

## Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia Dipartimento Istituto Italiano di Studi Orientali

Tesi di Dottorato di Ricerca in Civiltà dell'Asia e dell'Africa

## Piņdaśāstra, an Āyurvedic Khotanese Text

# Critical Edition, Translation, Commentary, Glossary, and Study of the Sources

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XXXV Ciclo

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## Abbreviations and references

#### Books

KBT	Bailey 1951
KT 1-7	Bailey 1945-1985
MW	Monier-Williams 1899
SGS	Emmerick 1968b
Studies 1-3	Emmerick and Skjærvø 1982-1997

### Khotanese and Sanskrit Texts

Așțāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā
Asțāṅgasaṃgraha
Carakasamhitā
Cikitsāsthāna
Hārītasaṃhitā
Jīvakapustaka
Jātakastava
Nebenstücke
Nidānasthāna
Piņḍaśāstra
Siddhasāra
Suśrutasamhitā
Sūtrasthāna
Sumukhasūtra
Uttaratantra
Vimānasthāna
Vimalakīrti

### Other Abbreviations

1/2/3	first/second/third person
abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
Av.	Avestan
card. num.	cardinal number
Chin.	Chinese
conj.	conjunction
dat.	dative
encl.	enclitic
f.	feminine
Gāndh.	Gāndhārī
gen.	genitive
ind.	indicative
inst.	instrumental
intr.	intransitive
Ir.	Iranian
Kh.	Khotanese
LKh.	Late Khotanese
LW	loanword
<b>m.</b>	masculine
mid.	middle
ms	manuscript
n.	noun
nom.	nominative

nt.	neuter
OInd.	Old Indian
OIr.	Old Iranian
OKh.	Old Khotanese
opt.	optative
part. nec.	participle of necessity
perf.	perfect
pers. pron.	personal pronoun
pl.	plural
postp.	postposition
pres.	present
pres. ind.	present indicative
sg.	singular
Skt.	Sanskrit
Tib.	Tibetan
tr.	transitive
vb.	verb

### Authors of plant names

Ait.	Aiton, William (1731-1793)
A. Juss	Jussieu, Adrien Henri Laurent de (1797-1853)
All.	Allioni, Carlo (1728-1804)
Batsch.	Batsch, August Johann Georg Karl (1761-1802)
Blume	Blume, Carl(Karl) Ludwig von (1796-1862)
Burm.	Burman, Nicolaas Laurens (Nicolaus Laurent) (1734-1793)
Clar.	Clarke, Charles Baron (1832-1906)
Dalz.	Dalzell, Nicol Alexander (1817-1877)
Dunal	Dunal, Michel Félix (1789-1856)
Don	Don, David (1799-1841)
Eng.	Engler, Heinrich Gustav Adolf (1844-1930)

Gmel.	Gmelin, Johann Friedrich (1748-1804)
Hook.	Hooker, Joseph Dalton (1817-1911)
Jacq.	Jacquin, Nicolaus Joseph von (1727-1817)
Kurz.	Kurz, Wilhelm Sulpiz (1834-1878)
Lind.	Lindley, John (1799-1865)
Linn.	Linnaeus, Carl (1707-1778)
Lodd.	Loddiges, George (1784-1846)
Loisel.	Loiseleur-Deslongchamps, Jean Louis August(e) (1774-1849)
Müll.Arg.	Müller Argoviensis, Johannes (Jean) (1828-1896)
Retz.	Retzius, Anders Jahan (1742-1821)
Roxb.	Roxburgh, William (1751-1815)
Schrad.	Schrader, Heinrich Adolph (1767-1836)
Vahl	Vahl, Martin (Henrichsen) (1749-1804)
Wendl.	Wendland, Johann Christoph (1755-1828)
Wight	Wight, Robert (1796-1872)
Zoll.	Zollinger, Heinrich (1818-1859)

## INTRODUCTION

#### 1. The Kingdom of Khotan and the Khotanese language

#### 1.1 Historical background

The ancient Iranian kingdom of Khotan was located on the southern branch of the Silk Road in the present-day Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China. Khotan was an early centre of Buddhist studies of the Mahāyāna tradition during all the first millennium C.E. and played an important role in developing the knowledge received from India and transmitting it eastwards. For many centuries different cultures met and mingled in this small kingdom at the edge of the Taklamakan desert and their influence was of great importance in defining the art, literature, and traditions of the people of Khotan.<sup>2</sup> Reflecting on his initial exploration of Khotan's ruins, Sir Marc Aurel Stein (1862-1943) eloquently expressed, 'this bygone culture rested mainly on Indian foundations. But there has also come to light unmistakable evidence of other powerful influences, both from the West and from China, which helped to shape its growth and to invest it with an individual character and fascination of its own'.<sup>3</sup>

Since the majority of the local documents written in Khotanese language is datable between the eight to the tenth century, most of the historical information about the early period comes from Chinese and Tibetan accounts.<sup>4</sup> Four sources tell us about the foundation of this kingdom, which allegedly took place during the reign of king Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty (third century B.C.E.).<sup>5</sup> Known by the Indian as *Gostana* and by the Chinese as **FB** *Yútián*, the indigenous name of Khotan and Khotanese was actually *hvatana*- (LKh. *hvamna*-, *hvana*-). Thus, in the fifth century *Book of Zambasta* we find *hvatäna-kṣīra* 'the Khotanese realm' and *hvatänä rre* 'the Khotanese king' (Z 5.114), and *hvatanau* 'in the Khotanese (language)' (Z 23.2).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See on Khotanese art Lo Muzio 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Stein 1904: xvi.

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{4}{2}$  Kumamoto 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Emmerick 1992a: 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Emmerick 1968a: 88.

The first historical references on this small kingdom are found in Chinese dynastic annals from the early Han to the Tang dynasties and begin from the 140 B.C.E.<sup>7</sup> However, the earliest evidence of the Iranian origin of Khotanese comes from the Kharoṣṭhī documents found at the sites around Niya. In one of these documents the king of Khotan bears the Iranian title *hinajha* 'general', which shows that 'there must already at that time have been a long-established connection between the Iranian inhabitants of Khotan and the royal power'.<sup>8</sup>

The history of the culture that once flourished in Khotan is faithfully reflected in the biographies of Chinese Buddhist monks, who during their travelling to the Western regions and to India visited also this area. Among them, the pilgrim Fǎxiǎn 法顧 provides a fascinating description of the city and its people that hosted him for three months around the 400 C.E. In the narration of a religious procession, he puts the beauty of Khotan into words:

'The country is prosperous and happy; its people are well-to-do; they have all received the Faith, and find amusement in religious music. The priests number several tens of thousands, most of them belonging to the Greater Vehicle (...) Before the door of every house they build small pagodas, the smallest of which would be about twenty feet in height [...]. In this country there are fourteen large monasteries, without counting the smaller ones'<sup>9</sup>

Buddhist monasteries, ceremonies, and religious texts are the expression of the strong Indian influence in Khotan. On the other hands, documents and letters give us a picture of daily life under the Chinese, Tibetan, and Western Turks, who rule over the country until the tenth century and its conquest by the Islamised Qarakhanids in 1005.<sup>10</sup>

#### 1.2 The Khotanese manuscripts

During the expeditions in the Central Asia at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, numerous manuscripts were brought back to light. Among them, Khotanese documents were found in the area of the kingdom of Khotan and in the 'Caves of Thousand

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See on the early period of Khotan Kumamoto 2009a and 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Emmerick 1992a: 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Translation by Giles 1923: 4-5.

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{10}{2000}$  See Skjærvø 2004b: 34-43. On Khotan during the Islamic period see Schluessel 2022.

Buddhas' in Dunhuang (Gansu province). The manuscripts recovered, which are now preserved in different libraries, are of two types. Of the first kind are manuscripts in *pothi* format, which consist of bundles of large oblong paper leaves imitating the Indian palm leaf format. To the second type belong the Chinese scrolls made from sheets of paper, glued together with extreme precision. Thanks to palaeographic studies, it is now possible to establish approximate dates for those manuscripts that did not contain dating information (e.g. literary texts). Accordingly, researchers were able to distinguish between older and younger manuscripts. The former were recovered from the region of Khotan and are approximately datable between the second half of the fifth century to the first half of the ninth century.<sup>11</sup>

#### 1.3 Stages of the Khotanese language

Among the literary finds mostly in Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan from the area of Khotan, hundreds of documents written in a 'non-Sanskrit' language were recovered. To quote once again Stein's words in 1904:

'All the most interest attaches to the numerous documents and fragmentary texts from the same site which show an otherwise unknown language, manifestly non-Sanskrit yet written in Indian Brahmi characters; for it appears very probable that in them we have records of the tongue actually spoken at that period by the indigenous population of Khotan'<sup>12</sup>

In fact, the nature of this language was not immediately clear. A first study on Khotanese started in the 1897 with A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, followed by Sten Konow, and Ernst Leumann. Their contribution on the decipherment and the identification of the language have been significant.

See also Emmerick 1992a: 4-6, Maggi 2009b: 333-334, Skjærvø 2002: lxviii-lxix, and Zhang and Rong 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Stein 1904: xviii-xix.

Linguistically, Khotanese is a Middle Iranian language and, together with Tumšqese, a Saka dialect.<sup>13</sup> The different varieties of Khotanese are traditionally categorised into two different stages: Old and Late Khotanese.<sup>14</sup> The manuscripts recovered from the region of Khotan contain both Old Khotanese and Late Khotanese texts. On the other hand, Dunhuang manuscripts are written only in later forms of Late Khotanese.<sup>15</sup> Particularly remarkable are the several stages of linguistic evolution observed within the Khotanese texts. For instance, over the time Old Khotanese morphology underwent an extreme simplification due to the drastic weakening of the vowels system. This phonological change caused in Late Khotanese the loss of diphthongs, final vowels, and the merger of different vowels into a single one.<sup>16</sup> As a consequence, the interpretation of Late Khotanese texts is often problematic.

#### 1.4 Script

The Khotanese texts are written in varieties of Central Asian Brāhmī, a development and adaptation of the Indian Brāhmī script. Although there are several different stages, two main varieties are distinguished and conventionally termed 'formal' and 'cursive'. The first one is found mainly in Buddhist texts and is characterised for being more elaborate and elegant. An extensive study on this script was provided by M. Leumann (1934) and L. Sander (1984). The 'cursive' *ductus* is further divided into 'formal', which is usually more accurate, and 'regular', less careful and written quickly.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Emmerick 1989: 204-205. See also Schmitt 2000: 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The existence of a third stage is posited by Skjærvø 2002: lxx-lxxi on the basis of linguistic and textual criteria. A first phase is identified in the Old Khotanese period, which corresponds to the fifth sixth century; a second one in the Middle Khotanese period, seventh to eight century; finally, the Old Khotanese period, around the ninth and tenth century. See also Skjærvø's recent study on Khotanese language 2022: 128-130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Maggi 2009b: 333.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See also Skjærvø 2002: lxxi, 2004b: lxxii-lxxiv, Skjærvø 2022: 122-128, Emmerick 1989, and Schmitt 2000: 60.

See also Maggi 2021, Skjærvø 2002: lxxi-lxxii and 2022: 121-122, Sander 1986: 159-192 and 2005: 133-144.

#### 1.5 The Khotanese literature: medical texts

As previously mentioned, Khotan was an important centre of Buddhist studies. Accordingly, the vast majority of Khotanese texts are from the Mahāyāna tradition, either translations or original compositions.<sup>18</sup> Among the original religious compendia, some interesting titles are *The Book of Zambasta* [Z],<sup>19</sup> an Old Khotanese poem from ca. the fifth century on the teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism, or the *Book of Vimalakīrti* [Vim], a Late Khotanese metrical text on Mahāyānist doctrines.<sup>20</sup> However, religious texts are not the only one to survive. Non-doctrinal literary texts are also extant and include lyrical and burlesque poetry, geographical texts, panegyrics, and medical texts.

The field of Khotanese medical literature holds significant importance, yet its investigation remains insufficient. Its development was profoundly shaped by the influence of Indian medicine. Specifically, Khotanese medical texts belong to the Indian Āyurvedic tradition, which was introduced to the region of Khotan concomitant with the spread of Buddhism. In the scope of this study, it is pertinent to delineate the salient characteristics of two prominent Khotanese medical texts, namely the *Siddhasāra* [Si] and the *Jīvakapustaka* [JP], alongside a concise and unidentified medical text found within the page of one of the *Siddhasāra* manuscripts.

#### 1.5.1 Siddhasāra

The Sanskrit *Siddhasāra* by Ravigupta has been dated around 650 C.E., about the same period of Vāgbhaṭa's treatises (ca. 600) and the *Mādhavanidāna* (ca. 700). This text was held in high regard in Central Asia and it was translated in various languages such as Tibetan, Uighur, and Khotanese.<sup>21</sup> Parallel passages with the famous treatises of Caraka and Suśruta have been

<sup>20</sup> See Maggi 2009b: 359-360.

<sup>21</sup> See Emmerick 1980a for a critical edition of the Sanskrit original and Emmerick 1982 for a critical edition and translation of the Tibetan version; see also Emmerick 1992a: 43-45, Meulenbeld 1999-2002, 2A: 146-148, 2B: 166-170, Maggi 2009b, and Zieme 2007: 413-416. Bailey edited the Khotanese text in *KT* 1.2-104 (manuscript Ch. ii.002 = ms Ch) and *KT* 5.315-324 (manuscript P 2892 = ms P).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> See on Khotanese literature Emmerick 1992a, Maggi 2009b, 2015: 860-870, and 2022: 133-143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> For the edition and translation of the text see Emmerick 1968. Cf. Maggi 2009a: 348-357 and *Annotation on the Book of Zambasta* vols. I-VIII (2009-2020).

identified by Emmerick in the *Siddhasāra*, which seems to have recollected the Indian  $\bar{A}$ yurvedic material of that time in 31 chapters written in verse. The Tibetan prose translation is fully preserved and, compared to the Sanskrit, is characterised by a more clear and less synthetic text. The Khotanese version is preserved within two manuscripts recovered from the Caves of Thousand Buddhas near Dunhuang, specifically the Ch. ii.002 and the Pelliot chinois 2892, the latter being a variant of fols. 5-14, both dating back to the tenth century. This is preceded by an introduction in verse where the translator explains the reason behind the translation,<sup>22</sup> which is based mainly on the Tibetan one. Unlike the Tibetan text, some chapters of the Khotanese version have not survived. However, a large part is still extant and its contribution to the study of the Khotanese medical vocabulary is extremely valuable.

#### 1.5.2 Jīvakapustaka

The document referred to as the *Jīvakapustaka* is a Sanskrit/Late Khotanese bilingual treatise preserved in the incomplete manuscript Ch. ii 003, currently stored in the British Library. The Khotanese text, dating back to the tenth century, was edited and translated by S. Konow in 1941. Furthermore, it was independently edited by H. W. Bailey in *KT* 1.136-196.<sup>23</sup> The conventional title *Jīvakapustaka*, signifying 'The book of Jīvaka', was assigned by Harold W. Bailey. This attribution originates from the fact that the initial chapter reveals the book's self-identification as the teachings of Buddha imparted to the physician Jīvaka. The text shows an alternating composition of Sanskrit, which is extremely corrupt, alternated with Khotanese paragraphs and sentences. Additionally, the text's organization follows a categorization based on various types of preparations, including an antidote, medicaments combined with clarified butter or sesame oil, and those formulated in powder form. The *Jīvakapustaka* shows some similarities with the text that forms the subject of the present study, particularly in the use of certain ingredients and the general organisation of the material.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> See Bailey 1962 and Emmerick 1983a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See Emmerick 1992a: 42-43, Maggi 2008b, 2009b: 350-351, 414-416 and 2022b, and Meulenbeld 1999-2002, 2A. 126, 2B: 144. See also the edition of the reconstructed Sanskrit text with modern Chinese translation by Chen 2005. A facsimile edition of the Khotanese *Siddhasāra* and *Jīvakapustaka* was published by Bailey 1938: 1-23, 25-141.

#### 1.5.3 Folio 100 of ms Ch. ii002 or Piņdasaptaka

The folio 100 of the Ch. ii.002, the pothi manuscript containing the Late Khotanese Siddhasāra, belongs to an unidentified medical text. The manuscript was recovered during the second expedition of Aurel Stein (1906-1908)<sup>24</sup> in Dunhuang. The manuscript presumably dates back to the tenth century and is now preserved at the British Library under the shelf number IOL Khot 123/1.25 The brief but well-preserved Late Khotanese medical text was first published in transcription by Harold W. Bailey in KT 1.34. Besides few passages and words in Bailey's Dictionary, the text has never been fully interpreted. The text contains Ayurvedic prescriptions, including six medicated pastes or poultices (Skt. *pinda(ka)-*) and one decoction (Skt. *kasāya-*) against the diseases of the abdominal area, strong pains in the bones and, possibly, skin irritations (sores). I am currently working on a critical edition and translation of this concise text, which interestingly shares many characteristics, such as medical terminology, phraseology, and other pertinent features, with those found in the Pindaśāstra. Due to the absence of an original title, I propose adopting the conventional denomination of *Pindasaptaka* [PiSa], on the grounds of the Sanskrit words *pinda(ka)*- signifying 'poultice' and *saptaka*- 'collection of seven'.<sup>26</sup> The designation reflects the content of this brief medical text, which encompass seven distinct preparation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Skjærvø 2002: xlviii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> A facsimile edition was published by Bailey 1938: 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> MW 625, s.v. *pindaka* and 1150, s.v. *saptaka*.

#### 2. Indian medicine

#### 2.1 Tracing the ancient roots of healing: Insights from Vedic texts and the Atharvaveda

Delineating the origin and the evolution of Indian medicine is an arduous task. For a long time, different traditions coexisted and often shared similar beliefs and practices. However, not all of them have survived, making impossible to follow a straight line in tracing the history of Indian medicine. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify elements concerning illness and healing since the earliest texts. "Starting with the earliest historical records of urbanization in the Indus Valley within Indian civilization, this chapter will provide a brief overview of the transition from basic concepts of medicine closely linked to magic, to the development of more organized healing systems.

The emergence of civilization in the South Asian peninsula can be traced back to the fourth millennium B.C.E., as evidenced by the first archaeological findings of the 'Indus Valley civilization', alternatively referred to as the 'Harappan civilization' on the basis of the first discovery site.<sup>27</sup> This civilization thrived across a vast geographical area spanning Pakistan and India, with notable centres of development in the cities of Harappa and Mohenjodaro during the fourth millennium. Recent studies on radiocarbon have contributed to establishing a comprehensive chronology for the Harappan culture, encompassing the early Harappan phase (c. 3200-2600 B.C.E.), the mature Harappan phase (c. 2600-1900 B.C.E.), and the late Harappan phase (c. 1900-1300 B.C.E.).<sup>28</sup> Excavations conducted at these sites have unveiled evidence of a sophisticated architectural framework, featuring houses of various sizes, potentially consisting of multiple floors, constructed with rooms arranged around a central courtyard.<sup>29</sup> Notably, a well-engineered drainage system was discovered, enabling the prevention of seasonal flooding and facilitating diverse applications of water, such as agricultural use, communal and private bathing, and the provision of freshwater reservoirs.<sup>30</sup> Remarkably, recent findings have revealed that toilets and bathing areas were prevalent in numerous households, and in the case of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Singh 2008: 137-138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Singh 2008: 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Kenoyer 2008: 724-725 and Singh 2008: 147-148.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> See Dash 1999: 6-7, Kenoyer 1991: 353-354, Singh 2008: 148-149, Wujastyk 1995: 19, and Zysk 1985: 1-4.

Harappa, they were found in nearly every house.<sup>31</sup> Upinder Singh has noted that the emphasis on water provision for bathing suggests a keen focus on personal hygiene and, as also pointed out by Wujastyk, possibly these frequent bathings may have held religious or ritualistic significance.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, it is conceivable that this advanced civilization operated within a class-based society, where individuals fulfilled specific roles, including religious functionaries who may have also served as healers.<sup>33</sup> However, when considering the social or religious aspects of this civilization it is important to approach these ideas with caution, as they remain tentative and speculative hypotheses due to the undeciphered script, which prevents confirmation of the only available evidence—archaeological data.<sup>34</sup>

During the second millennium, as the decline of the Harappan civilization gradually commenced with a process of de-urbanization, Indo-European groups made their initial appearance in South Asia.<sup>35</sup> Initially, they established their settlements in the north-western regions of the South Asian subcontinent, close to the Indus River system and the greater Punjab.<sup>36</sup> It was during this time that the traditions of these peoples were documented in a body of liturgical literature called *Vedas*.<sup>37</sup> Singh highlights that the Vedic texts primarily serve religious and ritualistic purposes rather than historical accounts. Nevertheless, when 'combined with the available archaeological evidence, they can be used as *sources* of information on various aspects of the life of people living in the greater Indus valley, the Indo-Gangetic divide, and the upper Ganga valley in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BCE'.<sup>38</sup> During this new historical phase of the South Asian culture, commonly called 'Vedic period', the first significant information about diseases and healing appeared in literature. This period, when Brahmins covered a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Kenoyer 2008: 725-726 and Sing 2008: 148-149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Singh 2008: 149 and Wujastyk 1995: 19. See also Kenoyer 2008: 725-733.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Wujastyk 1995: 19. For further information on the Harappan people and various hypotheses regarding their social and political organization, see also Kenoyer 2008: 731-733, Parpola 1986 and 2018 (consulted online on 22 July 2023), and Singh 2008: 173-179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> See Kenoyer 1998: 128 and Maas 2018: 535-536.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> See Proferes 2018a (consulted online on 22 July 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Proferes 2018a (consulted online on 22 July 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Wujastyk 1995: 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Singh 2008: 183.

predominant social position in this region,<sup>39</sup> is typically characterized by distinct cultural and historical phases. Scholars reconstruct these stages based on the diverse phonetic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical features found within the Vedic corpus.<sup>40</sup> Despite the considerable difficulty in establishing an absolute chronology that directly associates the texts with specific dates, a relative dating can be achieved by dividing the 'Vedic period' into three phases.<sup>41</sup>

A first phase includes the oldest texts of the *Rgveda*, believed to have been composed between 1750 or 1500 and 1200 or 1000 B.C.E.<sup>42</sup> Some scholars propose that certain portions of this text were composed as early as 2000 B.C.E.<sup>43</sup>. The *Rgveda* is a collection of 1028 hymns (*sūkta*) addressed to various gods, divided in ten books, known as *maṇdalas*.<sup>44</sup> The oldest books (II-VII) are referred to as 'Family Books', attributed to specific clans or tribes who marked their ownership using 'clan seals', such as refrain and poets' names.<sup>45</sup> Book VIII contains fewer hymns compared to the previous books and is ascribed to various families. Book IX is entirely dedicated to Soma, the ritual drink. Finally, books I and X are the latest additions to the collection.

The second phase, approximately contemporaneous with or slightly later than 1200-1000 B.C.E. witnessed a transformation in the Vedic social, religious, and political life. This change is evident in the latest hymns of the *Rgveda* and in the *mantra* sections of other Vedic texts, the *Sāmaveda*, *Yajurveda*, and *Atharvaveda*.<sup>46</sup> The *Sāmaveda*, primarily derived from the *Rgveda*, consists of ritualistic hymns and melodies sung by a specialised priest known as *udgātr* ('chanter').<sup>47</sup> The *Yajurveda* focuses on ritual performances, containing formulas recited by

- <sup>44</sup> Jamison and Brereton 2014: 4.
- <sup>45</sup> Singh 2008: 184 and Witzel 1997: 261.
- <sup>46</sup> Proferes 2018a (consulted online on 22 July 2023).
- <sup>47</sup> Boccali, Piano, Sani 2000: 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Bronkhorst 2007:3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Rossi 2020: 17 and Witzel 2001: 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> See Proferes 2018a (consulted online on 22 July 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Rossi 2020: 17, Witzel 2001: 5, and Witzel and Gotō 2007: 427. For a translation with commentary of the *Rgveda*, see also Elizarenkova 1999, Geldner 1951, Witzel and Gotō 2007, Witzel, Gotō and Scarlata 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Singh 2008: 184-185.

priests during sacrifices.<sup>48</sup> Finally, the Atharvaveda, the most recent and distinct among the Vedas, encompasses hymns, spells, charms, sorcery rites, and prayers used to counter illnesses and, as pointed out by Witzel, serves as an invaluable source for understanding 'the material culture, the customs and beliefs, the desires and sorrows of everyday Vedic life'.<sup>49</sup> Within the traditions, nine distinct 'schools' (*sākhās*) of practice, resulting in various recensions, can be identified for the Atharvaveda. However, only two versions have managed to endure to the present day: the recensions of the *Śaunaka* and the *Paippalāda* schools.<sup>50</sup> The well-preserved Śaunaka Samhitā includes a padapāțha, an anukramaņī, and a commentary by Sāyaņa. Moreover, it is accompanied by ancillary texts.<sup>51</sup> Conversely, initially the Paippalāda Samhitā did not enjoy the same level of fame as the *Śaunaka*, mainly due to its preservation through a single and corrupted manuscript. However, in mid 1950s the situation changed when several manuscripts containing the Paippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda emerged from the region of Odisha (formerly Orissa). This discovery, which also showed how this version was not only the earliest but also the most influential and widespread, ignited renewed interest in the Paippalāda tradition among scholars.<sup>52</sup> In terms of linguistic style, the Atharvaveda exhibits a less archaic language compared to the Vedas mentioned above. However, from a content perspective, the material found in the Atharvaveda, which encompass older beliefs, superstitions, sorcery, healing rites, and elements of folklore and mystical poetry, suggests its association with an earlier era.<sup>53</sup>

This first group of liturgical texts (*Rgveda*, *Sāmaveda*, *Yajurveda*, and *Atharvaveda*), collectively referred to as *Vedas* (though the term actually encompasses also later texts), were

<sup>50</sup> Gonda 1975: 272 and Selva 2019: 199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> See Boccali, Piano, Sani 2000: 40-43 and Witzel 1997: 270-275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Witzel 1997: 276. On the *Atharvaveda* see Bloomfield 1897 and 1899, Gonda 1975: 267-311, and Witzel 1997: 275-283.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Selva 2019: 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Rossi 2020: 12 and Selva 2019: 200 and 203-205. See also the online project of a digital critical edition of the *Paippalāda Saņhitā* with English translation, analysis, and commentary conducted by the Department of Comparative Language Science and the Department of Indian Studies of the University of Zurich (<u>https://www.atharvaveda-online.uzh.ch/home/paippalada-recension</u> and <u>https://www.atharvavedapaippalada.uzh.ch/en.html</u> [accessed 21/07/2023]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Boccali, Piano, Sani 2000: 28.

originally transmitted orally<sup>54</sup> and constitute the *Samhitā* or 'collection' of hymns and sacrificial formulas (*mantra*) of various kinds.

The Vedic period comes to an end with a third phase, spanning from 1100 to about 500 B.C.E., likely predating the birth of Buddhism.<sup>55</sup> Associated with the four *Vedas*, the later Vedic literature comprises a collection of prose commentaries on ritual actions and explanations of liturgical texts. This group includes the prose portions of the *Yajurveda Samhitā*, the prose of the *Brāhmaņas*, the oldest sections of the *Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads*, and finally the oldest *Śrautasūtras*.<sup>56</sup> The *Brāhmaṇas* primarily consist of prose that elucidates and describes the performance of rituals and prayers associated with them. The *Āraṇyakas* serve as a continuation of the *Brāhmaṇas* and contain mystical and philosophical explications of the sacrificial rites associated with wilderness, which have to be taught in the 'forest' (*āraṇya*). Finally, the *Upaniṣads*, also referred to as *Vedānta* 'the end of the *Veda*',<sup>57</sup> represent the mystical and philosophical culmination of *Vedas*<sup>58</sup> and comprise a collection of 108 texts the quest for liberation from *saṃsāra* ('cycle of rebirth'),<sup>59</sup> with the *Praśna Upaniṣad* and the *Māṇdūkya Upaniṣad* being the most recent among them.

As time progressed, starting from the VI-III centuries B.C.E.,<sup>60</sup> a new body of literature emerged known as *Vedānga* (lit. 'a limb of the *Veda*'),<sup>61</sup> primarily dedicated to the exegetic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Witzel 1997: 258-259. The earliest surviving manuscripts of the texts date back to the 11th century C.E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> See Proferes 2018a (consulted online on 22 July 2023) and Witzel 1987, 2003: 24-25, 2009 on the dating of Vedic texts and their corresponding geographical location. Witzel explains the challenge in establishing the precise dating of individual Vedic texts and groups. Late Vedic texts are commonly dated after the Middle and Early Vedic texts (after c. 1100 BCE), while the late ones are generally considered to predate the Buddha (Witzel 2009: 290). Gombrich 1992 has put forth a new proposal regarding the date of Buddha's death, suggesting 404 B.C.E. as opposed to the previously widely accepted date of 483.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Proferes 2018b (consulted online on 22 July 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> MW 1017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Panikkar 2001: 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> MW 1119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Boccali, Piano, Sani 2000: 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> MW 1015.

study of the *Vedas*, from the perspectives of six different disciplines: phonetics (*sikşā*), grammar (*vyākaraņa*), astronomy (*jyotişa*), metre (*chandas*), etymology (*nirukta*), and ceremonial (*kalpa*). In a generic sense, the collections dealing with rituals are referred to as *Kalpasūtras*, which are further divided into four categories: *Śrautasūtra*, *Grħyasūtra*, *Śulvasūtra*, and *Dharmasūtra*. The *Śrautasūtras* focuse on ritual practices, encompassing fire sacrifices, sacrifices for the new moon and full moon, and particularly the solemn ritual of soma sacrifice. The *Grħyasūtras* are particularly intriguing, offering rules for domestic rituals, including rites of passage such as wedding or funeral ceremonies, as well as popular customs like naming a child. The *Śulvasūtras* are closely connected with the *Śrautasūtra*, providing information about rules for constructing the altar and measuring the area where the sacrifice is performed. Lastly, the *Dharmasūtra* are instead linked with the *Grħyasūtras* and provide rules regarding castes and the various stages of life (*āśrama*).<sup>62</sup>

The earliest textual evidence concerning health and healing can primarily be located in the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* and certain passages within the *Rgveda*. Stories of mythological gods performing healing rites are portrayed in the *Rgveda*. Rituals, spells, and exorcisms are more common in the *Atharvaveda*, where healing herbs are invoked to expel disease-demons and to cure fever, wounds, or fractures. Kenneth G. Zysk perfectly highlighted the magico-religious nature of the medical knowledge in the *Vedas*, pointing out that 'causes of diseases are not attributed to physiological functions, but rather to external beings or forces of demonic nature who enter the body of their victim and produce sickness. The removal of such malevolent entities usually involved an elaborate ritual (...) nearly always necessitating spiritually potent and efficacious words, actions and devices'.<sup>63</sup> The diseases are, therefore, the expression of malevolent forces or deities expressing themselves adversely that, by way of possession, become evident through illness. Hence, no differentiation exists between possession and disease,<sup>64</sup> and, if the illness is caused by malevolent deities, its cure is entrusted to the officiant who, with the use of magic formulas, herbs, amulets, and assisted by benevolent forces, convinces the entity to depart from the patient or redirect its influence towards other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Boccali, Piano, Sani 2000: 62-63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Zysk 1985a: 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> See on 'possession' Basu 2018 (consulted online on 22 July 2023)

victims.<sup>65</sup> Personifications of these spirits are found, for instance, in Taknan, the demon of 'fever', or in parasites, considered as authentic demons.<sup>66</sup> A representative case is the Atharvavedic hymn AVŚ 5.23, where the goddess Sarasvatī, Indra, and Agni are invoked to drive away the evil spirits and cure a child from worms:

1. ote me dyāvāprthivī otā devī sarasvatī | otau ma indraś cāgniś ca krimiņ jambhayatām iti ||

2. asyendra kumārasya krimīn dhanapate jahi | hatā viśvā arātaya ugreņa vacasā mama ||

3. yo akşyau parisarpati yo nāse parisarpati | datām yo madhyam gachati tam krimim jambhayāmasi ||

(...)

10. atrivad vah krimayo hanmi kanvavaj jamadagnivat | agastyasya brahmanā sam pinasmy aham krimīn ||

11. hato rājā krimīņām utaisām sthapatir hataļ | hato hatamātā krimir hatabhrātā hatasvasā ||

12. hatāso asya vešaso hatāsah parivešasah | atho ye kşullakā iva sarve te krimayo hatāh ||

13. sarveṣāṃ ca krimīṇāṃ sarvāsāṃ ca krimīnām | bhinadmy aśmanā śiro dahāmy agninā mukham ||

1. I have called upon heaven and earth, I have called upon the goddess Sarasvati, I have called upon Indra and Agni: 'they shall crush the worm' (I said).

2. Slay the worms in this boy, O Indra, lord of treasures! Slain are all the evil powers by my fierce imprecation!

3. Him that moves about in the eyes, that moves about in the nose, that gets to the middle of the teeth, that worm do we crush.

(...)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Boccali, Piano, Sani 2000: 32-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Rossi 2020: 85.

10. Like Atri, like Kanva, and like Jamadagni do I slay you, ye worms! With the incantation of Agastya do I crush the worms to pieces.

11. Slain is the king of the worms, and their viceroy also is slain. Slain is the worm, with him his mother slain, his brother slain, his sister slain.

12. Slain are they who are inmates with him, slain are his neighbours; moreover all the quite tiny worms are slain.

13. Of all the male worms, and of all the female worms do I split the heads with the stone, I burn their faces with fire.<sup>67</sup>

This and comparable incantations of the Atharvaveda are called Bhaisajyas, which are specific ceremonies performed as a remedy for sickness.<sup>68</sup> These spells provide protection against diverse illnesses, poison, worms, or snakebite, as well as promoting virility and hair growth.<sup>69</sup> During these ceremonies, diseases were directly confronted and depicted as malevolent demons that possess individuals, leading to a slow decline in health. As stated earlier, the responsibility for the cure falls upon the exorcist-healer, who, unable to destroy the malevolent entity, must convince it to depart from the afflicted person. Additional hymns designed to ward off disease are known as  $\bar{A}yusyas$ , which translates to 'giving long life'. These hymns primarily focus on seeking longevity and protection from diseases that may lead to premature death.<sup>70</sup> Apart from the aforementioned incantations, the Atharvaveda contains various other compositions. The majority of these include: Paustikas, incantations aimed at bestowing blessings for the household, agricultural activities, and business endeavours. Strīkarmas, also known as 'women's rites', were intended to secure marriage, offspring, and sons, but they also contain particularly intense curses aimed at love rivals or to compel people to fall in love. *Ābhicarikas*, compositions consisting of curses and exorcisms used to counter demons and sorcerers. *Rājakarmas* comprise spells designed to protect and safeguard the ruler or king.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Ed. Orlandi 1991 (Consulted online on 31 July 2023 http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1\_sanskr/1\_veda/1\_sam/avs\_acu.htm); transl. Bloomfield 1897. Cf. Bloomfield 1897: 452-455 and Whitney and Lanman 1905: 1.262-263.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> MW 767.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Van Schaik 2020: 19-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Van Schaik 2020: 20 and Boccali, Piano, Sani 2000: 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> See Bloomfield 1937: vii-xvi, Van Schaik 2020: 19-23, and Boccali, Piano, Sani 2000: 32-40.

In conclusion, while Vedic medicine or science cannot be classified as a structured system like Āyurveda,<sup>72</sup> the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* offer valuable insights into an ancient perspective on healing and disease, that remains closely intertwined with magic and religion. More than a hundred hymns are dedicated to the healing of illnesses. As we have observed, these illnesses are caused by hostile agents that possess the individual and inflict suffering. The cure is entrusted to the exorcist-healer, who employs rituals, magical formulas, and invocations to dispel the demonic forces. These practices are complemented by the use of ritual objects such as water, fire, figurines, and often various plants. Over time, despite the transition toward more therapeutic approaches, these magic healing practices, prominent in earlier phases, did not entirely disappear; rather, they endured and persisted in subsequent traditions, even though to a lesser extent. A notable example is found in Buddhism and Āyurveda, which will be discussed later, where charms and incantations coexisted with more complex medical therapies.<sup>73</sup>

# 2.2 Ascetic movements and the evolution of healing traditions: A journey through Greater Magadha

Over the course of centuries (from around 500 B.C.E.), India witnessed the emergence of new religious groups, particularly in the region called Greater Magadha, situated east of the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā rivers, up until close to the beginning of the Common Era.<sup>74</sup> This region boasted a unique culture that is believed to have existed simultaneously with Vedic culture for a considerable period,<sup>75</sup> and it became the birthplace of various spiritual movements. The Jainas, Ājīvikas, and Buddhists stood out as the most prominent groups, all belonging to the category of *śramaņas* ('ascetic monks or mendicants'). Indeed, these organised communities were known for their diverse practices of wandering asceticism or renunciation, aiming to attain liberation and break free from the cycle of rebirth (Skt. *saṃsāra*). While their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> For further exploration of the concept of science in ancient history, particularly in relation to Vedic science, refer to Staal 2008: 257-287 and Wujastyk 1998a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> For further insights into the role of magic in Buddhism, see Van Schaik 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Bronkhorst 2007: 1-4. See also Torella 2011.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Bronkhorst 2007: 53. According to Bronkhorst 2007: 1-4 during Patañjali's time these regions were still not considered primarily Brahmanical territory.

doctrines shared significant aspects, such as leading an ascetic life, it is essential to note that their perspectives on karma and the methods to achieve liberation differed slightly. The earliest information about early Jainism can be found in the oldest books of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon and in certain passages from the Buddhist canon. These sources reveal that early Jaina asceticism had the purpose of achieving liberation and ending karmic retribution through practices such as abstaining from food and practising immobility until death. It was believed that these actions led to the annihilation of past actions and the cessation of new ones.<sup>76</sup> The second religious movement that originated in this region and, unfortunately, left no surviving literature, is Ajīvikism. The limited information about this religious community has reached us primarily through Jaina and Buddhist texts. However, as is evident, it is important to acknowledge that these sources may not be entirely reliable, as they appear to have a biased perspective and attempt to depict these religious movement in a negative manner.<sup>77</sup> Like the Jainas, Ajīvikas aimed to attain liberation by ceasing mental and bodily movements. Differently from the Jainas, Ajīvikas believed that these actions did not lead to the annihilation of past *karma* but only of the present one.<sup>78</sup> The last of the three movements is Buddhism, founded by Siddhārta Gautama, who is widely recognized within the tradition as the Buddha, also referred to as Śakyamuni 'the Śakya sage'.<sup>79</sup> According to the tradition, he is believed to have been born in Lumbinī, western Nepal, around the 5th century B.C.E., while the formalisation of the Buddhist canon took place in the centuries that followed. In contrast to the previous two movements, early Buddhism diverged from the notion promoted by Jainism and Ajīvikism concerning extreme asceticism leading to liberation. According to Buddhists, karma is not primarily influenced by actions but rather by intention or will. Liberation becomes achievable only by eliminating this driving force behind our actions.<sup>80</sup>

As the Vedic texts contain evidence of healing treatments of different kind, similarly the texts of Jainism and Buddhism also document medical practices in the Greater Magadha area. As pointed out by Wujastyk 'structured systematic thought about medicine in India can first

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Bronkhorst 2007: 15-28 and 44-45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Bronkhorst 2007: 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Bronkhorst 2007: 45 and 49-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> For further analysis of the naming matter, refer to Lo Turco 2018: 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Bronkhorst 2007: 52 and Lo Turco 2018: 17.

clearly be detected in saying of the Buddha'.<sup>81</sup> In the Buddhist canon, in fact, the Buddha identifies eight factors that contribute to suffering: 'bile, phlegm, wind, and their pathological combination, changes of the seasons, the stress of unusual activities, external agency, as well as the ripening of bad karma'.<sup>82</sup> Referring back to Wujastyk's words 'This is the first moment in documented Indian history that these medical categories and explanations are combined in a clearly systematic manner, and it is these very factors which later become the cornerstone of classical Indian medical theory, or *āyurveda* (Sanskrit, "the knowledge for long life")'.<sup>83</sup>

Proof of the link between medical practices and fraternities of wandering ascetics can also be found in the accounts of the Greek historians and geographer, Megasthenes (IV century B.C.E.) and Strabo (I century B.C.E.).<sup>84</sup> These historical records shed light on the healing practices of specific *śramanas*, who were regarded as healers (Gr.  $i\alpha\tau\rho\iota\kappaoi$ ). Their primary method of curing ailments involves the use of grain foods, ointments and poultices. Just like in Āyurvedic medicine, Zysk observed that for the *śramanic* healers the internal dietary use of foods aims to restore balance to the bodily elements and regulate the internal functions of the human organism. In contrast, the external application of drugs is directed at eradicating afflictions located on the body's surface.<sup>85</sup>

Returning to the Indian sources, Zysk's meticulous examination of the Pāli canon vividly illustrates the crucial role of Buddhism and Buddhist monasteries in the development and transmission of a medical tradition. In fact, the earliest Buddhist texts contain foundational elements of medicine, with medical knowledge eventually becoming 'an integral part of religious doctrines and monastic discipline'.<sup>86</sup> In the tradition preserved in the Buddhist *Vinaya*, for instance, a new monk entering the community (*saṅgha*) received, among four resources, cattle urine to be used as a medicine (a medical ingredient that would later on became prevalent in the early Āyurvedic tradition). This exemplifies, according to Zysk, how a first form of medicine was considered essential for the well-being of a wandering ascetic.<sup>87</sup> When more

- <sup>84</sup> Zysk 1991: 27.
- <sup>85</sup> Zysk 1991: 28-29.
- <sup>86</sup> Zysk 1991: 38.
- <sup>87</sup> Zysk 1991: 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Wujastyk 2022: 4. See also Scharfe 1999: 612-615.

<sup>82</sup> Wujastyk 2022: 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Wujastyk 2022: 4.

settled existence in monastic structures replaced the nomadic and ascetic life, the necessity for treatments in cases of illness endured among monks, leading to the evolution of an extensive pharmacopoeia comprising various foods and incorporating culinary practices.<sup>88</sup> As the concept of medical care gradually took shape, the roles of different figures also emerged. Initially, in fact, monks themselves looked after to the well-being of their fellow brothers and sisters.<sup>89</sup> Over time, distinct roles such as nurses, doctors, and patients came to be described in the texts (such as the *Mahāvagga*), each with their own ideal characteristics. For instance, a good patient is one who diligently follows instructions, adheres to prescribed medications, communicates symptoms clearly, and endures pain without complaint. A competent nurse possesses the knowledge to administer medications effectively, discerns what is beneficial or not, displays kindness, and remains undeterred by bodily excretions.<sup>90</sup> Zysk highlights the parallels between these figures in the Buddhist tradition and the traits of the same individuals, including physicians, found in the later Āyurvedic tradition, particularly in Caraka's work.<sup>91</sup>

To sum up, over centuries, India witnessed the rise of new religious groups in the region known as Greater Magadha, alongside Vedic culture. The Jainas, Ājīvikas, and Buddhists were prominent among them. Buddhism and Buddhist monasteries played a crucial role in the development and transmission of medical traditions, integrating medicine into religious doctrines. This religious environment was also home to a new system of theories and practices, called Āyurveda.<sup>92</sup>

#### 2.3 Ayurvedic medicine

Amongst the traditional medical systems of India,  $\bar{A}$ yurveda is perhaps the most famous. The term  $\bar{A}$ yurveda literally means 'the knowledge (Skt. *veda*) of longevity (Skt.  $\bar{a}yus$ )'. Originating in the early centuries before the Common Era, this medical tradition remains extensively practiced in present-day India. It encompasses both preventive and curative approaches, with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Zysk 1991: 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Wujastyk 2022: 6-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Zysk 1991: 41-42 and Wujastyk 2022: 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Zysk 1991: 42-43. For further information on the role of a doctor's assistant in the *Carakasamhitā* and *Suśrutasamhitā*, refer to Leslie and Wujastyk 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Zysk 1991: 117-119.

the primary objective of promoting a long and healthy life for patients. In fact, Āyurvedic texts emphasise the importance of specific daily practices, including exercises, dietary choices, and personal hygiene, to cultivate a robust bodily system.<sup>93</sup>

Regarding its origin, past claims suggested that Āyurveda evolved from Vedic texts like the *Atharvaveda*. The compendia of Caraka and Suśruta themselves support this origin from the *Vedas*, even though this claim appears to have been made to gain social acceptance and historical validity,<sup>94</sup> though modern research has revealed more differences than similarities, notably the absence of the theory of *doşas* in the *Vedas*, challenging this idea. Later on, Jean Filliozat identified parallels between Āyurveda and Greek medical thought, supporting the hypothesis orn in the late nineteenth century that some basic tenets of Āyurveda were borrowed from Greek physicians in Gandhāra.<sup>95</sup> However, it is worth noting that many scholars observed the absence of Greek medical loanwords in the Sanskrit medical texts, making it challenging to support this idea.<sup>96</sup> As mentioned earlier, a more structured approach to medicine is found in the Pāli canon of Buddhism, and Āyurveda shares similarities with this early material. It is now believed that the foundations of classical Āyurveda were likely laid during the time of early Buddhism in the Buddhist and other ascetic communities.<sup>97</sup> Over the centuries, this medical doctrine gradually evolved and spread throughout Asia, alongside Buddhism, giving rise to various regional traditions once assimilated.

#### 2.3.1 Prominent Ayurvedic sources

The ancient Indian medical system of Āyurveda draws its primary and most ancient knowledge from three collections written in classical Sanskrit. The oldest among this 'Great Triad' (Skt. *brhattrayī*)<sup>98</sup> of texts is referred to as *Carakasamhitā* (henceforth Ca.), whose earliest version

- <sup>96</sup> Wujastyk 2003b: 395.
- <sup>97</sup> Wujastyk 2003b: 397.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> See Dash 1999: 58-85 and 114-123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Wujastyk 2003a: xxix and 2003b: 393-395.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Filliozat 1964.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> The term is not found in the oldest sources, but was most likely coined more recently with the intention of organizing an  $\bar{A}$ yurvedic canon. This canon comes along with another trio known as the *laghutrayī* or the 'light trio' (consisting of the *Mādhavanidāna*, *Śārṅgadharasaṃhitā*, and

can be approximately dated back to the period between the second century B.C.E. and the first century C.E.99 However, its textual history appears to be intricate. According to Drdhabala (fourth-fifth century C.E.), the final redactor of the last chapters of the Carakasamhitā, the name Caraka refers to the initial editor of a compendium known as Agniveśatantra. In the colophons, in fact, Caraka is not considered the author but rather the revisor of a collection of knowledge gathered by Agniveśa from his teacher, the legendary sage Ātreya.<sup>100</sup> Comprising 120 chapters grouped in eight parts, this seminal work covers a wide range of subjects including pharmacology, diet, diseases causation, anatomy, and therapies.<sup>101</sup> The other significant and early text of the triad is the Suśrutasamhitā, which, like the Carakasamhitā, is characterised by its composition consisting of several historical layers.<sup>102</sup> Divided in six large chapters, it is famous in particular for its advanced and unique section on surgery.<sup>103</sup> As for its authorship, the colophons of the Suśrutasamhitā identify Suśruta as the disciple of the sage Kāśirāja Divodāsa Dhanvantari, who holds a revered position as the god of healing in later Indian tradition.<sup>104</sup> According to the *Suśrutasamhitā*, Dhanvantari received direct knowledge of Āyurveda from Indra and passed it on Suśruta. However, Dhanvantari remains a somewhat mysterious figure, much like Ātreya in the Carakasamhitā.<sup>105</sup> As for the dating of this treatise, its earliest layers, primarily focused on surgical practices, may have originated some centuries B.C.E. Subsequently, it underwent significant revision in the centuries leading up to 500 C.E.<sup>106</sup> Finally, Vagbhata completes the 'Great Triad' as the third author. The Astangahrdayasamhita of Vāgbhata holds a significant position as one of the most influential work in the field of

- <sup>101</sup> See Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1A.7-180.
- <sup>102</sup> Wujastyk 2003a: 64.
- <sup>103</sup> See Wujastyk 2003a: 64-71.
- <sup>104</sup> Van Alphen 1996: 255-257.
- <sup>105</sup> On the figure of Dhanvantari see Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1A.358-361.
- <sup>106</sup> Meulenbeld 1974: 431-432 and Wujastyk 2003a: 63-64. On the textual history of the *Suśrutasamhitā* see also Birch et al. 2021, Harimoto 2014, Klebanov 2010, 2021a and 2021b, and Wujastyk 2006.

Bhāvaprakāśa) (Cerulli 2018, consulted online on 22 July 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Wujastyk 2022: 14-16. See also Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1.114. On the textual history of the *Carakasamhitā* see also Maas 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Maas 2010: 1-2, Wujastyk 2003a: 4. On the figures of Ātreya and Agniveśa see also Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1A.120-130.

Āyurveda. This significant text presents a synthesis of earlier medical knowledge and is believed to have been composed around the seventh century.<sup>107</sup> Vāgbhaṭa is also credited with another work, the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha*, which appears to be a later and extended version, partly in prose, of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*.<sup>108</sup> Despite limited information available about the author, Vāgbhaṭa himself provides a few details within the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* (A.s.U. 50.203-204). According to the text, Vāgbhaṭa originated from Sindh, which is presently located in the southeastern region of Pakistan. His name was derived from his paternal grandfather, a renowned physician. Furthermore, Vāgbhaṭa's father, Siṃhagupta, who was also a physician, and Avalokita are mentioned as his mentors.<sup>109</sup>

The 'Light Triad' (Skt. *laghutrayī*), traditionally known as such, consists of the *Mādhavanidāna*, the *Śārṅgadharasaṃhitā*, and the *Bhāvaprakāśa*. The *Mādhavanidāna*, also referred to as *Rogaviniścaya* by his author, is a comprehensive compendium comprising sixtynine chapters.<sup>110</sup> It primarily draws from the works of Caraka, Suśruta, and Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, with minor references to the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* and the *Siddhasāra* of Ravigupta.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, certain sections of the texts may have been authored by the writer himself or originated from unidentified sources. Concerning its timeline, the composition of the *Mādhavanidāna* is likely to have occurred no earlier than 650 C.E., as indicated by quotations from the *Siddhasāra*. Meulenbeld proposes a terminus ante quem of 900 C.E., given references to the *Mādhavanidāna* found in the *Siddhayoga*.<sup>112</sup> A second significant text is the *Śārṅgadharasaṃhitā*, a treatise consisting of thirty-two chapters, likely dating back to around the fourteen century.<sup>113</sup> The text is particularly intriguing because it provides the first description of diagnosis by analysing the patients' pulse, a method that was not present in earlier Indian medical texts.<sup>114</sup> The *Bhāvaprakāśa*, authored by Bhāvamiśra in the sixteenth

<sup>112</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Meulenbeld 1974; see also Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1A.631-635 and Wujastyk 2003a: 193-194.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> See Wujastyk 2003a: 195-196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1A.597-598, Wujastyk 2003a: 194-195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> See Meulenbeld 1974.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.196 and 206-207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.199-200. Cf. Emmerick 1991.

century, is the third and final work of the minor triad. This extensive text exhibits an encyclopedic nature and is divided into three sections (*khanda*) with a glossary (*nighanțu*).<sup>115</sup>

The Āyurvedic tradition encompasses numerous other texts that hold significant and comparable importance to the text of the two triads. One such text is the *Bhelasamhitā*, a comprehensive compilation divided into eight sections.<sup>116</sup> Its early composition is believed to have started around 400 C.E. and reached completion around 750 C.E.<sup>117</sup> The work, which is preserved in a single incomplete manuscript,<sup>118</sup> takes the form of a dialogue between the sage  $\bar{A}$ treya, who was the same teacher of Agniveśa, and one of his students Bhela or Bheda. Although the *Bhelasamhitā* contains also information found in Suśruta's compendium, the strong agreement between the two treatises of Caraka and Bhela suggests that they both belong to the same medical school of  $\bar{A}$ treya.<sup>119</sup> Another important text is the *Kāśyapasamhitā*, which deals with women's and children's ailments, providing insights into their diseases and treatment methods.<sup>120</sup> It takes the form of a dialogue between Kāśyapa, the teacher, and Vrddhajīvaka, his pupil. Only two incomplete manuscripts of this work have been preserved, and scholars estimate its origin to be around the seventh century.<sup>121</sup>

In the present research, emphasis has been placed primarilyon the Āyurvedic texts of Caraka, Suśruta, and Vāgbhaṭa, traditionally regarded as the canonical texts, for the purpose of comparing and understanding the Khotanese Āyurvedic *Pindaśāstra*.

#### 2.3.2 The fundamental tenets of $\bar{A}$ yurveda

Delineating the basic principles of Āyurveda is not an easy task, being a combination of various historical layers, traditions, and theories, developed over a long period of time in different areas of India. However, it is appropriate to introduce a basic framework for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.239-240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> See Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.13-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> The manuscript is now preserved at the Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library in Tanjore (Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.13).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> See Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.25-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Wujastyk 2003a: 164.

content of this research. For this end, I will highlight some of the key ideas from this rich medical tradition in the subsequent sections.

Undoubtedly, a well-known tenet in Ayurveda is the doctrine of the three *dosas*, also known as tridosavāda. Dosas are regarded as pathogenic elements or morbific entities, encompassing vāta (referred to as 'wind'), pitta (referred to as 'bile'), and kapha or ślesman (referred to as 'phlegm'). The term *dosa*, literally meaning 'fault, defect', <sup>122</sup> has frequently been rendered as 'humour'. This translation choice may derive from its resemblance, to some extent, to the Greek humour system (Gr. χυμοί 'juices') found in the Hippocratic and Galenic corpus, encompassing blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile.<sup>123</sup> However, the term 'humour', as understood in the context of Greek fluids, does not precisely align with the dosas of Indian medicine, particularly in the case of *vāta*, which does not conform to the fluid nature indicated by the word 'humour'.<sup>124</sup> In addition, each of these four Greek humours, whose imbalance leads to the emergence of diseases, is characterised by a pair out of four fundamental qualities: hot/cold, dry/humid. Phlegm is characterised as cold and humid, yellow bile as hot and dry, black bile as cold and dry, and blood as hot and humid.<sup>125</sup> Within the context of Indian medicine, the scenario becomes somewhat more intricate, primarily as a result of the evolutionary changes that this doctrine has experienced over the course of time, influenced in part by the prevailing philosophical ideas of the Vaiśesika and Sāmkhya schools of thought during the composition of medical texts.<sup>126</sup> Hartmut Scharfe exhaustively traced the semantic evolution of *doṣa* within the North Indian tradition.<sup>127</sup> Through an examination of various passages in the Carakasamhitā, he observed that in the earlier sections of the texts, vāta, pitta, and kapha are depicted as intrinsic elements of the human body (Ca.Sū. 18.48 and 20.9). When

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> According to Vogel 1995: 77, the term *doşa* can be traced back etymologically to the causative form of the verb *duş*-, 'to become corrupted'. As a result, he suggests that an appropriate translation for *doşa* could be 'Fehlerquelle' ('source of fault').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> See Speziale 2018 for insights into the interpretation of *tridoşa* and the translation methodology employed by Muslim and Hindu scholars for a Persian-speaking audience. Also, refer to Zimmermann 1989, where the translation of *doşa* as 'humour' is instead explained and justified.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Comba 1991: 78 and Scharfe 1999: 612.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Gazzaniga 2018: 58-59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Scharfe 1999: 612. See also Comba 1991: 35-75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Scharfe 1999. See also Leslie 1992 and Wujastyk 2003a: xl-xliv.

these elements are in a state of equilibrium, they are referred to as *dhātus*, signifying 'elements, constituents'. Conversely, if an excess of any of them is detected or they become inflamed, they assume the appellation of *doşa* 'fault' (Ca.Sū. 7.39-41). In contrast to the *Carakasamhitā*, the Suśrutasamhitā introduces certain new elements. Within this text, the concept of dosas being intrinsic to the human body persists; however, these elements are also referred to as *dosas* even when they exist in their natural state. Moreover, they are also attributed specific primary locations within different organs in their uncorrupted state (Su.Sū. 21.7). Additionally, blood (*sonita*) acquires a distinctive role,<sup>128</sup> occupying a unique position between the *dosa* system and the bodily elements (that will be explored subsequently).<sup>129</sup> Strong influence had the Sāmkhya philosophy where the three gunas (sattva, rajas, and tamas) eventually evolved their meaning to connote 'good quality or virtues'. To echo Scharfe's words 'In Suśruta's view the correspondence is symmetrical: just as the three strands of Sāmkhya [i.e. gunas] transform themselves into the world through the subtle and gross elements (tan-mātra, bhūta), the three faults [i.e. dosas] cause illnesses through the bodily elements  $(dh\bar{a}tu)$ .<sup>130</sup> The homology between the three *dosas* and the three *gunas* was further reinforced in the works of Vāgbhata. Moreover, in his texts, the tridosas theory is both affirmed and systematised as the basic constituent of the body.

