स्य then the word पीन (fat) within the name is not according to proper Sanskrit. But, it can be allowed because the word मत्स्य (fish), instead of being a part of the name, can be considered to mean fish in general and thus the word पीन becomes its modifier. Thus, नलपीनमत्स्य can mean "a

can use] the poultice containing Bengal quince-rind<sup>293</sup>, crape jasmine, deodar, ??, grey orchid, peas, costus, ??, liquor, yogurt, and whey. Or, [one can use] the ointment prepared by mixing citron, *amla*<sup>294</sup>, salt, and ghee with honey and horseradish tree-root. Or else, [one can use] the unctuous sesame paste.

When the [condition of wind-blood] has a predominance of bile, the patient should be made to drink a decoction of grapes, ??-fruit, Indian ipecac, liquorice, sandalwood, and white teak. This decoction is sweetened with honey and sugar before consumption. Or, the decoction of wild asparagus, pointed gourd, malabathrum, *triphalā*, ??, and heart-leaved moonseed should be given. [The patient should be administered] ghee that is prepared with sweet, bitter, and astringent [remedies].<sup>295</sup>

[The patient] should be sprinkled with a decoction of ??, lotus stalk, white sandalwood, and wild Himalayan cherry mixed with goatmilk<sup>296</sup>, or with rice water that is mixed with milk, sugarcane juice, honey, and sugar, or with whey and sour rice gruel mixed with a decoction of grapes and sugarcane. Or else, [the patient] should be sprinkled with ghee that is prepared with *jīvanīya*<sup>297</sup> or sprinkled with ghee that is purified for one hundred times.

The poultice [to be applied] should be made of rice flour or of the paste of sour rice gruel mixed with ??, pussywillow, scramberry<sup>298</sup>, ??, ??, turmeric, horned pondweed, sacred lotus, etc. The poultice should be mixed with ghee.

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

fat fish that is a ਜਲ (cilicima)".

<sup>293</sup> The word पेसिका in H should be read पेशिका.

<sup>294</sup> Perhaps it could mean vinegar or sour curds. Refer to Monier Williams Sanskrit Dictionary.

<sup>295</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that the sweet remedies are cottony jujube, etc., bitter remedies are pointed gourd, etc., and astringent remedies are *triphalā*, etc.

<sup>296</sup> The compound word ending with कषायेण is taken to be a bahuvrīhi for अजाक्षीरेण (goatmilk).

<sup>297</sup> Jīvanīya seems to be a group of medicinal herbs. There is an Ayurvedic preparation called jīvanīya-ghrta. Refer to the Āyurvedīya Śabdakośa vol. 1.

<sup>298</sup> तालीस should be read तालीश

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

However, when the [condition of wind-blood] has a predominance of phlegm, the patient should be made to consume a decoction of emblic 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 acidic<sup>299</sup>. Or, he should be sprinkled with a decoction of golden shower tree, etc.

The patient should be massaged with ghee cooked with sour cream, urine, liquor, ??³00, liquorice, ??³01, 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 ??³°², Indian cherry, and wood-apple, or the paste of honey, horseradish tree, and hogweed,³°³ or the paste of dry ginger, long pepper, black pepper,³°⁴ hare foot uraria, and hairy-fruited eggplant.³°⁵ These five poultices are prepared with salty water. Thus, they have been described.

In case of combined aggravation of two humours or simultaneous aggravation of all three humours, the stated methods of treating those aggravations should be combined.<sup>306</sup>

In all [aggravations], one should consume chebulic myrobalan with jaggery. Or, one should have a diet of rice cooked in milk for ten days and should drink a mixture of long peppers crushed in milk, with increasing by five long peppers each night. Then one should reduce them again by the order of five more [each night].<sup>307</sup> In this way, one should

tion should be modified accordingly.

<sup>299</sup> Reading the word सुक्त in H as शुक्त

<sup>300</sup> Monier Williams states Rumex Vesicarius for śuktā

<sup>301</sup> DCS has this entry: Cryptolepsis buchananii Roem. et Schult. (Surapāla (1988), 453) Decalepis hamiltonii Wight et Arn. (Surapāla (1988), 453)

<sup>302</sup> According to V. S. Apte, दारु can mean देवदारु.

<sup>303</sup> H has a short अ at the end instead of the long आ.

<sup>304</sup> व्योषतिक्ता refers to the group of these three pungent spices. Also see Sūtrasthāna 14.35.

<sup>305</sup> In H, the Sanskrit syntax does not match up with what the author is trying to say. The name of the fifth paste should also have been in the nominative case, as the other four pastes.

<sup>306</sup> It means that the respective methods of treating the aggravation of individual humours should be combined.

<sup>307</sup> In H, the letter ञ্ in भूयञ्च should have been য্.

[reduce] all the long peppers. This is called *Pippalīvarddhamānakam* (Increasing Long Peppers). It indeed cures wind-blood, intense fever,<sup>308</sup> loss of appetite, jaundice, abdominal affection, piles, heavy breathing, cough, wasting disease, weak digestion, and heart disease.

The poultice is a paste of bluebell barleria, sandalwood, rajmahal hemp, ??, wild asparagus, bulrush,<sup>309</sup> 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 eating<sup>310</sup>. One should eat food preparations made of rice, ??, barley and wheat accompanied with milk, meat soup, or mung beans soup that is not sour. Blood-letting also [should be done]. The treatments of vomiting, purging of bowels, enema, and oily enema should be conducted when the humours are highly aggravated.

13

There are verses in this regard.<sup>311</sup>

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

Poultice, sprinkling [oil], plaster, oil massage,<sup>312</sup> spacious and comfortable rooms<sup>313</sup> with no wind, soft pillows, comfortable beds, and soft massages are recommended in the condition of wind-blood.

<sup>308</sup> Perhaps विषमज्वर could mean irregular fever.

<sup>309</sup> H has कशेरुका.

<sup>310</sup> Perhaps it means that one should eat foods cooked in that oil.

<sup>311</sup> The word भवति in H should have been भवन्ति.

<sup>312</sup> In H, the part व्यजनानिलाः does not make proper sense in the verse. Emending it to व्यजनानि च could be a consideration, but fanning (व्यजन) a patient with wind-blood is not good, as understood from the recommendation that such a patient should stay in a non-windy room. Therefore, we have accepted the vulgate reading for the first half of this verse.

<sup>313</sup> In H, read the स सरणानि as श.

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,<sup>314</sup> 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,<sup>315</sup> and who is not restrained externally. There at the beginning itself,<sup>316</sup> after rubbing the patient with oil and making him perspire, one should treat him with a strong <code>avapīḍa<sup>317</sup></code> in order to clear his head. Then, the patient should be made to drink filtered ghee that is properly cooked with a decoction of beggarweed and other herbs, sugarcane juice, milk, and yogurt. In that way, the wind does not spread exceedingly.

Thereafter, one should gather wind-alleviating herbs such as deodar, etc. and other constituent parts, along with barley, ??, and horse gram, and the flesh of a freshwater aquatic creature all at one place and prepare a decoction of them. One should take this decoction and mix it properly with sour substances and milk, and then cook the *pratīvāpa*<sup>318</sup> of liquorice in this mixture along with ghee, oil, body fat, and bone marrow. This is *trivṛt* that should be recommended in treatments of sprinkling, oil massage, applying a poultice, oral consumption, oily enema, and errhine for patients having spasmodic contractions.

The patient should then be made to sweat by the methods described earlier. If the wind is stronger then the patient should be immersed in [a vessel] filled with lukewarm fluid used for sprinkling (trivrt). Or he should be kept in the hot fireplace of a blacksmith.<sup>319</sup> Or else he should be made to sweat by [a mixture of] ??,  $veśavāra_1$ , <sup>320</sup> and milk.

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

<sup>314</sup> In H, the reading अपताकिनम् should have been अपतानिकनम्.

<sup>315</sup> V. S. Apte has खद्दयति. The *Āyurvedīya Śabdakośa* has the entry खद्दापातिन् which means "one who is inclined to fall from bed." Perhaps the reading in H has an error of the letter या which should have been पा.

<sup>316</sup> In H, प्रागैव should have been प्रागेव.

<sup>317</sup> The Āyurvedīya Śabdakośa has the entry अवपीड that means administering an oily paste through the nose. Refer SS Cikitsāsthāna Ch. 40 text 44 for a better understanding of avapīḍa.

<sup>318</sup> It refers to an admixture of substances to medicines either during or after decoction. Refer to Monier-Williams's Sanskrit dictionary.

<sup>319</sup> H has the reading रथाकारचुल्ल्याम् that means "fireplace shaped like a chariot", but the vulgate reading रथकारचुल्ल्याम् makes more sense here. Thus, we have accepted it.

<sup>320</sup> Refer the above text no.7 for *veśavāra*. In H, the syllable वै should have been वे.

Oil cooked with the juice of radish, ??, ??, spurge, and ?? should be used in sprinking, etc. for patients with spasmodic contractions.<sup>321</sup> Sour yogurt mixed with black pepper and drunk on an empty stomach alleviates spasmodic contractions. Or else, ghee, oil, body fat, or bone marrow [can be consumed on an empty stomach].

This procedure of treatment thus described is for spasmodic contractions caused only by wind. When mixed humours cause it then the treatment should also be mixed. And when the spasms subside the patient should be given *avapīḍa*-s. One should also consider the fats of cock, crab, black fish, and porpoise.<sup>322</sup> Milk prepared with wind-alleviating medicines. Gruel prepared with barley, ??, horse gram, radish, yogurt, ghee, and oil.

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

One should treat the paralytic (hemiplegic) patient whose limbs are not languid, who is in pain, and who is self-composed. There, at the beginning itself the patient should be massaged with oil and made to sweat. After cleansing the patient with a mild purifier,<sup>323</sup> he should be administered with an oily enema and then a non-oily enema. Then at the appropriate time, he should be treated with special enemas of the brain and the head according to the method prescribed in the treatment of ākṣepaka.<sup>324</sup> Anutaila should be used for massage.<sup>325</sup> Sālvala should be used for poultice.<sup>326</sup> heart-leaf sida oil should be used for oily enema. In this way, the unremitting patient should take the treatment for three to four months.

treatment of ākṣepaka is described.

Search for

Make the first letter of sentence capital.

20 21

<sup>321</sup> The word तैलम् is not present in H but is present in the vulgate. We have accepted it.

<sup>322</sup> H has the reading रसान् which means "juices". It seems unrealistic that juice would be extracted by crushing these whole animals. Vulgate has the reading वसाः instead of रसान् which appears to be the more probable reading. Thus, we have accepted it.

<sup>323</sup> According to P. V. Sharma, this refers to mild evacuatives (purgatives).

<sup>324</sup> Refer Nidānasthāna 1.50-51 for ākṣepaka.

<sup>325</sup> For the procedure of preparing anutaila, refer Cikitsāsthāna 4.28.

<sup>326</sup> For the procedure of preparing *sālvala*, refer *Cikitsāsthāna* 4.14-15.

One should treat the patient with *ardita*<sup>327</sup> 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 remaining<sup>328</sup> should be brought down [the stove] and filtered. It should then be mixed with a *prastha*<sup>329</sup> 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*.

- In the diseases of <code>gṛdhrasī</code>, <code>viścañcī</code>, <code>kroṣṭukaśīrṣa</code>, <code>paṅgukalāya</code>, lameness, <code>vātakaṇṭaka</code>, burning sensation in the foot, numbness of the foot, <code>avabāhuka</code>, deafness, and <code>dhamanīvāta</code>, one should pierce the blood vessel as described earlier and, barring the case of <code>avabāhuka</code>, one should look up the treatment for wind diseases.
- However, in the case of *karṇamūla*,<sup>330</sup> lukewarm juice of ??<sup>331</sup> mixed with liquorice, oil, and salt should be put into the ears.<sup>332</sup> Or else one can use goat urine, liquorice, and oil. Or else one can use oil that is cooked with citron, pomegranate, ?? juice, and urine.<sup>333</sup> Or else one can use oil that is cooked with sour liquor, buttermilk, and urine. One should also make the patient sweat with a steam bath through tubes. One should also look up the treatment for wind diseases. More will be said later.
- In the case of  $t\bar{u}n\bar{t}$  and  $pratit\bar{u}n\bar{t}$ , one should make the patient drink ghee and salt with hot water. Or else one should administer the powder of

<sup>327</sup> Refer Nidānasthāna 1.71-72 for ardita.

<sup>328</sup> It means that the water has evaporated.

<sup>329</sup> Dalhana comments (Su 1938: 425) that a *prastha* is a measure of weight that is equal to 32 *pala-s*.

<sup>330</sup> The vulgate has the reading कर्णशूले which appears to be a more credible reading according to the context.

<sup>331</sup> পূর্বাব appears to be a name of ginger. Refer to the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams.

<sup>332</sup> In H, the reading रसैः does not seem to make sense here. Hence we have accepted the vulgate reading रसम्.

<sup>333</sup> In H, the word तैल should have been तैलम् to make proper sense. The vulgate has this reading. Thus we have accepted it.

- long pepper and other herbs with hot water. Or else one should make the patient drink ghee that is made thick with asafoetida and barley ash.<sup>334</sup> One should also treat the patient with enemas.
- In the case of ādhmāna,<sup>335</sup> however, one should do avatarpaṇa,<sup>336</sup> heating the hands, phalavartikriyā,<sup>337</sup> stimulation of digestion, and [administer] digestives. One should also employ the purging of bowels and enemas. In the case of pratyādhmāna,<sup>338</sup> one should employ vomiting, fasting, and stimulation of digestion.
- 27 In the case of aṣṭḥīlā and pratyaṣṭhīlā,<sup>339</sup> the procedure is that of gulma and internal abscess.
- The beneficial asafoetida, the three pungent spices (long pepper, black pepper, and dry ginger), sweet flag, ?? grains, wild spider flower, pomegranate, ??, velvet-leaf, leadwort, ??, rock salt, ??, ??, barley ash, natron, long pepper root, ??, ??, ?? (juniper berry), and ?? (cumin seeds) should be powdered. This powder should be mixed with a lot of citron juice. Then it should be made into pills each weighing one akṣa. Thereafter the patient of wind disease should consume one pill every morning. This medicine indeed cures gulma, rapid breathing, cough, loss of appetite, heart disease, ādhmāna, pārśvodara, bastiśūla, anāhamūtra, painful piles, plīhodara, and pāṇḍuroga. Also, this medicine is excessively used in cases of tūnī and pratitūnī.
- 29 There are verses in this regard.

The wind that has entered into the body tissues should be correctly understood as either pure or vitiated by humours<sup>340</sup> and should be

<sup>334</sup> यवश्वार is an alkali prepared from the ashes of burnt green barleycorns. Refer to the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams.

<sup>335</sup> Refer to *Nidānasthāna* 1.88. V. S. Apte explains it as "swelling of the belly". P.V. Sharma has translated it as flatulence.

<sup>336</sup> We are unclear about its meaning. The vulgate has the reading अपतर्पण that means fasting.

<sup>337</sup> The entry फलवर्ति has the meaning "suppository" in the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams. The Cambridge dictionary explains suppository as "a small, solid pill containing a drug that is put inside the anus, where it dissolves easily." Refer to the link https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/suppository. Last accessed 30-Oct-2023.

<sup>338</sup> Refer to *Nidānasthāna* 1.89. According to the Sanskrit dictionary of Monier Williams, it is a kind of tympanites or wind-dropsy.

<sup>339</sup> Refer to Nidānasthāna 1.90 and 1.91.

<sup>340</sup> In H, the reading लक्षणोन्याम्थ does not make sense. Hence I cannot translate it. Per-

cured accordingly.

The wind that is accompanied by fat causes a swelling that is painful, hard, and cold. The physician should properly treat it like a treating a swelling.

- When the wind accompanied by phlegm and fat enters the thighs, it causes pain in and immobility of the thighs due to numbness, pain, and fever.
- Also, the thighs become pained, stiff, cold, and do not quiver due to sleep. They become heavy and as if belonging to someone else.<sup>341</sup>
- 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 pongame oiltree fruits mixed with urine.<sup>342</sup>

One should eat old ??s, ??, ??, etc. along with uncooked<sup>343</sup> flesh of wild animals and unsalted vegetables that are beneficial.

When the phlegm and fat become amply reduced one should again employ the treatment of oil massage, etc. for the patient.

haps the correct reading could be लक्षणाभ्याञ्च. This would connect with the two conditions of the wind as stated in the verse.

<sup>341</sup> In H, the verb वर्तते should have been in the dual. Also, the word आस्थिरौ does not make sense. The vulgate has the sensible reading अस्थिरौ which we have accepted here.

<sup>342</sup> The word दिहेत् in H is not a proper Sanskrit word. We have taken its proper form दिह्यात् as given in the vulgate.

<sup>343</sup> The vulgate has the reading अघृतैः 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.<sup>344</sup> Das made observations about the afterbirth (*aparā*) that is mentioned in 4.15.17 (Su 1938: 432).<sup>345</sup> **selb-2005** has explored gyencological narratives in ayurveda.<sup>346</sup>

#### **Translation**

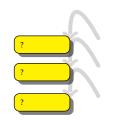
- 1 And now we shall explain the difficult delivery medically treated.
- Nothing else is more difficult than the extraction of a foetus since it has to be performed in the region of vagina, liver, spleen, intestines and the uterus. Actions like pushing up, pulling down, cutting off, incising, removing,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

<sup>344</sup> HIML: IA, 271–272.

<sup>345</sup> Das 2003: 517.

<sup>346</sup> **selb-2005**; **selb-2005b**.

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





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

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

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
Sarppadașțavijñāna	4	4
Sarppadașțacikitsita	5	5
Mūṣikākalpa	6	7
Dundubhisvana	7	6
Kīṭakalpa	8	8

This difference in sequence does not have an immediately obvious significance, but it appears to be the most original known sequence of chapters, since it was already known to Jejjaṭa.<sup>347</sup>

# The Spread of Indian Toxicological Lore to Medieval Islamic Authors

leve-1966 on	
347 See note 597 below.	

• translation of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* under the Barmakids (Pramukhas) in eighth-ninth-century Baghdad:

Much more important is the fact that Mankah is known as the translator of the Susruta samhita, a huge medical compendium, for Yahya b. Khalid. Ibn abi Usaibi'a (1203/4-1270) also discusses Mankah as an important Indian physician. Al-Jaiz (d. 868/9) knew of Mankah.' ...

Yahya ibn Khalid, a Barmecide, was famous in his day in the field of science. In ibn al-Nadim, it is related that Yah.ya sent a scholar to India to study Indian drugs and religion, and brought Indian physicians and philosophers westward so that he might learn from them. Caliph al-Ma'mfin also was interested in the sciences and so brought many scientists to his court from Jundishapfir where there were not only Greek men of science but also Indians who had brought their science and wisdom.<sup>348</sup>

• ibn Wahshiya's Book on Poisons (ca. 950).

Not much is known of Shanaq himself. However, what is one of the earliest mentions of him is made in ibn Wahshiya's Book on Poisons (ca. 950). He refers to Shanaq's book as great and important. This state- ment is attested to by the fact that much of Shanaq's work was used by ibn Wahshiya. It was not, however, a base upon which the latter's work was built, as Strauss has claimed.<sup>349</sup>

- The Poison book of Cāṇakya.350
- The Poison Book of Maimonides (ca. 1198 cE): **rosn-1968**,<sup>351</sup> was written in approximately July 1198 at the request of his patron, al-Qadi al-Fadil (1135–1200) who served in Cairo under the Fatimid and Ayyubid administrations.<sup>352</sup>

<sup>348</sup> leve-1966

<sup>349</sup> Idem.

<sup>350</sup> stra-1934.

<sup>351</sup> rosn-1968.

<sup>352</sup> **krae-2005**.

# 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. The twelfth-century author Aruṇadatta, glossed कल्प simply as प्रयोगः "procedure" and as योजनम्. अर्डे

#### 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

<sup>353</sup> wint-1981 translated কবে 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." gond-1977 also used "ritual practice," giving useful further notes from classical authors in footnote 8.

<sup>354 &</sup>quot;A learned man with a great command of a number of sciences," (HIML: 1A, 661).

<sup>355</sup> *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.<sup>356</sup>

Next, the text discusses the signs of poison in toothbrushes, in food, drink, massage oil and other items that are likely to come into physical contact with the king. In passages that are again paralleled in the *Arthaśāstra* the work describes how poisoned food kills insects and crackles in a fire, flashing blue and the reactions of various birds to poison are described.<sup>357</sup>

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.<sup>358</sup> Further forms of poisoning, their symptoms and treatments are described and finally the king is advised to live amongst trusted friends and to protect his heart by drinking various ghee compounds. He should eat the meat and soup made from various animals, including peacock, mongoose, alligator, deer. The chapter ends with the description of an emetic.

#### Literature

A brief survey of this chapter's contents and a detailed assessment of the existing research on it to 2002 was provided by Meulenbeld.<sup>359</sup> Translations of this chapter since Meulenbeld's listing have appeared by wuja-2003shar-1999srik-2002.<sup>360</sup>

<sup>356</sup> *Arthaśāstra* 1.21.8 (**kang-1969**), translation by **oliv-2013**.

<sup>357</sup> Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.6, ibid., oliv-2013.

<sup>358</sup> Cf. Arthaśāstra 1.21.6 again.

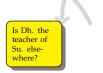
<sup>359</sup> HIML: IA, 289-290.

<sup>360</sup> For a bibliography of translations to 2002, including Latin (1847), English (1877), Gujarati (1963) and Japanese (1971), see HIML: IB, 314–315. **sing-1976** translated this sthāna.

### 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,  $^{361}$  dated to 1165 CE. $^{362}$ 

<sup>361</sup> Scan at cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01693/1. 362 See Bendall's chart of Nepalese letter-numerals (**bend-budd**).



- 1–2 And now I shall explain the procedure (*kalpa*) for safeguarding food and drink, as were declared by the Venerable Dhanvantari.<sup>363</sup>
  - 3 Divodāsa, the king of the earth, was the foremost supporter of religious discipline and virtue. With unblemished instruction he taught his students, of whom Suśruta was the leader.<sup>364</sup>

#### [Threats to the king]

- 4–5 Evil-hearted enemies who have plucked up their courage, may seek to harm the king, who knows nothing of it. He may be assailed with poisons by or by his own people who have been subverted, wishing to pour the poison of their anger into any vulnerability they can find.<sup>365</sup>
  - 6 Therefore, a king should always be protected from poison by a physician.
  - 7 The racehorse-like fickleness of men's minds is well known. And for this reason, a king should never trust anyone.<sup>366</sup>
  - 363 MS H adds in the margin अथ खलु वत्स सुश्रुतः "Now begins Vatsa Suśruta." This phrase has been copied here by the scribe from the beginning of the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> chapter in the <code>sūtrasthāna</code> 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 <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> that names Dhanvantari and integrates him into the narrative of the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> 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 **kleb-2021b**, 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 **birc-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.
  - 364 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."
  - 365 Verses about the use of Venemous Virgins as a weapon do not appear in the Nepalese manuscripts. Cf. **wuja-2003**. This material is present in the commentary of Gayadāsa. 366 The verb √ śvas is conjugated as a first class root in the Nepalese manuscripts.

8–11 He should employ a doctor in his kitchen (*mahānasa*) who is respected by experts, who belongs to a good family, is orthodox, sympathetic, not emaciated, and always busy.

- 12–13 The kitchen should be constructed at a recommended location and orientation. It should have a lot of light,<sup>367</sup> have clean utensils and be staffed by men and women who have been vetted.<sup>368</sup>
- 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.<sup>369</sup>
- 18cd–19ab An expert knows people's body language (*ingita*) through abnormalities in voice, movement and facial expression. He should be able to identify a poisoner by the following signs.
  - Wanting to speak, he gets confused, when asked a question, he never arrives at an answer, and he talks a lot of confused nonsense, like a fool. He laughs for no reason, cracks his knuckles and scratches at the ground. He gets the shakes and glances nervously from one person to another. His face is drained of colour, he is grimy (*dhyāma*) and he cuts at things with his nails.<sup>370</sup> A poisoner goes the wrong way and is absent-minded.
    - I shall explain the signs to look for in toothbrush twigs, in food and drink as well as in massage oil (abhyanga) 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 also explain the remedy.
      - 28 Flies or crows or other creatures that eat a poisonous morsel (bali)



<sup>367</sup> We read महच्छुचिः with the Nepalese manuscripts and against the vulgate's महच्छुचि. We understand शुचिस् as a neuter noun meaning "light" following **apte-prac**.

<sup>368</sup> Verses detailing the ideal staff are omitted in the Nepalese manuscripts. Cf. wuja-2003Su 1938: 560.

<sup>369</sup> The word सौपोदनैकपूपिक "chefs for the boiled rice soups and cakes" is grammatically interesting. The term सूपोदन (as opposed to सूपौदन) is attested in the *Bodhāyanīya-gṛhyasūtra* 2.10.54 (**shas-1920**). More pertinently, perhaps, सूपोदन is attested in the Bower Manuscript, part II, leaf 11r, line 3 (**hoer-bowe**).

<sup>370</sup> 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).

- 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 partridge looks at food which has poison mingled with it, its eyes are promptly drained of colour; grey peacockpheasant drops dead. A koel changes its song and the common crane rises up excitedly.<sup>371</sup> It will excite a Indian peafowl and the terrified parakeet and the hill myna screech. The swan trembles very much, and the racket-tailed drongo churrs.<sup>372</sup> The bull sheds tears and the monkey releases excrement.<sup>373</sup>
- Vapour rising from tainted food gives rise to a pain in the heart, it makes the eyes roll, and it gives one a headache.<sup>374</sup>
- 35, 36cd In such a case, an errhine and a collyrium that are costus, ??, spikenard and honey (*madhus*);<sup>375</sup> a paste of sandalwood on the heart may also provide relief.<sup>376</sup>
  - 371 The verb अर्च्छित "rises up" is a rare form best known from epic Sanskrit (ober-2003). The transmitted form क्रोञ्च is obviously a colloquial version of Sanskrit क्रोञ्च. Commenting on 1.7.10 (Su 1938: 31), Dalhaṇa interestingly gave the colloquial versions of several Sanskrit bird names, even singling out pronunciation in the specific location of Kānyakubja. For क्रोञ्च he said that people pronounce it कुरञ्ज and कोंचि. The form कोञ्च is found in Pāli (see cone-dict, who notes that Ardhamāgadhī has the same form). Elsewhere, Dalhaṇa called 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).
  - 372 Dalhaṇa seemed confused about the racket-tailed drongo (*bhṛṅgarāja*). He called it a generic drongo (भ्रमरक), a word that can also mean "bee" (Dave 1985: 62), and then he said that it is like the black drongo (*dhūmyāṭa*) (for a nice explanation of this name, see Dave 1985: 62–63) and that people call it "the king of birds."
  - 373 MS Kathmandu KL 699 reads "bull (*vṛṣabha*)" for "chital deer (*pṛṣata*)." 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.
  - 374 "Tainted" translates उपिक्षप्त. The word's semantic field includes "to hurl, throw against," and especially "to insult verbally, insinuate, accuse." The commentator Dalhaṇa glossed the term as, "spoiled food given to be eaten" (विदूषितस्यान्नस्य भोक्तं दत्तस्य), but he noted that some people read "उखाक्षिप्त" or "thrown into a pan." Other translators have commonly translated it as "served," perhaps influenced by Dalhaṇa's "given (दत्त)."
  - 375 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.
  - 376 **sing-1972a** discussed the difficulties in identifying লামজ্ঞা, 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 মধুম্ "sweet-

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.<sup>377</sup>

- If he eats that food, through inattention or by mistake, then his tongue will feel like a pebble  $(a s t h \bar{t} l \bar{a})$  and it will lose its sense of taste. It stings and burns, and his saliva (s l e s man) dribbles out. The such a case, he should apply the treatment recommended above for vapour  $(b \bar{a} s p a)$ , and what will be stated below under "toothbrush twigs". The states  $(b \bar{a} s p a)$ , and what will be stated below under "toothbrush twigs".
  - On reaching his stomach, it causes stupor  $(m\bar{u}rcch\bar{a})$ , vomiting, the hair stands on end, there is distension, a burning feeling and an impairment of the senses.<sup>380</sup>
  - In this case, vomiting must quickly be induced using the fruits of emetic nut, gourd, red gourd, and ??, taken with milk and watered buttermilk, or alternatively with rice-water.

ness" of the Nepalese manuscripts is less common than neuter मधु "honey, sweetness, liquorice."

- 377 "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 (wuja-2003). 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" (wren-1956not found in Osbaldeston and Wood 2000).
- 378 The word अष्ठीला is normally feminine. The Nepalese manuscripts read it with a short अ- ending. Gayadāsa noticed that some manuscripts read সন্তাল 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.
- 379 Poisoned toothbrushes are discussed in verses 48 ff. below.
- 380 I translate मूर्च्छा in the light of the metaphors discussed by **meul-2011**, that include thickening and losing consciousness.

- 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  $(d\bar{u}s\bar{\imath}vis\bar{a}ri)$ ' should be drunk with honey and curds (dadhi).<sup>381</sup>
- When poison is in any liquid substances such as milk, wine or water, there are various streaks, and foam and bubbles form.
- And no reflections are visible or, however, if they can be seen once more, they are distorted, fractured, or tenuous and distorted too.<sup>382</sup>
- Vegetables, soups, food and meat are soggy and tasteless. They seem to go stale suddenly, and they have no aroma.
- 47 All edibles lack aroma, colour or taste. Ripe fruits rapidly rot  $(pra\sqrt{kuth})$  and unripe ones ripen.<sup>383</sup>
- When a toothbrush twig has poison on it, the bristles are corroded and the flesh of the tongue, gums and lips swells up.<sup>384</sup>
- Then, once his swelling is lanced, one should rub (*pratisāraṇa*) it with fire-flame bush flowers jambul, mango stones and chebulic myrobalan fruit mixed with honey.<sup>385</sup>
- 50 Alternatively, the rubbing (*pratisāraṇa*) can be done with either the roots of sage-leaved alangium, the bark of blackboard tree or siris seeds.<sup>386</sup>

- 383 The root √कुथ् "stink, putrify, rot" is apparently known only from its few uses in the Suśrutasaṃhitā.
- 384 Gayadāsa and Dalhaṇa pointed out that "tooth socket (दन्तवेष्ट)" and "gum (दन्तमांस)" have the same meaning (2.16.14–26 (Su 1938: 331–332)).
- 385 This recipe is different from the vulgate.
- 386 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

I'm still unhappy about this verse.

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

fn about sadyas+

<sup>381</sup> The 'slow-acting poison' is discussed at 5.2.25 ff. (Su 1938: 565).

<sup>382</sup> 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.

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.
  - When the massage oil has been contaminated with poison, boils arise, pain, a discharge  $(sr\bar{a}va)$ , inflammation of the skin, and sweating.<sup>387</sup> 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.<sup>388</sup>
  - In the case of a dry rub (*utsādana*), a shower (*parīṣeka*), an infusion, a massage ointment (*anulepana*), or in beds, clothes, or armour, the physician should understand that it is the same as for oil massage (*abhy-aṅga*).<sup>389</sup>
- 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, <sup>390</sup> ghee, beautyberry, <sup>391</sup> 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. <sup>392</sup>



compound to refer to the distinctive bean-like siris seeds, rather than to mung beans (5.1.50 (Su 1938: 562)).

<sup>387</sup> The feminine स्फोटा for "boils" is unattested.

<sup>388</sup> This compound could be interpreted as "wood apple juice and malabathrum." Note that this recipe is differs from that of the vulgate, which requires urine.

<sup>389</sup> See verse 52 above.

<sup>390</sup> Dalhaṇa comments here that 'bile is that fluid which goes along inside the tube attached to the liver' (कालखण्डलग्रनलिकामध्यगतजलं पित्तम्) 5.1.57 (Su 1938: 562).

<sup>391</sup> See note 372.

<sup>392</sup> The plant identifications in this passage follow Dalhana's glosses, although he noted a difference of opinion on the identity of purging nut tree (lit. "mouse-ear"). The expression धूमो वागारपंज्ञितः '...or the smoke termed "house" ' is commonly interpreted by translators and in Ayurvedic dictionaries as 'household soot,' and this does seem to be the meaning, in context. The term was comprehensively discussed by meul-2008. Cf. note 489, p. 159.

62–63ab

- 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).<sup>393</sup> In this case, the drink is honey and ghee, and the ointment (pralepa) is sandalwood with ghee, curds, honey, verbena, scarlet mallow and hogweed.<sup>394</sup>
  - 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 Indian aconite, 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 are also recommended as something good.<sup>395</sup>
    - 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.<sup>396</sup>

punarṇṇavā in the N & K MSS

śrita for

explain more

<sup>393</sup> See the description of this condition at 2.13.40 (Su 1938: 323), where the skin on the face is characterized as having pale circular patches that are itchy and have spots.

<sup>394</sup> The common plant-name पुनर्नवा is read as पुनर्णवा in both Nepalese witnesses. This unusual form is technically-speaking legal according to Pāṇini 8.4.3, but is not attested in published texts. पुनर्णवा is found rarely in some other Nepalese manuscripts such as the *Brahmayāmala* (a.k.a. *Picumata*, 44.81, transcription thanks to Shaman Hatley), and elsewhere (e.g., in gana-1920, where it is the name of a constellation.

<sup>395</sup> The syntax of the Nepalese version is slightly unclear, but the vulgate has smoothed out the difficulties.

<sup>396</sup> The term translated as "faulty vision" could also mean "rolling eyes." "Eye make-up"

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.

- 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 (sphoța) on the feet. One should clean  $(pra\sqrt{s\bar{a}dh})$  footstools together with slippers.
  - Ornaments lose their lustre, and they do not shine as they used to. They damage their respective locations with burning, sepsis  $(p\bar{a}ka)$ , and fissuring  $(avad\bar{a}rana)$ .<sup>397</sup>
- 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.<sup>398</sup>
- 77–78ab He should prescribe it in drinks, liniments ( $\bar{a}$ lepana), errhines (nasya), and in eye ointment ( $a\tilde{n}$ jana). Also, he should use sharp purgatives and emetics. If bleeding is present, he should have the indicated veins pierced.
- 78cd-79ab If either purging nut or a fern is tied on to the King's wrist, then all food that is mixed with poison will be rendered free of poison.<sup>399</sup>
  - 79cd-80 He should always guard his heart when amongst people who are not

is normally made of Indian barberry. 397 The reading अवदारुण in MS Kathmandu KL 699 is not attested elsewhere in Sanskrit

Medical difference from Sharma.

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

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

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

literature. On "sepsis" for पाक, see **wuja-2003**. 398 This antidote is indeed described later, in dramatic terms, at 5.6.14–27 (Su 1938: 581).

<sup>398</sup> 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 उपरां ("affliction") was given by HIML: IB, 332

<sup>399</sup> In early Ayurvedic literature, the plant স্তাহন্তা is mentioned only here and its identity is unknown. It may be a fern of the Nephrodium family, according to 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 স্তাহন্তা 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.

- his friends.<sup>400</sup> Before eating, he should drink the kinds of ghee called "Invincible" and "Immortal".<sup>401</sup> He should drink ghee (*sarpiṣ*), honey, curds (*dadhi*), milk (*payas*), or cold water.
- 81 He should consume monitor lizard, peacock, mongoose, chital deer, and blackbuck too, that destroy poison, and their juices.
- 82 As discerning person should add well-crushed black creeper, 402 liquorice, and sugar to the meats of Indian monitor lizard, mongoose and blackbuck too.
- 83 Add sugar and Indian aconite to peacock flesh, together with ginger.

  And for meat from a chital deer, he should add long pepper, with ginger.
- 84ab A cold neem broth with honey and ghee is wholesome too.
- 84cd A discerning person should partake of hard and soft foods that counteract poison.<sup>403</sup>
  - 85 If poison might have been drunk, a person who has protected his heart should make himself vomit using long pepper, liquorice, honey, sugar, sugar cane juice, and water.

The first chapter in the Kalpas.

<sup>400</sup> The Carakasaṃhitā described "protecting the heart" (हृदयावरण) as drinking several sweet, oily drinks to surround the heart and keep it safe (6.23.46 (Ca 1941: 574)). Dalhaṇa on 5.1.79–81 (Su 1938: 563) explained it as taking a number of anti-toxic medicines, including those listed in the present passage, in order to cover or hide (प्रच्छादन) the heart. Note that the Nepalese version reads the opposite of the vulgate: one should guard one's heart when amongst enemies, not friends. This is far more logical; it is also the reading known to the 1.8.89a (atha-1980).

<sup>401</sup> These ghee compounds are described in later chapters: see 5.2.47–49 (Su 1938: 566) and 5.6.13 (Su 1938: 581).

<sup>402</sup> Dalhana on 5.1.82 (Su 1938: 563) equated this with turpeth.

<sup>403</sup> On this expression, see yagi-1994.

### Kalpasthāna 2: Poisonous Plants

#### Introduction

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

In the eleventh century, Cakrapāṇidatta commentated on a similar list of poisons in the  $Carakasaṃhit\bar{a}$ , and referred to the  $Su\acute{s}rutasaṃhit\bar{a}$  on the topic.<sup>404</sup> He also noted that,

In assigning the names to these plants, the main authorities are the Kirātas and Śabaras, who know about these things because they can explain these matters on the basis of a succession of teachers.<sup>405</sup>

About a century later, the learned commentator on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, Dalhaṇa, remarked,

In spite of having made the greatest effort, it has been impossible to identify these plants. In the Himalayan regions, Kirātas and Śabaras are able to identify them.<sup>406</sup>

From the view of Sanskrit authors, Kirātas and Śabaras were tribal peoples.<sup>407</sup>

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404 Cakrapāṇidatta on 6.23.11 (acar-1939).
405 Cakrapāṇidatta on Carakasaṃhitā 6.23.11 (Su 1938: 571).
406 After Suśrutasaṃhitā, kalpasthāna 2.5 (Su 1938: 564).
407 Both communities are mentioned in Sanskrit literature from antiquity. The Kirātas are
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Interestingly, the author Bhikṣu Govinda (tenth or eleventh century), cast his alchemical treatise as a dialogue with a Kirāta king called Madana who was a master of the alchemical art.<sup>408</sup> So there was an awareness amongst Sanskrit medical and alchemical authors of that period that socially different populations were a source of specialized knowledge in these domains, and the Sanskrit authors were open to these sources and indeed depended on them.

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 thus been in doubt for at least a thousand years. Firm identification has in many cases been equally impossible for us today.

One path for exploration in this situation is to attempt to reverseengineer some identifications by considering the known toxic plants of India.<sup>410</sup>

#### **Shock**

An important new topic introduced in this chapter (34–39) is that of "toxic shock" (*vega*). When a patient has been poisoned, the effect of the toxin is expressed in their body in seven waves or pulses, *vegas*. At each stage, symptoms are slightly different and a different therapeutic regime is prescribed (40–44).

The Sanskrit term *vega* has a range of uses, from "impulse" to "urge, jerk, rush, speed," or "impetus." It appears in the well-known passage in the *Carakasaṃhitā* about avoiding illness not ignoring or suppressing "natural urges," *vegas*, such as the desire to urinate.<sup>411</sup>

associated especially with Eastern Nepal, the Himalayan and north-eastern regions of South Asia, while the Śabara people are mainly associated with Odisha and West Bengal. Representative studies on these communities include **chat-1951**; **sing-2008**; **roy-1970**; **elwi-1955**; **subb-1999**; **rai-2019a**; **sing-1990**.

<sup>408</sup> HIML: IIA, 620.

<sup>409</sup> See wuja-2003.

<sup>410</sup> Valuable reference sources on Indian plant toxicology in general include pill-2013 and barc-2008. More generally Bown (NEH: 41 et passim) 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."

<sup>411</sup> See Carakasaṃhitā 1.7 (Ca 1941: 49–55), discussed and translated in wuja-2003.

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According to the author of the Astangasangraha,  $\bar{A}$ lambayana was the ancient authority who declared that the seven pulses (vega) of toxic shocks affect, successively, the seven substrata ( $\bar{a}saya$ ) of the body, from blood to semen, and Dhanvantari originated the idea that this applied to victims of snake-bite.

The commentator Indu (fl. 1000–1150) cited verses by Ālambāyana asserting that the pipes in the body carry poison to the heart, but that the heart can be protected by ghee. 413

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>414</sup>

<sup>412</sup> Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha 6.40.35a (atha-1980): सप्तेति वेगा मूर्छाद्या विदेहपतिना स्मृताः ॥३४॥ रक्तमांस-वसास्नायु तथाऽस्थ्याद्यास्त्रयः क्रमात् । आश्रयाः सप्त सप्तानामित्यालम्बायनोऽब्रवीत् ॥३५॥. The following verse named Dhanvantari as the originator of the idea that toxic pulses are experienced specifically by a person bitten by a snake (वेगान्धन्वन्तरिस्तद्वत्सर्पदष्टस्य मन्यते । 36ab). The commentator Indu noted that Dhanvantari was the teacher of Suśruta, i.e., that "Dhanvantari" was shorthand for Suśrutasaṃhitā. On Ālambāyana, see p. 192, note 614.

<sup>413</sup> Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha 6.40.60a (atha-1980): याः सिराः सर्वगात्रेषु हृदये सम्प्रतिष्ठिताः| ताभिरस्य विषं सर्वं हृदयं सम्प्रधावित ॥ घृतेन तु प्रतिच्छन्नं विषं नाति प्रपीडयेत् । निर्वाणजननं सिर्पः प्राणिनां प्राणवर्द्धनम् ॥ हृदयावरणास्तद्भद्धक्ष्या भोज्याश्च सागदाः॥

<sup>414</sup> HIML: IA, 290-291.