One of the crucial processes in the body is digestion. This physiological action is elucidated by the terms  $p\bar{a}cana$  'cooking' or  $d\bar{i}pana$  'burning', while the driving force behind digestion is denoted as *agni* 'fire' or  $j\bar{a}thar\bar{a}gni$  'fire of the belly'.<sup>131</sup> Upon food ingestion, digestion segregates it into two components: 'pure matter' (*prasāda*), also referred to as *rasa*, and 'impure matter' (*kitta*).<sup>132</sup> The food's *rasa* ( $\bar{a}h\bar{a}rarasa$ ) then metamorphoses into the nutrient fluid termed *rasa*, the first among the seven body constituent elements (*sapta-dhāthu*: *rasa*, *rakta*, *māmsa*, *medas*, *asthi*, *majjā*, and *śukra*). Through an intricate process involving all the *doṣas*, *rasa* progressively undergoes a transformation, evolving from *rakta* 'blood' to *māmsa* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> See for instance Su.Sū. 1.24 or Su.Sū. 21 where diseases are said to be caused by an imbalance of wind, bile, phlegm, and blood or by their combination.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> See Meulenbeld 1991 on the position of blood within the doctrine of the three *dosas*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Scharfe 1999: 627. See also Comba 1991: 67-71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Wujastyk 2001: 398.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Maas 2018: 545.

'flesh', then to *medas* 'fat tissue', *asthi* 'bone tissue', *majjā* 'marrow', and ultimately culminating in *śukra* 'semen'.<sup>133</sup> The existence of semen does not align with the concept of metabolism in the female body. Suśruta's *Compendium* briefly indicates a correlation between semen and menstrual blood or female breast-milk.<sup>134</sup> Nevertheless, within  $\bar{A}$ yurvedic texts, this aspect is approached with a degree of ambiguity.

All these body constituent elements generate the impure matter mentioned earlier, *kitta*, which is referred to by the name *mala* 'waste product', with reference to the impure parts of the successive metabolic transformation of *dhātus*.<sup>135</sup>. These include urine, sweat, faecal matter, as well as *vāta*, *pitta*, *kapha*, impurities of the ears, eyes, nose, mouth, hairs follicles and reproductive organs, head and body hairs, beard, nails, and more.<sup>136</sup> The proper elimination of *malas* and an appropriate balance between *dhātus* and *malas* are essential in order to maintain a healthy body.

However, the question arises: how does a disease come into being? Firstly, as was discussed above, *doşas* circulate through the body but they also have a specific primary location. For instance, *vāta-doşa* is said to be located mainly in the large intestine, *pitta-doşa* in the navel, and *kapha-doşa* in the chest. When a *doşa* remains uncorrupted, also the body retains its state of well-being. Nonetheless, if a *doşa* begins to accumulate within its designated location or spreads and accumulates to other areas, it provokes the onset of a disease.<sup>137</sup> Wujastyk particularly emphasizes this aspect, as there's a prevalent tendency in secondary sources to view illness solely as an outcome of imbalance rather than displacement of *doşas*. In the Āyurvedic texts, in fact, 'disease arises when a humoral substance collects in the wrong part of the body, and becomes irritated or inflamed (Skt. *prakupita* 'angered')'.<sup>138</sup> The causes of irritation of *doşas* are diverse, encompassing factors like faulty nutrition, seasonal variations, inadequate treatments, suppression of natural urges, inappropriate behaviour, or bad karma. Among the factors contributing to illness, particularly in the case of women and children, the

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> See Comba 1991:94-100, Das 2003b: 553-558, Das 1984: 237-239, Dash 1999: 25-27, Meulenbeld
 1974: 470-471, and Wujastyk 2003a: xvii-xxii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Wujastyk 2001: 399.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Das 2003: 568-569. See also Meulenbeld 1974: 488-490.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Meulenbeld 1974: 488.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Wujastyk 2003a: xl-xli. See also Comba 1991: 78-94 and Dash 1999: 17-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Wujastyk 2003a: xli.

presence of demon possession and its disruptive influence also plays a role.<sup>139</sup> It is interesting to notice that the concept of contagion (i.e. transmission of a disease through close contact) holds a limited significance in the early Āyurvedic tradition.<sup>140</sup> Nevertheless, this observation doesn't imply a lack of curiosity regarding why some illnesses appeared to impact entire communities. In Ca.Vi. 3, for instance, Agniveśa interrogates his teacher Ātreya, seeking an explanation for why some diseases exhibit identical symptoms in individuals with different constitutions, diets, ages, genders, and lifestyles.<sup>141</sup> This problem, in fact, presented a theoretical challenge, given that in Āyurveda, diseases are perceived as personal and unique, intrinsically linked to the patient's individual constitution. In response, Ātreya informs his student that epidemics are rooted in moral causality, specifically arising from conflicts and the abandonment of a virtuous life by leaders of cities or regions. This leads to the neglect of their own people and the environment, resulting in the degradation of the air. The air becomes excessively hot, cold, and humid. Similarly, water is corrupted when left unattended, leading to its turbidity and the departure of wildlife from it.

Furthermore, early Äyurvedic texts encompass a systematic classification of diverse disease types. For instance, in the Ca.Sū. 11.45-46, a comprehensive categorization of diseases is outlined, comprising three main categories: endogenous (*nija*), exogenous ( $\bar{a}gantu$ ), and mental ( $m\bar{a}nasa$ ). Endogenous diseases are said to arise due to the *doṣas*, hence affecting internal organs without immediate external signs. Exogenous diseases, on the other hand, results from factors such as trauma, fire, or contaminated air. Lastly, mental disorders arise from non-fulfilment of desires, and a wise person should abstain from unhealthy behaviours to prevent such maladies. The disease classification in the *Suśrutasamhitā* is more intricate. In Su.Sū. 24, Suśruta delineates suffering associated with diseases into three broader groups: of internal origin ( $\bar{a}dhy\bar{a}tmika$ ), of external origin ( $\bar{a}dhibhautika$ ), and of divine or atmospheric origin ( $\bar{a}dhidaivika$ ). Further subdivision places these sufferings into seven disease clusters

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> The *Kaśyapasamhitā* (VII cent. C.E.) specifically focuses on the ailments afflicting women and children, along with corresponding therapeutic approaches. See on this topic Wujastyk 1998b, 1999, and 2003a: 163-189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> For a comprehensive exploration of the matter of contagion in India, see Das 2000 and Conrad and Wujastyk 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Wujastyk 2016: 46-47. Refer also to the passage translated in Wujastyk 2003a: 38-43.

originated by effect of various causes: (1) ādibalapravrtta, (2) janmabalapravrtta, (3) doșabalapravrtta, (4) samghātabalapravrtta, (5) kālabalapravrtta, (6) daivabalapravrtta, (7) svabhāvabalapravrtta.<sup>142</sup> Among diseases of internal origins, the (1) ādibalapravrtta category encompasses conditions inherited from one of the parents due to the defect of semen (*śukra*) or the female procreational fluid (sonita 'blood'). Instances includes arsas (haemorrhoids) or kustha (skin affliction). The (2) janmabalapravrtta category comprises ailments resulting from improper behaviour of the mother during pregnancy. These include congenital blindness or deafness, dwarfisms and more. The (3) dosabalapravrtta category results from derangement of dosas due to improper diet or behaviour. These diseases can have origin in the stomach or the intestine, with potential physical or mental manifestations. External diseases encompass (4) samghātabalapravrtta, arising from confrontations with formidable adversaries. These diseases includes illness caused by external wounds or by bite of a beast or a poisonous animal. The final category, diseases of divine or atmospheric origins, includes (5) kālabalapravītta, arising from seasonal variation, temperature, humidity, and more. (6) Daivabalapravrtta disorders result from curses, transgression against deities, Atharvavedic incantations, etc. Lastly, (6) svabhāvabalapravrtta represents diseases of natural origins, like hunger, thirst, or old age, categorised as kālaja ('timely'), when they occur at the proper time, or akālaja ('untimely'), when they occur prematurely. These conditions can emerge in individuals adhering to or disregarding health guidelines.

Concerning the methods employed to address diseases, the Āyurvedic texts delineate a classification of treatments into ritual and non-ritual approaches.<sup>143</sup> The ritual treatments includes incantations, propitiatory rites, offerings, gifts, fasting, oblations, employment of gems and botanical substances, and more, paralleling practices found in the *Atharvaveda*.<sup>144</sup> Non-ritual healing modalities span treatments with or without medicinal substances, along with surgical interventions. Medical treatments encompass the administration and application of carefully examined drugs, which are meticulously evaluated on the basis of their attributes, effects, natural composition, optimal collection times, patient constitution, and other factors. Non-medicinal treatments involve surprising or agitating the patient, inducing sleep, or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> See Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1A.216-217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Maas 2018: 544.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Ca.Vi. 8.87 and Ca.Sū. 30.20-21.

utilizing massage techniques.<sup>145</sup> Surgical procedures, on the other hand, encompass incisions, extractions, leech applications, or puncturing.<sup>146</sup> This categorization is not solely confined to early texts such as the *Carakasamhitā* or the *Suśrutasamhitā*, but also persists through the later historical phases of  $\bar{A}$ yurveda.

### 2.3.3 Foundations and concepts of $\bar{A}$ yurvedic pharmacology

#### 2.3.3.1 Botanical expertise and mastery

Caraka acknowledges the existence of various people with botanical expertise, as for instance shepherds or forest-dwellers. However, true mastery in the field of  $\bar{A}$ yurveda rests not merely on recognizing plants, but on possessing a comprehensive understanding of the qualities and actions of each medicinal substance, together with a knowledge of their proper administration. This level of expertise is essential for one to be regarded as an eminent  $\bar{A}$ yurvedic physician (Skt. *vaidya*) (Ca.Sū. 1.120-123)<sup>147</sup>:

oşadhīrnāmarūpābhyām jānate hyajapā vane | avipāścaiva gopāśca ye cānye vanavāsinaḥ na nāmajñānamātreṇa rūpajñānena vā punaḥ | oşadhīnām parām prāptim kaścidveditumarhati yogavittvapyarūpajñastāsām tattvaviducyate | kim punaryo vijānīyādoşadhīḥ sarvathā bhişak yogamāsām tu yo vidyāddeśakālopapāditam | puruṣam puruṣam vīkṣya sa jñeyo bhiṣaguttamaḥ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Ca.Vi. 8.87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Ca.Sū. 11.55 and Su.Sū. 24.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Cf. also Ca.Sū. 4.29 and Su.Sū. 36.10.

'Goatherds, shepherds, cowherds and other forest-dwellers know the plants by name and form (120). Nobody can comprehend fully about the plants only by knowing the name and forms (121). He is the real knower of them who, after knowing the name and form, has got knowledge of their administration, let alone the one who knows plants in all aspects (122). He is the best physician who knows administration of these (plants) according to place and time and also keeping in view the individual constitution (123)'.<sup>148</sup>

Indeed, the education of a proficient *vaidya* relied on the meticulous memorisation of Sanskrit medical texts, which served as reservoirs of knowledge about symptoms, ailments, botanical remedies, and curative methodologies. Regarding the pharmacological knowledge, his proficiency rested upon four basic concepts on which depends the efficiency of any medicinal substance: *rasa* 'taste, flavour', *vipāka* 'post-digestive flavours', *vīrya* 'potency', and *prabhāva* 'specific action'.<sup>149</sup>

#### 2.3.3.2 Key concepts of medicinal substances

In terms of *rasa*, the various properties of drugs are described according to their six distinct flavours (*rasa*): *madhura* 'sweet', *amla* 'acid', *lavaṇa* 'salty', *kațu* 'pungent', *tikta* 'bitter', and *kaṣāya* 'astringent'.<sup>150</sup> Each taste corresponds to a set of inherent properties (*guṇa*) and actions (*karman*). It is important to note that *guṇas* actually pertain to the inherent qualities of substances bearing the particular taste, rather than being directly linked to the taste itself.<sup>151</sup> These general properties (*sāmānyaguṇa*) of substances encompass a total of twenty qualities organized into ten pairs of opposites. Additionally, these properties are categorized into two distinct groups: twelve weaker properties, susceptible to the effects of digestion, and eight stronger properties that resist digestion.<sup>152</sup> Aligned with the theory of *rasas*, there is the process

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Transl. by Sharma 1998: 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> See Meulenbeld 1987: 1-18 and Dash 1999: 56-57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> See Wujastyk 2000 for insights into the interplay between *rasas* and *doṣas* in terms of combinatorics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Meulenbeld 1987: 5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> See Meulenbeld 1987: 7-8 for a precise overview of all the properties and their respective groupings.

of transformation of a particular taste during the digestion. Two processes are distinguished: *avasthāpaka* and *niṣṭhāpāka*. During *avasthāpaka* the ingested food undergoes three phases, progressively transitioning from sweet to sour and then to pungent. In contrast, *niṣṭhāpāka* marks the initiation of taste transformation that eventually leads to *vipāka*, a concept that will be explored in subsequent discussion. Notably, during the process of *niṣṭhāpāka*, the tastes of sweet, sour, and pungent remain constant, whereas the salty taste becomes sweet and the bitter and astringent tastes shift towards pungency, all of them gradually diminishing their influence as digestion advances.<sup>153</sup>

Next to *rasa*, *vipāka* refers to the partial transformation of flavours during the digestion, occurring subsequent to the *niṣṭhāpāka* process. As explained earlier, this transformation reduces the previous six *rasas* to three: sweet, sour, and pungent.<sup>154</sup> This alteration arises due to the shift of the bitter and astringent flavours to a pungent taste, while the salty flavour transforms into sweet. According to Meulenbeld, this theory is secondary to the theory of *rasa* and influenced by the *avasthāpaka*.<sup>155</sup> This hypothesis is based on the observation made in Āyurvedic texts that the effects of certain substances do not align with their original taste, a phenomenon noted through the taste of eructation or vomited food after partial digestion. Furthermore, following the transformation of *rasas*, *vipāka* gains more strength comparing to the strength of taste.

The third concept is  $v\bar{i}rya$  'potency'. This term encompasses a broader context, referring to all the actions induced by the  $v\bar{i}rya$  itself within a substance, or more specifically, to the force attributed to a cluster of properties within medical drugs. The latter properties, eight in number, are arranged in pairs of opposing qualities: usna 'hot', *sita* 'cold', *guru* 'heavy', *laghu* 'light',<sup>156</sup> *snigdha* 'unctuous',  $r\bar{u}ksa$  'dry', *manda* 'soft', and  $t\bar{i}ksna$  'sharp'.<sup>157</sup> The properties of endure the digestive process and consequently bestow prolonged effects, prevailing over *rasa* and *vipāka*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Meulenbeld 1987: 7. See Ca.Ci. 15.9-11, Ca.Sū. 26.57cd-58, A.h.Sū. 9.20-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> As noted by Meulenbeld 1987: 7, Suśruta (Su.Sū. 40.10-12) acknowledges only two *vipāka*, which are sweet and pungent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Meulenbeld 1987: 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> In Su.Sū 40.5 and 41.11 the couple *guru* 'heavy', *laghu* 'light' are replaced by 'clear' (*viśada*) and 'mucilaginous' (*picchila*). Meulenbeld 1987: 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> Dash 1999: 56-57.

Additionally, three gradations of  $v\bar{v}rya$  are distinguished: pungent, acid, and salty tastes exhibit increasing heat, while bitter, astringent, and sweet tastes assume cooler qualities.<sup>158</sup>

The last concept in Indian pharmacology is *prabhāva* 'specific action'.<sup>159</sup> It can be understood as *cintyaśakti* 'conceivable power' or as *acintyaśakti* 'non-conceivable power'.<sup>160</sup> The former refers to the effects of a medicinal substance that can be predict trough reasoning and manifest in the actions of *rasa*, *vipāka*, and *vīrya* when they are in conformity with each other. The latter, *acintyaśakti*, refers to the effects of a substance that remain unpredictable. These effects manifest when the actions of a substance cannot be deduced from its properties.<sup>161</sup>

#### 2.3.3.3 Classification of medicinal substances

More in general,  $\bar{A}$ yurvedic drugs can be classified in three categories: 1. drugs of plant origin (Skt. *audbhida*), which include fruits, seeds, flowers, barks, etc.; 2. drugs of mineral origin (Skt. *pārthiva*), such as salt, tin, clay, gems, ash, etc.; 3. drugs of animal origin (Skt. *jāngama*), including milk, fat, dung, urine, honey, etc. Incorporating minerals and metals, particularly mercury, became notably prevalent in the realm of Alchemy, known as *rasaśāstra*. The canonical works of this discipline are believed to have emerged during the ninth and tenth centuries C.E. However, some traces of the use of certain inorganic substances are found already in the *Carakasamhitā*, even though it is worth noting that the intricate preparation processes found in later  $\bar{A}$ yurvedic and alchemical texts are absent in this earlier source. In the *Carakasamhitā*, these substances are recommended for both internal and external applications, often in the form of powders or after being subjected to heating or mixed with other medicinal agents.<sup>162</sup>

#### 2.3.3.4 Pharmaceutical processes, therapeutic regimens

<sup>161</sup> Meulenbeld 1987: 13 and Maas 2018: 547.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Meulenbeld 1987: 11-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> As noted by Meulenbeld 1987: 14, the *Suśrutasamhitā* does not use the term *prabhāva*, even though terms with a similar meaning are found in this treatise.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Meulenbeld 1987: 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1A.103-104. See on Sanskrit alchemical literature Hellwig 2009, White 1996, 2018 and Wujastyk 1984.

Various pharmaceutical processes are described in Āyurveda for the preparation of medicinal substances. These include prescribing medicaments in different forms such as: juice extracted from the leaves or flowers; decoctions created by boiling drugs in water, followed by filtration and often enriched with additional ingredients like butter, oil, or honey; pastes derived from grinding leaves, barks, roots, or stems of plants mixed with water; medicated oil or ghee, produced by cooking liquids with drug decoctions or pastes; alcoholic preparations like herbal wines prepared through yeast fermentation; pills; powders sourced from plants, minerals, metals, gems, etc.; and collyria. Before initiating the actual therapeutic regimen for a disease, particularly in specific cases such as rheumatic disorders, the physician frequently advises preparatory measures for the patient's body. These methods may involve the use of purgative medicaments and emetics, where the patient consumes oils of fatty substances along with food. Another approach involves fumigation of the nose and mouth or fomentation, where the patient's body is induced to sweat through various warming techniques. An alternative method could encompass applying oils to anoint the patient's body. All these techniques facilitate the unblocking of *doşas*, allowing them to exit the body or return to their original locations.<sup>163</sup>

#### 2.3.3.5 Diet (āhāra) and daily regimens (dinacaryā)

Another significant aspect within the  $\bar{A}$ yurvedic discipline pertains to diet ( $\bar{a}h\bar{a}ra$ ).<sup>164</sup> This aspect extends beyond its relevance to patients seeking recovery and encompasses the dietary practices that both individuals aiming to preserve their well-being and those desiring a prolonged and healthy life should adopt. A fundamental principle is certainly the practice of moderation across various aspects of life and of course this applies also to food, which is categorised in appropriate and inappropriate quantity that can be consumed.<sup>165</sup> An appropriate quantity of food should fill the stomach to about three-quarters of its capacity. It should avoid causing a sense of heaviness in the abdomen or discomfort during sitting, lying down, or any physical activity. Moreover, it should enhance overall strength, complexion, and general well-being.<sup>166</sup> An inappropriate quantity of food can manifest as either insufficient or excessive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Wujastyk 2003: xx. See also Dash 1999: 27-28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> See Zimmerman 1987: 202-206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> Ca.Vi. 2.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Ca.Vi. 2.3-6.

Insufficient intake can lead to a depletion of strength, complexion, and vitality, negatively affecting lifespan, virility, immunity, physical and mental well-being, and potentially giving rise to various  $v\bar{a}ta$ -related diseases. Excessive quantity, on the other hand, can concurrently aggravate all three *doṣa*s, resulting in symptoms such as colic pain, abdominal discomfort, body aches, and even fainting when  $v\bar{a}ta$  is predominant. Involvement of *pitta* can lead to fever, diarrhoea, excessive thirst, and drowsiness, while *kapha* involvement might cause vomiting, indigestion, fever, and a sensation of bodily heaviness.<sup>167</sup> Naturally, the quantity and nature of food that an individual should consume depends also on a multitude of other factors. Among these is digestion, which, when functioning optimally, ensures the preservation of both the three *doṣa*s and the seven *dhātu*s.

In the opening chapter of the Vimānasthāna,<sup>168</sup> Caraka exposes the eight essential factors that play a role in dietary methods, requiring the physician's careful attention. The initial factor pertains to the nature (prakrit) of substances employed as food or remedies. Certain foods, for example, exhibit a light quality, stimulating the appetite, and possessing attributes of wind and fire. Conversely, others are considered heavy, characterized by earthy and watery traits, and often disrupting the agni (digestive force).<sup>169</sup> Ca.Sū. 5.10-12 enumerates foods recommended for regular consumption, such as dried meat, pork, beef, buffalo, fish, vegetables, and lotus stems. Additionally, some particular varieties of rice, namely *sāli* and sastikā, mudga beans, honey, ghee, barley, etc. are deemed suitable for daily consumption. Certain elements, such as pepper, alkali, and salt, should instead be ingested in moderation. The second factor encompasses the processing (karana) of natural substances through actions like churning, exposure to water or fire, infusion, and steeping, which give new properties to the original substance. The third factor is the combination (samyoga) of two or more substances together. Quantity  $(r\bar{a}si)$ , encompassing both total (sarvagraha) and individual (parigraha)aspects, constitutes the fourth factor. The fifth factor involves the origin (deśa) of the substance, determining the location of growth. The sixth factor, time  $(k\bar{a}la)$ , considers subjective elements like age alongside objective elements such as seasonal influences. Rules for prudent dietary practices (*upayogasamsthā*) are the seventh factor, encompassing guidance to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Ca.Vi. 2.7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Ca.Vi. 1.21-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Comba 1991: 172.

refrain from consuming new food before digesting the prior meal, maintaining an appropriate rhythm of eating, neither too fast nor too slow, avoiding simultaneous ingestion during conversations or laughter, and eating in favourable places and with favourable accessories among others. Finally, the eighth factor includes rules concerning the habits of the consumer (*upayoktar*) regarding food consumption.

With respect to the sixth factor ( $k\bar{a}la$  'time'), the seasonal influence holds particular importance for Indian physicians, who categorize the year into six distinct seasons: early and late winter, spring, summer, rainy season, and autumn.<sup>170</sup> In winter, the digestive force intensifies, enabling the body to digest any food. Consequently, diets rich in fats, oils, sour elements, heaviness, and saltiness are considered suitable. Transitioning to spring, the rising temperatures liquify accumulated *kapha*, unsettling digestion and causing diseases. To counter this, people are advised to abstain from heavy, oily, and sour foods. Instead, they may explore emetic therapies or engage in physical activities. During summer a sweet, cold, liquid and unctuous diet is suggested. The consumption of alcohol is discouraged, while adequate hydration is emphasized. The rainy season witnesses a decline in the digestive force due to vitiated *doṣas*, in particular *vāta*. Accordingly, a diet comprising sour, salty, and unctuous elements is prescribed to restore health. Autumn marks the manifestation of vitiated *pitta* following the rainy season, necessitating the intake of cool, light, sweet, and bitter foods and beverages.

In addition to maintaining a balanced diet and using preventive medicines, Āyurvedic physicians also advise adhering to a daily regimen (*dinacaryā*) that promotes the well-being of both the body and mind. In the *Suśrutasamhitā* and in *Aṣṭāngahrdayasamhitā*, guidelines for daily practices are meticulously outlined.<sup>171</sup> According to Suśruta, one's morning routine commences with brushing the teeth using a toothbrush (*dantapavana*) made from a twig with particular characteristics, like being straight and with a sweet, bitter, astringent, and pungent taste. Accompanying this, a toothpaste composed of honey, powdered plants, sesame oil, and rock salt is employed.<sup>172</sup> Vāgbhaṭa echoes these practices set forth by Suśruta, yet he suggests

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> See Dash 1999: 74-77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Su.Ci.24 and A.h.Sū. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Su.Ci. 24.4-10ab.

initiating the day by voiding urine and faeces, while following some specific rules.<sup>173</sup> Subsequent to tooth brushing, the cleansing regimen extends to the tongue, which is addressed using a tongue scraper made of gold, silver, or wood. The morning purification continues through facial cleansing and the application of a special collyrium with properties for alleviating impurities, pain, and itching. The process advances with mouth cleansing using oils and the inclusion of betel leaves for chewing.<sup>174</sup> Vāgbhata introduces an additional practice – the inhalation of medicinal smoke – aimed at preventing ailments arising from the increasing of vāta and kapha. Subsequently, attention is directed toward the head, recommending anointing and combing the hair to encourage strength, softness, and freedom from parasites, but also as a help against head and ear ache. Besides the head, also the body necessitates massage with oils, a technique that removes fatigue and pain while giving vigour and tonicity.<sup>175</sup> Of notable significance is physical exercise, promoting bodily strength, lightness, firmness, and compactness. This practice prevents digestive problems, helps enduring fatigue, variation of temperature, thirst, aids in countering the effects of ageing, and keeps disease at distance.<sup>176</sup> After exercise, it is important to take a bath and a massage, which effectively mitigate heat and sense of fatigue. Every aspect of the body requires consideration, and much attention is given also to the cure of the feet and nails, the use of shoes, the practice of shaving, wearing a turban, resting in a soft bed, using an umbrella, and using a stick as protection against potential hazards posed by wildlife or uneven terrain. A wise man is also advised to speak judiciously, employing a gentle tone, displaying kindness and compassion universally, while affording reverence to elders, superiors, and deities. On the other hand, he should avoid dangerous activities such tree climbing, mountain scaling, riding a wild horse, or being in contact with dangerous animals. Furthermore, emphasis is laid on the imperative of not suppressing natural urges - urination, defecation, vomiting, sneezing, ejaculation, hunger, thirst, tears, yawning, and the like.<sup>177</sup> Moreover, a wise person will not be guided by one's

- <sup>174</sup> Su.Ci. 24.15-24 and A.h.Sū. 2.5-7.
- <sup>175</sup> Su.Ci. 24.25.37 and A.h.Sū. 2.8-9.
- <sup>176</sup> Su.Ci. 24.38-51 and A.h.Sū. 2.10-13.
- <sup>177</sup> Su.Ci. 24.89-101 and A.h.Sū. 2.19-48

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> A.h.Sū. 2.1-4.

emotions and thoughts, but rather will keep them under control avoiding to hurt other living being, engage in infidelity, or indulge in theft.

# 2.3.3.6 Challenges in translating and interpreting medical terminology in ancient texts: Insights from $\bar{A}$ yurveda

One of the most significant challenges faced by translators of medical texts from Sanskrit, or Khotanese for that matter undoubtedly revolves around identifying appropriate translations for medical terminology, especially for diseases and anatomical terms. Certain words, in fact, carry various meanings or can be interpreted technically or non-technically.<sup>178</sup> As we have observed above, a term like *dosa* serves as a prime example of this complexity and, frequently, finding suitable English equivalents for such technical terms is extremely challenging. The common approach among scholars is to minimize the use of contemporary medical vocabulary or, as Wujastyk notes, to avoid 'reading back into the ancient and medieval Sanskrit texts ideas and terms from the post scientific-revolution period'.<sup>179</sup> The understanding of the body's concept in ancient India was in fact quite distinct from our contemporary perspective. For instance, the lungs were not associated with breathing, the heart was seen as the centre of emotions and thoughts, and the heartbeat was not linked to blood circulation.<sup>180</sup> This was due also to the difficulties of observing the human body internally in ancient time. Glimpses of internal anatomy could have occurred on battlefields, execution grounds, and Vedic sacrificial rituals, which occasionally involved cattle, as in fact the terms used to describe the gastrointestinal system seem to show.<sup>181</sup> Rahul P. Das highlights how, however, these opportunities often lacked the detail required for thorough scientific investigation due to factors like ritualistic practices or the chaos of battle. He emphasizes that genuine investigatory dissection allowing detailed observation was a rarity in ancient India and the available evidence for such practices is insufficient.<sup>182</sup> Not only in India but also in various other ancient culture, in the absence of direct dissection-based knowledge, alternative sources were utilised. These sources included

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Wujastyk 2003a: xxxix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Wujastyk 2003a: xlv. See also Das 2011: 68 and Meulenbeld 1974: 3-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Ferrari 2022: 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Das 2011: 70 and Ferrari 2022: 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Das 2011: 70-71.

extrapolating observations from animal bodies, drawing analogies from nature, or from everyday life, such as comparing food metabolism to cooking over a fire, where the pot with food symbolized the body and the fire represented bodily processes.<sup>183</sup>

The intricate system of tubes or vessels within the body, essential for its nourishment, is an example of the challenges in translation and interpretation of some internal body parts.<sup>184</sup> These conduits transport various fluids, such as blood, milk, rasa, dosas, or semen. These complex structures have been often identified in modern times with arteries, veins, or nerves even though there is no clear identification in the texts. I have chosen to follow Wujastyk's approach in translating these medical terms with maximum neutrality, employing terms such as tubes or vessels.<sup>185</sup> One of these channels is  $sir\bar{a}$  'ductus', with approximately 700 instances in the body, carrying blood and the three *dosas*. Originating from the navel, their colours differ on the basis of the carried fluid.<sup>186</sup> Another type of channel, *dhamanī* 'pipe', numbering 24, also originates from the navel but extends in different directions: up, down, and sideways. Those ascending carry sensory functions like sound, touch, vision, taste, smell, along with actions like yawning and laughing. Conversely, the descending ones transport vāta, semen, faeces, urine, and subdivide further.<sup>187</sup> Another significant channel is *srotas* 'tube'. According to Suśruta, the body initially contains 22 tubes, with each of the 11 substances having 2 corresponding tubes. Two tubes carry breath connected to the heart and nutritive pipes, while another set carries food linked to stomach and food pipes. Additionally, tubes transport water, nutritive juice, blood, flesh, fat, urine, faeces, semen, and menstrual blood, with corresponding attachments. Caraka adds three more categories: bone, marrow (completing the seven basic body elements), and sweat, omitting menstrual blood.<sup>188</sup>

This is just a single illustration of the complexity involved in interpreting the body in  $\bar{A}$ yurveda. A number of organs described in the  $\bar{A}$ yurvedic texts in fact pose challenges in terms of aligning them with modern anatomical understanding. The text of the *Pindaśāstra* 

- <sup>185</sup> Wujastyk 2001: 399-401 and 2003: xlvii.
- <sup>186</sup> Wujastyk 2001: 399-400.
- <sup>187</sup> Wujastyk 2001: 400.
- <sup>188</sup> Wujastyk 2001: 400-401.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> Das 2011: 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> See Das 2003b and Ferrari 2022 for a more detailed explanation of the *hrdaya* system, commonly referred to as the heart, along with its associated network of tubes.

naturally brings forth similar difficulties, which will be addressed to the best extent possible in the commentary.

# 3. Āyurvedic medical texts across Central Asia: Manuscripts, translations, and influences

During the early centuries of the current era, Ayurvedic medicine found extensive practice in Central Asia, evidenced by the discovery of medical texts written in diverse languages such as Sanskrit, Sogdian, Tocharian, Old Uighur, and Khotanese across this extensive region. One of the most well-known examples involves the texts contained in the Bower manuscript, which dates back to the first half of the sixth century C.E.<sup>189</sup> The name of the manuscript is derived from H. Bower, a British lieutenant at the time, who acquired it from a local inhabitant during a mission to Kucā in 1890, a settlement located in the northof the Tarim Basin.<sup>190</sup> Interestingly, the manuscript was uncovered from a stupa adjacent to a monastery, dedicated to its possessor, the Buddhist monk Yaśomitra. Although it is commonly referred to as the 'Bower manuscript', this appellation is somewhat imprecise, as the true possessor was likely the monk Yaśomitra. Furthermore, it is not a single manuscript but rather a collection of fragmentary manuscripts grouped together, encompassing seven treatises: three on Ayurvedic medicine, two on divination with dice, and two on incantations against snakebite.<sup>191</sup> A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, then serving as the government palaeographer in Calcutta, achieved the remarkable feat of deciphering the manuscript and, eventually in 1892, embarked on the ambitious project of producing a comprehensive edition complete with an English translation, glossary, and facsimile plates of the texts.<sup>192</sup> The manuscript is characterised by an oblong shape, in the form

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> Wujastyk 2003a: 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Wujastyk 2003a: 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Hoernle's initial edition of a portion of the texts was released in 1893, followed by a second part presented in two sections during 1894-95, while the remaining content was made available in 1897. Subsequently, in 1908, the Sanskrit index was published, along with a revised translation of the medical segments (I, II, and III) in 1909. Lastly, the introduction to the work reached publication in 1912. See also Meulenbeld 1999-2002 2A.3.

of an Indian pothī manuscript, and comprises fifty-one birch bark leaves. The script employed is Gupta, and it is plausible that the texts were copied by four distinct scribes.<sup>193</sup> The language used is a mix of literary Sanskrit and a Sanskrit with various Prakrit influences. The sections of utmost relevance to the current research lie within parts I to III, which are exclusively dedicated to medicine. The first treatise, written in forty-three verses, is dedicated to garlic (laśuna), from its mythological origins to its medical properties. Subsequently (verses 44-132), the discourse transitions to miscellaneous subjects, embracing discussions on the digestive fire, rasāyana formulations, guidelines pertaining to medicinal proportions, preparations for eye lotions, collyria, facial applications, eyelid pastes, remedies for hair concerns, and treatments for cough ailments. The second treatise was divided in sixteen chapter but the last part is incomplete. The initial chapter contains recipes for powders and syrups, while the second focuses on medicated ghees, and the third revolves around medicated oils. Chapter four has a miscellaneous nature, containing various recipes against a wide range of diseases. Chapter five is devoted to enema formulas, chapter six to rasāyana recipes, chapter seven to gruels, and chapter eight introduces aphrodisiacs. Chapter nine and ten encompass collyria and hair dyes respectively. Chapters eleven, twelve, and thirteen offer insights into harītakī 'chebulic myrobalan', śilājatu 'molten ore', and citraka 'leadwort'. The fourteenth chapter, although incomplete, pertains to children diseases. The third treatise contains a fragmentary formulary, aligning its contents with the first three chapters of the second treatise. The medical treatises contained in the Bower manuscript share notable affinities with the earliest Sanskrit medical texts. It is noteworthy to recognize that the textual structure and typology not only align closely with these early Sanskrit medical works, but also establish a considerable similarity with the Siddhasāra, but also with the Jīvakapustaka, and the Pindaśāstra, especially in the structure of the recipes and the organization of materials.

Additional Āyurvedic texts, composed in Sanskrit and discovered in Central Asia, specifically in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas near Dunhuang, include the treatise of the  $J\bar{v}akapustaka$ , originating from the tenth century. The Sanskrit text of the  $J\bar{v}akapustaka$  is preserved within the manuscript Ch. ii.003 in 71 folios, where it alternates with the Khotanese translation.<sup>194</sup> Notably, the Sanskrit version exhibits severe corruption, suggesting that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002 2A.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> For references on the studies conducted on this text, refer to footnote 27 in paragraph 1.5.2.

copyist might have lacked a comprehensive knowledge of the language. Furthermore, in comparison with the Khotanese translation, the Sanskrit text appears to be more concise, while the Khotanese version tends to offer a more detailed elucidation concerning the nature, quantities, and use of the ingredients. While the six manuscripts containing the Sanskrit Siddhasāra of Ravigupta, of which only two hold the complete text, were not discovered in this region, the significance of the text in the spread of medical knowledge along the Silk Roads remains profound.<sup>195</sup> As Emmerick suggested, the author of this work could have lived contemporaneously with Vagbhata (600 C.E.) or shortly thereafter, approximately around 650 C.E.<sup>196</sup> Ravigupta's text involves the reorganization of traditional Indian medical material across 31 chapters, each dedicated to distinct topics. This text gained immense popularity in Tibet and Central Asia, leading to translations in Tibetan, Khotanese, and Old Uighur. Moreover, Ravigupta's work achieved recognition among Persian and Arabic scholars, leading to the integration of numerous passages into the Kitāb al-Hāwī written by Rhazes (ca. 925 C.E.). Additionally, in 1279, Faraj b. Salim translated part of it into Latin under the title Continens.<sup>197</sup> The Tibetan version is entirely preserved and finds its place in the Tibetan Tanjur. When compared to the Sanskrit original, which is a faithful prose translation, the Tibetan version emerges as clearer and less concise, featuring additional information not present in the Sanskrit source. The Khotanese version, though not fully extant, remains a substantial text, which closely corresponds to the Tibetan text. Moreover, the Khotanese introduction suggests that this version was translated directly from the Tibetan, even though in certain instances it aligns more closely with the Sanskrit original. The Old Uighur Siddhasāra is preserved in twelve fragments, consisting of both bilingual Sanskrit and Old Uighur portions written in Brahmī script (edited by Dieter Maue),<sup>198</sup> as well as of a fragmentary monolingual Uighur version.<sup>199</sup> The latter are found on the reverse side of Chinese Buddhist scrolls, many of these fragments have been recognized as corresponding to passages within the Siddhasāra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> See Emmerick 1980: 4 for the mss. For references on the studies conducted on this text, refer to footnote 25 in paragraph 1.5.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Emmerick 1980: 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Zieme 2007: 310-311.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> Maue 1996. See also Emmerick 1980: 13 and Zieme 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> Zieme 2007.

Staying within the framework of Uighur texts, it is evident that Indian medicine exercised a profound influence on the evolution of an Old Uighur medical literature. As previously observed, the Siddhasāra of Ravigupta was one of the Sanskrit texts translated into Uighur. Besides this, within the medical literature, translations of the Yogaśataka<sup>200</sup> and of Vāgbhata's Astāngahrdayasamhitā can also be found. In relation to the latter, its identification was first accomplished by Maue, who recognized that one of the fragments corresponded to the concluding segment of the fifth chapter within the Nidānasthāna. Subsequently, additional fragments were also successfully located.<sup>201</sup> As Maue observed, unfortunately only a mere fraction – less than 0.3 percent – of the original text has survived. Nonetheless, as Maue states, 'it is the only Central Asian testimonium of one of the most authoritative works of Indian medicine and as such a precious tessera in the fragmentary mosaic of the Silk Road cultures'.<sup>202</sup> The Yogaśataka is similarly preserved in both Sanskrit and Old Uighur bilingual and in Uighur alone. The Sanskrit original compilation of verses encompasses approximately a hundred compound medicine recipes and gained significant popularity, initially in India and later extending to Tibet and Central Asia. In fact, three Sanskrit fragments were discovered in a bilingual manuscript from Kucā, which can likely be dated to the VII century or an even earlier period.<sup>203</sup> This manuscript includes a translation in Tocharian B, which, while not strictly literal, is expanded and accompanied by explanatory content.<sup>204</sup> Beyond its translations into Old Uighur and Tocharian B, the Yogaśataka was also rendered into Tibetan and integrated into the Tanjur. Besides the Yogaśataka, Tocharian medical literature comprises approximately 70 published medical fragments, predominantly in Tocharian B, although numerous unpublished ones are found also in Tocharian A, the other language spoken up to the thirteen century in the oasis in the North of the Tarim Basin.<sup>205</sup> Regrettably, a substantial portion of these texts is very fragmentarily preserved, which poses challenges in identifying parallels in Sanskrit,

<sup>203</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Zieme 2007: 309

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Maue 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Maue 2008: 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> The initial edition was published by Lévi 1911, followed by a second and comprehensive edition with facsimiles by Filliozat 1948. A subsequent revision of the Filliozat edition was carried out by Carling 2003a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Carling 2007: 324. See also Carling 2003b.

Khotanese, or other languages. Nonetheless, notable scholarly efforts have been undertaken by researchers like Gerd Carling and Federico Dragoni in the comprehensive examination of Tocharian medical terminology, particularly in discerning borrowings from neighbouring languages.<sup>206</sup>

Finally, within the realm of Sogdian, fragments of medical texts are also found. One notable instance is a bilingual Sanskrit and Sogdian fragmentary text written in Brāhmī.<sup>207</sup> The surviving sections focus on four recipes which aim at curing eye diseases. However, the fragmentary nature of the text poses challenges to its complete understanding. Additionally, other Sogdian medical text fragments emerge, including one preserved on the verso of a manuscript which features a Manichaean narrative on the recto. Plausibly dated between the 8th and 11th centuries C.E.,<sup>208</sup> the surviving portion of this manuscript seemingly contained medical treatments of a gynaecological nature. Notably, it presents the earliest instance from Central Asia prior to the advent of Islam, detailing a treatment for the restoration of virginity.<sup>209</sup> Unfortunately, our understanding of medical vocabulary in Sogdian remains limited, leaving many pharmacological and medical terms in this language untranslated. Fragments of Vāgbhaṭa's *Astāngahṛdayasamhitā* translated in Sogdian were also recently discovered.<sup>210</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> See Carling 2007 and 2004 and Dragoni 2021 and 2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> See Maue and Sims-Williams 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Reck and Benkato 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Reck and Benkato 2018: 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> Reck and Wilken 2015.

### 4. The Dunhuang manuscripts: Pelliot chinois 2893 and Ch. 00265

#### 4.1 The sealed library of the Mogao Caves

Located in an oasis at the edge of the Taklamakan Desert (north-west China), the ancient city of Dūnhuáng 敦煌 (in Gansu province) served as a strategic outpost at the entrance of the Hexi Corridor along the Southern branch of the Silk Road. Over the centuries, Dunhuang flourished not only as a centre of commercial exchange but also as a Buddhist centre of study and devotion, becoming a meeting point of people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The historical and religious importance of this city is reflected in the shrines built by the pilgrims and monks at the Mogao cliffs, located in the south-east of Dunhuang. The Buddhist Mogao caves, also known as the 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas', are a complex of hundreds of grottoes (ca. 500) intricately carved into the rock over time and decorated with astonishing paintings and sculptures. One of the most important discoveries was undoubtedly the Mogao Cave No. 17, also called 'library cave'. In a hidden chamber, the Daoist monk Wáng Yuánlù 王圆箓, the self-appointed guardian and restorer of the caves, found at the beginning of 1900 thousands of well-preserved manuscripts and paintings. News of this extraordinary find reached explorers like the British-Hungarian A. Stein and the French sinologist Paul Pelliot, who hastened to the Mogao Caves. The first to arrive at the beginning of 1907 was Stein, who in Ruins of Desert Cathay (1912) describes the tough negotiation with Wang to obtain part of the manuscripts. This collection, which was further expanded during the third Stein's expedition (1913), is now preserved at the British Museum and the India Office Library in London.<sup>211</sup> Few months later, a second western explorer, the French sinologist Paul Pelliot (1878-1945), reached the library cave that he described as 'la plus fameuse découverte de manuscrits chinois que l'histoire de l'Extrême-Orient ait jamais eu à enregistrer [...]'.<sup>212</sup> He carefully examined the tens of thousands of manuscripts left and selected the most interesting ones. The collection is now preserved in France at the Départment des manuscripts orientaux of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Recognizing the significance of the Mogao manuscripts, Chinese scholars and authorities later arranged for the collection of the remaining materials,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> See Skjærvø 2002.

<sup>212</sup> A private letter written by P. Pelliot to Émile Senart (26 March 1908) <u>http://idp.bl.uk/database/institute.a4d?id=23</u> (accessed on January 2023).

now housed at the National Library of China in Beijing. Japanese expeditions led by Count  $\bar{O}$ tani Kōzui 大谷光瑞 (1876-1948) in the 1911-1912, followed by the Russian Sergej Oldenburg (1863-1934) in the 1914-1915, also contributed to collecting these documents.<sup>213</sup>

The reasons behind the sealing of the library cave have been topic of discussion since Stein's expeditions.<sup>214</sup> Various theories have been proposed about its original function and why it was filled with manuscripts, paintings, and religious artifacts. The dating of the youngest manuscripts indicates that the cave was sealed by the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>215</sup> After examining previous scholars' theories, Imre Galambos and Sam Van Schaik have identified some of the possible functions of this hidden chamber and the reasons why it was subsequently closed.<sup>216</sup> In the first place, it is known that, during the mid-ninth century, this hidden room was the meditation cave of the monk Hóngbiàn 洪辯 and, after his death, a funerary shrine. Therefore, it seems possible that some of the manuscripts recovered once belonged to him. A second possibility is connected with the discovery of small fragments of religious texts, besides complete documents and paintings. Most likely the cave was also an occasional location of rituals: the burial of damaged scriptures as offerings was a common practise among Chinese and, in general, Central Asian Buddhist cultures. Even though they may have been old or damaged, these documents and fragments were still considered and treated as relics, as they contained the Buddha's teachings. These theories also consider the cave's potential role as a storage space for extra manuscripts or commissioned copies donated to the monastery's library. This aligns with the belief that reproducing a Buddhist sūtra could generate merit for the donors.

#### 4.1.1 Contents and languages of the manuscripts

Because of its proximity with the trade route of the Hexi Corridor, Dunhuang was a flourishing centre of trade and religion where monks, merchants, and soldiers used to exchange information about religion, politics, and cultural thoughts. The multilingual and multicultural

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Fujieda 1966: 9-13. See on the location of manuscripts Fujieda 1966.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> See on this topic Galambos and Van Schaik 2012: 18-28, Rong and Hansen 1999, and Rong and Galambos (transl.) 2013: 109-136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Galambos and Van Schaik 2012: 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Galambos and Van Schaik 2012: 18-26.

society of Dunhuang is, as a matter of fact, reflected in the contents of the extant manuscripts. Since this town of Han origins was under the Tibetan rule from the 786 until the 848, when the whole region returned to China,<sup>217</sup> the two prevailing languages were accordingly Tibetan and Chinese. Hence, it is not rare to find manuscripts containing Chinese, Tibetan, and Chinese-Tibetan bilingual texts or glossaries. However, these are not the only languages found, as manuscripts containing Sanskrit, Khotanese, Sogdian, and Uighur texts are also extant. The majority of these texts are Buddhist sūtras, most of them translations from Sanskrit originals, but it is not rare to find texts of divination and astrology, official records, or medical texts.<sup>218</sup>

#### 4.2 Pelliot chinois 2893 and Ch. 00265

As mentioned above, over one hundred Khotanese manuscripts were recovered from the 'Caves of Thousand Buddhas'. Amongst them, two manuscripts preserve the text studied here: Pelliot chinois 2893 and Ch. 00265.

The partial Dunhuang manuscript Pelliot chinois 2893 [P 2893] is located at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. On the other hand, the also partial Ch. 00265 is preserved at the British Library, where it has the shelf number IOL Khot S 9. Like most of the Khotanese manuscripts from Dunhuang, it is now located at the British Library, after having been recovered by A. Stein during his expeditions. Hélène Vetch and Mauro Maggi provided empirical evidence to support that P 2893 and Ch. 00265 were originally part of a unified Chinese scroll manuscript.<sup>219</sup> Plausibly, the manuscript fell apart in ancient times and, during its reassembly in the tenth century, the sheets constituting ms Ch. 00265 were inadvertently excluded. Maggi's article provides compelling proof of a continous connection between lines 1 and 42 of the Stein manuscript and lines 91a and 91b of the Pelliot manuscript.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> See Galambos and Van Schaik 2012: 61-67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> See Galambos and Van Schaik 2012:14-17 and Takata 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> See Maggi 2008a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> Maggi 2008a: 79-80.

#### 4.2.1 Codicological and palaeographical features

The ms P 2893 comprises 14 leaves, the first and last one of which are mutilated, being at the extremities of the scroll. It measures now 25.2 to  $26.5 \times 612$  cm. The paper colour is light beige and the type is coarse-grained and rather thick. The sheets are irregularly glued together, whit some spots of moisture and fat, marks of pink ink, and small holes and cracks but, overall, are in fairly good conditions. The ms Ch. 00265 measures  $26 \times 95$  cm, comprises five leaves, and, also well preserved, inserts itself between the fifth and sixth leaves of P 2893. On average, a single line of text comprises approximately 24-27 *akṣara*s.

The recto of the manuscripts originally contained *juan 4* of the Chinese apocryphal Buddhist *Dafangbian Fo baoenjing* 大方便佛報恩經 'Sūtra of the great good means (*mahopāya*) used by the Buddha to repay kindness'. According to the colophon of P 2893, the copying of the *sūtra* was commissioned to a lay scribe by the Chinese monks Xìngkōng 性空 and Dàoyuán 道圓: "Record of copying done on behalf of the monks Xingkong and Daoyuan by a hired hand" 僧性空与道圓顧人. Van Schaik and Galambos identify Daoyuan with the monk who, in 936, travelled to India and spent ten years in Khotan and who around the middle of the ten century was passing through Dunhuang. They date the manuscript 'to the decade following 965 when Daoyuan returned to China from his trip', and, like Mauro Maggi, assign the present split condition of the manuscript to before the sealing of the Dunhuang cave in the early years of the eleventh century.<sup>221</sup> The recto of the manuscript contains two lines in Khotanese and a few syllables in the same script.

The verso of the manuscripts contains at the beginning of P 2893 a brief Buddhist text<sup>222</sup> and, starting from line 32, a medical text, both copied later than the Chinese Baoenjing. The Khotanese text is written in a very regular cursive ductus and in 20-21 lines per sheet, in a less compact and less precise manner than the Chinese text contained on recto. Before writing, thick grid lines were written on the paper perhaps to ensure that every syllable was written evenly. Where still visible, it is possible to notice that the text is written in the middle of each line and that often the written lines unexpectedly deviate from the original grid line. The name of the monk Daoyuan occurs faintly also on this side of the scroll, between the junction of two

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Galambos and Van Schaik 2012: 104, 107-108, 119-120, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> See Bailey 1942: 893.

sheets and the Khotanese text, proving that the latter was written afterwards and once the sheets had been glued together.

It was noticed that the Chinese  $s\bar{u}tra$  may not be complete and that at least three entire sheets are missing from the beginning of the manuscript, even though the first sheet is visibly damaged as is usually the case with the edge of the first and last sheets.<sup>223</sup> It is likely that the Khotanese medical text was written after the original scroll had been discarded and was lacking already the first three hypothetical sheet.

#### 4.3 Pelliot chinois 2889

An additional manuscript has been taken into consideration in the present research, since its content shares similarities with the medical text found in P 2893 and Ch. 00265. The Chinese scroll Pelliot chinois 2889 [P 2889] is a small manuscript of ten leaves in dark brown paper, measuring 24.5 to  $25.5 \times 373.5$  cm and now preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The recto contains a Chinese sūtra, whose first line says 'Buddhist canon of the Kaiyuan monastery of Khotan' 于闐開元寺一切經, which shows that it is originally one of the scriptures kept in the Kaiyuan Temple in Khotan. The verso of the manuscript contains instead a Khotanese text of fifteen lines, the first one of which is mutilated. The last two lines were probably written by a second hand. Even though the whole text is written in a regular cursive ductus, the initial thirteen lines are in a lighter ink, the *akşaras* are larger and more space is left between them. The last two lines are instead in a dark ink, the *akşaras* are smaller and very close to each other.

The Khotanese text was edited by Harold W. Bailey in *Khotanese Texts* 3.78. Even though with some variations, II. 2-5 correspond to II. 16-18 of the London manuscript Ch. 00265,<sup>224</sup> II. 5-8 to II. 78-82 of the Paris manuscript P 2893,<sup>225</sup> and finally II. 9-13 to *Jīvakapustaka* § 5 (50r4-v1).<sup>226</sup> The last two lines have yet not been identified.

<sup>226</sup> KT 1.141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Galambos and Van Schaik 2012: 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> *KT* 3.17-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> *KT* 3.78.

#### 5. The *Piņļaśāstra*: a Khotanese medical text

The critical edition and translation of the medical text contained in the afore mentioned manuscripts P 2893 and Ch. 00265 are the main object of the present research. The medical text occupies the whole of the Ch. 00265 (§§ 21b-41a in my numbering) and lines 32-267 of P 2893 (§§ 1-21a and §§ 41b-128). Until now, it has only received preliminary editing by H. W. Bailey,<sup>227</sup> provided tentative translations for numerous short passages from the text in his *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (henceforth *Dict.*).<sup>228</sup> Prods O. Skjærvø has subsequently provided a re-edition and provisional translation of manuscript Ch. 00265 only.<sup>229</sup> However, the most valuable contribution was provided by Ronald E. Emmerick (1937-2001), who spent decades investigating the topic of Khotanese and Khotanese medical texts and was undoubtedly the foremost authority on the subject. Emmerick worked on the manuscript P 2893 and left a draft critical edition and provisional translation that covers almost half of the text (§§ 1-21a and 41b-77). I have had the privilege to start my research from this left material and to review and complete Emmerick's unfinished work.

#### 5.1 Content of the text

The text, written in a late variety of Late Khotanese and now identified with the conventional title of *Pindaśāstra* (from hereon PiŚ),<sup>230</sup> is a collection of Āyurvedic prescriptions mainly of medicated pastes or poultices (Skt. *pinda(ka)*-), classified by type of diseases or area where the medicament must be applied. Besides poultices, the *Pindaśāstra* describes also the preparations of a few decoctions, an emetic, a fumigation, an edible medicament, and two collyria. The medical work consists of 128 paragraphs of various length, which are divided in the text by a double colon sign (::).

The paragraphs and contents of the *Pindaśāstra* are as follows:

Chapter 1: §§ 1-8 Poultices for the eyes;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> KT 3.17–19 (Ch. 00265) and 82–93 (P 2893).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Bailey 1979.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Skjærvø 2002: 488–490 (as IOL Khot S 9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> Maggi 2019a: 251, n. 30.

Chapter 2: §§ 9-14	Poultices for the stomach;
Chapter 3: §§ 15-34	Poultices for swellings;
Chapter 4: §§ 35-48	Poultices to apply on the liver;
Chapter 5: §§ 49-55	Poultices to apply on the spleen;
Chapter 6: §§ 56-62	Poultices to apply on the navel;
Chapter 7: §§ 63-73	Poultices for scrotal enlargement and downward motion;
Chapter 8: §§ 74-76	Remedies for the sexual dysfunction;
Chapter 9: §§ 77-83	Poultices for piles;
Chapter 10: §§ 84-100	Poultices for itching;
Chapter 11: §§ 101-115	Poultices for rheumatism;
Chapter 12: §§ 116-128	Prescriptions of all and every kind;

Differently from the *Siddhasāra* or the primary traditional Āyurvedic compendia, the PiŚ deviates from a systematic treatise format, focusing instead on delineating simple preparations employed as effective remedies for various ailments such as skin diseases, piles, rheumatism, respiration issues, abdominal swellings, eyes diseases, and other disorders. Notably, this book lacks any presence of medical theory and omits references to the aetiology of the diseases or the involvement of *doṣas*. Instead, the author promptly transitions from describing the ingredients and preparation of the remedy to briefly outlining the associated symptoms.

The general structure of the *Pindaśāstra* entails each chapter commencing with a concise opening line, which introduces either the name of the disorder or the specific body part affected by the diseases to be cured. An instance can be observed in § 9, where the second chapter is introduced with the subsequent sentence:

*tti vā khāysāna piņdā* 'The following (are) poultices for the stomach' Similarly, § 101 introduces the penultimate chapter as follows:

*tti vā vāśärūm va pindā* 'These (are) poultices for rheumatism'

These general opening lines are followed by the related paragraphs. Within each paragraph, an initial presentation encompasses an inventory of ingredients, typically divided in the manuscript by a dot. I consecutively numbered each ingredient, with the exception of excipients (e.g. water) due to their role as inactive substances with distinctive functions, such as facilitating drug softening or absorption. Following the list of ingredients, detailed instructions are provided for the preparation of the medicament, which may involve processes such as grinding, mixing, and boiling. Ultimately, each paragraph concludes by imparting directions concerning the application of the medicament to the specific body part affected by the ailment.

Despite all efforts, no identifiable source material for this text has been found this far. Nonetheless, it is worth noticing that certain ingredients, particularly plants, are attributed with analogous healing properties in both the *Pindaśāstra* and renowned Indian Āyurvedic compendia. This suggests a plausible scenario in which the author derived these remedies by incorporating information from diverse medical treatises.

Evidence of the text being a copy from a preceding manuscript is suggested by the presence of scribal errors, including instances of words repetition (known as dittography) and peculiar omissions resulting from visual oversight (termed homeoteleuton). It cannot be ruled out, though, that this text, which was based on the earliest Āyurvedic theories, was assimilated by the Khotanese culture and community and may contain elements of local medical tradition. These recipes may then have been the result of the author's therapeutical and herbal knowledge derived from personal practical experience, indigenous medical traditions, and an Āyurvedic education.

#### 5.2 Translation techniques of botanical names

The *Pindaśāstra*, as any Indian or Khotanese medical texts, has a multitude of herbal ingredients. Their identification has always been considered challenging. In the Āyurvedic tradition, plants may have many synonyms, and those synonyms may also be used to refer to multiple and different plants. This is due to the fact that these texts were composed in different

periods of time and geographical spaces. To quote the words of Dominik Wujastyk 'it is inevitable that some plants fell out of usage, were hard to find in new settlements, were mistaken for similar species, or were deliberately switched by opportunist suppliers of bazaar'.<sup>231</sup> However, it is interesting to see how over the time a complex literature of botanical thesauri was created 'in which plants are grouped by name and medical function. Often, a substitute plant either adheres to the features of the known appearance of the forgotten plant, or else has similar medical effects (whether in traditional or biometrical terms)'.<sup>232</sup>

Through a comparison with the Sanskrit and Khotanese text of the *Siddhasāra* and the *Jīvakapustaka*, I have tried to identify some of the plants occurring in the *Piṇḍaśāstra*. In some cases, the Khotanese borrowed the Sanskrit term, as for instance in the case of LKh. *kaṇḍārya*, a loanword from Skt. *kaṇṭakārakā* (*Solanum jacquinii* Willd.). Loanwords can also come from other languages, e.g. Tibetan, as in the case of LKh. *tharka* from Tib. *star ka* 'walnut'.<sup>233</sup> In other cases, plants have a Khotanese name, whose meaning is sometimes otherwise known (e.g. LKh. *hīnaā*- corresponding to Skt. *surasā*), while in other cases it is still obscure. Noteworthy is the explanation given in § 117, where the nature of the probably indigenous botanical term *ahi* is glossed by the Skt. loanword *dāttä* (Skt. *dantī*, *Baliospermum solanifolium* Burm.): *ahi : şi' vq dāttä 'ahi*-plant, that is wild croton'.

#### 5.3 Piņdasaptaka and the Piņdaśāstra

As mentioned above, the *Piṇḍaśāstra* shares similar characteristics with the Late Khotanese text contained in the fol. 100 of the Ch. ii.002, the *Piṇḍasaptaka*. It is worth noticing the use of fixed phrases, which are absent in the Khotanese *Siddhasāra* but have matches in the *Piṇḍaśāstra*, such as *thaṇjāña ysū̯nā̃nä* 'it must be taken out (and) strained' (PiŚ §§ 8, 99; 100r5) or *paskyāṣṭā hā tcirai* '(the essence) must be put back (into the vessel)' (PiŚ §§ 6, 8; 100v1). Noteworthy is also the use of the technical words *ahā*- and *jsahāra*- to describe the abdominal area. Both terms occur solely in the *Piṇḍaśāstra* and the fol. 100 and they most likely refer to the 'stomach' (*ahā*-) and the abdomen (*jsahāra*-) of the patient. Furthermore, as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> Wujastyk 2003a: xxxv-xxxvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Wujastyk 2003a: xxxvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Emmerick 1985: 306.

Emmerick pointed out in his article on the Jīvakapustaka<sup>234</sup>, terms of measure like *simga*- or  $samga-^{235}$  are frequently used in the JP, PiSa, and PiŚ, while they are absent in the most famous Khotanese *Siddhasāra*.

#### 6. Notes on the Khotanese text

The entire text of the *Pindaśāstra* has been divided into chapters and each paragraph has been consecutively numbered, in order to have a reference system for the commentary and glossary. In each prescription the ingredients have been numbered progressively in both Khotanese text and translation. In the English translation medical and technical terms, such as names of ingredients, diseases, or verbs related with the preparation of the remedy, are followed by the Sanskrit corresponding word within brackets. The Sanskrit correspondences are mainly based on the comparison with the Khotanese and Sanskrit Siddhasāra, with the exception of a few cases where the Sanskrit parallel word is provided by other sources (e.g. *Jīvakapustaka*). Since the corresponding words may be various, only the three most frequent have been quoted in the translation. In the glossary parallel terms are differentiated from loanwords, the origin of which is indicated between square brackets. The aim is to facilitate the possible identification of the source materials of the Pindaśāstra. Concerning the botanical names of the components, I opted for Emmerick's approach of employing common language terms in both the translation and the glossary, a choice that was influenced also by the text's style.<sup>236</sup> A list of botanical names for plants with clearer identification is furnished below. In cases where identification is uncertain or not possible, the name of the medicinal plant remains untranslated in both texts and glossary.

The translation is kept as literal as possible, in order to show the style of this Khotanese medical text. At times, the context of the text may complicate the understanding of allusions to specific illnesses or symptoms. It is likely that these theories or ideas were clear to the physicians of the time, who might have benefited from commentaries while reading and composing these type of texts. To clarify the meaning of phrases that may appear fragmentary

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> Emmerick 1979a: 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> Cf. the commentary for the meaning of these two words.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Emmerick 1982: 8.

in translation, additional words have been inserted in brackets. The rendering of some specific passages that I am presenting here constitutes my own interpretation, but alternative interpretations may also be plausible. From §§ 1-21a and 41b-77 I followed Emmerick's unedited translation, adapting when necessary the phraseology. The passages that diverge substantially from Emmerick's interpretation have been highlighted in the footnotes.

#### 6.1 Conventions in the critical apparatus

The edition has the following conventions:

- [...] restoration of a lacuna;
- [++] conjectured number of *akṣara*s in a lacuna;
- [-]a consonant base broken out or not visible;
- [[...]] deletion in the ms;
- <...> editor's supplement where the ms has no lacuna;
- {...} editor's deletion;
- \*... editor's emendation; the ms reading will be found in the apparatus;
- (...) editor's additions in the translation;

Bailey's reading of the Khotanese text has been noted in the critical apparatus with fn. 'Bailey' and is based on his *Khotanese Texts* 3.17-19 (Ch. 00265) and 82-93 (P 2893). Likewise, Skjærvø's reading has been noted with fn. 'Skjærvø' and is based on his *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan* (2002).

Manuscript punctuation has been noted by . : and double colon sign :: (indicating the conclusion of the paragraph), each preceded by a space. Occasionally, the : sign appears adjacent to a syllable, in which case it holds phonetic value.

# **TEXT AND TRANSLATION**

## FIRST CHAPTER: POULTICES FOR THE EYES

§1 (P 2893.32)

.. viña ttā hva hva biśū̃nām āchām va pindā hvañāre u yauga :: –

Now the poultices (*pindaka*) and prescriptions (*yoga*) for various diseases (*gada*, *roga*) are explained separately to you.

#### §2 (P 2893.33-34)

.. (1) halīrai . (2) vihīlai . (3) aumalai . hąmaņga vīśtāña . nauka ārāña (4) mākṣīna paherāña<sup>237</sup> saņdvena tciņña rāhä' jidä ::

(1) Chebulic myrobalan ( $har\bar{\iota}tak\bar{\iota}$ ), (2) belleric myrobalan ( $vibh\bar{\iota}taka$ ), (and) (3) emblic myrobalan ( $\bar{a}malaka$ ,  $\bar{a}malak\bar{\iota}$ ,  $dh\bar{a}tr\bar{\iota}$ ) must be put in equally, ground finely, and moistened ( $bh\bar{a}vita$ ) with (4) honey ( $m\bar{a}k\bar{s}ika$ ). It removes ((°)śudh, (°)han, hr) pain in the eye ( $ak\bar{s}i$ ) due to a combination ( $saminip\bar{a}ta$ ) (of the three  $do\bar{s}as$ ).

§ 3 (P 2893.34-35)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> Bailey: *paherą̃ñä*.

(1) phaja-vaha<sup>238</sup> pau . (2) hauşka gūra . (3) kumjsa . (4) būysįna pī . hamamga vīstāna<sup>239</sup> . u
 kūtāna şi' pendai<sup>240</sup> teina banāna ::

(1) Onion cooked in glowing coals, (2) dry (*śuṣka*) grapes (*drākṣā*, *mṛdvīkā*), (3) sesame (*tila*),
(4) goat (*chāga*) fat (*medas*) must be put in equally and be pounded (*kuṭț*). This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be tied on the eye (*akṣi*).

#### §4 (P 2893.35-40)

khu beva jsa tcimna<sup>241</sup> rāha' hąme și' pe'šā' āphide tcimąnvā<sup>242</sup> vī hąne \*straha makaute<sup>243</sup> hąmāre garkhye drą-masi phām<sup>244</sup> vaste. jsinūm jsa<sup>245</sup> ni vījsesde.

şai' va peņḍai . (1) sauthara spyakä . (2) bā ttīma . \*hąmamga<sup>246</sup> vīśtāña . (3) ttīlaka hā haumai vimathāña . hu'galakä hā şe' penḍai padīmāña<sup>247</sup> . ttamgalakaña pe'makaña ñūṣṭyāña<sup>248</sup> . grāmakä kacau<sup>249</sup> ysai ysai<sup>250</sup> u pa'śā tceña niśāña jatte ::

When pain occurs in the eye (aksi) due to wind ( $v\bar{a}ta$ ), it is disturbed (dusta) in the evening ( $n\bar{a}kta$ ,  $n\bar{s}s\bar{a}$ -mukha,  $s\bar{a}y\bar{a}hna$ ), the eyelids on the eyes (aksi) become stiffly closed (mukula)

<sup>240</sup> Bailey: *paindai*.

<sup>246</sup> hąmanga for ms hąman (Bailey).

- <sup>248</sup> pemakąña ñūstyąna cf. pema jsä nūstyąnä § 70.
- <sup>249</sup> grāmakä kacau cf. grrām grām § 5, 6, 55, 68, 70, 72, 109, 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Bailey: *phaja vaha*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> Bailey: *vīśtą̃ña*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Bailey: *tciña*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Bailey: *tcimeñvā*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> hāne \*straha makaute for ms hāne stra makaute (Emmerick). Bailey: hā nestra-makaute.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Bailey: *drąma siphąm*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> *jsiņūm* cf. *jsiņä* § 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> haumai vimathąna . hu'galakä hą se' pendai padīmąna cf. hąmai vamathąnä si' pimdai padīmąna hu'gä l. 263.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Bailey: ysaiysai.

(and) heavy, there remains  $(sth\bar{a})$  dust the size of a hair (and) therefore one does not see in detail<sup>251</sup>.

This is the poultice (pindaka) for that: (1) fulsee flower  $(dh\bar{a}tak\bar{i})$ , (2) dill  $(satapusp\bar{a})$  must be put in equally, (3) a little of wheat flour  $(kanik\bar{a})^{252}$  must be kneaded (vimath) into it. This poultice (pindaka) must be made soft, must be wrapped  $(\bar{a}baddha)$  in thin woollen cloth, (and while) somewhat warm (usna) it must be put in the eye (aksi) in the morning  $(p\bar{u}rv\bar{a}hna, pr\bar{a}tar)$  and evening  $(n\bar{a}kta, n\bar{s}s\bar{a}-mukha, s\bar{a}y\bar{a}hna)$ . It will be cured  $(sidh, sukh\bar{i}bh\bar{u})$ .

#### § 5 (P 2893.40-43)

khu pettana u hūna āphārä va tcimna rāha' hame ṣa' śva' hadā āphede . tci'manī hemjä hamāre . ysīdaurgä vījaisde

și' va peṇḍai . (1) halīrai . (2) vihīlai . (3) aumalai . (4) duma-hauṣṭa gūra . (5) kūṃjsa . hamaṃga vīśtāña . kūṭāña . (6) ṣvīdana peṇḍai pāche . grrāṃ grāṃ parye śva haḍā tciña niśāñä jatte ::

When pain occurs in the eye (*akṣi*) due to bile (*pitta*) and on account of the disturbance of the blood (*asra*, *rakta*, *śoṇita*), it is disturbed (*duṣṭa*) at midday, his eyes (*akṣi*) become red, (and) he sees (things) yellowish.

This is the poultice (pindaka) for that: (1) chebulic myrobalan  $(har\bar{\iota}tak\bar{\iota})$ , (2) belleric myrobalan  $(vibh\bar{\iota}taka)$ , (3) emblic myrobalan  $(\bar{a}malaka, \bar{a}malak\bar{\iota}, dh\bar{a}tr\bar{\iota})$ , (4) smoke-dried (suska) grapes  $(dr\bar{a}ks\bar{a}, mrdv\bar{\iota}k\bar{a})$ , (5) sesame (tila) must be put in equally, must be pounded (kutt), (and) the poultice (pindaka) must be cooked (pac, srta, svinna) with (6) milk  $(ks\bar{\iota}ra)$ . (While it is) quite warm (usna), when midday has passed, it must be inserted into the eye (aksi). It will be cured  $(sidh, sukh\bar{\iota}bh\bar{u})$ .

§6 (P 2893.43-50)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> 'in detail': differently Emmerick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> 'a little of wheat flour': differently Emmerick.

cu śilīşumą jsi tcimña rāha' hame și' ysai ysai<sup>253</sup> āphede tcimąñī garkhyä hąmāre u kyahāre . hauni<sup>254</sup> vī șșaidä . drāmī hera hąma sä cambūlą mam șțāre . āșkī jsāve

şai va peņḍai (1) kumijsa . (2) kumbā . śā śā hāḍa nauka ārānä . u ttī (3) ysīḍā spye śā hāḍe. nauka kuṭānä<sup>255</sup> . drai vasīya uci jsa jṣā'nānā . damdä khu<sup>256</sup> ra va śau vasī harśtä ttī pe'<sup>257</sup> ysūnānā . u paskyāṣṭä hā tcirai . ṣi' kumijsa . kumbā . hā tcerai . ṣi' hu'gä peṇḍai pāchai . drai haḍā vaṣṭä ysai ysai<sup>258</sup> u pe'śā' grām grām dasau jūna tcimña nīśānä jatte ::

When pain in the eye (*akşi*) occurs due to phlegm (*śleṣman*), it is disturbed (*duṣṭa*) in the morning ( $p\bar{u}rv\bar{a}hna$ ,  $pr\bar{a}tar$ ), his eyes (*akṣi*) become heavy and itch, they cling to the eyelids<sup>259</sup>, such a thing occurs to him: '(Things) are disturbed for me.' He becomes tearful.

This is the poultice (pindaka) for that<sup>260</sup>: (1) sesame (tila) (and) (2) linseed  $(atas\bar{i})$  must be finely ground, but one by one<sup>261</sup>, and then (3) the yellow flowers (puspa) must be finely pounded (kutt), but alone,<sup>262</sup> and (the whole) must be boiled with three  $vas\bar{i}yas$  of water  $(ambu, jala, v\bar{a}ri)$  until (only) one  $vas\bar{i}ya$  remains there. Then the essence<sup>263</sup> (remaining) must be strained and be put back into (the vessel). Sesame (tila) (and) linseed  $(atas\bar{i})$  must be put in. The soft poultice (pindaka) must be cooked (pac, srta, svinna). For three days it must be inserted into the eye (aksi) while quite warm (usna) ten times morning  $(p\bar{u}rv\bar{a}hna, pr\bar{a}tar)$  and evening  $(n\bar{a}kta, n\bar{s}\bar{a}-mukha, s\bar{a}y\bar{a}hna)$ . It will be cured  $(sidh, sukh\bar{i} bh\bar{u})$ .

<sup>263</sup> 'Then the essence': differently Emmerick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> The second *ysai* is written below the first with a caret above. Bailey: *ysaiysai*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Bailey: *hauvi*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Bailey kuțāñä.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Bailey: *khū*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Emmerick:  $pe's\bar{a}'$  for ms pe'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> The second *ysai* is written below the first with a caret above. Bailey: *ysaiysai*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> 'to the eyelids': differently Emmerick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> 'for that': differently Emmerick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> 'be finely ground, but one by one': differently Emmerick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> 'but alone': differently Emmerick.

#### § 7 (P 2893.50-54)<sup>264</sup>

cu<sup>265</sup> drayau dūṣyau' jsa tci'ña rrāhä' hąme . ṣai' va yaugä . ttriphala . (1) halīrai . (2) vihīle . (3) aumalai . vīnau gachākām śā śā mācāmgye nauka kūṭāña . drai vasīya ūcä jsi jṣā'ñāñä<sup>266</sup> khu<sup>267</sup> ra va śau vasī harśtä ysūnāñä. na āna hā<sup>268</sup> dvī prūyi (4) mamgārä gvīha' rūm tcerai . hauda khaśa' pe'śā' khāśāñä jatte . ::

When pain in the eye (*akşi*) occurs due to the three *doṣas* (*doṣa*), this is the prescriptions (*yoga*) for it: the three fruits (*triphalā*) (namely) (1) chebulic myrobalan (*harītakī*), (2) belleric myrobalan (*vibhītaka*), (and) (3) emblic myrobalan (*āmalaka*, *āmalakī*, *dhātrī*), without (their) seeds ( $b\bar{i}ja$ ) – one dram of each must be finely pounded (*kuțț*), (the whole) must be boiled with three *vasīyas* of water (*ambu*, *jala*, *vāri*) until (only) one *vasīya* remains there, (and the preparation) must be strained. Two *prūyas* of (4) old (*purāṇa*) cow oil (*ghṛta*) must be put in from below (*adhas*). Seven drinks (*pāna*) (of this preparation) must be drunk in the evening (*nākta*, *nīśā-mukha*, *sāyāhna*). It will be cured (*sidh*, *sukhī bhū*).

#### §8 (P 2893.54-67)

și' būri tcim'ñąstä rūm va arva jsāve . (1) vąmīnai rūm sā prūye . (2) avisgį nai rūm sā prūye .
(3) gvīha' <rrūm><sup>269</sup> dvī prūye . (4) gūrvām gichanām mijsąkām jsa rūm dvī prūye . (5) haryāsä kumjsamna<sup>270</sup> rum sau simgä . (6) kapūra hālai aksarä . (7) kurkām sau aksari . (8) [...]<sup>271</sup>yausa hālai aksari . (9) cigām būsąnai sā mācāmgye . (10) hama-ysā<sup>272</sup> sikarä sau aksä . (11) nīra

<sup>266</sup> drai vasīya ūcä jsi jsā'ñāñä cf. § 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Cf. § 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Bailey:  $c\bar{u}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Bailey: *khū*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Bailey: *ānahā*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup>  $gv\bar{\iota}ha' < rr\bar{\iota}m >$ for ms  $gv\bar{\iota}ha'$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>270</sup> Bailey: *kumjąna*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> Before *yausa hālai akṣari* the ms has the words *yausa śau akṣarä hālai* deleted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> Bailey: *hqma ysā*.

ląvamgä . dvī mācāmgye . (12) mahābumjä sau sirä . bakä kūtāna . drai hamākä . ūci jsä jsā'nānā . damdä khu<sup>273</sup> ra va sau hamākä harstä .

ysūnānä paskyāstā si kasā hāna tcirā . \*kasā 'na<sup>274</sup> cimgām būsānai . kurkām . lavagā . hamtsä jsā 'nānā . damdä khu<sup>275</sup> ra rum harstä . khu<sup>276</sup> naysdä-vahä ' hame<sup>277</sup> . ttī hā kapūrä . yausa . sikara tcirai . khu<sup>278</sup> sau dva jūm hamtsä jīsdi ' thamjāna . ysūnānä . pe'sā ' ksi' kanai haysgvā pasānā . kamalä pāstāmgä biysamjānä .

tti vā bve'jse . (1) khu beva jsä tci'meñą āphīrārai jahāre . (2) kąmala rrāhä' jidä . (3) khu<sup>279</sup> tcai'me'ña ssaidä . khu<sup>280</sup> ttī jsimnä ni vijsyä<sup>281</sup>, myām ttira vīna jimdä . biśūm va śira īmdä ::

This oil (*ghrta*) for the eye (*akşi*) goes there as medicament: (1) one *prūya* of almond (Nadkarni *vātāma*) oil (*ghrta*), (2) one *prūya* of pistachio nut (*abhiṣuka*) oil (*ghrta*), (3) two *prūya*s of cow oil, (4) two *prūya*s of oil (*ghrta*) from the ground marrow (*bīja*) of plantains (*moca*), (5) one ounce (*prastha*) of oil (*ghrta*) from black (*asita*, *kṛṣṇa*) sesame (*tila*), (6) half an *akṣa*<sup>282</sup> of camphor (*karpūra*), (7) one *akṣa* of saffron (*kuṅkuma*), (8) half an *akṣa* of musk (*kastūrī*), (9) one dram of perfume of the Chinese, (10) one *akṣa* of uniform sugar (*śarkarā*, *sitā*), (11) two drams of clove (*lavaṅga*) water (*nīra*), (12) one ounce of liquorice plant (*madhuka*, *yaṣṭīmadhu*) must be pounded (*kuṭṭ*) small (and) be boiled with three bowls of water (*ambu*, *jala*, *vāri*) until (only) one bowl remains there.

It must be strained. The decoction (*kaṣāya*, *kvātha*, *sva-rasa*) must be put back into the vessel. In the decoction (*kaṣāya*, *kvātha*, *sva-rasa*) perfume of the Chinese, saffron (*kuṅkuma*),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> Bailey: *khū*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> \*kaṣā'ña for ms kaṣa'ña (Luzzietti).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> Bailey: *khū*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Bailey: *khū*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> Bailey hame.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> Bailey:  $kh\bar{u}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> Bailey:  $kh\bar{u}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> Bailey:  $kh\bar{u}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> khū ttī jsiņä ni vijsyä cf. § 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> The use of *akṣarä*, *akṣari* here, presumably for the Sanskrit unit of measure *akṣa*, is surprising.

(and) cloves (*lavanga*) must be boiled together until (only) oil (*ghrta*) remains. When it is nearly cooked, then camphor (*karpūra*), musk (*kastūrī*), (and) sugar (*śarkarā*, *sitā*) must be put in. When it boils together once (or) twice, it must be taken away (from the fire) (and) strained. In the evening (*nākta*, *nīśā-mukha*, *sāyāhna*) six drops must be inserted into the nostrils (*nāvana*). The head (*mūrdhan*) must be held upside down.

And these are its virtues. (1) When the eyes (aksi) are disturbed (dusta) by wind  $(v\bar{a}ta)$ , they will be healed  $(sidh, sukh\bar{v} bh\bar{u})$ . (2) It removes headaches (siro-rti). (3) When the eyes (aksi) cling so that one then does not see in detail<sup>283</sup>, it removes such great pains in the middle (of the eye). It does good for all (three) of these (disorders).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> 'in detail': differently Emmerick.

# SECOND CHAPTER: POULTICES FOR THE STOMACH

§ 9 (P 2893.67)

tti vā khāysąna piņdą.

The following (are) poultices (*pindaka*) for the stomach (*āmāśaya*):

#### §10 (P 2893.67-70)

(1) āḍa hāmai. (2) vi'yaji. (3) rājā nämva<sup>284</sup> (4) bi'hā'ya. hamamgä viśtāñä. nauka ārāñä. (5) mauna pāchai. bimdä (6) halīrai parkūnāñä<sup>285</sup>. darye jsahāra nīśāñä. petta ślişmī khāysāñä u ahaña āma naṣpaśde'::

(1) Barley semolina (*saktu*) (or) wheat flour (*kaņikā*)<sup>286</sup>, (2) *vi yaji*, (3) salt (*lavaņa*) from the plains (*romaka*), (4) *bi hāya* must be put in equally (and) ground finely. (The whole) must be cooked (*pac*, *śrta*, *svinna*) with (5) liquor (*mada*), sprinkled on a (severed) (6) chebulic myrobalan (*harītakī*), (and) the belly of the split (myrobalan) must be placed (on the stomach). It expels bile (and) phlegm (*śleṣman*) in one's stomach (*āmāśaya*) and undigested (*āma*) (food) in the belly.

#### § 11 (P 2893.70-73)

(1) haryāsa sacha (2) mauna pāchai . și peņdai ura bimdä nīśąna paşkāsā jimdä ::

paḍā śā ṣavä khāysāña (1) hāma śīya ttrahe bañāñä . u bimdä (2) śīya namva sauyāña . u ttī ustam și' pendai bañāñä ::

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> Bailey: *rājā-nämva*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> Bailey: parkūnāñä.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> 'Barley semolina (or) wheat flour': differently Emmerick.

(1) Black sida (JP  $n\bar{a}ga-bal\bar{a}$ ) must be cooked (*pac*, *śrta*, *svinna*) with (2) liquor (*mada*). This poultice (*pindaka*) must be placed on the belly. It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) swelling (of the stomach) ( $\bar{a}dhm\bar{a}na$ ,  $\bar{a}h\bar{a}na$ ).

First for one night (*uṣitaṃ*) (1) raw white radishes (*mūlaka*) must be tied (*bandh*) on the stomach ( $\bar{a}m\bar{a}saya$ ) and thereon (2) white salt (*lavaṇa*) must be rubbed and then finally this poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be tied on (*bandh*).

#### §12 (P 2893.73-75)

(1) bāņva şavarä . dva bāga . (2) hąmārnai phaura dva bāga . (3) huşkyä ttrahe dva bāgä . (4) rrājā namva<sup>287</sup> dva bāgä . (5) āḍa hāmai śau bāgä . nauka ārāñä hatsä . penḍai padīmāñä khāysāña āchā jimdä . haśä u dūvarä ::

(1)  $b\bar{a}nva \, savar\ddot{a}$  – two portions ( $bh\bar{a}ga$ ); (2)  $hqm\bar{a}rnai \, phaura$  – two portions ( $bh\bar{a}ga$ ); (3) dry radishes ( $suska-m\bar{u}laka$ ) – two portions ( $bh\bar{a}ga$ ); (4) salt (lavana) of the plains (romaka) – two portions ( $bh\bar{a}ga$ ); (5) (and) one portion ( $bh\bar{a}ga$ ) of barley semolina (saktu) (or)<sup>288</sup> wheat flour ( $kanik\bar{a}$ ) must be finely ground together. A poultice (pindaka) must be made. It will remove ((°)sudh, (°)han, hr) diseases (gada, roga) in the stomach ( $\bar{a}m\bar{a}saya$ ), swelling (sopha), and dropsy (udara).

#### § 13 (P 2893.75-78)

(1) ahaysnāva ysaraņjsą. (2) būysįnä padī sū hīya ranūskä. (3) mau hīya purgä. (4) rūsādä.
[[pa]]<sup>289</sup> hamagä vīstānā. hatsä kūtānä. peņdai padīmānā. bi[[dai]]dai<sup>290</sup> (5) sī bū' parkūnānā. khāysānā banānä. hasä tcabe'je ::

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> Bailey: *rājā-namva*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> 'barley semolina': differently Emmerick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> Uncertain. Bailey: *rūsādā [sa]* with fn. 'Unclear'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> Uncertain. Bailey: *bi[sai] dai* with fn. 'Blurred sai'.

Unwashed safflower (JP *kusumbha*), (2) the scrapings of burnt goat (*chāga*) horn (*viṣāṇa*),
 the lees of liquor (*mada*), (4) (and) barley flour (*yava-kalka*) must be put in equally, be pounded (*kuțț*) together, (and) a poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be made. (5) White perfume (*kaṭabhī-śvetā*, *kunda*) must be sprinkled on it. It must be tied (*bandh*) on the stomach (*āmāśaya*). It will disperse swelling (*śopha*).

#### §14 (P 2893.78-82)

(1) aysāya . u (2) guņām u (3) gīchqnā mījsāka . (4) hūrastä . (5) sī sasvām . (6) hīnā . (7) ganānai bā ttīma . (8) āra . (9) kumbā . (10) kumjsa . (11) kustä . (12) asvagamdhą . (13) bara sīmje . (14) īramde . bisa hamamgä vīstānä . nauka kūtānä . peņdai-t-ūm jsa padīmānä . uci jsa pāchai . khāysāna hāma bāva pastä . hasä jimdä . u bāva silīsuma jsa<sup>291</sup> āchā u phāhä' ::

(1) *aysā'ya* and marrow ( $b\bar{i}ja$ ) of (2) *guņās* and (3) plantains (*moca*), (4) orrisroot (*pauṣkara*), (5) white mustard ((*śveta-*)*sarṣapa*, *siddhārtha*), (6) chaste tree (*surasā*), (7) fetid dill<sup>292</sup> (*śatapuṣpā*), (8) sweet flag (*vacā*), (9) linseed (*atasī*), (10) sesame (*tila*), (11) costus (*kuṣṭha*), (12) winter cherry (*aśvagandhā*), (13) jujube (*kola*, *bādara*), (14) castor-oil plant (*eraṇḍa*)

#### §14 (P 2889.5-8)

(1) aysā'ya (2) gāņā (3) gīchanā mijsāka (4) hųrastä (5) sī sasvām (6) hīnā<sup>293</sup> (7) ganām bā (8) āra . (9) kāmbā . (10) kūjsa . (11) kūsta (12) asvagadha (13) bara sīje . (14) īrade tta hamaga stāka u paiņdę pāchai [×]<sup>294</sup> jsa khāysānā banānā .

 aysā'ya, (2) (marrow) of guņās, (3) marrow of plantains (moca), (4) orrisroot (pauṣkara), (5) white mustard ((śveta-)sarṣapa, siddhārtha), (6) chaste tree (surasā), (7) fetid dill (śatapuṣpā), (8) sweet flag (vacā), (9) linseed (atasī), (10) sesame (tila), (11) costus (kuṣṭha), (12) winter cherry (aśvagandhā), (13) jujube (kola, bādara), (and) (14) castor-oil plant (eraṇḍa).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> Bailey: *śilīṣumajsa*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> 'fetid dill': differently Emmerick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> Bailey: *hīnām* (*KT* 3 78.6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup> Uncertain. Bailey:  $\times$  with fn. 'Unclear syllables' (*KT* 3 78.8).

must all be put in equally (and) be pound (*kuțț*) finely, (and) a poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be made with them. It must be cooked (*pac*, *śrta*, *svinna*) with water (*ambu*, *jala*, *vāri*). It matures (*pac*, *śrta*, *svinna*) a raw root (*mūla*) in the stomach (*āmāśaya*), removes ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) swelling (*śopha*) and diseases (*gada*, *roga*) due to wind (*vāta*) (and) phlegm (*śleṣman*), and cough (*kāsa*).

These are equally necessary and a poultice (pindaka) must be cook with ... It must be tied on the stomach  $(\bar{a}m\bar{a}\dot{s}aya)$ .

# THIRD CHAPTER: POULTICES FOR SWELLINGS

#### § 15 (P 2893.82-83)

ttī vā haśi va peņḍā.

The following (are) poultices (*pindaka*) for swelling (*sopha*).

#### §16 (P 2893.83)

(1) huşkyi ttrahe . (2) kumijsārgyä . (3) mauna pāche . și' sālye' haśa va peņdai ::

(1) Dry radishes (*śuṣka-mūlaka*) (and) (2) sesame oil (*taila*) cakes (*piņyāka*) must be cooked (*pac*, *śrta*, *svinna*) with (3) liquor (*mada*). This (is) a poultice (*piṇḍaka*) for swelling (*śopha*) of the *sālye*'.

#### §17 (P 2893.83-85)

 (1) aysā'yä nauka kuţāñä . uci jsä jşā'ñāñä . (2) hāmai hā vamathāñä . şe' peņḍai sāḍa hasve jimdä ::

(1)  $ays\bar{a}'ya$  must be pounded (*kuțț*) finely (and) be boiled with water (*ambu*, *jala*, *vāri*). (2) Wheat flour (*kaṇikā*) must be kneaded (*vimath*) (into it). This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) removes ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *h*<sub>r</sub>) cold (*sīta*) swellings (*śopha*).

#### §18 (P 2893.85-87)

(1) jsanaspāra.
(2) j(am)b(a)() drre<sup>295</sup>.
(3) huşkyi ttrahe.
(4) bāņva şavarä.
(5) ba'hauya.
hamamgä vīstāña.
nauka ārāñä.
(6) mauna u
(7) namvena pāchai hasa va pendai ::

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> j(am)b(a)() drre for ms jbdrre.

(1) *jsanaspāra*, (2) the three *jambū* (*jambūtrayam*), (3) dry radishes (*śuṣka-mūlaka*), (4) *bānva ṣavarä*, (5) *ba'hauya* must be put in equally (and) be ground finely. A poultice (*pindaka*) for swelling (*śopha*) must be cooked (*pac*, *śrta*, *svinna*) with (6) liquor (*mada*) and (7) salt (*lavana*).

#### § 19 (P 2893.87-88)

(1) svīdana (2) rūsādā. paherāñā. (3) āda gūrva <...><sup>296</sup>. ā vā khāhām hīye ūci jsa hemje hašä bidä nīsānā tcabe'je ::

(2) Barley flour (*yava-kalka*) must be moistened (*bhāvita*) with (1) milk (*kṣīra*). (3) Barley semolina (*saktu*)<sup>297</sup> <. . > or alternatively with the water (*ambu*, *jala*, *vāri*) from springs (and) must be put on a red (*rakta*) swelling (*śopha*). (This) will disperse (it).

#### § 20 (P 2893.88-91)

(1) kumįsa. (2) kumbą<sup>298</sup>. (3) ysarūm māmgä. (4) rīysū. (5) ysīdā spye. (6) mahābumji.
 hamamgä vīstānā. naukä ārānā . (7) svīdina peņde pāche. (8) gvīha' rūmna. gūmalyānä.
 samdvemna hasä jimdä. bina hūnä vasūje ::

(1) Sesame (*tila*), (2) linseed (*atasī*), (3) green beans (*maudga*), (4) rice (*taṇḍula*, *śāli*), (5) the yellow flowers (*pīta-puṣpa*), (and) (6) liquorice plant (*madhuka*, *yaṣṭīmadhu*) must be put in equally, be ground finely, (and) the poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be cooked (*pac*, *śṛta*, *svinna*) with (7) milk (*kṣīra*) (and) mixed with (8) cow oil (*ghṛta*). It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hṛ*) swellings (*śopha*) due to a combination (*saṇnipāta*) (of the three *doṣas*) (and) it will purify blood (*asra*, *rakta*, *śoṇita*) vitiated by wind (*vāta*).

#### § 21 (P 2893.91a + Ch. 00265.1-2)

- <sup>296</sup> Gap posited by Luzzietti.
- <sup>297</sup> 'Barley semolina': differently Emmerick.
- <sup>298</sup> Bailey: *kumbā*.

(1) mākṣīna (2) vasva uysmä paherāñä. ā vā (3) krremgīne āha'na (4) ārrdä māmgä paherānä.
 hemje haśä tcabe'jākä pendai ::

(2) Pure clay must be moistened (*bhāvita*) with (1) honey (*mākṣika*), or alternatively, (4) ground beans (*maudga*) must be moistened (*bhāvita*) with (3) a fowl's (*dakṣa*) egg (*aṇḍa*). (This) poultice (*piṇḍaka*) (is) a disperser of red (*rakta*) swelling (*sopha*).

#### § 22 (Ch. 00265.2-6)

(1) īramde (2) kumisa hamamgä vīstānä<sup>299</sup>. nauka ārānä. (3) ulīne tcāra jsä peņdai padīmānä. paskyāstä hvā, nānä . (4) gurgula bū, u (5) halīrai tti hā hamamgä<sup>300</sup> vīstānä . ārānä . hā hambrrīhānä . (6) gvī, hye bīysma jsä paherānä . si peņdai āyvānä . u dirye urä bimdä nīsānä . dūvarä jimdä u hasä ::

(1) Castor-oil plant (*eraṇḍa*) (and) (2) sesame (*tila*) must be put in equally (and) be ground finely. A poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be made with (3) camel (*auṣṭra*) fat (*vasā*). Afterwards it must be made dry. (4) Bdellium perfume (*pura*) and (5) chebulic myrobalan (*harītakī*), these must be put in equally, be ground (and) be mixed in. (The whole) must be moistened (*bhāvita*) with (6) cow urine (*go-mūtra*). This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be heated and be placed on the bad belly. It will remove ((°)śudh, (°)han, hṛ) dropsy (*udara*) and swelling (*śopha*).

#### § 23 (Ch. 00265.6-8)

 (1) bahau'yä. (2) bauņva şavarā hamamgā vistānā. hamtsā kūtānā. hasā bimdā banānā. heji hasā jimdā ::

(1) *bahau'yä* (and) (2) *baunva ṣavarä* must be put in equally (and) be pounded (*kuțț*) together. (This poultice) must be tied (*bandh*) on the swelling (*sopha*). It will remove ((°)*sudh*, (°)*han*,  $h_r$ ) red (*rakta*) swelling (*sopha*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> Skjærvø and Bailey: *vīśtāñä*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>300</sup> Bailey: *hamamgä*.

#### § 24 (Ch. 00265.8-11)

(1) vāmīrām. (2) aysā'yä. (3) puṣṭarāna. (4) huṣkyä ttrahe. (5) ādä. (6) hāmai. biśä hamamgä vīstāñä<sup>301</sup>. nauka ārāñä. (7) mauna pāchai. (8) yamai rūmnä gūmalyāñä. bimdai (9) sadalūm parkūnāñä. khāysāña bañāñä haijä hasä jimdä. u paṣkāsā ::

(1)  $v\bar{q}m\bar{r}a\bar{m}$ , (2)  $ays\bar{a}'ya$ , (3)  $pustar\bar{q}na$ , (4) dry radishes ( $suska-m\bar{u}laka$ ), (5) barley semolina (saktu), (6) wheat flour ( $kanik\bar{a}$ ) must all be put in equally (and) be finely ground. (The whole) must be cooked (pac, srta, svinna) with (7) liquor (mada) (and) be mixed with (8) the couple of oils (ghrta). (9) Rock salt (saindhava) must be sprinkled on it. (This poultice) must be tied (bandh) on the stomach ( $\bar{a}m\bar{a}saya$ ). It will remove ((°)sudh, (°)han, hr) red (aruna, rakta) swelling (sopha) and swelling (of the stomach) ( $\bar{a}dhm\bar{a}na$ ,  $\bar{a}h\bar{a}na$ ).

#### § 25 (Ch. 00265.11-13)

(1) śvąña gūra. (2) huşkyi ttrahe. hamamgä viśtąñä. kūţąñä. (3) hąmai ha hambrrīhąñä. (4)
 mauna pāchai khāysąña bañąñä haśä pęndai ::

(1)  $śv\bar{q}na\ g\bar{u}ra$  (and) (2) dry radishes ( $śuṣka-m\bar{u}laka$ ) must be put in equally (and) be pounded (*kuțț*). (3) Wheat flour (*kaṇikā*) must be mixed in. (The whole) must be cooked (*pac*, śrta, *svinna*) with (4) liquor (*mada*) (and) be tied (*bandh*) on the stomach ( $\bar{a}m\bar{a}saya$ ). (This is) a poultice (*piṇḍaka*) for swelling (sopha).

#### § 26 (Ch. 00265.13-16)

(1) puşțirāna. (2) huşkyä ttrahe. (3) hamga. mijsāka. (4) ādä. (5) hāmai. (6) bauņva şavarä.
(7) rājā namva<sup>302</sup>. (8) dājsamdai. (9) aşnūha. (10) kāmjsą. (11) kāmbā. tta biśä hamagä vīstānä naukä ārānä (12) mauna pāchai gūmilyānä. bemdai (13) ārä. (14) hūrasti parkūnānä şi dasāmgä nāma piņdai khāysāna banānä hasä jimdä ::

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> Bailey: vīśtąñä.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>302</sup> Skjærvø and Bailey: *rājānamva*.

(1) puṣṭarāna, (2) dry radishes (*śuṣka-mūlaka*) (3) kernels (bīja) of bladder sorrel (*amlavetasa*), (4) barley semolina (*saktu*), (5) wheat flour (*kaṇikā*), (6) *bauņva ṣavarā*, (7) salt (*lavaṇa*) from the plains (*romaka*), (8) *dājsaṃdai*, (9) pigeon (*kapota*) dung (*viṣ*), (10) sesame (*tila*), (11) linseed (*atasī*), all these must be put in equally (and) be finely ground. (The whole) must be cooked (*pac*, *śṛta*, *svinna*) with (12) liquor (*mada*) (and) be mixed. (13) Sweet flag (*vacā*) (and) (14) orrisroot (*pauṣkara*) must be sprinkled on it. This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) called Daśāṅga (*daśāṅga*) must be tied (*bandh*) on the stomach (*āmāśaya*). It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hṛ*) swelling (*śopha*).

§ 27 (P 2889.3-5)

#### § 27 (Ch. 00265.16-19)

(1) huşkyi ttrahe (2) įramde . mijsāka<sup>303</sup> . (3) mau hīya purga . hqmagä vistānä ārānä . (4) mauna pāchai . (5) mamgārä gvī'ha' rūmna gūmalyānä . bidai (6) kuşţi parkūnānä . khāysāna<sup>304</sup> banānä hasä jimdä u jsahera vīne ::

(1) Dry radishes (*śuṣka-mūlaka*), (2) kernels ( $b\bar{i}ja$ ) of the castor-oil plant (*eraṇḍa*) (and) (3) the lees of liquor (*mada*) must be put in equally (and) be ground. (The whole) must be cooked (*pac*, *śṛta*, *svinna*) with (4) liquor (*mada*) (and) be mixed with (5) old (*purāṇa*) cow oil (*ghṛta*). (6) Costus (*kuṣṭha*) must be

# (1) Dry radishes (*śuṣka-mūlaka*), (2) kernels (*bīja*) of the castor-oil plant (*eraṇḍa*) (and) (3) the lees of liquor (*mada*) <...>. (The whole) must be cooked (*pac*, *śṛta*, *svinna*) with (4) liquor (*mada*) (and) be mixed with (5) old (*purāṇa*) cow oil (*ghṛta*). (6) Costus

(1) hauşkyä ttrahi . (2) īrade mījsāka (3)

mauva paurgä  $<...>^{305}$  (4) mauna pāchai.

(5) magāra gvīhą rrumna gūmalyāna bede

(6)  $k\bar{u}$ stä parkū[5] $n\bar{q}$ ñä [×]<sup>306</sup>

<sup>303</sup> Skjærvø and Bailey: *mujsāka*.

<sup>305</sup> Gap posited by Luzzietti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> Skjærvø: *khāysāña*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> Uncertain. Bailey: [×] with fn. 'Unclear syllables' (*KT* 3 78.5).

sprinkled on it. It must be tied (*bandh*) on the stomach ( $\bar{a}m\bar{a}\dot{s}raya$ ). It will remove ((°) $\dot{s}udh$ , (°)han, hr) swelling ( $\dot{s}opha$ ) and pains ( $vedan\bar{a}$ ) in the belly ( $grahan\bar{i}$ ). (kustha) must be sprinkled on it.

#### § 28 (Ch. 00265.19-22)

cu pā hasvīmdä și' va piņḍai . (1) ganīma bīsai (2) kumbā pattevānā . u ārānä . (3) paysāya bisā (4) nāmji tcerā . u (5) mamgāra mau hīye purgyäna și' piņḍai pāchai . (6) mamgārä gvī'ha' rūmna gūmalyānä . pām bimdä banānä . hasvai jimdä ::

When the feet  $(p\bar{a}da)$  swell (sopha), this is the poultice (pindaka) for that. (2) Linseed  $(atas\bar{i})$  must be toasted in (1) wheat  $(godh\bar{u}ma)$  and be ground. (4)  $N\bar{a}nji$  must be put into (3) \*paysāaand this poultice (pindaka) must be cooked (pac, srta, svinna) with (5) lees of old  $(pur\bar{a}na)$ liquor (mada), be mixed with (6) old  $(pur\bar{a}na)$  cow oil (ghrta) (and) be tied (bandh) on the feet  $(p\bar{a}da)$ . It will remove  $((^{\circ})sudh, (^{\circ})han, hr)$  swellings.

#### § 29 (Ch. 00265.22-24)

(1) īramdām hīye pirä grāmūcä bīnājānä . (2) kujsavīnai rūmna gūmalyānä . bimdai (3) sadälūm parkunānä . pām bimdä banānä hasvai jidä ::

(1) Leaves of castor-oil plants (*eranda*) must be steeped in warm water, be mixed with (2) sesame oil (*taila*). (3) Rock salt (*saindhava*) must be sprinkled on it. (This) must be tied (*bandh*) on the feet ( $p\bar{a}da$ ). It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*,  $h_r$ ) swellings.

§ 30 (Ch. 00265.24-25)

(1) kumisa. (2) ysālva. (3) mahābaujä. (4) ysīdā spye. hamamgä<sup>307</sup> vīstānā naukā ārānā. (5) ba'hau'ya<sup>308</sup> jsä paherānä. ttinye<sup>309</sup> hasi jinākä peņdai ::

(1) Sesame (*tila*), (2) Indian barberry ( $d\bar{a}rv\bar{i}$ ,  $p\bar{i}ta$ - $d\bar{a}ru$ ), (3) liquorice (madhuka, yaṣtīmadhu) (and) (4) yellow flowers ( $p\bar{i}ta$ -puṣpa) must be put in equally, be finely ground, be moistened ( $bh\bar{a}vita$ ) with (5) ba'hau'ya. (This) poultice (pindaka) (is) a remover ((°)śudh, (°)han, hr) of swelling (*sopha*) of the skin (*chavi*).

#### § 31 (Ch. 00265.25-26)

 (1) sī pau . (2) sī bū' . hamamgä vīstānä . hamtsä kūtānä . (3) gvī'ha' rūmnä mūrānä . hemje ttaudye hasä<sup>310</sup> bimdāsti pimdai<sup>311</sup> ::

(1) White onion (and) (2) white perfume (*kunda*, *kaṭabhī-śvetā*) must be put in equally, be pounded (*kuṭț*) together, be rubbed with (3) cow oil (*ghrta*). (This is) a poultice (*piṇḍaka*) (to apply) on red (*aruṇa*, *rakta*), hot (*uṣṇa*, *dāha*) swelling (*śopha*).

#### § 32 (Ch. 00265.27-29)

(1) huşkyä ttrahe. (2) mau hīya purga. (3) īramde. hamamgä vīstānä. kūtānä {mamgārä rrū}<sup>312</sup>
(4) maunä şi' pendai pāchai. (5) mamgārä gvī'hä' rūmna<sup>313</sup> gūmalyānä bidai hā (6) kustä parkūnānä. hasä jimdä huma bāva pastä ::

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> Skjærvø and Bailey: hamangā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> ya written below between *hau*' and *jsä* with a caret above. Skjærvø and Bailey: *bahauya*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>309</sup> Bailey: *tti ñye*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup> Skjærvø and Bailey: *haśa*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>311</sup> Bailey: *pimdai*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup> Expunction by Luzzietti.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> Skjærvø: *rūna*.

(1) Dry radishes (*śuṣka-mūlaka*), (2) the lees of liquor (*mada*), (3) castor-oil plant (*eraṇḍa*) must be put in equally (and) be pounded (*kuțț*). This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be cooked (*pac*, *śrta*, *svinna*) with (4) liquor (*mada*) (and) be mixed with (5) old (*purāṇa*) cow oil (*ghṛta*). (6) Costus (*kuṣṭha*) must be sprinkled on it. It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hṛ*) swelling (*śopha*) (and) mature (*pac*, *śṛta*, *svinna*) a undigested wind (*mūla*).

#### § 33 (Ch. 00265.29-30)

(1) svamna-gīrai . (2) hauşkä gūra . (3) gvī'ha': rūmna hąmamgä śtākä . kuţāñä . (4) gvī'hye
 bīysmä jsa paherānä şi' peḍai hīya ttanä haśä jemdä styūda ::

(1) Red ochre ( $k\bar{a}\bar{n}cana-gairika$ ) (and) (2) dry (suska) grapes ( $dr\bar{a}ks\bar{a}$ ,  $m_rdv\bar{k}k\bar{a}$ ) are equally necessary with (3) cow oil ( $gh_rta$ ), must be pounded (kutt) (and) be moistened ( $bh\bar{a}vita$ ) with (4) cow urine ( $go-m\bar{u}tra$ ). This poultice (pindaka), poured on the skin (chavi), will remove ((°)sudh, (°)han,  $h_r$ ) firm swelling (sopha).

#### § 34 (Ch. 00265.31-32)

(1) arūva. (2) raustarä. (3) kumijsa. (4) hauska gūra. (5) pī.<sup>314</sup> hamamgä vīstānä<sup>315</sup>. naukä kūtānä (6) gvī'ha' rūmna mūrānä si' ysūrgä viranām hasä jinākä pemdai ::

(1) Castor-oil plant (?), (2) mudar (*arka*), (3) sesame (*tila*), (4) dry (*śuṣka*) grapes (*drākṣā*,  $m_r dv \bar{k} k\bar{a}$ ), (5) fat (*medas*) must be put in equally, be finely pounded (*kuțț*) (and) rubbed with (6) cow oil (*ghrta*). This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) is a remover ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) of suppurating swelling (*śopha*) of the wounds (*vraṇa*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup> Bailey: no dot.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup> Bailey: *vīśtāñä*.

# FOURTH CHAPTER: POULTICES TO APPLY ON THE LIVER

§ 35 (Ch. 00265.32-33)

tti vā jarä bidāsta piņdā.

The following (are) the poultices (*pindaka*) (to apply) on the liver.

#### § 36 (Ch. 00265.33-34)

(1) būysīnā māstai. (2) nīyakä. hamtsä mūrānä bimdä hā sakarä parkūnānä u hīsa' āskä. jarä bimdä banānä jatte ::

(1) Goat ( $ch\bar{a}ga$ ) buttermilk (takra) (and) (2) butter ( $navan\bar{i}ta$ ) must be rubbed together, sugar ( $śarkar\bar{a}$ ,  $sit\bar{a}$ ) and drops of  $h\bar{i}sa$  must be sprinkled on (it). (This poultice) must be tied on the liver. It will be cured (sidh,  $sukh\bar{i}$   $bh\bar{u}$ ).

#### § 37 (Ch. 00265.34-35)

(1) būysīnā māstai . u (2) sīlājattä hamtsä hambrrīhānä kamgyä bimdä nūstyānä jara bimdāstä pemdai ::

(1) Goat  $(ch\bar{a}ga)$  buttermilk (takra) and (2) molten ore  $(sil\bar{a}jatu)$  must be mixed together, be wrapped  $(\bar{a}baddha)$  on the skin. (This is) a poultice (pindaka) (to put) on the liver.

#### § 38 (Ch. 00265.35-37)

 (1) kumisa. (2) kumbā. (3) ysarūm maugä. (4) rīysū. hąmamgä vīstānä. kūtānä. svīdana si pemdai pāchai. bidai sakarä parkūnānä hasä jimdä ū ūysana āphārä :: (1) Sesame (*tila*), (2) linseed (*atasī*) (3) green beans (*mudgaḥ*), (and) (4) rice (*taṇḍula*, *śāli*) must be put in equally (and) pounded (*kuțț*). This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be cooked with milk (*kṣīra*), sugar (*śarkarā*, *sitā*) must be sprinkled on it. It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hṛ*) swelling and the disturbance of the breath (*śvāsa*).

#### § 39 (Ch. 00265.37-40)

(1) īramde. (2) tharka mijsā. (3) dūma-haustā gūra. (4) kūmisa. (5) drrāma ttīma. (6) ūlīna tcāra. (7) raustarā. (8) būysīna pī. hamamgā vīstānā nauka kūtānā si pimdai hambrrīhānā jarā bimdā banānā. himja hasā jidā u phāhā' :::

(1) Castor-oil plant (*eraṇḍa*), (2) walnut (JP *akṣoṭa*) kernels, (3) smoke-dried (*śuṣka*) grapes (drākṣā, mrdvīkā), (4) sesame (*tila*), (5) pomegranate (dādīma) seeds, (6) camel (*auṣṭra*) fat (*vasā*), (7) mudar (*arka*), (and) (8) goat (*chāga*) fat (*medas*) must be put in equally (and) pounded finely. This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be mixed (and) tied on the liver. It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) red (*aruṇa*, *rakta*) swelling (*śopha*) and cough (*kāsa*).

#### § 40 (Ch. 00265.40-42)

 (1) gūra. (2) kumisa. (3) hainai camda. (4) rrīysū. hamamgä vīstānä nauka kutāna. svīdana pāchai. jarrä bimdä khaiya jinākä pimdai: ::

(1) Grapes (*drākṣā*, *mṛdvīkā*), (2) sesame (*tila*), (3) red sandal (*rakta-candana*), (and) (4) rice (*taṇḍula*, *śāli*) must be put in equally, finely pounded (*kuṭț*) (and) cooked with milk (*kṣīra*).
(Put) on the liver, (this) poultice (*piṇḍaka*) (is) a remover ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hṛ*) of ache.

#### § 41 (Ch. 00265.42 + P 2893.91b)

(1) hauşka gūra . (2) rūnai . (3) mahābaujä . (4) hamga . hamaga vīstānä . nauka kūtānä.
 māksī na paherānä cu jara strīstä . vara banānä şai vasūje ::

(1) Dry (*śuṣka*) grapes (*drākṣā*, *mṛdvīkā*), (2) Indian madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*), (3) liquorice plant (*madhuka*, *yaṣṭīmadhu*), (4) bladder sorrel (*amalavetasa*) must be put in equally, finely pounded (*kuṭț*), (and) mixed with honey (*mākṣika*). If the liver becomes stiff, (this poultice) must be tied there. It will purify (it).

#### § 42 (P 2893.92-95)

(1) halīrai . (2) vihīlai . (3) āmalai . (4) šī sūmam spye . (5) halaidrä . (6) šīlājattä<sup>316</sup> . (7) dūmahausta gūra . biša hamamga vīstānā māksīna paherānā . jara vī banānā . phāhi' uysana āphāra jimda ::

(1) Chebulic myrobalan ( $har\bar{\iota}tak\bar{\iota}$ ), (2) belleric myrobalan ( $vibh\bar{\iota}taka$ ), (3) emblic myrobalan ( $\bar{a}malaka$ ,  $\bar{a}malak\bar{\iota}$ ,  $dh\bar{a}tr\bar{\iota}$ ), (4) white nutmeg flower ( $m\bar{a}lat\bar{\iota}$ ), (5) turmeric ( $haridr\bar{a}$ ), (6) molten ore ( $sil\bar{a}jatu$ ), (and) (7) smoke-dried (suska) grapes ( $dr\bar{a}ks\bar{a}$ ,  $m_rdv\bar{\iota}k\bar{a}$ ) must all be put in equally (and) moistened ( $bh\bar{a}vita$ ) with honey ( $m\bar{a}ksika$ ). (This poultice) must be tied on the liver. It will remove ((°)sudh, (°)han, hr) cough ( $k\bar{a}sa$ ) (and) disturbance of the breath ( $sv\bar{a}sa$ ).

#### § 43 (P 2893.95-96)

 (1) śī pau phaji pajsąnä . cipanąnä . bimdai (2) śikarä parkūnąna . u (3) halaidrä . jara bimdä banąnä . jara vasųje ::

(1) White onion must be cooked in glowing coals, must be chopped, (2) sugar (*sarkarā*, *sitā*) and (3) turmeric (*haridrā*) must be sprinkled on it. (This poultice) must be tied on the liver. It will purify the liver.