- 1 And now I shall explain required knowledge (vijñānīya) about stationary poisons.<sup>415</sup>
- 3 It is said that there are two kinds of poisons, stationary (*sthāvara*) and mobile (*jaṅgama*). The former dwells in ten sites, the latter in sixteen places.
- 4 Traditionally, the ten are: root, leaf, fruit, flower, bark, milky sap  $(k \cdot \bar{s} ira)$ , pith  $(s \bar{a} ra)$ , resin  $(n ir y \bar{a} sa)$ , the elements  $(d h \bar{a} tu)$ , and the tuber.
- 5 In that context,
  - the eight root-poisons are:416
    - 1. liquorice (?),417
    - 2. sweet-scented oleander,<sup>418</sup>
    - 3. jequirity,<sup>419</sup>
    - 4. false daisy,<sup>420</sup>
    - 5. emetic nut (?),421 and ending with
    - 6. leadwort, 422

- 416 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. (pill-2010).
- 417 Liquorice eaten in excess can be poisonous, but it is unlikely to be the plant intended here. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 124) noted that the poisonous root mentioned in this passage, "remains to be identified."
- 418 The roots of sweet-scented oleander are highly toxic, as are most parts of the plant (pill-2019).
- 419 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.
- 420 The plant is usually called just *bhangurā* without the prefix *su-* "good." However, there is no reported toxicity associated with *E. prostrata*. The vulgate reads सुगन्धा (snakeroot).
- 421 This poisonous root cannot at present be securely identified. Similar-sounding candidates include <code>karkaṭaka</code>, <code>karahāṭa</code> (emetic nut), and <code>karaghāṭa</code>, but since this is a prose passage, there would be no reason to alter the word to fit a metre. Monier-Williams et al. (MW: 255) cite an unknown lexical source that equates <code>karaṭa</code> (mn.) with safflower (<code>Carthamus tinctorius</code>, L.), but this plant does not have a poisonous root.
- 422 The roots of both rose and white leadwort are very toxic.

<sup>415</sup> No reference is made to Dhanvantari (**birc-2021**). "Stationary" here is a term contrasted with "moving," and signifies plants as opposed to animals and insects.

- 7. country sarsaparilla (?),<sup>423</sup> and 8. medhshingi,<sup>424</sup>
- the leaf-poisons include:
  - aconite leaf (?),
  - drum-giver (?),
  - thorn apple, and
  - big thorn apple;
- the fruits of items like: jequirity, marking-nut tree, and poison-altar (?) are
  - water snowflake (?),
  - pollen (?),
  - bluebell barleria,
  - unknown fruit poison,
  - thorn apple
  - big thorn apple (?)
  - spurge (?),
  - crow (?),
- the flower-poisons include those of:
  - musk mallow,
  - Indian fumitory,<sup>425</sup>
  - thorn apple, and
  - big thorn apple (?).
- 423 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.
- 424 meul-sear 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 (meul-sear; wuja-cann; 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 *meṣaśṛngī*), 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.
- 425 रेणु and रेणुक ।का are different plants. MS K reads the first; the scribe of MS H added an additional -क in the margin.

- the bark, pith  $(s\bar{a}ra)$  and resin  $(niry\bar{a}sa)$  of:
  - gourd,
  - emetic nut,
  - thorn apple, and
  - munj grass;
- the milky sap (*kṣīra*) of:
  - water snowflake (?),<sup>426</sup>
  - red physic nut,
  - oleander spurge, and
  - luffa
- the mineral  $(dh\bar{a}tu)$  poisons include:<sup>427</sup>
  - orpiment,
  - cuttle-fish bone (?),
  - ashes, and
  - vermilion.<sup>428</sup>
- the tubers poisons are:
  - jequirity,
  - Indian aconite,
  - Indian mustard,
  - leadwort,
  - muddy (?),
  - 'Virāṭa's plant',
  - nutgrass,
  - atis root,
  - long-stamen Wendlandia (?),
  - radish,
  - 'alas, alas' (?),
  - big poison (?), and
  - galls (?)

<sup>426</sup> While the identity of this plant is uncertain, the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* does not present the hopeless problem of the vulgate's reading कुमुदग्नी.

<sup>427</sup> These identifications are more than usually uncertain. Note that the vulgate text specifies that there are two mineral poisons.

<sup>428</sup> If this identification as vermilion (cinnabar) is correct, it is an unexpectedly early mention of the substance.

## The effects of poisons

#### Symptoms of root poisoning

7–10 People should know that root-poisons cause writhing (udvestana), ranting (pralapa), and delirium (moha), and leaf-poisons cause yawning, writhing, and wheezing ( $\dot{s}v\bar{a}sa$ ).

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

The consumption of poisons from bark, pith  $(s\bar{a}ra)$  and resin  $(niry\bar{a}sa)$  will cause foul breath, hoarseness  $(p\bar{a}ru\bar{s}ya)$ , a headache, and a discharge of phlegm (kapha).<sup>429</sup>

The milky sap  $(k \bar{s} \bar{t} r a)$ -poisons make one froth at the mouth, cause loose stool, and make the tongue feel heavy.<sup>430</sup> The element  $(dh \bar{a} t u)$ -poisons give one a crushing pain in the chest, make one faint and cause a burning feeling on the palate.

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

#### 11-17 Symptoms of tuber poisoning

The tuber-poisons, though, are severe. I shall talk about them in detail.<sup>431</sup>

With jequirity, there is numbness and very severe trembling.

With Indian aconite, there is rigidity of the neck, and the faeces, and urine become yellow.

With marking nut tree (?), the wind becomes defective  $(v\bar{a}tavaigunya)$ , there is constipation  $(\bar{a}n\bar{a}ha)$ , and lumps (granthi) start to appear.

With leadwort, there is weakness in the neck, and speech gets jumbled.<sup>432</sup>

<sup>429</sup> At 1.2.6 (Su 1938: 11), Dalhaṇa glossed hoarseness (*pāruṣya*) as *vāgrūkṣatā*, "a rough, dry voice."

<sup>430</sup> At 6.54.10 (Su 1938: 773), Dalhaṇa glossed loose stool (viḍbheda) as dravapurīṣatā, "having liquid stool."

<sup>431</sup> See Dalhaṇa's comments on the impossibility of identifying the following plants, p. 139 above.

<sup>432</sup> The verse in the Nepalese version ends with a plural verb that does not agree with the dual of the sentence subject.

With the one called muddy (?), there is a discharge (*praseka*), the faeces pour out, and the eyes turn yellow.

The 'Virāṭa's plant' (vairāṭaka) 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 nutgrass. 433

- 15b With big poison (?), one's limbs grow weak, there is a burning feeling and swelling of the belly.<sup>434</sup>
- 16a With white lotus, one's eyes go red, and one's belly becomes distended. 435
- 16b With radish, one's body is drained of colour and the limbs are paralysed.<sup>436</sup>
- 17a With 'alas, alas' (?), a man turns a dark colour (*dhyāma*), and gasps. 437
- 17b With atis root one gets violent knots (*granthi*) and stabbing pains in the heart.<sup>438</sup>
- 18a With monkey (?), one leaps up, laughs, and bites.
- 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:
  - 433 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  $\bar{a}$ yurveda but is not poisonous. However other dictionaries list mustaka amongst serious poisons, for example  $R\bar{a}$ janighanṭu (22 v. 42) and Rasaratnasamuccaya 16, v. 80. However, its ancient identity is still doubtful.
  - 434 The poisonous root big poison (?) (*mahāviṣa*) is not clearly identifiable, although *viṣā* is commonly aconite. Verse 6 above notes that there are several kinds of aconite.
  - 435 The word <code>pundarīka</code> very commonly means white lotus. The entire plant is edible and cannot be the poison intended here. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 252) noted that this poison is unidentified and that it is also listed as a poison in <code>Carakasamhitāci.23.12</code>.
  - 436 The word *mūlaka* very commonly means the radish, *Raphanus sativus*, L. The root is edible and cannot be the poison intended here. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 317) noted that this poison is unidentified.
  - 437 Identification of hālāhala is uncertain. It may simply be a mythical poison, or its specific identity may have been lost over the centuries. Late nighaṇṭus identify it as stomaka = vatsanābha, i.e., Aconitum napellus, L. (Soḍhalanighaṇṭu p. 43). Dalhaṇa on 5.2.17 (Su 1938: 564) interpreted our "gasps" as "the man laughs and grinds his teeth." But this gloss is probably displaced and intended to apply to verse
  - 438 Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 407) noted that *vatsanābha* and *śṛṅgīviṣa* are two different varieties of poisonous Aconites that are difficult to distinguish.



- dry (rūkṣa),
- hot,
- sharp,
- rarefied (sūksma),
- fast-acting,
- pervasive (vyavāyin),
- expansive (*vikāsin*),
- limpid (viśada),
- light, and
- indigestible.
- Because of dryness, it may cause inflammation of the wind; because of heat it inflames the choler and blood. Because of the sharpness it unhinges the mind, and it cuts through the connections with the sensitive points (*marman*). Because it is rarified it can infiltrate and distort the parts of the body.<sup>439</sup>
- 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

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, 441 becomes a slow-acting poison  $(d\bar{u}s\bar{v}isa)$ . 442 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.

<sup>439</sup> 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.

<sup>440</sup> Palhaṇa on 5.2.22 (Su 1938: 565) explained this as "takes the form of pervading the whole body (*akhiladehavyāptirūpam*)."

<sup>441</sup> Dalhana specified that this refers to the ten qualities that are mentioned above (5.2.26 (Su 1938: 565)).

<sup>442</sup> Palhaṇa cited this verse at 1.46.83 (Su 1938: 222) while explaining dūṣīviṣa (see p.,149.

- 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.<sup>443</sup>
- 28 If it lodges in his stomach (āmāśaya), he becomes sick because of wind and phlegm; if it lodges in his intestines (pakvāśaya), he becomes sick because of wind and choler. A man's hair and limbs fall away and he looks like a bird whose wings have been chopped off.
- 29a–c If it lodges in one of the body tissues such as chyle (*rasa*), it causes the diseases arising from the body tissues, that have been said to be wrong.<sup>444</sup> 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 of the limbs (*aṅgamarda*).<sup>445</sup> Next, it causes intoxication from food (*annamada*) and indigestion, loss of appetite (*arocaka*), the condition of having a skin disease (*koṭha*) with round blotches (*maṇḍala*),<sup>446</sup> dwindling away (*kṣaya*) of flesh, swelling of the feet, hands, and face, the fever called *pralepaka*, vomiting and diarrhoea.<sup>447</sup> The slow-acting poison might cause wheezing, thirst and fever, and it might also cause distension of the abdomen.
  - These various disorders are of many different types: one poison may produce madness, while another one may cause constipation  $(\bar{a}n\bar{a}ha)$ , and yet another may ruin the semen. One may cause emaciation, while 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  $(d\bar{u} \cdot \bar{s}\bar{\iota} \cdot v \cdot \bar{s}a)$ ) is so called because it may corrupt  $(d\bar{u} \cdot \bar{s}a \cdot yet)$  the body tissue  $(dh\bar{a}tu)$ s.

<sup>443</sup> Similar symptoms of slow-acting poison are described at 2.7.11–13 (Su 1938: 296) in the context of contamination dropsy (*duṣyodara*). This this may explain why the vulgate inserted reference to this disease at this point.

<sup>444</sup> The expression *ayathāyathoktān* "stated to be unsuitable" is hard to understand here, but is clearly transmitted in the Nepalese version.

<sup>445</sup> Dalhana 5.2.30ab (Su 1938: 565) glossed "disjunction" as the loss of function of the joints in regard to movement.

<sup>446</sup> The last ailment could perhaps be ringworm.

<sup>447</sup> The *pralepaka* fever was described by Dalhana, at 6.39.52 (Su 1938: 675), as an accumulation of phlegm in the joints. Its symptoms are described in 6.39.54

#### 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  $(\bar{a}m\bar{a}\dot{s}aya)$ , 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*).
- 39a In the sixth, he loses consciousness and he completely loses control of his bowels.
- 39b In the seventh, there are breaks in his shoulders, back and loins, and he stops breathing.<sup>448</sup>

#### Remedies for the stages of slow poisoning

- In the first shock of the poison, the physician should make the man, who has vomited and been sprinkled with cold water, drink an antidote (agada) mixed with with honey and ghee.
- In the second, he should make the man who has vomited and been purged drink as before;
- on the third, drink an antidote and a beneficial nasal medicine (nasya) as well as an eye salve ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ).
- 42a In the fourth, the physician should make him drink an antidote that is salt with a little oil.<sup>449</sup>
- In the fifth, he should be prescribed the antidote together with a decoction  $(kv\bar{a}tha)$  of honey and liquorice.

<sup>448</sup> Here at 5.2.24 (Su 1938: 566) Dalhaṇa glossed sannirodha as "complete cessation, i.e., of breath" (sannirodhaḥ samyannirodhaḥ, ucchvāsasya iti śeṣaḥ). The manuscripts all read skanda where skandha must be intended; this confusion is known from Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (edge-1953).

<sup>449</sup> At 6.52.30 (Su 1938: 769) Dalhana noted that *sindhu* can be interpreted as salt (*saindhava*).

- In the sixth, the cure (*siddhi*) is the same as for diarrhoea. And in the seventh, he perishes.<sup>450</sup>
- In between any one of these shocks, once the above treatment has been done, he should give the patient the following cold gruel  $(yav\bar{a}g\bar{u})$  together with ghee and honey, that will take away the poison.
- 45–46 A gruel (*yavāgū*) made of the following items in a stewed juice (*niḥ-kvātha*) destroys the two poisons: luffa,<sup>451</sup> wild celery,<sup>452</sup> velvet-leaf, sunflower,<sup>453</sup> heart-leaved moonseed, myrobalan siris, and Indian cherry, white siris, the two kinds of turmeric,<sup>454</sup> and the two kinds of hairy-fruited eggplant,<sup>455</sup> hogweed, peas, the three heating spices, the

- 451 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 ??.
- 452 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.
- 453 At 5.2.45 (Su 1938: 566) Dalhaṇa said that this plant has leaves like the *paṭola*, pointed gourd, 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).

<sup>450</sup> 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 अवपीड्यू. The vulgate version is hard to construe, and we see Dalhana struggling to interpret it in his commentary on 5.2.43ab (Su 1938: 566). This sternutatory is, however, recommended in the Nepalese version at 5.5.30ab (Su 1938: 576), for the seventh shock of poisoning by a striped snake (rājimat). It is possible the text migrated from that location to this. Another difference at this point is that the Nepalese version also does not support the vulgate's passage on the crow's foot (kākapada) therapy (wuja-2003). 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 Suśrutasaṃhitā from the Carakasaṃhitā 6.23.66–67 (Ca 1941: 574).

<sup>454</sup> I.e., turmeric and Indian barberry.

<sup>455</sup> I.e., hairy-fruited eggplant and yellow-berried nightshade.

two kinds of Indian sarsaparilla<sup>456</sup> and blue water-lily.

#### 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, malabathrum, foxtail millet, rosha grass, the two turmerics, <sup>457</sup> the two Indian nightshades, <sup>458</sup> the two kinds of Indian sarsaparilla, <sup>459</sup> beggarweed, and heart-leaf sida.

#### Curing the 'slow-acting' poison

50–52 Someone suffering from "slow-acting poison  $(d\bar{u}$  $s\bar{i}visa$ )" 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  $(d\bar{u} s\bar{t} v i s\bar{a} r i)$ ," and it is not prohibited in other situations.

- If there are any other side-effects (*upadrava*), such as fever, a burning feeling, hiccups, constipation (*ānāha*), depletion of the semen, distension, diarrhoea, fainting, skin problems, bellyache (*jaṭhara*), madness, trembling, then one should treat each one in its own terms, using antitoxic medicines.
  - For a prudent person, the slow-acting poison can be cured  $(s\bar{a}dhya)$  immediately. It is treatable  $(y\bar{a}pya)$  if it is of a year's standing. Other than this, it should be avoided for the person who eats unwholesome things.

<sup>456</sup> I.e., country sarsaparilla and black creeper.

<sup>457</sup> I.e., turmeric and Indian barberry.

<sup>458</sup> I.e., hairy-fruited eggplant and yellow-berried nightshade.

<sup>459</sup> I.e., country sarsaparilla and black creeper.

## Kalpasthāna 3: Poisonous Insects and Animals

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>460</sup>

### **Translation**

- 1 And now we shall explain the formal procedure (*kalpa*) that is the required knowledge about mobile poisons.<sup>461</sup>
- 3 The full explanation about the sixteen carriers (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the mobile poisons, that have been mentioned by me in brief, will be stated.<sup>462</sup>
- 4 In that context, they are:<sup>463</sup>

1. gaze

2. breath,

3. teeth,

4. nails,

5. mouth,

6. urine,

7. feces,

8. menstrual blood,

9. semen,

10. tail,



<sup>460</sup> HIML: IA, 291–292.

<sup>461</sup> In contrast to stationary, plant poisons. No reference is made to Dhanvantari (birc-2021).

<sup>462 &</sup>quot;Carrier" for base, foundation (*adhiṣṭhāna*) aims to capture the idea that the author will describe the creatures in which poisons inhere.

<sup>463</sup> The content of this section is presented as a table, for clarity for the contemporary reader and mindful of the theoretical issues surrounding notational variation, including the "symbolic rewriting" and the modification of "expressive capacities" discussed by **saru-2016**. For further discussion, see **wuja-2021**.

- 11. contact with saliva,
  12. nipping with the mouth 16. bile,
  (mukhasaṃdaṃśā),
  13. fart (avaśardhita), 464
  14. anus, 465
  15. bones,
  16. bile,
  17. bristles (śūka), and
  18. corpses. 466
- 5 In that context,

location of the poison	creatures <sup>467</sup>
in their breath and gaze	divine snakes
in their fangs	the ones on earth <sup>468</sup>
in their nails, mouths and fangs a	cats, dogs, monkeys, men (nara), <sup>469</sup> crocodiles, frogs, 'cook-fish' (pākamatsya), <sup>470</sup> monitor lizards, cone snails (śambūka), 'poisonous snakes' (pracalāka), <sup>471</sup> geckos (gṛhagoḍikā), <sup>472</sup> four-footed insects and others

<sup>464</sup> This interpretation comes from Dalhana on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567), but he reads विशर्धित.

<sup>465</sup> Dalhana on 5.3.4 (Su 1938: 567) noted this reading.

<sup>466</sup> This list has grown in transmission by two items.

<sup>467</sup> Many of these names are mere dubious placeholders.

<sup>468</sup> 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).

<sup>469</sup> 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.

<sup>470</sup> MS KL 699 separates the words पाक and मत्स्य with a daṇḍa, indicating that the scribe thought they were separate terms. Dalhaṇa thought this was a kind of fiery insect (5.3.5 (Su 1938: 567)).

<sup>471</sup> *Arthaśāstra* 14.1.14, 23 (**oliv-2013**), where it might also be a chameleon; but the latter are not venomous.

<sup>472</sup> 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 199, p.??). Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (4.364) mentions that गृहगोधिका and गृहगोलिका are synonyms (radh-1876).

location of the poison	creatures
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
in their stings (śūla)	scorpions, 'earth scorpions' (viśvambhara), wasps (varaki), 473 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, faces, †, farts, anuses	'speckle-heads' ( <i>citraśīrṣa</i> ), 'lids' ( <i>śārava</i> ), 'bellied' ( <i>kukṣita</i> ), 'wood-enemies' ( <i>dārukāri</i> ), 'liquors' ( <i>medaka</i> ), and 'darts'
and feces	(штикит), nquois (тешки), and daris (śārikā).
	,
continue	continue
continue	continue

Table 2: Passage 5, expressed in tabular format.

474

#### Pollution of the environment

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.



<sup>473</sup> वरटी is a wasp; वरिक in the Nepalese MSS may be an alternant of this word. Dalhana on 5.3.5 (Su 1938: 568) remarked that some interpreted वरिकमत्स्य as two items, "wasp and fish," others as a single one, "wasp-fish."

<sup>474</sup> **kaur-2018** is unhelpful, in spite of a section on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (pp. 61–63).

- 7 Polluted water is slimy and smells of tears.<sup>475</sup> It is covered with froth and covered with streaks. The frogs and fish die, the birds are crazed and, along with the wetland creatures, they wander about aimlessly.
- 8 Men, horses and elephants who swim in it experience vomiting, delusion, fever, swelling and sharp pains.<sup>476</sup> He should try to purify that polluted water, after curing their ailments.
- 9 And so, he should burn axlewood and garjan oil tree, as well as corky coral tree, and small-flowered crape myrtle and weaver's beam tree, and with golden shower tree and white cutch tree.<sup>477</sup> Then he should sprinkle that ash, cold, on the waters.
- 10–11 And in the same way, putting a handful of the ash in a pot, one may also purify water that one wants. If any one of the limbs of cows, horses, elephants, men or women, touch a place on the ground that enemies have spoiled with poison, or a ford or rock or a flat surface, then it swells up and burns and its hair and nails fall out on that place.<sup>478</sup>
  - In that situation, he should grind up country sarsaparilla together with all the aromatic items, with alcoholic drinks. And then he should sprinkle the paths that need to be used with waters mixed with mud.<sup>479</sup> And if there exists another path, he should go by that.<sup>480</sup>
  - When grasses and foods are polluted, people collapse, fall unconscious. And others vomit. They get loose stool or they die.<sup>481</sup> One should apply to them the therapy as described.
- 14–15 Alternatively, one should smear various musical instruments with antidotes that remove poison and then play them. What is called the most

<sup>475</sup> अस्र normally means "tears," but rarely means "blood."

<sup>476</sup> On the polysemy of elephant/snake ( $n\bar{a}ga$ ), see **seme-1979**.

<sup>477</sup> Cf. with the recipe at *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 5.6.3 (Su 1938: 580) for a paste to put on drums etc., p. 201 below.

<sup>478 &</sup>quot;Swells up" translates an unclear reading that was probably शूयित, which may be an irregular form of  $\sqrt{2}$ , श्वा, श्वि (whit-root).

<sup>479</sup> Our "alcoholic drinks" translates सुरा. For a discussion of this term at our period see McHugh 2021: 37–39 et passim.

<sup>480</sup> Palhaṇa on 5.3.12 (Su 1938: 568) cited a similar reading for the fourth pāda, but with a negative particle, "and if there is no other way, one should go by that."

<sup>481</sup> In "they get loose stool," the verb आर्च्छन्ति (√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)."

excellent paste for a musical instrument is certain minerals<sup>482</sup> together with gold and sarsaparilla, and a portion of of nutgrass equal to that, together with the bile called "brown cow".<sup>483</sup> By the sound of the musical instrument, even terrible poisons that may be present at that place are destroyed.

- 16 If there is smoke or wind that is affected by poison then birds are dazed and fall to the ground. People get coughs, colds, and head illnesses, and acute eye diseases.<sup>484</sup>
- 17 The smoke and air can be purified by putting into the air: lac, turmeric, Indian aconite, and myrobalan, with Himalayan mayapple, costus, cardamom,<sup>485</sup> as well as 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. 486
- 19 Pitiless Fury took a body and burst out of the mouth of furious Brahmā's store of fiery energy.<sup>487</sup>
- 482 "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-1896) and the word पारव that Dalhaṇa used is probably a loan-word from Persian (stei-pers). 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 (oliv-2013) does not mention mercury (ibid, 534). See further the study by Dagmar wuja-2013b.
- 483 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.
- 484 The syntax of this verse is somewhat loose; the vulgate has regularized it, smoothing out the difficulties.

485

- 486 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 **bede-1967**. For reflections on this passage, connecting it with Rudra and the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, see **mana-2019**.
- 487 "Fury" is here anthropomorphised.

- 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 working of poison

- Water that falls from the sky to the earth has no obvious flavour. The savour of the different places it lands on enters into it. In the same way, whatever substance a poison reaches, it establishes itself there and by its nature it takes on that substance's savour.<sup>488</sup>
  - Generally speaking, in a poison, all the qualities are really sharp. For this reason, every poison is known to irritate all of the humours.
  - 26 Irritated and afflicted by the poison, they leave their natural functions. Poison does not get digested, so it blocks the breaths.<sup>489</sup>
  - 27 Breathing is obstructed because its pathway is blocked by phlegm. Even if life continues, a man remains without consciousness.
  - 28 Similar to semen, the poison of all angry snakes pervades the whole body, and goes to the limbs like semen because of being stirred up.
  - The fang of snakes is like a hook. When it gets there, it sticks inside them. That is why the unagitated poison of a snake is not released.
  - 30 Sprinkling with very cold water is traditional for all cases of poisoning, because poison is declared to be extremely hot and sharp.<sup>490</sup>
  - Poison in insects is slow and not very hot, having a lot of wind and phlegm. So in cases of insect poisoning, sweating is not forbidden.
- 32cd In cases of a strike or a bite, the poison may, of its own accord, stay there.

<sup>488</sup> 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.

<sup>489</sup> Probably a reference to the five breaths. Dalhana referred to winds (বার), but this does not seem correct since it is a reference to humours rather than breaths.

<sup>490</sup> The verb पठ् "is declared, read aloud" here could possibly suggest that the author is working within a written, not oral, tradition.

thaving come upon a body,<sup>491</sup> in the case of corpses that have been pierced by a poisoned arrow and bitten by a snake, someone who eats the poisoned flesh of a recent corpse out of carelessness will suffer with illness according to the poison, or even die. And therefore, the flesh of those should not be eaten when they have just died.

- It is admissable after three quarters of an hour, but without the poisoned arrow and the snakebite.
- 35.1 [At this point an Upajāti verse is added in the margin of K but is not fully legible; the version of the text in H is also incomplete and not fully comprehensible.] 492
- tWhen, in a wound, the poison that is connected with these qualities runs, ...Therefore, not everything that is damaged by poison and eaten causes death.<sup>493</sup>
- 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,<sup>494</sup> and who vomits foam, as "someone who has drunk poison."
  - 37 Therefore, fire burns a heart that is pervaded by poison. For, having pervaded of its own accord the location of consciousness, it abides.<sup>495</sup>

<sup>491 &</sup>quot;Having come upon" translates प्रख्याप्य, which is hard to interpret unless it is a rare form connected with the sense "to see."

<sup>492</sup> Mādhavanidāna, 69.20–21 (madhava1) has verses that are directly parallel to this section: दर्वीकराणां विषम् आशुघाति सर्वाणि चोष्णे द्विगुणीभवन्ति ॥ अजीर्णपित्तातपपीडितेषु बालेषु वृद्धेषु बुभुक्षितेषु ॥२०॥ क्षीणक्षते मोहिनि कुष्ठयुक्ते रूक्षे ऽबले गर्भवतीषु चापि ॥ शस्त्रक्षते यस्य न रक्तम् एति राज्यो लताभिश् च न संभवन्ति ॥२१॥. This passage is the only occurrence in the ayurvedic text corpus that relates to the Nepalese version of the Suśrutasaṃhitā at this point. This suggests that Mādhavakara (fl. ca. 700, Bengal) knew and used the Nepalese version.

<sup>493</sup> At this point, witness H inserts a marginal Indravajrā verse about diseases that afflict immoral women.

<sup>494</sup> गृहधूम is not a plant in this context, pace MW: 362. See the discussion in note 387, p. 136 above.

<sup>495</sup> Palhaṇa 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.

## 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, 496 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.
- 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. †...
   497
- 3.4ocd–3.41 One should reject someone overcome by poison who does not bleed when cut with a knife, where weals do not appear as a result of lashes,<sup>498</sup> or where there is no horripilation because of cold water, whose mouth is crooked, whose hair is falling out of his head. A man
  - who is fatigued and those who stammer,<sup>499</sup>
    3.42 one who has a black and red swelling at the site of the bite, with lockjaw, should be avoided. The same goes for someone who has a solid plug
  - emerge from their mouth and someone who has blood running from above and below and
  - 3.43ab The physician should also avoid a person who has fangs that have not fallen out quickly.<sup>500</sup>

<sup>496</sup> याम्ये means "southerly" but Dalhaṇa on 5.3.38 (Su 1938: 570) interpreted it as "in Yama's direction" as "under the seventh asterism."

<sup>497</sup> 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.

<sup>498</sup> Dalhaṇa, on 5.3.40 (Su 1938: 570), glossed लताभिस् "by means of whips," as "when the body is struck by whips."

<sup>499</sup> nāsāvasāda & plural sakaņţhabhangāḥ

<sup>500</sup> The grammatical verb-form परिवर्जयीत "he should avoid," opt., 3rd, sg., is unusual. reno-1940 documented such forms from the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa onwards. ober-2003 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 kuli-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 bitewound. This requires construing the expression as a bahuvrīhi compound: देष्ट्रा or देष्ट्र + अनिपात:

## Kalpasthāna 4: Snakes and Envenomation

#### Introduction

The fourth chapter of the Kalpasthāna of the Suśrutasaṃhitā 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 3.501 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.<sup>502</sup> 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.<sup>503</sup> 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.504

<sup>501</sup> On the idea of notational variants in scientific translation, see elsh-2008saru-2016wuja-2021.

<sup>502 6.23.124</sup> ff. (Ca 1941: 577).

<sup>503</sup> *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).

<sup>504</sup> 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.<sup>505</sup> 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 nineteenth century with the work of Fayrer, whose publication included striking colour paintings of snakes.<sup>506</sup> **fayr-1874** 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. **ewar-1878** included descriptions of appearance and behaviour of poisonous snakes and sometimes their local names and reproducing Fayrer's illustrations.<sup>507</sup> **wall-1913** 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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* too recognized the emotional and somatic effects of fright (see note 518 below). **wall-1921** provided a wealth of detail of the snakes of Sri Lanka, including line drawings.

doni-2015 provided a good survey of snakes as protagonists in religious literature from the *Atharvaveda* through the epics, *Purāṇas* and Buddhist literature. **seme-1979** traced semiotics of the term *nāga* through Vedic, Pali and Sanskrit literature. **slou-2016** discussed the *Suśrutasaṇhitā's Kalpa-sthāna* 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 *Suśrutasaṇhitā* does.<sup>508</sup> But unlike the *Suśrutasaṇhitā*, in the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* the chief taxonomic principle for both groups is the

<sup>(</sup>Ca 1941: 131–132)).

<sup>505</sup> HIML: IA, 292–294. In addition to the translations mentioned by Meulenbeld (HIML: IB, 314–315), a translation of this chapter was included in **shar-1999**. The classic work of **joll-1951** offered a short but accurate overview of Indian toxicology. 506 **fayr-1874**, first published in 1872.

<sup>507</sup> Calling his work a supplement to **fayr-1874**, but also being cited by Fayrer, **ewar-1878** evidently also collected local indigenous knowledge from his "snake-man" (p. 22). 508 **slou-2016**.

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four varnas.

A discussion of this chapter specifically in the light of the Nepalese manuscripts was published by Harimoto.<sup>509</sup> After a close comparative reading of lists of poisonous snakes, Harimoto concluded that, "the Nepalese version is internally consistent while the [vulgate] editions are not." Harimoto showed how the vulgate editions had been adjusted textually to smooth over inconsistencies, and gave insights into these editorial processes.<sup>510</sup>



## 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.<sup>511</sup>

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.<sup>512</sup> Exceptionally, the studies by **barc-2008** and **oezb-2021**, do identify and tabulate three stages of envenomation.<sup>513</sup> The symptoms of these three stages are mainly characterized by increasing degrees of edema. This differs from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*'s detailed characterization of changes in skin colour etc.<sup>514</sup>

<sup>509</sup> hari-2011.

<sup>510</sup> The two editions that Harimoto noted, Su 1938 and bhat-1889, present identical texts.

<sup>511</sup> The system of the কলা is described at 4.4.4–20 (Su 1938: 355–357). Cf. Mahākośa: 1, 183–184, Śabdasindhu: 227–228, kutu-1962, 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 (लच्) (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 Śārṅgadharasaṃhitā (1.1.60 (sast-1931)).

<sup>512</sup> E.g., elle-1997wein-2009pill-2013who-2019meht-2002hamz-2021desh-2022.

<sup>513</sup> barc-2008, and oezb-2021, broadly following barc-2008.

<sup>514</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Jan Gerris (U. Ghent) and Prof. Jan Tytgat (KU Leuven) for assistance in finding relevant toxicological literature.

- 1 Now we shall explain the procedure (kalpa) that is required knowledge ( $vij\tilde{n}\bar{a}n\bar{i}ya$ ) concerning the venom in those who have been bitten by snakes.<sup>515</sup>
- 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".<sup>516</sup>

## [The Taxonomy of Snakes]

- On hearing his query, that distinguished physician spoke. "The venerable snakes such as Vāsukī and Takṣaka are uncountable.
- 6–9ab "They are snake-lords who support the earth, as bright as the ritual fire, ceaselessly roaring, raining and scorching. They hold up the earth, with its oceans, mountains and continents. If they are angered, they can destroy the whole world with a breath and a look. Honour to them. They have no role here in medicine.
  - "The ones that I shall enumerate in due order are those mundane ones with poison in their fangs who bite humans.<sup>517</sup>
- 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.<sup>518</sup>
  - "Of those, there are twenty and six hooded snakes, and the same number of Maṇḍalins are known. There are thirteen Rājīmats.<sup>519</sup>
  - 515 The Sarvāṅgasundarī, commenting on Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā 1.16.17 (Ah 1939: 246), glossed कल्प as प्रयोग.
  - 516 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.
  - 517 The next few verses are discussed in detail by **hari-2011**, who shows that in the taxonomy of snakes, the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* has greater internal coherence than the vulgate recension.
  - 518 hari-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*.

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

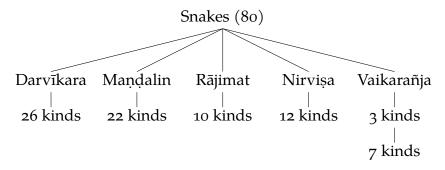


Figure 2: The taxonomy of snakes in the vulgate, 5.4.9–13ab (Su 1938: 571).

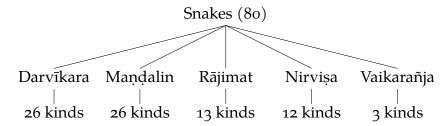


Figure 3: The taxonomy of snakes in the Nepalese version of the  $Su\acute{s}ruta-saṃhit\bar{a}$ .

"There are said to be twelve Nirivisas and, according to tradition, three Vaikarañjas.

## [Behaviours]

- "If they are trodden on, ill-natured or provoked or even just looking for food, those very angry snakes will bite. And that is said to happen in three ways: serpented (*sarpita*), torn (*darita*) and thirdly without venom (*nirviṣa*). Some experts on this want to add "hurt by the snake's body".<sup>520</sup>
  - "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,<sup>521</sup> accompanied by a little ring of spots (*cuñcumālaka*),<sup>522</sup> lead to degeneration, and are close together and swollen.
    - Where there are streaks with blood, whether it be blue or white, the physican should recognize that to be "torn (darita)," having a small amount of venom.
    - 18 The physician can recognize the locations of the bites of a person in a normal state as being free from poison, when the location is not swollen, and there is little corrupted blood.

scarifies the skin before leeching. See footnote 57.



<sup>519</sup> The phrasing of this śloka is awkward.

<sup>520</sup> This might refer to constriction. The phrase reads like a commentarial addition rather than the main text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

<sup>521</sup> The word उद्भूत "aroused" was glossed by Dalhaṇa at 5.4.15 (Su 1938: 571) as उच्चोट्य, a word not found as such in standard dictionaries (apte-prac; MW; KEWA; Mahākośa). Semantic considerations suggest that the word is not related to √muṭ "break" or mūṭa/mūṭa "woven basket." Perhaps it is related to the Tamil போஷ (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 पद "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

<sup>522</sup> 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 kief-1996.

19 The wind of a timid person who has been touched by a snake can get irritated by fear. It causes swelling.<sup>523</sup> That is "hurt by a snake's body."

- 20 Locations bitten by sick or frightened snakes are known to have little poison. Similarly, a site bitten by very young or old snakes has little poison.
- Poison does not progress in a place frequented by eagles,<sup>524</sup> gods, holy sages, spirits, and saints, or in places full of herbs that destroy poison.<sup>525</sup>

#### [Characteristic Features of Snakes]

- 22 Darvīkara snakes are know to have hoods, to move rapidly, and to have rings, ploughs, umbrellas, crosses, and hooks on them.
- Maṇḍalin snakes are known for being large and slow-moving. They are decorated with many kinds of circles. They are like a flaming fire because of their poisons.
- Rājimat snakes are smooth and traditionally said to be, as it were, mottled with multicoloured streaks across and above.

### [Classes of Snake]

Snakes that are shine like pearls and silver, and that are amber and that shine like gold, and smell sweet are traditionally thought of as being of the Brāhmaṇa caste.

<sup>523</sup> **wall-1913** 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.

<sup>524</sup> Dalhaṇa 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*.

<sup>525</sup> For "spirits" the Nepalese version has भूत while the vulgate reads यक्ष.

- Warrior snakes, however, are those that look glossy and get very angry. The have the mark of the sun, the moon, the earth, an umbrella and bitumen.
- 27 Merchant snakes may traditionally be black, shine like diamond or have a red colour or be grey like pigeons.
- Any snakes that are coloured like a buffalo and a tiger, with rough skin and different colours are known as servants.<sup>526</sup>
- All snakes that are variegated (Rājīmats) move about during the first watch of the night. The rest, on the other hand, the Maṇḍalins and the Darvīkaras, are diurnal.<sup>527</sup>
- 29 Wind is irritated by all hooded snakes; bile by Maṇḍalins and phlegm by those with many stripes.
- Because of the two classes having greater, lesser or equal class, there is the characteristic of irritating two humours.
  - And he will explain the opposing view that is to be known as a result of the non-union of a male and female.<sup>528</sup>

## [Enumeration of Snakes]

- 34.1 In that context, here are the Darvīkaras.
  - 1. The Black snake (*krsnasarpa*);
  - 2. The Big Black (mahākṛṣṇa);
  - 3. The Black Belly (kṛṣṇodara);
  - 4. The All Black (sarvakṛṣṇa);<sup>529</sup>
  - 5. The White Pigeon (śvetakapota);<sup>530</sup>
  - 6. The Rain Cloud (valāhako);
  - 7. The Great Snake (mahāsarpa);

- 8. The Conch Keeper (śaṃkhapāla);
- 9. The Red Eye (lohitākṣa);
- 10. The Gavedhuka (gavedhuka);
- 11. The Snake Around (parisarpa);
- 12. The Break Hood (khaṇḍaphaṇa);
- 13. The Kūkuṭa (kūkuṭa);

<sup>526</sup> Presumably "different" from the earlier-mentioned castes.

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

<sup>527</sup> The readings of the vulgate, that Rājīmats are active in the early night, the Maṇḍalins in the later night, and Darvīkaras in the day, seem clearer.

<sup>528</sup> The sense of the last phrase here is quite different from the vulgate, which says only that "details" will be explained below.

<sup>529</sup> Not in vulgate.

<sup>530</sup> The vulgate adds The Big Pigeon (mahākapota).

	14.	The Lotus (padma);	21.	The Flower Sprinkle Beauty
	15.	The Great Lotus		(puṣpābhikīrṇnābha);
	•	(mahāpadma);	22.	The Mountain Snake
	16.	The Grass Flower (apuspa);		(girisarpa);
	17.	The Curd Mouth	23.	The Straight Snake
		(dadhimukha);		(ṛjusarpa);
	18.	The Lotus Mouth	24.	The White Rip (śvetadara);
		(puṇḍarīkamukha);	25.	The Big Head (mahāśīrṣa);
	19.	The Brown Hut Mouth		and
		(babhrūkuṭīmukha);	26.	The Hungry Sting (alagarda);
	20.	The Variegated (vicitra);		
34.2	Her	e are the Mandalins		
,	1.	The Mirror Ring	13.	The Morning Glory
		(ādarśamaṇḍala);	,	(pālindaka);
	2.	The White Ring	14.	The Stretch (tantuka);
		(śvetamaṇḍala);	15.	The Pale as a Flower
	3.	The Red Ring (raktamandala);	9	(puṣpapāṇḍu);
	4.	The Speckled (pṛṣata);	16.	The Six Part (sadanga);
	5.	The Gift of God (devadinna);	17.	The Flame (agnika);
	6.	The Pilindaka (pilindaka);	18.	The Brown (babhru);
	7.	The Big Cow Snout	19.	The Ochre (kaṣāya);
		(vṛddhagonasa);	20.	The Khaluṣa (khaluṣa);
	8.	The Jackfruit (panasaka);	21.	The Pigeon (pārāvata);
	9.	The Big Jackfruit	22.	The Hand Decoration
		(mahāpanasaka);		(hastābharaṇaka);
	10.	The Bamboo Leaf	23.	The Tatra (tatra); <sup>531</sup>
		(veṇupatraka);	24.	The Mark (citraka);
	11.	The Kid (śiśuka);	25.	The Deer Foot (eṇīpada).532
	12.	The Intoxicator (madanaka);		
	тт	(1 D== ( F22		

34.3 Here are the Rājīmats.<sup>533</sup>

<sup>531</sup> This seems implausible, but otherwise the list of Maṇḍalins would be short.

<sup>532</sup> The list is short by one item. Perhaps the one of the snakes named in the vulgate, *citramaṇḍala, gonasa* or *piṅgala*, should be considered here.

<sup>533</sup> The following list is one item short. The vulgate text, however, has several names that do not appear in the Nepalese Rājīmat list, for example Sarṣapaka and Godhūmaka.