§ 44 (P 2893.96-98)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>316</sup> Bailey: *śīlā-jattä*.

(1) rrustiri āşkä . u (2) śīmji āşkä . (3) ysarūm māmgä (4) krrimgīnä [[×]]<sup>317</sup> āha' . hąmamgä vīstānä . ārāna . buysīna şvīdäna pindai pāchai [[×]]<sup>318</sup> jara bimdä banānä ::

(1) Drops of mudar (*arka*), and (2) drops of jujube (*kola*, *bādara*), (3) green beans, (and) (4) an egg (*aṇḍa*) of a fowl (*dakṣa*) must be put in equally, (and) be ground. The poultice must be cooked with goat (*chāga*) milk (*kṣīra*) (and) be tied on the liver.

#### § 45 (P 2893.98-100)

(1) nīyakä . (2) ahaudi-vārrjä bimdä būsvānā u bidai hā (3) hama-ysā sikarä parkūnānä . si piņdai pamjsä hadā vastā jarrä bimdä . banānā . cū buri va jaranā āchā īmde . bīsī vasūsīmdä ::

(1) Butter (*navanīta*) must be placed upon (2) a bottle-gourd (*alābu*) leaf and (3) uniform sugar (*śarkarā*, *sitā*) must be sprinkled on it. This poultice (*piņḍaka*) must be tied on the liver for five days. Whatever diseases (*gada*, *roga*) there are in the liver, they will all be purified for him.

#### § 46 (P 2893.100-102)

(1) rūva. (2) rrustarä. (3) rūnai. (4) rrīysva gūrva. (5) būysīnä pī. (6) hauşkä gurä. biśä hąmamgä vistānä naukä kūtānä. şi' jarä bimdāstä pindai.

(1) Copper, (2) mudar (*arka*), (3) Indian madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*), (4) rice semolina (*lājā*, *dhānāḥ*),
(5) goat (*chāga*) fat (*medas*), (6) dry (*śuṣka*) grapes (*drākṣā*, *mṛdvīkā*) must all be put in equally (and) be pounded (*kuṭț*) finely. This (is) a poultice (*piṇḍaka*) (to put) on the liver.

§ 47 (P 2893.102-104)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *akṣara* after *ñä*. Bailey [ $h\bar{a}$  ?] with fn. 'Blurred syllable'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>318</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *akşara* after *chai*. Bailey [*ja*] with fn. '*ja* blurred'.

 (1) rrųnā-ttīm . (2) vi'yajä . hąmagä vīśtąñä . kuţąñä . (3) mamgārä mauna paherąña . khvai va bāva pa'jsa į ttī (4) kujsävī[[×]]nai<sup>319</sup> rumna ā vā (5) gvī'hä': rumna . murąñä . jarra vī bañąña . jara vī ttraikşä vīnä jimdä ::

(1) Indian madder (manjistha) seed (and) (2) vi'yaja must be put in equally, be pounded (kutt), (and) be moistened (bhavita) with (3) old (purana) liquor (mada). If there should be strong wind (vata) for one, then (the whole) must be rubbed with (4) sesame oil (taila) or alternatively (5) with cow oil (ghrta) (and) must be tied on the liver. It will remove ((°)śudh, (°)han, hr) severe pains in the liver.

#### § 48 (P 2893.104-108)

(1) ttīra ahādā hīya şara. (2) gulä. (3) sūdā-kşīrä<sup>320</sup>. (4) rrustirā āşkä. (5) balāttakye. (6) padīya āste. (7) caittrai hīya grūşkä. (8) banījām grūşkyām hīvī kşārä. hamamgä vīstānä nauka kūtānä. tcāra jsä pemdai padīmānä. jara vī. khāysāna. phiysgāna. gauma jidä. u hasä jimdä. u parigrahä: u vāttästhīlai bisä jimdä ::

(1) The seeds of the bitter (*amla*, *tikta*, *śukta*) bottle-gourd (*alābu*), (2) crude sugar (*guḍa*, *phāņita*), (3) milkhedge (*snuhī*), (4) drops of mudar (*arka*), (5) marking nut (*bhallātaka*), (6) burnt bones (*asthi*), (7) husk (*tvac*) of leadwort (*agni*, *citraka*, *vahni*) (and) (8) the alkali (*kṣāra*) of oak bark (*tvac*) must be put in equally (and) must be pounded (*kuṭṭ*). A poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be made with fat. It removes ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hṛ*) tumours (*gulma*) in the liver, in the stomach (*āmāśaya*), (and) in the bladder (*vasti*), and it removes ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hṛ*) swellings (*śopha*), and altogether removes ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hṛ*) *parigraha* and wind internal tumours (*vātāṣṭhīlā*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>319</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *akṣara* after  $v\bar{i}$ . Bailey:  $k\bar{u}js\ddot{a}v\bar{i}[na]$  nai with fn. 'na blurred'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>320</sup> Bailey: *sūdāksīrä*.

# FIFTH CHAPTER: POULTICES TO APPLY ON THE SPLEEN

§ 49 (P 2893.108-109)

tti vā spaijai bimdāsta piņdā ::

The following (are) the poultices (*pindaka*) (to apply) on the spleen.

#### § 50 (P 2893.109-111)

(1) īraņde gurmānä . nauka ārānä . (2) khyera svīdi jsi peņdai pāchai . (3) kujsavīnai rūņna gumalyānä . bidai (4) kustā parkūnānä . u (5) spajūņ . spaijai bidā banānā ::

(1) (The seeds of the) castor-oil plant (*eranda*) must be crushed (and) be ground finely. A poultice (*pindaka*) must be cooked with (2) ass milk ( $ks\bar{r}ra$ ), be mixed with (3) sesame oil (*taila*), (and) (4) costus (*kustha*) and (5) sochal salt (*sauvarcala*) must be sprinkled on it. It must be tied on the spleen.

#### § 51 (P 2893.111-112)

(1) īraņde (2) dūmä-haustā gūra . (3) pattaudā gāņā mījsākā . hamaņgā vīstānā . nauka ārānā . haņtsā pāchai . spaijai biņdā banānā ::

(1) Castor-oil plant (*eraṇḍa*), (2) smoke-dried (*śuṣka*) grapes (drakṣa, mrdvīka), (and) (3) the roasted marrow of *guṇā*s must be put in equally, must be finely ground, (and) must be cooked together. (The poultice) must be tied on the spleen.

§ 52 (P 2893.112-115)

(1) gāņā mījsākä. (2) gīchanā mījsākä. (3) sīnja āskä. (4) kumjsa. (5) asä sahä' hīya ranūskä. (6) khūra vastanā bīsā garsva. (7) rrājā namva<sup>321</sup>. hamamgä vīstānä. nauka ārānä mauna pāchai. spaijai vī banānä pari[[×]]grahä<sup>322</sup> jimdä u kasai vīste ::

(1) The marrow of gunas, (2) the marrow of plantains (*moca*), (3) drops of jujube (*kola*, *bādara*), (4) sesame (*tila*), (5) the scraping of a horse's hoof, (6) *khūra* stones in the bladder, (and) (7) salt (*lavana*) from the plains (*romaka*) must be put in equally, be finely ground. (The whole) must be cooked with liquor (*mada*). (The poultice) must be tied on the spleen. It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *h*<sup>*r*</sup>) *parigraha* and stop fever (JP *jvara*).

#### § 53 (P 2893.115-117)

(1) dājsamdai. mījsāka.
 (2) hamga.
 (3) āra.
 [[×]]<sup>323</sup>
 (4) paustarä. biśi hąmamgä vīśtāñä.
 nauka kūtānä.
 (5) rrāji namve<sup>324</sup> jsa si' pemdai pāchai. spai' jai vī bañānä. kasai vīšte ::

(1) Marrows of *dājsaņdai*, (2) bladder sorrel (*amalavetasa*), (3) sweet flag (*vacā*), (and) (4) wild Himalayan cherry (*padmaka*) must all be put in equally (and) must be finely pounded (*kuţţ*). This poultice (*piņḍaka*) must be cooked with (5) salt (*lavaṇa*) of the plains (*romaka*). It must be tied on the spleen. It will stop fever (JP *jvara*).

#### § 54 (P 2893.118-119)

(1) hajārnā spye . (2) tcyāņśvīna . (3) rrāje namvena<sup>325</sup> și' piņḍai pāchai . u (4)hāmai hā vamathauñä . și' piṇḍai spai'jai biṇḍä bañānä . maṃgārä kasai vīśte ::

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>321</sup> KT 3 87.114: rrājā-namva.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>322</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *akṣara* after *ri*, not signalled by Bailey

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>323</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *aksara* after *ra*. Bailey: [*a*] with fn. '*a* blurred'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>324</sup> Bailey: *rrāji-namve*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>325</sup> Bailey: *rrāje-namvena*.

(As for) the (1)  $haj\bar{a}rn\bar{a}$  flowers, this poultice (pindaka) must be cooked with (2)  $tc\bar{a}msize$  (and) (3) salt (lavana) of the plains (romaka), and (4) wheat flour ( $kanik\bar{a}$ ) must be churned into it. This poultice (pindaka) must be tied on the spleen. It will stop old fever (JP *jvara*).

#### § 55 (P 2893.119-122)

(1) kuşţä. (2) āra. (3) spaju (4) bā ttīm. (5) gūrve įramde<sup>326</sup>. (6) kumijsa. hamamgä vīstānä.
naukä ārānä. khyerye [[×]]<sup>327</sup> tcāri jsi mūrānä. hau'gä pemdai padimānä<sup>328</sup>. grām grām spai'jai bimdä bañānä spai'jai vī khaiya jimdä ::

(1) Costus (*kuṣṭha*), (2) sweet flag (*vacā*), (3) sochal salt (*sauvarcala*), (4) dill (*śatapuṣpā*), (5) crushed (seeds of the) castor-oil plant (*eraṇḍa*), (and) (6) sesame (*tila*) must be put in equally, must be finely ground, (and) must be rubbed with ass fat (*vasā*). A soft poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be made. (While it is) quite warm (*uṣṇa*), it must be tied on the spleen. It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hṛ*) aches (*toda*) in the spleen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup> Bailey: *īraņde*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>327</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *akṣara* after *rye*. Bailey: [×] with fn. 'Blurred syllable'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>328</sup> Bailey: *padįmą̃ñä*.

# SIXTH CHAPTER: POULTICES TO APPLY ON THE NAVEL

§ 56 (P 2893.122)

tti vā nihāstä pemdā ::

The following (are) the poultices (*pindaka*) (to apply) on the navel ( $n\bar{a}bhi$ ).

#### § 57 (P 2893.122-124)

(1) rrvīysva gūrva. (2) halaidrä. (3) śikarä. (4) huşkä gūrä. hamamgä vīstāñä. naukä kūţāñä.
(5) ūlīnye tcāri jsä şi pindai piherānä. neha banānä. aha vasūje ::

(1) Rice semolina (*lājā*, *dhānāḥ*), (2) turmeric (*haridrā*), (3) sugar (*śarkarā*, *sitā*), (and) (4) dry (*śuṣka*) grapes (*drākṣā*, *mṛdvīkā*) must be put in equally (and) must be finely pounded (*kuṭț*). This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be moistened (*bhāvita*) with (5) camel (*auṣṭra*) fat (*vasā*). It must be tied onto the navel (*nābhi*). It will cleanse the belly.

#### § 58 (P 2893.124-126)

(1) gūra. (2) sī pau. tti hąmamgä kūtānä. (3) sikarä. (4) sadalūm. hąmamgä vīstānä. pātcä ārānä. (5) gvī'ha' rumna mūrānä. neha banānä. si' ahe vasūjākä pindai ::

(1) Grapes  $(dr\bar{a}k\bar{s}a, mrdv\bar{k}a)$  (and) (2) white onion – these must be pounded (kutt) equally. (3) Sugar  $(\bar{s}arkar\bar{a}, sit\bar{a})$  (and) (4) rock salt (saindhava) must be put in equally. Then (the mixture) must be ground, must be rubbed with (5) cow oil (ghrta), (and) must be tied on the navel  $(n\bar{a}bhi)$ . This is a poultice (pindaka) that cleanses the belly.

#### § 59 (P 2893.126-128)

 (1) kumisa. (2) sikarä. (3) ttirşcya. hqmamgä vīstānä. nauka ārānä. (4) gvīha' rūmna. (5) māksīna paherāna niha banānä. şi' ahqnāsta peņdai ::

(1) Sesame (*tila*), (2) sugar (*śarkarā*, *sitā*), and (3) oldenlandia (*parpața*) must be put in equally, be finely ground, be moistened (*bhāvita*) with (4) cow oil (*ghṛta*) (and) (5) honey (*mākṣika*), (and the whole) must be tied on the navel (*nābhi*). This (is) a poultice (*piṇḍaka*) for (placing on) the belly.

#### § 60 (P 2893.128-130)

(1) dūmi-hausta gūra . ttyām ma dāna thamjānā stūra<sup>329</sup>
 (2) būhana 6 hamtsa nauka kūtānā . (3) gvīha' rūmna mūrānya . şi' pimdaka neha' banānā . aha vasūje . u khāysa vī raisa' padīme ::

(1) Smoke-dried (*śuṣka*) grapes ( $dr\bar{a}kṣ\bar{a}$ ,  $m_rdv\bar{k}k\bar{a}$ ) must be pulled out of their fire (*agni*, *anala*, *jyotis*) here (and) 6 large (tubers of) (2) nut grass (*musta*) must be finely pounded (*kuțț*) together (and) rubbed with (3) cow oil (*ghrta*). This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be tied on the navel (*nābhi*). It will cleanse the belly and create an appetite (*rocanaḥ*, *ruci-pradas*) for food (*anna*).

#### § 61 (P 2893.130-132)

(1) dūmi-haustā gūra. (2) tharkā mījsā. (3) kumisa. (4) bara sīmie. (5) ādā hamamgā vīstānā naukā kūtā'nā . pau hīye ucā jsā paherānā . nihā' banānā se' pemdai vātta-pittā jimdā ū dūvarā ::

(1) Smoke-dried (*śuṣka*) grapes (*drākṣā*, *mṛdvīkā*), (2) walnut kernels (JP *akṣoṭa*), (3) sesame (*tila*), (4) jujube (*kola*, *bādara*), (and) (5) barley semolina (*saktu*) must be put in equally, finely pounded (*kuṭṭ*), moistened (*bhāvita*) with the water (*ambu*, *jala*, *vāri*) of onion, (and) tied on the navel (*nābhi*). This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hṛ*) wind-bile (*vāta-pitta*) and dropsy (*udara*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>329</sup> Bailey emends *stūra* to *kastūra* but gives no justification.

#### § 62 (P 2893.132-135)

(1) ysarūm māgä . dvyī mācāmgye . (2) vīna gīchākām halīrā dvyī mācāmgye . (3) spajū hālā mācāmgye . nauka ārāña . gvīhä' rūmnä paherāñä . niha bañāñä ahe va pimdai kālī naistä . cī bādä hamāve ::

(1) Green beans – two drams, (2) chebulic myrobalans ( $har\bar{\imath}tak\bar{\imath}$ ) without kernels – two drams, (and) (3) sochal salt (*sauvarcala*) – half a dram must be finely ground, moistened (*bhāvita*) with cow oil (*ghrta*), (and) tied on the navel (*nābhi*). (This is) a poultice (*pindaka*) for the belly. It is not the time (*kāla*) for it if (the belly) should become swollen.

# SEVENTH CHAPTER: POULTICES FOR SCROTAL ENLARGEMENT AND DOWNWARD MOTION

#### § 63 (P 2893.135)

ttī vā naraiya va u nāstä āchām \*va<sup>330</sup> piņdā.

The following (are) poultices (*pindaka*) for scrotal enlargement<sup>331</sup> (*vrddhi*, JP *vardhma*) and for diseases (*gada*, *roga*) (involving) downward (motion) (*vistambhin*).

#### § 64 (P 2893.135-138)

cu sambhārä vahaiysāre . mistye hvąnde . ā valakyä sīkä . sai' va paidai . (1) hainai camdä<sup>332</sup> . (2) kustä . (3) sidalūm . (4) kąndārya . (5) lāksä . (6) kastīrä bisä hąmamgä vīstānä . naukä kūtānä . (7) sauttäna u (8) kaujsąvīnai rūmna si' pimdai pāchai hā bañānä jatte ::

When the supports (of the intestines) descend, for an adult man (*nara*) or a young child<sup>333</sup> (*kaniṣṭha*) this is the poultice (*piṇḍaka*) in that case: (1) red sandal (*rakta-candana*), (2) costus (*kuṣṭha*), (3) rock salt (*saindhava*), (4) wild eggplant (*kaṇṭakārikā*, *bṛhatī*, *vyāghrī*), (5) lac (*lākṣā*), (and) (6) tin (*kastīra*) must all be put in equally, (and) be pounded (*kuṭṭ*) finely. This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be cooked with (7) verjuice (*śukta*) and (8) sesame oil (*taila*) and tied on. He will be cured (*sidh*, *sukhī bhū*).

#### § 65 (P 2893.138-140)

ttī vā pātcä ttyau hąmyau (2) arvyau jsa u (3) suttäna (1) kumjsąvīnai rūm pāchai makṣāñū jsä u khāśāñä . naraiya jimdä ::

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup> \*va for ms na (Emmerick).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>331</sup> 'scrotal enlargement': differently Emmerick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>332</sup> Bailey emends \**camdam* for ms *camdä*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>333</sup> 'for an adult man or a young child': differently Emmerick.

Then, alternatively, (1) sesame oil (*taila*) must be cooked with (2) the same drugs and with (3) verjuice (*śukta*), must be rubbed with them and must be drunk. It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) scrotal enlargement<sup>334</sup> (*vrddhi*, JP *vardhma*).

#### § 66 (P 2893.140-141)

(1) vasve hāmai hamtsä (2) mījsākīnai rūmna mūrānä . u și pemdai hūsya banānä naraiye jatte ::

(1) Pure wheat flour (*kaņikā*) must be rubbed together with the (2) oil (*ghṛta*) from kernels and this poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be tied on the groin (JP *vankṣaṇa*). The scrotal enlargement<sup>335</sup> (*vṛddhi*, JP *vardhma*) will be cured (*sidh*, *sukhī* bhū).

#### § 67 (P 2893.141-142)

ttī pātcä (1) nīysva jsā, 'nānä u si' peņdai . hā nīsānä . u (2) mījsākīnai rūm gūmalyānä . hūsya banānä naraiya jemdä ::

Then next (1) lentils (*masūra*) must be boiled and the (previous) poultice (*piņḍaka*) must be put in and (2) oil (*ghrta*) from kernels must be mixed (in). It must be tied on the groin (JP *vankṣaṇa*). It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) scrotal enlargement<sup>336</sup> (*vrddhi*, JP *vardhma*).

§ 68 (P 2893.142-145)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>334</sup> 'scrotal enlargement': differently Emmerick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>335</sup> 'scrotal enlargement': differently Emmerick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>336</sup> 'scrotal enlargement': differently Emmerick.

cū sambhāra hasvīmdä . ṣai' pemḍai . (1) halīrai . (2) vihīlai . (3) āmalai . hamamgä vīstānä . naukä kūṭānā . paherānä . cu sambhārä sāḍä hamāmde varam [[×]]<sup>337</sup> grām grām banānä . cū ttaudä īmde varä pvā banānä ::

When the supports (of the intestines) swell, this is the poultice (*pindaka*). (1) Chebulic myrobalan (*harītakī*), (2) belleric myrobalan (*vibhītakī*), (and) (3) emblic myrobalan (*āmalaka*, *āmalakī*, *dhātrī*) must be put in equally, finely pounded (*kuțț*), (and) moistened (*bhāvita*). When the supports (of the intestines) become cold (*śīta*), (this poultice) must be tied on them while quite warm (*uṣṇa*). When they are hot (*uṣṇa*, *dāha*), it must be tied on the feet.

## upadamśa

#### § 69 (P 2893.145-146)

(1) kalarbä bāta . rūmna jsā'nānä . u kūtānä . dahīnä . gūnai bimdä banānä ūpadeśä jemdä ::

(1) The root  $(m\bar{u}la)$  of *kalarba* must be boiled in oil  $(gh_rta)$  and pounded (kutt). (This poultice) must be tied on the male organ. It will remove  $((^\circ)sudh, (^\circ)han, h_r)$  disease of the male organ (upadamsa).

#### § 70 (P 2893.146-148)

(1) ysīdā spye. (2) įramde. (3) kumisa. (4) sauhįva rrautā hamamgä vistānä (5) uline tcāra jsä
 u (6) khyerye tcārä jsä mūrānä pe'ma<sup>338</sup> jsä nūstyānä grām grām pheysgānä nistānä brūskyä vinä
 jimdä ::

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>337</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *akṣara* after *varaṃ* and a vertical stroke below the *raṃ* of *varaṃ*.
Bailey: [×] with fn. 'Blurred syllable'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>338</sup> Bailey: *pemq*.

(1) Yellow flowers ( $p\bar{t}a$ -puspa), (2) castor-oil plant (eranda), (3) sesame (tila), (and) (4) sauhīya rrautā must be put in equally, must be rubbed with (5) camel (austra) fat ( $vas\bar{a}$ ) and with (6) ass fat, must be wrapped ( $\bar{a}baddha$ ) with a woollen cloth, (and) while quite warm (usna) (this poultice) must be placed on the bladder (vasti). It will remove ((°)sudh, (°)han, hr) severe pain.

### nāsta āchām

#### § 71 (P 2893.148-152)

(1) bā ttīma (2) sauhīya rrauţā .(3) kuṣțä . (4) sidalūm . tti hamamgä vīśtāñä . nauka ārāñä . ysūnāñä . (5) kumjsavīnai rūmna . śāvīña bājinakañä . dūra padīmānä . . cū na myām nāṣțä<sup>339</sup> hasvā īmde . varä samkhilyāñä . (6) cūvam sam . khu nvaśtā himāve vara biśä . śera īmdä ::

(1) Dill (*śatapuṣpā*), (2) *sauhīya rrauṭā*, (3) costus (*kuṣṭha*), (and) (4) rock salt (*saindhava*) – these must be put in equally, finely ground, strained, (and) made hard with (5) sesame oil (*taila*) in a copper (*tāmra*, *śulva*) vessel. When the lower waist produces downward (*viṣṭambhin*) swellings, (6) barberry extract must be smeared on there. As soon as alleviation should occur, it will do good altogether there.

#### § 72 (P 2893.152-155)

cū pyatsī ūskivaše . kąšte . u vīnai hąme . ṣai' peṃḍai . (1) ttīrä ahauḍä<sup>340</sup> hīya ṣarä . ṣi' (2) hvī ṣvīḍdanä . bīnāyi vīśtāñä . u dva . piṇḍā padīmāña . grāṃ grāṃ śau phiysgāña nīśāñä . u śau hā tvī tvī āyvāñä uskävaše prrahāje ::

When in front of one  $\bar{u}$ skivase appears and pain occurs, this (is) the poultice (*pindaka*) for it: (1) the seeds of the bitter (*amla*, *tikta*, *sukta*) bottle-gourd (*alābu*) – this must be put to steep with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>339</sup> Bailey: *myąnąsta*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>340</sup> The ms has *a* written below *hau*.

(2) human milk (*stanya*) and two poultices (*pindaka*) must be made. While quite warm (*usna*) one must be placed on the bladder (*vasti*) and one must be heated twice as much on it. It will open the  $\bar{u}skivase$ .

#### § 73 (P 2893.155-156)

(1) saunai phārä . (2) naņvīņje uci jsä pāchai . piņḍaiyūņ jsä padīmāñä . (3) kūjsavīnai<sup>341</sup> rūņna gūmalyānä . khu saņbhārä hasvīņdä . varä banāñä ::

(1) *saunai phąrä* must be cooked with (2) salt (*lavaņa*) water (*ambu*, *jala*, *vāri*). A poultice (*piņḍaka*) must be made with them (and) it must be smeared with (3) sesame oil (*taila*). When the supports (of the intestines) swell, it must be tied thereon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>341</sup> Bailey: *kūjsąvīnai*.

# EIGHTH CHAPTER: REMEDIES FOR THE SEXUAL DYSFUNCTION

§ 74 (P 2893.156-157)

khu ni maitträ<sup>342</sup> na pąname u sai' aspaśde' ::

When love does not arise below (adhas) and the following produces it.

#### § 75 (P 2893.157-159)

(1) dūma-haustä gūrä. (2) tharkä mījsā. (3) bi gajä pī. (4) kumisä. (5) īramde. (6) phaji-vaha pau. (7) ūlīna tcārä. [[×]]<sup>343</sup> hamamgä vīstānä. hamtsä kūtānä mūrānä. si pemdai mijsām phaiysgānä banānä. pūrāna āchā jimdä ::

(1) Smoke-dried (*śuṣka*) grapes ( $dr\bar{a}kṣ\bar{a}$ ,  $m_rdv\bar{\iota}k\bar{a}$ ), (2) walnut kernels (JP akṣoṭa), (3) kidney fat (*medas*), (4) sesame (*tila*), (5) castor-oil plant (*eraṇḍa*), (6) an onion cooked in glowing coals, (and) (7) camel (*auṣṭra*) fat (*vasā*) must be put in equally, pounded (*kuṭț*) together, (and) rubbed. This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be tied on the bladder (*vasti*) of women. It removes ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) diseases (*gada*, *roga*) in the womb (*yoni*).

#### § 76 (P 2893.159-161)

(1) bi'jāsīña tcārä . (2) caursī' . (3) tharka mījsā . (4) papala . (5) ttaugarä khāsā'ñä . na maitträ<sup>344</sup> paname . dahä pūra padīme ::

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>342</sup> Bailey: *nimaitträ*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>343</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *akṣara*. Bailey: [×] with fn. 'Blurred syllable'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>344</sup> Bailey: *namaitträ*.

(1) Fat of *bi'jāsa*, (2) *caurśī'*, (3) walnut kernels (JP *akṣoṭa*), (4) long pepper (*pippalī*), (and)
(5) ginger (*ārdraka*, *nāgara*, *viśvā*) must be drunk. Love will arise below (*adhas*) (and) she will produce a male child.

# NINTH CHAPTER: POULTICES FOR PILES

§ 77 (P 2893.161)

tti vā arrjä va pimdā.

The following (are) the poultices (*pindaka*) for piles (*arśas*).

#### § 78 (P 2893.161-163)

(1) cuvam . (2) pryamgä . (3) vandamgä . (4) vāmīrām . (5) yausa . (6) simjsūrä . hamamgä vīstāñä . naukä ārāñä . nīyakänä şi' pemdai pahairāñä . cū brrāmg<del><ām bimdä hūñ></del>ä<sup>345</sup> narāme . vara bāñāñä . krremgä-rūya arrjä jemdä u pīrānā jemdä ::

(1) Barberry extract, (2) perfumed cherry ( $\dot{syama}$ ), (3) embelia (vidanga), (4)  $v\bar{a}m\bar{r}r\bar{a}m$ , (5) musk ( $kast\bar{u}r\bar{i}$ ), (6)  $simjs\bar{u}r\ddot{a}$  must be put in equally (and) be finely ground. The poultice (pindaka) must be moistened ( $bh\bar{a}vita$ ) with butter ( $navan\bar{i}ta$ ). When (the piles) come out on the thighs, it must be tied thereon. It will remove ((°) $\dot{s}udh$ , (°)han, hr) piles ( $ar\dot{s}as$ ) in the anus (guda) and will remove ((°) $\dot{s}udh$ , (°)han, hr) worm grains (krimi).

#### § 79 (P 2893.164-165)

(1) huşkyä ttrahe kūţāñä.
 (2) mamgārä rūmna jşyāñānä krregä-rūya bañānä.
 -hūña> vīśtä<sup>346</sup>
 arrja jemdä ::

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>345</sup> brrāmg<ām bimdä hūñ>ä for ms brrāmgä.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>346</sup>  $< h\bar{u}\bar{n}a > v\bar{v}st\ddot{a}$  for ms  $v\bar{v}st\ddot{a}$ .

(1) Dry radishes (*śuṣka-mūlaka*) must be pounded (*kuțț*), boiled with (2) old (*purāṇa*) oil (*ghṛta*) (and) tied on the anus (*guda*). (This poultice) will stanch the blood (*asra*, *rakta*, *śoṇita*) (and) will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hṛ*) piles (*arśas*).

#### § 80 (P 2893.165-166)

(1) amgusdi. (2) kumjsavīnai rūnya jsā'nānä. ū krremga-rūya banānä. u nihä' samkhalyānä.
 arrjä uysbāyi thamje ::

(1) As a foetida (*hingu*) must be boiled in (2) sesame oil (*taila*) and be tied on the anus (*guda*) and be smeared on the navel ( $n\bar{a}bhi$ ). (This poultice) will draw out (and) extract piles (*arśas*).

#### § 81 (P 2893.166-168)

(1) nūvara-ysā basąkä hīvī samnä (2) birṣțä ā'ysam. u (3) rrājā namva<sup>347</sup>. hamamgä vīstāñä.
 kūtānä. kujsavīnai rūmna pāchai arrjä bimdä. banānä. hūna vīste u arrjä jemdä ::

(1) Dung (*viţka*, *viş*, *śakұt*) of a newborn calf, (2) burst millet ( $n\bar{v}a\bar{r}a$ ), and (3) salt (*lavaṇa*) from the plains (*romaka*) must be put in equally (and) pounded (*kuțț*). (This poultice) must be cooked with sesame oil (*taila*) (and) be tied on the piles (*arśas*). It will stanch the blood (*asra*, *rakta*, *śoṇita*) and will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *h*<sub>*r*</sub>) piles (*arśas*).

#### § 82 (P 2893.168-169)

(1) mūla hąhvąñä .  $\bar{u}$  (2) sī pąna hatsä kūtañä . arrjä bimdastä pemdai ::

(1) Indian asparagus must be hashed and pounded (*kuțț*) together with (2) white onion. (This is) a poultice (*pindaka*) (to apply) on the piles (*arśas*).

#### § 83 (P 2893.169-170)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>347</sup> Bailey: *rrājā-namva*.

pātca (1) mūla (2) sūttauña nīśą̃na hahvą̃na . u (3) māksīna mūrą̃nä . arrjä bimdä bañą̃nä ::

Next, (1) Indian asparagus must be put in (2) verjuice (*śukta*), be hashed, and rubbed with (3) honey ( $m\bar{a}k\bar{s}ika$ ). (The poultice) must be tied on the piles ( $ar\bar{s}as$ ).

# **TENTH CHAPTER: POULTICES FOR ITCHING**

§ 84 (P 2893.170)

tti vā ā'syām va yaugä u pe[[×]]<sup>348</sup>ņdā

The following (are) prescriptions (*yoga*) and poultices (*pindaka*) for itching (*kandū*).

#### § 85 (P 2893.170-177)

ranīkä ttä cu jsiņä ā'sye sarbīmdä . u pi'jsa kyihāre . humari biysamjāre ttyām va ttīrādānīnai<sup>349</sup> rūm pajsānä . u kūtya jastä āni (1) ttīrādānä stākä drrai simga . u (2) kahä' dva simga . (3) pusta-ttākavi dva simga . (4) salīcä hālai simgä . si' bisä sūjina hambrrīhānä . darä akūtye bagala pyanānä . bagala hīvī tturä gūrvyau hacänyau jsä styūdä pūnvāna . styūdi samdai dīram justīnainai gatsä padīmānä . u si' bagalä pāstumgä vīstānä . dīnai hā grīmja lakāna vīstāna . ā vā mistä gītserä . kustä hā si' rum ttastä . u ttye bagala bidä samnyau jsa dai tcerai . damdä khu si' bagala bīse herä bisä sūstä ::

The skin irritations which slightly rise from an itching (kanda) and itch strongly, hold the joints (of the eyes) (sandhi) – for them  $tt\bar{t}r\bar{a}d\bar{a}na$  oil must be cooked and, the balls of the eyes being aching (kutt), (the following is) necessary: (1)  $tt\bar{t}r\bar{a}d\bar{a}na$  three ounces (prastha), and (2) hemp two ounces, (3)  $pusta-tt\bar{a}kavi$  two ounces, (4) pea  $(sat\bar{n}na)$  half an ounce. All this must be mixed with one another (and) must be put in the hollow of an intact vessel. The mouth (vaktra) of the vessel must be firmly filled (to the brim) with ground thatch (grass)  $(k\bar{a}sa)$ . In firm ground, a hole (covered) with jute fabric must be made and the vessel must be placed upside down. Below (adhas) it a clay basin must be put or alternatively a large gypsum (vessel) where the oil

<sup>348</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *akṣara* after *pe*. Bailey:  $pe[nd\bar{a}]$   $nd\bar{a}$  with fn. 'Blurred out'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>349</sup> Bailey: *ttīrā-dānīnai*.

will ooze. And over the vessel fire (*agni*, *anala*, *jyotis*) must be made with dung (*vițka*, *viș*, *śakrt*) until the stuff in the vessel burns completely.

#### § 86 (P 2893.177-179)

*śe' ranīkām va yaugä*. (1) ysamgarä pustärä tcārbä . jsenä jsenä gvāśau'ñä bagīla pyqnąñä<sup>350</sup> tta tta pāchai khu ri ttīrādānīnai<sup>351</sup> rūm u (2) kaura hvāsi hvā'ñānä . (3) kujsavīnai rrūmnä paherānä kustä ranīkām bidä samkhalyānä . pīrmāttam yaugä ::

Second prescription (*yoga*) for skin irritations. (1) Old, greasy (*snigdha*) wild Himalayan cherry (*padmaka*) must be broken into very fine pieces, be put into a vessel, be cooked just like the  $tt\bar{r}r\bar{a}d\bar{a}na$  oil and (the oil so obtained) must be made dry in (2) *kaura*-grass. It must be moistened (*bhāvita*) with (3) sesame oil (*taila*) (and) be smeared on the irritations of the skin disease (*kuṣțha*). (This is) the best prescription (*yoga*).

#### § 87 (P 2893.179-181)

(1) būysįña pī. (2) rrustarä. (3) rrūva. (4) drąma ttįma. (5) huska gūra. hąmamga vistąña naukä kūtąña (6) gvi'hä' rūmna mūrąñä. nuvara narve āsī ā viram bimdä bañąñä. ysū sau'le. u hambrrauñe ::

(1) Goat ( $ch\bar{a}ga$ ) fat (medas), (2) mudar (arka), (3) copper, (4) pomegranate ( $d\bar{a}d\bar{i}ma$ ) seeds, (and) (5) dry ( $\dot{s}u\dot{s}ka$ ) grapes ( $dr\bar{a}k\dot{s}\bar{a}$ ,  $m_rdv\bar{i}k\bar{a}$ ) must be put in equally, finely pounded (kutt), (and) rubbed with (6) cow oil (ghrta). (This poultice) must be tied on a newly burst itching ( $kand\bar{u}$ ) or a wound (vrana). It will suck pus ( $p\bar{a}ka$ ) dry and heal (illness).

#### § 88 (P 2893.181-183)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>350</sup> Bailey: *pyaną̃ñä*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>351</sup> Bailey: *tt*į*r*ā-dąnįnai.

(1) mijejūna<sup>352</sup> sachi perä u (2) ahaysnāva ysaramjsä . pattādä hāmai hamamgä vīstānä u (4) hvī svīdanä paiņdai padīmānä . stāmgä āsī hamdäve ::

(1) Leaves of \*red sida and (2) unwashed safflower (JP *kurumbha*) (and) (3) roasted wheat flour (*kaņikā*) must be put in equally and a poultice (*piņḍaka*) must be made with (4) human milk (*stanya*). It will ripen a swollen itch (*kaṇḍū*).

#### § 89 (P 2893.183-184)

(1) mahābāmji jistye kase'na (2) kūtye gausäna paidai pāchai \*stana-vidrradhi<sup>353</sup> tcaba'je u hambva' ::

A poultice (*piņdaka*) must be cook with a boiled decoction (*kaṣāya*, *kvātha*, *sva-rasa*) of (1) liquorice plant (*madhuka*, *yaṣṭīmadhu*) (and) (2) pounded (*kuṭț*) millet (*priyaṅgu*). It will disperse mammary abscesses (*stana-vidradhi*) and fester.

#### § 90 (P 2893.184-186)

(1) dājsamdai ttīma . (2) āra (3) tcyānā sūmam . (5) asnūha . hamamgä <vīstānä><sup>354</sup> naukä ārānā (6) hvī' svīdanä peņdai padīmānä . hambva' tcabe'je . u hami ttanā hasä ::

(1) Seed of *dājsaņdai*, (2) sweet flag (*vacā*), (3) yeast (*kiņva*) podwer (and) (4) pigeon (*kapota*) dung (*viṣ*) must be equally (and) finely ground. A poultice (*piņḍaka*) must be made with (5) human milk (*stanya*). It will scatter fester and (if) swelling arises on the skin (*chavi*).

§ 91 (P 2893.186-189)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>352</sup> Bailey: *miję-jųna*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>353</sup> \**stana-vidrradhi* emended by Luzzietti for manuscript *stana-vrridhi*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>354</sup> hamamgä <vīstānä> for ms hamamgä.

(1) kāmijsą. (2) kāmbā. (3) tcyānä sūmam. (4) kusitä. (5) gānā mījsākä. (6) āda gūrva. (7) sadalūm. (8) āra (9) drrāma ttīma. (10) huska mūrau. (11) asnūha. (12) bijūha. (13) mūlaskinä (14) padīya gaysä virä (15) ysambaste. hamamgä. vīstānä. naukä ārrānä. (16) ttīra ñyena ā vā (17) āhvarai raysäna si' pendai tcerai. gā'mi. habva. hasä ā'sye hamdeve ::

(1) Sesame (*tila*), (2) linseed (*atasī*), (3) yeast (*kiņva*) powder, (4) costus (*kuṣṭha*), (5) marrow of guņās, (6) barley semolina (*saktu*), (7) rock salt (*saindhava*), (8) sweet flag (*vacā*), (9) pomegranate (*dādīma*) seeds, (10) dry (*śuṣka*) holy basil (*māluka*), (11) pigeon (*kapota*) dung (*viṣ*), (12) sparrow dung (*viṣ*), (13) *mūlaṣkiīnä*, (14) burnt roots of reed (and) (15) garlic (*laśuna*) must be put in equally (and) finely ground. This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be made with (16) sour (*amla*, *tikta*, *śukta*) buttermilk (*dadhi*) or alternatively (any) (17) sour juice (*āraṇala*, *amla-kāñjika*). It will ripen internal tumours (*gulma*), festers, swellings, (and) itchings (*kaṇdū*).

#### § 92 (P 2893.189-191)

 (1) śiji āşkä . (2) rūnai . (3) mahābāmji . hamamgä vīstānä . nauka kūtānä (4) mākşīna paherānä . vīranām bimdä banānä hambrraunākä [[×]]<sup>355</sup> pindai ::

(1) Drops of jujube (*kola*, *bādara*), (2) Indian madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*), (and) (3) liquorice plant (*madhuka*, *yaṣṭīmadhu*) must be put in equally, finely pounded (*kuṭṭ*), (and) moistened (*bhāvita*) with (4) honey (*mākṣika*). (This) poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be tied on the wounds (*vraṇa*) as a healer.

#### § 93 (P 2893.191-192)

(1) hāmai. (2) śţ<sup>356</sup> bų'. (3) gvīhi' rūm. (4) mauna mūrānä. și' durșți āsyau bidāșțä peņdai ::

(1) Wheat flour (*kaņikā*), (2) white perfume, (and) (3) cow oil (*ghṛta*) must be rubbed with (4) liquor (*mada*). This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) is (to apply) on itches (*kaṇḍū*) of one bitten.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>355</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a blurred *akṣara* after *kä*. Bailey: [*pim*].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>356</sup> Bailey:  $\delta \overline{i}$ .

#### § 94 (P 2893.192-195)

și vā lūttä<sup>357</sup> ā'sī bimdāstā piņdai. (1) avasāya. (2) gvai . (3) rahi piņä. (4) sīya ba'hau'yä. (5)
rrustarä. (6) hinā asņūha. hamamgä vīstānā kūtānā . (7) gvī'hä' rūmna paherānä. ā vā gvī'ha'
ysā'ysä hīye ucä jsa. ā vā ttraiksä mauva sauttäna. dusti ā'sī bimdi banānā ::

The following is the poultice (pindaka) (to be placed) on the itch (kanda) from a spider (JP lata): (1) avasaya, (2) gvai, (3) rahi' pina, (4) white ba'hau'ya, (5) mudar (arka) (and) (6) red pigeon (rakta-kapota) dung (vis) must be put in equally, pounded (kut) and moistened (bhavita) with cow oil (ghrta) or alternatively with water (ambu, jala, vari) of cow's bile or verjuice (sukta) of acid liquor (mada). (This poultice) must be tied on the itch (kanda) of one bitten.

#### § 95 (P 2893.195-196)

(1) padīya būhane
 (2) dūmi-haustā gūra .
 (3) pattaudā gāņā mījsākā .
 hamamgā vīstauñā .
 kūtānā hamtsā mūrrānā .
 şi' peņdai styūdā āsī hamdeve ::

(1) Burnt nut grass (*musta*), (2) smoke-dried (*śuṣka*) grapes ( $dr\bar{a}kṣ\bar{a}$ ,  $m_rdv\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$ ), (and) (3) roasted marrow of *guņā*s must be put in equally, pounded (*kuțț*) (and) rubbed together. This poultice (*piņdaka*) will ripen firm (skin) itching (*kaņdū*).

#### § 96 (P 2893.196-198)

(1) sī pau hīye ājve . (2) svamna-gīrai . (3) pī hamamgä vīstānä kūtānä hamtsä mūrānä . si pindai nālā-virä jemdä ::

(1) Skins of white onion, (2) red ochre ( $k\bar{a}\bar{n}cana-gairika$ ), (and) (3) fat (*medas*) must be put in equally, pounded (*kuțț*) (and) rubbed together. This poultice (*pindaka*) will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) tubular wound ( $n\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ -*vraṇa*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>357</sup> Bailey: *vālūttä*. For the reading *vā lūttä* see Maggi 2018: 253.

## § 97 (P 2893.198-199)

(1) dumi-haustä gūra . (2) būhane . (3) padīya gāņām mījsākä , hamamgä vīstānä hamtsä mūrānä . kūtānä si' pindai ysvaurgä āsī naskirrdä ::

(1) Smoked-dried (*śuṣka*) grapes ( $dr\bar{a}kṣ\bar{a}$ ,  $m_rdv\bar{k}\bar{a}$ ), (2) nut grass (*musta*), (and) (3) burnt marrow of guna must be put in equally, rubbed together, (and) pounded (*kuțț*). This poultice (*pindaka*) will \*scatter suppurating itching (*kandū*).

#### § 98 (P 2893.199-201)

(1) kapāysä ttīm kūtānä . cvai vā hamdäna bīsai ysīdai ysīrakä narāme și (2) hvī · svīdänä paherānä . rranīkām bidä samkhalyāna ::

(1) Seed of the cotton plant (JP *karpāsa*) must be pounded (*kuțț*) and, when its yellow ( $p\bar{t}a$ ) matter inside comes out, it must be moistened (*bhāvita*) with (2) human milk (*stanya*) (and) must be smeared on the skin irritations.

## § 99 (P 2893.201-204)

se' yaugä . (1) kūţya rruşţärānä sau simgä . (2) kūţye mahābāmji sau simgä . (3) ūtcä sau şamgä . hamtsä hauña tcirā damdä jşā'ñāñä khū ra va drrai simgä harsä thamjāña ysūnāñä şi' pe'sva utcä hāñä tcerai paskyāsţä . ū sau simgä hā (4) kahīnai rrūm tcerai . damdä pāchai khu ra va rūm harstä . thamjāñä rranīkam<sup>358</sup> jsä gūmalyāñä . u kusţä . u bisä jāre ::

Second prescription (*yoga*). (1) Pounded (*kuțț*) mudar (*arka*) grains – one ounce (*prastha*), (2) pounded (*kuțț*) liquorice (*madhuka*, *yaṣțīmadhu*) – one ounce, (and) (3) water (*ambu*, *jala*, *vāri*) – one *ṣaṃga* must be put together in a vessel. (The whole) must be boiled until three ounces of it remain there. It must be taken out (and) strained. The (still) steaming water (*ambu*, *jala*, *vāri*)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>358</sup> Bailey: *rranīką*.

must be put back into the vessel and one ounce of (4) hemp oil (ghrta) must be put in. (The preparation) must be cooked until (only) oil remains, must be taken out, the skin irritations must be besmeared thereby and the skin disease (kustha) and everything will be removed (ghna, nud, praksīna).

## §100 (P 2893.204-206)

(1) saunūskä . hamtsä (2) hvī svīdäna thāsakäñä damdä jsā'nānä . khū hamtsä hambirtte khū drām hami khū hanājä ttī hā (3) vasve kāmjsavīnai rūm tcirai . kustä . āstamna rranīkām bidä samkhalyānä jatte ::

(1) Saun $\bar{u}$ șkä must be boiled together with (2) human milk (stanya) in a vessel until it mixes together so that it becomes such as  $hqn\bar{a}j\ddot{a}$ . Then (3) pure sesame oil (taila) must be put in. (This poultice) must be smeared on irritations due to skin disease (kuṣṭha) and so on. It will be cured (sidh, sukhī bhū).

## **ELEVENTH CHAPTER: POULTICES FOR RHEUMATISM**

§101 (P 2893.207)

.. tti vā vāśärūm va pindā.

The following (are) poultices (*pindaka*) for rheumatism (*vāta-rakta*, *anila-rakta*).

## § 102 (P 2893.207-209)

(1) mahābāmji . (2) ysīdā spye . ttä hamtsä jsā'ñānä . (3) ādä (4) hāmai . (5) gvīhi' samnä hamamgä vīstānä . ttye kase'na peņdai pāchai u (6) rūmna gūmalyāna vāsärūm vī<sup>359</sup> banānā ::

(1) Liquorice plant (*madhuka*, *yaṣṭīmadhu*), (2) yellow flowers (pīta-puṣpa) – these must be boiled together. (3) Barley semolina (*saktu*), (4) wheat flour (*kaṇikā*) (and) (5) cow dung (*go-śakrd*) must be put in equally. A poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be cooked with this decoction (*kaṣāya*, *kvātha*, *sva-rasa*) and mixed with (6) oil (*ghrta*). It must be tied on the rheumatism (*vāta-rakta*, *anila-rakta*).

#### §103 (P 2893.209-210)

(1) lamgära<sup>360</sup> bāvä (2) mahābāmjä . (3) hāmai . hąmamgä śtākä naukä ārānā (4) hvi svīdäna pāchai . vāśärūm vī banānä ::

(1) Groundsel root ( $r\bar{a}sn\bar{a}-m\bar{u}la$ ), (2) liquorice plant (madhuka, yastimadhu) (and) (3) wheat flour ( $kanik\bar{a}$ ) are equally necessary. They must be ground finely (and) cooked with (4) human

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>359</sup> Bailey:  $v\bar{\iota}$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup> The ms has *ra* written below  $g\ddot{a}$ .

milk (*stanya*). (This poultice) (*piņḍaka*) must be tied on the rheumatism (*vāta-rakta*, *anila-rakta*).

## § 104 (P 2893.210-213)

(1) hīśa' hīyä rranū[[×]]şkä<sup>361</sup>
(2) šī pau.
(3) ysīdā [[×]]<sup>362</sup> spye.
(4) mahābāmji. tti hamtsä
[[×]]<sup>363</sup> jşā'ñānä.
(5) kumjsä.
(6) pattaudä hāmai.
(7) pattaudä ādä. tti pātcä hamamgä
stākä. ttye kaşe' jsa şi' peņdai pāchai u yamai rūmna gūmalyānä. samdvemna vāśärūm u hasvai
jemdä::

(1) The scrapings of  $h\bar{i}sa'$ , (2) white onion, (3) yellow flowers ( $p\bar{i}ta$ -puspa), (4) liquorice plant (madhuka, yastimadhu) – these must be boiled together. (5) Sesame (tila), (6) roasted wheat flour ( $kanik\bar{a}$ ), (7) roasted barley semolina (saktu) – these are then equally necessary. This poultice (pindaka) must be cooked with this decoction (kasaya, kvatha, sva-rasa) and be mixed with the couple of oils (ghrta). It will remove ((°)sudh, (°)han, hr) rheumatism (vata-rakta, anila-rakta) and swellings due to a combination (of the three dosas).

## §105 (P 2893.213-215)

(1) jīvakä. (2) raṣabhq[[×]]kä<sup>364</sup>. (3) laṃgara bātä. (4) mahābauji. (5) u'stä bāva. (6) sącha bāta (7) ciruttä. hąmamgä stā[[×]]kä<sup>365</sup>. naukä kuṭāñä. ṣvī'da jsä pemḍai pāchai. hąmarvā vāsūrum jidä::

(1) jīvaka (jīvaka), (2) rṣabhaka (rṣabhaka), (3) groundsel root (rāsnā-mūla), (4) liquorice plant (madhuka, yaṣṭīmadhu), (5) hogweed (punarnavā, varṣābhū, vrścīva) root (mūla), (6) sida root (balā) (7) beeswax (siktha) are equally necessary. They must be finely pounded (kuṭṭ). The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>361</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *akṣara* after  $n\bar{u}$ . Bailey: *rranū[stä] ṣkä* with fn. '*ṣtä* blurred'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>362</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *akşara* after  $d\bar{a}$ . Bailey: [spye] spye with fn. 'spye blurred'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>363</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *akṣara* after *tsä*. Bailey [×] with fn. 'Blurred syllable'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *akṣara* after *bhq*. Bailey: *raṣabha[ka] kä* with fn. '*ka* blurred'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>365</sup> Uncertain. The ms has a deleted *akşara* after *śtā*. Bailey: *śtā*/×*]kä*.

poultice (*piņdaka*) must be cooked with milk (*kṣīra*). It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) rheumatism (*vāta-rakta*, *anila-rakta*) in the joints (*saṇdhi*).

## § 106 (P 2893.215-218)

(1) mida. (2) mahā-midä. (3) kākauţä. (4) kşīra-kākauţä. (5) jīvakä. (6) raşabhakä. (7) mūdgä-parņä. (8) māşa-parņä. (9) jīva[[ttä]]<sup>366</sup>. (10) mahābāmji. hqmamgä śtākä. nauka ārānā . (11) cirūttäna. (12) gvīhi': rūmna u (13) şvīdä. şi' pindai teirai hqmirvā bañānā. vāśarūm jimdä u hqmirvā vīne ::

(1) Medā (*medā*), (2) Indian coral tree (*mahā-medā*), (3) kākolī (*kākolī*), (4) kṣīra-kākolī (*kṣīra-kākolī*, *kākolī-dvaya*), (5) jīvaka (*jīvaka*), (6) *rṣabhaka* (*rṣabhaka*), (7) wild green gram (*mudga-parņī*) (8) wild black gram (*māṣa-parņī*), (9) jīvantī (*jīvantī*), (10) liquorice plant (*madhuka*, *yaṣṭīmadhu*) are equally necessary. They must be ground finely. This poultice (*piņḍaka*) must be made with (11) beeswax (*siktha*), (12) cow oil (*ghṛta*), and (13) milk (*kṣīra*) (and) tied on the joints (*saṃdhi*). It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) rheumatism (*vāta-rakta*, *anila-rakta*) and pains in the joints (*saṃdhi*).

## §107 (P 2893.218-221)

(1) gvī'hi' <rrūm .><sup>367</sup> (2) kāmjsavīnai rrūm . (3) mijsā . (4) pī . (5) īramde . (6) kumjsa , (7) kapāysä ttī (8) hīysämau . (9) bātā . (10) kuṣṭä (11) āra . (12) halaidrä . (13) amguṣḍi , (14) suttä . ūtca . (15) hāmai . biśä hamamgä vīśtāñä naukä kūṭāñä . ṣi' pɨnɨdai hamarvā bañāñä . vāśärūm jemdä: ::

(1) Cow oil (*ghrta*), (2) sesame oil (*taila*), (3) marrows (*majja*), (4) fat (*medas*), (5) castor-oil plant (*eraņda*), (6) sesame (*tila*), (7) cotton plant (JP *karpāsa*) seed, (8) coriander (*dhānyāka*)
(9) new wine, (10) costus (*kuṣṭha*), (11) sweet flag (*vacā*), (12) turmeric (*haridrā*), (13) asa foetida (*hingu*), (14) verjuice (*śukta*) water (*ambu*, *jala*, *vāri*), (15) wheat flour (*kaņikā*) must all

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>366</sup> The ms has a blurred *akṣara*. Bailey: [*ttä*] with fn. '*ttä* blurred'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>367</sup>  $gv\bar{\iota}'hi' < rr\bar{\iota}m .>$ for ms  $gv\bar{\iota}'hi'$ .

be put in equally (and) pounded (*kuțț*) finely. This poultice (*pindaka*) must be tied on the joints (*saṃdhi*). It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) rheumatism (*vāta-rakta*, *anila-rakta*).

## § 108 (P 2893.221-223)

(1) aśvagamdhą. (2) pvā'šä tcāra. (3) khyerä tcārä. (4) ulįña tcārä. (5) tharkä mijsā. (6) iramde. (7) hamga. biša hąmamgä śtākä kūtāna. ttyau arvyau jsä şi' pemdai pāchai. kūstä hąmarvā vina imde<sup>368</sup>. vara bañānä jihāre ::

(1) Winter cherry (*aśvagandhā*), (2) pig (*vārāha*) fat (*vasā*), (3) ass fat (*vasā*), (4) camel (*auṣṭra*) fat (*vasā*), (5) walnut kernels (JP *akṣoṭa*), (6) castor-oil plant (*eraṇḍa*), (7) bladder sorrel (*amalavetasa*) are all equally necessary. They must be pounded (*kuṭṭ*). From these drugs this poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be cooked. Where there are pains in the joints (*saṇḍhi*), there it must be tied. They will be cured (*sidh*, *sukhī bhū*).

#### §109 (P 2893.223-224)

(1) khyera samna . (2) namva (3) mau . (4) rūm . hamtsä ūysūyąña<sup>369</sup> . āyvąñä . grām grām hąmarrvą bañąñä vāśärūm jemdä ::

(1) Ass dung (*vițka*, *viș*, *śakrt*), (2) salt (*lavaņa*), (3) liquor (*mada*), (and) (4) oil (*ghrta*) must be strained together (and) heated. (This poultice) must be tied quite warm (*uṣṇa*) on the joints (*saṇdhi*). It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) rheumatism (*vāta-rakta*, *anila-rakta*).

## § 110 (P 2893.224-225)

(1) kāmjsa ārānā (2) svī'dana pāchai kūstā hamirvā vīna varā banānā vāsārūm va pimdai ::

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>368</sup> Bailey: *īde*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>369</sup> Bailey:  $\bar{u}(ci)$  ys $\bar{u}y\bar{q}na$ .

(1) Sesame (*tila*) must be ground (and) cooked with (2) milk ( $ks\bar{i}ra$ ). Where (there are) pains in the joints (*saṃdhi*), there it must be tied. (This is) a poultice (*piṇḍaka*) for rheumatism (*vāta-rakta*, *anila-rakta*).

## § 111 (P 2893.225-226)

(1) gąnam kūtānā . u (2) mahābāmji . hamamgä vīstānā u (3) hvī<sup>370</sup> svī'danā pāchai . hamarvā banānā . vāsarīm va paindai ::

(1) Wheat (*godhūma*) must be pounded (*kuțț*) and (2) liquorice plant (*madhuka*, *yaṣțīmadhu*) must be put in equally and (the whole) must be cooked with (3) human milk (*stanya*). It must be tied on the joints (*saṃdhi*). (This is) a poultice (*piṇḍaka*) for rheumatism (*vāta-rakta*, *anila-rakta*).