- 1. The Lotus (puṇḍarīka);
- 2. The Stripe Speckle (*rājicitra*);
- 3. The Finger Stripe (aṅgulirāji);
- 4. The Two Finger Stripe (dvyangulirāji);
- 5. The Drop Stripe (bindurāji);
- 6. The Mud (kardama);

- 7. The Grass Drier (*tṛṇaśoṣaka*);
- 8. The White Jaw (svetahanu);
- 9. The Grass Flower (darbhapuspa);<sup>534</sup>
- 10. The Red Eye (lohitākṣa);<sup>535</sup>
- 11. The Ringed (cakraka);
- 12. The Worm Eater (kikkisāda);
- 34.4 Here are the Nirvișas.
  - 1. The Rain Cloud (valāhako);<sup>536</sup>
  - 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 (kṣīrikāpuṣpa);
- 10. The Flower All (puṣpasakalī);
- 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. 537 Thus:
  - 1. The Mākuli (*mākuli*);
  - The Pota Throat (potagala);
  - 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



<sup>534</sup> Also in the Darvīkara list.

<sup>535</sup> Also in the Darvīkara list.

<sup>536</sup> Also in the Darvīkara list.

<sup>537</sup> The word *varṇa* in this chapter normally means "colour" not "class." ("Class is expressed by "jāti.") While *kṛṣṇasarpa* is clearly a colour-type, it is less obvious that *gonasī* is a special colour, and *rājimat* is a group of snakes.

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.<sup>538</sup> Females have small eyes, tongues and heads. Neuters have both characteristics, and are slow to exert themselves or be angry.<sup>539</sup>
- In that context we shall give instruction in a general way about the sign of having been bitten by any of the snakes.

For what reason?

Because poison acts quickly, like a fire with an oblation, a honed sword, or a thunderbolt.<sup>540</sup> And ignored for even a period of time, it can drag the patient away. There is not even an opportunity to follow the literature.<sup>541</sup>

And when the symptom of being bitten is stated, there will be three ways of treating it because there are three kinds of snake. Therefore we shall explain it in three ways. "For this is good for people who are ill, and it removes confusion and in this very case it prevents all symptoms".<sup>542</sup>

## [Symptoms of snakebite]

In this context, the poison of a Darvīkara causes the skin, nails, eyes, mouth, urine, feces, and the bite-mark to be black; there is dryness, 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

<sup>538</sup> The vulgate includes the snake's mouth in this and the next list.

<sup>539</sup> The reading मन्दचेष्टाक्रोधा is an awkward compound; possibly the original reading was मन्दचेष्टाः + अक्रोधा and sandhi was applied twice.

<sup>540</sup> Perhaps the image suggested by "a fire with an oblation" is that of the Pravargya, in which a large flame rises suddenly from the ritual fire.

<sup>541</sup> The idea seems to be that there is no time to consult the verbose āyurvedic teachings. The "extensive meaning of the collection of statements (वाक्समूहार्थविस्तार)" is singled out as one of Āyurveda's virtues in 5.8.142 (Su 1938: 594). Alternatively, perhaps the patient is unable to understand what the doctor is saying to him.

<sup>542</sup> In the next passage, the symptoms of snake poisoning are indeed explained under three headings.

to wind.543

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, 544 a burning feeling, thirst, intoxication, fainting, fever, haemorrhaging (śonitāgamana), and the degeneration of the flesh and fat above and below. There is swelling, suppuration of the bite, metamorphopsia (viparītadarśana), anger caused by the suffering, and every kind of pain that is due to bile. 545

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.

<sup>543</sup> Cf. the similar symptoms of snake venom poisoning by the so-called Brahmin warriors of Harmatelia described by the classical author Diodorus Siculus (fl. ca. 30–60 BCE) (egge-1975).

<sup>544</sup> The term "giving of fumes (परिधूपायन)" is not in MW: 596 as such, although परिधूपन, परिधूमन 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 परिधूमायन but do not tell us in which manuscript (Su 1938: 291, n. 3). Dalhaṇa on 2.6.13 (Su 1938: 292) glossed परिधूपन as "hot all over (समन्ततस्तापः)" and in our current passage as "hot over the whole body (सर्वाङ्गसन्तापः)" (Su 1938: 573). See also Mahākośa: 1, 429: धूमायन "अङ्गानां धूमोद्गमनमिव" citing the Suśrutasaṃhitā.

<sup>545</sup> **ghos-2023** describes visual disturbances due to snake envenomation.

<sup>546</sup> The grammar of अविषिलङ्गम् is not quite right; it should be a masculine or plural bahuvrīhi.

#### [Toxic reactions]

39 In that context, all snake toxins have seven toxic reactions. 547

[**Darvīkaras**] Thus, at the first pulse of the Darvīkaras the poison corrupts the blood. That corrupted blood turns black. Because of that, blackness and a feeling of ants crawling about on the body develop.<sup>548</sup> In the second pulse, it corrupts the flesh. That causes extreme blackness and lumps.

In the third, it corrupts the fat. That causes a discharge at the bite, heaviness of the head and an eclipse of the vision.<sup>549</sup>

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

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

In the sixth pulse, it penetrates the marrow. That causes humours in the seat of fire in the gut  $(grahan\bar{\iota})$ , heaviness of the limbs, diarrhoea, pain in the heart and fainting.<sup>550</sup>

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

<sup>547</sup> Cf. the same concept in the context of plants, at 149

<sup>548</sup> Strictly, we would expect a dual verb here, instead of the plural of the witnesses.

<sup>549</sup> Dalhaṇa on 5.4.39 (Su 1938: 574) glossed the last expression as "blockage of the vision (दृष्ट्यवरोध)."

<sup>550</sup> The "seat of fire in the gut (মहणी)" 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 third, it corrupts the fat. That causes a discharge at the black bite and sweating.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the fourth, it is the same as before. After penetrating, it brings on 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 (kal $\bar{a}$ ) in between the bodily tissues (dh $\bar{a}$ tu). Poison passing through these one by one produces the toxic reaction (vega).<sup>551</sup>

- The interval taken by the deadly substance (kālakalpa), propelled  $(\sqrt{u}h)$  by air (samīraṇa), to cut the layers of skin is known as the "pulse interval (vegāntara)".<sup>552</sup>
- In the first pulse, an animal has a swollen body, is distressed and broods.<sup>553</sup>

<sup>551</sup> See note 506 above.

<sup>552</sup> Dalhaṇa on 5.4.41 (Su 1938: 574) glossed कालकल्प as मृत्युसदृशं विषं "the poison resembles death."

<sup>553</sup> The verb √ਸਈ "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.

In the second, it dribbles somewhat,<sup>554</sup> the hair stands up on its body, and it has pain ( $\sqrt{p_i}$ d) in the heart.

- The third stage brings headache and it breaks the ears and necks. 555 In the fourth, the bewildered creature trembles and gnashing its teeth, it gives up life.
- Some experts say that elephants have three toxic reactions.<sup>556</sup>
  So, at the first toxic reaction, an bird becomes bewildered and is confused from that point on. At the second, the bird is distressed and, crying out, it dies.

Some people claim that where birds are concerned, there is really just a single toxic reaction (vega) and that amongst animals like cats and mongooses, poison does not take much effect.<sup>557</sup>

<sup>554</sup> The Nepalese witnesses use लालि-, not लाला-, for "saliva."

<sup>555</sup> The scribe of MS H emended the text to read কण्ठग्रीव with the vulgate. Intransitive use of pass. भञ्जू.

<sup>556</sup> On अन्तःस्वेद as "elephant," cf. Arthaśāstra 9.1.46 (kang-1969oliv-2013): हस्तिनो ह्यन्तः-स्वेदाः कुष्ठिनो भवन्ति ॥ ४६ ॥.

<sup>557</sup> See on this subject: **brun-1909mint-1969** (references taken from HIML: 1B, 399, n. 124).

# Kalpasthāna 5: Therapy for those Bitten by Snakes

## Introduction

#### Literature

A brief survey of this chapter's contents and a detailed assessment of the existing research on it to 2002 was provided by Meulenbeld.<sup>558</sup>

<sup>558</sup> HIML: IA, 294–295. In addition to the translations mentioned by Meulenbeld (HIML: IB, 314–315), a translation of this chapter was included in **shar-1999**.

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.<sup>559</sup>
- 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.<sup>560</sup>
- 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.<sup>561</sup>
- 5 Where a bandage (*bandha*) is not suitable, one should raise the bite up and then cauterize it.<sup>562</sup> Suction, cutting and cauterizing are recommended in all cases.
- 6 Suction will be good after filling the mouth with earth  $(p\bar{a}msu)$ . S63 Alternatively, the snake should be bitten by the person who knows that they have just been bitten. S64

560 Application of a tourniquet is deprecated by modern establishment medicine, which relies on antivenom medications (pill-2013).

The vulgate introduces the word अरिष्टा at this point. This may be a borrowing from Ci.23.251cd (Ca 1941: 582).

- 561 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 Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā (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.
- 562 The vulgate reads उत्कृत्य "having excised" rather than translate उद्भृत्य "having raised up."
- 563 The vulgate recommends cloth, not earth (5.5.6 (Su 1938: 574)).
- 564 The syntax is odd here, and the vulgate has removed the difficulties. Dalhaṇa on 5.5.6 (Su 1938: 574) noted that one should hold the snake firmly and give a good bite to its head and tail (हस्ताभ्यामुपसंगृह्य पुच्छे वक्रे च सर्पः सम्यग् दष्टव्यः). Our colleague Dr Madhu K. Paramesvaran reports that this procedure is known in Malayalam viṣavaidya treatises and is practiced in Kerala, though rarely: "this practice has been described as one of

<sup>559</sup> On कल्प, see note 510.

7 Now, one should in no way cauterize someone bitten by a Maṇḍalin. Because of the over-abundance of poison in the bile (*pittaviṣa*), that bite will be lethal as a result of cauterization.<sup>565</sup>

## 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.<sup>566</sup>
- 9 Mantrās prescribed by gods and holy sages (*brahmarṣi*), that are imbued with truth and religious power (*tapas*) are inexorable and they rapidly destroy intractable poison.
- Drugs cannot eliminate poison as quickly as the application of mantras imbued with religious power (*tapas*) and imbued with truth, holiness (*brahma*) and religious power.<sup>567</sup>
- The mantras should be received by a person who is abstaining from women, meat and mead (*madhu*), who has a restricted diet, and who is pure and lying on a bed of halfa grass.
- For the mantras to be successful, one should diligently worship the deity ( $devat\bar{a}$ ) with perfume, garlands, and oblations ( $upah\bar{a}ra$ ), as well as sacrificial offerings (bali), and with mantra repetition (japa) and rituals.<sup>568</sup>
  - the first-response cares for snakebite in most of the Malayalam texts of Vishavaidya. I have never seen this happening in real life and my teachers used to consider it to be a method (albeit a bit outrageously dangerous) for self-reassurance by the patient." (para-2023). Cf. the Viṣavaidya text edited by maha-1958.
- 565 Verses 5.4.29, and 37 above note that the venom of Mandalins particularly irritates the bile.
- 566 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.
- 567 Dalhaṇa 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 **slou-2016b**. HIML: IIB, 151, n. 344 provides a bibliography to 2002 of studies on Kurukullā, who is mentioned in Māhuka's *Haramekhalā*, and **meul-2008b** includes discussion of Bheruṇḍa as a bird, with related terms.
- 568 Dalhaṇa on 5.5.12 (Su 1938: 575) noted that उपहार includes incense, while बिल refers to sacrifice with an animal (सपशुनैवेद्य).

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. 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.<sup>570</sup>

#### **Internal medications**

- One should make him drink various antidotes together with milk, honey and ghee. If they are unavailable, the earth of black ants can be good.<sup>571</sup>
- 18 Alternatively, he should consume orchid tree, siris and purple calotropis or white siris too. He should not drink sesame oil or horse gram, nor wine or Indian jujube.
- But after drinking any other liquid at all, he should throw up after drinking it. For on the whole, poison is easily removed by means of vomiting.

<sup>569</sup> The Nepalese version uses a present passive participle construction here, that is less common than the vulgate's locative absolute. The Nepalese version states that it is the blood coming out of the patient that carries away the venom; the vulgate text says merely that the venom emerges while the blood comes out.

<sup>570</sup> সভ্জান is the second of the two methods of blood letting described in the vulgate text of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* at 1.14.25 (Su 1938: 64); this verse does not appear in the Nepalese version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

<sup>571</sup> This refers to earth taken from an anthill. In South Asia, there is a long tradition of considering such earth to be beneficial and even holy (**irwi-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.<sup>572</sup>

- 21 At the third one should use errhines and collyrium ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ) that destroy poison.<sup>573</sup> At the fourth, when he has vomited, the physician should make him drink a gruel ( $yav\bar{a}g\bar{u}$ ) that destroys poison.
- At the fifth and sixth toxic reactions one should make the person drink something that aids cooling, that is cleansing and sharp  $(t\bar{\imath}k\bar{\imath}na)$ , and a well-regarded gruel too.
- But at the seventh, one should purge  $(\sqrt{sodh})$  his head with a sharp sternutatory.<sup>574</sup>

#### In the case of Mandalins

- 24 Amongst Maṇḍalins, the earliest toxic reaction (*vega*) should be treated in the same way as with Darvīkaras.<sup>575</sup>
- 25 At the second, one should make him drink ghee and honey and then make him vomit.<sup>576</sup>
- At the third, one should give the purged patient healthy gruel. At the fourth and the fifth too, one should do the same as for the Darvīkara.
- 572 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. 149 above.
- 573 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.
- 574 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.
- 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 **wuja-2003**. 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 445, p. 150 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*.
- 576 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). 578

#### In the case of Rājimats

- Now, Amongst Rājimats, one should let blood at the first toxic shock.<sup>579</sup>
- At the second, a patient who has vomited should be made to drink an antidote that destroys poison. At the third, fourth and fifth, the rule that applies to the Darvīkara is suitable.
- 30 At the sixth, use a very sharp collyrium (añjana), and at the seventh a sternutatory (avapīḍa). There is a prohibition on using blood-letting for pregnant women, children and the elderly.
- In those who are in pain because of poison, it is advised that the prescribed procedures be applied gently.

#### 31ab In animals

In goats and sheep, bleeding and collyriums are the same as for people. 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. 580581

- 577 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.
- 578 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.
- 579 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.
- 580 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. 175 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.<sup>582</sup>

- 47–48ab One should eliminate this poison completely. It is extremely hard to overcome. For even a small amount remaining can strongly bring about a toxic reaction.<sup>583</sup>
- Or it may lead to dejection, pallor, fever, cough and headaches, dessication, swelling, catarrh, poor vision, disinterest in food (*aruci*) or rigidity (*jāḍyatā*).<sup>584</sup> And in such cases one should apply the cure as appropriate.<sup>585</sup>
- 50–51ab 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

<sup>581</sup> The vulgate includes several verses after this sentence that give a recipe and also a list of specific items like place and constitution that should be given careful consideration. Dalhaṇa on 5.5.33 (Su 1938: 576) cited the opinions of Gayadāsa and Jejjaṭa on this recipe but stated that he preferred to follow the contrasting opinions of Vṛddhavāgbhaṭa (1.25.24cd-25aba (atha-1980)) and Suśruta (4.31.29cd-30ab (Su 1938: 511)) on this topic, as well as several citations "another work" (तन्त्रान्तर) that is unidentified.

<sup>582</sup> The vulgate here has twelve verses not found in the Nepalese version. These verses explicitly switch subject away from assesments according to toxic reactions and to the treatment of both mobile and immobile poisons, starting from physical symptoms such as swelling and discolouration as well as humoral theory. At the point where the vulgate summarizes the extra verses, saying that cases should be treated "according to their humors" (यथादोष), the Nepalese witnesses have "as is appropriate" (यथायोपं, 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 445 and 570, pp. 150, 181 above) and the beating of drums that have been smeared with antidotes, as discussed in Suśrutasaṃhitā 5.6 (Su 1938: 580–582) (see p. 201 below).

<sup>583</sup> The word अवतिष्ठ "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 **ober-2003** even involve present participles without gender concord. Cf. **edge-1953** for examples in BHS.

<sup>584</sup> Dalhaṇa on 5.5.49ab (Su 1938: 577) reported a reading from Jejjaṭa of स्तैमित्य "immobility" instead of प्रतिश्याय "catarrh."

<sup>585</sup> 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.<sup>586</sup>
  - One can conquer bile using substances that remove bile-fever (*pittajvara*), with decoctions, oleation and purges, combined with substances that remove poison, with the exception of sesame oil (*taila*), wine, horse gram, and mangosteen.<sup>587</sup>
  - One can conquer phlegm with the group that starts with golden shower tree, together with honey.<sup>588</sup>

#### Formal verses

- 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)."<sup>589</sup>
- One may be certain that a person has been struck by something poisoned (digdha) if their wound immediately starts to suppurate has black blood that flows and is inflamed, as well as having black, weeping and exceptionally foul-smelling flesh coming out of the wound and also someone who has thirst, fainting (mūrcchā), fever and a temperature.<sup>590</sup>
- 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

<sup>586</sup> This half-verse is is not present in the vulgate, but has broadly the same sense as 5.5.52cd (Su 1938: 577), that is not present in the Nepalese version.

<sup>587</sup> The vulgate reads "fish" in place of "wine."

<sup>588</sup> The आरंबधगण is listed at *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.38.6 (Su 1938: 164). These herbs are there explicitly said to pacify phlegm and to remove poison, etc. (1.38.7 (Su 1938: 164)).

<sup>589</sup> *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 5.5.16 (Su 1938: 575) (p. 180 above) suggests smearing an incised area with antidotes.

<sup>590</sup> The Nepalese witnesses describe someone who has been struck or hurt (ধ্বন, आहत), while the vulgate describes someone who is pierced (विद्ध). Dalhaṇa on 5.5.58ab (Su 1938: 576) interpreted the latter wording as being struck by a poison-smeared arrow.

that has been hit by something poisoned (*digdha*) and is full of poison. And others are sick because of a wound that stinks because of poison. The wise person debrides the excess flesh of such people and then, after removing the blood by means of leeches and after removing the humours from above and below, he should irrigate with cold bark decoctions from milky trees. And he should 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

The following items are powdered, mixed with honey and stored in a horn: turpeth, weaver's beam tree, liquorice, the two kinds of turmeric, Indian madder and Himalayan mayapple,<sup>591</sup> and all kinds of salt.<sup>592</sup> This antidote, taken with drinks, collyrium (añjana), oil rubs (abhyañjana), errhines and drugs, destroys poison.

With its relentless potency  $(v\bar{\imath}rya)$  and as a destroyer of the toxic reaction (vega) to poison, it is called "mahāgada (*The Great Antidote*) and has great power.

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.

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. This antidote (agada) is identified as "Garuḍa

<sup>591</sup> There is no मञ्जिष्ठा group, but there is a plant वक्र.

<sup>592</sup> There is a लवणवर्ग, (1.46.313-321 (Su 1938: 236-237)).

(*tārkṣya*)." It can even destroy the poison of the snake prince Takṣaka (*takṣaka*).

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.<sup>593</sup> The bile derived from boars, monitor

products of civet, chital deer and mongoose.<sup>594</sup>

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.

lizards, peacocks, and porcupines is to be added, with honey, and the

- 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.
- 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,<sup>595</sup> bayberry, citron, white clitoria, winged-stem canscora, white siris, and sugar, taken with amaranth.<sup>596</sup>
- 76cd–78ab The best antidote for the poison of Mandalins is grapes, Withania, Indian frankincense, ground white clitoria, combined in equal amounts

<sup>593</sup> Dalhaṇa on 5.5.70 (Su 1938: 579) glossed प्रसून more specifically as तुलसीपुष्प "the Tulasi flower."

<sup>594</sup> All three animals produce musk. Dalhaṇa 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.

<sup>595</sup> Palhana on 5.5.75 (Su 1938: 579) noted the common name बहुवार for श्लेष्पातकी.

<sup>596</sup> 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.

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.<sup>597</sup>

The following group is known as the One Essence (*ekarasa*):<sup>598</sup> 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*),<sup>599</sup> and bluebell barleria. Whether used separately or in pairs, it removes poison.<sup>600</sup>

<sup>597</sup> After this passage, the vulgate has five and a half verses that do not appear in the Nepalese version.

<sup>598</sup> The vulgate reads एकसर, "one run." Dalhana on 5.5.86 (Su 1938: 580) also read एकसर and glossed it as the proper name of a गण.

<sup>599</sup> A hapax in this meaning *Mahākośa*: 1, 582. So glossed by Dalhana on 5.5.86 (Su 1938: 580): भृमिः कृष्णमृत्तिका ॥;

<sup>600</sup> das-1983 discussed this passage, suggesting that भूमीकुरबक may be a plant-name.

# Kalpasthāna 6: Rats and Rabies

#### Introduction

A notable macro-difference between the vulgate and the Nepalese versions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* is that this chapter and the next are reversed in the vulgate. In the Nepalese version, this is chapter six and the chapter on antitoxic drumming is chapter seven.<sup>601</sup> Jejjaṭa too read the chapters this way round, as reported by Palhaṇa.<sup>602</sup>

#### Mouse or Rat?

In 2004, Umberto Eco published a characteristically subtle and enlightening book about translation entitled *Mouse or Rat?*.<sup>603</sup> 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,  $m\bar{u}$ , the subject and title of this chapter, does not distinguish between mouse and rat. The same is true for MIA and NIA derivatives.<sup>604</sup> It is hard to know quite how to translate the term since "rodent" is too broad a term. In what follows, I have chosen "rat" for  $m\bar{u}$ , i in order to produce a working translation of a text about an animal that is viewed as potentially toxic and threatening. "Mouse" does not have quite these connotations for a contemporary English speaker.<sup>605</sup>

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601 See p. 125 above.
602 Dalhaṇa on 5.6.32 (Su 1938: 582): जेज्जटस्तु मूषिककल्पानन्तरं दुन्दुभिस्वनीयं कल्पं पठति.
603 eco-2004.
604 CDIAL: #10258.
605 bhis-1907 made the same choice (bhis-1907).
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The rodents that may be described as mice or rats in contemporary South Asia and that are especially associated with the spread of disease include the house or black rat (*Rattus rattus*, L.), the brown rat (*R. norve*gicus, Berkenhout), the house mouse (Mus musculus, L.) and bandicoots (Bandicota). 606 Also present in SA are the Indian desert gerbille (Meriones hurrianae, Jerdon), the Indian gerbille (Tatera indica, Hardwicke), the spiny field mouse (Mus platythrix, Bennett), the Indian field mouse (M. booduga, Gray), the Metad (Millardia meltada, Gray), the Indian bush rat (Golunda ellioti, Gray), the longtailed tree mouse (Vandeleuria oleracea, Bennett), Royle's vole (Aticola roylei, Gray), the Indian mole-rat (Bandicota bengalensis, Gray & Hardwicke), 607 the bandicoot rat (B. indica, Bechstein), the shorttailed bandicoot (Nesokia indica, Gray & Hardwicke), the whitetailed wood rat (Madromys blanfordi, Thomas), the bay bamboo rat (Cannomys badius, Hodgson), and other similar rodents. 608 However, plausibly matching these creatures to the Sanskrit names listed in this chapter is hard to impossible. 609 Almost no works engage directly with the representation or identity of rodents in pre-modern India. 610

#### Literature

A brief survey of this chapter's contents and reference to the limited existing research on it to 2002 was provided by Meulenbeld.<sup>611</sup>

A rich description of Indian rodents is available by Prater (BIA: ch. 13, esp. 205–215), including several useful illustration. Unfortunately, Prater rarely gave Indian-language names.

In Sanskrit literature, the *Arthaśāstra* refers to the problem of rats more than once. To rid a country of the threat of rats,

<sup>606</sup> BIA: 194.

<sup>607 &</sup>quot;Recent studies...show that the mole-rat forms 98% of the total rodent population of Calcutta," BIA: 206.

<sup>608</sup> BIA: ill. plates 45, 46 et passim. See also Menon 2014: passim.

<sup>609</sup> Mouse-words that we do not see in this chapter include the *kirika*, *giri*, *girikā* group (**EWA**).

<sup>610</sup> One of the few is **geer-2008**.

<sup>611</sup> HIML: IA, 295–296. In addition to the translations mentioned by Meulenbeld (HIML: IB, 314–315), a translation of this chapter was included in **shar-1999**. **sekh-2023** omitted mention of this type of poisoning, although he discussed rabies, a subsection of this chapter.

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When there is a danger from rats, cats and mongooses should be released. If these are captured or killed, the fine is 12 Paṇas, as also for not keeping dogs confined, except in the case of foresters. He should strew grains smeared with the milk of the Snuhi-plant or mixed with secret compounds. Or, he should institute a rat tax; or thaumaturgic ascetics should perform a pacificatory rite. On the days of the moon's change ..., moreover, he should have rites of rat worship carried out.<sup>612</sup>

A sympathetic description was given in the seventeenth century by Emperor Jahangir, in his *Memoirs* (*Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri*), of the death of two of his elephants resulting from the bites of a mad dog.<sup>613</sup>

<sup>612</sup> *Arthaśāstra* 4.3.20–26, tr. **oliv-2013**. 613 **alvi-1968thac-1999**.

- 1 Now I shall explain the procedure (kalpa) relating to rats ( $m\bar{u}$  $sik\bar{a}$ ). 614
- Learn concisely about aforementioned eighteen kinds of rats that have poison in their semen, according to their names, characteristics and the herbal treatments.<sup>615</sup>

## The types of rat

4–6 The eighteen rats are traditionally called, 616

	O	J		,
1.	Fondling rat,		10.	Invincible rat,
2.	Sonny rat,		11.	Fidgety rat,
3.	Black rat,		12.	Brown rat,
4.	Gajpipul rat,		13.	the one called Mole-rat and
5.	Little rat,		14.	Tawny rat,
6.	House shrew		15.	the large black rat,
7	Arala rat, <sup>617</sup>		16.	White rat, together with the
8.	Red-toothed shrew,		17.	the large Brown rat,
9.	Bad-marked rat,		18.	and the Pigeon rat-like rat. <sup>618</sup>

7 If a part of the body has their sperm fall on it or if they touch it with their nails or teeth, etc., that have been touched by sperm, then the blood is corrupted.<sup>619</sup>

<sup>614</sup> The word मृषिका does not distinguish between rats and mice. See Introduction above.

<sup>615</sup> Rats with poisonous semen were mentioned in 5.3.5 (Su 1938: 567) (see p. 155 above).

<sup>616</sup> Palhaṇa on 5.6.4 (Su 1938: 582) gave no comment on any of these names. The identifications are mostly guesswork and sometimes whimsical. The glossary gives lexical discussion of individual names.

<sup>617</sup> The word अरल is a hapax legomenon and has not previously been identified as a lexeme because it did not appear in earlier editions of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. It is a loan-word from Dravidian (see glossary).

<sup>618</sup> The Nepalese list has विसिर (Gajpipul rat) for the vulgate's हंसिर. The terms आखु, मूषिका and उन्द्ररु are here used as generic names of rat/mouse rodents.

<sup>619</sup> On this, Palhaṇa on 5.7.7 (Su 1938: 582) quoted an authority called Ālambāyana who elaborated on this subject (see HIML: IA, 658 for references to this author of a lost treatise on toxicology). Palhaṇa also cited Ālambāyana elsewhere on the topics of insects and spiders (HIML: IB, 722, note 5). See also the <code>Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha</code>'s assertion that Ālambāyana was responsible for the doctrine of toxic pulse (<code>vega</code>)s, p. 141 above. Ālambāyana, who was already known as "the famous soul of compassion" in the <code>Mahābhārata</code> (13.18.4), was also known in Buddhist literature. Book 22, tale 543 of the

8–10ab It happens that there are lumps (*granthi*), swellings, small earlike growths (*karṇika*) and rings, accumulations of severe blisters (*piṭaka*), spreading rashes (*visarpa*) and dark, rough patches of skin (*kiṭibha*). There are severe conditions such as pain in the joints, pain, fever, fainting, weakness, loss of appetite, exhaustion, nausea and horripilation. 621

This is a concise description of the appearance of someone who has been bitten. Now listen to a longer version.

## **Detailed symptoms**

- 10cd—11ab The Fondling rat causes a flow of saliva, vomiting and hiccups. For that, one should lick a paste of amaranth with honey.
  - 11cd–12 The Sonny rat causes the limbs to droop and creates a pale beauty,<sup>622</sup> and the body is heaped with lumps like the young of a rat.<sup>623</sup> One should lick siris, odal oil plant and malabathrum with
    - Jātakas includes mention of an Ālambāyana who claimed to be a doctor and specialist in snakebite poisons:  $n\bar{a}ham$   $dij\bar{a}dhipo$  homi, na diṭṭho garulo  $may\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{a}s\bar{v}visena$  vitto ti vejjo mam  $br\bar{a}hmanam$   $vid\bar{u}$  ti 793 (faus-1877, tr. cowe-1895). In the same tale, there is a herbal "Ālambāyana mantra" given to an ascetic by a Garuḍa who has just caught and eaten a Nāga, thus invoking the Garuḍa-snake-poison motif (cowe-1895). The Jātakas were translated into Chinese in the third century ce.
    - See further discussion by **slou-2016**, who calls the mantra "Alampāyana," adopting the reading of the Burmese MS Bd against the Fausbøll's critical reading "Ālambāyana" (**faus-1877**).
    - 620 "Little ears" was strikingly described by Palhana on 5.7.8 (Su 1938: 582) as looking like the seed pod in the middle of a lotus (कमलमध्यबीजकोशाकृतिः), a graphic image (see also Palhana on 5.8.136 (Su 1938: 594)). Perhaps similar to hypergranulation. The Nepalese version has पिटक "blisters" for the vulgate's पीडक "boils" (itself perhaps a typo for पिडक). किटिभ "dark rash" was described by Palhana on 1.11.7 (Su 1938: 46) as a kind of कुष्ठ, which is variously a skin disease of pallor, leucoderma, or leprosy (emme-1984). But it was described in the Carakasaṃhitā as being dark and as rough as a callous to the touch (6.7.21cd–22ab (Ca 1941: 451)) (Mahākośa: 1, 208).
    - 621 पर्वभेद "pain in the joints" was glossed by Dalhaṇa on 5.7.9 (Su 1938: 582) as "spots on the joints" (सन्धेः स्फोटः). This seems unlikely, since symptoms on the surface of the body were described in the previous verse, and also because of the obvious etymological meaning of the compound.
    - 622 The expression -वला "beauty" in the Nepalese MSS, for the vulgate's simpler -वर्ण "complexion," is unusual.
    - 623 The grammar here is very loose. शिशुर् cannot stand outside the compound, which should read मूषिकशिसुसंस्थितैः. The vulgate text has the simpler and grammatical आ-

- honey.624
- 13 The Black rat causes one to vomit blood, especially when the weather is bad. One should drink siris and malabathrum, with costus and cardamom, with the flame-of-the-forest ashes.<sup>625</sup>
- 14 The Gajpipul rat causes a person have a revulsion for food, to yawn, and makes their body-hair leprous. 626 They should drink items like golden shower tree and be quickly made to vomit.
- The Little rat causes headache, swelling, hiccups and nausea. One should have thorough emesis using decoctions of luffa, and he should drink the juice of sage-leaved alangium.
- The House shrew causes constipation, paralysis of the neck, and gasping (*vijṛmbhikā*).<sup>627</sup> In this case, one should administer a caustic made of barley ash and velvet bean as well as the two hairy-fruited eggplants.<sup>628</sup>
- 18cd-19 The Arala rat causes stiffness of the neck and pain in the area of the

खुशावकसन्निभैः "resembling the offspring of a rat."

<sup>624</sup> Þalhaṇa on 5.7.11-12 (Su 1938: 582) here cited a passage by an unknown author called Nāgārjuna, about the visible symptoms of a bite by this kind of rat (cf. Sharma 1982: 45–46, HIML: IB, 497, note 100) as well as variant readings by Gayadāsa and Jejjata on the exact formulation of the lickable medication.

<sup>625</sup> Dalhana on 5.7.13 (Su 1938: 583) explained "with the ashes of flame-of-the-forest" as "water with the ashes of flame-of-the-forest."

<sup>626</sup> The qualifier कुष्ठता (रोम्णां) is odd; the vulgate's हर्षण "horripilation" reads more easily. कुष्ठ has a lesser-known meaning "prominent part, mouth or opening" which might perhaps be considered here, though it is hard to see how.

<sup>627</sup> विजृम्भिका is one of the eighty wind diseases listed in the *Kāśyapasaṃhitā* and glossed by Hemarājaśarman as "yawning" (Hindī जंभाई, 1.27.19–28 (hema-1938)). However, in the *Carakasaṃhitā* it is a term for one of the disorders of an improperly treated post-partum umbilical cord (glossed by Þalhaṇa as मुहुर्मुहुर्वृद्धिमती "growing larger moment by moment," 4.8.45 (Ca 1941: 348–349)) and translated by shar-1994 as "umbilical hernia." Cf. *Mahākośa*: 1, 756.

<sup>628</sup> Note that half-verses 16cd and 16ab are reversed compared to the vulgate edition. This makes the caustic a remedy for the bite of the house shrew, while the earlier luffa remedy is for the little rat, which makes betters sense.

The vulgate has text at this point, 17 and 18ab, that are not present in the Nepalese version. They are about further symptoms and treatment of stiffness of the neck, anosmia, etc., presumably arising from the bite of the house shrew. Dalhaṇa on 16cd–17 (Su 1938: 583) recorded different readings from Gayadāsa's commentary here (see edition notes); it seems these verses became slightly confused at an early period. We would expect symptoms of the bite of the tree of heaven at this point in the text, and the Great Antidote treatment in the next line would be its therapy.

bite. In that case, one should lick The Great Antidote ( $mah\bar{a}gada$ ), that is of great potency ( $v\bar{i}rya$ ), together with honey.<sup>629</sup>

- 19cd–20ab The Red-toothed shrew causes sleep and especially emaciation. In that case, one should lick the sap and seeds of siris with honey.<sup>630</sup>
- 20cd—21ab The Bad-marked rat causes pains, swelling and lines up to the area of the bite. In that case, one should lick the two kinds of bluebell barleria, together with Indian symphorema and honey.
- The Invincible rat causes nauseous fainting, heart-seizure (*hṛd-graha*) and blackness of the limbs. In that case, one should lick Indian madder mixed with the milky latex of oleander spurge and honey.
- 22cd-23ab The Fidgety rat causes vomiting and fainting together with thirst. One should drink the three myrobalans with wood-ash, spikenard and honey.
- 23cd–24ab The Brown rat causes a wound, hives (*koṭha*), fever, and an outbreak of lumps (*granthi*).<sup>631</sup> In this case, white clitoria or white hogweed should be licked with honey.
- 24cd–25ab The Mole-rat is said to cause lumps, fever, and an intense feeling of heat  $(d\bar{a}ha)$ . In that case, one should drink ghee cooked with an decoction  $(kv\bar{a}tha)$  of indigo and hogweed.

#### The last five, from the Tawny rat on

25cd–26 The Tawny rat causes the wind to be angry, creating illnesses that originate in wind. The Large Black (rat) causes bile, the White rat phlegm, the Large Brown rat causes blood, and the Pigeon rat causes all four.<sup>632</sup>

<sup>629 &</sup>quot;The great antidote" recipe is described at *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 5.6.63 (p. 185 above).

<sup>630</sup> The difficult expression शिरीषस्य सारमाषकान् probably accounts for the easier version of the vulgate, with its dvandva सारफलत्वचः. Taking सारमाषकान् as a dvandva, we can read माषक as in the compound शिरीषमाषक "siris seeds."

<sup>631</sup> कोठ was a skin ailment variously described by authorities as a redness that appeared and disappeared rapidly, that was itchy, that was caused by an excess of salty items, etc. (see *Mahākośa*: 1, 239, HIML: IIB, 76, n. 47). It may have referred to conditions such as urticaria, allergy, ringworm or vitiligo. "Hives" has a history going back to ca. 1500, referring to various eruptions in the skin that may feel hot (**OED**).

<sup>632</sup> Note the switch to humoral theory with these last five rats in the list, and the assumption of blood as a fourth humour .

- In the bites of these ones there are lumps, rings and small ear-like growths (*karṇika*). There are accumulations of blisters (*piṭaka*) on the body, and severely painful swellings.
- A half litre (*prastha*) each of curds, milk and ghee are measured out. Make a broth of pongame oiltree, golden shower tree, the three pungent drugs, hairy-fruited eggplant, beggarweed, and beggarweed, and once again make that broth into one fourth part. One should add turpeth, viburnum, heart-leaved moonseed, Himalayan mayapple, Indian snakeroot, Indian frankincense, wood-apple, pomegranate, and cinnamon. Mix all that together and cook it over a gentle flame. This gets rid of the poison of the five rats from Tawny rat on.
  - Alternatively, prepare in the juices of hedge caper and black night-shade.
  - Also, you should pierce the affected veins  $(sir\bar{a})$  and apply purifications. As an alternative, one may apply this rule in all cases of rat poisoning.
- One should cauterize the bite, then bleed it and, having made small cuts (*pracchita*), smear it with a paste of siris, turmeric, Himalayan mayapple, saffron, and heart-leaved moonseed. Emesis is with a decoction (*kvātha*) of indigo with parakeet and sage-leaved alangium. 638
  - 37–38 When doing a purge, turpeth, red physic nut, and the three myrobalans are recommended; when purging the head, either the juice of siris or its fruits. Juice of cow-dung with a lot of the three pungent drugs is good in collyrium. an electuary of the

<sup>633</sup> On कर्णिका, see footnote 615.

<sup>634</sup> The measure of a प्रस्थ is approximate and different authors have various estimates.

<sup>635</sup> अंशुमती and स्थिरा are both normally identified as beggarweed, but when a pair are mentioned the second is probably painted uraria.

<sup>636</sup> For the vulgate's reading समृत्तिका "with earth," Dalhaṇa on 5.7.29 (Su 1938: 583) specified "black earth" and noted that some people read अहिमृत्तिका "snake earth" meaning earth taken from anthills, while Jejjaṭa read अगवृत्तिका, meaning शह्नकी, "Indian frankincense" (see also GVDB: 392). Jejjaṭa's reading is essentially that of the Nepalese MSS, with a म/ब alternant, if Trikamji Ācārya's edition is correct on this.

<sup>637</sup> The vulgate substitutes কুষ্ট for বক্সা.

<sup>638</sup> The vulgate has two and a half more verses at this point, expanding the recipe considerably and adding the appropriate verb, "he should vomit."

<sup>639</sup> The Nepalese MSS appear to read "juice that is cow-dung" (गोमयः स्वरसो) but the vul-

- juice of wood-apple and cow-dung, with the two kinds of honey, is recommended.<sup>640</sup>
- 40 The person should drink ghee cooked in roots of amaranth, or either cooked with the roots of bread flower or the five products of the wood-apple.<sup>641</sup>
- 41 The poison that comes out of rats is most irritant during cloudy weather. And in that case too, the procedure that should be carried out is the one for removing slow-acting poison  $(d\bar{u}\bar{s}\bar{i}vi\bar{s}a)$ .
- The physician should cut  $(pra\sqrt{ch\bar{a}})$  the small ear-like growths (karnika) that are hard and slightly painful. And in every single case of poison he should perform the procedure as for a wound.<sup>643</sup>

#### The bites of wild animals

- When a creature such as a dog, a jackal, wolf, tiger or hyena has the poison, the corrupted phlegm which resides in the conduits of consciousness takes away consciousness.<sup>644</sup> Then, its tail, jaw and shoulders droop down, it drools, it is deaf to unclear sounds and blind and it charges against one another.<sup>645</sup>
- 45–46ab And there is numbness in the limb of one who has been bitten by such a creature, and the blood runs black.<sup>646</sup>

gate has the grammatically easier, "juice of cow-dung" (गोमयस्वरसो).

<sup>640</sup> Verse 5.7.39 (Su 1938: 584) of the vulgate is not present in the Nepalese version.

<sup>641</sup> Dalhana on 5.7.40 (Su 1938: 584) glossed the last item as, "a decoction of the pulp of the fruit, roots, flowers, bark and leaves of the wood-apple."

<sup>642</sup> The Nepalese witnesses read निर्हृतम् "removed, taken out," in contrast to the vulgate's अनिर्हृतम् "not removed." The vulgate refers to rat-poison remaining in a patient, while the Nepalese version is talking more generically about poison that comes from rats.

<sup>643</sup> On प्रच्छित् "cut off, scarify" cf. the same verb at 4.9.10 (Su 1938: 443), 6.14.10 (Su 1938: 621), and derivatives प्रच्छन, प्रच्छित, etc., cited at *Mahākośa*: 1, 523. The wording of the vulgate text of this verse is quite different, and it introduced the idea of treatment according to the humour.

<sup>644</sup> The Nepalese version does not mention wind, unlike the vulgate, but the sentence structure is harder than the vulgate.

<sup>645</sup> The grammatical number of "it charges against one another" is odd in Sanskrit too.