## §112 (P 2893.226-228)

(1) kaujsa. (2) kāmbā. (3) rrīysū bišä hamamgä stākä. kūtāna. (4) namvena şi pendai pāchai.
 hamarrvā vāsärūna jimdä<sup>371</sup> ::

(1) Sesame (*tila*), (2) linseed (*atasī*), (and) (3) rice (*taṇḍula*, *śāli*) are all equally necessary. They must be pounded (*kuṭț*). This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be cooked with (4) salt (*lavaṇa*). It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hṛ*) rheumatism (*vāta-rakta*, *anila-rakta*) in the joints (*saṇdhi*).

## § 113 (P 2893.228-229)

(1) traulä . (2) śīlājatti . (3) aśvägamdhä . . hamamgä naukä ārānā . gitsīrīnā . bājinanä:
 jsā'nānā . khu baysgä<sup>372</sup> hame vara samkhalyānä . kustā vīna īmde . vāsärūm jimdä ::

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>370</sup> Bailey: *hvī*'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> Bailey: *jim* . *dä*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>372</sup> Bailey: *haysgä*.

(1) Turpeth (*trivrt*), (2) molten ore (*śilājatu*) (and) (3) winter cherry (*aśvagandhā*) in equal measure must be finely ground (and) boiled in a gypsum vessel (*pātra*). When (this poultice) becomes thick, it must be smeared there where there are pains. It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*,  $h_r$ ) rheumatism (*vāta-rakta*, *anila-rakta*).

## §114 (P 2893.230-231)

(1) kāmjsa kūtānā . (2) kāmjīna . ā vā (3) bīstīnä vara samkhalyānä . kustā vīna īmde . vāsarūm jimdä ::

(1) Sesame (*tila*) must be pounded (*kuțț*) (and) smeared with (2) sour gruel (*kānjika*, \**sauvīra*) or with (3) buttermilk there where there are pains. It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *h*<sub>r</sub>) rheumatism (*vāta-rakta*, *anila-rakta*).

## § 115 (P 2893.231-233)

(1) drrāma . (2) hāmai . (3) samdalūm . (4) gvīhä rūm . (5) kāmjsavīnai rūm . (6) ganānai bā .
 hamamgä stākä . hatsä kutānä . greña bājinanä jsā 'nānä<sup>373</sup> . baysgä samkhalyānä . ā-v-am jsä .
 pemdai padīmānä . vara banānä . kūstä vīne . vāsärūm jimdä ::

(1) Pomegranate  $(d\bar{a}d\bar{i}ma)$ , (2) wheat flour  $(kanik\bar{a})$ , (3) rock salt (saindhava), (4) cow oil (ghrta), (5) sesame oil (taila) (and) (6) fetid dill  $(satapusp\bar{a})$  are equally necessary. They must be pounded (kutt) together, boiled in a clay vessel  $(p\bar{a}tra)$  (and) smeared thickly (on the patient) or a poultice (pindaka) must be made with them (and) tied there where (are) pains. It will remove  $((^{\circ})sudh, (^{\circ})han, hr)$  rheumatism  $(v\bar{a}ta-rakta, anila-rakta)$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>373</sup> Bailey: *jṣā̃ 'ñāñä*.

## TWELFTH CHAPTER: POULTICES AND PRESCRIPTIONS OF ALL AND EVERY KIND

## §116 (P 2893.234)

... viña ttā bīśūña . biśūñä . pimdā hvanāre . u yaugä ::

Now poultices (*pindaka*) and prescriptions (*yoga*) of all and every kind are explained to you.

#### §117 (P 2893.235-239)

(1) kahä: (2) kāmijsa. (3) kāmbā. (4) pattaudä hāmai. (5) pattaudä vi yaji. (6) hauskyä ttrahe.
bišä hamamgä stākä. u ārānä paherānä . u naşīyūm jsä pāchai. u ttī şi nasī. paskyāstä ārāna.
ysūnānä (7) ttīra ñena jsä pattrūsa pāchai. u na āna hā<sup>374</sup> (8) anarva māsa kä tcerā. u (9)
drāma sīkä. ū (10) ahi: si va dāttä. hauji pajsānä. ārānä. hā tcirā si pattrūsä hverai avīysārä
bañe ::

(1) Hemp, (2) sesame (*tila*), (3) linseed (*atasī*), (4) roasted wheat flour (*kaņikā*), (5) roasted *vi'yaji* (and) (6) dry radishes (*śuṣka-mūlaka*) are all equally necessary and must be ground, moistened (*bhāvita*) and a *naṣī* must be cooked with them and then this *naṣī* must be ground again. (The whole) must be strained, a *pattrūṣa* must be cooked with (7) sour (*amla, tikta, śukta*) buttermilk (*dadhi*) and (8) unburst jequirity (*śārṅgaṣṭā*) must be put in from below (*adhas*) and (9) a small pomegranate (*dādīma*) and (10) *ahi*, that is wild croton (*dantī*), must be cooked *hauji*, ground (and) put into it. This *pattrūṣa* must be consumed (*ad, pralih*). It will stop diarrhoea (*atīsāra*).

#### § 118 (P 2893.239-240)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup> Bailey: *u na ąnahā*.

śau kabä (1) sperka jṣā'ñānä . ttilakä hā (2) gvī'ha' rūm tcerā u (3) mākṣī . khāśānä phāhä:' uysanä āphārä jemdä ::

One *kaba* of (1) fenugreek (JP *spṛkkā*) must be boiled (and) a little (2) cow oil (*ghṛta*) and (3) honey ( $m\bar{a}k\bar{s}ika$ ) must be put into it. (This preparation) must be drunk. It will remove ((°)*sudh*, (°)*han*, *h*<sub>*r*</sub>) cough (*kāsa*) (and) disturbance of the breath (*śvāsa*).

## §119 (P 2893.240-241)

(1) rrustirānä cipañāñä kamä'ñä bañāñä paysau pettä . jīye utcī narāme ::

(1) Mudar grains must be crushed (and) tied on the head (*mūrdhān*). The *paysau* will fall (and) disappear (*ghna*, *nud*, *prakṣīṇa*), (and) the liquid (*ambu*, *jala*, *vāri*) will come out of it.

## §120 (P 2893.241-244)

(1) ttīrä ahaudä hīye ttīme. (2) lavamgä. (3) byārä bana. (4) jilabhamgä. tti biśä hamamgä vīstāñä. kūtāñä grāmye ūci jsä hamthrrajāñä. u dva drrai jūna tta tta ysūnāñä. khū va hera vī kalamakyä na hatsīmdä<sup>375</sup>. sau vasī hambāyi khāsā'nä pe'jsä bamāñe ::

(1) Seeds of bitter (*amla*, *tikta*, *śukta*) bottle-gourd (*alābu*), (2) cloves, (3) *bana* of melon (*ervāruka*), (and) (4) acute-angled cucumber (*jālini-phala*) – all these must be put into it equally, pounded (*kuțț*), squeezed with warm (*uṣṇa*) water (*ambu*, *jala*, *vāri*), and these must be strained two or three times so that no *kalamakyä* pass through at all there. The amount of one *vasīya* must be drunk (and) vomited (*ullekhana*, *chardana*, *chardī*) forcibly.

## §121 (P 2893.244-245)

(1) mauva sauttana hu'gä būna<sup>376</sup> padīmānä sūnyā<sup>377</sup> banānä . mamgārä sūnä<sup>378</sup> rrāhi' : jemdä ::

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup> Bailey: *ha tsīmdä*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>376</sup> Bailey: *būna*.

A  $b\bar{u}na$  must be made soft with (1) verjuice (*śukta*) of liquor (*mada*) (and) must be tied on the loins. (This poultice) will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *h*<sup>*r*</sup>) pain in the loin(s) of an old (patient) (*purāņa*).

## § 122 (P 2893.245-249)

cu paijvā vīna u maysdärvā . vīnä ṣai' va paiņḍai . (1) ysarūm māmgä . naukä ārāña ysūnāñä śau bāgä ṣi' vīśtāñä<sup>379</sup> (2) ysālva (3) mahābāmjä . (4) sijsanā spye . (5) kujsa . tti pātcä hamamgä vīśtāñä . naukä ārāñä hambrrīhāñä (6) khyera ṣvīdäna<sup>380</sup> . piņḍai padīmāñä . pāchai . (7) gvīhä' . rūmna gūmalyāña . paijvā bañāñä audä svāmilau vī būre . ysair-banvā vīna jimdä ::

When (there are) pains in the breasts and pains in the nipples, this is the poultice (*pindaka*) for that: (1) green bean must be finely ground, strained, (and) one portion of this must be put into it; (2) Indian barberry ( $d\bar{a}rv\bar{i}$ ,  $p\bar{i}ta$ - $d\bar{a}ru$ ), (3) liquorice plant (*madhuka*, *yaṣṭīmadhu*), (4) *sijsānā* flowers, (and) (5) sesame (*tila*) – these must then be put into it equally, finely ground, (and) mixed with (6) ass milk ( $ks\bar{i}ra$ ). A poultice (*pindaka*) must be made, cooked, (and) mixed with cow oil (*ghrta*). It must be tied on the breasts up to the shoulders (*amsa*). It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) pains in the regions near the heart.

## § 123 (P 2893.249-250)

cu pe'jsä ttarä . ttye śe'ye hadai (1) yąmai rrūmna (2) cegām būśąnai paśąñä ttarį jįye ::

When (there is) strong thirst (*tarṣa*, *tṛṣṇā*), on the second day (2) perfume of the Chinese must be released with (1) the couple of oils (*ghṛta*). Thirst (*tarṣa*, *tṛṣṇā*) will disappear (*ghna*, *nud*, *prakṣīṇa*) for one.

<sup>380</sup> Bailey: *svīdäna*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>377</sup> Bailey: *sūñyā*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>378</sup> Bailey: *sūñä*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>379</sup> Bailey: *vīśtą̃ñä*.

#### §124 (P 2893.250-254)

(1) kujsa. (2) hauşka gūra. (3) mahābāmjä. (4) ādä hāmai. hamamgä. vīstāñä. ārāña mauna şi' pimdai pāchai. (5) si' pau. phaji pajsāñä bītcañāñä u ttye pendai bidä starāñä. (6) gvī'ha' rūna gūmilyāñä. brrehä:' bimdä bañāña. brraha rāhä' jimdä. ttī kami'ña bañī kamala rrāhä' jemdä bina hū{na}ña vasūje ::

(1) Sesame (*tila*), (2) dry (*śuṣka*) grapes ( $dr\bar{a}kṣ\bar{a}$ ,  $m_rdv\bar{k}\bar{a}$ ), (3) liquorice plant (*madhuka*, *yaṣṭīmadhu*), (4) barley semolina (*saktu*) (or) wheat flour (*kaṇikā*) must be put into it equally (and) ground. This poultice (*piṇḍaka*) must be cooked with liquor (*mada*). (5) White onion must be cooked in glowing coals, broken up and strewn on this poultice (*piṇḍaka*). It must be mixed with (6) cow oil (*ghṛta*) (and) tied on the back: it will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) pain in the back. Then one may bind it on the head (*mūrdhān*): it will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) headache (*śiro-'rti*) (and) purify wind-blood.

#### § 125 (P 2893.254-257)

(1) pamjalau. (2) kuṣṭi. (3) āra. (4) punarņava. (5) ttāgarä. (6) devadārä, (7) ṣala. (8) kujsa.
(9) kāmbā. (10) śaśvām. (11) īramde<sup>381</sup>. biśä hąmamgä vīśtāñä. (12) gvī'hä:' rūm. (13) kujsavīnai rrūm. (14) mau. (15) ṣvīdä. (16) ñye. biśä pātcä hąmamgä. śtākä. hamtsä hambrrīhānä şi' pemdai pāchai. āhusāne binām<sup>382</sup> āchām vī biśä vī hambūsam ::

(1) Bell metal (kāmsa), (2) costus (kuṣṭha), (3) sweet flag (vacā), (4) hogweed (punarnavā), (5) ginger (ārdraka, nāgara, viśvā), (6) deodar (devadāru), (7) zedoary (JP ṣaḍī), (8) sesame (tila), (9) linseed (atasī), (10) mustard ((śveta-)sarṣapa, siddhārtha), (and) (11) castor-oil plant (eraṇḍa) must all be put in equally. (12) Cow oil (ghṛta), (13) sesame oil (taila), (14) liquor (mada), (15) milk (kṣīra), (and) (16) buttermilk (dadhi) are then all equally necessary (and)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup> Bailey: *īraņde*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>382</sup> Bailey: *bi* . *nām*.

must be mixed together. This poultice (*piņḍaka*) must be cooked. It will make sweat (*presveda*, *sveda*, *sve* 

## § 126 (P 2893.257-258)

(1) ttrahām (2) padīvām banījām grūskyām hīvī ksārā nauka ārānā. (3) ttīra nena paherānā. si pimdai ysauņvanā. hasvai jimdā ::<sup>383</sup>

(1) Alkali (*kṣāra*) from radishes (*mūlaka*) (and) (2) (alkali from) burnt oak barks (*tvac*) must be finely ground (and) moistened (*bhāvita*) with (3) sour (*amla*, *tikta*, *śukta*) buttermilk (*dadhi*). This poultice (*pinḍaka*) must be strained. It will remove ((°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*) swellings.

## § 127 (P 2893.258-259)

(1) gvīhä': şū ranānä cu pe'jsä haikä . ttye ranūşkyänä padvānä<sup>384</sup> . khvai şa' dumi ehi haysgvā ttrāme jatte ::

(1) Cow horn ( $vis\bar{a}na$ ) must be scraped. When (there is) strong hiccough ( $hikk\bar{a}$ ), (the patient) must be fumigated with this scraping, so that the smoke enters the mouth ( $\bar{a}sya$ , vadana) and the nostrils ( $n\bar{a}vana$ ). He will be cured (sidh,  $sukh\bar{v}bh\bar{u}$ ).

## §128 (P 2893.260-267)

(1) ysīdā spye. (2) mahābāmji. tti śau śau serä śtākä. ysīra kūtānä. u drrai śigä ucäna [da]dä jsā'ñānä khu śva' jīye ttī askinānä<sup>385</sup> paskyāstā hānāstā. ysūnānä. ttī (3) kujsa (4) [. kum]bā<sup>386</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>383</sup> Bailey does not record :: .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>384</sup> Bailey: *padvāñä*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>385</sup> Bailey: askināñä.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>386</sup> Bailey: <...>  $b\bar{a}$ .

śā śā [hā]dä<sup>387</sup> vīśtāña<sup>388</sup>. naukä ārāñä. hā tcerā ttye ucäna pāchai u ttilakä. [hā +] da na ji<sup>389</sup>
(5) hāmai vamathāñä şi' pimdai padīmāña hu'gä. (6) gvī'hä' rūmna. gūmalyāñä [bimdai (7) +
+]<sup>390</sup> (8) ārrdä hauşka ysvālva parkūnāñä. ttai vā bu'jsai haijä haśä jidä. ttauda. hūña va [+ +
+ +] bāva nişaime. vīnām bidä vīna jimdä. u ci<sup>391</sup> ttī drām tciña rāhä' hamāve. cu şşī[ve + +
+] i<sup>392</sup> ysai tcime'ña şaidä. u haune streha hamāre. u hemja hamāre. u raijsai [+ ysai ysai u]<sup>393</sup> pe'šā' hā. paidai nīšāña. hauda haşţä jūm grām grām. tcaura pimdakä padī[me]

(1) Yellow flowers ( $p\bar{u}ta-puspa$ ), (2) liquorice plant (madhuka, yastimadhu), these are necessary one ounce each. They must be roughly pounded (kutt) and boiled with three ounces (prastha) of water (ambu, jala,  $v\bar{a}ri$ ) until a half disappears (ghna, nud, praksina). Then (the decoction) must be taken out (and) strained back into the vessel. Then (3) sesame (tila) (and) (4) linseed must be added, but one by one – they must be finely ground – (and) must be put in. (The whole) must be cooked with that water (ambu, jala,  $v\bar{a}ri$ ) and a little of ... (5) wheat flour ( $kanik\bar{a}$ ) must be kneaded (vimath) into it. This poultice (pindaka) must be made soft. It must be mixed with (6) cow oil (and) ... (8) ground dry (suska) Indian barberry ( $d\bar{a}rv\bar{v}$ ,  $p\bar{v}ta-d\bar{a}ru$ ) must be sprinkled (on it).

These are its virtues: it will remove  $((^{\circ})\acute{sudh}, (^{\circ})han, hr)$  red (aruṇa, rakta) swelling; (used) hot  $(uṣṇa, d\bar{a}ha)$ , it extinguishes ... wind in the blood  $(asra, rakta, \acute{soṇita})$ ; it removes  $((^{\circ})\acute{sudh}, (^{\circ})han, hr)$  pains in the aching parts (of the body); and when then such pain should arise in the eye (aksi) (and) if in the night ... in the morning the eyes cling and the eyelids become stiff and become red (aruṇa, rakta) and sharp  $(t\bar{t}ksṇa)$ , (this) poultice (pindaka) must be inserted while quite warm (usṇa) seven or eight times in the morning and evening. (This) poultice (pindaka) produces four (effects).

<sup>391</sup> Bailey: *uci*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> Bailey: (*ā*)*dä*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>388</sup> Bailey:  $v\bar{i}\delta t\bar{q}[\times]\tilde{n}a$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>389</sup> Bailey: <...> *danaji*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>390</sup> Bailey:  $<...> \times$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>392</sup> Bailey: <...>-*e*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>393</sup> Bailey: <...> ×.

# COMMENTARY

## 1. First chapter: Poultices for the eyes

The first chapter of the *Pindaśāstra* (§§ 1-8) is devoted to the treatment of eye-diseases. Five different types are described, due to deranged wind (LKh. *bāti*-), bile (LKh. *petta*-), phlegm (LKh. *ślişma*-), blood (LKh. *hūñi*-), and all the three *doṣas* together (LKh. *saṃdvāta*-). The eye-disease caused by wind (§ 4) is said to manifest mainly in the evening and to be characterised by pain and inability of seeing clearly and opening the the eyelids freely. When bile and blood are disturbed (§ 5), the symptoms occur at midday, the patient's eyes are red and aching, and his view is yellowish, perhaps due to some kind of secretion. The eye-disease due to phlegm (§ 6) appears in the morning, is painful and is characterised by itching and heavy eyes, that cling to the eyelids and impair the patient's vision. As for the disorder brought about the three *doṣas* (§§ 2 and 7), the author does not provide the description of this type of disease, but most likely exhibits a combination of the symptoms mentioned above.

The *Suśrutasamhitā*, among the earliest  $\bar{A}$ yurvedic texts, extensively analyses the diseases affecting the eye region. The first nineteen chapters of the *Uttaratantra* are, in fact, devoted to the description of the aetiology, classification, and treatments of disorders of the eyelids, junctures, white and black portions of the eye, pupil, and whole eye.

## §1

**biśų̃nā**m: For the adjective *biśśūnia*- 'of all kinds, varied' (< *biśśa*- 'all' and OIr. \**gauna*- 'kind' with the composition suffix -*ia*-) see *Dict*. 290 and Degener *Suffixe* 122, 124-125.

## §2

saṃdvena: Kh. *saṇdvāta*- ('combination (of all the three *doṣas* in one and the same location)') is a LKh. loanword from Gāndh. *sannipāta*- < Skt. *saṇnipāta*-. In a medical context, this term

refers to 'a complicated derangement of the three *doṣas* or an illness produced by it'.<sup>394</sup> One of the earliest discussion about *saṃnipāta* is found in *Carakasaṃhitā*, *Vimānasthāna* 6.10, where the author explains as follows:

(prāyaḥ) śārīradoṣāṇāmekādhiṣṭhānīyānāṃ sannipātaḥ saṃsargo vā samānaguṇatvāt; doṣā hi dūṣaṇaiḥ samānāḥ ||

'(Often) the bodily doşas situated in one location combine together by either sannipāta (combination of all the three doşas together) or saṃsarga (combination of two doşas together) because of having similar properties; doşas are similar to the vitiating factors.'<sup>395</sup>

Although not very frequent in LKh. medical texts, this word occurs three times in the PiŚ and two in Si. In the first treatise *saṃdvāta* seems to be the cause of pain in the eyes (§ 2 *tciṃña*  $r\bar{a}h\ddot{a}$ '), swellings and rheumatism (§§ 20 *saṃdveṃna haśä*, 104 *saṃdveṃna vāśärūṃ u hasvai*). On the other hand, in the Si 14.1 (Ch. 104v5) *saṃdvāta* gives rise to 'yellow disease' (*ysīḍai*  $\bar{a}chai$ , Skt.  $p\bar{a}ndu-roga^{396}$ ) in the following way:

și' pā drrayām dūṣām' vī hva hva śe śe dūṣä' jsa hame samdvimnä hambirstām dūṣām jsa hamye līkä hīya piṣkici āstamna tcau-padya hame

'It then arises due to each single humour separately in the case of the three humours and (when those three varieties are added to) the variety that has arisen due to a combination, (that is) due to the (three) humours combined, it becomes fourfold.'<sup>397</sup>

Additionally, the term is found in Si 3.20.11 (Ch. 17r3-4), where the consumption of sparrow meat is recommended against *samnipāta* diseases (*sadvinä āchai*):

cu bimji hīya gūśta șe' sadvinä āchai jināka śilīṣām u śūkrrä huṣāñāka

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>394</sup> MW 1147, s.v. *saṃnipāta*.

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{395}{1}$  Translation by Sharma 2014: 1.336.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>396</sup> 'jaundice' MW 616.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

'As for the flesh of the sparrow, it (is) a remover of disease due to a combination (of the humours), an increaser of phlegm and semen'<sup>398</sup>

From the phonological point of view, it should be noted that *saṃdvāta* has a clear Gāndhārī appearance, rather than Sanskrit. Similarly to *dūvara*- ('dropsy' §§ 12, 22 61),<sup>399</sup> *saṃdvāta* is in fact one of the specialised technical terms that reached the Khotanese medical vocabulary through a Middle Indian intermediary. The evidence that supports a Gāndhārī origin is visible in the Old Khotanese form of the word. In fact, an OKh. *-saṃdāvāta*-, *-sandāvāta*- is already attested at an earlier stage of the language<sup>400</sup>. The OKh. *-nd*- cluster mirrors an unattested Gāndh. *\*saṃdivada*- (that must be reconstructed beside literary *saṃnipada*) with hypercorrect *-md*- for OInd. *-mn*-, because, as illustrated already by Brough, both OInd. *-mn*- (i.e. *-nn*-) and *-nd*- resulted in Gāndh. *-(m)n*-.<sup>401</sup> Accordingly, it is possible to reconstruct the development of the word from an OInd. *saṃnipāta*- > Gāndh. *\*saṃdivada*- → OKh. *°sandävāta*- > LKh. *saṃdvāta*-.

The LKh. instr.-abl. ending *-emna* (with the variant spellings *-ena*, *-i(m)na*) of *samdvena* comes from an OKh. *-ātäna*. As in the OKh. word *hvatänaa*- 'Khotanese' > LKh. *hvamnaa*-, the loss of the glottal stop, marked orthographically through *-t*-, results in the *anusvāra -m*-.<sup>402</sup> Furthermore, the *-e*- in the ending of *samdvena* should be regarded as a variant spelling for *-ai*- (cf. \**-ā-äna* > *-aina* in the monosyllabic *-āa*- declension).<sup>403</sup> The path of development is, thus, OKh. \**-ātäna* [a:?əna] > [ai?na] > LKh. *-emna* [ɛ̃na].

## § 3

**phaja** and **phaja-vaha**: For the meaning of *phaja* 'glowing coals' see *Studies* 1.80-81. Differently from Bailey,<sup>404</sup> on account of the voicing and fricativisation p > b > v in *-vaha* I

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>398</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>399</sup> See Luzzietti 2022: 229-235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>400</sup> Maggi 2017: 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>401</sup> Cf. Brough 1962: 97–98 §§45-46, 100 §47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>402</sup> Cf. Dresden 1955: 407.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>403</sup> SGS 305.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>404</sup> *KT* 3.84 and 89.

consider LKh. *phaja-vaha-* a compound, where the second component *vaha-* is the ppp. (*paha*) of the verb *pajs-* 'to cook',<sup>405</sup> hence 'cooked in glowing coals'.

## § 4

**vimath- 'to crush, churn'**: As was mentioned in the introduction, the *Pindaśāstra* shares some characteristics with the so-called *Pindasaptaka*, preserved in folio 100 of the Ch. ii.002, the *pustaka* manuscript containing the Khotanese *Siddhasāra*. The *Pindasaptaka* belongs to an unidentified medical and so far untranslated text of Āyurvedic tradition. These two collections of prescriptions have in common a similar vocabulary, style and phraseology. The use of *vīśtāña*-, part. nec. from *vimath*-, in the prescriptions is one of such parallels.

The verb *vimath*- has been found only in the *Pindaśāstra*, where it occurs four times (§§ 4, 17, 54, 128), and once in the *Pindasaptaka* (v2 *vimathāña*). In his *Dictionary*, Bailey considers *vimath*- a verb or Iranian origin,<sup>406</sup> apparently with a preverb *vi*- < OIr. \**vi*-<sup>407</sup> and the verb *maṃth*- 'to agitate'<sup>408</sup> < OIr. \**man* $\theta$ -. As already supposed by Emmerick, who proposes the translation 'tear off',<sup>409</sup> *vimath*- is more likely to be a loanword from Skt. *vi-math*-. One of the meaning of Skt. *vi-math*- is 'to break or cut in pieces',<sup>410</sup> which seems to better suit the context. However, it is interesting to notice that in the *Pindaśāstra* the Late Khotanese verb *vimath*- always refers to *hāmaa*- 'wheat flour' and describes the final step of the recipes, in which flour must be added to the previously processed ingredients. The verb probably refers to the action of kneading, (Skt. *ma(n)th*),<sup>411</sup> together all the components of the poultice in order to create a creamy substance. I hence decided to translate the LKh. verb *vimath*- as 'to knead'. **hāmaa- 'wheat flour'**: For *hāmaa*- 'wheat flour see *Studies* 1.128-129.

- <sup>408</sup> SGS 108.
- <sup>409</sup> SGS 123.
- <sup>410</sup> MW 979.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>405</sup> Cf. SGS 65.

<sup>406</sup> Dict. 375, s.v. vamath-.

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{407}{100}$  Cf. SGS 241 for the preverbs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>411</sup> Cf. Mayrhofer 1996: 2.311-312, s.v. *manth*<sup>1</sup> and Cheung 2007: 264, s.v. \**manθH*.

hāne 'eyelids': For *hānā*- 'eyelids' see Emmerick and Róna-Tas 1992b: 217 and *Dict*. 477, s.v. *hāmnā*-. This word occurs in the Turkish-Khotanese wordlist preserved in ms P2892 and corresponds to Turkish *kīräpīkä* /kirpik/.

**ttīlaka-** 'a little': *ttīlaka-* is attested only in the *Piņḍaśāstra* (§§ 4, 118, and 128). The proximity with other ingredients in all the three occurrences and the similarity with *ttīla*, a loanword from a Prakritic form of Skt. *taila* 'sesamum oil'<sup>412</sup>, may suggest that this word is also an ingredient (possibly from Skt. *tailaka* 'a small quantity of sesamum oil'). However, as Degener pointed out, *ttīlaka-* is simply an adjective formed with the Late Khotanese diminutive and suffix *-laka-*.<sup>413</sup> Accordingly, the three passages in the PiŚ can be translated as follows: § 4 *ttīlaka hā haumai* 'a little wheat flour', § 118 *ttilakä hā gvī'ha' rūm* 'a little cow oil', § 128 *ttilakä . [hā +] da na ji* 'a little *da na ji*'.

§ 6

**pā'- 'force, essence'**: The Late Khotanese substantive *pe'* (< OKh. *päta'n-*)<sup>414</sup> is commonly used with the meaning of 'power, strength'.<sup>415</sup> This is seen, for instance, in a passage of the *Siddhasāra* (§ 1.33 (Ch. 6v1-3)), where the author enumerates some specific characteristics (of the patient, drugs, region etc.) that every physician should carefully examine before starting a treatment:

khvai krra āstañe . u kīrä īmdä . (1) diśai' spāśąñä u (2) bādä u kālä . u (3) jsīna . u
(4) ttaramdarūm dai . u (5) ñūska . u (6) prrara . u (7) arva . u (8) ttaramdarä u (9)
ysirä pe' (10) hauva estama . u (11) āchai khu ttika dye īmdä u ttī-v-ai āstañąñä .

When one begins one's medical treatment and is doing (one's) work, (1) the region must be looked into, and (2) the period and time, and (3) the (stage of) life, and (4) the body fire, and (5) habits, and (6) nature, and (7) drug, and (8) the body, and (9)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>412</sup> Cf. *Studies* 1.51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>413</sup> Cf. 'ein wenig', Degener 1989: 305-306.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>414</sup> Cf. SGS 341 and *Dict.* 241. See also Del Tomba 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>415</sup> *Dict*, 248, s.v. *pe*'.

the strength of the (patient's) heart, and (10) (his) power (and) endurance, and (11) the disease. When one has observed those, then one must begin.<sup>416</sup>

Here *ysirä pe*' 'the strength of heart' corresponds to Skt. *sattva*, meaning 'strength of character, resolution, or self-command',<sup>417</sup> and describes one of the most important qualities of a patient, as also specified a few paragraphs before (Si 1.30 (Ch 6r3-4; P 7-9)):

cu āchinai hīya amga stāre . și' jsām arthäna hamphve stāka . u jsīni jsa . u **ysira bise** hota jsa hamphve cu jehavīyi āchā u asthūmājsä āchinai ttikyām jatte

As for the branches of the patient, he indeed must be endowed with wealth and **be** endowed with vitality and with strength in (his) heart. If the diseases are curable and the patient is \*strong, he will be cured of them.<sup>418</sup>

In § 6 of the *Pindaśāstra*, however, the literal meaning 'strength' of the word *pe*' does not fit quite well the context, since it refers to the preparation of the poultice (*ttī pe' ysūnāña*. *u paskyāstā hā tcirai* 'then the *pe*' (remaining) must be strained and be put back into (the vessel)'). An alternative interpretation is suggested by the Sanskrit word *śakti*, which occurs in the Skt. Si 1.26 (Ch 5v4-5; P 1-3), referring to the potency of a substance. In fact, *śakti* 'power' has the secondary meaning of 'effectiveness or efficacy (of a remedy)'.<sup>419</sup> In § 6 the effectiveness of the medicine is obtained by boiling the ingredients with three *vasīyas* of water until only one remains. The result is an essence containing all the beneficial and therapeutic effects of the drugs. Hence, I translate *pe'* as 'essence', i.e. a substance containing in a very strong form the special qualities of the ingredients and from which it derives its potency.

**mijsaā-, mijsāka-, and mijsākīnaa-**: The word 'kernel' or 'marrow', the central and edible part of a fruit, is expressed in the *Piņḍaśāstra* by the three related words *mijsaā-, mijsāka-*, and the adjective *mijsākīnaa-*.

The first one, *mijsaā*-, literally means 'marrow' and derives from IIr. \**mazgakā*- (cf. Av. *mazga*- and Skt. *majjan*-, *majjā*-). This word can refer both to the bone-marrow and to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>416</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>417</sup> Cf. MW 1135, s.v. *sattva*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>418</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>419</sup> MW 1044.3, s.v *śakti*.

substance contained in the dried fruit. The first meaning is attested in Si 1.12 (Ch 4r5-4v1), in the description of the most important component of the body, (*cu ttaramdarä* . *şi' raysä u hųñä u gūśta u pī u ąstai u mijsā u sūkrrä* 'As for the body, it (is) chyle and blood and flesh and fat and bone and marrow and semen')<sup>420</sup> and Z 20.54, in a vivid description of corpses in a cemetery (*nāhune ggūne tcāra pī hūnä mäjsā māstai āşke hvī aśsucä bīysma bile* 'Nails, hairs, grease, fat, blood, marrow, brain, tears, sweat, faeces, urine, entrails').<sup>421</sup> As for the second meaning, in Si 21.17 (Ch 131r2-4) *mijsaā-* is considered one of the four oily substances employed against wind diseases (*śų'mye beta vaska tcaura tcārba haurą̃ñä* . *tta tta khu pī* . *mijsā* . *gvīhä* . *rruṃ* . *kujsavīnai rruṃ āstaṇna krra tcerai* 'For wind alone the four oily (substances) must be given. Treatment must be administered with (the four oily substances) namely, fat (Skt. *vasā*), marrow (Skt. *majjan*), cow oil (Skt. *ājya*), and sesame oil (Skt. *taila*)').<sup>422</sup> It is worth noticing that in both *Piṇḍaśāstra* (§§ 39 61 75 76 108) and *Jīvakapustaka* (§§ 41 (84v3) 46 (87v5)) *mijsaā-* always follows *tharka* 'walnut', with the only exception of PiŚ § 107, where *mijsaā-* occurs alone, and JP 46 (88r4) and 68 (102v3), where *mijsaā-* refers to bone-marrow (§ 46 *āsthī mījsā*, § 68 *mījsāya* ... *āsthi*).

The second word *mijsāka*- occurs only in Late Khotanese texts and must be derived from *mijsaā*- with the diminutive suffix -ka-.<sup>423</sup> Differently from the previously mentioned *mijsaā*-, *mijsāka*- is always followed by various kinds of fruits as, for instance, the belleric myrobalan in the *Siddhasāra* (Si §§ 26.28 (Ch 148v1-2) *vihīlai hīvī mijsākä*, 26.47 (Ch 150v4-5) *vihīlai hīya mijsāka*). In the *Piņḍaśāstra*, this word is more frequently found with the not yet identified ingredient  $gāņā-/guņā-,^{424}$  whose 'kernels' are often roasted (*pattauda*-) or burnt (*padīya*-). Alongside the occurrences in the *Siddhasāra*, *Jīvakapustaka*, and *Piņḍaśāstra*, *mijsāka*- appears also in the brief medical text contained in folio 100 of the Ch. ii.002 manuscript, the *Piņḍasaptaka*, as *gāņā pattoda mījsāka* 'roasted kernel of *gāņā*'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>420</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>421</sup> Text and translation from Emmerick 1968: 294-295. See also *Studies* 2.87-90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>422</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>423</sup> See Degener 1989: 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>424</sup> See below in the commentary, s.v. gāņā-/guņā-.

Finally, the third word *mijsākīnaa*- is the adjective derived from *mijsāka*- with the denominal suffix *īnaa*-.<sup>425</sup> To the best of my knowledge, this adjective is found only in the *Piņdaśāstra* (§§ 66 67) and is always followed by *rūna*- 'oil', referring to an unspecified 'kernel oil'.

uci jsa: 'water' see Emmerick in Studies 1.27, s.v. utcā-.

§ 7

ttriphalā- (*halīraa-*, *vihīlaa-*, and *aumalaa-*): The Indian *triphalā* is a well-recognised polyherbal medicine consisting of three fruits, namely Skt. *harītakī*, *vibhītakī*, and *āmalakī* (LKh. *halīraa-*, *vihīlaa-*, and *aumalaa-*). There is a general agreement in identifying these plants with two species of Combretaceae and one of Euphorbiaceae: *Terminalia chebula* Retz. for *harītakī*,<sup>426</sup> *Terminalia bellirica* Roxb. for *vibhītakī*,<sup>427</sup> and *Phyllanthus emblica* Linn. for *āmalakī*.<sup>428</sup> The use of the three myrobalans in the traditional medicine of India is attested already in the *Carakasamhitā*. In the first chapter of the *Cikitsāsthāna* (1.3.41-42), Caraka describes the famous *rasāyana* properties of *triphalā*, which promotes longevity and good health:

abhayāmekāṃ prāgbhuktād dve bibhītake | bhuktvā tu madhusarpirbhyāṃ catvāryāmalakāni ca || prayojayan samāmekāṃ triphalāyā rasāyanam | jīvedvarṣaśataṃ pūrṇamajaro+avyādhireva ca || (iti triphalārasāyanam |)

'One harītakī (fruit) after digestion, two bibhītaka (fruits) after meals and four  $\bar{a}$  malakī (fruits) after meals should be taken with honey and ghee for a year. This

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{425}{100}$  For the suffix -inaa- see Degener 1989: 133-138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>426</sup> On the uses and the characteristics of *harītakī* see Nadkarni 1954: 1.1205-11, Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 172-173, and Sharma 1996: 404-412.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>427</sup> On the uses and the characteristics of *vibhītakī* see Nadkarni 1954 : 1.1202-05, Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 505-506, and Sharma 1996: 266, s.v. *bibhītaka*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>428</sup> On the uses and the characteristics of  $\bar{a}malak\bar{i}$  see Nadkarni 1954: 1.480-84, Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 28-29, and Sharma 1996: 33-39.

triphalā rasāyana makes a person live for one hundred years devoid of old age and diseases. (Thus is triphalā rasāyana).<sup>429</sup>

However, *triphalā* is more than a rejuvenating formula. In fact, in the  $\bar{A}$ yurvedic tradition, the three myrobalans are recognised for their multiple therapeutic properties, perhaps comparable to a panacea. Together, or mixed with other ingredients, they promote digestion, alleviate respiratory problems, urinary diseases (prameha), skin diseases (kustha), etc.<sup>430</sup> Another excellent quality of *triphalā* is its beneficial effect against eye disorders, such as, for instance, *timira* 'darkness of the eye, partial blindness'.<sup>431</sup> This property is renowned in Late Khotanese medical texts, as well. In the Jīvakapustaka it is stated that halīraa-, vihīlaa-, and aumalaa- 'overcomes timira and all kinds of diseases in the eye' (§ 28 [74r4-5] tciña ttamīra jimda u bīśūna āchā) or, likewise, sa' rū ttamīrām janāka 'this fat [is] an overcomer of timira' (§ 29 [74v5, 75r1]).<sup>432</sup> Similarly in the PiŚ, the three fruits are employed against sandvena *tcimña rāhä* 'pain in the eye due to a combination (of the three *doşas*)' (§§ 2, 7), or 'due to bile and disturbance of the blood' pettana u hūnā āphārä (§ 5). In the remaining cases, the fruits of *triphalā* can be found in the preparation of a poultices that 'expels bile (and) phlegm in one's stomach and undigested (food) in the belly' (§ 10 petta ślismi khaysąna u ahana ama naspaśde), remove 'cough (and) disturbance of the breath' (§ 42 phāhi' uysänä āphārä jimdä), a poultice for the belly to tie on the navel (§62), and finally 'when the supports (of the intestines) swell' (§ 68 cū sambhāra hasvīmdä).

prūyā-: a measure of weight, see also Emmerick 1979a. Cf. other unit of measure in the *Piņdaśāstra: akṣara-, kabă-, mācāṃgā-, vasīya-, śiṃga-, ṣaṃga-,* and *sira-*.

#### § 8

arva: Cf. arūva mentioned below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>429</sup> Translation by Sharma 1998: 2.24

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>430</sup> See on other uses of *triphalā* Sharma 1996: 173-178; see on the uses of *harītakī* Dash 1999: 155-166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>431</sup> MW 447, s.v. *timira*. Emmerick: 'black spots in the eye'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>432</sup> Transcription and translation by Konow 1941: 38-39.

**kaṣā'a- 'decoction'**: LKh. kaṣā'a- is a loanword from Skt. kaṣāya, an adjective meaning 'astringent'. The Sanskrit term occurs also as a substantive masculine or neuter and denotes 'a decoction or infusion',<sup>433</sup> obtained by boiling water and several drugs together. In the PiŚ, Kh. kaṣā'a- occurs five times as NS (§ 8 kaṣā'), LS (§ 8 \*kaṣā'ña), and finally as IAS (§§ 89, 102 kaṣe'na, 104 kaṣe' jsa), where the IAS ending *-na* and the postposition *jsa* normally interchange in the Late Khotanese masculine *a*-declension.<sup>434</sup>

One expects that the word  $kay\bar{a}'a$ - belongs to a masculine declension, as a loanword from Skt.  $kay\bar{a}ya$ . What makes one suspicious is the agreement with the participle of the verb yan- in § 8. In fact, in the sentence  $yi' kay\bar{a}' h\bar{q}\bar{n}a tcir\bar{a}$  'the decoction must be put back into the vessel',  $tcir\bar{a}$  is a participle of necessity of the secondary declension (tceraa-) from the verb yan- 'to do' + L, meaning 'to put in', and should be declined as a NSm according to  $kay\bar{a}'$ . Therefore, one would theoretically expect the ending -ai (tcerai)<sup>435</sup> and not  $-\bar{a}$  as in  $tcir\bar{a}$ , which is the attested form of the NS feminine from the  $-a\bar{a}$ - secondary declension.<sup>436</sup> It is plausible that  $kay\bar{a}'$  (NSm) and  $tcir\bar{a}$  (NSf) do not agree grammatically due to an occasional copyist's mistake ( $-\bar{a} \dots -\bar{a}$  instead of  $-a \dots -ai$ ). However, it should not be ruled out that  $tcir\bar{a}$  indicates a linguistic change underway in Late Khotanese involving an incipient transfer of the masculine polysyllabic  $-\bar{a}a$ - declension to the feminine because of the formal ambiguity of some of their forms like  $kay\bar{a}'$ .

**būśąnai 'perfume'**: In the PiŚ, 'perfume' is expressed by *bua'*- ( $b\bar{u}$ ' § 13,  $b\bar{u}$ ' §§ 22 31, bu' § 93) and  $b\bar{u}s\bar{q}nai$  (§§ 8 (2×) 123). As for *bua'*-, it was derived by Emmerick from IIr. \**bauša*-(cf. *ggua'*- < IIr. \**gauša*-).<sup>437</sup> On the other hand,  $b\bar{u}s\bar{q}nai$  looks formally like an adjective from the verb *buss*- 'to be fragrant' and the suffix *-ānaa*-, forming middle present participles.<sup>438</sup> However, in the three occurrences of the *Pindasāstra*, the word is attested as a substantive together with *cimga*- 'Chinese', where *cigām būsą̃nai* literally means 'perfume of the Chinese'. This is confirmed by the parallels in the *Jīvakapustaka*, where *bussãnaa*- occurs several times

<sup>433</sup> MW 265, s.v. kaṣāya.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>434</sup> Cf. SGS 260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>435</sup> See the NS of the masculine -aa- declension in SGS 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>436</sup> Cf. SGS 300.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>437</sup> SGS 332.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>438</sup> Degener 1989: 82.

as a noun in *ttāgūttām būśāmni* 'Tibetan perfume'<sup>439</sup> (§§ 50 [94r4], 51 [95r2], 57 [97v4]) and in *svarņagūttaryāmga būśāmni* 'svarņagotra perfume'<sup>440</sup> (§§ 11 [58v4], 12 [60v2], 47 [91r1], 74 [105v1], 75 [106r4], 81 [110v5]). It is likely that *cigām būśānai* 'Chinese perfume' also refers to a specific plant, as in the cases of *ttāgūttām būśāmni* and *svarņagūttaryāmga būśāmni* in the JP (see fns. 439 and 440), but it has not been identified so far.

**akṣarā**: LKh. *akṣara*- is a loanword from Skt. *akṣa*-, a measure of weight. For the unit of measure in Khotanese medical texts see Emmerick 1979a. Cf. other unit of measure in the *Piņdaśāstra*: *kabă*-, *prūyă*-, *mācāņgā*-, *vasīya*-, *śiņga*-, *ṣaṃga*-, and *sira*-.

**śiṃgä:** LKh. *śiṃga*- is a loanword from Chinese 升 (shēng), a measure of weight. The Chinese 升 is equivalent to 1.035 litres and should correspond to the Sanskrit measure *prastha*. See on *śiṃga*- Emmerick 1979a and *Studies* 2.139-140. Cf. other unit of measure in the *Piṇḍaśāstra*: *akṣara*-, *kabă*-, *prūyă*-, *mācāṃgā*-, *ṣaṃga*-, and *sira*-.

sirä: LKh. *sira*- is a measure of weight. Bailey probably considers it a loanword, since he does not record it in his *Dictionary*. See on the unit of measure in Khotanese medical texts Emmerick 1979a. Cf. other measures in the *Pindaśāstra: akṣara-, kabā-, prūyā-, mācāmgā-, simga-*, and *ṣamga-*.

<sup>439</sup> Konow 1941: 91 translates *ttāgūttāņ būśāņni* as 'spices of the Tanguts', a plant that, according to him, corresponds to Skt. *aguru* 'the fragrant Aloe wood and tree, Aquilaria Agallocha' (cf. MW 5, s.v. *aguru*).

<sup>440</sup> Konow 1941: 103 translates svarņagūttaryāmga būśāmni as 'svarņagotra spices', a nard.

## 2. Second chapter: Poultices for the stomach

The second chapter of the *Pindaśāstra* deals with disorders affecting the stomach (LKh. *khāysāna*-). In the Khotanese *Siddhasāra*, the word for stomach (*khāysāna*-) correspond to Skt. *āmāśaya* 'the receptacle of the undigested food'.<sup>441</sup> Caraka provides us with a description of the functions of this important organ (Ca.Vi. 2.17-18):

nābhistanāntaram jantorāmāśaya iti smrtah

aśitaṃ khāditaṃ pītaṃ līḍhaṃ cātra vipacyate 🏻

āmāśayagataḥ pākamāhāraḥ prāpya kevalam |

pakvah sarvāśayam paścāddhamanībhih prapadyate ||

'Between navel and breast there is an organ named "āmāśaya" (stomach): eatable, chewables, drinkables and lickables are digested there. The food having gone to āmāśaya and having been digested there fully, its mature product thereafter reaches all the organs through blood vessels.'<sup>442</sup>

Accordingly, the stomach is responsible for one of the most important process of the body, i.e. the digestion of food. This process is described with the Sanskrit word *pācana* 'cooking', while the digestive force that 'cooks' the raw food is *agni* ('(digestive) fire') or *jāțharāgni* ('fire in the belly').<sup>443</sup> It is interesting to notice that, in the *Pindaśāstra* as well, the digestion is described with the LKh. verb *pajs*- 'to cook' at the 3S pres. ind. *paśtä* in the sentence of § 14 *khāysąña hāma bāva paśtä* 'it cooks a raw root in the stomach'.

## § 10

**rrājaa- 'pertaining to the plain'**: For *rrājaa*- 'pertaining to the plain' (§§ 10, 12, 26, 52, 53, 54, 81) see Degener 1989: 302 (§ 48.C.14.1 suffix -*ia*- forming adjective from noun) and 304 s.v.

<sup>441</sup> MW 146, s.v. āmāśraya.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>442</sup> Translation by Sharma 2014: 1.313.

<sup>443</sup> Wujastyk 2003: xviii.

 $rr\bar{a}jaa$ - (< \* $r\bar{a}gia$ -, from  $rr\bar{a}a$ - 'plain' < \* $r\bar{a}ka$ -). In *KT 3*, Bailey transcribes all the occurrences of  $rr\bar{a}jaa$ -  $namv\bar{a}$ - 'salt from the plain' as a compound name ( $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ - $namv\bar{a}$ ).<sup>444</sup> Even though a compound  $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ - $namv\bar{a}$ - is theoretically possible, it is advisable to follow Degener's suggestion because of the suffix -*ia*- and to consider  $rr\bar{a}jaa$ - as a regular adjective preceding the feminine noun  $namv\bar{a}$ -.

bimdä halīrai parkūnāñä . darye jsahāra nīśāñä: In his unpublished translation of § 10, Emmerick interprets *bimdä halīrai parkūnāñä . darye jsahāra nīśāñä* as 'it must be sprinkled on a split chebulic myrobalan, (and) placed on the belly'. In order to come to a better understanding of the phrase under consideration, let us begin with analysing this passage starting from *darye*.

*darye* is a GD form from a masc. sg. *dara*-. Bailey's explanation of *dara*- as an adjective meaning 'thick' and derived from *dar*- 'to hold together'<sup>445</sup> must be abandoned, as shown by Emmerick,<sup>446</sup> since *dara*- is a Late Khotanese spelling of an OKh. adj. *darra*- 'broken' (< IIr. \**drna*-). The word *dara*- takes on the specific meaning 'split, severed' in two *Siddhasāra* passages (Si 26.55 (Ch 151v5-152r3), 26.82 (Ch 155v2-3)), one of which (Si 26.55) resembles the passage in PiŚ § 10 and is translated by Emmerick as follows:

pātcä sauvīramją aumalai kā sam hamāte. cūņya gvīhä. rrū jsa u māksī' jsa hambrrīhānä **\*halīrąna āna gichauka thamjānä u ttena skāmakana hā tvā arva vistānä u darą hāmai jsa esalyānä**.[...]

Next, the powder (from) antimony (or) emblic myrobalan, whichever may be appropriate, must be mixed with cow oil and honey; the stone must be extracted from a chebulic myrobalan, and the medicament must be put into the \*hole, and the split (in the myrobalan) must be smeared with dough; [...]

In this passage, the author is describing the process of opening a chebulic myrobalan in order to place the medicament inside. As a following step, the broken fruit must be covered with an unspecified amount of dough. To describe the surface on which the dough must be smeared, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>444</sup> Differently from *Dict*. 361, s.v. *rrāja* where he quotes the occurrences with the adjective as *rrāja namva*, *rāja namva* and *rrāje namvena*.

<sup>445</sup> Dict. 152, s.v. dar-.

<sup>446</sup> Studies 1.54-55 s.vv. dara- and darra-.

translator adopted the substantivised adjective *dara*-, which Emmerick renders as 'the split (in the myrobalan)' (*darq*). In the same way, I suggest to regard the PiŚ GDSm *darye* as a noun, meaning 'of the split', differently from the original Emmerick's unpublished translation in which *darye* is considered an adjective referring to the preceding *bindä halīrai* ('on a split chebulic myrobalan'). This accounts better for the dot preceding *darye* in the manuscript.

Moving forward, in Emmerick's translation of § 10 *jsahāra* is interpreted as a LSm from *jsahāra*- 'belly', referred to the patient's body. Taking this into account, the medicament, after being sprinkled on the split myrobalan, should be placed on the patient's belly. However, *jsahāra* cannot be a locative since the normal ending of a LSm is -ia < IIr. \*- $ay\bar{a}$ .<sup>447</sup> Therefore, the regular outcome would be *jsahera*, where -e- is a consequence of the palatalization of  $-\bar{a}$ -before -r-, as is attested in the aforementioned paragraph 26.55 of the *Siddhasāra* (*jsehera*), in Z 20.41 (*jsahera*), and in *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* 181 (*jsahera*). A different interpretation of the phrase is suggested once again by Si 26.55:

bara-śījā hīvī besu jsa dą̃ña padajsą̃ñä . damdą khu hāmai sustą u dą̃mą jīye u esūjāñä u aysdemą̃ňą . **cu va halīrai jsehera arva hame sā' vā thamjāñą u kuţą̃ňą** . halīrā hāyse dīsą̃ňą tcemňa bese arvā hīye gvehaiskye jsa tceňa nesą̃ňä . ttemīrā jenāka . pīrmāttam hva ste

(the myrobalan) must be burned in a fire (made) with fuel of badaras (or) jujubes until the dough catches fire and the smoke ceases; and (the dough) must be burnt up and (the myrobalan) must be cooled. **What(ever) medicament is (still) there in the belly of the chebulic myrobalan, it must be extracted and pounded**. The chebulic myrobalans must be thrown away. (The remaining medicament) must be inserted in the eye by (means of) an instrument for (inserting) medicines in the eye. (This medicament) is said to be the best remover of (the disease of seeing) black spots

In this paragraph, *jsehera* refers figuratively to the belly of the fruit and not to the patient's body. In the same way, it is possible to consider the noun adjective *darye* in the GD as the specification of the nominative *jsahāra*, which agrees with the verb  $n\bar{s}\bar{s}\bar{a}n\ddot{a}$ . Accordingly, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>447</sup> Cf. SGS 260-262.

*Piņḍaśāstra* passage in § 10 can be translated as follows: *biṃdä halīrai parkū̯nā̃nä* . *darye jsahāra nīśā̃nä* 'it must be sprinkled on a (severed) chebulic myrobalan, (and) the belly of the split must be placed (on the patient's stomach)'.

## § 11

sachā- bāvā- 'Sida root' (*Sida cordifolia* Linn., *Sida rhombifolia* Linn., *Sida spinosa* Linn., *Abutilon indicum* Linn.): In the article 'Arsenic and Sida',<sup>448</sup> Emmerick provides evidences for the identification of the different varieties of the *sachā*- plant occurring in the Khotanese medical texts. Since the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Siddhasāra* and the Sanskrit *Jīvakapustaka* have been translated into Khotanese, it is known that *sachā*- *bāvā*- corresponds to Skt. *balā* and Tib. *ba-la*.<sup>449</sup> This drug is held in high regard by the Āyurvedic physicians, in particular for the exceptional qualities of its roots. Among the different varieties of *balā*- plants, mainly four kinds are employed in Āyurvedic medicine against all sorts of diseases (e.g. rheumatism, piles, wounds, difficult labours, etc.),<sup>450</sup> namely *balā*, *atibalā*, *nāgabalā*, and *mahābalā*.<sup>451</sup> These four types have been identified with different varieties of Sida, a genus of flowering shrubs from the Malvaceae family. There is a general agreement to equate *balā* primarily with *Sida cordifolia* Linn.,<sup>452</sup> *mahābalā* with *Sida rhombifolia* Linn.,<sup>455</sup>

In the Khotanese medical literature as well, different varieties of Sida have been identified as parallels of the above-mentioned  $bal\bar{a}$ - plants, i.e.  $sach\bar{a}$ - root, white  $sach\bar{a}$ - root, black  $sach\bar{a}$ - root, and red  $sach\bar{a}$ - root. The first one is expressed by the simple compound  $sach\bar{a}$ -bava-, which occurs in all the Khotanese medical texts. The second, 'white  $sach\bar{a}$ - root',

<sup>448</sup> Emmerick 1981: 93-102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>449</sup> For the occurrences in the Si and JP see also Emmerick 1981: 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>450</sup> For the medical use of this plant see Sharma 1996: 261-263.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>451</sup> Cf. Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 71-80 for the different varieties of *balā*-plants.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>452</sup> Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 71, Nadkarni 1.1134-1137, and Emmerick 1981: 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>453</sup> Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 74, Nadkarni 1.1137-1138, and Emmerick 1981: 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>454</sup> Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 74-75, and Nadkarni 1.1138. Emmerick 1981: 93 *Sida veronicaefolia* Lam., a variant of *Sida spinosa* Linn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>455</sup> Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 77-79, Nadkarni 1.8, and Emmerick 1981: 93.

is the translation of *śīya sacha bāva* occurring only in JP 7 (53v1) and 12 (60r4). The third 'black *sachā*- root' is found in Si 22.23 (Ch 135v3), JP 7 (53v2), PiŚ 11 and *Piṇḍasaptaka* (r4). Finally, the fourth 'red *sachā*- root' is expressed by *haija sacha bāva* (JP 7 [53v2]).

Furthermore, two additional varieties of the sachā- plants have been found in medical texts. However, their interpretation is more uncertain. The first one is dajūna sacha bāva (Pindasaptaka r4), literally 'flamed-coloured (or flaming) sachā root'. The Late Khotanese adjective  $daj\bar{u}na$  is formed of daji- 'flame' (< dajs- 'to burn')<sup>456</sup> and the suffix  $-\bar{u}na$ - (< IIr. \*gauna 'colour'))<sup>457</sup> and Emmerick suggests a possible yellow or white colour of the flowers.<sup>458</sup> The second term is found in PiŚ § 88 as mijejūna sachi perä 'leaves of mijejūna sacha'. According to Bailey, the meaning of LKh. mijejūna may be compared with dajūna of the Pindasaptaka and analysed as a compound of miji, translated as 'red-coloured', and ggūna-'colour'.<sup>459</sup> Bailey adduces in support of this interpretation the word *rijī-jum* 'of *rijī*- colour',<sup>460</sup> which he thinks may have undergone the same process of palatalisation. This analysis, though, raises morphophonological difficulties since it leaves unexplained the palatalisation of the -gin a hypothetical Late Khotanese compound  $m\bar{i}j\bar{i}-j\bar{u}na-$  < LKh.  $*m\bar{i}j\bar{i}-gg\bar{u}na-$ . This interpretation is implicitly rejected by Degener, who tentatively explains LKh. mījījūna- as an adjective containing the unknown word  $m\bar{i}j\bar{i}ja$ - and the suffix - $\bar{u}na$ - (< IIr. \*gauna 'colour') and suggesting the translation "rot" (?)'.<sup>461</sup> So far, I have not been able to find any further explanation for this word and, therefore, I decided to follow Degener's hint. Another possibility would be to interpret *mijejūna sachi perä* as two independent ingredients, where *mijejūna* is an unknown drug and sachi perä refers to the leaves of the sachā-plants, an alternative of the more common sachā-bāvā- ('sachā- root').

Nevertheless, Emmerick noticed that the different colours of the Khotanese *sachā*plants do not correspond to the actual colours of the flowers from the different varieties of the Sida plants, which are know to be yellow or orange. According to Emmerick, in fact, 'the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>456</sup> Cf. SGS 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>457</sup> Degener 1989: 169-170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>458</sup> Emmerick 1981: 98. Cf. also *Dict.* 150, s.v. *daja-gūna*.

<sup>459</sup> Dict. 331, s.v. mījī.

<sup>460</sup> *Dict.* 363, s.v. *rijī*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>461</sup> Degener 1989: 171.

evidence seems to suggest that the Khotanese identified the balā roots with their own sacha roots without equating any particular variety of balā with any particular variety of sacha'.<sup>462</sup>

## § 12

**dūvara- 'dropsy'**: The etymology of  $d\bar{u}vara$ - was already discussed by me in *IIJ* 65 (2022)<sup>463</sup> Here is a brief overview of my interpretation.

The technical term  $d\bar{u}vara$ - is attested exclusively in Late Khotanese medical texts. Kh.  $d\bar{u}vara$ - corresponds in the *Siddhasāra* and the *Jīvakapustaka* to Skt. *udara*- and Tib. *dmu rdzing* (Si 2.27 (Ch 14r4-5; P 155-158), 3.26.5 (Ch 20v2 *duvarä*), and 24.16 (Ch 140r1-2); JP 6 (52v2), 22 (67v4 [3×], 5 [2×]), 34 (97v3), 36 (81r2), 52 (95v3 *dūtira*), 80 (110r4), 88 (114v2)).<sup>464</sup> In the Piṇḍaśāstra, the term occurs three times in §§ 12, 22, 61, respectively in a poultice that 'will remove diseases in the stomach, swelling, and dropsy' (*khāysāña āchā jiṇṇdä*. *haśä u dūvarä*) and in two poultices that must be applied on the belly and the navel and that 'will remove dropsy and swelling' (*dūvarä jiṇṇdä u haśä*).

The Skt. word *udara*-, which originally refers to the external part of the digestive system (PIE \**ud*- 'outside'),<sup>465</sup> was adopted in medical literature to describe any pathological 'enlargement of the abdomen' including 'dropsy'.<sup>466</sup> However, *udara*- is not the direct source of the Khotanese  $d\bar{u}vara$ -. In fact, it should be regarded as a loanword from Skt. (*u*)*dakodara*-(from Skt. (*u*)*daka*- 'water' and *udara*- 'abdomen'), one of the eight kinds of 'abdominal swelling' mentioned in the canonical Āyurvedic literature. Phonology, though, indicates that this very specialized medical term have already entered Old Khotanese from Gāndhārī, as the aforementioned LKh. *saṃdvāta*- (§§ 2, 20, 104 'combination (of all the three *doṣas* in one and the same location)').

<sup>462</sup> Emmerick 1981: 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>463</sup> Luzzietti 2022: 229-235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>464</sup> Two more occurrences of *dūvara*- are attested in JP 68 (102v1) and 91 (115v5). However, in one case it has no Sanskrit counterpart (§ 68) and in the other it renders Skt. synonym *jațhara*- 'enlargement of the abdomen' (for references see Luzzietti 2022: 232 fns. 23 and 24).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>465</sup> See Ferrari 2022: 224.

<sup>466</sup> MW 184 s.v. udara.

The Old Indian voiceless velar stop k in *dakodara*- underwent sonorization and subsequent spirantization in Gāndhārī (k > g > g, cf. OInd. *loka*- > Gāndh. *loga-/loga*-) and it was the resulting Gāndh. \**dagodara*- that was borrowed into Old Khotanese as \**dagūvara*- [da ' $\gamma$ u:wara].<sup>467</sup> Intervocalic -*g*- [ $\gamma$ ] was dropped early in Old Khotanese causing a hiatus orthographically marked through -*g*- or -*t*- (cf. OIr. \**jakṛna*- > OKh. *gyagarra-/ jatärra*- 'liver'). Similarly, the hiatus caused by the loss of the intervocalic -*d*- in \**dagodara*- was filled with the glide -*v*- [w]. The outcome \**datūvara*- [da'?u:wara] was finally reduced to LKh. *dūvara*- by the usual syncope of OKh. pretonic short -*a*- in hiatus (cf. OKh. *natālsto* > LKh. *nāṣṭa* 'downwards').<sup>468</sup>

To conclude, Khotanese adopted LKh.  $d\bar{u}vara$ - (< OKh. \* $dat\bar{u}vara$ -  $\leftarrow$  Gāndh. \* $dag\bar{u}dara$ - < OInd. dakodara-) as a general term for 'abdominal swellings'. Considering the etymology, I here translate this medical term generically as 'dropsy'.

## §14

**bara śīmja (§§ 14, 61) 'jujube (***Ziziphus jujuba* **Mill.,** *Ziziphus mauritiana* **Lam.)'**: The plant *bara śīmja* occurs twice in the *Piņḍaśāstra*, in two poultices used to treat wind, wind-bile, and phlegm disorders, and other related conditions. Similarly, in the *Siddhasāra* (§ 3.22.8 [Ch 18v3-4]), this ingredient is known to be a remedy against diseases due to wind and bile (*bara śīji hīvī hīyārä bāta u ttavaṃdya jidä* 'the fruit of jujube śīji removes wind and bile').<sup>469</sup> As already pointed out by Emmerick,<sup>470</sup> LKh. *bara*- is a loanword from Sanskrit *badara*-,<sup>471</sup> that entered Old Khotanese early as \**batara*, which is indirectly attested in a fragment of the *Vimalakīrti* as the adjective *batarīgyo* 'from the *batara* tree'.<sup>472</sup> In fact, in the *Siddhasāra*, LKh. *bara*- renders

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>467</sup> An occurrence of the OKh. form is found in the compound name *daga-rakṣaysyām jsa* meaning 'with the water-demons' from an original Skt. *udaka-rākṣasa*. The word occurs in ms P 2787.79 (*KT* 2.104) within the 'Panegyric on King Viśa' Samgrāma', cf. Bailey 1965: 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>468</sup> Luzzietti 2022: 234.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>469</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>470</sup> Emmerick 1983: 46-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>471</sup> MW 719, s.v. *badara*.

 <sup>472</sup> KT 5.314 (Otani 3-4) sumisiñam nūhäna bararīgyo bāggaru. See also Skjærvø 1986: 243-244 (5.15.2) and Maggi 2022b: 126, fn. 19

Skt. *badara*, which occasionally alternates with the synonym *kola* and has been identified with the *Ziziphus jujuba* Mill. or *Ziziphus mauritiana* Lam., a fruit tree belonging to the *Rhamnaceae* family, also known in English as 'jujube tree'.<sup>473</sup>

On the other hand, the interpretation of *sīmja* is still not very clear. Bailey explains it as a Khotanese word, meaning 'the thorny jujube, zizyphus jujuba'.<sup>474</sup> In his interpretation, therefore, *bara* and *sīmja* are dyadic and refer to the same plant. However, Emmerick observed that *sīmja* is used independently from *bara*- in three passages of the *Siddhasāra* (Si 2.20 [Ch 13r2-3; P 133-135] *sīmja*, 2.21 [Ch 13r3-13v1; P 136-140] 23.19 [Ch 137v1-3] *sija* 'sīmja').<sup>475</sup> In these cases, *sīmja* corresponds to Skt. *dhava* (*Anogeissus latifolia* Roxb.)<sup>476</sup> which, according to Emmerick, shows a different meaning of the word when used by itself.

In my opinion too,  $s\bar{i}mja$  and *bara*  $s\bar{i}mja$  have to be considered two separate ingredients. The first  $s\bar{i}mja$  may have been borrowed from Skt. simsa or, most likely, from Skt.  $simsap\bar{a}$  (identified with the *Dalbergia sissoo* Roxb. or *Saraca asoca* Roxb.),<sup>477</sup> which is found in Si 2.20 as the counterpart of Kh.  $se' pacadä s\bar{i}mja$  ' $s\bar{i}mja$  of a second kind'. The Khotanese spelling  $s\bar{i}mja$  for Sanskrit simsa (Skt.  $-s- \rightarrow$  Kh. -j-) is not surprising, as M. Maggi showed in the occurrence of the Kh. word *dajagraiva* 'Dasagrīva' for Skt. *dasagrīva* (lit. 'the ten-necked') in Vim 197d.<sup>478</sup>

As for *bara śīmja*, I follow Bailey's assumption about the Iranian origin of *śīmja*. In this case, *bara śīmja* is an instance of what in linguistics is known as 'tautological compound' or, in other words, a compound based upon two synonyms units, and accordingly transcribed as *bara-śīmja*. This phenomenon is common also in other languages as, for instance, in Italian *Mongibello*, a compound of It. *monte* and Arabic *ğabal*, both meaning 'mountain' and used to refer to the Sicilian volcan Etna, or the more famous *Sahara* desert, where *Sahara* comes from Ar. *sahrā*' , (plural *sahāra*), (plural *sahāra*).

For the medical use of this plant see Nadkarni 1.1316 s.v. *Zyziphus jujuba* and Sharma 1996: 258-260 s.v. *badarī*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>474</sup> *Dict.* 399, s.v. *śīmja*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>475</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>476</sup> MW 513, s.v. *dhava*. For the medical use of this plant see Sharma 1996: 203, s.v. *dhava*.

<sup>477</sup> MW 1069, s.v. śimśapā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>478</sup> Maggi 2013: 143.

**gāņā-/guņā- 'a medicament'**: So far, I have not been able to identify the origin and the meaning of this plant.<sup>479</sup> The only occurrences found are in the PiŚ §§ 14 (gunan) 97 (ganan) 51 52 91 (gana), and 95 (gana) and in the *Pindasaptaka* (v4 gana *pattoda mījsāka* 'roasted kernel of gana'). All the occurrences mentioned are followed by the substantive *mijsāka*-'kernel, marrow', which occasionally can be employed in preparations as roasted or burnt.<sup>480</sup>

A possible explanation would be to consider LKh.  $gun\bar{a}$ - a Sanskrit loanword from fem.  $gun\bar{a}$ -. This plant is mentioned in the  $R\bar{a}janighantu$  (24.50-51), the largest extant medical lexicon composed by Narahari probably around the fifteenth or sixteenth century,<sup>481</sup> and is considered a synonym of  $m\bar{a}msarohin\bar{n}$ . The plant  $m\bar{a}msarohin\bar{n}$  has been identified as *Soymida febrifuga* A. Juss.<sup>482</sup> However, I have not found any evidence of the existence or use in medical products of the kernels of this herb and, accordingly, I decided to leave the occurrences of  $g\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ -/gun $\bar{a}$ - untranslated.

**śī śaśvāṃ 'white mustard'** (*Brassica campestris* Linn.): *śī śaśvāṃ* translates Skt. *śveta-sarṣapa* 'white mustard'. See Emmerick 1967 for the use of the word *śaśvāna-* to illustrate difference in size in Buddhist literature. See Sharma 1996: 388-390 for the use of Skt. *sarṣapa* in Āyurvedic texts.

**Tramde 'castor-oil plant'** (*Ricinus communis* Linn.): This botanical term has traditionally been identified as a loanword from Sanskrit *eranda*, a term denoting the plant *Ricinus communis* Linn. of the Euphorbiaceae family, commonly referred to as the 'castor-oil plant' in English. However, if one consider it as a noun derived from  $\bar{i}ramda$ -, this term exhibits an irregolar declension. Remarkable is the occurences of various NS in *-e* typically associated In Late Khotanese with the NS of the *aa*-declension. Below, I present a summary of instances within the PiŚ, Si, and JP:

<sup>479</sup> Cf. Dict. 82, s.v. gāņām.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>480</sup> See above, s.v. *mijsaā*-, *mijsāka*, *mijsākīnaa*-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>481</sup> See also Meulenbeld 1999-2000: 2A 265-270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>482</sup> For references see Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2B 195, fn. 312.

	PiŚ	Si	JP
NS	<i>īraņde</i> 14 22 32 39 50	īraņde 2.1, 2.29	īraņde 6
	51 75 107 108		īrāņde 9
	<i>į̃ramde</i> 27 55 70 125		
	<i>īrade</i> 14 (P 2889) 27		
	(P 2889)		
GDS		<i>īraņda</i> 14.20, 26.10,	<i>īraņdibā</i> ('root of
		26.12	castor-oil plant) 27
		<i>īraņdą</i> 21.32	īraņdä (+ bāva) 48
			īraṃdä (+ bā) 69
GDP	īraṃdāṃ	<i>īraṃdāṃ</i> 23.19	iraṃdāṃ

The consistent regularity of the occurrences of a NS form in *-e* suggests instead the possibility of a loanword originating from the attested Sanskrit term *erandaka*, which lead to a LKh. form *īrandaa*-. The meaning would still align with the original, referring to the 'castor-oil plant'.<sup>483</sup>

In terms of the properties of this substance, they are diverse and they can be extracted from the seeds, leaves, and roots. It is considered an anti-inflammatory against rheumatism or arthritis and a remedy for different disorders, as for instance dysentery, ascites, piles, cough, and headache. It alleviates splenic disorders, impurity of blood, fever, scrotal enlargement, colic, inflammation of the intestine, and diseases due to *vāta* ('wind') and *kapha* ('phlegm').<sup>484</sup> Similarly, in the *Pindaśāstra* poultices of crushed seeds mixed with various ingredients (e.g. milk, liquor, or sesame oil) are used against diseases of wind (§125) and phlegm (§ 14), cough (§§ 14, 39), splenic disorders (§§ 50, 51, and 55), rheumatism (§ 108), different kinds of swelling (§§ 14, 22, 27, 29, 32, and 39), disorders of the female womb (§ 75), and to promote suppuration (§ 32).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>483</sup> MW 232.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>484</sup> See on the properties and the uses of *eranda* Nadkarni 1954: 1.1065-1070, Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 149-150, and Sharma 1996: 61-66.

## 3. Third chapter: poultices for swellings

The third chapter of the *Pindaśāstra* (§§ 15-34) is devoted to the preparation of poultices against general swellings. Within the twenty paragraphs, three distinct Late Khotanese words, perhaps with a slightly different meaning, are used to refer to this condition: *haśa-*, *hasvaā-*, and *paṣkāsaā-*. From an etymological perspective, *hasvaā-* seems unproblematic, since it can be readily explained as derived from *\*hasutakā-* to an attested ppp. *\*hasuta-*, from the verb *hasv-* 'to swell' (< IIr. *\*pra-sav-*).<sup>485</sup> The Late Khotanese *paṣkāsaā-* derives instead from the inchoative verb *paṣkaus-* ('to swell')<sup>486</sup> and is translated by Degener as "Blähbauch" (Name einer Krankheit)'.<sup>487</sup> In *Dict.* Bailey explains the verb as deriving from IIr. *\*pa(ti)-skauk-*,<sup>488</sup> while Emmerick does not offer any etymology.<sup>489</sup> Since *paṣkāsaā-* in medical texts may correspond to Skt. *ānāha*, it is likely that this term refers to a swollen abdomen due to constipation. On the other hand, the process of development of LKh. *haśa-* is obscure. Degener advances two hypothesis. Firstly, LKh. *haśa-* may represent the general palatalisation of the stem *\*haśś-* from an uncertain *\*hasā-*. Secondly, LKh. *haśa-* may be a derivation of OKh. *\*haśśā-* < IIr. *\*pra-spā-* (cf. Av. *spā-* 'aufschwellen'), which seems problematic but possible.<sup>490</sup>

In the *Siddhasāra* the first two terms, *haśa-* and *hasvaā-*, correspond to the more frequent Sanskrit word *śopha* 'morbid swelling',<sup>491</sup> while *paṣkāsaā-* is the translation of Skt.  $\bar{a}dhm\bar{a}na$  'intumescence, swelling of the body'<sup>492</sup> and  $\bar{a}n\bar{a}ha$  'constipation'<sup>493</sup> Even though the etymology of the Late Khotanese words is not entirely clear, the Sanskrit parallels and the relatively clear contexts lend each other support on understanding the main topic of this long chapter, which deals with swellings originated from different causes. A concise but accurate

- <sup>489</sup> SGS 77, s.v. *paşkaus*-.
- <sup>490</sup> Degener 1989: 12.
- <sup>491</sup> MW 1092, s.v. *sopha*.
- <sup>492</sup> MW 139, s.v. *ādhmāna*.
- <sup>493</sup> MW 140, s.v. *ānāha*.

<sup>485</sup> Degener 1989: 12. See also SGS 151, s.v. *hasv*-.

<sup>486</sup> SGS 77, s.v. *paṣkaus*-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>487</sup> Degener 1989: 15. See also Degener 1989: 13-14.

<sup>488</sup> Dict. 223, s.v. paşkos-.

definition of the term *haśa*-, which occurs in the chapter heading and hence includes *hasvaā*and *paṣkāsaā*-, is found in a Si 24.1 (Ch. 138r5):

cu bure sam haśą īye gunai-v-ī ṣai'kä cu askhaukara hame .

'Whatever swelling it may be, its characteristic is this: that a protuberance occurs.'<sup>494</sup>

The idea of Skt. *sopha* as a general swelling, which may appear at any part of the body and is characterised by a round shape, is shared also by the three authors of the canonical Āyurvedic treatises, Caraka, Suśruta, and Vāgbhaṭa. In terms of both disease classification and its description, there exists slight variation among the three authors. *Sūtrasthāna* 18 of the *Carakasaṃhitā* gives an account of the various types of swellings, here called *sotha*,<sup>495</sup> which are caused by *vāta*, *pitta*, and *kapha* (separately or combined) and are either exogenous or endogenous (Ca.Sū. 18.7-8). A considerable number of various localised swellings is described in *Cikitsāsthāna* 12, in which the condition is known as *śvayathu*. In Vagbatha's *Aṣṭāǹgaḥrdayasaṃhitā*, the treatment of *śopha* is briefly discussed in the seventeenth chapter of the *Cikitsāsthāna*.

A more in-depth analysis is instead provided by the *Suśrutasamhitā*, in which the description of the aetiology, characteristics, and treatments of swellings is divided into two chapters. A first discussion occurs in *Sūtrasthāna* 17, where six kinds of swelling appearing in different body parts are described. The six types of *sopha*, each having specific characteristics, are due to one of the three *doṣas*, all of them together, blood, or trauma (Su.Sū. 17.4). A swelling caused by *vāta* can be identified mainly by the reddish or blackish hue of the skin and by a strong pain. A swelling due to *pitta* is generally yellowish, soft, and, when pressed, moves from one side of the body to another, causing a burning and painful sensation. A swelling brought about by *kapha* is grey or whitish, shiny and cold, painful and itching. When it arises from the three *doṣas* together (*saṃnipāta*), the swelling shows the symptoms and the characteristics of each of them. A swelling due to vitiated blood or to a trauma has the same symptoms of *pitta-sopha*. Besides knowing the different kinds of swelling, a real expert in the healing art (Skt. *vaidya*) should be able to recognise the three different stages of a swelling

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>494</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>495</sup> See MW 1091, s.v. *sotha* 'a swelling, tumour, morbid intumescence, dropsy'.

(17.6), which can be unripe (Skt. *āma*), ripening (Skt. *pacyamāna*), and ripe (Skt. *pakva*) (17.5). An immature stage is characterised by a small pain, by coldness, and by being slightly elevated. A ripening stage begins with a pricking and burning pain, when the skin shows change of colour and when fever, thirst, and other symptoms arise. When eventually the swelling matures, there is an improvement in the patient's general state. Even though pus appears, pain and swelling gradually decrease, appetite is regained, and skin recovers its natural colour (17.7-8). Moreover, only a well-trained physician knows when a swelling is ready to be opened and how to prepare the patient before the surgery. Finally, seven kinds of surgical treatments are described.

A second discussion about *sopha* is found in Suśruta's *Cikitsāsthāna* 23. In this chapter, the author provides more information regarding a second type of swelling, *sarvasara* ('anasarca'), further divided into five subgroups due to *vāta*, *pitta*, *sleṣman*, *saṃnipāta*, and *viṣa* ('poisons') (Su.Ci. 23.3). The symptoms of the first four kinds coincide with those described in Su.Sū. 17, while the *viṣa-śopha* is described as soft, moving rapidly through the body, and characterised by a burning sensation and presence of pus (23.8). The chapter then proceeds to discuss both general and specific treatments of *śopha*.

The Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra*, and therefore its Tibetan and Khotanese translations, follow the *Suśrutasamhitā* in its description of swellings, to which more than half of chapter 24 is devoted. Noteworthy are the parallelisms between Si 24.1-6 and Su.Sū. 17.4-5, where the features of the six kinds of *śopha* are delineated. Another similarity is found in Si 24.7 and Su.Ci. 23.6-7, where the *doṣas*' position in the body influences the outbreak of swellings. In *Cikitsāsthāna* 23, *doṣas* can give rise to swellings of the upper, middle, or lower part of the body depending if they are located respectively in the *amāśaya*, *pakvāśaya*, or *malāśaya*:

bhavanti cātra doṣāḥ śvayathumūrdhvaṃ hi kurvantyāmāśayasthitāḥ

pakvāśayasthā madhye ca varcahsthānagatāstvadhah ||

krtsnam dehamanuprāptāh kuryuh sarvasaram tathā

śvayathurmadhyadeśe yah sa kastah sarvagaśca yah ||

'The aggravated Doshas of the body confined in the stomach (amāśaya) give rise to a swelling in the upper part of the body. Confined in the intestine (pakvāśaya), they give rise to a swelling in the middle part of the body. If they are confined in the receptacle of the faeces (malāśaya), the lower part of the body becomes swollen. The swelling extends all over the body in the event of their (Doshas) being diffused throughout the organism'<sup>496</sup>

Si 24.7 differs from Su.Ci. 23.6-7 in those swellings arising in the lower part of the body, due to dosas residing in the *pakvāśaya*:<sup>497</sup>

de la (1) nad gzhi pho bahi nang na gnas na ni  $\mid$  ro stod skrang bar 'gyur ro  $\mid$ 

(2) nad gzhi long gahi nang na gnas na ni  $\mid$  ro smad du skrang bar 'gyur ro  $\mid$ 

(3) nad gzhi bar na gnas na ni bar du skrang bar 'gyur ro

(4) nad gzhi thams cad du khyab na ni | lus ril gyis skrang bar 'gyur ro ||

'In that (connection), (1) if the (affected) humours (dosaih) reside in the receptacle of undigested food ( $\bar{a}m\bar{a}\dot{s}aya-sthais$ ) there will be swelling in the upper part (upary) of the body; (2) if the humours reside in the receptacle of digested food ( $pakv\bar{a}\dot{s}aya-gatair$ ) there will be swelling in the lower part (adhah) of the body; (3) if the humours reside in the middle part (madhya-gatair) (of the body) there will be swelling in the middle (madhye); (4) if the humours penetrate ( $-vy\bar{a}p\bar{i}$ ) the whole (sarva-) (body) there will be swelling of the entire body (sarva-gaih)'.

With regard to the *Pindaśāstra*, the information provided by the above-mentioned medical treatises may help to identify the various swellings portrayed in the *Pindaśāstra*. I will, therefore, analyse each paragraph to see if a distinction exists. I divided the comment on this chapter into three distinct sections. In fact, I have reason to believe that the word *haśa*, and its synonyms, has been used to refer to different diseases, having in common the enlargement or

<sup>496</sup> Bhishagratna 1911: 2.476.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>497</sup> For a better understanding of this *Siddhasāra*'s passage, I decided to quote the Tibetan text and translation (Emmerick 1982: 340-343).

the inflammation of a body part. The first subdivision includes the twelve initial paragraphs (§§ 16-27) and is related with swelling in the abdominal area; the second one is comprised of only two paragraphs (§§ 28, 29) and is connected with the disease of swollen feet; lastly, the remaining paragraphs (§§ 30-34) are devoted to cure skin swelling.

#### 3.1 Swelling in the abdominal area

In this first section different substances are employed in the cure of swelling occurring in the ventral region. For instance, § 22 describes the preparation of a poultice that must be placed warm on the patient's 'bad belly' (*dirye urä*) and is used as a therapy against dropsy and swelling. From § 24 to § 27, the medicaments are tied directly on the stomach (LKh. *khāysāna-*, Skt. *āmāśaya*) to alleviate swelling (*haśa*), pain in the belly (§ 27 *jsahera vīne*), and a swollen belly due to constipation (§ 24 *paṣkāsā*).

Differently from the *Siddhasāra* or the major canonical Āyurvedic texts, the concise paragraphs of the *Piņḍaśāstra* present few details about the diseases they are intended to cure. As a matter of fact, the various kinds of swelling are distinguished in some passages simply by their colour and their cold or hot state. Paragraph 17 is a first example in this respect. Here, a preparation made from churning wheat flour with an infusion of *aysā'ya* (or *aysāya*), an unknown ingredient occurring solely in the *Piṇḍaśāstra* (§§ 14, 17, 24),<sup>498</sup> is said to remove *sāḍa hasve* 'cold swellings'. Among the six kinds of swelling listed in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, only one is described as 'cold', which is the 'swelling due to phlegm' (*śleṣmaśophaḥ*). According to Su.Sū. 17.4

śleșmaśophah pāṇḍuḥ śuklo vā kaṭhinaḥ **śitaḥ** snigdho mandānusārī kaṇḍvādayaścātra vedanāviśeṣā bhavanti

'a swelling, brought about through the deranged condition of the kapham, assumes a grey or whitish colour. The skin becomes glossy and **cold**, and the swelling very slowly changes its original site, if it shifts at all, accompanied by pain and itching'.<sup>499</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>498</sup> See also *Dict*. 6. s.v. *aysāya*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>499</sup> Bhishagratna 1907: 1.156.

Although PiŚ 17 does not give further details about the visible signs of this condition, it is possible to suppose that the Khotanese  $s\bar{a}da$  hasve ('cold swellings') may refer to the same swelling described by Suśruta.

A second and unequivocal type of swelling occurs in § 20, where a poultice made from eight ingredients (sesame, linseed, green beans, rice, yellow flowers, liquorice, milk, and cow oil) seemingly 'will remove swellings due to a combination (of the *doşas*) (*saṃnipāta*) (and) it will purify blood vitiated by wind' (*saṃdvena haśä jiṃdä . bina hū̃nä vasūje*). As already described above, a swelling due to *saṃnipāta* shares the characteristics (colours and symptoms) of all the three *doṣas*. As of my current knowledge, I have not come across any equivalent prescription to the therapy mentioned in PiŚ 20 within the Āyurvedic texts of Caraka, Suśruta, and Vāgbhaṭa. For instance, in the *Cikitsāsthāna*, Suśruta recommends drinking a decoction of clarified butter cooked with one *pātra*<sup>500</sup> of the milky sap from *snuhi*-plant<sup>501</sup> and twelve *pātras* of fermented rice gruel mixed with the essence of *danti* (Su.Ci. 11 *sannipātaśvayathau snuhīkṣīrapātraṃ dvādaśabhiramlapātraiḥ pratisaṃsrjya dantīdravantīpratīvāpaṃ sarpiḥ pācayitvā pāyayet*).

More frequent in the *Pindaśāstra* is the occurrence of *hemjā- haśa-* ('red swelling'), whose treatments are expounded in §§ 19, 21, 23, 24, and lastly § 31, the explanation of which will be discussed separately. The first three paragraphs are very brief prescriptions differing only in the type of ingredients, while § 24 comes as a more elaborated poultice of nine components, whose properties supposedly cure the two swellings *haśa-* and *paşkāsaā-*. In the *Siddhasāra*, the colour red is said to be a characteristic of the swelling due to wind (§ 24.2 *cu ba'ta jsa hamya līka haśą gunā* . [...] *cha-v-ī haryāsa hame u hemją* 'as for the characteristics of swelling that has arisen due to wind, [...] its complexion becomes black and red')<sup>502</sup> and the one due to bile (§ 24.3 *cu ttavamdye jsa hamye līkye haśa gunā* . [...] *u ysīca* . *u hemja* 'as for the characteristics of swelling that has arisen due to bile, (they are:) [...] yellow and red').<sup>503</sup> On the other hand, in the Indian earliest tradition the part of the skin affected by the disease becomes reddish only in case of swellings arising from wind (see Ca.Sū. 18.7.1 and Su.Sū.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>500</sup> 'a measure of capacity' MW 613, s.v. *pātra*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>501</sup> See on Skt. *snuhī* (LKh. *sūdā-kṣīrä*) Ferrari 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>502</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{503}{100}$  Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

17.4).Unfortunately, no further information is given in the *Pindaśāstra* regarding the Khotanese *hemjā- haśa-* 'red swelling', making its identification more challenging.

The remaining paragraphs of this first subdivision (§§ 18, 22, 25, 26, and 27) do not mention any specific marks of the *haśa*-disease and most likely are generic treatments. It cannot be ruled out that the *Piņḍaśāstra* does not rigorously distinguish between the various classes of swellings, as it occurs in the *Siddhasāra* and in the Indian Āyurvedic texts such as the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, but simply identify *haśa*- (Skt. *śopha*) with a localised swelling often accompanied by redness and pain.

#### 3.2 Swelling of the feet

The second group of poultices for swellings (PiŚ §§ 28, 29) is devoted to the treatment of a type of swelling located in the feet. As mentioned above, the initial paragraphs of *Siddhasāra*'s chapter 24 offer details about the treatment of Skt. *sopha* (24.1-17) but, interestingly, the following §§ 24.18-20 are also devoted to the cure of another type of swelling, called *slīpada* (LKh. *selīpadmą*), a 'morbid enlargement of the leg' also called 'elephantiasis'.<sup>504</sup> This condition, known as lymphatic filariasis, is usually caused by parasitic worm infections and is characterised by the enlargement of body parts, especially the limbs.<sup>505</sup> In the Khotanese Si 24.18, *slīpada* is described as follows:

selīpadmą nāma āchai pī u guste vū pārautta dva-v-ī pā hasvīmdä sā pā drrayā dūsā' jsa . buda va selīsā purrdą stāna hame peskece jsa drrai-padya hame . dusā' hīya ttā hva hva gunā nijsvāñāre

The disease called 'elephantiasis' is based on fat and flesh. His two feet swell. Now that (elephantiasis) arises (if one is) being overcome by the three humours – the phlegm is dominant among them – (and) it becomes threefold by (reason of this) analysis. (The three kinds of elephantiasis) exhibit the respective characteristics of the humours.<sup>506</sup>

<sup>504</sup> MW 1104, s.v. ślīpada.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>505</sup> See Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1B.117 for an extensive bibliography on filariasis in India.

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{506}{100}$  Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

Not only in the *Siddhasāra ślīpada* is known to be initially located in the feet, but also in Caraka's *Cikitsāsthāna* it is said to occur 'in shanks starting from feet to the calf muscles' <sup>507</sup> (Ca.Ci. 12.98). The *Suśrutasaṃhitā* differs slightly in the description of the origin of *ślīpada* in that it identify its starting-point 'in the thighs, knee-joints, legs and the inguinal regions' <sup>508</sup> until it finally spreads to the feet (Su.Ni. 12.10 *vaṅkṣaṇorujānujaṅghāsvavatiṣṭhamānāḥ kālāntareṇa pādamāśritya śanaiḥ śophaṁ janayanti*).

Although the *Pindaśāstra* does not refer to 'elephantiasis' with the Late Khotanese technical term *śelīpadmą* adopted in the *Siddhasāra*, the disease described in §§ 28-29 is likely to be the same. Certainly noteworthy is the use in this context of *hasvaā*-, rather than the more frequent *haśa*-. The occurrence of *hasvaā*- also in § 126, in a poultice that should be applied 'when the lower waist produces downward swellings' (*cū na myām nāṣțā \*hasvi īmde*), may support the hypothesis of a specialised meaning of this term, denoting a swelling of the lower body parts.

### 3.3. Skin swelling

The last section (§§ 30-34) is devoted to a form of the *haśa-* disease affecting the skin. It is characterised by being red and hot (§ 31 *heņje ttaudye haśä*), possibly due to some kind of inflammation, and occasionally firm (§ 33 *styūda*). A poultice is described to allow the ripening of the inflamed area (§ 32 *hųma bāva paśtä* litt. 'it matures a raw root') or, alternatively, to remove pus when this is already mature (§ 34 *şi' ysų̃rgä viranāņ haśä jinākä peṇḍai* 'this poultice is a remover of suppurating swelling of the wounds'). In contrast with the previous finding, however, I have not been able to find similarities between this last group of poultices and the final part of the *Siddhasāra*'s chapter 24. Si 24.21-31 deal, in fact, with the disorders called *gala-gaṇḍa, gaṇḍa-mālā* (two enlargement of the thyroid gland at the base of the neck), *granthi*, and *arbuda*, which are all treated by surgery or cauterisation.

#### § 18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>507</sup> Sharma 1998: 2.202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>508</sup> Bhishagratna 1911: 2.83.

**j(am)b(a)( )drre:** in *Dict.* s.v. *jbdrre* Bailey suggests to read \**jabdrre* or \**jabadrre* but the interpretation proposed by him as 'possibly to the base *gab-* "excellent" is not convincing.<sup>509</sup> This unique word owes its existence to an unusually extended and complex *akṣara*. Taking a look at the manuscript (Fig 1.), four distinct characters are actually visible between the two dots that separate this word from the other ingredient. These characters appear to correspond rather clearly to the syllables identified by Bailey as *jbdrre*. However, despite thorough research conducted in Khotanese and other languages, no ingredients corresponding to these syllables have been discovered.



Fig. 1, § 18 (P 2893.85)

Another possible approach is to interpret this word as an abbreviation for the name of an ingredient. While abbreviations are rare, this cannot be entirely ruled out. In fact, potential candidate is suggested by Si 2.2 (Ch 10r2-4; P 74-79), where the term LKh. *jamba drraya* appears.<sup>510</sup> Cross-referencing with the Sanskrit Siddhasāra indicates that this ingredient is a loanword from Skt. *jambūtrayam* 'the three *jambū*'.The Khotanese translation comes to our help further elaborating on the names: *jambi, jalajambi*, and *mahājambā*. The term *jambū* has been associated with several types of *Myrtaceae*,<sup>511</sup> including *Syzygium cumini* Linn., *Syzygium fruticosum* DC., *Syzygium jambos* Linn., *Syzygium caryophyllaeum* Gaertn., *Syzygium operculatum* Gamble, *Syzygium rubicundum* Wight et Arn., *Syzygium herbacea* Roxb., *Ardisia humilis* Vahl. This plant, often called in English 'roseapple' and whose fruits and bark serve medicinal purposes,<sup>512</sup> could potentially be the ingredient mentioned in the *Pindaśāstra*. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>509</sup> *Dict.* 113, s.v. *jbdrre*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>510</sup> I want to express my thanks to Mauro Maggi and Alessandro del Tomba for their helpful advice on this difficult part of the text. Once again, their insights have been enlightening.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>511</sup> See Meulenbeld 1974: 555-556.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>512</sup> See Sivarajan and Balachandran 1999: 188-190 and Sharma 1996: 147-148.

abbreviated syllable *jb*- might denote *jamba*, while the ending *-ddre* could be the numeral *drraya* 'three'. Therefore, I suggest integrating the text as follows: j(am)b(a)()drre.

### § 22

# gurgula 'Indian bdellium' (Balsamodendron mukul Hook. (= Commiphora mukul Eng.) or Boswellia glabra Roxb. (= Boswellia serrata Roxb.))

Three occurrences of *gurgula bua*', literally '*gurgula* perfume', are attested in Late Khotanese medical texts. The first one is found in the *Pindaśāstra* (§ 22), in a poultice against swelling and dropsy, while the other two occur in the *Siddhasāra*, in a group of drugs employed as a cure against pimples, itches, poison, wind, and phlegm (§ 2.4 [Ch 10v1-4; P 83-88]) and in a decoction against swelling disease (§ 24.12 [Ch 139v2-3]). Even though in the *Siddhasāra* passages the word corresponds to Skt. *pura*, both Tibetan *gu-gul* and Khotanese *gurgula* are direct loanwords from Skt. *gulgulu*.<sup>513</sup>

From the botanical point of view, *gulgulu* and its synonyms (*mahiṣākṣa*, *palaṃkaṣa*, and *pura*)<sup>514</sup> have been identified with *Balsamodendron mukul* Hook. or *Commiphora mukul* Eng., a flowering and thorny shrub or small tree from the Burseraceae family, commonly known in English as 'Indian bdellium' or 'gum-gugul'.<sup>515</sup> The *gulgulu* gum is renowned for its oily resin, whose fragrance resembles myrrh, and is often used in incense, perfume, or medical pastes, and ointments. In addition, *gulgulu* is also equated with *kapitthaparnī*, a similar plant identified with *Boswellia glabra* Roxb. or *Boswellia serrata* Roxb.<sup>516</sup> This shrub is known in English as the 'Indian olibanum' or 'Frankincense', whose 'fragrant resin is largely consumed as an incense in houses especially during religious ceremonies'.<sup>517</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>513</sup> Dragoni 2022:104-105 suggests a possible derivation of the loanword *kurkal* 'bdellium' in Tocharian B from a LKh. *gurgula* and hypothetically dates the borrowing after the Old Khotanese stage. See also Emmerick 1985a: 303.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>514</sup> Si.Ni 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>515</sup> Nadkarni 1954: 167-170

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>516</sup> Zysk 1985: 258.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>517</sup> Nadkarni 1954: 211-212.

The employment of this shrub, and in particular of its resin, is widely attested in different traditions of many Indian medical systems (e.g. Siddha, Tantric, Unani, and Āyurvedic medicine). Our first knowledge on the uses of the *gulgulu* (or *guggulu*) plant dates back to the earliest textual evidence of Indian medicine, in particular in Vedic sources, where herbs and trees were considered important ritual objects with healing properties. One of the first occurrences is recorded in the Atharvaveda, in a woman's ceremonial rite, performed by the religious officiant in order to obtain a husband. In the last verses of the hymn (AVŚ 2.36.7-8), the *gulgulu* plant is listed together with gold and *aukṣa*,<sup>518</sup> possibly a fragrant product or a balsam:

idaṃ hiraṇyaṃ gulgulv ayam aukṣo atho bhagaḥ ete patibhyas tvām aduḥ pratikāmāya vettave ā te nayatu savitā nayatu patir yaḥ pratikāmyaḥ

'Here is gold, bdellium; here [is] *āukṣá*, likewise fortune; these have given thee unto husbands, in order to find one according to thy wish. Hither let Savitar conduct for thee, conduct a husband that is according to thy wish; do thou assign [him] to her, O herb'.<sup>519</sup>

While the ritual was recited, the maid may have been fumigated or anointed with the *gulgulu* and *aukṣa*, and adorned with gold. Perhaps, this pleasant scent combined with the incantation may have attracted into the room a benevolent demon, which would have helped her to obtain the love of a husband. Alternatively, these items may have been offered as the woman's dowry.<sup>520</sup> With reference to this passage, Zysk pointed out that the *gulgulu* plant 'was brought from afar by means of maritime trade. This tended to make it valuable and expensive commodity which is listed along with gold,  $\bar{a}ukṣa$  (peraphs an ointment) and fortune [...] Such

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>518</sup> According to Bloomfield 1897: 324 'it seems to be simply "bull's grease" or 'balsam'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>519</sup> Ed. Orlandi 1991 (consulted online on 31 July 2023 http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1\_sanskr/1\_veda/1\_sam/avs\_acu.htm); trans. Whitney and Lanman 1905: vol. 1, 82-83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>520</sup> See also Bloomfield 1897: 322-325.

an early mention of the auspicious uses of this scent is significant especially in light of the later uses of incense and fumigation in India'.<sup>521</sup>

In addition to being known as a valuable product acquired from far by trade, the *gulgulu* plant was also held in high regard for its healing properties against *yákṣma* disease. This disease was caused by supernatural entities, which after possessing the person's body gave rise to a wide range of disorders, whose symptoms have been identified with consumption (tubercolosis).<sup>522</sup> In AVŚ 19.38 a charm is recited to expel an internal demon, while burning *gulgulu* and invoking its power:

na taṃ yakṣmā arundhate nainaṃ śapatho aśnute yaṃ bheṣajasya gulguloḥ surabhir gandho aśnute viṣvañcas tasmād yakṣmā mr̥gā aśvā iverate yad gulgulu saindhavaṃ yad vāpy asi samudriyam ubhayor agrabham nāmāsmā aristatātaye

'Neither the *yáksmas*, O Arundhatī, nor a curse reaches him whom the pleasent scent of the medicinal *gulgulu* (bdellium) reaches from him [who is permeated with its scent], the *yáksmas* disperse in all directions, like deer [or] horses. Whether, O *gulgulú*, you are from the Sindhu or whether [you are] from the ocean, I have taken the name of both [kinds], so that this man may be unharmed'.<sup>523</sup>

The magic properties of burned bdellium were known in early Tantric rituals as well. In the medieval Bhūta Tantras, whose chapters focus on curing possessions and fevers, plants play an essential role in exorcism rituals against unwanted demons.<sup>524</sup> An incense made of neem

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>521</sup> Zysk 1985: 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>522</sup> Cf. Zysk 1985: 12-17. See on *yákşma* also Emmerick 1993: 84-85.

<sup>523</sup>Ed.Orlandi1991(consultedonlineon31July2023http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1\_sanskr/1\_veda/1\_sam/avs\_acu.htm);trans.Zysk1985:17.Cf. also Bloomfield1897:40 (translation) and 675-676 (commentary).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>524</sup> Slouber 2016: 145-146.

leaves and *gulgulu*, burnt while reciting a long mantra, was said to attract and trap the evil spirits into the room where the exorcism was performed.<sup>525</sup>

In the Ayurvedic tradition *gulgulu* was equally held in great consideration. One of the earliest discussion on this plant is found in the *Cikitsāsthāna* of the *Carakasaņhitā*, where it is employed in the treatment of *udara* (Ca.Ci. 13.153). An accurate description of the therapeutic properties of *gulgulu* is instead offered by Suśruta in the *Cikitsāsthāna* (Su.Ci. 5.40-45). The plant is described as fragrant (*sugandi*), light (*sulaghu*), small (*sūkṣma*), sharp (*tīkṣṇa*), hot (*uṣṇa*), pungent in taste (*kaṭuka-rasa*) and digestion (*kaṭupāka*), purgative (*sara*), good for the heart (*hṛdya*), oily (*snigdha*), and slimy (*picchila*). When young, the plant is aphrodisiac (*vṛṣya*) and nourishing (*bṛṃhaṇa*); when old, it is effective against obesity. It cures a wide range of diseases, including internal tumours (*gulma*), urinary disease (*meha*), retention of discharges (*udāvarta*), enlargement of the abdomen (*udara*), and intestinal worms (*kṛmi*).<sup>526</sup>

ysāluā- 'Indian barberry (*Berberis aristata* DC.)': For *ysāluā*- 'barberry' (*ysālva* § 30 122, *ysvālva* § 128) cf. *Studies* 3.131 s.v. *ysāluā*- and 1.106 s.v. *ysālva*.

#### § 34

**arūva** and **arva**: *arvā*- is a LKh. outcome of OKh. *aruvā*'- 'medicine, drug' and is used to render Sanskrit *auṣadha*, *dravya*, and *bheṣaja* and Tibetan *sman* in many passages of the *Siddhasāra*. The word is rather frequent also in the *Book of Zambasta*, e.g. Z 6.12 *aruvyau' jsa ṣu jīvai śūste alysāgyo āchā jändä* 'with herbs did Jīvaka treat the maiden. He removes her illnesses',<sup>527</sup> Z 13.103 *kye ttärä pharu hoḍe anaṃ kiṣṭä aruvo' hatäḍaru / balysä sarvaṃñi hastamä*. *balysä ṣä vā āchinei hämīya* 'the Buddha who once gave away so many countless medicaments, the all-knowing, best Buddha, would he then become ill?',<sup>528</sup> Z 13.107 *karmānu* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>525</sup> Slouber 2016: 152-153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>526</sup> See on the uses of *gulgulu* Sharma 1996: 124-127. For an extensive bibliography on the actions and characteristics of this plant see Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1B 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>527</sup> Emmerick 1968: 118-119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>528</sup> Emmerick 1968: 200-201.

*aruvo' balysä butte* 'the Buddha knows the medicament for *karmas*',<sup>529</sup> or Z 17.6 *aruve' vicitre* . *raysāyana buśśañä sp[äte]* 'various herbs, elixirs, perfumes, flowers'.<sup>530</sup>

Among the forms of this word there is one occurrence in PiŚ § 34 that can be mistakenly interpreted as an alternative reading of LKh.  $arv\bar{a}$ - (OKh.  $aruv\bar{a}$ '-). The form  $ar\bar{u}va$ , in fact, might in principle be a variant spelling of OKh. aruva', even though no other occurrence has been found in Khotanese texts. However, in § 34  $ar\bar{u}va$  occurs among other ingredients, which immediately rules out the general meaning 'medicine, drug'. I suggest as an alternative to interpret  $ar\bar{u}va$  as a loanword from Skt.  $uruv\bar{u}ka$  '*Ricinus communis*',<sup>531</sup> which occurs in Si 5.78 (Tib. *sle tres*), not preserved in Khotanese. The development of OKh. u-> LKh. a- in an unstressed initial syllable is not unusual, as for instance in the OKh. prefix us-> LKh. as- (e.g. aspaśd- 'to produce, cause' [Si 19r3] for OKh. uspaśd-).<sup>532</sup> The loss of Skt. intervocalic -k-, to be ascribed to a Prakrit intermediary, caused a hiatus, which was filled in Khotanese with the glide -v- [w]. The OKh. outcome  $*aruv\bar{u}va$ - [aruwu:wa] developed regularly to LKh.  $ar\bar{u}va$ , with the usual contraction of  $*-uv\bar{u}$ -  $>\bar{u}$ -.<sup>533</sup>

raustarä 'mudar (tree)' (*Calotropis gigantea* Linn., *Calotropis procera* Ait.): LKh. *raustara* correspond to Skt. *arka*, which is known in the Āyurvedic tradition for its strong caustic action. See on *raustara*- Emmerick 1983: 47-48, Sharma 1996: 19-23, and Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 52-54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>529</sup> Emmerick 1968: 202-203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>530</sup> Emmerick 1968: 256-257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>531</sup> MW 218 s.v. *uruvūka*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>532</sup> SGS 230.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>533</sup> See also SGS 295-296.

# 4. Fourth chapter: Poultices to apply on the liver

The fourth chapter of the *Pindaśāstra* (§§ 35-48) is devoted to the preparation of poultices that should be administered by placing them on the liver (LKh. *jara-* < OKh. *gyagarra-/ jatärra-* < OIr. \**jakṛna-*). Each paragraph describes in a few words signs and symptoms of various disorders related to the liver and recommends a treatment. As observed by Meulenbeld, despite its importance in modern medicine as an organ performing many essential biological functions, 'diseases of the liver are rarely mentioned in Āyurvedic texts, whereas they are much more important, as well as the organ itself, in Greco-Roman medicine'.<sup>534</sup> It is then interesting that the *Pindaśāstra* devotes a quite long section of the text to the treatment of this organ.

One of the earliest references to the liver is found in the Vimānasthāna of the *Carakasamhitā*, whose chapter five provides a description of the bodily channels, or vessels that transport *dhātu* (e.g. blood, vital breath, water, digested food, nutritive juice, muscular, fatty, and bone tissues, etc.). Here, the vessels carrying rakta ('blood') are considered to be originated in the liver (Skt. yakrt) and spleen (Skt. plīhan) (Ca.Vi.5.8). The author of the *Śārṅgadhara*, a famous compendium from the 1300 ca., likewise sees the liver as the site of blood-bile and the receptacle of blood (I.5.36). Further details regarding this organ are given by Caraka in the *Śārīrasthāna* 7.10, where he mentions the liver between the fifteen viscera (Skt. kosthāngāni) of the human body, together with the spleen, navel (Skt. nābhi), heart (Skt. hrdaya), and the two receptacles of undigested and digested food (Skt. āmāśaya and *pakvāśaya*). According to the earliest sources, diseases affecting this organ are manifested by the enlargement of the liver. Varieties of liver enlargement (Skt. yakrddālyudara) are described in the Carakasamhitā (Cikitsāsthāna 13), in the Suśrutasamhitā (Nidānasthāna 7), and in the Astāngahrdayasamhitā (Nidānasthāna 12), where, however, in the chapters devoted to udara, the liver is included in the type of *udara* caused by the enlargement of the spleen (Skt. *plīhodara*). Surprisingly, the liver is not mentioned in the *Siddhasāra*, while it occurs several times in the Jīvakapustaka (§§ 10 [57v3], 12 [61r1], 69 [103r5], 74 [105v4], 87 [114r3]).

The therapies prescribed in the *Pindaśāstra* are employed to cure not only pathologies directly related to the liver, such as severe pain (§§ 40 and 47) or stiffness (§ 41), but also disturbance of breath (§§ 38 and 42  $\bar{u}ysqna \bar{a}ph\bar{a}r\ddot{a}$ ), cough (§§ 39  $ph\bar{a}h\ddot{a}$ ' and 42  $ph\bar{a}h\ddot{i}$ '), <sup>534</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1B.118.

general and red swellings (§§ 38, 48 *haśä*, and 39 *himja haśä*), tumours of liver, stomach, bladder, and wind internal tumour (§ 48 *jara vī* . *khāysą̃ña* . *phiysgą̃ña* . *gauma jidä* [...] *u vāttäṣthīlai*). Furthermore, it is worth noticing the strong purifying action ascribed to these poultices, particularly in § 45 where the medicament, after being tied for five days on the liver, will cleanse it from any diseases.

### § 38

ūysąna: See Maggi in Studies 3.28, s.v. uysanā-.

# 5. Fifth chapter: Poultices to apply on the spleen

The brief chapter five contains six recipes of poultices that 'must be tied onto the spleen' (*spaijai bidä bañą̃nä*) to overcome fever (§§ 52-54), *parigraha* (§52), and pain (§ 55). Unlike liver, more consideration is given in the Åyurvedic texts to the function of this organ and to how diseases can affect it. Located on the left side of the body, the spleen together with the liver is traditionally considered to be the origin point of vessels carrying blood (see also on chapter four). In the fourteen chapter of the *Sūtrasthāna*, Suśruta highlights the significant contribution of spleen in the metamorphosis of the nutritive juice (Skt. *rasa*) into blood. The nutritive juice is the finest essence of digested food, which sustains the whole body and from the heart, its primarily location, moves through the body, body tissues, *doṣa*s, organs, and impurities. When finally *rasa* reaches the kidneys and spleen, it becomes red and gives rise to blood (14.4-5).

Regarding the disorders that may affect this organ, the most common is certainly *plīhodara* 'swelling of the spleen', often found in the abbreviated form *plīhan*.<sup>535</sup> One of the first accounts on this disease occurs in the *Carakasaṃhitā*. According to the eleventh chapter of the *Sūtrasthāna*, three are the pathways of diseases: the extremities, the vital points together with the joints, and the viscera (Ca.Sū. 11.48). Caraka enumerates several disorders belonging to these categories and among the diseases that pertain to the viscera (Skt. *koṣṭha*) he includes the spleen enlargement (11.49). The aetiology, symptomatology, and treatment of different varieties of *plīhodara* are described in the three canonical Āyurvedic compendia, in particular in Ca.Ci. 13.35-38, Su.Ni. 7.14-16, Su.Ci 14.13, A.h.Ni. 12.22-27, and A.h.Ci. 15.85-98, A.s. 12.24-29, A.s.Ci. 17.33). Differently from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, the *Carakasaṃhitā* distinguishes two types of *plīhodara*, the first one due to the displacement of the spleen from its normal place and the second one due to the increase of blood. In Cakrapāṇidatta's commentary the first kind is furthermore divided into four doṣic types, making a total of five, including the one arising from blood.<sup>536</sup> Vāgbhaṭa follows the *Carakasaṃhitā* in dividing *plīhodara* into two different kinds. Meulenbeld underlines the special position that this disorder holds among the different

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>535</sup> Meulenbeld 1991: 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>536</sup> Meulenbeld 1991: 95.

varieties of *udara* and its peculiar nature as a disease caused by blood.<sup>537</sup> The main symptoms are swelling on the left side of the abdomen, weakness, indigestion, mild fever, body-ache, etc.

Medical treatments of splenic disorders are attested in Khotanese medical texts as well. While no occurrences of *spaijaa*- 'spleen' have been documented in the Khotanese *Siddhasāra*, this word is found several time in the *Jīvakapustaka* (*spaijai* §§ 8 (55r1), 10 (57v4), 12 (61r1), *spaijā* §§ 13 (61v3), 18 (64v5), *spiņjiņna* § 22 (67v4), *spiņjāņ* § 23 (69r1), *spiņjiņ* §§ 40 (83v1), 69 (103r5),<sup>538</sup> 74 (105v4), 87 (114r5), 90 (115v2)) and two times in the *Piņḍasaptaka* (*spaijai* 100r1-2). As well as in the *Piṇḍaśāstra*, the *Jīvakapustaka*'s patients may exhibit fever or pain when they are suffering from spleen disorders.

### § 48

**parigrahä jimdä:** The sentence is translated as 'it will remove *parigraha*' and occurs in §§ 48 and 52. The term *parigraha* clearly refers to a symptom or to a specific disorder but its origin and meaning are unclear. *parigraha* occurs also in Z 12.71, in the sentence *ttuvare ssāvyau jsai nāsāña vicittra parigraha ttrāma cu ssāvānu anāsša*, which Emmerick translates 'from him much rather than from the Śrāvakas should one accept various goods such as cannot be accepted by the Śrāvakas'.<sup>539</sup> Emmerick interprets this term as a loanword from Skt. *parigraha*, meaning 'possession, property'.<sup>540</sup> and translates accordingly (i.e. 'goods'). A further occurrence is found in an Old Khotanese sūtra fragment, found in Khadaliq near Khotan, in the sentence *u ne parigrahä*.<sup>541</sup> However, *parigraha* is never used in medical contexts in both Sanskrit and Khotanese texts, with the only exception of the *Pindasāstra*. Another possible interpretation would be to consider *parigraha* as a compound name containing the Skt. word *graha*. This term occurs several time in the *Jīvakapustaka* and refers to different types of demoniacal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>537</sup> Meulenbeld 1991: 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>538</sup> Konow 1941: 69 translates *spimjim* as 'milt' (actually 'animal spleen', 'fish sperm') instead of 'spleen'. This is obviously due to the influence of 'milt' 'spleen' in Norwegian, Konow's native language.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>539</sup> Emmerick 1968: 174-175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>540</sup> MW 371, s.v. *parigraha*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>541</sup> *KBT* 4.43v3.

possession'.<sup>542</sup> An interesting example is JP 65 (100v2-100v5) where a fat called *Yakṣataparna* is said to remove various kind of graha (*grraha jimda*):

ysīdim śaśvām amgausdi kusta ysambastä sadhalūm

āra rūsthara : ṣā' pana arva drriṃ drriṃ mācāṃga śtāka gvīha' rū śau śiṃga

cąkalīña bīysma dva šiṃga aśa hīvī saṃna hīva raysä și' rūṃ pāchä yakṣa-ttarpąṇa ną̄ma apasmāra graha āstaṃna

graha jiṃda : ttavi unmāda skaṃda grrahä pharāka hauvana grrahaja āchā cįra kāmanī grraha āstaṃna grraha jiṃda

'yellow mustard asa foetida, kuṣṭha, garlic, rock salt, acorus calamus, swallow-wort, – each of these drugs – 3 mācānga each required, cow's fat – 1 śinga, goat's urine – 2 śinga, juice of the dung of a pig horse; this fat should be cooked, Yakṣataparna by name, it overcomes the grahas beginning with Apasmāragraha, fever, unmāda, Skandagraha, many powerful grahaborn diseases, overcomes the grahas beginning with Kāminīgraha'.