<sup>646</sup> This translation of the text is tentative and does not account for स्युः. The sentence is not clear in the witnesses or later derived versions such as Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā 6.38.10 (Ah 1939: 921). Taking सुप्तः as "numbness" is not comfortable, though the vulgate seems to have taken this sense, reading सुप्तता (that Dalhaṇa glosses as बाधिर्यम्). The vulgate version is a full śloka, rather than the Nepalese half-śloka, and translates

- And it is in the main marked by the signs of someone who has been pierced by a poisoned arrow.<sup>647</sup>
- The person, repeatedly imitating the movement and cries of the creature that bit him, loses the power of movement and is destroyed.
- 47–48ab If the bitten person sees, in water or in a mirror, the one who was bitten by the creature with fangs, it is an indicator of impending death.
- 48cd–49ab If someone who has not been bitten nevertheless trembles at the sight, touch or sound, that should be known as hydrophobia (*jalatrāsa*), and that too is a sign of impending death.
- When one is bitten, one should make that bite flow and then it should be cauterized (*paridāhita*) with ghee. One should anoint it with antidotes and one should also make the patient drink aged ghee. One should also quickly give them an evacuative mixed with the latex of purple calotropis. One should also give them white clitoria and hogweed, together with datura.<sup>648</sup>
- 5.7.60–60.1 He should be made to bathe on the bank of a river or at a cross-roads, accompanied with mantras, with pots full of seeds, jewels and medicinal herbs, filled with cold water.
- 5.7.61–62ab O Yakṣa, Ruler of Mad Dogs, Lord of the Pack of Dogs, make this dog affliction free from poison, quickly, Svāhā!
  - 5.7.62cd One should provide an intense evacuation (*saṃśodhana*) for the person who has been bathed.

as, "But there is numbness at the bite of the one bitten by such a mad, fanged, poisonous creature, and black blood overflows" (5.7.45 (Su 1938: 584)).

The main interpreters state that it is the limb or the location of the bite that becomes numb, not that the person loses consciousness. It is tempting to think that a more original text might have been referring to the victim losing consciousness. **srik-1991** took this view (against the commentator Aruṇadatta): "... the person gets into stupor "

<sup>647</sup> अभिलिङ्गित "marked by" is not a common word and is perhaps a hapax legomenon. The vulgate has the simpler expression उपलक्षित.

<sup>648</sup> At this point, the vulgate has seven and a half verses (5.7.52cd–59) that are not present in the Nepalese version. They describe a recipe that causes or aggravates the same symptoms as the bite of the animal. The interesting theory is presented that the patient will only survive if the poison is assisted in expressing its inflammatory symptoms fully (कुप्येत्स्वयं विषं यस्य न स जीवित मानवः। तस्मात्प्रकोपयेदाशु स्वयं यावत्प्रकुप्यित ॥ (5.7.58cd–59ab (Su 1938: 585)).

5.7.63 That poison flares up again in a person who has not been evacuated, even though the wound may have healed.

5.7.63.1 Whether asleep or awake, a healthy person who is frightened does not succeed. And a mortal who is afraid of water as well as one who gets inflamed when bitten.<sup>649</sup>

Thus the Kalpa 6.

<sup>649</sup> The sense of this verse, which does not appear in the vulgate, is uncertain.

# 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.<sup>650</sup>

# **Translation**

- 1 Now I shall explain the procedure (*kalpa*) on the topic of sounding the kettle drum (*dundubhi*).<sup>651</sup>
- 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, <sup>652</sup> 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,

<sup>650</sup> HIML: IA, 295. In addition to the translations mentioned by Meulenbeld (HIML: IB, 314–315), a translation of this chapter was included in **shar-1999**.

<sup>651</sup> 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 **hopk-1889ross-2014**.

<sup>652</sup> The ingredients to this point are similar to the water-detoxifier described in *Suśruta-saṃhitā* 5.3.9 (Su 1938: 568), p. 156 above.

prickly-leaved elephant's foot, Himalayan birch,<sup>653</sup> 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, 654 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, 655 Indian aconite, deodar, black pepper, costus, and sweet flag. 656 Once it has been brought to the boil with the alkali, one should take it down and place it in a iron pot. 657

- 4 One should smear this onto a drum as well as onto flags and carpets. 658 One is released from all poisons as a result of seeing and hearing these. 659
- 5–6 This is called "The Caustic Antidote (*kṣārāgada*)". 660 It should be given

<sup>653</sup> Note the unanimous Nepalese MS reading भूज, the Middle Indo-Aryan form of Sanskrit भूजं (CDIAL:#9570).

<sup>654</sup> The literature on the identification of Soma is large and continuing (wuja-2003clar-2017). To the cited literature, the useful historical discussion by 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.

<sup>655</sup> Dalhana on 5.6.3 (Su 1938: 580) glossed नागदन्ती as a type of इन्द्रवारुणी (colocynth), but he noted that Jejjata had thought it was दन्ती (red physic nut).

<sup>656</sup> Palhaṇa on 5.6.3 (Su 1938: 580) noted that Gayadāsa omitted several of the above ingredients, keeping thirty.

<sup>657</sup> 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. 29 above.

<sup>658</sup> The vulgate has तोरण "gateways" instead of आस्तरण "carpets." On the meaning of the latter term, see **bail-1970** and the remarks of **rotm-2008**. I am grateful to Michael Willis who has drawn my attention to similar practices described in Tibetan Buddhist literature, some of which may preserve material from before the fifth century CE (will-2018b).

<sup>659</sup> The vulgate adds "and touching" 5.6.4 (Su 1938: 580). Note the ditransitive (द्विकर्मक) - मुच्यते; cf. Meghadūta, uttaramegha 33 (kale-1947).

<sup>660</sup> Cf. 4.23.95–104 (Ca 1941: 575–576).

in cases of small urinary stones ( $\acute{s}arkar\bar{a}$ ), urinary stones ( $a\acute{s}mar\bar{\imath}$ ),  $^{661}$  hemorrhoids, wind-swelling ( $v\bar{a}tagulma$ ), cough, abdominal gripes ( $\acute{s}\bar{u}la$ ) and swollen belly (udara). It should be given for indigestion, humours of the abdomen ( $grahan\bar{\imath}dosa$ ),  $^{662}$  and severe aversion to food (bhaktadvesa),  $^{663}$  in swelling, mouth ulcer (sarvasara),  $^{664}$  and persistent asthma ( $\acute{s}v\bar{a}sa$ ).

- 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.<sup>665,666</sup>
- 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:

<sup>661</sup> अरमरी and रार्करा are described in *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 2.3 (Su 1938: 276–280), the latter being 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.

<sup>662</sup> On the organ called ग्रहणी, see the useful summary by rama-1985.

<sup>663</sup> A sign of impending death according to Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.32.4 (Su 1938: 142).

<sup>664</sup> See *Mahākośa*: 1, 888 and *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 2.16.65–66 (Su 1938: 336) and 4.23.3 (Su 1938).

<sup>665</sup> বিশ্বক is an ancient name for a Nāga, mentioned in the *Kauśikasūtra* (bloo-1890). Takṣaka is mentioned briefly in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (poll-1991) and more in later works. See further, slou-2016. The *Kriyākālottaratantra*, edited by Slouber, contains a similar sentence (7.26cd, p. 232): "Even someone bitten by Takṣaka will be rapidly cured of poison."

<sup>666</sup> 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.

<sup>667</sup> On the BHS form पीषयेत्, see edge-1953, edge-1953.

sandalwood, agarwood, costus, crape jasmine, wild spider flower, 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, malabathrum, black sarsaparilla, the three pungent drugs, camphor, white teak, kutki, purple fleabane, Indian aconite, gummy gardenia, colocynth, vetiver and lemon grass (?), three-leaved caper, coriander, sweet hoof, cinnamon, smooth angelica, 668 scutch grass, 669 chebulic myrobalan, the two types of clitoria, the two types of turmeric, Himalayan yew, lac, and the salts,<sup>670</sup> white water-lily, blue water-lily, sacred lotus flowers, pale Java tea and the flowers of champak, Asoka tree, royal jasmine, long-stamen Wendlandia (?),671 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.<sup>672</sup>

<sup>668</sup> The plant is usually called चोरक, literally "thief." The Nepalese text here uses the unusual expression तस्करसाह्व "called the same as 'thief'."

<sup>669</sup> 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 Aṣṭāṅ-gasaṅgraha, Utt.47.69a (atha-1980) (but not in the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā), suggesting that the Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha at this point had access to sources similar to the Nepalese witnesses.

<sup>670</sup> Dalhana specified "the five salts" (Dalhana on 5.6.19 (Su 1938: 581)).

<sup>671</sup> The Nepalese witnesses unanimously read तिलक not the vulgate's तिल्वक. Both plants have fragrant flowers.

<sup>672</sup> 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."

26 Out of all the royal antidotes, this one, called The Great Perfume (*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.<sup>673</sup>
- 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.<sup>674</sup>
- 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. 675

<sup>673</sup> Verses 29 and 30 of the vulgate, giving dietary advice, are not present in the Nepalese version.

<sup>674</sup> 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.

<sup>675</sup> 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

This is the last chapter of the *Kalpasthāna*. Since the chapter-colophons of the Nepalese manuscripts commonly end with the statement, "here ends the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* together with the Uttaratantra," we can presume that an older version of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* ended with the present chapter. Added to this, the beginning of the next section of the work, the Uttaratantra, reads "It being declared in the preceding 120 chapters, from here on, in the latter section, I shall explain the meanings in detail, fully.<sup>676</sup> Now, I shall explain the treatise called "the latter" where diseases in their diversity are fully revealed."

#### Literature

A brief survey of this chapter's contents and a detailed assessment of the existing research on it to 2002 was provided by Meulenbeld.<sup>677</sup>

#### **Translation**

- 1 And now I shall explain the procedure (*kalpa*) about insects.
- Insects originate from the semen, feces, urine, the rot of corpses, and eggs of snakes. Their natures are traditionally divided into three: wind, fire, and water.

677 HIML: IA, 296-299.

<sup>676</sup> Note that this is not the reading of the vulgate, which says that the Uttaratantra will explain everything that was *not* completely explained before.

# Taxonomy of insects

3-17ab xx

## **Symptoms**

17cd-24 xx

# Taxonomy according to symptoms and prognosis

25-27 XX

28 iguana

29 <sup>678</sup>

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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.<sup>679</sup>

The history of couching in India has been discussed since the nineteenth century,  $^{68\mathrm{o}}$ 

The therapies in this chapter make frequent use of collyrium ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ). This substance and its uses and variants are described in  $Carakasamhit\bar{a}$  1.5.14–19 (Ca 1941: 38–39). In the  $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$ , they are included in the "group starting with  $a\tilde{n}jana$ " ( $a\tilde{n}jan\bar{a}digama$ ), that is listed at 1.38.41–42 (Su 1938: 167). They are described as valuable for counteracting blood-bile (raktapitta), poison and overheating ( $d\bar{a}ha$ ).

# **Translation**

- 1 Now I shall explain the counteraction (*pratiṣedha*) of diseases located in the pupil (*dṛṣṭi*).
- There are three curable  $(s\bar{a}dhya)$ , three incurable  $(as\bar{a}dhya)$ , and six mitigatible  $(y\bar{a}pya)$  diseases located in peoples eyes. Among these, three are curable  $(s\bar{a}dhya)$ . Amongst these three, the remedy  $(prat\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}ra)$  has been stated for the one called "seeing smoke  $(dh\bar{\imath}madarsin)$ ".<sup>681</sup>

<sup>679</sup> HIML: IA, 305-306.

<sup>680</sup> leff-2020; shas-kaly; jack-1884; scot-1817; elli-1918; hend-1895; fan-2005; wuja-2003; Breton 1826; Deshpande 1999; 2000.

<sup>681</sup> This disease and its cure are described earlier (SS.6.7.39 and SS.6.10.16 (Su 1938: 609

where is 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 ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ), liniment ( $\bar{a}lepa$ ), and medicines cooked in a crucible (puṭapāka), together with an eyewash (tarpaṇa),682 but not cutting with a blade (*śastrakṣata*).<sup>683</sup>

One should drink ghee (*sarpis*) prepared with the three fruits (*triphalā*) and in the first [case where the problem is bile], and prepared with turpeth (*traivrta*) in the latter [case, of phlegm].

And ghee 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);<sup>684</sup>
- or the the fruits of the velvet bean.
- The physician should make a collyrium (añjana) with ground up metal (kupyaka),685 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.

<sup>682</sup> These therapies are described in SS.6.18 (Su 1938: 633–640).

<sup>683</sup> Dalhana interpreted this as blood-letting (sirāvedha), which is discussed in SS.1.14 (Su 1938).

<sup>684</sup> Wood apple (कपित्थ) in this verse is ablative singular or accusative plural, neither of which construe obviously.

<sup>685</sup> A metal other than gold or silver, according to V. Jośī and N. H. Jośī (*Mahākośa*: 1, 217) (on কুप्प). The Nepalese witnesses have the rare কুप्पक rather than the vulgate's কুত্সক, which makes no real sense. Perhaps lead, which is used in making contemporary collyrium.

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 ( $gud\acute{s}a$ ). 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  $(s\bar{\imath}ta)$  and stibnite  $(sauv\bar{\imath}raka)$ , 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  $(a\tilde{\imath}jana)$  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  $(mana\dot{n}sil\bar{a})$ , the two turmerics  $(rajana)^{687}$  and liver extract  $(yakrdrasa)^{.688}$
    - One should grind up kohl (*srotoja*),<sup>689</sup> and ?? and long pepper and also hareṇu (*hareṇu*). 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  $(k\bar{a}l\bar{a}nus\bar{a}riva)^{690}$  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

<sup>686</sup> 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.

<sup>687</sup> Turmeric (Curcuma longa *Linn*.) and tree turmeric (Berberis aristata DC). The term *rajana* is unusual; the normal term is *rajanī*. *Rajana* occurs in *Suśrutanighaṇṭu* 158 in the sense of Ferula asafoetida, Linn.

<sup>688</sup> This verse appears as no. 27 in the vulgate.

<sup>689</sup> Glossed by Dalhana as a kind of collyrium (añjana). Cf. nadk-1954 and Sharma 1982: 197–198

<sup>690</sup> There are two forms of *sārivā* mentioned widely in Āyurvedic literature, the white and the black. Ideas on the identity of the black form are particularly fluid. See Sivarajan and Balachandran (ADPS: 434–438) for a clear discussion.

(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 n avamala) with long pepper, honey and box myrtle (kat phala). It is placed in sea salt and stored in a bamboo tube.
  - One should cook the liver of a sheep, the ghee of a goat, with long pepper and Sindh salt, honey and the juice of emblics. Then one should store it properly in a catechu box. Prepared thus, the honey collyrium (añjana) is good.
    - Alternatively, a collyrium  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$  that is harenu (harenu) mixed with long pepper  $(m\bar{a}gadh\bar{\iota})$ , the bone and the marrow of a goat, cardamom  $(el\bar{a})$  and liver, together with liver extract, is good for eyes afflicted by phlegm.<sup>692</sup>
    - Over a fire, one should cook the liver (*yakṛt*) of a monitor lizard (*godhā*) prepared with entrails (*antra*) and stuffed with long pepper (*māgadhi*). As is well known, liver (*yakṛt*) which is used (*niṣevita*) with collyrium (*añjana*) certainly destroys night blindness.
    - After preparing both a spleen (*plīhan*) and a liver on a spit, one should eat them both with ghee and oil.<sup>693</sup>
- 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

<sup>691</sup> At SS 6.12.31, Dalhaṇa glossed *arṇavamala* as cuttlefish bone (*samudraphena*). It may be worth considering whether the unusual term *arṇavamala* "ocean-filth" might refer to ambergris.

<sup>692</sup> On the identities of <code>elā</code> and <code>hareṇu</code>, Watt (Watt\_Comm: 511 ff) described the former as "true" or "lesser" or "Malabar" cardamom, <code>Elettaria</code> cardamomum, Maton & White. In contrast, the "greater" cardamom is <code>Amomum</code> subulatum (that Watt discussed on p. 65) that is commonly used as an inferior substitute for <code>E. cardamomum</code>. 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).

<sup>693</sup> We read the locative as if an instrumental; if the locative were intended then it would be the spit that would be coated with oil and ghee.

combined (*upahita*) with purgative aids (*aṅga*).

When an eye-disease is caused by wind (pavanodbhava) they say that castor oil (pañcāṅgulataila) mixed with milk is good.<sup>694</sup> In the case of diseases of blood (śonita) and bile (pitta), one should drink ghee with the three fruits; it is particularly cleansing.<sup>695</sup> In the case of phlegm, a purgative by means of turpeth (trivṛt) is recommended. In the case of all three humours, sandal (sugandhi) in oil is prepared with it (turpeth).<sup>696</sup>

- 28 In cases of partial blindness (*timira*), aged ghee is recommended. It is good if it is kept in an iron vessel.
- 28cd–29ab One should know that ghee with the three mylobalans is always good, and it is made with what is called periploca of the woods (*meṣaviṣāṇa*). A man who is suffering from partial blindess should lick the finely-ground three fruits mixed with ghee off his hand (*sapāṇa*). 697
  - 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).<sup>698</sup>
      - Ghee which has been extracted from milk cooked with the meat of aquatic creatures and those from marshlands should be prescribed.
    - 32 †Ån enclosed roasting (puṭākhya) with Sindh salt and the product of

<sup>694</sup> Palhana said that the unexpressed topic of this recipe is partial blindness (*timira*).

<sup>695</sup> Blood-bile (*śonita-pitta, rakta-pitta*) is a widely-recognized disease in ayurveda, but the compound here is definitely dual, which rules out that interpretation. One would expect blood-bile because the previous verse

<sup>696</sup> The expression "the fragrant one in oil (*tailasugandhi*)" is puzzling. The word *sugandhi* has different referents in the *Nighaṇṭu* literature but is not common as a noun in the extant literature. "Sandal" is just one of its possible meanings.

<sup>697 &</sup>quot;Off his hand" translates the adverbial *sapāṇam*, an unusual word. Dalhaṇa reproduced a reading close to the Nepalese recension but says that Jejjaṭa rejects it and so he also does (Su 1938: 627).

<sup>698 &</sup>quot;Based on" translates *-āśrita* "depending on" which does not construe easily here. The vulgate has *śṛṭa* "cooked" which makes easier sense but is not supported by the Nepalese MSS.

- the meat of a carnivore (kravyabhuj) and a deer (eṇa), is combined with honey and ghee.<sup>699</sup>
- Fat  $(vas\bar{a})$  from a horse, a vulture, a snake, and a cock  $(t\bar{a}mrac\bar{u}da)$ , combined with mahua is always good in a collyrium  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$ .†
- Having prepared (nisevita) a collyrium ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ) made of kohl (srotas), gradually combine it with juices (rasa), milk and ghee.<sup>701</sup> For thirty days, this collyrium ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ) is put in the mouth of a black snake that is covered with kuśa grass (kuśa).
- Next, a collyrium ( $a\tilde{n}jana$ ) that is milk containing long pepper ( $m\bar{a}gadh\bar{\iota}$ ), lye ( $k\bar{s}\bar{a}raka$ ) and ?? that has been repeatedly prepared with the mouth of a black snake, is good in the case of bloodshot blindness ( $r\bar{a}gin\ timira$ ).<sup>702</sup>
- They say that ghee may be produced from that and combined with sweet herbs is good as an errhine for eye-diseases caused by bile. And here, an eyewash (*tarpaṇa*) is good that is a combination that is the flesh of wild animals taken hot (*puṭāhvaya*).<sup>703</sup>
- 36 And realgar (*manaḥśilā*) mixed with elixir salve (*rasāñjana*) and honey is a liquid collyrium (*dravāñjana*) which is, in this case, combined with mahua.<sup>704</sup>

- 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.
- 700 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.
- 701 On स्रोतस् "kohl" see footnote 684. Dalhana on 6.17.36ab (Su 1938: 628) explicitly specified that the juices are meat soups of various animals that are "pleasing to the eye" (चक्षष्यमृगपक्षिमांसरसः).
- 702 Dalhaṇa described this blindness as a type of  $k\bar{a}ca$  disease caused by wind (Su 1938: 628). The expression "bloodshot blindness" is an attempt to capture the idea of a blind eye that is dyed or coloured (not colour-blindness). This verse is quite different from the vulgate and also syntactically challenging.
- 703 The expression taken hot (puṭāhvaya) is a guess.
- 704 The expression liquid collyrium (dravāñjana) is only known from Dalhaṇa's com-

<sup>699</sup> Palhaṇa noted (Su 1938: 628a) that puṭāhvaya (see verse 35 below) is a synonym for puṭapāka, and that the process is described in the Kriyākalpa chapter, i.e., SS.6.18.33–38 (Su 1938: 635). On the puṭa process in the Suśrutasaṃhitā, which is earlier and different than that of rasaśāstra literature, see the discussion by wujad-2019:

Alternatively, experts on this say that finely ground blue vitriol (*tuttha*) extracted from a gold mine is the "same collyrium (*samāñjana*)".<sup>705</sup>

- Conch mixed with equal parts of sheep's horn and stibnite  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$  removes the impurity of the glassy opacity  $(k\bar{a}ca)$  because of the application of collyrium  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$ .<sup>706</sup>
  - The extracts (rasa) produced from aflame of the forest  $(pal\bar{a} \pm a)$ , Rohīta tree  $(roh\bar{t}a)$ ,  $rac{707}{707}$  mahua, ground with the supernatant layer (agra) of the spirits (madira) is applied.
- 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.<sup>708</sup>
  - 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 ( $u\hat{s}\bar{\imath}ra$ ) alone.
- A ghee that is cooked ( $bh\bar{a}vita$ ) from a decoction of a non-flowering tree (vanaspati)<sup>709</sup> 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 ( $j\bar{a}\dot{n}gala$ )<sup>710</sup> and a plentiful amount of long pepper ( $m\bar{a}gadha$ ), Sindh salt and honey.
- 40 A treatment (*kriyā*) with realgar (*manaḥśilā*), the three spices, conch, honey, along with Sindh salt, green vitriol (*kāsīsa*) and elixir salve (*rasāñjana*).<sup>711</sup>

ments on 6.17.11ab (Su 1938:626). The recipe in the present collyrium is different from that discussed by Palhaṇa.

<sup>705</sup> On <code>tuttha</code>, which may also be identified with zinc oxide or as crushed sea-urchin shells, see <code>falk-1991</code>; zinc oxide is a component of skin-balms but is not recommended for application in the eyes themselves. The expression "same collyrium (<code>samāñjana</code>)" is a hapax legomenon glossed inexplicably by Dalhaṇa as "a collyrium with an equal amount of fermented barley" (<code>tulyasauvīrāñjana</code>) (Su 1938: 628).

<sup>706</sup> The ablative "from collyrium" is hard to construe, but Dalhana used this term and phrase in his commentary on 6.17.41ab (Su 1938: 629).

<sup>707</sup> Probably Soymida febrifuga A. Juss.

<sup>708</sup> Dalhaṇa invoked a general rule  $(paribh\bar{a}ṣ\bar{a})$  to indicate that this mixture should be cooked with sesame oil.

<sup>709</sup> These are fig trees. The *Sauśrutanighanṭu* (252) specifies the Udumbara. Cf. the classification in CS.1.1.71–72, 1.8, *et passim*.

<sup>710</sup> On this term, see SS.1.35.42 (Su 1938: 157) and the discussion by **zimm-1999**.

<sup>711</sup> Dalhaṇa glossed treatment  $(kriy\bar{a})$  specifically as inspissation  $(rasakriy\bar{a})$  (Su 1938: 629).

They say that an elixir salve ( $ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana$ ) combined with myrobalans, treacle and dried ginger is good.<sup>712</sup>

- Alternatively, a collyrium  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$  that has been prepared many times in the eight types of urine<sup>713</sup> is put into water with the three fruits. Having stored it in the mouth of a nocturnal creature  $(nis\bar{a}cara)^{714}$  one should place it in a conch (salilotthita) for two months.<sup>715</sup>
- One should apply that collyrium  $(a\tilde{n}jana)$  together with the flowers of mahua and horseradish tree  $(\acute{s}igru)$  when [the disease] is caused by all [the humours].
  - But alternatively, all treatments apply when blood is the cause. The procedure that removes bile is good when there is blue dot cataract  $(ml\bar{a}yin)$ .<sup>716</sup>
- For one who has a humour, the physician should consider the rule in all humoral cases and then smear the ointment on the face.<sup>717</sup>

  The treatment that is good for removing watery eye (*syanda*) should be properly applied in all these humoral cases, according to the individual.<sup>718</sup>
- The physician should not employ substances in errhines etc., when the humours intensify, and also when disease spreads. And further, in the *Kalpa*, there is a good deal more said about collyriums, and that should be considered and then applied.<sup>719</sup>
- Someone who uses matured ghee, the three fruits, wild asparagus, as well as mung beans, emblic and barley has nothing to fear from cases of severe blindness (*timira*).
- 46 Blindness is dispelled by milk prepared with wild asparagus or in em-







<sup>712</sup> We emend हिते to हितम्, against the MSS.

<sup>713</sup> See Suśrutasaṃhitā mūtravarga

<sup>714</sup> 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.

<sup>715</sup> We interpret "water-born (*salilotthita*)" as "conch" in line with *jalodbhava*, but the term is uncertain.

<sup>716</sup> The vulgate follows Þalhaṇa in glossing mlāyin as parimlāya. The description of this condition at SS.6.7.27−28 appears to refer to "blue dot" or "cerulean" cataract. √mlai derivatives can mean "dark" or "black."), which is normally a different ailment.

<sup>717</sup> The vulgate edition omits part of this verse (ab) combining earlier and later passages.

<sup>718</sup> The term watery eye (*syanda*) refers to the specific disease *abhiṣyanda*. See SS.6.6.5, 1.46.51, etc.

<sup>719</sup> Dalhaṇa noted that *Kalpa* means the Uttaratantra adhyāya 18 (Su 1938: 633 ff).

- blics, or again cooked barley (*yavaudana*) followed by the water of three fruits with plenty of ghee.
- When there is bloodshot blindness (*rāgiṇi timire*), the wise physician should not cut a vein. A humour injured (*utpīḍita*) by the instrument rapidly destroys vision.
- Non-bloodshot blindness (*araga timira*) in the first layer (*paṭala*) is treatable. And bloodshot blindness (*rāgiṇi timire*) in the second layer, with difficulty. And in the third layer it can be mitigated ( $y\bar{a}pya$ ).<sup>720</sup>
- I shall explain the therapy for success when there is a cataract  $(li\dot{n}gan\bar{a}\acute{s}a)$  caused by phlegm. It may be white, like a full moon, an umbrella, a pearl  $(mukt\bar{a})$  or a spiral  $(\bar{a}varta)$ .
- 50 Or it may be uneven, thin in the middle, streaked or have excessive shine (*prabha*). A humour (*doṣa*) in the pupil may be characterized as being painful or having blood.<sup>721</sup>
- 51–52 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  $(p\bar{\imath}d-)$  properly into the eye, $^{722}$  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.<sup>723</sup>
  - 55 The expert should moisten the exact place of piercing with a woman's breast-milk. Then he should scratch the circuit of the pupil

<sup>720</sup> Although the text says with difficulty (krechra), the implication is that it is untreatable ( $as\bar{a}dhya$ ) (cf. 6.17.2 (Su 1938: 625) above). The three categories, treatable, untreatable and possibly mitigated are standard categories of triage.

<sup>721</sup> In the vulgate, and in parallel passages in the AS, the reading "it may be (*bhavet*)" is replaced with the negative "if, then not (*na ced*)" (cf. utt.17.1–3a (**atha-1980**)). These characteristics are then read as conditions that preclude surgery; for the Nepalese recension, they are simply descriptions of the appearance of a cataract.

<sup>722</sup> We understand the locative *nayane* as the place of pressing; other interpreters take it as an accusative dual. The idea is that the eye is held steady by the surgeon.

<sup>723</sup> 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 ( $śal\bar{a}k\bar{a}$ ).<sup>724</sup>
- Without injuring, gently pushing the phlegm in the circuit of the pupil against the nose, he should remove it by means of sniffing (ucchingana).<sup>725</sup>
- Whether the humour is solid ( $sty\bar{a}na$ ) or liquid (cala), one should apply sweating to the eye externally, with leaves ( $bha\dot{n}ga$ ) that remove wind, after fixing the needle ( $s\bar{u}c\bar{i}$ ) properly.<sup>726</sup>
- But if the humour cannot be destroyed or if it comes back, one should apply the piercing (*vyadha*) once again, with appropriate oils and so on.
- Now the pupil (drsti) shines like the sun (hari) in a cloudless sky; then, when objects become visible, one may slowly remove the probe  $(sal\bar{a}k\bar{a}).^{727}$
- Having smeared ghee on the eye, one should cover it with a bandage. Then, he must lie down supine in a house free from disturbances.<sup>728</sup>
- At that time, he should not belch, cough, sneeze, spit or shiver. Afterwards there should be restrictions (yantrana) as in the case of someone who has drunk oil.<sup>729</sup>
- 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

<sup>724</sup> 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.

<sup>725</sup> Palhaṇa described sniffing (*ucchingana*) at 6.19.8 (Su 1938: 641), clearly intending inward sniffing.

<sup>726</sup> We interpret *bhaṅga* as leaves, following the usage elsewhere in this sthāna 4.32.9, 6.11.5 (Su 1938: 513, 614) where *bhaṅga* means shoots (*pallava*). A similar procedure is described at 6.17.25a (**atha-1980**), where sweating of the eye is done by means of the leaves of a castor-oil plant.

<sup>727</sup> There are many problems with the MS readings and interpretation of this half-verse. We have inferred "sky" and emended from "free from the point (*agramukta*)" to "free from clouds (*abhramukta*)". The latter meaning is supported (in different words) by the vulgate and occurs elsewhere in Sanskrit literature.

<sup>728</sup> Dalhaṇa explained disturbances specifically as dust, smoke, drafts and sunlight 6.17.67 (Su 1938: 631a).

<sup>729</sup> Dalhaṇa glossed "restrictions (*yantraṇā*)" as having a controlled diet and the other restrictions appropriate to someone who is taking oil as a preparation before further therapy (6.17.68 (Su 1938: 631)). These restrictions are also described at 6.18.28 (Su 1938: 635) and 1.16.25cd (Ah 1939: 249).

he should take light food in measure.

## [Complications]

- When there is a misshapen eyeball (*vilocana*), the eye may fill because of the release of blood from a vein.<sup>730</sup>
  - A hard probe leads to shooting pain  $(s\bar{u}la)$ , a thin to unsteadiness of the humours (dosapariplava),<sup>731</sup>
- a thick-tipped probe leads to a large wound, and a sharp one may cause harm in many ways; a very irregular one may cause a discharge of water, a rigid (*sthirā*) one brings about a loss of function (*kriyāsaṅga*).<sup>732</sup>
- 66 Therefore, one should make a good probe that is free from these defects.

# [Characteristics of the probe]

The probe should be eight finger-breadths long and in the middle it is wrapped with thread and is as thick as a thumb joint. It is shaped like a bud at both ends (*vaktra*).

67 A commendable probe should be made of silver, iron or gold ( $\dot{satak}$ - $umbh\bar{\iota}$ ). $^{733}$ 

# [Complications]

Redness, swelling, lumps, driness (coṣa), bubbling (budbuda),<sup>734</sup> pigs' eye  $(s\bar{u}kar\bar{a}kṣit\bar{a})$ ,<sup>735</sup>, irritation (adhimantha), etc. and other diseases arise from faults in the piercing,

<sup>730</sup> The condition of "misshapen eye" is referred to briefly in 6.61.9 (Su 1938: 800), where Dalhana glossed it as "bent brow and eye (vakrabhrūnetra)." The vulgate's reading of "with blood (śonitena)" is easier to construe.

<sup>731</sup> There is a medically significant difference here from the vulgate, which reads "a rough (*khara*) probe" not a "thin" probe.

<sup>732</sup> This translation of loss of function (*kriyāsaṅga*) is given on the basis of Dalhaṇa's gloss of *kriyāsaṅgakarin* at 3.8.19 (Su 1938: 382) as "causing the destruction of actions such as moving (*gamanādikriyāvināśakarī*)."

<sup>733</sup> The vulgate reads "copper (tāmra)" in place of "silver."

<sup>734</sup> Palhaṇa glossed "bubbling (budbuda)" as "prolapse (māṇṣanirgama) that looks like bubbles."

<sup>735</sup> 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*).<sup>736</sup> This is immediately beneficial when someone is looking for relief.
  - 72 A paste with Holostemma  $(payasy\bar{a})$ , 737 Indian sarsaparilla  $(\dot{s}\bar{a}riv\bar{a})$ , cassia cinnamon (patra), Indian madder  $(ma\tilde{n}jisth\bar{a})$ , and liquorice (madhukair) stirred with goat's milk, pleasantly warmed, is said to be healthy. 738
  - Alternatively, it can be made in this way with Himalayan cedar, Himalayan cherry (*padmaka*) and dried ginger. Or, in the same way, with grapes, liquorice and the Lodh tree mixed with Sindh salt.
  - Alternatively, goats' milk with the Lodh tree, Sindh salt, red grapes and liquorice, cooked, should be used in irrigation because it removes pain and redness.
  - Having cooked it with liquorice, water-lily, and costus, mixed with grapes ( $dr\bar{a}k\bar{s}\bar{a}$ ), lac ( $l\bar{a}k\bar{s}\bar{a}$ ), white sugar ( $sit\bar{a}$ ), with wild asparagus, Hare Foot Uraria ( $prthakparn\bar{i}$ ),  $r^{739}$  nutgrass ( $must\bar{a}$ ), 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  $(k\bar{a}kol\bar{\iota})$  etc., should be prescribed in all treat-

<sup>736</sup> On the adverbial use of gently (*mṛdu*), see **gomb-1979**.

<sup>737</sup> 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).

<sup>738</sup> The expression "stirred with goat's milk  $(aj\bar{a}k\bar{s}\bar{i}r\bar{a}rdita)$ " is difficult. It may be connected with the rare root ard documented by **whit-root**. Cf.  $\sqrt{ard\ gatau}$  (Dhātupāṭha 1.56).

<sup>739</sup> Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: 18.

<sup>740</sup> Palhaṇa mentioned that these drugs include Deodar (*bhadradāru*) and other wind-destroying drugs. The *vātasaṃśamana* group is listed in *Suśrutasaṃhitā sūtrasthāna* 1.39.7.

ments.741

If pain does not end in this way, one should administer blood-letting to 77cd-78ab the vein of someone who has previously been oiled and sweated. Then the wise physician should apply cauterization in the advised manner.<sup>742</sup>

Now listen to two excellent collyriums for making the pupils clear. 78cd-80ab 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 ora dual? (vidruma), cuttlefish bone (phena), and realgar (manaháilā) and peppers into wicks as before. One should apply these wicks, which are good in a collyrium, to steady the pupil.



82 I shall again discuss the foremost collyriums at length in the *Kriyākalpa* section. Those various methods may be applied here too.

<sup>741</sup> Dalhana noted that this would include errhines, ointments, etc.

<sup>742</sup> The vulgate reads *vāpi* for *cāpi*, so Dalhaṇa saw blood-letting and cautery as alternatives, not a sequence of treatments. Dalhana listed the places that cauterization may be applied, such as the brow, forehead, etc.

# Uttaratantra 38: Diseases of the Female Reproductive System

# Introduction

The chapter talks about various diseases of the female reproductive system and, in doing so, combines both aspects that go into a representation of diseases in  $\bar{a}$ yurvedic 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. (tiva-1990) dedicated a monograph to this topic, and selb-2005; selb-2005b 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 3.743 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*.

<sup>743</sup> Or Kumārabhṛtya as this section is named in MS Kathmandu KL 699.

Section	Chapters	Internal count
Śālakyatantra	1–26	1–26
Kumāratantra	27-38	1-12
Kāyacikitsātantra	39-59	1-21
Bhūtavidyātantra	60-62	1-3
Tantrabhūṣaṇādhyāya	63–66	1-4

Table 3: Subdivisions of the Uttaratantra, in the vulgate.

Several things are noteworthy in this regard:

• In the placement of the vulgate, this chapter follows upon 6.37 *Grahotpatti* (6.35 in the Nepalese version), a chapter that talks about the origination of nine demons (*graha*) that are responsible for all children's diseases described in previous chapters of the *Kumāratantra*. In this way, the current chapter retains the general focus on the child bearing (*kaumārabhṛtya*), but, at the same time, marks a change to a distinct, less mystical approach to the topic at hand (that could originate in a cultural milieu different from that of the preceding eleven chapters). Dalhaṇa explained how the chapter fits its context in the following way:

It is appropriate that, for the sake of treating the disorders of the female reproductive system, the chapter called "Countermeasures Against Disorders of the Female Reproductive System" is taught immediately after the chapter called "The Origination of Demons (*graha*)." It is because (1) there is an explicit mention of the word "*yoni*" in the statement "born in the womb (*yoni*) of animal and human" [in 6.37.13bc (Su 1938: 667)] and because (2) the disorders of the female reproductive system are the causes for the inborn disorders of children.<sup>744</sup>

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

<sup>744</sup> Dalhaṇa on 6.38.1 (Su 1938: 668): ग्रहोत्पत्त्यध्यायानन्तरं 'तिर्यग्योनिं मानुषं च' इति वचनेन योने-र्नामसंकीर्तनात् कुमारजन्मविकारकारणत्वाञ्च योनेर्व्यापञ्चिकित्सितार्थं योनिव्यापत्प्रतिषेधाध्यायारम्भो यु-ज्यत [...]।

Parallels 229

- 6.56 Mūtrāghātapratiṣedha (6.58 in Su 1938) and
- 6.57 Mūtrakṛcchrapratiṣedha (6.59 in Su 1938), two chapters dealing with the diseases of the urinary tract.

The current chapter carries on with the topic of diseases that affect genitalia. In its Nepalese version, the chapter opens with two verses that explain the reasons for treating the particular set of diseases. These lack any reference to the inborn disorders of children, mentioned by Dalhaṇa, and instead highlight the importance of curing female diseases for the satisfaction of male partner.

- SS.1.3 in both Su 1938 and the Nepalese version lists the chapter at the place where it is found in the vulgate.<sup>745</sup>
- Parallel chapters in the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* and the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃ-hitā* form a part of the *Śalyatantra* section of each text.

## **Parallels**

The current chapter is parallel in its content to *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* 6.38 and 6.39 as well as *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* 6.33 and 6.34 (*Guhyarogavijñāna* and *Guhyarogapratiṣedha* respectively).

A close literary parallel to the first part of the chapter is found in *Mādhavanidāna* (**madhava**) 62, or at least its version printed in **madhava**. The readings of the **madhava** 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 **madhava**. This part of the text is authored by Śrīkaṇṭhadatta, who was most like a direct student of Vijarakṣita. The latter wrote the first part of the *Madhukośa*, up to chapter 32, and, what is more, can be dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries.<sup>746</sup>

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

<sup>745</sup> See 1.3.37ab (Su 1938: 15): नैगमेषचिकित्सा च ग्रहोत्पत्तिः सयोनिजा ॥. 746 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).<sup>748</sup> By contrast, the vulgate contains two complete verses (four hemistichs) in the *anuṣṭubh* metre, again with only loosely-related content.<sup>749</sup> The three final hemistichs of this group are borrowed verbatim from the *Carakasaṃhitā*.<sup>750</sup> We can be sure of the direction of borrowing because one of these shared verses says that the twenty kinds of diseases of the female reproductive system "have already been indicated in the *Compendium of Diseases* (rogasaṃgraha)".<sup>751</sup> This statement does not make any sense in the context of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, where no such Compendium exists.<sup>752</sup> By contrast, in the *Carakasaṃhitā* this reference points back to chapter 1.19 (Ca 1941: 109–112), which calls itself "The Compendium of Diseases".<sup>753</sup> This Compendium lists all the diseases dealt with in later sections of the text, and specifically mentions the twenty diseases of female reproductive system.<sup>754</sup> Even the vocabulary and wording of this

<sup>747</sup> Suśrutasaṃhitā 6.38.3–4ab (Su 1938: 668).
748 The metre of these verses is not perfect.
749 Suśrutasaṃhitā 6.38.4cd–6ab (Su 1938: 668).
750 Carakasaṃhitā 6.30.7cd–8 (Ca 1941: 634).
751 Suśrutasaṃhitā 6.38.5ab (Su 1938: 668): विंशतिर्व्यापदो योनेर्निर्दिष्टा रोगसंग्रहे ॥ ← Carakasaṃhitā 6.30.7cd (Ca 1941: 634).
752 The remark was not commented on by Þalhaṇa.
753 Carakasaṃhitā 1.19.9cd (Ca 1941: 112): रोगाध्याये प्रकाशिताः.
754 Carakasaṃhitā 1.19.3 (Ca 1941: 110): विंशतिर्योनिव्यापदः।

passage is identical to the later verses. It is beyond doubt that this passage originated in the  $Carakasamhit\bar{a}$  and was borrowed by the editors of the vulgate text of the  $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$ .

<sup>755</sup> The above three hemistichs in *anuṣṭubh* are also repeated in the **madhava** 62.1–2ab. Given that the subsequent verses in the **madhava** stem from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, it is likely that **madhava** 62.1–2ab too was borrowed from from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and not from its original location in the *Carakasaṃhitā*).

- 1 And now I shall explain the countermeasures against disorders of the female reproductive system (*yonivyāpat*).<sup>756</sup>
- \*3 Since for good men, a woman is the most pleasurable thing, therefore a physician should diligently attend to the diseases located in the female reproductive system (*yoni*), because he is entirely devoted to it (that is, to curing these diseases) for the sake of (people's) happiness.<sup>757</sup>
- \*4 A corrupted female reproductive system (yoni) cannot consume semen  $(b\bar{\imath}ja)$ , and therefore, the woman cannot take a fetus (that is, become pregnant). She gets severe prolapses  $(ar\acute{s}as)$ , abdominal lump (gulma) and similarly many other diseases (roga).
- \*5 Humours (doṣa), wind  $(v\bar{a}ta)$ , etc., corrupted due to faulty medical treatment  $(mithyopac\bar{a}ra)$ ,  $^{758}$  sexual activity, fate, and also defects (doṣa) of menstrual blood  $(\bar{a}rtava)$  and semen  $(b\bar{\imath}ja)$ , produce various diseases in the female reproductive organ (yoni). These 20 diseases are taught here distinctly and one by one along with their treatment

<sup>756</sup> On this broad understanding of the term *yoni* as "female reproductive system" see Das 2003: pp. 572–5.

<sup>757</sup> As our translation indicates, the sentence construction does not allow an unambiguous identification of who or what is the referent of the pronoun *tad* in the compound form *tadadhīna* 'devoted to it.' Our current understanding is that *tad* refers to the 'most pleasurable thing' mentioned in pāda a. It could, however, also refer to 'them,' that is, the 'good men.'

<sup>758</sup> In our translation of the compound मिथ्योपचार, we decided for the technical meaning of the term उपचार, that is, "medical application" or "treatment." The combination मिथ्या+उप- $\sqrt{=}$ र् is attested several times in medical literature. At least once, at *Caraka*saṃhitā 3.3.38 (Ca 1941: 245), it is given an explicit gloss by Cakrapāṇidatta: मिथ्यो-पचरितानिति असम्यक् चिकित्सितान् "... given improper therapy". In the Suśrutasaṃhitā (Su 1938), it is used once in a passage (6.18.30 (Su 1938: 635)) where it refers specifically to the wrong application of irrigation (tarpaṇa) and roasting (puṭapāka), both of which are mentioned in the previous verse. Another use of the compound in a similar meaning is found in a citation from Bhoja's work quoted by Gayadāsa at Suśrutasaṃhitā 2.5.17 (Su 1938: 287): श्वित्रं तु द्विविधं प्रोक्तं दोषजं व्रणजं तथा। तत्र मिथ्योपचाराद्धि व्रणस्य व्रणजं स्मृतम् ॥ "... arises from wrong treatment of the wound." In contrast to this, the parallel verse in *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 6.38.5ab (Su 1938: 668) = *Carakasaṃhitā* 6.30.8 (Ca 1941: 634) = madhava 62.1 reads मिथ्याचार "wrong conduct." All commentators (Cakrapāṇidatta on the Carakasamhitā, Śrīkanthadatta on the madhava, and Dalhana on the Suśrutasaṃhitā) explain that the wrong conduct stands here specifically for unwholesome diet. The parallel in *Aṣṭāngahṛdayasaṃhitā* 6.33.27 (Ah 1939: 895) = *Aṣṭāngasangraha* 6.38.34a (atha-1980) 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 (aṇḍīnī),
  - 3. two Huge (mahatī),
  - 4. With a needle-like opening (sūcīvaktrā),
  - 5. Sarvātmikā (*sarvātmikā*).

# Uttaratantra 39: On Fevers and their Management [draft]

## Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>759</sup>

# Remarks on the Nepalese version

This chapter, numbered 6.39 in the vulgate, is numbered 6

759 HIML: IA, 313-317.

- 1 And now we shall explain the chapter on the prevention of fever.<sup>760</sup>
- 3.1 And now, O Suśruta, my child.<sup>761</sup>
- 3–5ab In a previous incarnation, god had extracted ambrosia from the midst of the waters, and it gave the three and thirty gods immortality. Suśruta and the other students questioned that god, who was seated.

  O best of physicians! Complications relating to the wounds of those who are wounded have been stated. So now, declare it to us in brief and at length.<sup>762</sup>
- The wound of one who is afflicted by a complication is hard to treat. The complications of a wounded person, whose flesh has lost its strength, are considered to be the most difficult thing to treat, because of the complete loss of the remaining body tissue (*dhātu*).
  - 7ab Thus, O best of speakers, please describe all the complications.<sup>763</sup>
    - 8 After hearing their statement, the best of the physicians spoke: "To begin with, I will explain fever, traditionally known as the king of the group of diseases."
    - 9 It has arisen from the fire of Rudra's anger, burning all living beings. It is well known by various names amongst different peoples.
    - 10 Undoubtedly, the fever occurs here at the beginning of birth and death. Thus fever is stated as the king of all diseases.

<sup>760</sup> The present chapter discusses the therapeutics of fever. One would expect this to be preceded by a chapter on the the causes of fever, perhaps in the *Nidānasthāna*, but such a chapter does not occur in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

<sup>761</sup> The vulgate's attribution of this chapter to Dhanvantari is, as usual, not present in the Nepalese MSS. What we do have is the vocative of the name Suśruta, to whom this chapter is being addressed by an unnamed speaker. In accordance with other chapter-beginnings in the Nepalese MSS, the speaker should be Divodāsa (birc-2021).

<sup>762</sup> This suggests that this chapter followed a chapter on wounds. Yet it follows the chapter on diseases of the female reproductive tract (*yonivyāpat*), or in the Nepalese MSS, the chapter on demons (*grahotpatti*). This suggests that this chapter was once located at another place in the text, perhaps after 1.22 (Su 1938: 107–110) "questions about wound discharges (*vraṇāsrāva*)". However, the canonical list of sixteen complications is known from the *Carakasaṃhitā* (see *Carakasaṃhitā*6.25.29–31671), not the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*.

<sup>763</sup> The vulgate says more or less the same, but in more verbose language.

# Uttaratantra 65: Rules of Interpretation

#### Literature

Meulenbeld offered an annotated overview of this chapter and a bibliography of earlier scholarship to 2002.<sup>764</sup> Other explorations of this topic include dasg-1952; lele-1981; mejo-2000; nara-1949; ober-1968; scha-1993; sing-2003; muth-1976.

frau-1958 discussed the influence of the *tantrayuktis* in the Sāṅkhya tradition. **prei-2013** provided further references to the discussion of *yukti* in Buddhist literatures. **mane-2008** gave examples of the use of tantrayuktis in Buddhist commentarial literature. **chev-2009** discusses the translation of the *tantrayuktis* in Tamil literary tradition, with a specific focus on *Tolkāp-piyam* 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*.

764 HIML: IA, 331.

#### 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*.<sup>765</sup> For a side-by-side comparison of the *tantrayuktis* in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and the *Arthaśāstra*, please refer to Table 4.

## The Yuktidīpikā

Yuktidīpikā (circa late sixth to early eighth century), an anonymous commentary on Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṅkhyakārikā, initiates its discourse with a detailed discussion of the characteristics of a scientific treatise, some of which align with the tantrayuktis.<sup>766</sup> In the Yuktidīpikā, these terms are referred to as tantraguṇa or tantrasampat. They are: (1) sūtropapatti (2) pramāṇopapatti (3) avayavopapatti (4) anyūnatā (5) saṃśayokti (6) nirṇayokti (7) uddeśa (8) nirdeśa (9) anukrama (10) saṃjñā and (11) upadeśa.<sup>767</sup> Apart from these, the Yuktidīpikā also exemplifies (12) utsarga (general rule), (13) apavāda (exception), and (14) atideśa (extended application). However, utsarga and apavāda are not considered tantrayuktis in other comprehensive lists. The Yuktidīpikā further states that while other tantrayuktis can be demonstrated in a similar manner, since they are peripheral topics, the text does not delve into their discussion.<sup>768</sup>

#### Tamil literature

Discussions on the *tantrayuktis* are also found in Tamil technical literature, the earliest of which is the *Tolkāppiyam*.<sup>769</sup> A list of 32 *tantrayuktis*, called *utti* or *tantirayutti* in Tamil, are given in the 27<sup>th</sup> (the final) chapter titled

<sup>765</sup> kang-1960

<sup>766</sup> See **ober-1968** for a detailed discussion of the use of the *tantrayuktis* in the *Yuktidīpikā*.

<sup>767</sup> सूत्रप्रमाणावयवोपपत्तिरन्यूनता संशयनिर्णयोक्तिः। उद्देशनिर्देशमनुक्रमश्च संज्ञोपदेशाविह तन्त्रसम्पत्॥ wezl-1998

<sup>768</sup> एवमारा अन्येऽपि द्रस्तव्याह् । तद्यथोत्सर्गोऽपवादोऽतिदेश इत्यादि ।...इत्येवमन्या अपि तन्त्रयुक्तयः शक्या इह प्रदर्शयितुम् । अतिप्रसङ्गस्तु प्रकृतं तिरोदधातीति निवर्त्यते । सिद्धं तन्त्रयुक्तीनां सम्बन्धोपपत्तेस्तन्त्रम् इदम् इति ।.wezl-1998

<sup>769</sup> For a detailed discussion of the treatment of the *tantrayuktis* in the *Tolkāppiyam* see **chev-2009**.

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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  $V\bar{\iota}raco\underline{l}iyam$  (11th century),  $Na\underline{n}n\bar{\iota}l$  (late 12th or early 13th century), and their commentaries hold significant importance in this context.

## The Vișnudharmottarapurāna

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

<sup>770</sup> Adhyāya 6, **shah-1958**.

- 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 *Suśrutasaṇhitā*.

For a side-by-side comparison of the *tantrayukti*s in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, please refer to Table 4.

#### The Saddanīti

A list of the 32 tantrayuktis accompanied by definitions also appear in the final chapter (*Pariccheda* 28) of the final book (book 3: *Suttamālā*) of the renowned Pali grammar *Saddanīti* composed by Aggavaṃsa in Arimaddanapura (modern Bagan, Burma) in the twelfth-century.<sup>771</sup> Just as the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, this list also does not provide examples of the *tantrayuktis*. Although written in Pali, the order and the definition of the *tantrayuktis* (*tantiyutti* in Pali) closely resemble those of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. There are, however, a few differences:

- 1. The *tantrayukti pradeśa* is referred to as *paṭidesa* (Sanskrit *pratideśa*) and is positioned after *atidesa* (Sanskrit *atideśa*) whereas in the *Su-śrutasaṃhitā* it follows *apadeśa*.
- 2. Atikrāntāpekṣaṇa is designated as atītāpekkhana (Sanskrit atītāpekṣaṇa).
- 3. Svasanjina is designated as ananna sakasanjina (Sanskrit ananya svasanjina) and is defined with subtle variations.
- 4. Ūhya is designated as upānīya.

For a side-by-side comparison of the *tantrayukti*s in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* and the *Saddanīti*, please refer to Table 4.<sup>772</sup>

<sup>771</sup> smit-1930.

<sup>772</sup> For the reading of *Saddanīti*, we used the edition by **smit-1930** who also provided an apparatus with variants. However, the edition by **ther-1909** 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 अधिकिञ्च वुञ्चति, तं अधिकरणं।
(S) 2.	yoga	येन वाक्यं युज्यते स योगः। यथा व्यत्यासेनो-
		क्तानां सन्निकृष्टविप्रकृष्टानां पदार्थानाम् एकी- करणम्।
(V) 2.	11000	येन वाक्यार्थो युज्यते स योगः।
(V) 2. (A) 3.	yoga	वाक्ययोजना योगः।
(N) 2.	yoga	पुष्ट्यापरवसेन वुत्तानं सन्निहितासन्निहितानं प-
(11) 2.	yoga	दानं एकीकरणं योगो;।
(S) 3.	padārtha	योऽर्थोऽभिहितः सूत्रे पदे वा स पदार्थः। पदस्य
. , ,	,	पदयोः पदानां वा योऽर्थः स पदार्थः। अपरिमि-
		ताश्च पदार्थाः।
(V) 3.	padārtha	योऽर्थो विधिकृतः सूत्रपदे स पदार्थः।
(A) 4.	padārtha	पदावधिकः पदार्थः।
(N) 3.	padattha	सुत्तपदेसु पुब्बापरयोगतो यो अत्थो विहितो,
		सो पदत्थो।
(S) 4.	hetvartha	यदुक्तं साधनं भवति स हेत्वर्थः।
(V) 4.	hetvartha	यदन्यद्युक्तिमदर्थस्य साधनं स हेत्वर्थः।
(A) 5.	hetvartha	हेतुरर्थसाधको हेत्वर्थः।
(N) 4.	hetuattha	यं वुत्तत्थसाधकं, सो हेतुअत्थो ।773
(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।
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 $<sup>773\,</sup>yam$ vuttaatthasādhanam? so hetuttho. ther-1909.

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-7)	_, ,	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- 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. (A)	anekānta	क्वचित्तथा क्वचिदन्यथाऽसावनेकान्तः।
(N) 17.	anekānta	यो पन कत्थचि अञ्जथा सो अनेकान्तो।
(S) 18.	pūrvapakṣa	यस्तु निःसंशयमभिधीयते स पूर्वपक्षः।774
(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।

 $<sup>\</sup>overline{774}$  This definition of  $p\bar{u}rvapak$ ;a in the Nepalese version is problematic.

(N) 19. <i>niṇṇaya</i> तस्स यं उत्तरं, सो निण्णयो । (S) 20. <i>anumata</i> परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतम् । (V) 25. <i>anumata</i> परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतम् । (A) 18. <i>anumata</i> परवाक्यमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतम् । (N) 20. <i>anumata</i> परमतम् अप्पटिसिद्धं अनुमतं । (S) 21. <i>vidhāna</i> प्रकरणानुपूर्व्यादभिहितं विधानम् । (V) 19. <i>vidhāna</i> प्रकरणानुपूर्वं विधानम् । (A) 2. <i>vidhāna</i> प्रकरणानुपूर्वं विधानम् । (N) 21. <i>vidhāna</i> पकरणानुपूर्वं विधानम् । (S) 22. <i>anāgatāpekṣaṇa</i> एवं वक्ष्यतीत्यनागतापेक्षणम् । (V) 22. <i>anāgatāpekṣaṇa</i> पश्चादेवं विहितमित्यनागतावेक्षणम् । (N) 22. <i>anāgatāpekṣaṇa</i> एवं वक्स्वामि ति अनागतापेक्स्वनं । (S) 23. <i>atikrāntāpekṣaṇa</i> इत्युक्तमित्य्रान्तावेक्षणम् । (V) 21. <i>atikrāntāpekṣaṇa</i> इत्युक्तमित्व्रान्तावेक्षणम् ।	
(V) 25.       anumata       परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतम्।         (A) 18.       anumata       परवाक्यमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतम्।         (N) 20.       anumata       परमतम् अप्पटिसिद्धं अनुमतं।         (S) 21.       vidhāna       प्रकरणानुपूर्वादिभिहितं विधानम्।         (V) 19.       vidhāna       प्रकरणानुपूर्वं विधानम्।         (A) 2.       vidhāna       पकरणानुपूर्वं विधानम्।         (N) 21.       vidhāna       पकरणानुपुब्बं विधानम्।         (V) 22.       anāgatāpekṣaṇa       एवं वक्ष्यतीत्यनागतापेक्षणम्।         (V) 22.       anāgatāpekṣaṇa       पश्चादेवं विहितमित्यनागतावेक्षणम्।         (N) 22.       anāgatāpekkhana       एवं वक्स्वामि ति अनागतापेक्स्वनं।         (S) 23.       atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमित्यितक्रान्तावेक्षणम्।         (V) 21.       atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमितक्रान्तावेक्षणम्।	
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(N) 20.       anumata       परमतम् अप्पटिसिद्धं अनुमतं ।         (S) 21.       vidhāna       प्रकरणानुपूर्व्यादिभिहितं विधानम् ।         (V) 19.       vidhāna       प्रकरणानुपूर्वं विधानम् ।         (A) 2.       vidhāna       प्रकरणानुपूर्वं विधानम् ।         (N) 21.       vidhāna       प्रकरणानुपूर्वं विधानम् ।         (S) 22.       anāgatāpekṣaṇa       एवं वक्ष्यतीत्यनागतापेक्षणम् ।         (V) 22.       anāgatāpekṣaṇa       पश्चादेवं विहितमित्यनागतावेक्षणम् ।         (N) 22.       anāgatāpekkhana       एवं वक्स्वािम ति अनागतापेक्स्वनं ।         (S) 23.       atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमित्यितक्रान्तावेक्षणम् ।         (V) 21.       atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमितक्रान्तावेक्षणम् ।	
(S) 21. vidhāna प्रकरणानुपूर्व्यादिभिहितं विधानम्। (V) 19. vidhāna प्रकरणानुपूर्वं विधानम्। (A) 2. vidhāna शास्त्रस्य प्रकरणानुपूर्वी विधानम्। (N) 21. vidhāna पकरणानुपूर्वी विधानम्। (S) 22. anāgatāpekṣaṇa एवं वक्ष्यतीत्यनागतापेक्षणम्। (V) 22. anāgatāpekṣaṇa परत्र वक्षामीत्यनागतावेक्षणम्। (A) 27. anāgatāvekṣaṇa पश्चादेवं विहितमित्यनागतावेक्षणम्। (N) 22. anāgatāpekkhana एवं वक्स्वामि ति अनागतापेक्स्वनं। (S) 23. atikrāntāpekṣaṇa इत्युक्तमित्यतिक्रान्तापेक्षणम्। (V) 21. atikrāntāpekṣaṇa इत्युक्तमित्विक्रान्तावेक्षणम्।	
(V) 19.       vidhāna       प्रकरणानुपूर्वं विधानम्।         (A) 2.       vidhāna       शास्त्रस्य प्रकरणानुपूर्वी विधानम्।         (N) 21.       vidhāna       पकरणानुपुब्बं विधानं।         (S) 22.       anāgatāpekṣaṇa       एवं वक्ष्यतीत्यनागतापेक्षणम्।         (V) 22.       anāgatāpekṣaṇa       परत्र वक्षामीत्यनागतावेक्षणम्।         (A) 27.       anāgatāvekṣaṇa       पश्चादेवं विहितमित्यनागतावेक्षणम्।         (N) 22.       anāgatāpekkhana       एवं वक्खामि ति अनागतापेक्खनं।         (S) 23.       atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमित्यतिक्रान्तापेक्षणम्।         (V) 21.       atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमितक्रान्तावेक्षणम्।	
(A) 2. vidhāna       शास्त्रस्य प्रकरणानुपूर्वी विधानम्।         (N) 21. vidhāna       पकरणानुपूर्ब्वं विधानं।         (S) 22. anāgatāpekṣaṇa       एवं वक्ष्यतीत्यनागतापेक्षणम्।         (V) 22. anāgatāpekṣaṇa       परत्र वक्षामीत्यनागतावेक्षणम्।         (A) 27. anāgatāvekṣaṇa       पश्चादेवं विहितमित्यनागतावेक्षणम्।         (N) 22. anāgatāpekkhana       एवं वक्खामि ति अनागतापेक्खनं।         (S) 23. atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमित्यतिक्रान्तावेक्षणम्।         (V) 21. atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमितक्रान्तावेक्षणम्।	
(N) 21.       vidhāna       पकरणानुपुब्बं विधानं ।         (S) 22.       anāgatāpekṣaṇa       एवं वक्ष्यतीत्यनागतापेक्षणम् ।         (V) 22.       anāgatāpekṣaṇa       परत्र वक्षामीत्यनागतावेक्षणम् ।         (A) 27.       anāgatāvekṣaṇa       पश्चादेवं विहितमित्यनागतावेक्षणम् ।         (N) 22.       anāgatāpekkhana       एवं वक्खामि ति अनागतापेक्खनं ।         (S) 23.       atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमित्यतिक्रान्तापेक्षणम् ।         (V) 21.       atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमितक्रान्तावेक्षणम् ।	
(S) 22.       anāgatāpekṣaṇa       एवं वक्ष्यतीत्यनागतापेक्षणम् ।         (V) 22.       anāgatāpekṣaṇa       परत्र वक्षामीत्यनागतावेक्षणम् ।         (A) 27.       anāgatāvekṣaṇa       पश्चादेवं विहितमित्यनागतावेक्षणम् ।         (N) 22.       anāgatāpekkhana       एवं वक्खामि ति अनागतापेक्खनं ।         (S) 23.       atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमित्यतिक्रान्तापेक्षणम् ।         (V) 21.       atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमितक्रान्तावेक्षणम् ।	
(V) 22.       anāgatāpekṣaṇa       परत्र वक्षामीत्यनागतावेक्षणम् ।         (A) 27.       anāgatāvekṣaṇa       पश्चादेवं विहितमित्यनागतावेक्षणम् ।         (N) 22.       anāgatāpekkhana       एवं वक्खामि ति अनागतापेक्खनं ।         (S) 23.       atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमित्यतिक्रान्तापेक्षणम् ।         (V) 21.       atikrāntāpekṣaṇa       इत्युक्तमितक्रान्तावेक्षणम् ।	
(A) 27. anāgatāvekṣaṇa पश्चादेवं विहितमित्यनागतावेक्षणम् । (N) 22. anāgatāpekkhana एवं वक्खामि ति अनागतापेक्खनं । (S) 23. atikrāntāpekṣaṇa इत्युक्तमित्यतिक्रान्तापेक्षणम् । (V) 21. atikrāntāpekṣaṇa इत्युक्तमतिक्रान्तावेक्षणम् ।	
(N) 22. anāgatāpekkhana एवं वक्खामि ति अनागतापेक्खनं । (S) 23. atikrāntāpekṣaṇa इत्युक्तमित्यतिक्रान्तापेक्षणम् । (V) 21. atikrāntāpekṣaṇa इत्युक्तमतिक्रान्तावेक्षणम् ।	
(S) 23. atikrāntāpekṣaṇa इत्युक्तमित्यतिक्रान्तापेक्षणम् । (V) 21. atikrāntāpekṣaṇa इत्युक्तमतिक्रान्तावेक्षणम् ।	
$(\hat{ ext{V}})$ 21. $atikrar{a}ntar{a}pekṣaṇa$ इत्युक्तमितक्रान्तावेक्षणम् ।	
(V) 21. atikrāntāpekṣaṇa इत्युक्तमतिक्रान्तावेक्षणम्।	
(A) 0 (1 - 1 - 1	
(A) 28. atikrāntāvekṣaṇa पुरस्तादेवं विहितमित्यतिक्रान्तावेक्षण	म्।
$(\mathrm{N})$ 23. $\mathit{at\bar{i}t\bar{a}pekkhana}$ इति वुत्तन् ति अतीतापेक्खनं ।	
(S) 24. saṃśaya उभयहेतुनिदर्शनं संशयः।	
(V) 23. $saṃśaya$ उभयतो हेतुदर्शनं संशयः।	
(A) 14. saṃśaya उभयतो हेतुमानर्थः संशयः।	
(N) 24.	
(S) 25. <i>vyākhyāna</i> तत्रातिशयोपवर्णनं व्याख्यानम् ।	
$(V)$ 24. $vy\bar{a}khy\bar{a}na$ तत्रातिशयवर्णनातिव्याख्यानम् ।	
(A) 19.	
$(\mathrm{N})$ 25. $\mathit{vy\bar{a}khy\bar{a}na}$ संवण्णना व्याख्यानम् ।	
(S) 26. svasaṃjñā अन्यशास्त्रासामान्या स्वसंज्ञा ।	
$(V)$ 26. $svasamj \tilde{n} \bar{a}$ प्रैरसम्मतः शब्दः स्वसंज्ञा ।	
$(A)$ 23. $svasamj \tilde{n} \bar{a}$ परैरसमितः शब्दः स्वसंज्ञा ।	
(N) 26. anaññā sakasaññā भूतानं पवत्ता आरम्भचिन्ता अनञ्जा, स धारणा सकसञ्जा ।	तस्स सा-
(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.	nidarśana	दृष्टान्तो दृष्टान्तयुक्तो निदर्शनम्।
(N) 28.	nidassana	दिट्ठन्तसंयोगो निदस्सनं।
(S) 29.	niyoga	इदमेवेति नियोगः।
(V) 29.	niyoga	एवेति नियोगः।
(A) 29.		एवं नान्यथेति नियोगः।
(N) 29.	niyoga	इदम् 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 यदनिर्देष्टं युक्तिगम्यं तदूह्यम् ।
(A)	ūhya	अनुक्तकरणमूह्यम् ।
(N) 32.	ирāпīуа	यद् अनिद्दिट्ठं बुद्धिया अवगमनीयं, तद् उपानी-
		यन् ति ।

# **Āyurvedic literature**

## **Primary texts**

While references to *tantrayukti*s 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 *tantrayukti*s contained in a stanza of four

anuṣṭubh verses.<sup>775</sup> However, unlike the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> they lack explicit definitions and examples. This list of the <code>tantrayuktis</code> appear in the final chapter of the last book in both <code>Carakasaṃhitā</code> (41b–45a, chapter 12, <code>Siddhisthāna</code>) and <code>Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha</code> (150–153, chapter 50, <code>Uttarasthāna</code>). The same has been quoted by <code>Aruṇadatta</code> in his commentary <code>Sarvāṅgasundarī</code> on the <code>Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya</code> while elucidating the concept of <code>tantraguṇa</code> (qualities of the system)<sup>776</sup> and by Śrīdāṣa Paṇḍita in the prefatory section of his commentary <code>Hṛdayabodhikā</code> on the <code>Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā.<sup>777</sup></code> Notably, this list consists of 36 <code>tantrayuktis</code> instead of 32 found in the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code> and other texts. The additional four are: <code>prayojana</code> (objective), <code>pratyutsāra</code> (rebuttal), <code>uddhāra</code>, and <code>sambhava</code> (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.<sup>778</sup> 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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775 तत्राधिकरणं योगो हेत्वर्थोऽर्थः पदस्य च।
    प्रदेशोद्देशनिर्देशवाक्यशेषाः प्रयोजनम्॥
    उपदेशापदेशातिदेशार्थापत्तिनिर्णयाः।
    प्रसङ्गैकान्तनैकान्ताः सापवर्गो विपर्ययः॥
    पूर्वपक्षविधानानुमतव्याख्यानसंशयाः।
    अतीतानागतापेक्षास्वसंज्ञोह्यसमुच्चयाः॥
    निदर्शनं निर्वचनं नियोगोऽथ विकल्पनम्।
    प्रत्युत्सारस्तथोद्धारः सम्भवस्तन्त्रयुक्तयः॥
    Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha 6.50.150–153a (atha-1980).
                                                               Carakasanıhitā 8.12.41b–45a
    (Ca 1941: 736) reads almost the same. The only two variants are (1) अतीतानाग-
    तावेक्षा... and (2) निर्वचनं संनियोगो विकल्पनम्.
776 Arunadatta on the Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṃḥitā 6.40.78 (Ah 1939: 946).
777 muss-1940.
778 We know from internal textual evidence that the Siddhisthāna of the Carakasamhitā in
    which the list of the tantrayuktis appear was originally authored by Drdhabala, who
    lived in a town called Pancanada sometime between 300 and 500 AD.
    Cf. अखण्डार्थं दृढबलो जातः पञ्चनदे पुरे।
    कृत्वा बहुभ्यस्तन्त्रेभ्यो विशेषोञ्छशिलोच्चयम्॥
    सप्तदशौषधाध्यायसिद्धिकल्पैरपुरयत्।
    8.12.39-40a (Ca 1941: 735)
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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.<sup>779</sup> However, although most of the other editions consist of the same reading, a number of editions show quite a lot of discrepancies with the number. For example, Trikamji's 1941 edition of the Carakasamhitā reads the same half-verse as षड्विंशता विचित्राभिभृषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः। 8.12.41a (Ca 1941: 735). In the same edition, the reading of Cakrapāni's *Āyurvedadīpikā* supports the reading: षड्गिंशत्तन्त्रयुक्तिभिर्भृषितमपुरयदृढबल इति योजना. However, after this verse, the same edition consists of the versified list of the 36 tantrayuktis and commenting on these verses, the *Āyurvedadīpikā* confirms the total number of the tantrayuktis as 36: इत्येताः षद्विंशत्तन्त्रयुक्तयो व्याहृताः।.<sup>780</sup> Moreover, the edition of Rāmaprasāda Vaidyopādhyāya reads the half-verse as— पञ्च-त्रिंशद्विचित्राभिर्भूषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः.<sup>781</sup> Rāmaprasāda Vaidyopādhyāya excludes ūhya.<sup>782</sup> The same reading is found in Satīśacandra Śarmā's third edition of the Carakasamhitā.<sup>783</sup> However, adding more troubles to it, Satīśacandra Śarmā, 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." 784

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

<sup>779</sup> षद्विंशता विचित्राभिभूषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः ॥ 8.12.70a (cara-trikamji).

<sup>780</sup> Ca 1941: 737.

<sup>781</sup> vaid-1911.

<sup>782</sup> Understanding the tantrayukti samuccaya as asamuccaya, he reads the verse where ūhya appears as— अतीतानागतापेक्षा स्वसंज्ञा ह्यसमुञ्चयाः. Surely, this reading is erroneous as the plural ending after samuccaya does not make sense.

<sup>783</sup> **sarm-1923**. His first edition, however, reads the half-verse the same as the reading in **cara-trikamji**.(**sarm-1904**)

<sup>784 &</sup>quot;গঙ্গাধর পাঠ— তন্ত্রযুক্তি ছত্রিশ প্রকার। তিনি টীকাতে সংশয়কে দুই বার উল্লেখ করিয়া ছত্রিশ প্রকার গণনা করিয়াছেন, কিন্তু তাঁহার মূলে পঁয়ত্রিশ প্রকার আছে; গ্রন্থান্তরে ৩৪ প্রকার আছে; তাহাতে 'অপদেশ' ধর্ত্তব্য হয় নাই। এই অনুবাদের মূলে চতুস্ত্রিংশৎ বা ষট্ত্রিংশৎ স্থলে পঞ্চত্রিংশৎ লিখিত হইল।" sarm-1923.

Jalpakalpataru, the Sanskrit mūla and the Jalpakalpataru enumerate 36 tantrayuktis. However, in the same edition, the Āyurvedadīpikā reads, पञ्चित्रंशत्तन्त्रयुक्तिभिर्भूषितमपूरयदृढबल इति योजना. Again, after the illustrations of the 36 tantrayuktis it reads, इत्येताः षद्गिशत्तन्त्रयुक्तयो 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 विचित्राभिभ्षितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः. 188

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, Hariscandra was possibly not aware of the total number and the list of the tantrayuktis in the final chapter of the Siddhisthāna because he discussed the tantrayuktis right at the beginning of his commentary and showed no indication to the awareness about the discussion on the tantrayuktis at the end of the text. Moreover, he discusses 40 tantrayuktis instead of 36. It is not yet settled whether or not Hariścandra was aware of Drdhabala's redaction of the Carakasamhitā. However, Hariścandra's treatment of the tantrayuktis supports the latter.<sup>789</sup>. It is clear from Cakrapāṇi's commentary on the Carakasaṃhitā 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 Hariscandra) and the eleventh century (the date of Cakrapāṇi) and the discrepancy appeared when the previous verse that gives the total number of the tantrayuktis was not properly emended by the scribes complying with the following list of 36 tantrayuktis. There is a need of a critical edition of the twelfth chapter of the Siddhisthāna of the *Carakasamhitā* to address these issues definitely.

<sup>785</sup> sena-1928.

<sup>786</sup> sena-1928.

<sup>787 &#</sup>x27;पञ्चित्रिंशद्विचित्राभिर्भूषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः।' इति चरके। द्वात्रिंशदिति सुश्रुतः।(muth-1976). 788 bhat-1877.

<sup>789</sup> 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),<sup>790</sup> who authored his commentary Sarvāṅgasundarī on the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya of Vāgbhaṭa. Hariścandra meticulously defined and analyzed 40 tantrayuktis at the beginning of his work. The four additional tantrayuktis are: paripraśna (question), vyākaraṇa (grammatical clarification), vyutkrāntābhidhāna (overpassing statement) and hetu (means of knowledge).<sup>791</sup>

Arunadatta, while discussing the concept of tantraguna at the end of the Astāngahrdaya, provided an elaborate description of tantrayuktis, considering them as part of a system of ninety-five tantragunas. Śrīdāsa Paṇḍita (14th century), a commentator on the *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdaya*, echoed Aruṇadatta's exploration of tantrayuktis in the beginning of his commentary, Hrdayabodhikā.<sup>792</sup> Thus, both Hariścandra and Srīdāsa 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

<sup>790</sup> HIML: IA, 663–664.

<sup>791</sup> This text has only been published once (only until the third chapter of Sūtrasthāna) by Masta Ram Shastri from Lahore in 1932/33. (HIML: IB, 290) Unfortunately, it is currently inaccessible to us. Although some fragmented manuscripts of the Carakanyāsa exist, for this section (Chapter 1, Sūtrasthāna), we were able to consult only MS MS Jamnagar GAU 114. This is a recent apograph with several lacunae and corruptions. The list of the tantrayuktis provided in the Carakanyāsa is as follows (with some emendations made in the reading): तन्त्रस्य युक्तयोऽधिकरणाद्याश्चत्वारिंशत् ।... 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.<sup>793</sup> According to Koļatteri Śaṅkaramenon and Meulenbeld, Nīlamegha flourished in the first half of ninth century.<sup>794</sup> The *Tantrayukti* was very likely composed after the sixteenth century.<sup>795</sup>

<sup>793</sup> Kolatteri Sankaramenon, the first editor of the *Tantrayuktivicāra*, believes that Nīlamegha hails from Kerala. This conclusion is drawn from Nīlamegha's reference to his guru as Sundara, whom Sankaramenon identifies as the same individual credited with composing the *Lakṣaṇāmṛta*, a treatise on toxicology. This assertion is plausible because the only known manuscript of *Tantrayuktivicāra* belongs to a member of one of the Aṣṭavaidya families of Kerala, aligning with the Vāgbhaṭa school, to which Nīlamegha also belongs.( (HIML: IIA, 143)) On the other hand, the anonymous author of the *Tantrayukti* associates Nīlamegha with the lineage of Bhiṣagārya, who hails from Uṇṭuru, a village located 3 kilometers from Gokarṇa which is in coastal Karnataka.(nara-1949).

<sup>794</sup> Nīlamegha mentions Vāhaṭa (Vāgbhaṭa), Indu, and Jejjaṭa in his work. This places him definitively after the seventh century. The Buddhist influence in the Tantrayukti indicates a date not much later than 800 AD. (muth-1976, HIML: IIA, 143.)

<sup>795</sup> From the explicit mention of Nīlamegha and Bhiṣagārya in the work *Tantrayukti*, we can say that the author flourished after them. Determining the date of Bhiṣagārya

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 770.).

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>Aṣṭāngahṛdayasaṃhitā</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).

<sup>796</sup> वैद्यनाथोपसृष्टानां लक्ष्यलक्षणवाप्नुषाम् ॥ तासां प्रायः प्रकाशानां दुर्लेखापङ्कदूषणात् । क्रियते साम्प्रतं कृच्छादुद्धृत्य परिमार्ज्जनम् ॥ nara-1949

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.<sup>797</sup> 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.

<sup>797</sup> तद् द्वात्रिंशद् युक्तियुक्तम्। (kang-1969) "that (Arthaśāstra) is furnished with thirty-two logical methods of the system", तत्र द्वात्रिंशत् तन्त्रयुक्तयो भवन्ति। (Suśrutasaṃhitā6.64.2) "there are thirty-two logical methods of the system", battiṃsa tantiyuttiyo bhavanti/ (smit-1930) "there are thirty-two logical methods of the system", எண்ணான்கு உத்தியின்... "It employs thirtytwo rules of criticism regarding writing." (srip-1995)

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 **sing-1980**, and **shar-1999**; in translations of the *Carakasaṃhitā* such as in **shar-2006** and in **gula-1949**, in the translation of the *Arthaśāstra* such as in **sham-1951**, **kang-1969**, **unni-2006** and **oliv-2013**, and by K. Srikanta Moorthy in **muth-1976**. They are also found in various books and articles dedicated to discussing the *tantrayuktis* such as in **ober-1968**, **solo-1976**, **lele-1981**, **lele-2006** and so on. German translations of the terms can be found in **meye-1926** (German translation of the *Arthaśāstra*) and in **pret-1991**.

The definitions of *tantrayuktis* exhibit numerous variations across different texts. Here we will discuss each of the *tantrayuktis* that occur in the *Suśruta Saṃhitā* in comparison with their definitions in other texts. As indicated in Table 4, the definitions of *tantrayuktis* in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* are frequently either identical or nearly identical to those found in the *Arthaśāstra, Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* and *Saddanīti*. Therefore, unless the definitions in these two texts notably deviate from those in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, we will not make explicit references to them in the subsequent elucidation of the terms.

## 1. adhikarana

Adhikaraṇa appears as the first tantrayukti in all traditional enumerations. It is among those tantrayuktis for which there is little disagreement concerning its definition. This tantrayukti functions as a structural and interpretative device. With a tautological expression, the Suśrutasaṇhitā defines adhikaraṇa as something, with reference to which statements are made. While defining adhikaraṇa, the text employs the same verb, adhi- kṛ- (to refer),

whence the noun *adhikaraṇa* has been derived. The text supplies examples of *rasa* (taste) and *doṣa* (humour), for which two chapters of the *Uttaratantra*, namely chapter 62 ( $K\bar{a}yacikits\bar{a}$  27) and chapter 65 ( $K\bar{a}yacikits\bar{a}$  30) are dedicated.<sup>798</sup> Clearly, *adhikaraṇa* is the topic or theme.

Cakrapāṇi and Gaṅgādhara define adhikaraṇa in almost the same way as does the Suśrutasaṇhitā.<sup>799</sup> Aruṇadatta's definition is similar but he specifies that adhikaraṇa can be of an entire discipline (śāstra), or a book (sthāna) of it, or a chapter (adhyāya), or a section (prakaraṇa), or even of a sentence (vākya).<sup>800</sup> Śrīdāsa Paṇḍita follows Aruṇadatta.<sup>801</sup> However, in the commentaries of Hariścandra and Indu, we explore two more aspects of the concept of adhikaraṇa. According to Hariścandra, adhikaraṇa is the reason or ground referring to which the authors direct their discourse. For example, diseases create misery and the authors of Āyurveda began their discussion addressing them.<sup>802</sup> Thus disease is the adhikaraṇa or theme of their discussion. Indu identifies adhikaraṇa as a binding force that links ideas. According to him, adhikaraṇa as an introductory reference and it exposes a general statement to a specific context.<sup>803</sup>

Nīlamegha defines adhikaraṇa using the Paninian terminology. According to him, adhikāraṇa is the locus in which the tātparya, "reference" lies. <sup>804</sup> Adhikaraṇa is one of the six kāraka-s (a sort of semantic roles recognized by Sanskrit grammarians). Pāṇini calls it a locus (ādhāra). <sup>805</sup> Through metaphorical extensions, the idea of a locus can apply to abstract domains and not merely to physical locus. In traditional Sanskrit grammar, a metonymic or metaphorical domain is called vaiṣayika adhikaraṇa. Patañjali considers vaiṣayika as one of the three types of adhikaraṇa. <sup>806</sup> Nīlamegha applies this idea to his definition of the tantrayukti adhikaraṇa. He quotes Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-

<sup>798</sup> They are chapters 63 and 66 in A (Su 1938: B).

<sup>799</sup> यमर्थमधिकृत्य प्रवर्तते कर्ता। यथा "विघ्नभूता यदा रोगा" इत्यादि। अत्र रोगादिकमधिकृत्यायुर्वेदो मह-र्षिभिः कृत इति 'रोगाः' इत्यधिकरणम्। Āyurvedadīpikā (Ca 1941: 736). तद् यमर्थमधिकृत्योच्यते; Jalpakalpataru (sena-1928).

<sup>800</sup> तत्र अधिकरणं नाम, यद्धिकृत्य प्रवर्तते शास्त्रं स्थानमध्यायं प्रकरणं वाक्यं वा।... (Ah 1939: 947).

<sup>801</sup> **muss-1940**.

<sup>802</sup> 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.

<sup>803</sup> अधिकरणं प्रस्तावः सामान्येनोक्तमप्यर्थजातं यद्वलाद्विशेषेऽवस्थाप्यते तद्धिकरणम् । (atha-1980).

<sup>804</sup> तत्राधरोऽधिकरणं तात्पर्यं तत्र तिष्ठति । muth-1976.

<sup>805</sup> आधारोऽधिकरणम् । *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.4.45.

<sup>806</sup> On *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 6.1.**72 kiel-1880**.

saṃhitā 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."<sup>807</sup> 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."<sup>808</sup> Clearly, Dikshitar's interpretation stands close to our definition of *adhikaraṇa*. Sastri's interpretation, on the other hand, corresponds to the concept of *adhikāra* "heading" and *anuvṛtti* "recurrence" in the *sūtra* literature, especially in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.<sup>809</sup>

The translators usually translated this *tantrayukti* as "topic" or "subject matter".

#### 2. yoga

This tantrayukti typically occupies the second position in most lists, except in the Arthaśāstra where it appears third following vidhāna. Functioning as a syntactic and semantic tool, yoga, as defined in the Suśrutasaṃhitā, represents the faculty responsible for the cohesion of a sentence. If we consider the main purpose of the tantrayuktis as narrated in the Suśrutasaṃhitā, namely, cohesion of a sentence (vākyayojana) and cohesion of meaning (arthayojana), it becomes evident that this tantrayukti is one of the fundamental tantrayuktis functioning as the device for vākyayojana. The Suśrutasaṃhitā further describes yoga as a syntactic connection between words, facilitating the linking of words even when they are in reverse

<sup>807</sup> **sast-1936**. 808 **diks-1930** 809 See **chev-2009**.

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. S11

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>812</sup>
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In this verse, the noun sesame oil (*tailam*) appears at the beginning of the first hemistich, while its adjective cooked (*siddham*) is placed at the beginning of the final hemistich. Despite not being colocated, the *tantrayukti yoga* effectively connects them, facilitating our comprehension of the intended meaning. Evidently, this exemplifies a device for linking words within a sentence.

In the commentaries of Hariścandra, Indu, Cakrapāṇi and Aruṇa, however, the *tantrayukti yoga* is used in a broader sense. In these interpretations, *yoga* serves not only as a device for cohesion within a sentence but also fosters coherence among sentences in a discourse. Hariścandra identifies three alternative interpretations of *yoga*. Aruṇadatta also interprets *yoga* in a similar fashion but instead of three alternatives he talks about the first two alternatives of Hariścandra. In the first alternative, *yoga* is coherence between the main statement ( $s\bar{u}tra$ ) and its gloss ( $bh\bar{a}sya$ ). Aruṇadatta expands its scope to coherence between mention (uddesa) and description

<sup>810</sup> See 6.65.9 (Su 1938: 815).