This interpretation seems to be more suitable to the context but remains hypothetical.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>542</sup> Konow 1941: 89.

# 6. Sixth chapter: Poultices to apply on the navel

This chapter deals with the preparation of poultices that must be applied on the navel. The Late Khotanese word *nihāṣṭā*, which occurs in the chapter heading (§ 56), is formed with the directional suffix *-āṣṭa* (OKh. *-ālsto*)<sup>543</sup> and the word *nāha*- (with the variant spellings *neha* §§ 57 58, *neha*' § 60, *niha* §§ 59 62, *nihä* § 61, and *nihä*' § 80), literally meaning 'navel'. In other Khotanese medical texts, *nāha*- occurs once in the *Siddhasāra* (*nehä* 19.11[Ch 122v4]), where the patient is said to experience heat in the navel '(in the case of obstruction of the faeces) that has arisen due to bile' (*ttavaṃdye jsa hamye* . *nehä* . *ttausāma hame*) and once in the *Piṇḍasaptaka* (v4), although the term seems here to refer to the centre of a vessel (*gaïsa naihai* 'to the navel of the *gaïsa*-pot').

Listed among the fifteen viscera (Skt. *koṣṭhāngāni*) in Ca.Śā. 7.10, the navel (Skt. *nābhi*) occupies a relevant place in the Āyurvedic tradition. In *Śārirasthāna* 7, of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* a chapter devoted to *sirās*, that is any tubular vessels of the body, the umbilical region is considered the origin point of all these seven hundred channels that provide nourishment and sustenance to the body (7.3). Thus, the navel, seat of the *prāṇas*, resembles the nave of a wheel that supports its spokes (7.4-5).<sup>544</sup> This area of the abdomen is also regarded as one of the several body *marman*, the vulnerable and vital point located in the *sirās*, muscular tissue, ligaments, bones, and junctures (Su.Śā. 6, A.h.Śā. 4).<sup>545</sup> The navel, a *marman* of the legs (Su.Śā. 6.6), or of the lower body according to Vāgbhaṭaʾs subdivision (A.h.Śā. 4.17), is classified into the category of *sadyaḥprāṇahara*, the group of vital points considered instantly fatal (Su.Śā. 6.9). This vulnerable body part, located between the stomach and the intestine, corresponds to the size of a person's own palm (A.h.Śā. 4.60-63) and, if injured, it causes a flow of blood, excessive thirst due to the increase of heat, dizziness, sharp pain, and finally death (4.47-51).<sup>546</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>543</sup> See Degener 1989: 105-112 and 109 s.v. *nihāṣṭä* and *Studies* 2.72-73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>544</sup> Bhishagratna 1911: 2.191-192.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>545</sup> Bhishagratna 1911: 2.173-190 and Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1A.413. See also Wujastyk 2003: 241-242.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>546</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1A.413.

The *Pindaśāstra* provides the recipes of six poultices (§§56-62), which are said to stimulate the appetite, remove wind-bile (Skt. *vātapitta*, a form of rheumatism)<sup>547</sup> and dropsy, and cleanse the belly.

§ 61

tharkä: For LKh. tharka 'walnut', a loanword from Tibetan star ka, see Emmerick 1985: 306.

# § 62

mācāmgye: LKh. *mācāmgā*- refers to measure of weight, see on this topic in Khotanese medical texts also Emmerick 1979a. Cf. other unit of measure in the *Piņḍaśāstra: akṣara-*, *kabā-*, *prūyā-*, *vasīya-*, *simga-*, *samga-*, and *sira-*.

<sup>547</sup> MW 934, s.v. vātapitta.

# 7. Seventh chapter: Poultices for scrotal enlargement and downward motion

The interpretation of chapter seven, which consists of ten prescriptions (from § 64 to § 73), is problematic, as it depends on the interpretation of two diseases expressed in § 63, namely, *naraiya* and *nāstä āchām*.

#### 7.1 naraiya 'scrotal enlargement'

The word *naraiya* occurs four times in the PiŚ (§§ 63, 65, 66, 67) and two times in the JP (*nariyi* § 31 [77r2], *narimyi* § 68 [102v1]). Under this heading, Bailey suggests the meaning 'hernia', 'from *niž-raik-* or *niž-raig-*, to Oss. D. *berindzun*, *beriγt*, *beriγd* "to stretch, yawn, press, force open (\**apai-raik/g*)",<sup>548</sup> In his provisional edition, Emmerick probably follows Bailey's hint and translates 'hernia' as well. On the other hand, Konow translates the occurrence in § 68 as 'hernia', while he prefers 'scrotal enlargement' in § 31.<sup>549</sup> In JP 31 the word corresponds to Skt. *vardhman* 'internal rupture, hernia',<sup>550</sup> whereas it has no Sanskrit counterpart in JP 68.

An alternative is suggested by a passage in chapter 13 of the *Siddhasāra*, where the description and the remedies against piles and genital fistula are expounded. Bailey translates in Si 13.35 (Ch 102r3-102v2) *u rīyai hā puņvą̃ñä* as 'and is to be inserted into the anus', where according to him *rīyai* is a hapax from *rai*- 'to defecate' or *raik*- 'to pour out, leave'.<sup>551</sup> Bailey's interpretation of this word is probably influenced by the same passage in the Tib. *Siddhasāra*, which reads *rkub tu brdzangs la* 'pass it into the anus'.<sup>552</sup> As for the initial *na*- in *naraiya*, it derives either from the preverb na(l)-, nas- < Ir. \*nis-/\*niž-<sup>553</sup> 'out' or the preverb ni- < Ir. \*ni-<sup>554</sup> 'down' and the aforementioned root *rai*-. Following this hypothesis, *naraiya* would refer

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>548</sup> *Dict.* 175, s.v. *naraiya*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>549</sup> Konow 1941: 41 and 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>550</sup> MW 926, s.v. vardhma.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>551</sup> *Dict*. 364.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>552</sup> Transl. by Emmerick 1982: 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>553</sup> See SGS 232-234.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>554</sup> See SGS 234-235.

to a body region, more precisely an area near the anus. This is extremely hypothetical, however.

Although I have not been able to explain *naraiya* by any Iranian certain etymology, I believe that another interpretation of the word is possible, if we rely on the context and on the analogies with other Āyurvedic texts.

In *Dict.* 175 s.v. *naraiya*, Bailey quotes the Skt. word *vardhman*. Even though the earlier tradition is acquainted with this condition (see A.h.Ci. 21.33; A.s.Ci. 15.17, 18.9, A.s.Ka. 4.11, 5.55), it is only with Vrnda's *Siddhayoga* (ca. 800-950 C.E.) that *vardhma(n)* acquires the independent status of a new disease.<sup>555</sup> Before that, in fact, *vardhma* was considered a synonym of '*vrddhi* or "enlargement of the *phala-kośa* or scrotum", as Hoernle describes it in his translation of the Bower ms where the word appears several times (II.208, 230, 272, 317, 334, 644).<sup>556</sup> A clear description of the aetiology and characteristics of *vrddhi* is provided by Suśruta in chapter 12 of the *Nidānasthāna* (12.3-6), while chapter 19 of the *Ciktsāsthāna* (19.3-24) is devoted to its treatment. In Su.Ni. 12.4, Suśruta gives an accurate description of this disease:

#### adhah prakupito anyatamo hi doşah phalakośavāhinīrabhiprapadya dhamanīh

phalakoşayorvrddhim janayati tām vrddhimityācakşate

'Any of the *doṣas* having got vitiated in the lower portion, enters the channels of scrotum and produces its swelling: the same in called *vrddhi*'<sup>557</sup>

Accordingly, *vrddhi* is considered as an 'enlargement of the scrotum' caused by the excited *doşas* in the lower half of the abdomen. More precisely, seven different types are distinguished (Su.Ni. 12.3; 6), due to the three *doşas*, blood (*śoṇita*), fat (*meda*), urine (*mūtra*) and intestine (*antra*). Each of them show distinct symptoms, i.e. pain in the bladder, penis, and waist, obstruction of *vāta*, swelling and pain of the scrotum (Su.Ni. 12.5).<sup>558</sup>

- <sup>555</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: IIB 80.
- <sup>556</sup> Hoernle 1893: 2.105 fn. 111.
- <sup>557</sup> Transl. by Singhal et al. 1972: 177.
- <sup>558</sup> Singhal et al. 1972: 177-179.

The disorder of *vrddhi* occurs also in Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra*, where chapter 18 shows some interesting correspondences with the Su.Ni. 12 and Su.Ci. 19 of the *Suśrutasamhitā*. This chapter is devoted to the treatments of three different diseases, translated by Emmerick as follows: Si 18.1-24 'retention of the urine' (Skt. *mūtra-krcchra*), Si 18.25-41 'disease of male organ' (Skt. *upadamśa*), and Si 18.42-57 'disease of swollen testicles' (Skt. *vrddhi*).<sup>559</sup> Two of these disorders (*vrddhi* and *upadamśa*) appear also in the Su.Ni. 12 and Su.Ci. 19. On the other hand, the third disease of *mūtra-krcchra* described in Si 18.1-24, diverges from the passages in the Su.Ni and Su.Ci, where the final paragraphs are devoted to the aetiology of *ślīpada* ('morbid enlargement of the leg, elephantiasis').<sup>560</sup>

Unfortunately, chapter 18 of the Khotanese *Siddhasāra* is preserved only from the fragmentary § 18.53 (Ch 121r1) to § 18.57 (Ch 121r4-5), where the treatments of *vrddhi* due to *meda* ('fat'), *mūtra* ('urine'), and *antra* ('intestine') are described. While the Sanskrit *Siddhasāra* uses the traditional terms to refer to the three different types of *vrddhi*, the Khotanese version prefers to adopt a full, and perhaps more comprehensive, sentence to describe the diseases.<sup>561</sup> Thus, we have Si 18.54 *pī huṣāme jsa hamye dānām nirāme hīvī āchai* 'in the case of the disease of emerging of the testicles that has arisen due to increase of fat' (Skt. *medo-vrddhau*), Si 18.55 *ci bīysme jsa hamye āchai* 'in the case of the disease (of emerging of the testicles) that has arisen due to urine' (Skt. *mūtra-jām*), and Si 18.56 *ce rrutām jsa narṣtīka*<sup>562</sup> 'as for one who has a rupture due to the intestines'<sup>563</sup> (Skt. *āntravrddhi*).

In the light of this information and on the correspondence between Skt. *vardhma*, a synonym of *vrddhi*, and LKh. *nariyi* in JP 31, I translate the occurrences of *naraiya* with a generic 'enlargement of the scrotum'.

- <sup>559</sup> Emmerick 1982: 284-295.
- 560 MW 1104, sv. ślīpada.
- <sup>561</sup> This is not unusual in Khotanese medical treatises. As shown by Konow 1941: 6 groups of ingredients such as *triphala* or *daśamula* are very often substituted in the Khotanese version by an enumeration of ingredients. Likewise, in Khotanese medical texts, e.g. *Jīvakapustaka*, we find a more detailed description of medicament preparations which, according to Konow, it 'seems to point out the existence of a commentary'.
- <sup>562</sup> For narșțīką see Studies 1.111-112, s.v, varșțe 'to increase in size'. Emmerick here translates LKh. narșțīką as 'having a rupture or hernia' from \*ni-rišta. See also Degener 1989: 127-127.
- <sup>563</sup> Emmerick's unpublished edition and translation.

#### 7.2 nāstā āchām

The word  $n\bar{a}st\bar{a}$  is the Late Khotanese form of the Old Khotanese adverb  $nat\bar{a}lsto$ , formed by nata- 'low' with the directional suffix  $-\bar{a}lsto$  and meaning 'downwards'.<sup>564</sup> Since in §§ 63 and 71  $n\bar{a}st\bar{a}$  precedes the substantive  $\bar{a}chaa$ - 'disease' (§ 63) and  $hasv\bar{a}$ - 'swelling' (§ 71), it can be considered as an adjective and literally translated as 'downward disease' and 'downward swelling'. The term  $n\bar{a}st\bar{a}$  occurs several times also in the *Siddhasāra*, where in some passages seems to refer to retention of faeces. For instance in Si 2.27 '(the disease in which) the downward motion fails' ( $n\bar{a}st\bar{a}$ -ga kaste), where the Sanskrit version has  $\bar{a}n\bar{a}ha$  'constipation', or Si 3.23.4 'when the downward movement is bound, it frees it' (*cu nāstā-ga baitte ttu prahāje*). On the other hand, Si 23.7 describes a case of 'dysentery' (Skt *atisāra*) and states that the patient '(has) downward motions' ( $n\bar{a}sta$ -tsume).

#### § 64

**saṃbhārä**: *saṃbhāra* occurs four times in the *Piṇḍaśāstra* (§§ 64, 68 (2×), 73). This term is probably a loanword from Skt. *sambhāra* meaning 'equipment, maintenance, support'.<sup>565</sup> No occurrences have been found within a medical contexts, while it has been recorded in Khotanese Buddhist texts. In his provisional translation, Emmerick translates *saṃbhāra* as 'support', perhaps referring to the intestines. However, the meaning remains uncertain.

vahaiysāre 'descend': On the verb *vahīys*- see SGS 122, Emmerick and Róna-Tas 1992b: 222, and *Dict*. 382, s.v. *vahīys*-.

**mistye hvande**. **ā valakyä sīkä 'for an adult man or a young child**': Under the heading *valaka* Bailey quotes this passage and translates it as 'of adult man or young child'. <sup>566</sup> The adjectives gen.-dat. sg. m. *mästa-* and *valaka-* may also be respectively translated as 'great, big' and 'small, little', offering the alternative interpretation of 'a big (=tall?) man and a small child'. I prefer to follow Bailey's hint, which is probably more appropriate in the present context. In

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>564</sup> See Degener 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>565</sup> MW 1179, s.v. sambhāra.

<sup>566</sup> Dict. 378. See also 409 s.v. ssīka. See also Degener 1898: 127-128 and 315 for a detailed analysis of ssīka.

fact, similar expressions, in which a prescription is suitable or unsuitable for both adult (or elderly) and young people, can also be found in other medical texts. Suffice it to mention three examples, from the *Jīvakapustaka*, the *Siddhasāra*, and the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Suśrutasanhitā*:

JP 11 (59r4)

#### valakām u ysādām și hami ni māmñamdä mahāvetī rūm

To young and old it is like nectar – the Mahāvaideha fat.<sup>567</sup>

Si 1.39 (Ch 7r3-4; P 23-24)

*cu aysdau u ysaṃgarä*. ttye kṣāʾrāṃ arvāṃ u dai u hū̃nä paśāme khịndai krra striha ni tcerā || krra-v-ai hoga tcerā.

As for young and old, to him a severe treatment like (the use of) alkalis (and) drugs and (the use of) fire and the letting of blood is not to be applied. A gentle treatment is to be applied to him.<sup>568</sup>

#### Su.Sū. 11.9

#### ahitastu

raktapitta(ā.tti)jvaritapittaprak<sub>r</sub>ti**bālavrddha**durbalabhramamadamūrcchātimiraparī tebhyo+anyebhyaścaivaṃvidhebhyaḥ

Alkalis or alkaline potions will prove positively injurious to a patient laid up with fever or haemoptysis, to a man of bilious temperament, to an infant, or to an old man.<sup>569</sup>

kąņḍārya 'wild eggplant' (Solanum virginianum Linn., S. xanthocarpum Schrad. & Wendl., S. surattense Burm.): The LKh. kaṇḍārya is a loanword from Skt. kaṇṭakārikā and occurs several times with variant spellings in the Khotanese Si (2.1, 2.5, 2.6, 2.11, 21.11, 26.50, 26.51, 26.79), in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>567</sup> Konow 1941: 24-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>568</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>569</sup> Bhishagratna 1907: 80.

the JP (§ 4 [48r4], § 5 [50r1, 51r2], § 9 [56v2], § 11 [58r3], § 12 [60v2], § 18 [64v2], § 19 [65r3], § 20 [66r2], § 22 [67v2], § 24 [69r1], § 27 [73v4], § 29 [74v2], § 32 [77v2], § 34 [79v5], § 35 [80v2], § 48 [92r5], § 49 [93r3], § 63 [100v2], § 68 [102v3], § 69 [103v2], § 71 [103r5], § 72 [104v4], § 73 [104r5]), and once in the PiŚ (§ 64).

kantakarika (or kantakari) has been identified with the Solanum virginianum Linn. (family Solanaceae), also referred to as *S. xanthocarpum* Schrad. & Wendl. and *S. surattense* Burm.<sup>570</sup> Commonly called 'wild eggplant' in English, its Skt. name (*kanta-kārikā* 'the producer of thorns') seems to confirm the description of a prickly shrub.

This ingredient does not often appear in the Indian medical texts, but occurrences of the word exist in the four canonical collections of  $\bar{A}$ yurveda, the *Carakasaṃhitā*, the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, and Vāgbhaṭaʾs *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* and *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha*. The first documented instance of *kaṇṭakārī* is found in the *Sūtrasthāna* 2.22 of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, in a prescription that alleviates dysuria (painful urination). A variety of therapeutic properties have been attributed to this plant, whose flowers, seeds, and roots are equally employed. Widely known are in particular its beneficial effects against fever, respiratory problems such as asthma, cough, and bronchitis, but also tooth-ache, rheumatism, piles, etc.<sup>571</sup> This drug frequently occurs in combination with other plants as, for instance, in the *kaṇṭakārīghṛta*, a group of ingredients used for the preparation of a ghee that provides relief from *vātika kāsa* (cough due to wind), promotes digestion,<sup>572</sup> cures *kapha* disorders, and is recommended in case of hiccup and asthma.<sup>573</sup>

In the Khotanese *Siddhasāra* the word *kaņdārya* seems to correspond to different Sanskrit and Tibetan words. It is known from the *Siddhasāra-nighaņţu* 10 that Skt. *kaņţakārī*, together with *dhāvani* and *kṣudrā*, is one of the synonyms of *nidigdhikā*, a plant name that was probably obscure to the Tibetan and Khotanese translators of Ravigupta's treatise.<sup>574</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>570</sup> Another variety (*S. aculeatissimum* Jacq. or *S. capsicoides* All.) used in some parts of Kerala has been identified by Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 211-213.

See on the uses and characteristics of *kaņṭakārī* Nadkarni 1954: 1150-1151 and 1156-1158, Sharma 1996: 71-73, and Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 211-213.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>572</sup> Ca.Ci. 18.35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>573</sup> Ca.Ci. 18.125-129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>574</sup> Emmerick 1982: 7.

Accordingly, only in Si 2.6 (Ch 11r1-3; P 92-96) and JP 20 LKh. *kaṇḍārya* is the rendering of Skt. *kaṇṭakārī* and Tib. *kaṇṭa-ka-rī*, which is translated by Emmerick as 'wild eggplant'. In all the other cases *kaṇḍārya* corresponds to:

Skt. dhāvani<sup>575</sup> : Si 2.11 (11v4), JP 11 (58r2);

Skt. vyāghrī, Tib. bya-ghri : Si 21.11 (129v3) 26.50 (151r5) 26.79 (155r4), JP 18 (64r4);

Skt. nidigdhikā : JP 32 (77r3) 48 (92r5);

Skt. *brhatī*, Tib. *bri-ha-tī* : Si 2.1 (10r1) 2.5 (11r2) 26.51 (151r5), JP 5 (50r1) 11 (58r2) 35 (79v5).

While also *vyāghrī* is known to be a synonym of *kaņṭakārī*, the identification of *brhatī* is more intricate. In fact, *brhatī* is commonly equated with the *Solanum indicum* Linn.,<sup>576</sup> or with the *Solanum melongena* Linn. in the Kerala tradition,<sup>577</sup> two similar prickly plants from the Solanaceae family. However, in the Skt. Si and JP this word occurs often as *brhatī-dvaya* or *brhatī-yugma* 'the two *brhatīs*'.<sup>578</sup> More specifically, in Si 2.1 (Ch 9v4-10r2; P 70-74) the dual *brhatyau* is translated in Kh. as *vāttāka* . *brihatta dva* : *kaņdārya* ('the two *brhatī*: *vārtāka* (and) *kaņṭakārikā*), in Si 2.5 (Ch 10v4-11r1; P 88-92) *brhatī-yugma* corresponds to Kh. *kaņdārya u vāttāka cikalä* ('the shrubs *kaṇṭakārī* and *vārtāka*'),<sup>579</sup> and in the JP 5 (50r1) and 35 (79v5) Skt. *brrahattī-dvaya* translates Kh. *brrahatta kaṇṇṇdārya* ('*brhatī* (and) *kaṇṭakārī*'). Only in one case (Si 26.51 (Ch 151r4-151v1) *brhatī-phalaiḥ*) Skt. *brhatī* corresponds without distinction solely to Kh. *kaṇḍārya* and Tib. *bri-ha-tīhi hbras-bu* ('the fruit of Indian nightshade').<sup>580</sup>

To conclude, in Khotanese medical texts *kaṇḍārya*, a loanword from *kaṇṭakārikā*, is used indistinctly in the place of different Sanskrit synonyms denoting the *Solanum virginianum* Linn. (or *S. xanthocarpum* Schrad. & Wendl.) such as *kaṇṭakārī*, *nidigdhikā*, *dhāvani*, *vyāghrī*, and *bṛhatī*. The latter occurs in the Sanskrit *Siddhasāra* and *Jīvakapustaka* as *bṛhatī-dvaya* or *bṛhatī-yugma* which is usually identified with the couple *Solanum indicum* Linn. and the *Solanum virginianum* Linn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>575</sup> Here Tib. has *dha-da-ki* 'fulsee flower tree', possibly from Skt. *dhātakī* (*Grislea tomentosa*, Linn.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>576</sup> Nadkarni 1954: 1.1149-1150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>577</sup> Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994: 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>578</sup> See also Hoernle 1893-1912: 91 fn. 60 s.v. *vrhati-dvaya*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>579</sup> See also *Dict*. 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>580</sup> Transl. by Emmerick 1982: 375.

### § 66

**hūṣya-**: I translate the loc. sg. forms of  $h\overline{u}$ ṣa- in §§ 66 and 67 following Bailey's interpretation, which, based on the Sanskrit correspondent *vankṣaṇa* 'groin, thigh-joint'<sup>581</sup> in JP 9 (56v2), suggests deriving this word from 'an older \**vaxša*- or reduced grade \**uxša* with added initial h-'.<sup>582</sup>

# § 69

**ūpadeśä**: LKh. *ūpadeśä* is a loanword from Skt. *upadaņśa* and refers to a kind of venereal disease'.<sup>583</sup> For the aetiology, characteristics, and treatment of *upadaņśa* in Āyurvedic texts see Su.Ni 12.7-9, Su.Ci. 19.25-51, A.h.U. 34.1-7, A.s.U. 39.17, and Si 18.25-30.

<sup>581</sup> MW 911, s.v. vankşana.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>582</sup> Bailey 1960: 31-32.

<sup>583</sup> MW 198, s.v. upadamśa.

# 8. Eighth chapter: Remedies for sexual dysfunction

This chapter features two remedies for sexual disorders (§§ 75 and 76). While the first directly refers to a female condition, it is unclear if the second one addresses a male or a female patient. A related matter is the interpretation of a Sanskrit loanword, normally used in religious contexts, but here referring to the sexual dysfunction of the patient.

#### maittrā- 'love' (§§ 74, 76)

The first sentence of paragraph 74 begins with the following introductory statement: *khu ni maitträ na pqname*, that literally translates as 'when love does not arise below'. Similarly, paragraph 76 closes the prescription declaring that, after drinking the decoction, 'love will arise below (and) will produce a male child' (*na maitträ pqname* . *dahä pūra padīme*). The interpretation of these clauses presents a certain degree of difficulty due to the occurrence of the word *maitträ* 'love' within a medical context. In fact, LKh. *maittrā-* is a loanword from Skt. *maitrī* 'benevolence, friendliness',<sup>584</sup> where its meaning refers to one of the Buddhist virtues. Furthermore, in Indian Äyurvedic texts this word is endowed with religious and moral meaning. For instance, Caraka (*Sūtrasthāna* 8) includes *maitrī* among a long list of correct behaviours and habits that a person should follow to have a proper life (Ca.Sū. 8.29):

#### brahmacaryajñānadānamaitrīkāruņyaharsopeksāprasamaparasca syāditi

One should be devoted to celibacy, knowledge, charity, **friendship**, compassion, cheerfulness, indifference and calmness<sup>585</sup>

Within the same medical context, the author of the *Carakasamhitā* explains that, in order to obtain the honourable degree of *vaidya*, the physician must embrace several virtues, which include *maitrī* and *kāruņya* ('compassion') as an essential part of his relationship with the patient (Ca.Sū. 9.26):

maitrī kāruņyamārteşu śakye prītirupekşaņam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>584</sup> MW 834, s.v. *maitrī*. See also Martini 2011 for the 'great loving kindness' (Skt. *mahāmaitrī*) in Khotanese texts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>585</sup> Transl. by Sharma 2014: 1.61.

#### prakrtistheşu bhūteşu vaidyavrttiścaturvidheti

Friendliness and compassion towards the diseased, interest in the amenable and indifference to those who are moving towards end – this is the fourfold attitude of physician<sup>586</sup>

In Khotanese texts as well, the word *maittrā*- occurs many times in Buddhist texts carrying the same religious meaning. Some interesting examples are the various occurrences that can be found in the *Book of Zambasta*, such as fragment M 14.1 r1 *maittra: hama ju* ~ *biśśä sarva-satva vä[tä]* 'impartial love towards all beings'<sup>587</sup> or the whole chapter 3 (from fol. 180 to 192v1),<sup>588</sup> where the Buddha Śākyamuni explains to Maitreya the importance of 'love' to achieve *bodhi* (e.g. 3.25ab *maittre jsa byaude* ~ *thatau balysūstä käde* 'through love, *bodhi* is very quickly obtained').<sup>589</sup>

On the other hand, Khotanese medical texts, with the only exception of PiŚ §§ 74 and 76, do not mention *maittrā*- in any respect. There are, however, two alternative interpretations of this word within a medical context. A first possible explanation may be to translate LKh. *maittrā*- as 'passion' with reference to the 'sexual function' of a male patient. A parallel use can be found in *The Book of Vimalakīrti*, a Late Khotanese original composition of Mahāyana Buddhism,<sup>590</sup> where the term *brrīyaā*- 'love, desire' is used in a game of words to contrast human passion and Buddhist benevolence (Vim 223 [P2026 23-24]):

şa' brrīyā cvai ja ni byehe na ni jsā[24]ve brrīye rāśa' satta brrīye jsa hamamga ba'ysūśtī naysdakä bvąñä

When **desire** does not get hold of him, (then) he does not become controlled by **passion**,

<sup>590</sup> See Maggi 2009b: 359-360.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>586</sup> Transl. by Sharma 2014: 1.64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>587</sup> Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995: 212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>588</sup> Emmerick 1968c: 52-77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>589</sup> Emmerick 1968c: 56-57.

through **love** beings are (all) equal (for him), and awakening must be known as close to him<sup>591</sup>

As in this occurrence  $brr\bar{y}a\bar{a}$ - is used in the double sense of sexual passion and loving kindness, in the same way *maittrā*- may have been used in a similar way in the *Piņḍaśāstra*. Hence, the sentence *khu ni maittrā na paname* 'when love does not arise below' may be referring generically to a sexual dysfunction experienced by the patient. Unfortunately, the Khotanese translation of *Siddhasāra*'s chapter 28, devoted to the preparation of potency therapies (Skt.  $v\bar{a}j\bar{i}kara$ ),<sup>592</sup> is not preserved and we cannot directly compare the Khotanese version of some specific passages (e.g. Tib. Si 28.23 'one will be able to raise (*ucchrayam avāpnuyāt*) one's male organ (*dhvaja*-) and (have) sexual intercourse').<sup>593</sup> It should be noted that in general potency therapies in Khotanese texts are often drinks (PiŚ § 76 *khāsā'ñä* 'it must be drunk') and it is not uncommon to find ingredients such as ginger (PiŚ § 76 *ttaugarä*) and long pepper (PiŚ § 76 *papala*) in groups of drugs used for restoring male virility (e.g. JP §§ 41 [84r2-85r5], 46 [87v5-88v1], and 48 [92v4-93v1]).<sup>594</sup>

A second explanation is theoretically possible: the sentence *khu ni maitträ na pąname* 'when love does not arise below' can still be interpreted as referring to the sexual dysfunction of the diseased. In this hypothesis, though, the patient is a woman, who is unable to experience *maittrā* and therefore to conceive a child, due to the womb disease as mentioned in § 75 ( $p\bar{u}r\bar{q}n\bar{a}\ \bar{a}ch\bar{q}$ ). An argument in favour of this interpretation is, in my opinion, *Siddhasāra* § 29.1. Chapter 29, which has not survived in Khotanese, is devoted to the treatment of infants' diseases, beginning with the problem of conceiving a child (29.1-14). The Tibetan version of § 29.1 states as follows:

de la bud med ni dga' bar bya'o  $\parallel$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>591</sup> Maggi's unpublished edition and translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>592</sup> See Zysk 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>593</sup> Emmerick 1982: 421.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>594</sup> Differently from the potency therapies described in the *Carakasamhitā* and in the *Suśrutasamhitā*, where formulas are meant for ingestion in the form of food (as pills, soups, cakes, or medicated clarified butter) (Zysk 2005: 110-111).

gnas dam pa yin la | bu rin thang med pa bskyed pa yin pas | de'i mo mtshan la nad byung na dga' ba dang | bu 'byung ba gnyi ga med par 'gyur te | de bas na de gso ba'i cho ga je bshad par bya'o  $\parallel$ 

In that (connection), as for the woman (*yoṣid*), she must be made happy (*rater*). Since it is an excellent (*paraṃ*) abode (*dhāma*) and it is the producer ( $-sā\hbar$ ) of the priceless (*anargha-ratna-*) child (*apatya-*), if disease (-vyāpattayas) has occurred in her (*tasyāḥ*) female organ (*yoni-*), she will be without (-vināśanāḥ) both happiness (*rati-*) and childbirth (*prajā-*). Accordingly, the method of treating that will be expounded.<sup>595</sup>

This opening paragraph explains that, to begin with, the woman 'must be made happy' (*dga'-bar bya'o*) in order to conceive a child. If, however, she is affected by a disease of the 'female organs' (*mo-mtshan*), she will not be able to experience either happiness or childbirth. Noteworthy is the use, in the Sanskrit original version, of the word *rati* whereas Tibetan has *dga'-ba* ('happiness, joy'). The Skt. term *rati*, from the verb *ram-*,<sup>596</sup> is attested with the meaning of 'pleasure of love, sexual passion or union',<sup>597</sup> which recalls the Khotanese *maittrā*-occurring in PiŚ §§ 74 and 76 and Vim 223. Following this hypothesis, once the woman has been treated by the physician and is finally free from diseases, she will be in a condition to experience *maittrā* (or Skt. *rati*) again and, as a consequence, to conceive a child (PiŚ § 76 *na maittrā paname* . *dahā pūra padīme* 'Love will arise below (and) she will produce a male child').<sup>598</sup>

It should be noted that in the  $\bar{A}$ yurvedic literature female conditions are generally treated together with child pathologies. A clear example is the *Kaśyapasamhitā*, a compendium

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>595</sup> Ed. and transl. by Emmerick 1982: 422-423.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>596</sup> Cf. Mayrhofer 1996: 2.436 and for the Ir. verb \**Hram* Cheung 2007: 190-191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>597</sup> MW 867, s.v. *rati*.

See also Tib. Si 29.10 'As for the method of causing a child to be conceived after thus making (the woman) without defect and disease of the female organ [...] if they have intercourse (*gacchet*), a child will be conceived' (Emmerick 1982: 425).

from the VII century C.E.<sup>599</sup> entirely devoted to the treatments of female and infant disorders.<sup>600</sup> As already mentioned, the *Siddhasāra* itself devotes chapter 29 to women's health issues, conception, and children diseases. Furthermore, I previously highlighted the vigorous properties of ginger and long pepper in men. However, these drugs are employed also for the cure of women. An additional example to the *Jīvakapustaka* passages mentioned above is Si 29.6 where, in the case of womb disease, the patient must drink the powder of long pepper (Skt. *pippali*) mixed with liquor and an other ingredient.

The second female disorder remedy can be found in the prescription for 'diseases of the womb' ( $p\bar{u}r\bar{q}\bar{n}a\ \bar{a}ch\bar{q}$ ) of § 75. The adjective  $p\bar{u}r\bar{q}\bar{n}a$  'pertaining to the womb' occurs solely in Late Khotanese medical texts and corresponds in the *Siddhasāra* to Skt *yoni*, which refers to the 'female organs of generation'<sup>601</sup> and Tib. *mo mtshan* 'female organs' (in chapter 29) or *mngal* 'uterus, womb' (Si 2.2, 2.7, 2.26). Three different varieties of this disorder are found in the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Siddhasāra*, due to wind (Si 29.2), bile (29.3), and phlegm (29.3). In the *Jīvakapustaka* as well, *pūrājīa* occurs several times, but probably the most interesting passage is the last sentence of § 15 (62v4) *pūrājīa āchā jaida u yājīa vīne khvam jsa āsā yaņde pūraņ jsa byehe' : pūrāņ vī vasauśta* 'it overcomes diseases in the womb' and pains in the yoni; when she resorts to it, she thence gets sons, becomes clean in the womb'.<sup>602</sup> Regarding the origin of *pūrājīa*, Degener explains the form by deriving it from *pūrāna-* 'Bauch, Mutterleib' and the suffix *-ya-*, which usually causes palatalisation of the preceding consonant or vowel, as in the case of *pūrājīa.*<sup>603</sup> This suffix forming adjectives generally denotes affiliation to the original noun and indicates the local position or the origin of it, as for instance in *rrājaa-* 'from the plain' and *gvīha-* 'pertaining to the cow'.<sup>604</sup>

In conclusion, the sentence *khu ni maitträ na paname* 'when love does not arise below' may be interpreted as referring to the 'sexual dysfunction' experienced by the patient, with the semantic development of *maittrā*- from 'Buddhist compassion' to 'passion'. There are two

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>599</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>600</sup> See the edition by Tewari 1996.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>601</sup> MW 858, s.v. yoni.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>602</sup> Konow 1941: 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>603</sup> Degener 1989: 303.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>604</sup> Degener 1989: 302.

hypotheses about to whom the prescriptions are directed. The first one may refer generically to the sexual dysfunction experienced by a male patient. Accordingly, the drink explained in § 75 would be a potency therapy (cf. Si 28.19-25). The second hypothesis considers ch. 8 as entirely devoted to women disorders. The sentence *khu ni maitträ na paname* 'when love does not arise below' in § 76 may still be interpreted as referring to the patient's sexual dysfunction, but to a female one, as suggested by reference to to the female 'disease of the womb' mentioned in § 75: once she is free from this disorder and through the effect of the prescribed medical drink, 'love will arise below (and) she will produce a male child' (*na maitträ paname . dahä pūra padīme*).

# § 75

mäjsaï- 'woman': For the etymology of *mäjsaï*- < IIr. \**miždušakī*- 'lady' see *Studies* 3.123-124, s.v. *mijse*', Sims-Williams 1997 (p. 337), and Maggi 1997 (pp. 43-45).

### § 76

ttaugarä 'ginger' (Zingiber officinale Rosc.): For LKh. *ttumgara*- see Dragoni 2022: 134-136, Emmerick 1985: 313, and *Dict*. 130, s.v. *ttumgara*-. The Khotanese word, which OKh. form Dragoni reconstructs as \**tv-am-garaa*- or \**tv-ām-garaa*-, was borrowed into Tibetan as *dong gra* and Tocharian B *tvānkaro*.

# 9. Ninth chapter: Poultices for piles

This chapter (§ 77-83) concerns the treatment of *arrja*-. This is a Late Khotanese medical term borrowed from Skt. arśas 'haemorrhoids'.605 Piles were undoubtedly a common and widespread condition even in the past, for the cure of which many different therapies and solutions were devised. Among the Indian Ayurvedic texts, the most interesting passages on this disorder are found in the Carakasamhitā and in Vāgbhata's Astāngahrdayasamhitā and Astāngasamgrahasamhitā. In the Carakasamhitā, chapter 14 of the Cikitsāsthāna is entirely devoted to the description of the aetiology and treatment of piles, that were considered to be congenital and already present at birth (Skt. sahaja) or developed at a later stage (Skt. uttarakālaja).<sup>606</sup> Caraka describes arśas as 'disorders characterised by growth like polypus'<sup>607</sup> (Ca.Ci. 14.5 arśāmsītyadhimāms avikārāh) located in the ano-rectal folds<sup>608</sup> and made of fat flesh, and skin (14.6). Nidānasthāna 7 of the Astāngahrdayasamhitā (= A.s.Ni. 7), also devoted to haemorrhoids, agrees with Caraka in dividing arśas in congenital (Skt. sahotthāna) and produced after birth (Skt. janmottarotthāna). The first group is, however, considered beyond the power of medicine and hence incurable. The second one is instead subdivided in six additional varieties arising from one, two, or all the three *dosas* together, and blood (7.9). Furthermore, the author distinguishes between dry (Skt. śuska) and exudative (Skt. srāvin) piles (7.3). The treatment of haemorrhoids through cauterization, surgery, and employment of caustics is described in Vagbhata's Astangasamgrahasamhita, Cikitsitasthana 10, which also includes the preparation of medicinal substances to be used after treatments. An extended chapter on piles (chap. 13) is also preserved in the Sanskrit and Tibetan Siddhasāra, while only the second half of the Khotanese version has survived (from §13.27 (Ch 101r1) to § 13.51 (Ch 104v2-3)). Here, six kinds of arsas (Tib. gzhang 'brum) are described, which arise from the three dosas

<sup>605</sup> MW 93, s.v. arśas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>606</sup> Ca.Ci. 14.5, Sharma 1998: 2.224.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>607</sup> Transl. by Sharma 1998: 2.224.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>608</sup> Caraka discusses the possible broad sense of *arśas*, which is applied by some physicians to those fleshy growths in the male and female genitals, nose, mouth, ear, eyelids, and skin. However, he states that the topic of chapter 14 is restricted to *arśas* arising from the ano-rectal region (Ca.Ci. 14.6), Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 62-63. See also Sharma 1998: 224.

(together or individually), blood, and the congenital ones. Unlike the *Siddhasāra* or the earliest Indian compendia mentioned above, both *Jīvakapustaka* and *Piņḍaśāstra* do not distinguish between different types of piles.

As for the *Pindaśāstra*, piles do often appear together with bleeding (e.g. §§ 78, 79, 81). Remedies for the treatment of bleeding piles are provided by Ca.Ci. 14, where they are said to arise when there is a predominance of *kapha* or *vāta* (14.170). Among the prescriptions suggested by Caraka, it is worth noticing that ingredients, such as *ghrta* 'oil', butter, or cow dung, whose properties are considered to be effective in the treatments of haemorrhoids occurs also in chapter 9 of the *Pindaśāstra*.

### § 78

pirānaa- 'worm grains': An additional symptom occurring together with piles is the presence of intestinal worms (§ 78 pīrānā). The Khotanese medical term pirānaa-, that I already discussed in detail elsewhere,<sup>609</sup> is used also in the Jīvakapustaka (8.3 (55r1)  $p\bar{i}r\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ ) and several times in the Siddhasāra (2.24 (C 13v5, P 147-148), 3.26.5 (C 20v2), 19.21 (C 124r2), 19.22 (C 124r2-3), and 19.32 (C 125r4-5)), alongside the more frequent pira-, pära-, to render Skt. krimi-. Konow interpreted this word as the nom.-acc. pl. of an adjective pīrāmnaa- of the secondary -aa- declension (from pära- and the suffix  $-\bar{a}na(a)$ -)<sup>610</sup>, that he glossed as 'worm-containing' and attributed to *āchā*- 'diseases' (uysäna āphāra pīrānā jaida u ysaira vīra *bīsā āchā* 'overcomes respiration troubles, diseases from worms and in the heart').<sup>611</sup> However, the syntax of this sentence suggests that  $p\bar{r}q\bar{n}a$  is an independent substantive or substantivised adjective. This is confirmed by the occurrence in the Siddhasāra 2.24 (C 13v5, P 147-148) (pīrānām hīvī āchai), where pīrānām is a gen.-dat. pl. that modifies the acc. sg. āchai 'disease'. The word is rather a 'compound of *pära*- 'worm' and  $-\bar{a}naa- < *d\bar{a}naa-$  (by regular loss of intervocalic -d-) < Ir. \* $d\bar{a}na$ -ka- 'grain, seed' (cf. Middle Persian  $d\bar{a}nag$ , New Persian  $d\bar{a}ne$ ),<sup>612</sup> hence Kh. *pirānaa- < \*pira-dānaa-* 'worm grain, seed', with reference to the eggs of worms <sup>609</sup> Luzzietti 2022: 235-239.

- <sup>610</sup> Cf. Degener 1989: 83 §10.B.13.
- <sup>611</sup> See Konow 1941: 20–21 and 94 s.v. *pĭra*-, Chen 2005: 297–298.
- 612 Cf. Rastorgueva and Edel'man 2003: 448–450 s.vv. \**dāna*-, Hasandust 2014: vol. 2, 1258–1259 s.v. *dāne*, and Bailey 1979: 156 s.v. *dānā*-.

released during intestinal evacuation of humans'.<sup>613</sup> A comparison between 'worm eggs' and 'small grains' or 'seeds' is not unusual, as shown for instance by a passage from *Atharvaveda* 2.31, in a ritual against parasites, where 'the officiant identifies himself with Indra and compares the action of mashing the worms with the action of grinding the *khálva*-grains with a millstone (2.31.1)'.<sup>614</sup> In conclusion, two terms related to worms have been identified, *pära*-, or *pira*- and *pirānaa*-. The first one is often used in eighth-century documents in the specialised sense of 'silkworm', as first pointed out by Duan Qing and afterwards by Skjærvø.<sup>615</sup> It is therefore possible that LKh. *pirānaa*- 'worm grains' was adopted in Khotanese medical texts to avoid misunderstanding.

**brrāmg<ām bimdā hūň>ā**: The supplement in of § 78 *cū brrāmg<ām bimdā hūň>ā narāme* for ms *cū brrāmgā narāme* is necessary in order to arrive at a more convincing understanding of the passage. After trying to give an acceptable sense to the original reading *cū brrāmgā narāme* 'when the thigh comes out', I reached the conclusion that the verb *narām-* 'to go out'<sup>616</sup> (3 sg. pres. ind.) must refer to something different, possibly to the flowing of blood (LKh. *hūñi-*) originated from the patient's piles. Similar passages are found in Si 13.32 (Ch 101v2) *drrāma arja cvai vā huñā nirāme jimdai* 'it removes such piles as when one's blood comes out' and Si 13.33 (Ch 101v4) *cu drrāma arja cvai vā huñā nirāme jimdai* '<sup>617</sup> Moreover, the syntax seems to require the presence of a locative (\**brramgvā*) supported by *narām-*, to express the meaning of the blood that comes out on the thighs. A construction of this verb with a locative is not recorded by Emmerick in the SGS, but occurrences can be found in the texts, as for instance in *Jīvakapustaka* § 25 74r4 *ca eha. [ha\*]ysgvā nāṣți hūmīňa narāmmi* 'when blood comes out (and) down into the mouth and the nostrils' or, in a spell against various afflictions, *hūña haysguā narāmi* 'blood would come out in [our] nostrils'.<sup>618</sup> These examples are, however, possibly

<sup>613</sup> Luzzietti 2022: 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>614</sup> Luzzietti 2022: 237, cf. also 235, fn. 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>615</sup> Duan 1991: 45-50 and Skjærvø, *Studies* 3.91-93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>616</sup> Cf. SGS 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>617</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>618</sup> Skjærvø 2007: 388 and 393.

related to what Emmerick calls 'locative of the source of motion'<sup>619</sup> with reference to the place from which or where something originates. In PiŚ § 78, instead, the blood is flowing on the thighs. In this context it may be more appropriate to integrate the postposition *bimdä*, meaning 'on, upon' and consider *brrāmgä* as a genitive-dative singular.

**brrāmga-**: Regarding the meaning of *brrāmga*- cf. Si 1.17 (Ch 4v3-4) *cu bāva și' krrimga-rūvya u hala-brāmgvā pārotta* 'as for wind, it is based in the anus and in the mid-thighs'.<sup>620</sup>

#### § 79

**<h** $\bar{\eta}$ **n** $\bar{\eta}$ **a**> **v** $\bar{\eta}$ **s** $\bar{\eta}$ **s** $\bar{\eta}$  For the supplement of *<hu math\$hu math\$number nightarrow nightarrow* 

#### § 82

**mūla** *Asparagus Racemosus* **Willd.**: Bailey translates  $m\bar{u}la$  (§§ 82, 83) and  $m\bar{u}laṣkiħä$  (§ 91), both occurring only in the *Piṇḍaśāstra*, as 'clay' and 'lump of clay' respectively.<sup>622</sup> The word  $m\bar{u}la$ , however, occurs several times in Khotanese medical texts as a loanword from Skt.  $m\bar{u}la$ , which generally refers to 'a root (of any plant or tree [...])'.<sup>623</sup> Occurrences of groups of  $m\bar{u}la$  are found in the *Siddhasāra*, as for instance in Si. 26.61 *deśa-mūla* 'ten roots' (Skt. *daśa-mūla*) and Si 2.28 *paṇcä-mūla* 'five roots' (Skt. *pañca-mūla*). Alternatively, *mūla* occurs with other ingredients in reference to the part of the plant that has to be employed in the preparation of the medicine (e.g. Si 2.3 (Ch 10r4-10v1; P 79-83) *pipala mūla* 'root of long pepper', Skt. *granthika*). The occurrences of *mūla* in the *Piṇḍaśāstra* as an independent ingredient are an isolated case in Khotanese. I decided, however, to not follow Bailey's translation of *mūla* as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>619</sup> Emmerick 1965: 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>620</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>621</sup> Cf. SGS 124.

<sup>622</sup> Dict. 337, s.v. mūla and mūla-skimňä. The word is appropriately not mentioned in Studies 3.126-127 among the different occurrences of a different mūla, meaning 'rat', 'testicle', and 'muscles'.

<sup>623</sup> MW 826, s.v. mūla.

'clay' and consider this word as meaning 'root' like the other occurrences in the *Siddhasāra*. In fact, Skt. *mūla* can specifically refer to the *Asparagus Racemosus* Willd., also known as Indian asparagus.

# § 81

samnä: samna- is the Late Khotanese form of an Old Khotanese satanä, meaning 'dung'. See Dict. 418, s.v. satanä

# 10. Tenth chapter: Poultices for itching

This long chapter (§§ 84-100) offers a very interesting selection of remedies against various diseases, such as skin disorders, irritations, wounds, internal tumours, and even itching deriving from spider bites. In the following, I examine each disease individually, with the aim of shedding light on their identification.

#### 10.1 ā'sia- 'itching' (Skt. kaņdū)

The opening paragraph 84 introduces the topic of the chapter which is said to be devoted to the cure of  $\bar{a}\dot{s}ia$ - (*tti*  $v\bar{a}$   $\bar{a}\dot{s}y\bar{a}m$  va yaugä u pendä 'the following (are) prescriptions and poultices for  $\bar{a}\dot{s}ia$ -'). Although this section of the book does not focus exclusively on  $\bar{a}\dot{s}ia$ -, this condition recurs several times within the tenth chapter. Before taking into account the meaning of  $\bar{a}\dot{s}ia$ - and its place within the Åyurvedic tradition, it is important to notice that this word has been interpreted by Maggi as a feminine noun  $\bar{a}\dot{s}i\bar{a}$ -.<sup>624</sup> but a masculine form  $\bar{a}\dot{s}ya$ - with pl. in -e, like the OKh.  $k\bar{r}a$ - 'act', pl.  $k\bar{r}re$  and ggara- 'mountain', pl. ggare, is theoretically possible.<sup>625</sup>

There are no occurrences of this word in the *Jīvakapustaka* and *Siddhasāra*. There is, however, an ambiguous term *isyi* in JP 38 (82v1), that Konow describes as 'some kind of tumour, perhaps corresponding to Skt. *pidaka*, fistula'<sup>626</sup> and which occurs together with the same disorders of *Pindaśāstra*'s chapter 10 (*haśa* 'swelling', *lūta* 'spider bite', and *kuṣṭa* 'skin disease') and *isye* in Si 2.4 (Ch 10v1-4; P 83-88). These occurrences where actually emended by Maggi as \* $\bar{a}syi^{627}$  in JP 38 and by Emmerick as \* $\bar{a}$ 'sye in Si 2.4.<sup>628</sup> An additional occurrence is found in a passage of ms Or. 11252.1.26 and 11252.1.40<sup>629</sup> in a prediction for the life of a man born in the 'year of the sheep', translated by Skjærvø as 'And on him there will be a lot of itching' (1. 26 <...> *biśau jsa biśina suhye hime u hāysai paṇḍdi ni himye u bedai ā'sye*) and 'And

<sup>629</sup> *KT* 3.14-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>624</sup> See Maggi 2018: 253.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>625</sup> See SGS 265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>626</sup> Konow 1941: 86, s.v. *isya*-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>627</sup> Maggi 2018: 254.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>628</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

a lot of itching will arise for him as well as a wound' (l. 40  $n\bar{i}$  bedai vasūna āchā himāre u  $\bar{a}$ 'sye-t- $\bar{i}$  sarbīdi u vranī ka).<sup>630</sup>

LKh.  $\bar{a}$ 'sia- corresponds to Skt. kaṇḍū and Tib. gyah pa 'itching'<sup>631</sup> in Si 2.4 (Ch 10v1-4; P 83-88) and 2.12 (Ch 11v4-5; P 108-111). In Indian Äyurvedic texts, Skt. kaṇḍū is a characteristic of eye and ear diseases. Caraka, *Cikitsāsthāna* 26.128, describes the eye disease (*netraroga*)<sup>632</sup> due to kapha as being characterised by heaviness and itching of the eyes, excessive slimy lacrimation, and white dirt.<sup>633</sup> The idea of kaṇḍū as a symptom of skin conditions caused by the aggravation of kapha is shared also by Suśruta (Su.U. 20.7-8) and Vāgbhaṭa (A.h.U. 17.12) in the diseases of the ears. In the *Siddhasāra* as well, the disease of the eyes called *abhiṣyanda* (LKh. *abhaiṣaṇṇnä*), which arises from phlegm, is said to produce white secretions, white and sticky tears, and to cause itching and swelling of the eyes (Si 26.7). It is worth noticing that the *Hārītasaṇḥhitā* (ch. 39) includes kaṇḍū between the eighteen types of kuṣṭha 'skin disease' (39.5-6), differently from other Āyurvedic works. According to Meulenbeld,<sup>634</sup> Hārīta's kaṇḍū corresponds to Caraka's *alasaka*-disease (a kind of kuṣṭha), which is described as follows in Ca.Ci. 7.23: kaṇḍūmadbhiḥ sarāgaiśca gaṇḍairalasakaṃ citam sakaṇḍūrāgapiḍakaṃ dadrumaṇḍalamudgatam 'that which is covered with itching and red glandular pimples is known as alasaka'.<sup>635</sup>

Returning to the *Piņḍaśāstra*, the first prescription of the tenth chapter (§ 85) is devoted to the preparation of a medicament against a type of 'skin irritations which slightly rise from an itching and itch strongly' (*ranīkä ttä cu jsiņä ā'sye sarbīmdä . u pi'jsa kyihāre*). The itch is probably localised in the eyes and the eyelid joints, since the text refers immediately afterwards to the pain that the patient feels in the eyeballs. The sentence *humari biysamjāre* 'hold the joints

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>630</sup> Skjærvø 2002: 83-84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>631</sup> Cf. Dict. 28, s.v. *ā*'s*ī*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>632</sup> MW 569, s.v. *netra-roga*.

<sup>633</sup> Sharma 1998: 2.438

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>634</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>635</sup> Transl. by Sharma 1998: 127.

(of the eyes)<sup>636</sup> may be referring to the patient's inability to open his eyes due to either a sticky secretion (as in Si 26.6 [Ch 145v1-2] or Ca.Ci. 26.128)<sup>637</sup> or to pain.

The other occurrences with  $\bar{a}$ 'sia- 'itching' possibly refer to various stages of this symptom. For instance, § 87 describes a 'newly burst itching' (*nuvara narve*  $\bar{a}s\bar{i}$ ), which manifests together with 'pus' ( $ys\bar{u}$ ), §§ 88 and 95 mention two prescriptions for the ripening of a 'swollen itch' ( $stamg\ddot{a} \ a\bar{s}\bar{i}$ ) and a 'stiff itch' ( $sty\bar{u}d\ddot{a} \ a\bar{s}\bar{i}$ ), while § 97 treats an already 'suppurating itching' ( $ysvaurg\ddot{a} \ a\bar{s}\bar{i}$ ). Moreover, §§ 93 and 94 are prescriptions against the itch caused by a spider bite.

#### 10.2 ranīka 'skin irritation'

In *Dict.* s.v. *ranīka* Bailey suggests the meaning 'skin-diseases' and considers it 'dyadic with BS *kuṣṭha-* "(all) skin-diseases".<sup>638</sup> This statement was proved to be inexact by Emmerick in *Studies* 2.98 (s.v. \**pvāttyām*), since he noted that the two diseases appear together in § 100 (*kuṣṭā . āstama rranīkām bidā.* '(it must be smeared) on irritations due to skin disease and so on') not as synonyms but as two different conditions. The word also occurs in JP 44 (86v4) *kauṣṭā u ranīkām bimda pīsalyāmā . pvā ttyām va pīrmāttam* which was translated by Emmerick as '(The oil) must be smeared over skin disease and skin irritation. (When applied) cold, (it is) excellent for those (conditions)'. Furthermore, Degener lists *ranīka* among the derivatives with the *-īka-* suffix and tentatively translates it as "'Hautabschürfung" (?)', by assuming a hypothetical \**ranā-*,<sup>639</sup> on the basis of Bailey's interpretation 'From "roughened skin", to base *ran-* "to scrape".<sup>640</sup> LKh. *ranīka* is, in my opinion, a symptom of *kuṣṭa*, the generic medical term used to refer to skin disease (see below).

<sup>636</sup> See on LKh. humari Studies 1.130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>637</sup> Cf. also Su.U. 11.16-18 on the preparation of a collyrium against itching of the eyes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>638</sup> Dict. 357, s.v. ranīka. Cf. also Dict. 257, s.v. pvāttyām.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>639</sup> Degener 1989: 128.

<sup>640</sup> Dict. 357, s.v. ranīka.

#### 10.3 kusta-'skin disease' (Skt. kustha)

The research into different varieties of skin diseases, which continue to cause significant morbidity in India even today, has a long-standing history. The literature on this topic is extensive<sup>641</sup> and I will simply outline some of the major features here. A significant analysis and discussion on the subject was carried out by Emmerick in his study on the history of leprosy in India.<sup>642</sup> As he pointed out, the Sanskrit medical term *kuṣṭha* (LKh. *kuṣṭa*-) is actually a generic term used to refer to cutaneous disorders. To quote his words:<sup>643</sup>

'The classical Sanskrit word *kuṣṭha* has been adopted for "leprosy" in Hindi and elsewhere, but it is clear from the ancient descriptions and classifications of *kuṣṭha* that it was used in Āyurvedic medicine to denote "skin disease" in general. Its use to denote leprosy is simply a case of specialization: leprosy was and is the skin disease par excellence'

A number of different varieties of *kuṣṭha* have been listed in the Āyurvedic texts, which seem to agree in their classification of eighteen main types. The disease is caused by the three *doṣas* affecting distinct body elements and its identification is based on cutaneous signs. Regarding the treatments of *kuṣṭha*, Emmerick noted that some of the remedies 'are likely to have been handed down from the earlier magico-religious period of Indian medical history', where an interesting example is without any doubt the preparation of a poultice made from oil of belleric myrobalan and ashes of a black snake in Su.Ci 9.17 and used 'to remove something unnaturally white' (the cutaneous sign of skin disease) through 'the magical use of something black'.<sup>644</sup>

Among the therapies suggested in the  $\bar{A}$ yurvedic treatises, it is worth mentioning the *tuvaraka* oil occurring in the *Suśrutasamhitā* (Su.Ci 9 and 13). Its preparation and employment is particularly interesting since it reminds the Khotanese *ttīrādāna* oil (*ttīrādānīnai rūm*), which name occurs only in the *Pindaśāstra*. The preparation of *tuvaraka* oil, that cures all type of *kuṣṭha*, is described in Su.Ci. 13.20-23. At the end of the chapter (13.35), Suśruta quotes the recipe of a collyrium for eye diseases made from the *majjan* ('internal pulp of the seeds') of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>641</sup> Cf. Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1B.64 and 1B.109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>642</sup> Emmerick 1984. See also Das 2000: 56-57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>643</sup> Emmerick 1984: 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>644</sup> Emmerick 1984: 101.