<sup>811</sup> See Table 4.

<sup>812 4.18.47 (</sup>Su 1938: 474).

<sup>813</sup> योगो नाम योजना ग्रन्थानां यथार्थसूत्रभाष्यसूत्रयोः... पञ्चलक्षणो वा योगः। प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणनिगमनानि... यदिह युज्यते स योग इत्येके। (MS Jamnagar GAU 114, p.5.)

(*nirdeśa*) as well.  $^{814}$  In the second alternative, *yoga* is reasoning (*yukti*) having five types: (1) pratijñā "proposition", (2) hetu "reason", (3) udāharana "exemplification" (4) upanaya "application", and (5) nigamana "conclusion", resembling the five-membered syllogism of inference (anumāna) in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school. 815 Śrīdāsa Paṇḍita's comment is similar to that of Arunadatta. 816 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. 817 Cakrapāni, while defining yoga in a fashion similar to the Suśrutasamhitā, exemplifies it as a connection between five logical elements, namely pratijñā, hetu, udāharaṇa, upanaya and nigamana, conflating the definition of yoga with Hariścandra's second alternative i.e. *yoga* is reasoning (*yukti*). 818 Nīlamegha defines *yoga* as connecting words one by one coherently. 819 As he further explains in the autocommentary with examples from the Aṣṭāngahṛdayasamhitā, it is evident that he understands yoga as coherence between a part of a sentence and the discourse. 820 Neither V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar nor P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri identified the tantrayukti yoga with any utti mentioned in the Tolkāppiyam.821

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 Astantomarkanto

<sup>814</sup> योगो नाम योजना, उद्देशनिर्देशयोः सूत्रभाष्ययोर्वा । Sarvāṅgasundarī on 6.40.80 (Ah 1939: 947).

<sup>815</sup> युक्तिर्वा योगः, प्रतिज्ञा हेतुर्दृष्टान्त उपनयो निगमनमिति पञ्चविधः। 6.40.80 (Ah 1939: 947).

<sup>816</sup> muss-1940

<sup>817</sup> योगो नाम योगः सम्बन्धः स च पदार्थयोर्वाक्यार्थयोर्वा । Śaśilekhā on 6.50.150aa (atha-1980).

<sup>818</sup> योगो नाम योजना व्यस्तानां पदानामेकीकरणम् । उदाहरणं तावद्यथा प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणोपनयनिगमनानि । 8.12.41 (Ca 1941: 736).

<sup>819</sup> योगः पदानामेकैकमर्थौचित्येन योजना। muth-1976.

<sup>820</sup> muth-1976.

<sup>821</sup> chev-2009.

<sup>822</sup> josh-1991.

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 Suśrutasaṃhitā, 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. 253), *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.<sup>823</sup> Dalhaṇa also supports this perspective, indicating that the term *padārtha* refers to a specific meaning of a word or words.<sup>824</sup>

<sup>823</sup> See fn. 872.

<sup>824</sup> अधुना बहुषु पदार्थेषु निर्धार्य विशिष्टपदार्थग्रहणाय पदार्थबहुत्वं प्रतिपादयति— अपरिमिता इत्यादि।

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. The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa adopts a definition of padārtha close to this variant reading.

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). 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. Thus, padārtha is that meaning which fits the context.

The second example is taken from the very beginning of the first chapter of the  $S\bar{u}trasth\bar{u}na$  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  $S\bar{u}maveda$ ? Or something 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  $\bar{u}uveda$  and that

Dalhaṇa on 6.65.10 (Su 1938: 816).

<sup>825</sup> अन्ये तु सूत्रपदे इति पठित्वा व्याख्यानयन्ति--- सूत्रस्य पदं सूत्रपदं तिस्मिन् योऽर्थः स पदार्थः। fn.2 (Su 1938: 813).

<sup>826</sup> See table 4.

<sup>827</sup> तत्र स्नेहराब्दे निर्दिष्टे हि गुणप्रेमसर्पिषां त्रयाणामर्थानामुपपत्तिर्दृश्यते, स्वेदराब्देनापि साग्निनिरग्निकयोरूष्म-णोः प्राप्तिः, अञ्जनशब्देनापि नयनाञ्जनाभ्यङ्गयोः प्राप्तिः। Dalhaṇa on 6.65.10 (Su 1938: 816). 828 See table 4.

the  $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$  is talking about the origin of  $\bar{a}yurveda$ , specifically. The same issue is also addressed by Dalhana 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. <sup>829</sup> 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 Srīdāsapaṇḍita interpret padārtha as the referents indicated by a word. However, by this time, the term padārtha became an important point of discussion among certain philosophical schools, particularly Vaiśesika and Nyāya. 830 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 Hariscandra, whose interpretation of padartha aligns with the framework of Vaiśesika philosophy. Following the Vaiśesika doctrine, he lists six types of padarthas, namely, substance (dravya), attribute (guna), movement (karman), universality (sāmānya), individuality (viśeṣa), and inherence (samavāya).831 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.<sup>832</sup> Cakrapāni adopts the literal definition of *padārtha* as mentioned in the Suśrutasaṃhitā. With examples, he emphasizes that

<sup>829</sup> पदावधिकः पदार्थः। (kang-1969).

<sup>830</sup> 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 **pret-1991**.

<sup>831</sup> पदार्थो नाम य एकेन पदेनानेकार्थो गम्यते। यथा द्रव्यं गुणः कर्म सामान्यं विशेषः समवायः।. MS Jamnagar GAU 114, p.6.

<sup>832</sup> पदार्थो नाम येनार्थो गम्यते। यथा गुर्वादयो गुणशब्दादवगम्यते। *Śaśilekhā* on 6.50.150aa (atha-1980). 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 in *Hṛdayabodhikā* (muss-1940).

word-meaning (*padārtha*) can stem from one word, two words or more.<sup>833</sup> Gaṅgādhara, however, defined *padārtha* in the line of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* considering *padārtha* as relevant word sense.<sup>834</sup>

Nīlamegha presents a distinct perspective, defining padārtha as polysemy within a given context.<sup>835</sup> In his autocommentary, he also acknowledges another viewpoint that perceives *padārtha* as synonymy within a context.<sup>836</sup> 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.<sup>837</sup> Neither V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar nor P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri identified the *tantrayukti padārtha* with any *utti* mentioned in the *Tolkāppiyam*.<sup>838</sup>

From the discussion above, it is clear that <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code>'s understanding of the <code>tantrayukti</code> padārtha 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 padārtha that is closer to the understanding of the commentators such as Hariścandra and so on. In the <code>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code>, padārtha 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 padārtha as "context." However, padārtha 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>Suśrutasaṃhitā</code>, padārtha refers to the meaning that is relevant within a context or co-text.

 $<sup>8</sup>_{33}$  पदस्य पदयोः पदानां वाऽर्थः पदार्थः। तत्र द्रव्यमिति पदेन खादयश्चेतनाषष्ठा उच्यन्ते; पदयोरर्थो नाम यथा—'आयुषो वेद' इति पदयोरायुर्बोधकं तन्त्रमित्यर्थः, एवं पदानामप्यर्थ उदाहार्यः।  $\bar{A}$ yurvedad $\bar{\imath}$ pik $\bar{a}$  on 8.12.41 (Ca 1941:736).

<sup>834</sup> अर्थः पदस्य चेति पदार्थो नाम तन्त्रयुक्तिः सा योऽर्थोऽभिहितः सूत्रे पदे वा। पदार्थस्त्वनेकस्तत्र योऽर्थः पूर्वापरयोगसिद्धो भवति सोऽर्थो ग्राह्यः। Jalpakalpataru on (sena-1928).

<sup>835</sup> पदार्थस्तु पदैक्येऽपि भिन्नमर्थं प्रकाशयेत्। muth-1976.

<sup>836</sup> केचित्तु "पदार्थः पदभेदेऽपि न भेदः पुनरर्थतः।/ muth-1976.

<sup>837</sup> पदार्थस्तु य ऐक्येऽपि भिन्नमर्थं प्रकाशयेत् ...पदार्थोऽपि च भेदेऽपि न भेदः पुनरर्थतः। पदेन योऽर्थो ज्ञायते यथा गुर्वादयो गुणे॥ nara-1949.

<sup>838</sup> chev-2009.

#### 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. As a tantrayukti, hetvartha is a logical device that serves as the purpose (artha) of a reason (hetu).

The Suśrutasamhitā 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.<sup>840</sup> The Suśrutasamhitā does not mention that water moistens a lump of earth; this is understood from general empirical knowledge. The Suśrutasamhitā 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.<sup>841</sup> The definition is clearer in 6.65.11 (Su 1938: 813) because it includes the word other (anya), emphasizing that an idea stated in one one context serves a purpose in another.<sup>842</sup> The author of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* as well as commentators such as Har-

<sup>839</sup> हेत्वर्थे तृतीया स्यात् | gada-1904.

<sup>840</sup> Cf. अत्र बाह्येन मृत्पिण्डदृष्टान्तेन माषदुग्धयोगादिभिराभ्यन्तरो व्रणप्रक्लेदः साध्यते। Dalhana on 6.65.11 (Su 1938: 813).

<sup>841</sup> 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.

<sup>842</sup> 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. sena-1928.

iścandra, Cakrapāṇi, Indu, Aruṇadatta, and Śrīdāsa Paṇḍita define this *tantrayukti* similarly.<sup>843</sup> 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. 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. Neither V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar nor P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri identified hetvartha with any utti mentioned in the Tolkāppiyam. Sastri identified hetvartha with any utti mentioned in the Tolkāppiyam.

The term *hetvartha* has been translated in various ways, including "extension of argument," "implication," "goal of a reason," and merely "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." While other translations may capture the application of *hetvartha*, they do not convey the lexical meaning of the

<sup>843</sup> 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 (atha-1980). 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 (muss-1940).

<sup>844</sup> 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।. muth-1976.

<sup>845</sup> हेतुना सह यत्रोक्तिः स हेत्वर्थः प्रकीर्तितः॥ nara-1949.

<sup>846</sup> chev-2009.

<sup>847</sup> oliv-2013.

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*. They are also similarly defined and exemplified in the *Yuktidīpikā*. Oommentators on the works of Dṛḍhabala and Vāgbhaṭa also defined *uddeśa* and *nirdeśa* similarly. However, Indu's definitions of these two *tantrayukti*s 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. Single

There is a difference between the examples of *uddeśa* and *nirdeśa* in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and other texts. In the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, 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, Aruṇadatta 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

<sup>848</sup> See table 4.

<sup>849</sup> wezl-1998.

<sup>850</sup> 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 (muss-1940). उद्देशो नाम तन्त्रयुक्तिः सा, यत् समासकथनम् ।...निर्देशो नाम तन्त्रयुक्तिः सा, यद् विस्तरेणोच्यते । Jalpakalpataru, sena-1928.

<sup>851</sup> उद्देशो नाम यत्रार्थानां शब्दमात्रेणैव कीर्तनमुद्देशः।...निर्देशो नाम यच्छब्दमात्रेण निर्दिष्टानां स्वरूपविशेषप्र-दर्शनाय पुनः कीर्तनं निर्देशः। *Sáśilekhā* on 6.50.150ba (atha-1980).

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 *uddeśa*s in that sentence, and the description of each functions as nirdeśa. What constitutes uddeśa and nirdeśa is contextually determined. In the example of the Suśrutasamhitā, 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. 852 He also provides a versified definition of these two tantrayuktis, in addition to repeating Nīlamegha's statements. 853 Nīlamegha also defined these tantrayuktis in a similar fashion.<sup>854</sup> Similar *utti*s also appear in the *Tolkappiyam*. However, Sastri and Dikshitar differently identified these tantrayuktis with the *uttis* of *Tolkāppiyam*.<sup>855</sup>

Uddeśa is a common technical term in Sanskrit literature. So 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.

We mentioned before that Hariścandra added four more *tantrayuktis* to the later listing. Indu and Cakrapāṇi suggested that the scope of these

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852 उद्देशनिर्देशकयोरन्योपेक्षिता भवेत्।
यत्तदोरिव नित्यैव शास्त्रे सर्वत्र सर्वदा॥
nara-1949.
853 प्राक् सङ्क्षेपेण कथनमुद्देश इति कीर्तितम्।
निर्देशो नाम तस्यैव विस्तरोक्तिरुदाहृतः॥
nara-1949.
854 उद्देशः समवायोक्तिरिति प्राहुर्मनीषिणः।
निर्देशः स्याद् विवरणं पूर्वोक्तानामनुक्रमात्॥
muth-1976.
855 chev-2009.
856 For more references to the term uddeśa check pret-1991.
857 त्रिविधा चास्य शास्त्रस्य प्रवृत्तिः, उद्देशो लक्षणं परीक्षा चेति। तत्र नामधेयेन पदार्थमात्रस्याभिधानमुद्देशः।
तत्रोद्दिष्टस्यातत्त्वव्यवच्छेदको धर्मो लक्षणम्। लक्षितस्य यथालक्षणमुपपद्यते न वेति प्रमाणैरवधारणं परी-
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क्षा। josh-1922.

tantrayuktis could be included in those already enumerated. According to Cakrapāṇi paripraśna could be included in uddeśa and vyutkrāntābhidhāna is a variety of nirdeśa. 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.

# 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

<sup>858</sup> तत्र परिप्रश्न उद्देशेऽन्तर्भवति,...व्युत्क्रान्ताभिधानं निर्देशप्रभेदः  $\bar{A}$ yurvedad $\bar{i}$ pik $\bar{a}$  on 8.12.41b-45a ( $Ca_{1941:737}$ ).

rectify the ungrammatical sentence. The interpolation may also stem from <code>Dalhaṇa's</code> commentary in which the exact clause was used. <sup>859</sup> 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 सामवेदोऽस्मि<sup>860</sup>, "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. However, this reading not just appear in the Nepalese version. Another early Suśrutasaṃhitā manuscript from 1595 also keeps the same reading. 862

## ...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

<sup>859</sup> तत्र योऽर्थ इत्यादि। पूर्वोक्तपरोक्तवाक्यसम्बन्धेनोपपन्नो योऽर्थो भवति स ग्रहीतव्य इत्यर्थः Þalhaṇa on 6.65.10 (Su 1938: 816).

<sup>860</sup> pans-1936.

<sup>861</sup> Cf. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's comment on the same verse: चतुर्णां वेदानां मध्ये गानमाधुर्ये-णातिरमणीयः सामवेदोऽहमस्मि (pans-1936), "amongst the four Vedas I am the Sāmaveda, which is extremely delightful due to its musical charm."

<sup>862</sup> MS Jodhpur RORI 20060 f.265r5.

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,  $^{863}$  forms ending in  $^{-a}$ ,  $^{864}$  ending in  $^{-i}$ ,  $^{865}$  or with the ending  $^{-ti}$  in the present stem,  $^{866}$  or sometimes with indicatory sounds (anubandha) as found in the  $Dh\bar{a}tup\bar{a}tha^{867}$  In the reading of the Nepalese version of the  $Su\acute{s}rutasamhit\bar{a}$ , the second option, representing the verbs with a final  $^{-a}$ , is adopted.

- (2) The second issue pertains to the homonymy of vid in Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas, 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 (adadi or the root class), \( \sqrt{vid} \) "to find, to attain" to the sixth class (tudādi or the suffixally accented thematic class),  $\sqrt{vid}$  "to consider" to the 7th class (rudhādi or the athematic nasal infix class) and  $\sqrt{vid}$  "to exist" to the fourth class (divādi or the thematic ya-suffix class). 868 A 10th-class verb  $\sqrt{vid}$  is also mentioned in the *Dhātupātha* 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 of the other *vid* verbs formed with the passive suffix. The sixth-class verb vid belongs to a subclass called mucādi, characterized by a nasal infix. Thus, it is clear that vinda, the first of the two verbs mentioned in the Suśrutasamhitā, is the vid of the 6th class. The form vinda is, therefore, the present stem of the sixth-class verb vid. 869 The other one may be the 2ndor the 7th-class vid. The nominalized form of all of these verbs, using the suffix *GHaÑ*, is *veda*. This is where the ambiguity appears.
- (3) In , Su1938, the verbs are represented as they appear in the Paninian  $Dh\bar{a}tup\bar{a}tha$ , with indicatory letters (anubandha) and meanings

<sup>863</sup> E.g. as  $\sqrt{gup}$ ,  $\sqrt{tij}$ , and  $\sqrt{kit}$  are mentioned in गुप्तिज्किद्भ्यः सन् (shar-2002).

<sup>864</sup> E.g. as  $\sqrt{gam}$ ,  $\sqrt{han}$ ,  $\sqrt{vid}$ , and  $\sqrt{vi\acute{s}}$  are mentioned in विभाषा गमहनविद्विशाम् (shar-2002).

<sup>865</sup> E.g. as  $\sqrt{mrj}$  is mentioned in मृजेर्विभाषा (shar-2002).

<sup>866</sup> E.g. as  $\sqrt{as}$ ,  $\sqrt{vac}$ , and  $\sqrt{khy\bar{a}}$  are mentioned in अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ् (shar-2002).

<sup>867</sup> E.g. as  $\sqrt{i}$ \$ is mentioned in इषुगिमयमां छः (shar-2002). Cf. इषुम् इच्छायाम् (Dhātupāṭha 6.78).

<sup>868</sup> Cf. सत्तायां विद्यते ज्ञाने वेत्ति विन्ते विचारणे। विन्दते विन्दति प्राप्तौ श्यन्लुक्श्नम्शेष्विदं क्रमात्॥ (gada-1904).

<sup>869</sup> 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 (shar-2002).

attached to the roots: विद विचारणे, विदू लाभे.  $^{870}$  However, the citation from the Jalpakalpataru presents another variant— विद् विचारणे विद् विन्दति  $^{871}$ . 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.  $^{872}$ 

## ...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 विवक्षरिति (Śuśrutapāṭhaśuddhi MS London BL IOLR 1842)
- 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 विवक्षुरिति (Su 1938)

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. Dalhaṇa'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

<sup>870 6.65.10 (</sup>Su 1938: 813).

<sup>871</sup> sena-1928.

<sup>872</sup> Scholars believe that meanings were not initially attached to verb roots in the original Paninian *Dhātupātha* and were later additions, possibly by Bhīmasena. See **card-1976**.

verb vid—be it Sāmaveda or Āyurveda, the meaning of the root vid does not change. The comprehension of veda as Āyurveda only occurs upon encountering the word "āyurveda" itself appearing after two sentences. 873. Hence, the reading अनेकार्थयोः appears less tenable. But if we take the meaning of the word artha as "meaning," the phrase विन्द विद इत्येतयोश्च धात्वोरेकार्थः 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 GHaÑ, 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 एकार्थः, 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 *vin*d 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 conventional 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 हेत्वर्थः. 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.

<sup>873</sup> Cf. 'आयुर्वेदिमच्छाम इहोपिदश्यमानम्' इत्यस्मिन्नायुर्वेदशब्दः श्रूयते, अतोऽत्र वेद आयुर्वेद इत्यभिप्रायः॥ (Dalhaṇa on 6.65.10 (Su 1938: 816)).

## ...तथा माषदुग्धप्रभृतिभिर्त्रणः क्लिद्यते

The reading माषद्वाय...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.

## 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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#### **Translation**

1 Now we shall explain the chapter called, "the enunciation of the logical methods of the system (*tantrayukti*)."

3 There are thirty-two logical methods of the system. They are as follows:

1.	topic (adhikaraṇa)	18.	objection (pūrvapakṣa)
2.	cohesion (yoga)	19.	determination (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 (nirdeśa)	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". 874
- 5-6 There are two verses about this:

The logical methods of the system prohibit statements employed by people who do not speak the truth. They also bring about the validity of one's own statements. And they also clarify meanings that are stated back to front, that are implicit, unclear and any that are partially stated.

<sup>874</sup> Dalhana 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 (*dosa*).875
- "Cohesion (*yoga*)" is that by which a sentence coheres, as when words that are in a reversed order, whether placed close or apart, have their meanings unified.

Sesame oil he should drink, with heart-leaved moonseed creeper, neem tree, maidenhair fern, Indrajao, and long pepper

that is cooked with heart-leaf sida and country mallow, and deodar, always for a benefit in the case of the disease goitre.

In this verse, one ought to say, first, "one should drink cooked...." However, the word "cooked" is used in the second line.<sup>876</sup> Unifying the meanings of words in this way, even though they are far apart, is cohesion.

The meaning that is conveyed in an aphorism  $(s\bar{u}tra)$  or a word is called 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.<sup>877</sup>

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

<sup>875</sup> The idea here is that "rasa" may be the topic of a chapter, and statements in that chapter are all understood to be about that topic

<sup>876</sup> See note on 266.

<sup>877</sup> Contrary to the translations by previous translators **sing-1980** and **shar-1999**, 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, अपरिमिताश्च प-दार्थाः, might seem out of context, as it would not make sense to assert that there are innumerable *padārtha*s 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. 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*)".<sup>879</sup>
- 13 A exposition (*nirdeśa*) is a detailed statement. For example, "in the body or exogenous". 880
- "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.<sup>881</sup>
- 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."882

<sup>878</sup> The Nepalese text here is hard to follow, and the vulgate has a significantly different reading. But the problem situation seems to be as follows. The *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).

<sup>879</sup> Generally, शल्य refers to any painful foreign body embedded in the flesh that requires surgical removal.

<sup>880</sup> This is a reference to 1.26.4 (Su 1938: 121) where বাল্য is described in more detail as being of two kinds.

<sup>881</sup> A techical term also in Nyāyaśāstra (jhal-1978).

<sup>882</sup> A techical term also in Nyāyaśāstra (jhal-1978).

- 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 / majjan

<sup>883</sup> The adverb निःसंशयम् is problematic: the example expresses a query or doubt, the opposite of certainty, which is answered in the next passage. It would seem to make more sense to read something like यस् तु ससंशयम् अभिधीयते स पूर्वपक्षः, but our manuscripts are unanimous in their reading.

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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 (samśaya). For example, a blow to the sole-heart (talahṛdaya)<sup>884</sup> 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 ( $svasamj\tilde{n}\bar{a}$ ) 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. 885
- A summarized statement is aggregation (*samuccaya*). For example, let there be rice with meat broth, rice with milk, or burley with ghee.

#### A meaningful reading of these two rules would be



triad? -DW

<sup>884</sup> বলম্বর is one of the muscle-group of lethal points mentioned in 3.6.7 (Su 1938: 370).

<sup>885</sup> The example here matches समुच्चय (next text), not विकल्प. There seems to have been a metathesis of terms. susr-trikamji1945 notes that this text and the next have been swapped in the Calcutta edition that includes Hārāṇacandra's commentary bhat-1910, in the same way as in the Nepalese version.

<sup>886</sup> 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 (bhaksya), 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".

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- Lienhard, Siegfried (1978), "On the Meaning and Use of the Word Indragopa," *Indologica taurinensia*, 6: 177–88, URL, accessed 06/02/2021; The indragopa is a 'red velvet mite'.

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# Materia Medica

## **Abbreviations**

ADPS	Sivarajan,	V. V., and	l Balacha:	ndran,	Indira (	(1994),	Ayurvedic
		TT1 4 TO1		/ T T	n 11 . n		O 1

Drugs and Their Plant Sources (New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta:

Oxford & IBH Publishing).

AVS Warrier, P. K., Nambiar, V. P. K., and Ramankutty, C.

(1994–96) (eds.), Indian Medicinal Plants: A Compendium of 500 Species. Vaidyaratnam P. S. Varier's Arya Vaidya Sala,

Kottakal (Madras: Orient Longman).

BIA Prater, S. H. (1993), The Book of Indian Animals (3rd edn.,

Bombay, Delhi, etc.: Oxford University Press), ARK; 4th im-

pression of 3rd corrected 1980 edition.

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ary of Indian Medicinal Plants (3rd reprint, 1992, New Delhi: Council of Scientific and Industrial Research); vol. 2: R. N.

Chopra, I. C. Chopra, and Varma (Chopra<sub>sup</sub>).

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.

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.

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Dutt

Dutt, Uday Chand (1922), The Materia Medica of the Hindus...with a Glossary of Indian Plants by George King. Revised Edition...by Binod Lall Sen and Ashutosh Sen and Pulin Krishna Sen (Krishnadas Sanskrit Studies; 3rd edn., Calcutta: Madan Gopal Dass for the Adi-Ayurveda Machine Press), ARK; Reprinted Varanasi: Chowkhamba Saraswatibhavan, 1980.

Dymock

Dymock, William, Warden, C. J. H., and Hooper, David (1890), *Pharmacographia Indica: A History of the Principal Drugs of Vegetable Origin Met with in British India* (London, Bombay, Calcutta: Kegan Paul), URL, accessed 16/03/2023.

GJM<sub>1</sub>

Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1974*a*), "Sanskrit Names of Plants and their Botanical Equivalents," in id., *The Mādhavanidāna and Its Chief Commentary: Chapters 1–10. Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Leiden: Brill), chap. Appendix Four, 520–611, ARK.

GJM<sub>2</sub>

Meulenbeld, Gerrit Jan (1988), "G. J. Meulenbeld's Additions to his "Sanskrit Names of Plants and their Botanical Equivalents"," in Rahul Peter Das, Das Wissen von der Lebensspanne der Bäume: Surapālas Vṛkṣāyurveda (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag), chap. Appendix 1, 425–65, ISBN: 9783515046633; Supplement to GJM1.

**GVDB** 

Singh, Thakur Balwant, and Chunekar, K. C. (1972), *Glossary of Vegetable Drugs in Brhattrayī* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office), ARK.

HK

Hilgenberg, Luise, and Kirfel, Willibald (1941), Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā, ein altindisches Lehrbuch der Heilkunde, aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übertragen mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Indices (Leiden: Brill), ARK.

**IGP** 

Griffiths, Mark (1994), The New Royal Horticultural Society Index of Garden Plants (London: Macmillan), ARK.

**IHR** 

Khare, C. P. (2004), *Indian Herbal Remedies: Rational Western Therapy, Ayurvedic and Other Traditional Usage, Botany* (Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer), ISBN: 978-3-642-62229-8. DOI, ARK.

Abbreviations 289

Issar, T. P. (1994), Blossoms of Bangalore (Bangalore: T. P. Is-Issar sar). **IW** Israel, Samuel, et al. (1988), Indian Wildlife: Sri Lanka Nepal (Insight Guides; Singapore etc.: APA Publications), ISBN: 9780245545238, ARK. 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. Missouri Botanical Garden (2024), "Missouri Botanical MBG Garden: Plant Finder," Missouri Botanical Garden, URL. **NEH** Bown, Deni (2001), New Encyclopedia of Herbs and Their Uses (2nd edn., London, New York etc: .Dorling Kindersly). 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

and enlarged by A. K. Nadkarni, Bombay: Popular Prakashan), ISBN: 8171541429, URL; First published in 1954.

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... in Two Volumes, ed. A. K. Nadkarni, 2 vols. (3 ed., revised

Potter<sub>rev</sub> 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.

ing), ISBN: 9780857090393.

POWO Kew Gardens (2024), "Plants of the World," Royal Botanic Gardens, URL.

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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.

## Flora

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aconite leaf (?) (visapatrikā) Unknown. Cf.
                                             Asoka tree (aśoka) Saraca indica Linn.,
   perhaps, Indian aconite (vis\bar{a}) (but that
                                                GVDB: 26: 103, 105, 186, 204, 214, 306
   is feminine). Cf. GVDB: 373,
                                             atis root (śrngīviṣa) Aconitum
   "unidentified": 143
                                                heterophyllum, Wall. ex Royle. See
agarwood (aguru) Aquilaria malaccensis
                                                AVS: 1, 42, NK: 1, #39: 144, 146
   Lam., GVDB: 3: 102, 103, 204
                                             axlewood (dhava) Anogeissus latifolia
'alas, alas' (?) (hālāhala) unknown. See Cf.
                                                (Roxb. ex DC.) Wall. ex Guill & Perr.
   Sodhalanighantu p.43 (sub bola) =
                                                See AVS: 1, 163 f, Chopra: 20: 44, 77,
   stomaka = Indian aconite (vatsanābha):
                                                156, 201, 204
   144, 146
                                             bamboo leaves (venupatrikā) Bambusa
                                                bambos, Druce. See NK: 1, #307: 135
Alexandrian laurel (punnāga)
   Calophyllum inophyllum, L. See
                                             banyan (vata) Ficus benghalensis Linn.,
   AVS: 1, 338, NK: 1, #425: 185, 204
                                                GVDB: 356: 78, 81
amaranth (tandulīya) see amaranth
                                             barley (yava) Hordeum vulgare, L. See
   (tandulīyaka): 186
                                                HK: 752: 113
amaranth (tandulīyaka) Amaranthus
                                             barley ash (yavakṣāra) The preparation
   spinosus L. See GVDB: 174, Dutt: 321,
                                                method is described at GVDB: 327:
   NK: 1, #144, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 15. Cf.
                                                116, 290
   AVS: 1, 121. Amaranth (etym. amṛta!) is
                                             barley ash (yavanāla) see barley ash
   a large family, many originally endemic
                                                 (yavakṣāra), GVDB: 327: 194
   to S. America. A. hypochondriacus L. is
                                             bayberry (katphala) M. esculenta
   sometimes identified with tandulīyaka,
                                                Buch.-Ham. ex D.Don, which is is
   but A. spinosus L. is better known and
                                                native to the Himalaya, from Kashmir
                                                to Assam, as well as S. China and SE
   attested in S. Asia in the first
   millennium BCE (Saraswat 1991): 135,
                                                Asia. Nageia nagi (Thunb.) Kuntze
   193, 197, 202, 290
                                                (syn of Myrica nagi Thunb.), as
Arabian jasmin (tṛṇaśūnya) see Arabian
                                                suggested by Singh and Chunekar
   jasmine (mallikā), GVDB: 190 MW: 453
                                                (GVDB: 66), is native to East Asia, not
   says Jasminium sambac. GVDB: 190
                                                India: 186
   also suggest screwpine (ketaka): 290
                                             bearded premna (vasuka) Premna barbata
Arabian jasmine (mallikā) Jasminum
                                                Wall. (\leftarrow vasuhaṭṭa), according to
   sambac (L.) Aiton, GVDB: 300: 290
                                                Cakrapāṇidatta. See the discussion by
Arabian jasmine (tṛṇaśūlya) probably an
                                                Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 362–363),
   alternative pronunciation for Arabian
                                                where other candidate species such as
   jasmin (tṛṇaśūnya), GVDB: 190: 204
                                                Osmanthus, Calotropis, and
arjun (arjuna) Terminalia arjuna, Bedd. See
                                                Trianthema are discussed. Singh and
   HK: 738: 44, 78, 201
                                                Chunekar (GVDB: 363) note that when
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vasuka is mentioned with vasira, two
                                                 buchanani Roemer & Schultes.
   varieties of salt are often meant (see
                                                 Probably a synonym for kṛṣṇasārivā
   vasukavasirā). See also NK: #1299 who
                                                 (GVDB: 94–95). I. frutescens has dark,
                                                 rust-colored stems, so has been
   identifies it with Indigofera
   enneaphylla, Linn. (Birdsville Indigo),
                                                 preferred here. However, Cryptolepis
   apparently without controversy: 78
                                                 grandiflora, Wight, also has black
                                                 stems. Synonym of kālānusāriņī,
beautyberry (śyāmā) Callicarpa
   macrophylla, Vahl. See AVS: 1, 334,
                                                 kālānusārivā. kālanusārya may be a
                                                 synonym of tagara, itself hard to
   NK: 1, #420: 108, 133, 135, 187
beggarweed (amśumatī) see beggarweed
                                                 identify: 185, 291
                                             black creeper (p\bar{a}lind\bar{i}) Ichnocarpus
   (śālaparnī), GVDB: 1, mentioning that
                                                 frutescens, (L.) R.Br. or Cryptolepis
   the pair of these refers to beggarweed
                                                 buchanani, Roemer & Schultes. See
   and ??: 151, 196
beggarweed (sthirā) see beggarweed
                                                 AVS: 3, 141, 145, 203, NK: 1, #1283,
                                                 1210, ADPS: 434. Dalhana on SS 5.1.82
   (śālaparṇī), GVDB: 458: 196
                                                 identified pālindī with trivṛt (turpeth)
beggarweed (vidārigandhā) see
                                                 and Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 246)
   beggarweed (śālaparṇī): 53, 113, 301
                                                 supported this as a usual
beggarweed (śālaparṇī) Desmodium
                                                 identification: 135, 138, 151, 186
   gangeticum (L.) DC. See
                                             black nightshade (kākamācī) Solanum
   Dymock: 1, 428, GJM1: 602, NK: 1,
                                                 nigrum, Linn., GVDB: 86-87. May also
   #1192; ADPS: 382, 414 and AVS: 2, 319,
                                                 be the less poisonous S. dulcamara,
   4.366 are confusing: 291
                                                 "bittersweet nightshade," K &
beleric myrobalan (bibhītaka) Terminalia
                                                 B: 1,889–892:196,203,294
   bellirica Roxb. One of the components
                                             black pepper (marica) Piper nigrum, L. See
   of the three myrobalans (triphalā)
                                                 ADPS: 294, NK: 1, #1929: 114, 202, 214,
   GVDB: 274, 196 : 308
                                                 296, 309
Bengal quince (bilva) Aegle marmelos (L.)
                                             black sarsaparilla (kālānusārivā) see Indian
   Corr. See AVS: 1, 62, Chevillard: 161,
                                                 sarsaparilla (sārivā); see also black
   NK: 1, #62, i(MW: 732a): 77, 103, 105,
                                                 creeper (kālānusārī). Problems about
   110, 187, 291, 296, 307
                                                 identifying this plant are discussed at
big poison (?) (mahāvisa) unknown.:
                                                 GVDB: 94–95 and GVDB: 429–431: 204
   144, 146
                                             blackboard tree (saptachada) Alstonia
big thorn apple (?) (mahākarambha)
                                                 scholaris R. Br. GVDB: 420: 134, 291
   Perhaps Datura metel, L.?. See thorn
                                             blackboard tree (saptaparna) see
   apple (karambha): 143
bitter gourd (paṭolī) see pointed gourd
                                                 blackboard tree (saptachada): 202
                                             blackbuck (harina) Antilope cervicapra, L.
   (paṭola), cite[233]gvdb: 186
                                                 See BIA: 270 IW: 95, 165, et passim: 138
bitumen (adrija) \rightarrow śilājit. A tar-like, black,
                                             blue water-lily (utpala) Nymphaea stellata,
   resinous rock exudate. See
                                                 Willd. See GJM1: 528, IGP 790;
   Mahākośa: 1, 21: 168
                                                 Dutt: 110, NK: 1, #1726: 35, 133, 151,
black Bengal quince (kṛṣṇaśrīphalikā)
   GVDB: 412, on śrīphala, synonym of
                                                 204, 214, 215, 295
   Bengal quince (bilva) fruit: 297
                                             bluebell barleria (kuravaka) see bluebell
                                                 barleria (kuruvaka): 187
black creeper (kālānusārī) Ichnocarpus
                                             bluebell barleria (kuruvaka) Or kurubaka.
   frutescens R. Br. or Cryptolepis
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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. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB) finally propose a red-flowering Rhododendron, admitting that this is a novel suggestion: 143, 291 bluebell barleria (sahā) see bluebell barleria (*sahācara*), GVDB: 428: 112, 195 bluebell barleria (sahācara) see bluebell barleria (saireyaka), GVDB: 427: 292 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: 292 bread flower (āsphota) GVDB: 41 argue for Vallaris solanacea (Roth ex Roem. & Schult.) Kuntze. This has the right distribution in S. Asia POWO: s.v.: 197 bull's head (gokṣura) Tribulus terrestris L. GVDB: 144–145, 193. A component of lesser five roots: 292 bull's head (*trikaṇṭaka*) → bull's head (gokṣura) GVDB: 193. A component of lesser five roots: 301 bulrush (kaśeru) "Two species, Scirpus kysoor Roxb., and S. grossus Linn. f., are used" GVDB: 85. Also kaśeruka and kaseru: 108, 109, 112 calabash gourd ( $k\bar{u}$ smāṇḍa)  $\rightarrow$  puṣpaphala.

Beninkasa hispida, (Thunb.) Cogn. See

Cinnamomum camphora, (L.) Sieb. See

Taken as rock salt (saindhava) or shami

tree ( $śam\bar{\imath}$ ), etc., by some authors,

AVS: 2, 1127; cf. AVS: 1, 261: 296

camphor (*śītaśiva*) rarely mentioned.

camphor ( $karp\bar{u}ra$ )  $\rightarrow \hat{s}\bar{\imath}ta\hat{s}iva$ .

IGP 253: 292

Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 108)

GVDB: 402. Dalhana on 5.6.18 (Su 1938: 581) glossed it as camphor (karpūra), but noticed other interpretations: 204 cardamom (elā) Elettaria cardamomum, Maton. See AVS: 2, 360, NK: 1, #924, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 66: 102, 103, 151, 157, 185, 186, 194, 204, 292 cardamom ( $ksudrail\bar{a}$ ) see cardamom ( $el\bar{a}$ ), GVDB: 128. This expression, "small cardamom" is only used at Suśrutasaṃhitā Kalpasthāna 6.17: 204 carray cheddie (viśvadevā) → gāngerukī Canthium parviflorum, Lam. See AVS: 1, 366 f. Or Sida rhombifolia Linn. (GVDB: 372, 444 ff. et passim): 81 castor oil tree (gandharvahasta) see castor-oil (eranda). GVDB: 135, K & B: 3, 2277: 49, 105 castor-oil (eranda) Ricinus communis, L. See NK: 1, #2145, Chopra: 214: 54, 292 castor-oil tree (vardhamāna) see castor-oil (eranda), GVDB: 361: 202 catechu (khadira) Senegalia catechu (L.f.) P. J. Hurter & Mabb = Acacia catechu Willd. GVDB: 129-130: 78 certain minerals (tārāvitāra) Unknown. It is not even certain that these are minerals. The variant reading in the vulgate, tārah sutārah was glossed by Dalhana on 5.3.14 (Su 1938: 568) as follows *tāro* rūpyam, sutārah pāradah, "tāra means silver; sutāra means mercury.": 157 chaff (kāndana) The word kāndana is not found in dictionaries; kandana is threshing, separating the chaff from the grain in a mortar. Cf. Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi (PWK: 2,8) (Siromani 1873: 1, 138: 21, citing the *Vāyupurāṇa*): 37, 306 champak (campaka) Magnolia champaca (L.) Baill. ex Pierre, GVDB: 154: 204 chebulic myrobalan (harītakī) Terminalia

chebula Retz. GVDB: 466: 111, 134,

204, 308

cherry (elavālu) Prunus cerasus, L. See GVDB: 58 for a thoughtful discussion NK: 1, #2037.: 151, 204, 293 cherry (elavāluka) see cherry (elavālu): 202 chir pine (sarala) Pinus roxburghii, Sarg. GVDB: 423: 77, 112, 202, 204 cinnamon (tvac) Cinnamomum cassia, Blume. See NK: 1, #579: 196, 204, 293 cinnamon (tvak) see cinnamon (tvac): 186 cinnamon (varānga) see cinnamon (tvac), GVDB: 360: 202 citron (mātuluṅga) Citrus medica, Linn. GVDB: 276, 306. Also spelled mātulinga, mātulanga, mātulānga: 77, 110, 115, 116, 186 cluster fig (udumbara) Ficus racemosa, L. See ADPS: 487: 201 cobra's saffron  $(n\bar{a}gapuspa) \rightarrow n\bar{a}gakeśara$ . Mesua ferrea, L. See NK: 1, #1595, GVDB: 220: 151 colocynth (indravārunī) Citrullus colocynthis (L.) Schrad., GVDB: 46. The two varieties of this plant are discussed by (ADPS: 180–183); the first is agreed to be colocynth, the second is debated but is likely to be a Curcubitaceae: 202, 204, 293 colocynth (*mṛgādanī*) see colocynth (indravāruņī) GVDB: 46, 318: 186 common smilax (śvadamśtra) Smilax aspera L., GVDB: 414: 77 convolvulus (lakṣmaṇā) Sivarajan and Balachandran (ADPS: 273–275) suggest Ipomoea marginata (Desr.) Verdc. or I. obscura (Linn.) AVS: 3, 237–238 suggests Ipomoea sepiaria Roxb. (looks like a little boy (putraka), and generates a boy (putrajananī), according to the Bhāvaprakāśa). Sivarajan and Balachandran (ADPS: 273-275) firmly reject Mandragora officinalis which is European; but possible consideration could be given to Mandragora

caulescens C.B.Clarke, a variant that is

known in South Asia. Cf. GVDB: 346-347. NK: #1546, #2323 suggests Mandragora officinalum, Linn., known as putrada: 81 coriander (dhānyaka) Coriandrum sativum L., GVDB: 213: 293 coriander (kustumburya) see coriander (dhānyaka), GVDB: 113: 204 corky coral tree (pāribhadra) Erythrina suberosa Roxb. See GVDB: 245: 156, 293 corky coral tree (pāribhadraka) see corky coral tree (pāribhadra): 105, 201 costus (kustha) Dolomiaea costus (Falc.) Kasana & A. K. Pandey. See GVDB: 112, NK: 1, #2239: 102, 103, 110, 135, 151, 157, 185, 186, 194, 202, 204 cottony jujube (kākolī) Ziziphus mauritanica, Lam. See IGP: 1233, NK: 1, #2663; IGP 1233. Cf. NK: 1, #1170: 101, 109, 110, 182 country mallow (atibalā) Abutilon indicum, (L.) Sweet, but may be other kinds of mallow, e.g., Sida rhombifolia, L.. See NK: 1, #11, IGP: 1080, NK: 1, #2300, ADPS: 71, 77: 53, 109, 112, 274 country mallow ( $sahadev\bar{a}$ )  $\rightarrow bal\bar{a}$ (GVDB: 428). Contains ephedrine: 81, 112 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): 53, 143, 151, 156 crape jasmine (tagara) Tabernaæmontana 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

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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: 102, 103,
   110, 135, 151, 185, 204, 297, 310
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: 296, 310
croton tree (nāgadantī) Croton persimilis
   Müll.Arg., GVDB: 222: 202, 294, 305
croton tree (nāgavinnā) Croton persimilis
   Müll.Arg. GVDB: 222 I have taken this
   as croton tree (nāgadantī) because of
   context in Suśrutasaṃhitā Kalpasthāna
crow (?) (kāka2) an unidentified poisonous
   plant apparently called "crow." Singh
   and Chunekar (GVDB: 86) note that
   several drugs named after the crow are
   unidentifiable. Black nightshade,
   (k\bar{a}kam\bar{a}c\bar{i}) is toxic, but this is a stretch:
datura (dhattūra) Datura metel, L. See
   AVS: 2, 305 (cf. Abhidhānamañjarī),
   NK: 1, #796 ff. Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 292 f,
   ADPS: 132: 50, 294
datura (dhuttūrakā) see datura (dhattūra):
   198
deodar (bhadradāru) Cedrus deodara,
   (Roxb.ex D.Don) G. Don. See AVS 41,
   NK: 1, #516: 44, 109, 113, 151, 202
deodar (devadāru) Cedrus deodara (Roxb.)
   Loud. GVDB: 206-207: 77, 110, 204,
   274, 294
deodar (suradāru) see deodar (devadāru):
   185
devil's dung (hingu) Ferula foetida Regel.,
   GVDB: 471–472: 78, 79, 185
dried ginger (n\bar{a}gara) \rightarrow dried ginger
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(śunthī) GVDB: 221–222: 79, 185
dried ginger (śunthī) Zingiber officinale,
   Roscoe. See ADPS: 50, NK: 1, #2658,
   AVS: 5, 435, IGP: 1232: 108, 294, 309
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): 36
drum-giver (?) (lambaradā) Unknown; cf.
   GVDB: 348: 143
elixir salve (ras\bar{a}\tilde{n}jana) \rightarrow a\tilde{n}jana. See
   Indian barberry: 44, 54
embelia (vidanga) Embelia ribes, Burm. f.
   See ADPS: 507, AVS: 2, 368, NK: 1,
   #929, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 113: 44, 77, 103, 151,
   185, 186, 202
emblic myrobalan (āmalaka) Phyllanthus
   emblica, L. See AVS: 4, 256: 78, 111, 112,
   214, 308
emetic nut (karaghāta) Probably a synonym
   for karahāta (emetic nut), q.v.,
   GVDB: 74: 294
emetic nut (karaghāṭaka) see emetic nut
   (karaghāṭa): 144, 201
emetic nut (karahāṭa) Randia dumetorum,
   Lamk. See GVDB: 291–292 and NK: 1,
   #2091. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 74,
   77–78) noted that it may be a synonym
   for karaghāṭa, emetic nut, and pointed
   rather to Gardenia turgida Roxb. on the
   basis of local knowledge in U. P.: 294
emetic nut (?) (karaṭā) Not in GVDB. Cf.
   perhaps karahāṭa (emetic nut): 142
emetic nut (madana) Randia dumetorum,
   Lamk. See NK: 1, #2091: 134, 276
false daisy (bhrnga) Eclipta prostrata (L.)
   L. See GVDB: 288: 77
false daisy (subhangurā) (su)bhangura =
   bhṛṅga? Eclipta prostrata (L.) L. See
   GVDB: 288: 142
fermented rice-water (dh\bar{a}ny\bar{a}mla) \rightarrow k\bar{a}\tilde{n}j\bar{i},
   kāñjikā, sauvīra. GVDB: 458, NK: 2,
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appendix VI, #18: 51, 52

fern (ajaruhā) Nephrodium species = aruṣkara phala" ADPS: 23; see also GVDB: 7, uncertain. Perhbaps MW: 151: 186 Christella dentata(Forssk.) Brownsey gajpipul (gajapippalī) GVDB: 469, 132, syn. & Jermy, which is reported to have folk hastipippalī. A controversial plant, but applications against skin diseases in the conjecture of Singh and Chunekar India: 137 that Scindapsus officinalis (Roxb.) fire-flame bush (dhātakī) Woodfordia Schott is the more ancient identity is fruticosa (L.) Kurz. See AVS: 5, 412, accepted here: 295, 313 NK: 1, #2626: 78, 134 gajpipul (hastipippalī) see gajpipul five roots (pañcamūla) Described at (gajapippalī), GVDB: 469, 132: 202 Suśrutasamhitā 1.38.66–69 galangal (galangala) Alpinia galanga (L.) (Su 1938: 169). There are two Sw. Identified with grey orchid in pañcamūlas, the laghupañcamūla (the Kerala (ADPS: 398). The name is lesser five roots) and bṛhatpañcamūla borrowed from Chinese, perhaps via (greater five roots), with differing Persian or Arabic (Peter: 2, 304), and properties. Combined they are called the name does not occur in early daśamūla (ten roots). See also āyurvedic literature (GVDB): 296 Mahākośa: 1, 468: 77 galls (?) (karkaṭa) almost impossible to flame-of-the-forest (kimśuka) see identify with certainty, GVDB: 78–80. flame-of-the-forest (palāśa), Perhaps Rhus succedanea, L. See GVDB: 97-98: 194 NK: 1, #2136: 144 flame-of-the-forest (palāśa) Butea garjan oil tree (aśvakarna) Dipterocarpus monosperma (Lam.) Taub. GVDB: 241. turbinatus Gaertn. f. See GVDB: 28, pālāśa in some sources: 78, 105, 295 Chopra: 100: 156, 201, 204 flax (atasī) Linum usitatissimum, L. See giant potato ( $k \bar{s} \bar{\imath} r a v i d \bar{a} r \bar{\imath}$ ) possibly  $\rightarrow$ NK#1495: 109 kṣīraśukla. Ipmoea mauritiana, Jacq. See ADPS: 510, AVS: 3, 222, AVS: 3, 1717 ff: foxtail millet (priyangu)  $\rightarrow$   $\acute{s}y\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ . Setaria 109, 299, 303, 304, 306 italica (L.) P. Beauvois GVDB: 263-264, GJM1: 576. The most widely-grown ginger (mahausadha) Zingiber officinale, Roscoe. See ADPS: 50, NK: 1, #2658, species of millet in Asia. Some say Callicarpa macrophylla, Vahl. See IGP: 1232: 138 AVS: 1, 334, NK: 1, #420. The fruits of gold (hema) gold: 151 S. italica and C. macroyphylla are gold and sarsaparilla (*surendragopa*) similar. See also GVDB: 413, where the Unknown. Dalhana on 5.3.15 authors suggest that priyangu is meant (Su 1938: 568) glossed *surendra* as by gondī or gondanī and may have "gold" and gopā as "Indian originally been called gundrabīja: 44, sarsaparilla." He also noted other 151, 157, 185, 186, 214, 295 opinions that *surendra* was "Tellicherry foxtail millet (priyangū) see foxtail millet bark": 157 (*priyangu*): 204 golden shower tree (rājadruma) rājadruma fragrant lotus (saugandhika) A type of = āragvadha. Cassia fistula L. See white water-lily (kumuda) or blue GVDB 37:156 water-lily (utpala), GVDB: 457: 35 golden shower tree  $(r\bar{a}javrksa) \rightarrow r\bar{a}jadruma$ 

= āragvadha. Cassia fistula L. See

GVDB: 37:77

fruit of the marking-nut (āruṣkara) see

marking-nut tree (aruşkara). "āruşkara

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golden shower tree (āragvadha) Cassia
   fistula L. GVDB: 37–38. The plant has
   many synonyms.: 111, 184, 194, 196
gourd (alābu) Lagenaria siceraria Standl.
   GVDB: 25. Some say Lagenaria
   vulgaris, Seringe (NK: 1, #1419) but
   this is not appropriate for
   blood-letting: 31, 32, 134, 182
gourd (vallija) see gourd (vallīja): 144
gourd (vallīja) This is a guess. According
   to some lexical sources, syn. for black
   pepper (marica) (MW: 929). See NK: 1,
   #1929. Singh and Chunekar
   (GVDB: 362) note that valliphala may be
   calabash gourd (kūṣmāṇḍa), which I
   follow. The related spiny bitter gourd
   has poisonous seeds, but not flowers.
   Commenting on Brhatsamhitā 8.13ab
   and 16.24ab, Bhattotpala glossed it as
   mudgādi, "mung beans etc." : 296
grapes (drākṣā) Vitis vinifera L.
   GVDB: 208-209: 186
greater five roots (bṛhatpañcamūla)
   Described at Suśrutasamhitā 1.38.68–69
   (Su 1938: 169). Consists of Bengal
   quince, migraine tree, Indian trumpet
   tree, crimson trumpet-flower tree, and
   white teak: 295, 300, 308
green gram (māṣa) Vigna radiata (L.) R.
   Wilcz. See ADPS: 296, IGP 1204: 44,
   109, 275
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
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cardamom and sweet-smelling roots

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and that "there is great confusion with
   regard to the identity of the drug.": 77,
   108, 110, 185, 295
gummy gardenia (prthv\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}) \leftarrow
   hingupatrikā, Gardenia gummifera L.f.,
   GVDB: 257, q.v. for discussion: 186, 204
hairy bergenia (pāṣāṇabheda) Bergenia
   ligulata (Wall.) Engl. GVDB: 246–247:
hairy-fruited eggplant (bṛhatī) Solanum
   lasiocarpum Dunal. (syn. S. ferox, L. &
   S. indicum L.), GVDB: 277–278, who
   discuss the two kinds of bṛhatī, which
   may be large and small eggplants
   (Solanum melongena L.). See also
   ADPS: 100, NK: 1, #2329, AVS: 5, 151,
   IHR: 429-430: 105, 111, 150, 151, 194,
   196, 301
halfa grass (darbha) Demostachya
   bipinnnata Stapf. GVDB: 201. Synonym
   of kuśa: 80, 109
halfa grass (kuśa) Desmostachya bipinnata,
   (L.) Stapf. GVDB: 111, AVS: 2, 326: 109,
   179, 202
hare foot uraria (krostakamekhalā) see hare
   foot uraria (pṛśniparṇī)
   Mahākośa: 1, 246. krostaka can mean
   "jackal" śrgāla, as in śrgālavinna, "a kind
   of prśnaparnī) Mahākośa: 1,839:186
hare foot uraria (prthakparn\bar{i}) \rightarrow hare foot
   uraria (pṛśniparṇī) and rajmahal hemp
   (m\bar{u}rv\bar{a}) GVDB: 257. A component of
   lesser five roots: 111, 301
hare foot uraria (pr snipar n \bar{\imath}) \rightarrow sah \bar{a}?
   Uraria lagopoides, DC. and U. picta
   Desv. See GVDB: 257-258, GJM1: 577,
   Dymock: 1, 426, AVS: 1, 750 ff, NK: 1,
   #2542; ADPS: 382, AVS: 2, 319 and
   AVS: 4, 366 are confusing. Also called
   pṛthakparṇī. A component of lesser five
   roots: 108, 109, 296
heart-leaf sida (balā) Sida cordifolia, Linn.
   See ADPS: 71, NK: 1, #2297: 53, 109,
   112, 114, 151, 274
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heart-leaved moonseed  $(amrt\bar{a}) \rightarrow gud\bar{u}c\bar{\iota}$ .

Tinospora cordifolia, (Willd.) Hook.f. Don, GVDB: 287: 297 & Thoms.? See ADPS: 38, NK: 1, #2472, Himalayan mayapple (vakra) 624, Dastur #229: 135, 150, 196 Podophyllum hexandrum, Royle heart-leaved moonseed (gudūcī) Tinospora (NK: #1971), K & B: 1, 68. But perhaps cordifolia, (Thunb.) Miers. ADPS: 38, a synonm of crape jasmine (tagara, nata NK: 1, #2472 & #624, Dastur #229, q.v. (GVDB: 354)): 157, 185, 186, 196 GVDB: 141–142. Also identified as Himalayan yew (sthauneya) see Himalayan Cocculus cordifolius DC. by Nadkarni yew (sthauneyaka): 204 (NK) and others (see also the Tropicos Himalayan yew (sthauneyaka) Singh and botanical database): 77, 110 Chunekar (GVDB: 458–459) suggested heart-leaved moonseed (somavallī) Taxus baccata L., but that tree is Tinospora cordifolia (Thunb.) Miers. endemic to the Mediterraenean and not GVDB: 456. Likely, but uncertain: 135 South Asia. Poudel et al. 2013 show heart-leaved moonseed creeper that T. contorta Griff., T mairei (Lemée & Lév.) and T. wallichiana Zucc. are (amṛtavalli) See amṛtā: 274 hedge caper (hiṃsrā) Capparis sepiaria L., distributed in the Hindu Kush -Himalaya region. The Nepalese name GVDB: 471, IHR: 124, K & B: 1, 109: 297 Thuneraka is etymologically cognate hedge caper (kākādanī) synonym of hedge with the Sanskrit name. T. contorta is of caper (himsrā), GVDB: 88, 471, medicinal importance, so its common IHR: 124, K & B: 1, 109. This name is name is used here: 185, 297 not used in the Carakasamhitā. At 5.7.31 hogweed (punarnavā) Boerhaavia diffusa, (Su 1938: 583), Dalhana glossed L. See ADPS: 387, AVS: 1, 281, NK: 1, kādādanī as black Bengal quince #363: 111, 136, 150, 187, 297 (kṛṣṇaśrīphalikā). GVDB: vi, 471 note hogweed (punarnavā) see hogweed that they have identified *kākādanī* as Cardiospermum halicacabum L. (punarnavā): 195 "balloonvine": 196 hogweed (punarnnavā) see hogweed (punarnavā): 198 henna (madayantikā) Lawsonia inermis, L. hogweed (varṣābhu) see hogweed See AVS: 3, 303, NK: 1, #1448, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 151: 136 (varṣābhū): 195 hibiscus (?) (ambaṣṭhā) possibly Hibiscus hogweed (varṣābhū) see hogweed (punarnavā). According to GVDB: 361, rosa-sinensis L.? Singh and Chunekar it is Trianthema portulacastrum L., but (GVDB: 18–19) discuss the confusions surrounding the identity of this plant, this is mainly known from Africa and the new world. The name is often and especially between this plant and considered a synonym for hogweed velvet-leaf ( $p\bar{a}th\bar{a}$ ); they must be (punarnavā): 297 different items. Singh and Chunekar propose that *ambaṣṭhā* is either the fruit Holostemma creeper  $(j\bar{\imath}vant\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow$ of Hibiscus or the galls of a Quercus or sūryavallī? Holostemma ada-kodien, Tamarix species. According to Schultes. See ADPS: 195, AVS: 3, 167, Meulenbeld 1974b: 599, vanakārpāsī is 169, NK: 1, #1242: 112, 304 more likely a name for a hibiscus: 187 holy basil (surasa) Ocimum tenuiflorum, Himalayan birch (bhūja) see Himalayan Linn. GVDB: 438-439: 187 birch (*bhūrja*): 202 honey (ksaudra) Eight varieties of honey Himalayan birch (*bhūrja*) Betula utilis D. are described in the Suśrutasamhitā

(NK: 2, Appendix 192). *Kṣaudra* is the product of a small bee of tawny colour, called *kṣudra*: 117, 138, 214, 215

horned pondweed (śaivāla) also śaivāla, śevāra. Zannichellia palustris L. The uncertainties of this identification are discussed by Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 409). Sometimes identified with scutch grass (dūrvā) (GVDB: 409). Identified as Ceratophyllum demersum Linn. ("hornwort") by AVS: 2, 56–57x: 110, 298, 305

hornwort (*jalaśūka*) → *jalanīlikā*.

Ceratophyllum demersum, L. See
AVS: 2, 56, IGP: 232. Singh and
Chunekar (GVDB: 166) suggest horned
pondweed. Dalhaṇa noted on 1.16.19
(Su 1938: 79) that some people
interpret it as a poisonous, hairy,
air-breathing, underwater creature: 53

horse gram (kaulattha) See horse gram (kulattha): 180

horse gram (*kulattha*) Macrotyloma uniflorum (Lam.) Verdcourt, syn. Dolichos biflorus, L., D. uniflorus, Lam., GVDB: 109, POWO: sub Macrotyloma uniflorum: 113, 114, 184, 205, 298

horseradish tree (*madhukaśigru*) Moringa oleifera Lam., GVDB: 398–399. See horseradish tree (*śigru*): 201

horseradish tree (*murungī*) see horseradish tree (*śigru*) (GVDB: 311): 186

horseradish tree (*śigru*) Moringa oleifera Lam. See IGP: 759, GJM1: 603, Dymock: 1, 396, GVDB: 398–399: 110, 111, 298

hyacinth beans (*niṣpāva*) Lablab purpureus (L.) Sweet (1826) GVDB: 228: 99

Indian aconite (ativiṣā) Aconitum ferox , Wall. ex Ser., or perhaps A. heterophyllum Wall. ex Royle, GVDB: 12, NK: 1, #39. Also called "atis roots" or just viṣā. A. ferox is also called aconite, monkshood, wolfsbane, etc. A. ferox is extremely poisonous. See also Indian aconite (*vatsanābha*). It grows especially in mountainous Sikkim: 100, 136, 138, 157, 202, 204, 298

Indian aconite (*vatsanābha*) Aconitum ferox, Wall. ex Ser. Cf. AVS: 1, 47 (A. Napellus, L., which is European and now taxonomically separated from A. ferox), NK: 1, #42, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 4 f. A. chasmanthum Stapf ex Holmes according to GVDB: 357, but that is distributed in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Tibet, Mongolia and Siberia. "*vatsanābha*" occurs in only once in the *Carakasaṃhitā* and thrice in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (Ca4.23.11571, Su5.2. 5, 6, 12564): 144, 145, 290, 298

Indian aconite  $(vi 
ilde{s} \bar{a})$  see Indian aconite  $(ativi 
ilde{s} \bar{a})$ , GVDB: 12, 373: 290, 304

Indian barberry (añjana) → rasāñjana, dāruharidrā. Berberis aristata, DC. Dymock: 1, 65, NK: 1, #335, GJM1: 562, IGP: 141: 54, 137, 294

Indian barberry (*dāruharidrā*) Berberis aristata, DC. See Dymock: 1, 65, NK: 1, #685, GJM1: 562, IGP: 141, GVDB: 203: 150, 151, 298, 309

Indian barberry  $(d\bar{a}rv\bar{\iota}) \rightarrow$  Indian barberry  $(d\bar{a}ruharidr\bar{a})$ GVDB: 203: 215

Indian barberry ( $k\bar{a}l\bar{i}yaka$ )  $\rightarrow d\bar{a}ruharidr\bar{a}$ ,  $a\tilde{n}jana$ . Berberis aristata, DC. See Dymock: 1, 65, NK: 1, #685, GJM1: 562, IGP: 141: 135

Indian bat tree (śuṅgā) → parkaṭīvṛkṣa 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 vaṭa at Suśrutasaṃhitā 3.2.32. Cf. MW: 1081.: 81

Indian bdellium-tree (guggula) See Indian bdellium-tree guggulu: 185

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: 117, 298

- Indian beech (*naktamāla*) Pongamia pinnata, (L.) Pierre. See AVS: 4, 339, NK: 1, #2003: 44, 105
- Indian cherry (*śelu*) Cordia myxa, L. non Forssk. See GJM1: 529 (2), IGP: 291b, cf. AVS: 3, 1677 f; cf. AVS: 2, 180 (C. dichotoma, Forst.f.), NK: 1, #672 (C. latifolia, Roxb.). See Indian cherry (*śleṣmātakī*): 111, 150
- Indian cherry (*śelū*) see Indian cherry (*śleṣmātakī*), GVDB: 408: 204
- Indian cherry (śleṣmātakā) see Indian cherry (śleṣmātakī): 201
- Indian cherry (śleṣmātakī) Cordia dichotoma G. Forst., AVS: 2, 180–183. See POWO: C. dichotoma; Cordia myxa L., according to 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.): 186, 299
- Indian dill (śatapuṣpā) Anethum graveolens L. May also be Foeniculum vulgare Mill. See GVDB: 388 for discussion: 112, 204
- Indian elm (*cirabilva*) Holoptelea integrifolia (Roxb.) Planch. GVDB: 158, who also say that *pūtika* is a synonym; but that must be different than *pūtikā*: 299
- Indian elm (*ciribilva*) see Indian elm (*cirabilva*): 201
- Indian frankincense (agamṛttikā) see Indian frankincense (śallakī), according to Palhaṇa's comment on Suśrutasaṃhitā 5.7.29. A variant form of Indian frankincense (agavṛttikā): 196
- Indian frankincense (*agavṛttikā*) see ?? (*nagavṛttikā*), GVDB: 3, 392: 299

- Indian frankincense (*gajavṛttikā*) Boswellia serrata Roxb.; equated with Indian frankincense (*śallakī*) by some, GVDB: 392. See also ?? (*nagavṛttikā*): 186
- Indian frankincense (*śallakī*) Boswellia serrata Roxb., GVDB: 392: 196, 299
- Indian fumitory (parpaṭa) the ancient plant is probably impossible to identify, and many alternatives are used today, including especially Fumaria species (GVDB: 239–240). I have cholsen Fumaria indica (Hausskn.) Pugsley, which can be poisonous: 299
- Indian fumitory (reṇu) see Indian fumitory (parpaṭa), GVDB: 339. To be distinguished from pollen (?) (reṇukā): 143
- 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: 53, 110, 304
- Indian jujube (sauvīraka) Zizphus jujuba Mill., GVDB: 458, MBG: sub jujuba : 109, 180
- Indian kudzu (*vidārī*) → *payasyā*. Pueraria tuberosa (Willd.) DC. See ADPS: 510, AVS: 1, 792 f, AVS: 4, 391; not Dymock: 1, 424 f. See GJM2: 444, 451, AVS: 1, 187, but AVS: 3, 1719 = Ipmoea mauritiana, Jacq: 53, 77
- Indian laurel (*plakṣa*) Ficus microcarpa, L. f. See ADPS: 377: 202
- Indian madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*) Rubia cordifolia, L. See IGP, Chopra: 215, GVDB: 289: 49, 151, 185, 186, 195, 202
- Indian mottled eel (varmimatsya) Almost certainly the mottled eel. MW: 962c noted that the varmi fish "is commonly called vāmi." The "vam fish," or "বান মাছ (bān māch)" in Bengal, is a marine and freshwater eel, Anguilla bengalensis.

It is the most common eel in Indian inland waters and a prized food fish (Froese and Pauly 2022). However, some NIA languages identify the "vam" fish with the Indian Pike Conger, Congresox talabonides (Bleeker) (Talwar and Kacker 1984: 235, 236): 33

- Indian mustard (*sarṣapa*) Brassica juncea, Czern. & Coss. See AVS: 1, 301, NK: 1, #378, GVDB: 426–427: 36, 144, 202, 302
- Indian pennywort (maṇḍūkaparṇī) Centella asiatica (L.) Urban. See GVDB: 290, ADPS: 289–291: 187
- Indian sarsaparilla (*sugandhikā*) see Indian sarsaparilla (*śvetasārivā*) GVDB: 430, 436: 186, 204
- Indian sarsaparilla (*sārivā*) → *anantā*. The *śveta* variety is Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. ADPS: 434, AVS: 3, 141–145, NK: 1, #1210, GVDB: 430; and the black form, black creeper, *pālindī*. Ichnocarpus frutescens, (L.) R.Br. or Cryptolepis buchanani, Roemer & Schultes AVS: 3, 141, 145, 203, NK: 1, #1283, 1210, ADPS: 429–430: 151, 291, 295, 300
- Indian sarsaparilla (*śvetasārivā*)
  Hemidesmus indicus, (L.) R. Br. See
  Indian sarsaparilla (*sārivā*). ADPS: 434,
  AVS: 3, 141–145, NK: 1, #1210,
  GVDB: 430: 300
- Indian snakeroot (*sarpagandhā*) Rauvolfia serpentina, (L.) Benth. ex Kurz. See NK: 1, #2099, ADPS: 439, GVDB: 425; cf. SS 5.5.76–78: 187, 300
- Indian snakeroot (sarvagandhā) common spelling in Nepalese MSS for Indian snakeroot (sarpagandhā), q.v.: 196
- Indian symphorema (ananta) Not in GVDB but MW: 25 says "sinduvāra" on no authority (see Indian symphorema: 202
- Indian symphorema (*sinduvāra*) Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 435) settles on Symphorema polyandrum Wight as the

- identity of this plant. Other authors choose Vitex negundo Linn. See further NK: 1, #2603 (cf. use of leaves), IGP: 1210a, MW: 1088b. Discussion by GVDB: 433–435: 185, 187, 195, 204, 300
- Indian trumpet tree (*śyonāka*) Oroxylum indicum (L.) Benth. ex Kurz. GVDB: 172–173. A component of greater five roots: 300
- Indian trumpet tree (tintuka) → Indian trumpet tree (syonāka). Oroxylum indicum (L.) Benth. ex Kurz. GVDB: 172–173. A component of greater five roots: 296
- Indian trumpet tree (ṭuṇṭuka) see Indian trumpet tree (śyonāka),
  GVDB: 172–173: 202
- indigo  $(n\bar{\imath}lin\bar{\imath})$  Indigofera tinctoria, L. See NK: 1, #1309. GVDB: 229–230 propose that this may differ from indigo  $(n\bar{\imath}l\bar{\imath})$ , and be rather the Ipomoea hederacea Jacq., "ivy-leaved morning glory." But that plant is native to the Americas, as are most Ipomoea species: 196, 300
- indigo ( $n\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}$ ) see indigo ( $n\bar{\imath}l\bar{\imath}$ ). Although Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 229) refer to an unidentified creeper mentioned in *Carakasaṃhitā* Ci.1-4.7, the use in the Nepalese *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 5.6.24 is likely to refer to indigo ( $n\bar{\imath}l\bar{\imath}$ ): 195
- indigo (nīlī) see indigo (nīlinī): 204, 300 Indrajao (indrayava) see vṛkṣaka (Indrajao) Holarrhena pubescens Wall. ex G.Don 1837 GVDB: 376, 45 and 84: 100
- Indrajao (*vṛkṣaka*) → *indrayava*, *indrabīja*, *kalinga*, and *kuṭaja*. Holarrhena pubescens Wall. ex G.Don 1837 GVDB: 376, 45 and 84: 79, 274, 300
- itchytree (*nicula*) Barringtonia acutangula (L.) Gaertn., GVDB: 224: 202
- jambul (*jambū*) Syzygium cumini, (L.) Skeels. See ADPS: 188, NK: 1, #967, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168, Wujastyk 2003: 134, 214
- jequirity (*guñjā*) Abrus precatorius, L. See AVS: 1, 10, NK: 1, #6, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168. See

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further jequirity (kālakūṭa): 142, 143
                                                   (Su 1938: 169). Consists of bull's head,
                                                   hairy-fruited eggplant, yellow-berried
jequirity (kālakūta) Abrus precatorius, L.?
                                                   nightshade, hare foot uraria, and
   Cf. RRS 21.14. See AVS: 1, 10, NK: 1, #6,
   Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 168. The etymology of the
                                                   beggarweed: 292, 295, 296, 308, 312
   name kāla-kūṭa, "black-top," fits with
                                               liquorice (?) (klītaka) Glycyrrhiza glabra,
                                                   L.? GVDB: 123–124 discuss the many
   the striking appearance of jequirity
   seeds. GVDB: 93 does not attempt to
                                                   difficulties in identifying this plant: 142
   identify the plant. The
                                               liquorice (madhuka) also yaşti(ka/k\bar{a}),
   Rasaratnasamuccaya of
                                                   yastīmadhuka, Glycyrrhiza glabra, L.
   pseudo-Vāgbhaṭa (21.14) says that the
                                                   AVS: 3, 84, NK: 1, #1136, GVDB: 329 f.:
   kālakūta poison is similar to "crow's
                                                   53, 77, 108–113, 115, 138, 149, 151, 185,
   beak" (kākacañcu), which is a more
                                                   201, 204, 215, 301
   certain name for jequirity. Another
                                               liquorice (yaṣṭī) see liquorice (madhuka):
   hypothesis for the name, which could
   be translated "time/death-peak" might
                                               liquorice (yastīmadhuka) see liquorice
   connect it with Sandakphu mountain,
                                                   (madhuka): 54
   whose name is Lepcha for "the height
                                               lodh tree (lodhra) Symplocos racemosa,
   of the poisonous plant" because of the
                                                   Roxb. See GJM1: 597, ADPS: 279 f,
   abundance of Aconitum ferox on the
                                                   NK: 1, #2420. Singh and Chunekar
   mountain: 144, 145, 301
                                                   (GVDB: 351–352) notes that there are
kutki (kaṭukā) Picrorhiza kurroa Royle ex
                                                   two varieties, S. racemosa, qualified as
   Benth. (GVDB: 64–65): 100, 117,
                                                   śāvara, and S. crataegoides Buch.-Ham.
   301, 303
                                                   for paṭṭikā lodhra: 44, 151, 185, 215
kutki (kaṭurohaṇī) → kutki (kaṭukā),
                                               long pepper (kṛṣṇā) see long pepper
   GVDB: 66, 64–65: 185
                                                   (pippal\bar{\imath}): 214
kutki (kaṭurohiṇī) see kutki (kaṭukā),
                                               long pepper (māgadha) see long pepper
   GVDB: 66, 64–65: 204
                                                   (pippal\bar{\imath}): 137
leadwort (agniśikhā) Plumbago zeylanica
                                               long pepper (pippali) see long pepper
   (or rosea?), L. See NK: 1, #1966, 1967:
                                                   (pippal\bar{\imath}): 185
   301
                                               long pepper (pippalī) Piper longum, L. See
leadwort (citraka) Plumbago zeylanica (or
                                                   ADPS: 374, NK: 1, #1928,
   indica?), L. See RĀ. 6.124, ADPS: 119,
                                                   GVDB: 249-250, but cf. AVS: 3, 245: 77,
   NK: 1, #1966, 1967: 44, 78, 100, 105,
                                                   78, 105, 111, 112, 116, 117, 138, 151, 202,
   116, 185
                                                   205, 214, 274, 301, 309
leadwort (p\bar{a}laka) \rightarrow citraka. Plumbago
                                               long pepper root (pippalīmūla) see long
   zevlanica (indica? rosea?), L. See Rā.
                                                   pepper (pippalī): 202
   6.124, ADPS: 1, 119, NK: 1, #1966, 1967:
                                               long-stamen Wendlandia (?)
   144, 145
                                                   (prapaundarīka) See the substantial
leadwort (vidyutśikhā) see leadwort
                                                   discussion by Singh and Chunekar
   (agniśikhā): 142
                                                   (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: 310
                                                   said to be thicker, and sweet in taste. A
lesser five roots (laghupañcamūla)
                                                   candidate they suggest is Wendlandia
   Described at Suśrutasamhitā 1.38.66-67
                                                   heynei (Schult.) Santapau & Merchant
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(formerly W. exserta), native to India; I
                                                 malabathrum is of a plant like a
   have accepted that provisionally: 144,
                                                 Nymphoides indica (L.) Kuntze, not a
   185, 204, 302
                                                 tree (Osbaldeston and Wood 2000: 17):
long-stamen Wendlandia (?) (tilaka) see
                                                 102, 103, 110, 135, 151, 193, 194, 204
   long-stamen Wendlandia (?)
                                              Malay beechwood (\acute{s}r\bar{\imath}parn\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow k\bar{a}\acute{s}mar\bar{\imath}.
   (prapaundarīka), GVDB: 183–184.
                                                 Gmelina arborea Linn., GVDB: 412,
   Sometimes thought to be a synonym of
                                                 96-97:77
   viburnum (tilvaka), q.v., but this is
                                              maloo creeper (aśmantaka) Singh and
   probably erroneous: 204, 310
                                                 Chunekar (GVDB: 27) note that thisis
lotus (nalina) see sacred lotus (kamala),
                                                 the name of two different drugs,
   GVDB: 218: 214, 215
                                                 Piliostigma malabaricum
                                                 (Roxb.)Benth. or Phanera vahlii.
lotus stalk (mrnāla) "Leaf stalk of sacred
   lotus" GVDB: 318: 110
                                                 (Wight & Arn., 1834) Benth.
                                                 (non-lactiferous), and Ficus cordifolia
luffa (jālinī) see luffa (koṣātakī),
                                                 Roxb. (lactiferous). I have selected P.
   GVDB: 168: 144, 194
                                                 vahlii in this context because of its
luffa (kośavatī) see luffa (koṣātakī): 150
                                                 abundance in S. Asia and its Himalayan
luffa (koṣātakī) Luffa cylindrica, (L.) M. J.
                                                 and Nepalese distribution: 187, 201
   Roem. or L. acutangula, (L.) Roxb.
                                              mango (āmra) Mangifera indica Linn.
   ADPS: 252-253, NK: 1, #1514 etc.
   "Kośātakī appears to be used in a
                                                 GVDB: 37: 134, 187, 202, 214
                                              mangosteen (amla) Garcinia pedunculata
   general way for all the fruit drugs of
                                                 Roxb. ex Buch.-Ham. See GVDB: 20-21:
   the family Cucurbitaceae which have a
                                                 184
   net-like structure of fibres in the pulp.
   It thus includes nearly all Luffa
                                              marking nut tree (?) (sārṣapa) this would
   species..." GVDB: 121: 302
                                                 normally mean "connected with
                                                 mustard," (Indian mustard (sarṣapa))
mahua (madhūka) Madhuca longifolia,
                                                 and excessive consumption of mustard
   (Koenig) Macbride. See AVS: 3, 362 f:
                                                 oil can be harmful. However, the
   77, 218–220
                                                 Sauśrutanighantu (156) gives raksoghnā
maidenhair fern (hamsāhvayā) Adiantum
                                                 as a synonym for sarṣapā. This can be
   lunaluatum Burm f. GVDB: 463: 274
                                                 Semecarpus anacardium, L.f., which has
malabathrum (patra) Cinnamomum
                                                 some poisonous parts ("the black fruit
   tamala, (Buch.-Ham.) Nees. See
                                                 is toxic and produces a severe allergic
   AVS: 2, 84, NK: 1, #589. Other common
                                                 reaction if it is consumed or its resin
   names include Indian bay leaf etc., but
                                                 comes in contact with the skin"
   the plant has an ancient history in the
                                                 Semalty et al. 2010): 145
   classical world as "malabathrum." See
                                              marking-nut tree (aruṣkara) see
   Wikipedia. Kokoszko and Rzeźnicka
                                                 marking-nut tree (bhallātaka): 143, 295
   (2018: 581) discuss the abbreviations
                                              marking-nut tree (bhallātaka) Semecarpus
   "leaf" (φύλλα, folium) in the
                                                 anacarium, L. See NK: 1, #2269,
   Mediterranean world that parallels the
                                                 AVS: 5, 98, ADPS: 85-86, GVDB: 23,
   Sanskrit usage. Kokoszko and
   Rzeźnicka 2018: 584 note that
                                                 283: 105, 137, 302
                                              marsh barbel (iksuraka) Hygrophila
   Dioscorides (fl. 1st cent. CE) stated that
   malabathrum came from India,
                                                 auriculata (Schumach.) Heine (syn.
   although Dioscorides' description of
                                                 Asteracantha longifolia (L.) Nees.),
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GVDB: 42-43: 202
medhshingi (vijayā-2) Dolichandrone
   falcata (Wall. ex DC.) Seem. The
   Sauśrutanighantu gives a number of
   synonyms for vijayā (Suvedī and Tīvārī
   2000: 5.77, 10.143). But one of them,
   viṣāṇī (also meṣaśṛṅgī), is sometimes
   equated with Dolichandrone falcata
   (DC.) Seemann (GVDB: 373 f;
   ADPS: 518, a plant used as an
   abortifacient and fish poison
   (NK: #862): 143
migraine tree (agnimantha) Premna
   corymbosa, Rottl. See AVS 1927,
   ADPS: 21, NK: 1, #2025, AVS: 4, 348;
   GJM1: 523: = P. integrifolia/serratifolia,
   L: 150, 296
milk-white (ksīraśuklā) An unidentified
   plant. GVDB: 126: see purple roscoea
   and giant potato: 53, 306
monkey (?) (markata) Singh and Chunekar
   (GVDB: 299) said of markata, "an
   unidentified vegetable poison." Cf.
   Suvedī and Tīvārī 2000: v.36 for
   synonyms that lead to the non-toxic
   jujube tree: 146
muddy (?) (kardama) unknown.: 144, 146
mulberry (kramuka) probably the
   mulberry (t\bar{u}da); see discussion by
   Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 122): 186
mulberry (tūda) Morus indica L.,
   GVDB: 189: 303
mung beans (mudga) Phaseolus radiatus L.
   GVDB: 310-311: 109, 112, 220
mung beans (māṣaka) Phaseolus mungo
   Linn. GVDB: 308: 135
munj grass (nārācaka) Saccharum
   bengalense, Retz.?. See NK: 1, #2184:
   144
musk mallow (latākastūrikā) Abelmoschus
   moschatus Medik., GVDB: 348: 303
musk mallow (ullaka) kutki (katukā) or
   musk mallow (latākastūrikā), according
   to GVDB: 54; I have chosen the latter
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identity since A. moschatus can cause

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phototoxic dermatitis (Diedrich et al.
   2024:621):303
musk mallow (ullika) see musk mallow
   (ullaka): 143
myrobalan (abhayā) Terminalia chebula,
   Retz. See ADPS: 172, NK: 1, #2451,
   Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 214: 100, 150, 157
myrobalans (pathyā) Terminalia chebula
   Retz. See NK: 1, #2451: 214
natron (suvarcikā) Sodium carbonate.
   NK: 2, #45. Dalhana identifies suvarcikā
   with svarjikṣāra 4.8.50 (Su 1938: 441):
   116, 151, 185
neem (picumarda) see neem tree (nimba),
   GVDB: 247-248: 201
neem tree (nimba) Azadirachta indica A.
   Juss., GVDB: 226: 50, 274, 303
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. Singh and
   Chunekar (GVDB: 108) added that it
   could be a variety of rice, sastika
   dhānya: 157
nutgrass (mustaka) Cyperus rotundus, L.
   See ADPS: 316, AVS: 2, 296, NK: 1,
   #782:144,146
nutgrass (mustā) Cyperus rotundus, L. See
   ADPS: 316, AVS: 2, 296, NK: 1, #782:
odal oil plant (ingudi) see odal oil plant:
odal oil plant (ingudī) Kirtikar et al. (K &
   B: 5, 79) also firmly identify ingudī as
   Sarcostigma kleinii Wight & Arn., a
   liana well known in the Western Ghats
   and widely used in ayurveda,
   including for skin diseases. Balanites
   agyptiaca (L.) Delile, GVDB: 43 is an
   African plant and unlikely to be the
   original āyurvedic ingudi.: 303
oleander spurge (mahāvṛkṣa) see oleander
   spurge (snuhī), GVDB: 302-303: 201
oleander spurge (nand\bar{a}) see oleander
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oleander spurge (snuhā) see oleander
   spurge (snuhī ) : 105, 144, 195
oleander spurge (snuhī) Euphorbia
   neriifolia, L., or E. antiquorum, L. See
   ADPS: 448, AVS: 2, 388, AVS: 3, 1,
   NK: 1, #988, IGP: 457b. 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: 303, 304, 308
orchid tree (kovidāra) Bauhinia purpurea
   Linn. or B. variegata Linn. (probably
   the former), GVDB: 120,
   AVS: 1, 256–260. The fruit of kovidāra is
   contrasted with the mango in
   Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya (on P1.2.45,
   varttika 8): 180
paddy rice (śāli) Oriza sativa, Linn.
   GVDB: 395-396 mentioning 33 Sanskrit
   sub-variety names; AVS: 4, 193: 37, 306
painted uraria (prsnaparnī) Uraria picta
   (Jacq.) Desv. ex DC. and U. lagopoides
   DC are both to be used for this plant
   according to GVDB: 257–258. See also
   IHR: 188-190: 196
pale Java tea (arjaka) Orthosiphon pallidus
   Royle ex Benth., GVDB: 24, based on
   Dalhana's descriptions, and by Sharma
   1982: 127, #60. But Ocimum basilicum
   L., according to AVS: 4, 160: 204
panacea twiner (arkapusp\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow arkaparn\bar{\imath},
   Tylophora indica (Burm. f.) Merr.
   GVDB: 23-24. Maybe identical to
   Indian ipecac, giant potato and similar
   sweet, milky plants. See GVDB: 24, 127,
   238, 441, 443 for discussion. For
   discussion in the context of
   Holostemma creeper, see ADPS: 195
   and AVS: 3, 171. The etymology of the
   name suggests Helianthus annus Linn.,
   but this plant is native to the Americas:
   150, 299
peas (harenu) Pisum sativum, L. Singh and
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spurge (*snuhī*), GVDB: 215: 308

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Chunekar (GVDB: 419–420, 467–468)
   note that two plants are usually meant
   under this name, but there is no
   agreement on the identity of the
   second. Synonym of peas (satīna).
   GVDB: 468 make an argument for
   Symphorema polyandrum Wight: 110,
   150, 151, 157, 186, 214, 304, 305
peas (harenukā) see peas (harenu): 204
peas (satīna) see peas (harenu),
   GVDB: 419-420: 304
peepul tree (aśvattha) Ficus religiosa, L.
   See ADPS: 63: 160
periploca of the woods (mesaśrnga)
   Gymnema sylvestre (Retz.) R. Br. See
   AVS: 3, 107, NK: 1, #1173: 137
phalsa (parūsaka) Grewia asiatica Linn.,
   GVDB: 238: 78
plants like asthma plant and Gulf sandmat
   (dugdhikā) synonym of plants like
   asthma plant and Gulf sandmat
   (kṣīriṇī), GVDB: 204–205, 127: 304
plants like asthma plant and Gulf sandmat
   (k s \bar{\imath} r i n \bar{\imath}) various milky plants, perhaps
   including Euphorbia hirta Linn.
   (asthma plant) and E. microphylla
   Heyne (Gulf sandmat) (GVDB: 127):
   299, 304
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 (ksīrinī), q.v.,
   GVDB: 327, 127: 204
plumed cockscomb (indīvara) Uncertain;
   possibly Celosia argentea Linn. But see
   the useful discussion in GVDB: 44-45.
   Possibly another name for thorn apple
   (karambha), q.v.: 309
pointed gourd (patola) Trichosanthes
   dioica, Roxb., GVDB: 232-233: 110,
   150, 291
poison-altar (?) (viṣavedikā) Unknown.
   Possibly, at a guess, strychnine tree
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(viṣamuṣṭika)? GVDB: 373 Or Indian

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aconite (vis\bar{a}): 143
pollen (?) (renukā) An unidentifiable
   plant. Perhaps a misreading for peas
   (harenu), although this is a long shot.
   Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 339)
   suggest, on no authority, the synonyms
   vṛkṣaruhā, māṃsarohiṇī, or durvā, none
   of which help: 143, 299
pomegranate (dādima) Punica granatum
   Linn. GVDB: 201–202: 77, 78, 115, 116,
   187, 196
pondweed (paripelavā) Normally a neuter
   noun. 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: 151
pondweed (śevāla) Zannichellia palustris
   L. See horned pondweed: 35, 36
pongame oiltree (karañja) see pongame
   oiltree (kara\tilde{n}jik\bar{a}): 117, 196
pongame oiltree (karañjikā) Singh and
   Chunekar (GVDB: 74-76) discuss
   complications, but probably Pongamia
   pinnata (L.) Pierre in Suśrutasamhitā
   5.6.3: 202, 305
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:
   204, 305
powdered ruffle lichen (śaileyaka) see
   powdered ruffle lichen (śaileya): 185
prickly chaff-flower (apāmārga)
   Achyranthes aspera, L. See GVDB: 14,
   GJM1: 524 f, AVS: 1, 39, ADPS: 44 f,
   AVS: 3, 2066 f, Dymock: 3, 135: 49, 53,
   109, 203, 305
prickly chaff-flower (vasira) also vaśīra.
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Perhaps Achyranthes aspera, L.

GVDB: 362 describes several possible

identities, including sūryāvarta, prickly

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chaff-flower and markatatrna. See also
   vasukavasira (GVDB: 363): 78
prickly-leaved elephant's foot (gojihvā)
   syn. gojī. Elephantopus scaber, L. See
   AVS: 2, 357. 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: 305
prickly-leaved elephant's foot (gojī) Singh
   and Chunekar (GVDB: 145-146)
   observe that this plant name is unique
   to the Suśrutasaṃhitā. 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.: 202
products of the wood-apple (kāpitta) a
   reading in the Nepalese MSS for
   products of the wood-apple (kāpittha),
   q.v.: 197
products of the wood-apple (kāpittha)
   relating to or derived from the
   wood-apple (kapittha): 305
purging nut (dravantī) Jatropha curcas, L.
   See AVS: 3, 261, NK: 1, #1374. A.k.a.
   mūṣikaparṇī: 305
purging nut (mūṣikā) Jatropha curcas, L.
   See AVS: 3, 261, NK: 1, #1374: 137
purging nut (putraśrenī) Commonly
   identified as croton tree (n\bar{a}gadant\bar{\iota}),
   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 (dravantī): 202
purging nut tree (mūṣikakarṇī) Jatropha
   curcas, L. AVS: 3, 261, NK: 1, #1374,
   GVDB: 317. GVDB: 317; ADPS: 23-25
   discuss this issue well: 135, 136
purple calotropis (arka) Calotropis
   gigantea, (L.) R. Br. See ADPS: 52,
   AVS: 1, 341, NK: 1, #427, Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 57,
   Chopra IDG: 305–308: 44, 53, 105, 180,
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198, 201

- 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.: 204
- 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: 109, 299, 303
- pussy willow (*vetasa*) Salix caprea L., GVDB: 380–381, q.v. for the argument that this is not the same as rattan (*vetra*): 306
- pussywillow (vañjula) see pussy willow (vetasa); 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): 110, 202
- radish (*mūlaka*) Raphanus sativus, L. See NK: 1, #2098: 114, 144, 146
- rajmahal hemp (*moraṭa*) → *mūrvī*, Marsdenia tenacissima (Roxb.) Wight et Arn. Good discussion at GVDB: 314–316, 324: 150
- 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. 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: 112, 296
- rattan (*vetra*) Calamus rotang, L. See AVS: 1, 330, NK: 1, #413. Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 381) prefer C. tenuis, Roxb., which is also native to S. and S.E. Asia: 306
- realgar (*manaḥśilā*) Arsenii disulphidium NK: 2, #11: 214
- red gourd (*bimbī*) Coccinia indica, W. & A. See PVS 1994.4.715; NK: 1, #534:134
- red ochre (*gairika*) Hellwig 2009: 140–141. NK: 2, #40; the same source, at #6, gives kaoolinum or china clay: 151, 185, 187, 204, 214, 215
- red physic nut (*dantī*) Baliospermum solanifolium (Burm.) Suresh, GVDB: 200: 103, 144, 196, 202, 305
- resin of white dammer tree (*sarjarasa*) GVDB: 424–425. See white dammer tree (*sarja*): 112, 204
- rice grains (taṇḍula) Oriza sativa, Linn. Same as paddy rice (śāli) GVDB: 174; or just "grains": 37
- rice-grain chaff (śālitaṇḍulakāṇḍana) See chaff: 37
- rock salt (*saindhava*) See NK: 2, M#48, Watt<sub>Comm</sub>: 963–971: 36, 77, 116, 185, 214, 292
- rosha grass (*dhyāmaka*) Cymbopogon martinii (Roxb.) Wats. See AVS: 2, 285, NK: 1, #177: 151, 185, 204
- royal jasmine (*mālatī*) Jasminium grandiflorum, L. See NK: 1, #1364, ADPS: 285–288: 135, 306
- royal jasmine (*sumanā*) see royal jasmine (*mālatī*), GVDB: 437: 204
- sacred lotus (*kamala*) Nelumbo nucifera, Gaertn., GVDB: 73–74, Dutt: 110, NK: 1, #1698: 302, 306
- sacred lotus (*padma*) see sacred lotus (*kamala*), GVDB: 235–236: 35, 110, 135, 204, 311
- saffron (bāhlīka) syn. of saffron (kuṅkuma),

(GVDB: 179, 458–459) discusses the

q.v., GVDB: 273-274: 202

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saffron (kuńkuma) Crocus sativus Linn.,
                                                 several identifications and regional
   GVDB: 100: 196, 306
                                                 differences in identifying this plant.
                                                 Taxus baccata Linn. is a common
sage-leaved alangium (ankolla) Alangium
                                                 candidate, as is Flacourtia jangomas
   salvifolium (Linn. f.) Wang.,
                                                 (Lour.) Raeusch. (scramberry): 110,
   GVDB: 5–6. See also AVS: 1, 77; cf.
                                                 215, 307
   NK: 1, #88: 134, 187, 194, 196, 307
                                             screwpine (ketaka) Pandanus tectorius
sage-leaved alangium (ankotha) see
   sage-leaved alangium (ankolla): 201
                                                 Parkinson ex Du Roi, GVDB: 116: 290
sal group of trees (śālasārādi) śālasārādi is a
                                             scurfy pea (bākucī) Identified as Cullen
   group (gaṇa) of twenty-three trees
                                                 corylifolia (L.) Medik. ADPS: 69–70,
   listed at 1.38.8-9 (Su 1938: 165),
                                                 GVDB: 272: 306
   Mahākośa: 1,898:78
                                             scutch grass (dūrvā) Cynodon dactylon
sal tree (śālā) Shorea robusta, Gaertn.f. See
                                                 (Linn.) Pers., GVDB: 205: 298, 307
   AVS: 5, 124: 214
                                             scutch grass (granthilā) see scutch grass
sandalwood (candana) Santalum album, L.
                                                 (dūrvā), Mahākośa: 1, 303, citing the
   See ADPS: 111, NK: 1, #2217. See
                                                 Rājanighaṇṭu. It should be an aromatic
   GVDB: 152–153 for discussion of types,
                                                in this context. Monier-Williams
   including white and red (Pterocarpus
                                                 et al.: 371 said "two kinds of Dūrvā
   santalinus (L.f.)): 79, 110, 112, 151, 180,
                                                 grass and of a kind of Cyperus" on
   186, 204, 311
                                                 lexical authority, perhaps also the
                                                 Rājanighaṇṭu where it is listed amongst
sandan (tiniśa) Ougeinia oojeinensis
                                                sweet-smelling plants. Other sources
   (Roxb.) Hochr. GVDB: 181, q.v. for
   discussion about whether tiniśa and
                                                 identify it as Cissus quadrangularis, L.,
                                                i.e., Veltd grape (Ś. Gupta 1887: 272), or
   syandana are to be separated. If other
   trees are in the frame for either name,
                                                 Bengal quince (bilva): 204
   Singh and Chunekar (GVDB) suggest
                                             sedge (kutannata) \rightarrow plava, tagara, or
   Lagerstroemeia parviflora Roxb.
                                                 śyonāka, according to commentators
   (sidhraka/siddhaka) and L. flos-reginae
                                                 (GVDB: 102–103). Singh and Chunekar
   Retz. (jārula by some). See GVDB: 432:
                                                 leans towards the plava, but that plant
                                                 too is difficult to identify. Various
   201, 204, 306
sappanwood (pattānga) Also pattanga.
                                                 sources identify kuṭannaṭa as Cyperus
   Caesalpinia sappan, L. AVS: 1, 323, K &
                                                rotundus L., C, scariosus R. Br.,
   B: 2,847 f, GVDB: 234: 44,54
                                                 Oroxylum indicum (L,) Benth. ex Kurz
scarlet mallow (bandhujīva) Pentapetes
                                                 ( = Bignonia Indica L.) or even
   phoenicea, L. NK: #1836, GVDB: 268:
                                                Cinnnamomum verum J.Presl. The
                                                 Cyperus genus comprises about 700
   136
                                                 species of sedges, and I have chosen
scented pavonia (bālaka) Pavonia odorata,
                                                 "sedge" as a generic indication of the
   Willd. See ADPS: 498, NK: 1, #1822: 151
                                                 likely identity of this plant: 185, 307
scented pavonia (toya) → bālaka? Pavonia
                                             sedge (kutannata) see sedge (kutannata):
   odorata, Willd. ADPS: 498, NK: 1,
                                                 204
   #1822:204
scramberry (tālīsapatra) see scramberry
                                             sesame (tila) Sesamum indicum L.
                                                 GVDB: 183: 204, 205
   (tālīśa): 204
scramberry (tālīśa) Singh and Chunekar
                                             sesame oil (taila) Sesamum indicum L.
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GVDB: 183: 53, 180
shami tree ( $\hat{s}am\bar{i}$ ) Prosopis cineraria (L.)
Druce GVDB: 390: 201, 292
silk-cotton tree (śālmalī) Bombax
malabarica. See Issar: 152: 204
siris ( <i>śirīṣa</i> ) Albizia lebbeck, Benth. See
AVS: 1, 81, NK: 1, #91, GVDB: 399–400.
Cf. white siris: 150, 180, 193–197, 203,
204, 214, 311
siris seeds (śirīṣamāṣaka) Albizia lebbeck,
Benth. See AVS: 1, 81, NK: 1, #91:
134, 195
small-flowered crape myrtle (sidhraka)
Lagerstroemia parviflora Roxb.,
GVDB: 432: 156
smooth angelica (coraka) Angelica glauca
Edgw. GVDB: 161. Distribution:
Afghanistan, Himalaya, western Tibet
(POWO). Edgeworth even recorded the
indigenous name "chura" (Edgeworth
1851: 53): 187, 202, 308
smooth angelica (taskara) see smooth
angelica (coraka), GVDB: 176: 204
snakeroot (sugandh $\bar{a}$ ) $ o$ sarpagandh $\bar{a}$
Rauvolfia serpentina Benth. ex. Kurz.
See sarpagandhā. But may be
Aristolochia indica Linn. Has been
identified with nākulī, or gandhanākulī.
See (GVDB: 219, 436) : 142
spikenard (jaṭā) see spikenard
(jaṭamāṃsī) : 195, 204
spikenard (jaṭāmāṃsī) Nardostachys
jatamansi (D.Don) DC, GVDB: 163. See
also NK: 1, #1691: 308
spikenard (māṃsī) see spikenard
(jaṭamāṃsī) : 151, 186, 204
spikenard (nalada) see spikenard
(jaṭamāṃsī) : 132, 186, 204
spiny bitter gourd (karkāruka) Momordica
cochinchinensis (Lour.) Spreng.,
(Thunb.) Cogn. SeeAVS: 2, 1135, IGP
754 (or Beninkasa
hispida? AVS: 2, 1127; cf. AVS: 1, 261).
M cochinchinensis has poisonous seeds (NEH: 279): 296
(14111.2/9).290

- spurge (?) (nandanā) an unknown poisonous plant, a.k.a. (equally obscurely) udīmānaka, GVDB: 215 (where it is m.). Perhaps a synonym of oleander spurge  $(snuh\bar{\imath})$ , like oleander spurge (nandā): 143 spurge (saptalā) Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 421–422) discuss the four candidates for this plant, three of which are Euphorbias: 114, 187 strychnine tree (visamustika) Strychnos nux vomica Linn., GVDB: 373: 304 sugar (sitā) Dalhaṇa makes this equation at 1.37.25 (Su 1938: 162): 151, 186 sugar (śarkara) Saccharum officinarum, Linn. NK: #2182: 138 sugar cane (iksu) Saccharum officinarum, Linn. NK: #2182: 138 sunflower  $(s\bar{u}ryavall\bar{\iota}) \rightarrow \bar{a}dityavall\bar{\iota}$ , sūryamukhī, Helianthus annūs Linn. GVDB: 35, 443: 150 sweet flag (vacā) Acorus calamus Linn. See GVDB: 352-355: 109, 116, 202 sweet plants (madhuravarga) The sweet plants are enumerated at Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.42.11. See also
- sweet-scented oleander (aśvamāraka)
  Nerium oleander, L. See ADPS: 223,
  NK: 1, #1709, GVDB: 77, which
  discusses the white and red forms: 142
- teak (*śāka*) Tectona grandis, L.f. See AVS: 5, 245, (MW: 1061): 201

GVDB: 127: 53

- Tellicherry bark (*kuṭaja*) Holarrhena pubescens Wall. ex G.Don, with Wrightia tinctoria and W. arborea considered GVDB: 101–102, ADPS: 267–270: 105, 201, 295
- ten roots (daśamūla) Described at Suśrutasaṃhitā 1.38.70—71 (Su 1938: 169) as a combination of the lesser five roots and the greater five roots: 295
- the three myrobalans (*triphalā*) chebulic myrobalan beleric myrobalan and emblic myrobalan (*harītakī bibhītaka*

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mentioned drugs in the Brhattrayī
   GVDB: 194-196: 103, 185, 186, 195,
   196, 291
the three pungent drugs (kaṭutrika) see the
   three pungent drugs (trikatu): 197, 204
the three pungent drugs (trikatu) dried
   ginger, long pepper, and black pepper
   (śunthī, pippalī, and marica) GVDB: 193:
   185, 309
the three pungent drugs (vyoṣa) see the
   three pungent drugs (trikațu),
   GVDB: 382-383: 196
the two types of clitoria (śvete) see white
   clitoria (śvetā): 204
the two types of turmeric (haridre) see
   turmeric (haridrā) and Indian barberry
   (dāruharidrā), GVDB: 465–466: 204
thorn apple (karambha) Datura metel, L.
   See GVDB: 76 for useful discussion.
   Also, AVS: 2, 305 (cf.
   Abhidhānamañjarī), NK: 1, #796 ff.
   Potter<sub>rev</sub>: 292 f, ADPS: 132. Possibly the
   same plant as plumed cockscomb
   (indīvara) (GVDB: 76, 44–45): 143, 144,
   291, 304
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: 79, 150
three-leaved caper (varuna) Crataeva
   magna (Lour.) DC. See AVS: 2, 202; cf.
   NK: 1, #696: 137, 187, 202, 309
three-leaved caper (varuṇaka) see
   three-leaved caper (varuna): 204
toothed-leaf limonia (surasī) Naringi
   crenulata (Roxb.) Nicolson (formerly
   Limonia crenulata Roxb.), GVDB: 439:
   186, 204
top layer of fermented liquor (surāmaṇḍa)
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K & B: 2, 502, NK: 2, appendix VI, #49,

and āmalaka) One of the most-often

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McHugh 2021: 39: 51, 52
tree cotton (kārpāsa) G. arboreum L.
   ADPS: 231. Pace the identifications of
   Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 92, 247),
   since G. barbadense L. is native to
   South America and G. herbaceum L.
   which is native to Africa: 50, 309
tree cotton (picu) See tree cotton (kārpāsa):
   52, 54
tree of heaven (arala) probably Alianthus
   excelsa Roxb., GVDB: 21–22: 194, 201
turmeric (gaurī) Curcuma longa, L. See
   ADPS: 169, AVS: 2, 259, NK: 1, #750:
turmeric (haridrā) Curcuma longa Linn.
   GVDB: 465: 111, 150, 157, 185, 309
turmeric (rajanī) Curcuma longa, L.
   ADPS: 169, AVS: 2, 259, NK: 1, #750:
   36, 151, 186, 196
turpeth (trivrt) \rightarrow trvrt\bar{a}. Operculina
   turpethum (Linn.) Silva Manso =
   Ipmoea turpethum R. Br. GVDB: 197.:
   103, 138, 185, 276, 291
turpeth (tṛvṛt) The common spelling in
   Nepalese MSS of trivrt: 196
two kinds of salt (vasukavasira) See the
   discussion by 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): 77
unknown fruit poison (venuka) see
   unknown fruit poison (venukā): 143
unknown fruit poison (venukā) Bambusa
   bambos, Druce?. See NK: 1, #307,
   GVDB: 380. The Nepalese transmission
   has the m. venuka, not the f. venukā
   Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 380) note
   that this is an unknown fruit-poison:
velvet bean (svayanıguptā) Mucuna
   pruriens (L.) DC., GVDB: 461, who say
   that the plant is known in the
   Carakasamhitā but not the
   Suśrutasamhitā: 214, 310
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velvet bean (ārsabhī) see velvet bean
   (rsabh\bar{\imath}) and velvet bean (svayamgupt\bar{a}).
   Mahākośa: 1, 94, citing the Rājanighaṇṭu
   3.50, 201: 194
velvet bean (rsabh\bar{\imath}) see velvet bean
   (svayamguptā), MW: 226, GVDB: 56:
velvet-leaf (pāṭhā) Cissampelos pariera, L.
   See ADPS: 366, NK: 1, #592, GJM1: 573,
   AVS: 1, 95; cf. AVS: 2, 277: 44, 79, 100,
   116, 150, 185, 186, 297
velvet-mite (indragopa) Kerria lacca
   (Kerr.). Lienhard 1978: 133
verbena (bhārgī) see verbena (bhārngī):
   186, 204
verbena (bh\bar{a}rng\bar{\iota}) \rightarrow pha\tilde{n}j\bar{\iota}.
   Clerodendrum serratum (L.) Moon or
   C. serratum; see AVS: 2, 121, ADPS: 87:
verbena (phañjī) Clerodendrum serratum,
   L. See AVS: 2, 121, ADPS: 87: 136
vetiver (uśīra) Chrysopogon zizanioides
   (L.) Roberty, also called "khus." NK: 1,
   #180, GVDB: 54 identify it as vetiver:
   78, 135, 180, 310
vetiver and lemon grass (?) (uśīre) "the
   two uśīras," perhaps vetiver (uśīra) and
   lemon grass (uśīrabheda): 204
viburnum (tilva) see viburnum (tilvaka):
   196
viburnum (tilvaka) Viburnum nervosum
   D.Don. In their thoughtful article,
   Singh and Chunekar (GVDB: 185–186)
   separate tilvaka from lodhra, a conflation
   they attribute to Dṛḍhabala. They
   identify V. nervosum because of its use
   under a similar local name in Garhawal
   and Gangotri and the match with its
   purging properties mentioned in
   ayurvedic literature. AVS: 5, 219 makes
   the same separation, noting that in
   Kerala the plant Jatropha curcas L. is
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used. But that is a native of the new world. Cf. many Viburnum varieties

listed by Griffiths (IGP: 1200 ff.).

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POWO confirms that V. nervosum has
   an appropriate Himalayan distribution.
   Tilvaka is also sometimes wrongly
   considered to be a synonym of
   long-stamen Wendlandia (?) (tilaka),
   GVDB: 185–186: 103, 202, 302, 310
viburnum extract (tailvaka) see viburnum
   (tilvaka), GVDB: 185, also a ghee
   compound of viburnum (tilvaka): 214
'Virāta's plant' (vairātaka) unknown. See ?:
   144, 146
water snowflake (?) (kumudavati) see
   water snowflake (?) (kumudavatī): 144
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
   illustrated on p. 6 of the Voynich
   manuscript. Khan et al. (2018) assert
   that this is the same plant as tagara,
   although this is not a widely-held view
   (see crape jasmine (tagara)): 143,
   294, 310
watered buttermilk (udaśvit) MW: 183: 134
weaver's beam tree (mokṣaka) see weaver's
   beam tree (muṣkaka): 310
weaver's beam tree (muskaka) Schrebera
   swietenioides, Roxb. See AVS: 5, 88,
   Lord, NK: 1, #2246, GVDB: 242–243:
   105, 156, 310
weaver's beam tree (p\bar{a}tal\bar{\iota}) usually a
   synonym for crimson trumpet-flower
   tree (pāṭalā), but Singh and Chunekar
   (GVDB: 242–243) argue that it is
   weaver's beam tree (mokṣaka) because
   some authors distinguish two colours
   (unlike pāṭalā): 105, 201, 204
weaver's beam tree (viśalyā) Schrebera
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swieteniodes Roxb. ← *kuberākṣī*. Singh

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and Chunekar (GVDB: 371) notes that
                                                   album Linn. see sandalwood (candana)
   this name is a synonym for many other
                                                   GVDB: 152, 282 and Carakasamhitā
   plants, including lāngālī, indravāruņi,
                                                   ci.4.102 (Ca 1941: 434) where it is
   gudūcī etc. Dalhana identified it with
                                                   contrasted with lohitacandana: 79, 311
   pāṭalā, kāṣṭhapāṭalā, and agniśikhā tree,
                                                white siris (?) (kapītana) Singh and
   all of which may be called śvetamoksaka
                                                   Chunekar (GVDB: 72–73) note that this
   or kuberākṣī : 185
                                                   stands for at least two plants, milky and
weevil wort (tālamūlikā) GVDB: 178–179:
                                                   non-milky. For the latter type, they
                                                    propose Albizia procera (Roxb.)
                                                    Benth., Thespesia (hibiscus-like, but
weevil wort (t\bar{a}lapatr\bar{i}) \rightarrow t\bar{a}lam\bar{u}lik\bar{a}, weevil
   wort, q.v. GVDB: 178: 187
                                                   not endemic to S. Asia) or Spondias
                                                    (cashew). Six different identifications
white babool (arimeda) Acacia
                                                   are made by Monier-Williams et al.
   leucophloea, (Roxb.) Willd. See
                                                    (MW: 251), without authority: 201
   AVS: 1, 23: 44, 202
                                                white siris (katabhī) Albizia procera
white calotropis (alarka) Calotropis
                                                    (Roxb.) Benth. or A. lebbeck (Linn.)
   procera, (Ait.) R. Br. See NK: 1, #428,
                                                    Benth. GVDB: 63-64, AVS: 1, 81-84. Cf.
   Chopra: 46b, Chopra IDG: 305–308: 53
                                                   Cf. siris: 180, 308
white clitoria (śvetā) Clitoria ternatea, L.
                                                white siris (kiṇihī) Albizia procera (Roxb.)
   See AVS: 2, 129, NK: 1, #621.
                                                   Benth., GVDB: 98, which also discusses
   GVDB: 416–417 notes that there are two
                                                    past confusions; NK: 1, #93: 150, 186
   types, kṣudrā (white, according to
   Dalhana) and mahā (blue, according to
                                                white teak (k\bar{a}r\acute{s}mar\bar{\imath}) \rightarrow k\bar{a}\acute{s}mar\bar{\imath}: 215
                                                white teak (kāśmarya) see white teak
   Dalhana). Sometimes given as a
                                                    (kāśmarī): 204
   synonym for winged-stem canscora,
   but sometimes as a contrasting plant:
                                                white teak (kāśmaryā) see white teak
   135, 186, 195, 198, 203, 309
                                                    (kāśmarī): 78
white cutch tree (somavalka) Acacia
                                                white teak (k\bar{a}śmar\bar{i}) \rightarrow k\bar{a}śmarya, k\bar{a}rśmar\bar{i},
   polyacantha, Willd. See AVS: 1, 30, IGP
                                                   madhuparṇī. Gmelina arborea, Roxb.
   7, GJM1: 602, AVS: 2, 935; pace NK: 1,
                                                   See GJM1: 543, Trees: 51, ADPS: 240,
   #1038: 136, 156
                                                   GVDB: 96-97: 110, 112, 296, 311
white dammer tree (sarja) Vateria indica,
                                                white teak (madhuparn\bar{i}) \rightarrow k\bar{a}\acute{s}mar\bar{i}: 77
   L. See NK: 1, #2571, AVS: 5, 349 f,
                                                white water-lily (kumuda) Nymphaea alba,
   AVS: 1, 292 f, Chopra: 253a. Singh and
                                                   Linn., GVDB: 105: 35, 204, 295
   Chunekar (GVDB: 424) discussed
                                                wild asparagus (bahuputrā) Asparagus
   whether this term might be broadened
                                                   racemosus, Willd. See further wild
   to any resinous tree and decided
                                                   asparagus (śatāvarī) Possibly a syn. for
   against: 44, 77, 306, 311
                                                   nandana. The bark of wild asparagus is
white dammer tree (sarjja) see white
                                                   toxic: 136
   dammer tree (sarja): 201
                                                wild asparagus (śatāvarī) Asparagus
white lotus (puṇḍarīka) see sacred lotus
                                                   racemosus, Willd. See ADPS: 441,
   (padma), GVDB: 252: 146
                                                   AVS: 1, 218, NK: 1, #264, IGP: 103,
white sandalwood (bhadraśriya)
                                                   AVS: 4, 249 ff, Dymock: 3, 482 ff:
   Santanlum album Linn. See white
                                                    108-110, 112, 220, 311
   sandalwood (bhadraśrī): 110, 204
                                                wild celery (agnika) \rightarrow may be bhallātaka,
white sandalwood (bhadraśrī) Santanlum
                                                   lāngalī, ajamodā, moraţa, or agnimantha,
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GVDB: 4. Uncertain A plant often cited *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 5.5.75 (Su 1938: 579) in Suśrutasamhitā, but rarely in they cannot be the same plant. Carakasamhitā (GVDB: 4). Dalhana GVDB: 138-139 argued for glossed it at 5.2.45 (Su 1938: 566) as Symphorema polyandrum Wight, ajamodā but noted that others consider which they also assigned to sinduvāra. it to be *morata*. There is considerable When discussing *śankhapuṣpī*, another complexity surrounding the possible synonym, Sivarajan and identification of *morața/mūrvā* itself and Balachandran (ADPS: 425–427) also related synonyms (GVDB: 314-316): suggest Canscora alata (Roth) Wall. 150, 312 (syn of Canscora decussata Schultes & wild celery (ajamodā) Apium graveolens, Schultes f.) and Convulvulus L. Sometimes identified with agnika pluricaulis Chois. The former has a (wild celery), q.v.: 150, 185 more appropriate distribution and is wild Himalayan cherry (padmaka) Prunus chosen here: 312 cerasoides D.Don, GVDB: 236, winged-stem canscora (*giryāhvā*) see AVS: 4, 353–355. MW: 585 is wide of winged-stem canscora (girikarnikā): 311 the mark: 110–112, 185, 186, 204 Withania (aśvagandhā) Withania somnifera wild spider flower (*ajagandhā*) possibly (L.) Dunal. See AVS: 5, 409 f, Cleome gynandra L. (syn. Dymock: 2, 566 f, 150, GVDB: 29, Gynandropis gynandra L.); possibly Chevillard: 152: 53, 104, 111, 186 also Basil (Ocimum basilicum Linn. or wood-apple (kapittha) Limonia acidissima, Crested Late Summer Mint (Elsholtzia L. See AVS: 3, 327, NK: 1, #1021: 111, ciliata Willd.) (GVDB: 6). But E. ciliata 135, 137, 187, 196, 197, 201, 214, 305 is not native to South Asia: 116 woody turmeric (kāleyaka) Coscinium wild spider flower (tailaparnika) see wild fenestratum (Goetgh.) Colebr., spider flower: 204 GVDB: 95. See V. K. Gupta et al. wild spider flower (tilaparṇī) Cleome 2015: 173-175: 204 gynandra L., GVDB: 184–185, but see woody-fruited jujube (*gopaghoṇṭā*) the discussion of the other drug plants Ziziphus xylopyra (Retz.) Willd. sometimes intended by this name: 312 GVDB:  $147 \rightarrow ghont\bar{a}$ : 202 wild sugar cane (kāṇḍekṣu) Saccharum vellow-berried nightshade (kantakārī) spontaneum L., GVDB: 90: 77 Solanum virginianum L. (syn. Solanum winged-stem canscora (girihvā) see surattense Burm. f. and Solanthum winged-stem canscora (girikarnikā): xanthocarpum, Schrad. & Wendl.) GVDB: 68–69. See also IHR: 430. A winged-stem canscora (girikarnikā) component of lesser five roots: 301, 312 sometimes  $\rightarrow$  *śvetā*, in which case possibly Clitoria ternatea, L., see yellow-berried nightshade (kṣudrā) see AVS: 2, 129, NK: 1, #621. Since *śvetā* yellow-berried nightshade (kanṭakārī), and *girihvā* are cited as separate ADPS: 100, NK: 1, #2329, AVS: 5, 164: constitutents of one formula (e.g., 150, 151

## Fauna

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arala rat (arala1) a hapax legomenon in
                                              gajpipul rat (vasira1) unknown type of rat
                                                  or mouse. "Vasira," equated with
   Sanskrit, probably a Dravidian loan
   word or cognate from forms like Pengo,
                                                 gajapippalī is usually the name of the
   Manda, Kuwi etc., orli, urli, etc.,
                                                 liana Scindapsus officinalis (Roxb.)
   DED<sub>2</sub>: #994: 192, 195
                                                 Schott (GVDB: 132, 362) (see gajpipul
                                                  (gajapippal\bar{i})). Lianas are known for
bad-marked rat (kulinga) etymologically,
                                                 providing a habitat for many arboreal
   "having bad-marks" MW: 286, but
                                                 animals, including rodents. The vulgate
   unidentifiable: 192, 195
                                                 Suśrutasamhitā reads hamsira as the
black drongo (dhūmyāta) Dicrurus
   adsimilis, Bechstein, Dave 1985: 63, 65,
                                                 name of this rat: 192, 194
                                              grey peacock-pheasant (jīvajīvaka)
   199:132
                                                 Polyplectron bicalcaratum, Linn., Dave
black rat (kṛṣṇa) perhaps the widespread
                                                  1985: 270, 273, 274, 281: 132
   Black Rat or Common House Rat,
                                              hill myna (sārikā) Acridotheres tristis
   Rattus Rattus L., BIA: 210: 192, 194
                                                 tristis, L., etc. See Ali and Ripley
brown rat (kapila1) name from etymology;
                                                  1983: #1006, Dave (1985: 28 ff.),
   unidentified; see tawny rat (aruna):
                                                 Woodcock (1980: 119): 132
   192, 195
                                              house shrew (chuchundara) Suncus
bull (vrsabha) MW: 1012, etc. Bos taurus,
                                                 murinus (Linnaeus, 1766), Wikipedia,
   Linn.: 132
                                                 BIA: 168–169 and plate 38. Probably a
chital deer (prsata) Axis axis, Erxleben.
                                                 Dravidian loan word related to Tamil
   BIA: 295–296. In Suśrutasaṃhitā 5.5.71
                                                 cuntan, "grey musk shrew," see
   (Su 1938: 579) it seems to be specifically
                                                 DED<sub>2</sub>: #2661 and CDIAL: #5053:
   the musk that is meant. so the reference
                                                  192, 194
   may be to the Musk Deer (Moschus
                                              iguana (godheraka) The गौधेरक is described
   moschiferus L.). But all species
   produce musk, so prsata may also be
                                                 in the Carakasamhitā as a four-legged
                                                 snake born of a Indian monitor lizard
   simply Chital or Spotted Deer. See also
                                                 that is similar to a black snake and has
   IW: 93: 132, 138, 186
                                                 several species (6.23.134
chukar partridge (cakora) Alectoris chukar,
                                                  (Ca 1941: 577)). CDIAL: 1, #4286
   J. E. Gray, Woodcock 1980: 45,
   distributed from NW India to Nepal
                                                 identifies this as an iguana: 208, 314
                                              Indian monitor lizard (godhā) Varanus
   and Assam: 132
                                                 bengalensis (Daudin, 1802),
civet (mārjāra) BIA: ch. 4 et passim,
                                                 Reptiles: 58-60, ill.: 53, 138, 313
   McHugh 2012: 186
                                              Indian peafowl (mayūra) Pavo cristatus,
common crane (kroñca) Grus grus, Linn.,
                                                 Linn., Woodcock 1980: 39: 132
   Woodcock 1980: 47, Dave 1985: ch. 62:
                                              invincible rat (ajita) etymological meaning;
                                                  unidentifiable: 192, 195
fidgety rat (capala) from the etymology of
   the word. Unidentifiable mouse or rat.
                                              koel (kokila) Eudynamys scolopaceus,
   It is probably too much of a stretch to
                                                 Linn., Wikipedia, Woodcock 1980: 66:
   connect it with Dravidian forms like
   Kui superi "shrew-mouse",
                                              lac (lāksā) Kerria lacca (Kerr.). See
   DED<sub>2</sub>: #2675: 192, 195
                                                 GJM1: 445, NK: 2, #32, Varshney 2000.
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Watt (Watt $_{Comm}$ : 1053–1066) is

characteristically informative, and is

fondling rat (*lālana*) based on etymology.

An unknown rat or mouse: 192, 193

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definite about the antiquity of lac in India: 157, 186, 204

large Brown rat (mahākapila) from the etymology of the name, "large brown," perhaps a bandicoot: 195

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 467, p. 154. 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 point to a Dravidian origin for the lexeme (DED<sub>2</sub>: #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 *Suśrutasamhitā*. See further IW: 40, 135-136; Deuti 2020: 82

little rat (*cikkira*) likely related to the Tuļu "cikkeli, a small variety of mouse," and other Dravidian works related to Tamil *cikka* "small',' DED<sub>2</sub>: #2495. See also CDIAL: #4779 on *cikka* "mouse or muskrat," from lexical sources, and #4781 *cikkā* "small" from Drav., Burrow 1948: #141: 192, 194

mole-rat (kokila1) Bandicota bengalensis

(Gray & Hardwicke). Etymologically, "brown as a Kokila". CDIAL: #4324 relates *kokila* to *golaka* but it may more likely be a Dravidian loanword from *koko, kogi, koki,* meaning "small, little, young" DED<sub>2</sub>: 2030. This is possibly supported by Kannada *kok* and Telugu *golatta, koku* for the mole-rat, reported by Prater (BIA: 205): 192, 195

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 IW: 112; BIA: 98–99: 138, 186

parakeet (*śuka*) Psittacula krameri, Scopoli (or P. eupatria or cyanocephala), See Woodcock 1980: 64: 132, 196

pigeon rat (*kapota1*) a rat "like a pigeon;" presumably of grey colour: 192, 195 racket-tailed drongo (*bhṛṅgarāja*) Dicrurus paradiseus, Linn., Woodcock 1980: 123: 132

rat (*unduru*) Also *undura* or *indūra* in some sources, including the vulgate. A common name for a rat or mouse in many S. Asian languages from Prakrit to contemporary, CDIAL: #2095, Menon 2014, where it is called "house mouse": 192, 195

red-toothed shrew (kaṣāyadanta) see red-toothed shrew (kaṣāyadaśana) : 195

red-toothed shrew (kaṣāyadaśana) from the etymology of the word. Shrews in the genus Sorex (as well as others in the subfamily Soricinae) have red-pigmented teeth. Species in South Asia include Hodgsons's brown-toothed shrew (Episoriculus caudatus), the Himalayan water shrew (Chimarrogale himalayica), the Assam mole shrew (Anourosoricini assamensis) and the Giant mole shrew (A. schmidi): 192, 314

river dolphin (śiśumāra) Platanista

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gangetica (Lebeck), BIA: 313–314, plate on p. 289, MW: 1076: 205

sonny rat (*putraka*) unidentified mouse or rat. Perhaps related to Dravidian forms like Pengo *puṭki*, DED<sub>2</sub>:#4257 (itself perhaps just a form related to Tamil *poṭi* "little"): 192, 193

swan (haṇṣa) Cygnus olor, Gmelin, Dave 1985: ch. 84. As Dave says, "a generic term for a large part of the Anatidae family" including Swans, Geese, Ducks and Teals. The term needs to be translated variously according to the geographical context of the usage. In the Himalayan region, "swan" is appropriate, but in more southerly peninsular India, "goose" is more likely. The dogmatism of Vogel 1962 is based on mainly southern observations and temple carvings. The discussion by Dave 1985 is nuanced and accurate: 132 sweet hoof (nakha) Unguis odoratus or

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): 204

tawny rat (*aruṇa*) from the etymology of the word, perhaps Rattus norvegicus (Berkenhout, 1769), which is large, brown and common (it originated in central Asia and (likely) China, not Norway), and perhaps distinguishing it from the "large" ??: 192, 195, 196, 313

tortoise (*kūrma*) Perhaps Geochelone elegans (Schoepff), Reptiles: 30 and plate, MW: 1076: 205

white rat (*śveta1*) from the etymology, perhaps the Mus musculus, L.., although strictly, they are agouti not white. The whitetailed wood rat (*Madromys blanfordi*, Thomas) is brown but has a distinctive white end to its tail: 192, 195

## **Minerals**

ashes (*bhasma*) ashes, corrosive when wet:

Onycha, McHugh 2013, from which I

cuttle-fish bone (?) (phenāśma) Hapax legomenon. Etymologically "foam-stone". Perhaps cuttlefish bone, or pumice (see Byrski 1981)? Dutt (Dutt: 38–42) conjectured that 'foam-stone' may be impure white

arsenic obtained by roasting orpiment.:

orpiment (*haritāla*) Arsenii trisulphidum. See NK v. 2, p. 20 ff : 144 vermilion (*rakta*) speculative, based on

Mahākośa: 1, 667, under raktadhātu, citing the Dhanvantarīyanighantu: 144

'invincible" - ajeya: 151	accents - svara: 180
	accumulation - samudāya: 49 - sañcaya: 22
@ - avabāhuka: 71	acidic - amla: 78
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flat insects' - picciṭā: 155	<i>agada</i> - antidote: 149, 180f, 185, 198
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## **Todo list**

Cite Paul Courtright, Ganesha book
Can't be "sedation"
complete this thought
add footnote here 63
add refs to Divodāsa as king
find out about uttarabasti
to what?
29, 30 missing?
Problematic passage in the edition
unsolved problem
Perhaps kalka here could also mean the Terminalia Bellerica (विभीतक).102
Perhaps kalka here could also mean the Terminalia Bellerica (विभीतक).102
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 111
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 $\bar{a}$ $k$ $p$
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	134
Mention this in the introduction as an example of the scribe know-	
ing the vulgate	
fn about sadyas+	134
Bear's bile instead of deer's bile	135
punarṇṇavā in the N & K MSS	136
śrita for śṛta	136
explain more	
Medical difference from Sharma	137
example where the vulgate clarifies that these should be used sep-	
arately; appears to be a gloss inserted into the vulgate text	137
The two uses of prāpta are hard to translate. prāptā $h  o k$ ṣipram is	
an example of the vulgate banalizing the Sanskrit text to make	
sense of a difficult passage	137
$\sqrt{\text{vyadh not }\sqrt{\text{vedh (also elsewhere and for the ears)}}$ , causative	
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Look up the ca. reference	146
Come back to the issue of "kalpa". Look up passages in the Kośa.	153
got to here - 2023-01 continue with table for #5	155
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Include info on <b>hida-2019</b>	163
Or "There are 20 phaṇins and 6 maṇḍalins. 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	
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where is cutting with a knife related to removing bile or phlegm	214
maṣī burned charcoal. Find refs	214
find ref	220
Check out these refs.	
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See chapter 40 of Sūtrasthāna	
vasā / medas / majjan	
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