*tuvaraka* burnt in a closed vessel and mixed with other ingredients, such as the same *tuvaraka* oil, salt and *anjana*. The plant from which the *tuvaraka* oil is made has been identified with the *Hydnocarpus wightianus* Blume,<sup>645</sup> also known as chaulmoogra and still employed today in the cure of leprosy.<sup>646</sup>

On the other hand, the only mention of the recipe of the Khotanese  $tt\bar{r}r\bar{a}d\bar{a}na$  oil is found in PiŚ 85, in a prescription for the treatment of some kind of eye disease. The word  $tt\bar{r}r\bar{a}d\bar{a}n\ddot{a}$  occurs in § 85, together with its adjective  $tt\bar{t}r\bar{a}d\bar{a}n\bar{n}nai$  (or the variant spelling  $tt\bar{r}r\bar{a}d\bar{a}n\bar{n}nai$  in § 86) and was interpreted by Bailey generically as "medicinal plant" [...] from  $tt\bar{r}raa$ - and  $d\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ - "grain".<sup>647</sup> Theoretically, an intervocalic -*d*- is usually lost in Late Khotanese, as for instance in the case mentioned above of LKh. *pirānaa*- < \**pira*-*dānaa*- 'worm grain'. However, it is possible that the composition process of this word dates back to a different and later phase than *pirānaa*-, which supports Bailey's interpretation of a compound name of  $tt\bar{t}ra$ -'bitter' and  $d\bar{a}naa$ - 'grain', literally meaning 'the bitter-grain' plant. Accordingly,  $tt\bar{t}r\bar{a}d\bar{a}n\bar{n}nai$ is the adjective formed with  $tt\bar{t}ra$ - $d\bar{a}naa$ - and the suffix -*ī*naa-, meaning 'from the bittergrain plant'.<sup>648</sup> In conclusion, the Sanskrit *tuvaraka* oil and Khotanese  $tt\bar{t}r\bar{a}d\bar{a}na$  oil seems to share not similar medical properties and preparation but also a similar name. In fact, Kh.  $tt\bar{t}ra$ - is often use in medical texts to translates Skt. *amla* 'sour, acid'<sup>649</sup> and, likewise Skt *tuvara*, or *tubara*, refers to the 'astringent taste'<sup>650</sup> of the plant.

#### 10.4 lūttā- 'spider' (Skt. lūtā-)

Paragraphs 93 and 94 deal with the treatments of itching caused by the sting or bite of an animal. LKh.  $l\bar{u}tt\bar{a}$ - is a loanword from Skt.  $l\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ -, a spider and the cutaneous disease produced by its bite.<sup>651</sup> As one might expect, spider and snake bites were, and still are, a major problem in some regions of the world. For a long time people from South Asia have sought a way to

- <sup>648</sup> Cf. Degener 1989: 143.
- <sup>649</sup> MW 84, s.v. *amla*.
- 650 MW 450, s.v. tubara.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>645</sup> Hydnocarpus laurifolia Dennst. in Emmerick 1984: 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>646</sup> See on the properties and the uses of *tuvaraka* Nadkarni 1954: 658-661 and Sharma 1996: 169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>647</sup> Dict. 129, s.v. ttīrādānä.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>651</sup> MW 905, s.v.  $l\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ . This disease is said to be produced also by snake bites, see also Maggi 2018.

cure them and herbal antidotes or mantras have been found in every medical tradition of India,<sup>652</sup> and in particular, in Āyurvedic medicine. The mythological origin of  $l\bar{u}t\bar{a}s$  spider is mentioned in the *Suśrutasamhitā* and the *Aṣṭāǹgasam̃graha*, where they are said to be originated from drops of sweat of Vasiṣṭha furious with Viśvāmitra. From these drops were born innumerable and venomous spiders (Su.Ka. 8.88-93; A.s.U. 44.2).<sup>653</sup> Vāgbhaṭaʾs compendium adds two further stories about the origin of spiders. The first one suggests that *lūtā*s arose from sparks of fire of the Asuras killed in the Khānḍava forest (44.2). In the second story, *lūtā*s are swellings caused by poisonous substances originated from corrupted ingested food (44.4).<sup>654</sup>

Various classifications of  $l\bar{u}t\bar{a}s$  and approaches to the treatment of spider poison are then expounded in the main Indian compendia of Āyurveda. In the *Suśrutasamhitā*, for instance, the physician has to firstly examine the bite and understand whether the patient has been stung by a venomous or non-venomous  $l\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ ; accordingly, he can then apply an antidote (Su.Ka.8. 75-78).<sup>655</sup> If not immediately and properly treated, in fact, the effects of the poison will arise slowly, starting from a light itching sensation in the area of the bite on the first day, followed by the onset of swelling on the second day, fever on the third, and so on until the death of the person (8.79-84). Eight kinds of spiders are mentioned in the Su.Ka. 8.94-95 but the conditions caused by them are different from the *Hārītasamhitā*, which also devotes a chapter on the cure of *lūtā*-bites. Chapter 38 of this medical text describes a disease called *lūtā-vraṇa*, an ulcer (Skt. *vraṇa*) with pus inside which small animals (*lūtās*), of which seven kinds are known, are said to live. As a treatment it is recommended to cure the ulcer and kill these animals (38.14-23).<sup>656</sup>

In Khotanese medical texts there are only two occurrences of the word, one in PiŚ 94 and the other in the previously mentioned JP 38 ( $82v1 \ l\bar{u}tt\bar{a}$ ). However, chapter 27 of the *Siddhasāra*, devoted to preparation of antidotes, contains two prescriptions that removes 'the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>652</sup> See Slouber 2012 on the history of snakebites in Gāruda medicine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>653</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1A.298 and 583-584.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>654</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1A.583.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>655</sup> Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1A.298.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>656</sup> See Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 2A.54. Cf. also Raison 1974.

poison (*vișa*-) of all poison-mouthed tiny living creatures ( $l\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ -)' (Si 27.45-46).<sup>657</sup> Unfortunately, this chapter has not been preserved in Khotanese.

#### §93

**durșți**: Regarding the two occurrences of the ppp. of \**druș*- 'to bite, sting' (< Ir. \**drau*(*H*)š-) in §§ 93 (*durșți*) and 94 (*dușți*) cf. Maggi 2018.

#### § 85

**jastā- 'eyeball'**: On *jastä* § 85 see Emmerick and Róna-Tas 1992b: 217-218. This word is found in the Turkish-Khotanese wordlist preserved in ms P2892 and corresponds to Turkish  $y\bar{t}t\ddot{a}$  *karäkä* 'pupil of the eye'.<sup>658</sup>

#### § 89

*stana-vidrradhi* 'mammary abscesses' (Skt. *stana-vidradhi*): See on the treatment of 'mammary abscesses' A.h.Ci. 13.28-29 (= A.s.Ci. 15.11), in a chapter on *vidradhi* ('abscesses') and *vrddhi* ('enlargement of the scrotum').

#### § 91

**āhvarai:** According to Bailey and Emmerick LKh. *āhvaraa*- is an adjective formed by the negative prefix  $\bar{a}$ - + *hvarra*- 'sweet'.<sup>659</sup> See also Sims-Williams 1983, p. 42.

**ñyena:** Under the heading  $\tilde{n}e$ , Bailey proposes an Iranian etymology suggesting a connection to the verb *nai*- : *ni*- meaning 'to churn', with a proposed form \**nitā*- or \**niyā*- meaning 'buttermilk'.<sup>660</sup> The meaning 'buttermilk' or 'curd' for this word is well-established since, as previously noted by Bailey,<sup>661</sup> it corresponds in the *Siddhasāra* to Skt. *dadhi* and Tib. *zho*, both

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>657</sup> Emmerick 1982: 413.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>658</sup> See also Bailey 1944.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>659</sup> *Dict.* 31, s.v. *āhvarai* and SGS 245.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>660</sup> *Dict.* 119, s.v. *ñe*. See also Bailey 1958: 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>661</sup> Bailey 1935: 131.

of which refer to coagulated or thickened sour milk. However, the inflection of this word presents some challenges. Bailey seems to interpret  $\tilde{n}e$  as a feminine noun derived from \**nitā*- or \**niyā*-, presumably based on the several occurrences of IAS  $\tilde{n}ye$  *jsa* in the *Siddhasāra*. In his glossary, Konow as well regards this word as a feminine form  $\tilde{n}i$ - from *i*-declension.<sup>662</sup> On the other hand, Emmerick analyses Si IAS  $\tilde{n}ye$  *jsa* as a masculine form.<sup>663</sup> Indeed, as Emmerick pointed out,<sup>664</sup> a IAS *jsa* was used interchangeably together with *-na* in Late Khotanese, occasionally in the same text as in PiŚ §§ 91  $\tilde{n}yena$  or 126  $\tilde{n}ena$  and § 117  $\tilde{n}enq$  *jsä*. The table provided below presents all the occurrences of this distinctive word in Late Khotanese medical texts, often preceded by the adjectives *ttīra*- 'sour' and *gvīha*'- 'pert. to the cow':

	PiŚ	Si	JP	PiSa
NS	ñye 125	<i>ñye</i> 1.56 (Ch 9r5), 3.26.7 (Ch 20v4), 25.34 (Ch 144v5)	<ul> <li>ñi 26 (72v5), 60 (99r2)</li> <li>ttīra ñi 21 (67r2), 31 (76v4)</li> <li>gvī'ha' ñi 16 (63r3),</li> <li>gvī'ha ñi 47 (91r2)</li> <li>ñe 13 (61v2)</li> <li>ttīra ñe 8 (55r1), ttera ñe</li> </ul>	<i>ttīrą <b>ñe</b> 100v5</i>
IAS	ttīra <b>ñyena</b> 91 ttīra <b>ñeną jsä</b> 117 ttīra <b>ñena</b> 126	<i>ñye jsa</i> 1.56 (Ch 9r3), 21.12 (129v4), 25.8 (142v2), 26.14 (146v2-3)	14 (62r3) gvī'ha' <b>ñe</b> 12 (60v4)	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>662</sup> Konow 1941, s.v. *ñi*-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>663</sup> SGS 260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>664</sup> SGS 260.

Further occurrences of NS have been found in the mss. P 2739 ( $\tilde{n}ye \ KT \ 2.85$ ), Or. 11344 ( $\tilde{n}i \ KT \ 2.36$ ), and in the fragmentary ms H. 143 MBD 16 ( $\tilde{n}i \ KT \ 5.34$ ). The presence of multiple singular nominative forms corroborates Emmerick's hypothesis that the term for buttermilk is a masculine noun -*a*, originating from OKh. \**niya* with palatalisation of *n*- to  $\tilde{n}$ - caused by the following -*y*-.

#### § 92

*virana-* 'wound' (Skt. *vraņa*) and *nālā-virä* 'tubular wound' (Skt. *nādī-vraņa*): An in-depth analysis of the characteristics and the treatments of Skt. *vraņa* is present in all main Indian medical treatises (e.g. Ca.Ci. 25, Su.Sū. 18, Su.Ci. 1 and Ci. 2, A.h.Sū. 39, A.h.U. 25 and U. 26, A.s.U. 29 and U.30, Hā. 35). The *Siddhasāra* as well devotes a chapter (chap. 25) to this important topic. Two varieties of *vraņa* are identified: one that occurs due to the body itself (e.g. caused by *doṣas*) and is due to the *doṣas* and one that occurs accidentally (e.g. because of weapons). Medications to cure an unripe, ripening, and ripe wounds, to remove pus and serum, to clean the skin, and to restore the flesh are expounded in this chapter.

LKh.  $n\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ -virä is a loanword from Skt.  $n\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ -vraṇa, which literally means 'tubular wound'. It refers to an injury of 'any tubular organ (as a vein or artery of the body)' (Skt.  $n\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ ).<sup>665</sup> In the Khotanese Siddhasāra there are only two occurrences in § 13.49 (Ch 104r4-5)  $n\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ -vīraṃ jiṃdä '(That) removes tubular wound' and § 25.29 (Ch 144v1)  $n\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ -viraṃ hamāte 'it should become a tubular wound'.<sup>666</sup>

#### § 99

samgä: A measure of weight, which together with *simga*-, interestingly, does not occur in the *Siddhasāra*. See also Emmerick 1979a and *Studies* 2.139-140. Cf. other unit of measure in the *Pindasāstra: akṣara-, kabă-, prūyă-, mācāŋgā-, siŋga-*, and *sira-*.

<sup>665</sup> MW 534, s.v. nādī.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>666</sup> Emmerick's unpublished critical text and translation.

## 11. Eleventh chapter : Poultices for rheumatism

The present chapter (§§ 101-115) deals with the treatment of LKh. *vāśärūm*. Konow analyses this word as an adaptation from Skt. *vātašoņita* and interprets it as a type of leprosy,<sup>667</sup> but this is phonologically untenable. The *vāśärūm* disorder recurs frequently also in the second section of the Khotanese *Siddhāsara*'s chapter 21 (from Si 21.19 (Ch 131r5-131v2) to 21.39 (Ch 133r4-133v1)), where the word corresponds to Skt. *vātarakta* and *anilarakta*, both translated by Emmerick as 'rheumatism'.

In the *Suśrutasamhitā* (Su.Ci.5) Skt. *vātarakta* and *vātaśonita* are two synonyms used to refer to wind diseases, that initially manifest themself on the surface of the skin like *kuṣṭha* and slowly enter the tissue of the body (5.3). The origin of *vātarakta* is here explained as caused by the enraged *vāta* which, agitated, enters into the channels carrying blood. Since its passage is obstructed, wind and vitiated blood became mixed together giving rise to the disease called *vātarakta* (5.4). The main symptoms are pain, burning and itching sensation, swelling, weakness in the thighs, and so on.<sup>668</sup>

In the *Cararakasamhitā* (Ca.Ci. 29) two kinds of *vātašonita* are distinguished, one superficial (Skt. *uttāna*), located in the skin and muscular tissue, and the other (Skt. *gambhīra*) located in the interior (29.19-23). The seats of *vātašonita* are hands, feet, fingers, and joints. It is said to start from the extremities (hands and feet) and then to spread over the body through blood vessels, until it reaches the joints where it gets stuck, creating intolerable pain (29.12-15).<sup>669</sup>

The most surprising finding to emerge from a comparison of these passages from both *Suśrutasamhitā* and *Cararakasamhitā* and the eleventh chapter of the *Pindaśāstra* is the occurrence of the same therapies and ingredients for the treatments of rheumatic disorders. Both Caraka and Suśruta suggest to treat the area affected with pastes, warm poultices, or massages; ghee, oil, fat, and marrow are of extreme importance for the preparation of medicated oils and plasters, that should be applied warm to the affected area. Recurrent ingredients in the three texts are liquorice plant (Skt. *madhuka*, LKh. *mahābumja*-), sida root

<sup>667</sup> Konow 1941: 100, s.v. vāśa/ärūņ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>668</sup> See Meulenbeld 1999-2002: 1A.266.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>669</sup> See Sharma 1998: 2.487.

(Skt. balā, LKh. sachā-), sesame (Skt. tila, LKh. kumjsata-), castor-oil plant (Skt. eranda, LKh. īraņdaa-), turmeric (Skt. haridrā, LKh. halaidrā-), hogweed root (Skt. varsābhū LKh. u'stä bāva), turpeth (Skt. trivrt, LKh. traula), etc. Interesting is the occurrence of the so-called jīvanīya gaņa (lit. 'vivifying group (of drugs)'),670 a group of ingredients that in Su.Ci. 5.12 and in Ca.Ci. 29.61-70 is cooked with milk, clarified butter, or honey and is used to anoint the body of the patient. The *jīvaniya* group has a long history in the Ayurvedic tradition. The first mention is found in the Carakasamhitā, where the group consists of ten ingredients: medā, mahā-medā, kākolī, ksīra-kākolī, jīvaka, rsabhaka, mudga-parņī, māsa-parņī, jīvantī, and madhuka. In the Suśrutasamhitā the group adopts the alternative name of kākolyādi gaņa (lit. 'group of kākolī etc.'), occasionally still called *jīvaniya gaņa* (cf. Su.Ci. 5.12), where eight of the original drugs are employed with other ingredients.<sup>671</sup> The composition of the original *jīvaniya* gana evolved gradually through time, adopting the name astavarga (lit. 'a class of eight principal medicaments')<sup>672</sup> in the later traditions.<sup>673</sup> In the *Pindaśāstra* the title *jīvaniya gaņa* does not occur, but the ten drugs medā, mahā-medā, kākolī, ksīra-kākolī, jīvaka, rsabhaka, mudga-parnī, māsa-parnī, jīvantī, and madhuka appear in § 106 where, after being cooked with milk, cow oil, and beeswax, are supposed to cure rheumatism in the joints.

#### § 115

 $\bar{a}$ -v-am jsä 'or with them': LKh.  $\bar{a}vamjs\ddot{a}$  was interpreted by Bailey as an adjective meaning 'compact' occurring only in this text (§ 115). He reads and translates the passage as follows:  $js\bar{a}$ ' $n\bar{a}n\ddot{a}$ .  $baysg\ddot{a}$  samkhaly $\bar{a}n\ddot{a}$ .  $\bar{a}vamjs\ddot{a}$ .  $pemdai pad\bar{v}m\bar{a}$ [[+] $n\ddot{a}$  'to be boiled, to be smeared thickly, to be made into a compact lump'.<sup>674</sup> Instead of Bailey's  $\bar{a}vamjs\ddot{a}$ , I read the phrase  $\bar{a}$ -v-am jsä 'or with them' at the junction between two ways of applying the preparation. The phrase consists of the conjunction  $\bar{a}$  'or' (OKh. o, au) and the instr.-abl. of the third plural enclitic pronoun -(a)m jsä (OKh. -n jsa, -m jsa), joined by the Late Khotanese hiatus filler -v- regularly found after the back vowel  $\bar{a}$  [5]. The spelling jsä for the postposition jsa is frequent in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>670</sup> See MW 423, s.v. *jīvana* and *jīvanīya*, and 343, s.v. *gaņa*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>671</sup> Joshi 1983: 10.

<sup>672</sup> MW 116, s.v. astavarga.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>673</sup> An interesting study on the evolution of the concept of *astavarga* is provided by Joshi 1983.

<sup>674</sup> Dict. 282, s.v. āvaņjsä.

Piņḍaśāstra. I therefore translate the clause  $\bar{a}$ -v-am jsä . pemḍai padīmānä as 'or a poultice must be made with them'.<sup>675</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>675</sup> See also Luzzietti 2022: 239-241.

## 12. Twelfth chapter: Prescriptions of all and every kind

The last section of the *Pindaśāstra* (§§ 116-128) deals with various diseases, such as disturbance of breath, cough, hiccup, diarrhoea, excessive thirst, and so on.

#### 12.1 A preparation against avīysāra (§ 117)

**pattrūșa**: The first paragraph of this chapter (§ 117) contains several words of unknown origins. Differently from the previous prescriptions, the recipe describes the preparation of an edible medicine, identified by the name *pattrūṣa*. Bailey does not consider this word to be a loanword and records it in *Dict*. 207, s.v. *pattrūṣa* with the generic meaning 'edible medicament', apparently on the basis of the following verb *hverai* 'must be consumed' (from *hvar*- 'to consume, eat').<sup>676</sup> A vaguely similar word may be *pattarrā*-, which was previously interpreted by Bailey as 'food' and later corrected by Maggi as 'drink' (from \**pati-tṛšnā*-).<sup>677</sup>

**naşī**: Another obscure word in that may refer to some kind of preparation or, alternatively, an ingredient is *naşī*, also occurring as *naşīyūm jsä* (with the enclitic  $-\bar{u}m$  *jsä*) in § 117. Bailey translates it as 'a kind of coction' and explains as 'possibly from \**niš-srita-* > \**naṣ-ṣita-* > *naṣī* to base *sar-*, *srai-* "to cook" whence *şa-* in *şapā* from \**srta-pāka-*'.<sup>678</sup> This is phonologically untenable, however. Rather, *naṣī* may derive from a preverb \**niš-* added to the Ir. verb \**ṣṣäṣ-* 'to cling'<sup>679</sup> with the suffix *-a* forming substantives, hence \**ni-ṣṣāṣ-* + *-a* > \**niṣṣiṣa-* > \**niṣṣiʾa-*, with the subscript hook reflecting the loss of intervocalic *-ṣ-*. Occurrences of this verb \**ṣṣāṣ-* 'to cling' in the 3P pres. ind. are found in the §§ 6 and 8 (*ṣṣaidā*) and § 128 (*ṣaidā*) < OKh. \**ṣṣei'ndā*, both with omitted subscript hook. The substantive *naṣī* may, therefore, refer to a dense or viscous preparation.

**u na \bar{\mathbf{q}}na hā**: **A** third problem is the interpretation of the sentence *u na \bar{q}na hā*. Bailey reads *u na-\bar{q}nahā anarva māśa'kä tcerā* which he translates 'and it (*paindaka-*) must be made with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>676</sup> Cf. SGS 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>677</sup> *Studies* 3.83-84, s.v. *pattarrā*-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>678</sup> Dict. 176, s.v. nașī. Cf. also Bailey 1954: 130-132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>679</sup> SGS 130, Maggi 2019c: 48.

unmoistened unbroken  $m\bar{a}\dot{s}\dot{a}'k\ddot{a}$ -plant'.<sup>680</sup> He interprets  $na-\bar{q}nah\bar{a}$  as 'possibly a compound (with na- for an-) to base naf- (nap-, nabh-) "be moist" (...) Hence  $\bar{a}$ -nah- "to pour upon". A different, simpler interpretation is possible if one divides the words as u na  $\bar{q}na$   $h\bar{a}$  and interprets the sentence u na  $\bar{q}na$   $h\bar{a}$  anarva  $m\bar{a}\dot{s}\dot{a}'k\ddot{a}$  tcer $\bar{q}$  as ' $m\bar{a}\dot{s}\dot{a}'k\ddot{a}$  must be put in from below'. In other words, na is here an adverb meaning 'below' (Skt. adhas) governed with the following postposition  $\bar{q}na$  'from' (literally 'residing'), hence 'from below'. The verb yan- (here occurring as the part. nec.  $tcer\bar{q}$ ) usually means 'to do' but it can be construed with a locative form or a directional particle and acquire the different meaning of 'to put in', as is this case with the particle  $h\bar{a}$ .

**avīysāra:** LKh. *avīysāra*- is a loanword from Skt. *atīsāra*, which refers to the disease of 'diarrhoea'. See also Ca.Ci. 19, Su.U. 40, and A.h.Ni. 8.

#### 12.2 A drink against cough and disturbance of breath (§ 118)

This brief preparation consists of three ingredients, one of which one (LKh. *sperka*) is a loanword from Skt. *sprkkā*. This plant corresponds to *Trigonella Corniculata* Linn., commonly known in English as fenugreek. The Khotanese word occurs also in the *Jīvakapustaka*, in particular in a prescription that, among different disorders, overcomes cough and respiration troubles (JP 74 (105v2)).

**kabä 'a measure':** According to Konow,  $kab\bar{a}$ - is a loanword from Chinese  $k\hat{a}p$ .<sup>681</sup>  $k\hat{a}p$  is in fact the reconstructed Late Middle Chinese pronunciation of  $\triangle g\check{e}$  and refers to 'decilitre'.<sup>682</sup> See on the measure of weight in Khotanese medical texts Emmerick 1979a. Cf. other unit of measure in the *Pindaśāstra: akṣara-, prūyā-, mācāmgā-, vasīya-, simga-, ṣamga-*, and *sira-*.

#### 12.3 A preparation against paysau (§ 119)

The sentence *paysau pettä jīye utcī narāme* has two possible translations. According to Bailey *paysau* is a hapax 'from \**pati-zau-* to *ysū* "pus" and means 'sour, suppurating'.<sup>683</sup> Together with

683 Dict. 214, s.v. paysau.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>680</sup> Dict. 18, s.v. *ānahā*; see also KT 3.34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>681</sup> Konow 1941: 87, s.v. *kaba*-.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>682</sup> Pulleyblank 1991: 106.

the following word *pettä* 'bile' (Skt. *pitta*), the sentence can be translated as 'sour bile will disappear and liquid will come out of it'. A second interpretation may be to consider *pettä* as a LKh. 3S pres. ind. act. from the verb *pat-* 'to fall' (OKh. *pīttä*) with the *paysau* disorder as its subject which, however, remains unexplained. Unfortunately, the context is not clear enough to be certain about which interpretation should be preferred. I decided for the second explanation and translate 'the *paysau* will fall and disappear (and) liquid will come out of it'.

#### 12.4 An emetic drink (§ 120)

This paragraph describes the preparation of a substance that induces strong vomiting. Emetics, sudorifics, or application of oils to the body, were commonly employed in  $\bar{A}$ yurveda before therapies. The function of these preliminaries was to 'help to open the channels in the patient's body and to liquefy the *doṣas* which have been causing blockages, enabling them either to flow out of the body through the digestive tract, or to return to their proper locations in the body'.<sup>684</sup> Caraka, for instance, recommends this as a preventive therapy three times per year (Ca.Sū 7).

Regarding PiŚ § 120, the only unclear passage is due to the word *kalamakyä* in the sentence *u dva drrai jūna tta tta ysūnāñä*. *khū va hera vī kalamakyä na hatsīmdä* 'these must be strained two or three times so that no *kalamakyä* pass through at all there'. Degener suggests to consider this hapax a loanword from Skt. *kalama*- 'Reissorte'<sup>685</sup> with the suffix *-ka*, and meaning 'Klümpchen, Körnchen'.<sup>686</sup> It seems possible that *kalamakyä* may refer to the small seeds from the bitter bottle-gourd (LKh *ttīrä ahaudä*), melon (LKh. *byārä*), and acute-angled cucumber (*jiląbhamgä*), listed in the prescription.

vasī: LKh. *vasīya* is a measure of weight, see also Emmerick 1979a. Cf. other unit of measure in the *Piņdaśāstra: akṣara-, kabă-, prūyă-, mācāŋgā-, śiŋga-, ṣaŋga-,* and *sira-*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>684</sup> Wujastyk 2003: xx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>685</sup> Cf. also MW 260, s.v. *kalama* and Si 3.2 (Ch 15v3-4) *cu kalama-śālä rrīysu* 'As for *kalama-śāli* rice' (Emmerick's unpublished edition and translation).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>686</sup> Degener 1989: 187.

#### 12.5 A poultice of many virtues (§ 128)

This last paragraph contains description of a poultice for healing red swelling, wind in the blood, bodily pains, and pains in the eye. Despite the slight damages in the manuscript, the text can still be read with good continuity.

**bu'jsai:** Bailey interpreted the words *ttai vā bu'jsai haijā hąśä jidä* as meaning 'so for him it cures the fiery red swelling'. He translated *bu'jsai* as 'fiery' on the assumption that this is an adjective derived from the word *bu'jsa* 'flames'. He read this term in stanza 129 of the Late Khotanese *Jātakastava* (with Mark J. Dresden)<sup>687</sup> and that, on account of the usual Late Khotanese interchange of *u* and  $\bar{a}$ ,<sup>688</sup> he connected with the OKh. derivative *bāljsakyau* in N 169.4 that he likewise translated 'with flames'.<sup>689</sup> However, Emmerick subsequently suggested that *bu'jsa* in *Jātakastava* 129 is really a variant spelling for OKh. *bāljse* and that this and its derivative *bāljsakyau* do not mean 'flames' but rather 'down feathers'.<sup>690</sup> Giotto Canevascini further showed convincingly, on the basis of the occurrence of *bāljse* in the *Saṅghāṭasūtra*, that the word simply means 'wings'.<sup>691</sup> Accordingly, Bailey's *bu'jsai* 'fiery' in the *Piṇḍaśāstra* is left without a starting point and remains an isolated hapax.

Actually, *bu'jsai* must be the regular Late Khotanese outcome of the OKh. nom.-acc. pl. *buljse* from *buljsaā*- 'virtue' with -l > -'- (cf. OKh. *balysa*- 'Buddha' > LKh. *ba'ysa*-, the apostrophe transliterating the subscript hook of the Khotanese Brāhmī script, possibly expressing breathiness).<sup>692</sup> The substantive is preceded by *ttai* < OKh. *tte* nom.-acc. pl. f. 'these' + third singular enclitic pronoun  $-\bar{i}$  'its' (rather than Bailey's *ttai* 'so for him' < *tta* +  $-\bar{i}$ ) and refers to 'the virtues' of the poultice, that is, to its curative properties expounded next. Moreover, I read the two independent sentences *ttai vā bu'jsai* 'and these are its virtues' with implied copula and *haijä hąśä jidä* 'it removes red swelling' instead of Bailey's single sentence. The interpretation of *bu'jsai* with the specific meaning of 'curative properties' is corroborated

- <sup>688</sup> See Dresden 1955: 406
- <sup>689</sup> Dict. 279 s.v. bāljsakyau.
- <sup>690</sup> See Emmerick 1985: 39-53 and *Studies* 2.27 s.v. \**āstīye* and 107 s.v. *bāljsakyau*.
- <sup>691</sup> See Canevascini 1993: 154 and Emmerick, *Studies* 3.114 s.v. *bāljsaka*-.
- <sup>692</sup> See Emmerick 1992a: 158-165 on the subscript hook.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>687</sup> *Dict*. 295 s.v. *bu'jsai*; cf. *Dict*. 295 s.v. *bu'jsa* 'flames' and Dresden 1955: 439, 461 and 482 s.v. *bu'jsa*-'flashing, light, flame'.

by the occurrence of the same clause in a slightly different spelling in PiŚ § 8 *tti vā bve'jse* 'and these are its virtues', where it was likewise translated by Emmerick.

Summing up, the prescription lists the ingredients, gives directions for their use in the poultice preparation, and finally enumerates the virtues and applications of the poultice, the first one being its curative property against red swelling.

# INDEXES

The following indexes offer an alphabetical compilation of ingredients, names of diseases and body parts, and verbs that refer to the preparation of the medicaments, along with their corresponding Sanskrit equivalents. These indexes are mainly based on the comparison with the *Siddhasāra* and *Jīvakapustaka*. Additionally, I offer a concise index of botanical names for the most familiar plants referenced in the *Pindaśāstra*, omitting entries with ambiguous meanings. To ensure accuracy, botanical names have been validated with assistance from the *International Plant Names Index* and the *Medicinal Plant Names Service* (Kew Gardens). <sup>693</sup>

The words of the Skt-Kh. Kh. Skt. indexes are organized in the following alphabetical order:  $a \ \bar{a} \ \bar{a}/i/\bar{i} \ u/\bar{u} \ e/ai \ o/au \ k \ hg \ c \ j \ \tilde{n} \ t \ th \ d \ n \ p \ hb \ m \ y \ r/rr \ l \ v \ s \ s/ss \ s \ h.$ 

# Khotanese – Sanskrit

## A

akṣara- akṣa aṃguṣḍa- hiṅgu arrja- arśas aviṣgī'naa- abhiṣuka avīysāra- atīsāra aśvagaṃdhā- aśvagandhā aṣṇūħa kapota viṣ Ā āchaa- gada, roga; 'wind disease' māruta-roga, anila gada

āda- saktu

āphir- dustā

<sup>&</sup>lt;u>https://www.ipni.org/</u> (last accessed 31/01/2023) and <u>https://mpns.science.kew.org/</u> (last accessed 21/08/2023). See also <u>https://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de/scans/SNPScan/2020/web/webtc/</u> indexcaller.php. I employed the works of Sharma 1996 and Sivarajan and Balachandran 1994 for the identification of botanical elements.

āma- āma āra vacā **āstaa-** *asthi* ā'sia- kaņdū āha- āsya, vadana āhā- aņda \*āhusāñ- presveda, sveda, svedana, svinna āhvarai āraņala, amla-kāñjika I/Ī īramdaa- eraņda U/Ū utcā- ambu, jala, vāri **ūpadeśa** upadamśa uysana- śvāsa ulīña- austra ura- udara u'śtä punarnavā, varṣābhū, vr̥ścīva O/AU aumalaa- āmalaka, āmalakī, dhātrī Κ kaņdārya kaņţakārikā, bŗhatī, vyāghrī kapāysa- karpāsa kapūra karpūra **kamala-** *mūrdhān* kaṣā'a- kaṣāya, kvātha, sva-rasa kasaa- jvara kākautā- kākolī kāmjia- kānjika, \*sauvīra kāla- kāla

kumjsata- tila

kumjsavīnaa- rūna- taila kumjsārgyā- piņyāka kumbā atasī kūţ- kuţţ kurkāma- kuṅkuma **kuṣṭa-** *kuṣṭha* ('costus') **kuṣṭa-** *kuṣṭha* ('skin disease') krrimga-rūvai guda kşāra- kṣāra kşīra-kākauțā- ksīra-kākolī, kākolī-dvaya KH khaśa' pāna khāysa- anna khāysāna- āmāśaya G ganama- godhūma gichana- moca ggūnaa- rūpa, lakṣana gūra- drākṣā, mrdvīkā gurgula pura, gulgulu gula- guda, phāņita gau'mā- gulma gau'sä priyangu grrāma- usņa grāmaka- usņa grūșka- tvac C/KY candana- rakta-candana cirutta- siktha caittra- agni, citraka, vahni J/GY

jah-: jasta- sidh, sukhī bhū j(am)b(a)()drre jambūtrayam jin- (°)śudh, (°)han, hŗ jināka- (°)śudh, (°)han, hŗ jīy-: jīta- ghna, nud, praksīņa jilabhamgä jālini-phala jīvaka- jīvaka jīvatti- jīvantī jsahāra- grahaņī Ñ ñe dadhi ñūst- ābaddha T/TT ttani- chavi ttara- tarșa, trșņā ttāgara- vakra ttīra- amla, tikta, śukta ttirşcya parpaţī ttumgara- ārdraka, nāgara, viśvā, śunthī tturra- vaktra ttauda- usna, dāha tcāra- vasā tcārba- snigdha tciña- kiņva tciman- akși ttrahā- mūlaka ttriphalā- triphalā ttraikșa- tīkșņa traula trivrtā tharka- aksota

## D

daśāmga- daśānga dasau daśa dāa- agni, anala, jyotis; dīpana, vahni dātta- dantī, nikumbha dūvara- udara dūşa- doşa devadāra- dāru, devakāṣṭha, devadāru drāmma- dāḍīma

## Ν

**na** adhas

namvā- lavaņa

namvīnaa- lavaņa

naraiya vrddhi, JP vardhma

nāstā vistambhin

nāhā- nābhi

 $n \bar{\imath} yaka \text{-} \textit{navan} \bar{\imath} ta$ 

**nīysva** masūra

**nīra-** nīra

# P

paṃjalau kāṃsa pajs-: paha- pac, śr̥ta, svinna paṃjsa pañca papala kaṇā, kr̥ṣṇā, pippali, māgadhī paṣkāsaā- ādhmāna, āhāna paher- bhāvita pāa- pāda pā'sa- vārāha pī medas piņḍaa- piņḍaka pirānaa- krimi

punarnavā- punarnava pustara- padmaka petta- pitta pe'śā'ra- nākta, nīśā-mukha, sāyāhna pryamgä priyangu, śyāmā PH phāhă'- kāsa phiysgāna- vasti **bañ-: basta-** bandh B bam- ullekhana, chardana, chardī baysga- bahala bara śīmjā- badarī **balāttaka-** *bhallāttaka* **bāga-** *bhāga* **bājana-** *pātra* bā ttīman- śatapuspā **bāti-** *vāta* **bāvā-** *mūla* **bīysman-** *mūtra* **bua'-** *purā* būysīña- chāga **būhana** *musta* byāra- ervāruka Μ makauta- mukula makş- mrakş mamgāra- purāņa mahābumja- madhuka, yastīmadhu mahā-midā- mahā-medā

**mākṣia-** mākṣika

māśa'kä śārṅgaṣṭā māṣa-parṇi māṣa-parṇī māsta- takra mijsaā- majjan mijsāka- asthi, bīja, majjan midā- medā mūdga-parṇi- mudga-parṇī mau- mada mauga- maudga Y yamai yamaka yauga- yoga yausā- kastūrī ysaṃgara- pravayas

ysambasta- laśuna

ysaraṃjsa- kurumbha

ysāluā- dārvī, pīta-dāru

**ysīḍaa-** pīta

**ysua-** pāka

ysai pūrvāhņa, prātar

# R/RR

raysa- rasa

raşabhaka- <u>r</u>şabhaka

rrājaa- romaka

rīysū taņḍula, śāli

rīśä' rocana, ruciprada

**rūna-** ghṛta

**rrūnai** mañjiṣṭhā

rūsāḍa- yava-kalka

raijsaa- tīkṣṇa

raustara arka

L

lamgara- rāsnā lavamga- lavanga lāksa lāksā lūttā- *lūtā* v vaņdamgä vidangā valaka- kanistha vașț-: vistāta- sthā vasta- vasti vātta-pitta- vāta-pitta vāttasthīla- vātāsthīlā **vāmīnaa-** *vātāma* vāśarūm vāta-rakta, anila-rakta vīnā- ruj, śūla **vimath-** *vimath* virana- vrana vihīlaa- vibhītaka, vibhītakī, akṣa Ś/ŚŚ śaśvāna- (śveta-)sarṣapa, siddhārtha. **śāva-** tāmra, śulva śikarā- śarkarā śimga- prastha śīmjā- kola, bādara śīya- pāņḍu, śukla, sita śīlājattä śilājatu śilīșuma- śleșman Ş/ŞŞ şala- *śați* şūa- viṣāṇa şvīda- kṣīra

sachā- balā sadalūna- saindhava samdvāta- samnipāta samna- viţka, viş, śakrt sambhāra sambhāra salīcä satīna sāda- *śīta* sumam mālatī sutta- śukta sauthara spyaka- dhātakī stana-vidrradhi- stana-vidradhi styūda- kathina strīs-:strīya-stambh spajūm sauvarcala sparkā- sprkkā spyaa- puspa svamna-gīraa- kāñcana-gairika svāmilau amsa Η hacäna- kāśa hamga amlavetasa hambrrīh- yu, samyuj hamamga tulya, sama hamara- samdhi haysgā- nāvana haryāsa- asita, krsna halīraa- harītakī, pathya, abhaya halaidrā- niśā, haridrā haśa- śopha hāma- āma hāmaa- kaņikā

hīnaā- surasā hīysamau dhānyāka hūñi- asra, rakta, šoņita hūrasţā pauşkara hūşa vankşaņa huşka- śuşka haikā- hikkā (henaa-), heṃjā- aruṇa, rakta hva'nd- nara hvar- : hvaḍa- ad, līḍha, lih hvā'ñ- višoṣaṇa

# Sanskrit – Khotanese

# Α

akşa akşaraakşa vihīlaaakși tcimanaksota tharkaagni caittraagni dāaatasī kumbā atīsāra avīysāraadhas na abhaya halīraaabhişuka avişgī'naaanda āhāanala dāaanila-rakta vāśarūm anna khāysaambu utcā

ambhas utcāamla ttīraamla-kāñjika āhvarai amlavetasa haṃga aṃsa svāmilau aruṇa (henaa-), heṃjāarka raustara arśas arrjaaśvagandhā aśvagaṃdhāasita haryāsa asthi āstaaasthi mijsāka-

# Ā

ājya gvīha'- rūnaādhmāna paskāsaāābaddha *ñūst*āma āma 'undigested' āma hāma- 'raw' āmalaka aumalaaāmalakī aumalaaāmāśaya khāysānaāraņala āhvarai ārdraka ttumgaraāsya āha āhāna paskāsaā-U/Ū ūdaka utcāudara *dūvara*- ('dropsy') udara *ura*- ('belly') unmath jin-, jinākaupadamśa *ūpadeśa* 

ullekhana bam-

ușna grrāma-

uṣṇa grāmaka-

ușņa ttauda-

# E/AI

eraņda īramdaa-

ervāruka byāra-

O/AU

aușțra ulīña-

# K

kaṇā papala

kaņikā hāmaa-

kanțakārikā kandārya

kaņdū ā'sia-

kanistha valaka-

kațabhī-śvetā śīya- bua'-

kațhina styūda-

kapota viș *aṣṇūุha* 

karpāsa kapāysa-

karpūra kapūra

kāśa hacäna-

kaṣāya kaṣā'a-

kāsa phāhā'-

kastūrī yausā-

kākolī kākautā-

kāñcana-gairika svaņna-gīraa-

kānjika kāmjia-

**kāla** kāla-

kāmsa pamjalau

kāsa phāhā'-

kiņva tciñakutt kūtkunkuma kurkāmakunda śīya- bua'kurumbha JP ysaramjsa**kustha** *kustha*- ('costus') **kuṣṭha** *kuṣṭha*- ('skin disease') kola bara śīmjākşāra ksārakşīra svīdakşīra-kākolī kşīra-kākauţākrimi pirānaakrsna haryāsa krsnā papala G gada āchaaguda gulaguda krrimga-rūvai gulgulu gurgula gulma gaumāgo-mūtra gvīha'- bīysmangodhūma ganamagrahanī jsahāraghna jīy- : jītaghŗta gvīha'- rūna-C/CH citraka caittrachardana bamchardī bamchavi ttanichāga būysīñaJ

jala utcā-

jambūtrayam j(am)b(a)()drre

jālini-phala jilabhamgä

ji jin-, jināka-

jīvaka jīvaka-

jīvatti jīvantī-

jyotis dāa-

jvara kasaa-

# Т

takra māsta-

tarșa ttara-

tāmra śāva-

tikta ttīra-

tīkṣṇa ttraikṣa-

tīkṣṇa raijsaa-

tila kumjsata-

tulya hamamga

taila kumjsavīnaa- rūna-

toya utcā-

triphalā ttriphalā-

trivrtā traula

trsnā ttara-

tvac grūska-

# D/DH

dakşa krremgīña-

dadhi ñe

daśa dasau

daśānga daśāmga-

dantī dātta-

dādīma drāmmadāru devadāradārvī ysāluādāha ttaudadīpana dāadusta āphirdevakāstha devadāradevadāru devadāradosa dūsadrāksā gūradhvams jin-, jinākadhātakī sauthara spyakadhātrī aumalaa-N

(°)naś jin-, jinākanākta pe'śā'ranāgara ttumgaranābhi nāhānāvana haysgānavanīta nīyakanikumbha dāttanīra nīranivr jin-, jinākanīśā-mukha pe'śā'ranud jin-, jināka-, jīynetra tciman-P/PH pac pajspathya halīraapadmaka pustara-

parpațī *ttirscya* pāka ysuapātra bājanapāda pāapañca pamjsa pāņļu śīyapāna khaśa' piņdaka piņdaapiņyāka kumjsārgyāpīta ysīdaapīta-dāru ysāluāpitta pettapippali papala punarnava punarnavā pura gurgula purā bua'pūrāña- yoni purāņa mamgārapūrvāhņa ysai puspa spyaapaușkara hūrașțä prakșīņa jīy- : jītapravayas ysamgaraprastha śimgaprātar ysai priyangu gau'sä priyangu pryamgä presveda \*āhusāñphāņita gula-B/BH badara bara śīmjābandh bañbahala baysgabalā sacha bīja mijsāka**brhatī** *kaņdārya* bhallāttaka balāttakabhāga bāgabhāvita paher-Μ majjan mijsaā-, mijsākamada maumadhuka mahābumjamañjișțhā rrūnai masūra nīysva mahā-medā mahā-midāmākșika mākșiamāgadhī papala mālatī sumam māşa-parņī māşa-parņi mukula makauțamudga-parņī mudga-parņi mūla bāvāmūlaka ttrahāmūtra bīysmanmūrdhan kamalamusta *būhana* medas  $p\bar{i}$ medā midā moca gichanamaudga māmgamrakş makşmŗdvīkā gūra-

Y

yamaka yamai

yava-kalka rūsāḍa-

yu haṃbrrīh-

**yoga** yauga-

yoni pūrāña-

# R

rakta (henaa-), hemjā-

rakta-candana rakta-candana-

rasa raysa-

rāsnā laņgara-

ruj vīnā-

ruciprada rīśä'

rūpa ggūnaa-

roga āchaa-

rocana rīśä'

romaka rrājaa-

rşabhaka raşabhaka-

L

lakṣana ggūnaa-

lavaņa namvā-, namvīnaa-

lavanga lavanga-

laśuna ysambasta-

lākṣā lākṣa

lūtā lūttā

locana tciman-

## V

vaktra tturravakra ttāgaravacā āra

vadana āhavarşābhū u'śtä vasā tcāravasti phiysgānavasti vastavahni caittravahni dāavāta bātivāta-pitta vātta-pitta vāta-rakta vāśarūm vātāma vāmīnaavātāsthīlā vāttasthīlavārāha pā'savāri utcāvițka samnavidangā vaņdamgä vibhītaka vihīlaavibhītakī vihīlaavimath vimathviśvā ttumgaraviș samnavișāņa sūavistambhin nāstä vedanā vīnāvyāghrī kaņdārya vraņa viranavŗścīva u'śtä Ś śakrt samnaśați șalaśatapuspā bā ttīman**śam** jin-, jinākaśarkarā śikarāśārngastā māśa'kä śāli rīysū śīta sādaśiro-'rti kamala- rāha-' śilājatu śīlājattä śukta ttīraśukta suttaśukla śīya-(°)śudh- jin-, jinākaśunthī ttumgaraśūla vīnāśulva- śāvaśuşka huşkaśuşka-mūlaka huşka- ttrahāśopha haśaśyāmā pryamgä śrta pajsśleșman śilīșumaśleșman ślișmaśvāsa uysanaśveta-sarsapa śīya- śaśvāna-S saktu ādasatīna salīcä sambhāra sambhārasamdhi hamarasamnipāta samdvātasama hamamga

sarpis gvīha'- rūnasarşapa śaśvānasāyāhna pe'śā'rasiktha ciruttasita śīyasidh jahsiddhārtha śaśvānasukhī bhū jahsurasā hīnaāsaindhava sadalūnasauvarcala spajūm \*sauvīra kāmjiastana-vidradhi stana-vidrradhi stambh strīs- : strīyasthā vast- : vistātasnigdha tcārbaspŗkkā sparkāsvinna \*āhusāñ-, pajssveda \*āhusāñsveda \*āhusāñ-Η hŗ jin-, jināka-

(°)han jin-, jināka harītakī halīraahingu aņguşda-

# Disease names (Eng.-LKh.-Skt)

Ache khaiyaā-Combination (of all three dosas) samdvāta-; samnipāta-Cough phāhā'-; kāsa Cutaneous disease due to spider bite  $l\bar{u}tt\bar{a}$ - ;  $l\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ Diarrhoea avīysāra-; atīsāra Disease of the womb pūrāña- āchaa-; yoni-doṣa, yoni-śūla, yoni-vyāpatti Dropsy dūvara-; udara Dust (inside the eyes) phāna-Fester, ulcer hambva'-Fever kasaa-, parigraha (uncertain); jvara Headache kamala- rāha ; śiro-'rti **Hiccough** haikā-; hikkā Internal tumour gaumā-; gulma Itching ā'sia-; kaņdū Joint hamara- ; samdhi Kidney (adj.) bi'gaji Mammary abscesses stana-vidrradhi-; stana-vidradhi Pain rāha-Pain vīnā-; ruj, śūla Piles arrja-; arśas Pus ysua-; pāka Pus ysūrga Rheumatism vāśarūm; vāta-rakta, anila-rakta Scrotal enlargement naraiya; vrddhi, JP vardhma Skin disease kusta-; kustha Skin disease ranīka-Suppurating (adj.) ysvaurga-Swelling (of the stomach due to constipation) paşkāsaā-; ādhmāna, āhāna Swelling haśa-, hasvaā- ; śopha Swelling hasvā-Swollen (adj.) stānga-Thirst ttara- ; tarṣa, tṛṣṇā Tubular wound nālā-virä ; nāḍī-vraṇa Venereal disease ūpadeśa ; upadaṃśa Vomit (vb.) bam- ; ullekhana, chardana, chardī Wind disease ...; māruta-roga, anila gada Worm grains pirānaa- ; krimi Wind-bile vātta-pitta- ; vāta-pitta Wind tumour vāttaṣṭhīla- ; vātāṣṭhīlā Wound virana- ; vraṇa

# Body parts (Eng.-LKh.-Skt)

Abdomen ura; udara Anus krrimga-rūvai ; guda Back brraha-Belly aha-Belly jsahāra-; udara **Bile** *petta*- ; *pitta* Bile ysā'ysa-Bladder phiysgāna-; vasti Bladder vasta ; vasti Blood hūñi-; asra, rakta, śoņita Bone āstaa-; asthi Breath uysana-; śvāsa Breast paija-Eye tcinan-; akși Eyeball jastā-Eyelids hānāFoot pāa-; pāda Groin, thigh-joint hūşa; vankşana Head kamala; mūrdhān Doşas dūşa- ; doşa Liver gyagarra-Loin \*sūni-(Mid-)thigh brrāmga-Mouth *āha*- ; *āsya*, *vadana* Navel nāhā-; nābhi Nipple maysdara-Nostril haysgā-; nāvana Phlegm śilīşuma-, ślişma-; śleşman Region near the heart ysair-bana-Shoulder svāmilau; amsa Skin kanga-Skin ttani-; chavi Stomach khāysāna-; āmāśaya Spleen spaijaa-Support (of the intestines) sambhāra; sambhāra Urine bīysman-; mūtra Waist myāna-Womb (female organs) pūrāña-; yoni Wind bāti-; vāta

# Plant names (Eng.-LKh.-Skt.)

This index serves a purely instrumental purpose, aimed at assisting readers in enhancing their comprehension of the text and offering a foundation for potential future investigations. It's important to note that the index is not exhaustive in its coverage of Khotanese botanical terms. Instead, it focuses solely on terms that possess one or more corresponding Sanskrit equivalents in the *Siddhasāra* and *Jīvakapustaka*.

Almond (adj.) (Prunus amygdalus Batsch.) vāmīnaa-; vātāma Asa foetida (Ferula assa-foetida Linn.) amgusda ; hingu Indian barberry (Berberis aristata DC.) ysāluā-; dārvī, pīta-dāru Bean (Vigna radiata Linn.) mauga-; maudga Belleric myrobalan (Terminalia bellirica Roxb.) vihīlaa-; vibhītaka, vibhītakī, aksa Bladder sorrel (Garcinia pedunculata Roxb.) hamga; amlavetasa Castor-oil plant (Ricinus communis Linn.) īraņdaa-; eraņda Chaste tree (Vitex trifolia Linn., Vitex negundo Linn.) hīnaā-; surasā Chebulic myrobalan (Terminalia chebula Retz.) halīraa-; harītakī, pathya, abhaya Cloves (Syzygium aromaticum Linn.) lavamga-; lavanga Coriander (Coriandrum sativum Linn.) hīysamau; dhānyāka Costus (Saussurea lappa Clar.) kusta-; kustha Cotton plant (Gossypium herbaceum Linn.) kapāysa-; karpāsa Deodar (Cedrus deodara Roxb.) devadāra-; dāru, devakāstha, devadāru Dill (Anethum graveolens subsp. Sowa Roxb.) bā ttīman-; śatapuspā Embelia ribes (Embelia ribes Burm.) vandamgä ; vidangā Emblic myrobalan (Phyllanthus emblica Linn.) aumalaa ; āmalaka, āmalakī, dhātrī Fulsee flower (Woodfordia fruticosa Kurz.) sauthara spyaka-; dhātakī Ginger (Zingiber officinale Rosc.) ttumgara-; ārdraka, nāgara, viśvā, śunthī Groundsel (Pluchea lanceolata Clar.) lamgara-; rāsnā Hogweed (Boerhaavia diffusa Linn.) u'stä ; punarnavā, varsābhū, vrscīva Indian bdellium (Balsamodendron mukul Hook. (= Commiphora mukul Eng.), or Boswellia glabra Roxb. (= Boswellia serrata Roxb.)) gurgula ; mahisāksa, palamkasa, pura Indian coral tree (Erythrina indica Zoll.) mahā-midā-; mahā-medā-Indian madder (Rubia munjista Roxb) rrūnai ; mañjisthā Indian valerian (Tabernaemontana Coronaria Roxb.) ttāgara-; vakra jīvantī (Holostemma ada-kodien Schult., Leptadenia reticulata Wight & Arn., Flickingeria nodosa Dalz., Dendrobium macraei Lindl.) jīvatti-; jīvantī Jujube (Ziziphus jujuba Mill., Ziziphus mauritiana Lam.) bara śīmjā-; kola, badarī Leadwort (Plumbago zeylanica Linn.) caittra-; agni, citraka, vahni Liquorice (Madhuca indica Gmel.) mahābumja-; madhuka, yastīmadhu

- Long pepper (Piper longum Linn.) papala ; kaņā, krsnā, pippali, māgadhī
- Marking nut (Semecarpus anacardium Linn.) balāttaka-; bhallāttaka
- Mudar (tree) (Calotropis gigantea Linn., Calotropis procera Ait.) raustara ; arka
- Mustard (Brassica campestris Linn.) śaśvāna- ; (śveta-)sarṣapa, siddhārtha
- Nut grass (Cyperus rotundus Linn.) būhana; musta
- Oldenlandia (Fumaria vailantii Loisel.) ttirscya; parpațī
- Orrisroot (Inula racemosa Hook., Psilanthus travancorensis Wight & Arn., Iris germanica
  - Linn.) hūrastā; pauskara
- Pea (Pisum sativum Linn.) salīcä ; satīna
- Perfumed cherry (Callicarpa macrophylla Vahl) pryamgä; priyangu, śyāmā
- Pomegranate (Punica granatum Linn.) drāmma-; dādīma
- Radish (Raphanus sativus Linn.) ttrahā-; mūlaka
- Roseapple (Syzygium cumini Linn., Syzygium fruticosum DC., Syzygium jambos Linn., Syzygium caryophyllaeum Gaertn., Syzygium operculatum Gamble, Syzygium rubicundum Wight et Arn., Syzygium herbacea Roxb., Ardisia humilis Vahl.) jamba (drraya); jambū(trayam)
- Saffron (Crocus sativus Linn.) kurkāma-; kunkuma
- Sesame (Sesamum indicum Linn.) kumjsata-; tila
- Sida root (Sida cordifolia Linn., Sida rhombifolia Linn., Sida spinosa Linn., Abutilon indicum Linn.) sachā- bāvā- ; balā
- Sweet flag (Acorus calamus Linn.) āra; vacā
- Turmeric (Curcuma longa Linn.) halaidrā-; niśā, haridrā
- Turpeth (Operculina turpethum Linn.) traula ; trivrtā
- Wild croton (Baliospermum montanum Müll.Arg.) dātta-; dantī, nikumbha
- Wild eggplant (Solanum virginianum Linn., S. xanthocarpum Schrad. & Wendl., S. surattense Burm.) kaņdārya; kaņţakārikā, brhatī, vyāghrī
- Wild Himalayan cherry (Prunus cerasoides Don) pustara-; padmaka
- Winter cherry (Withania somnifera Dunal) aśvagamdhā-; aśvagandhā
- Zedoary (Hedychium spicatum Lodd.) sala-; śați

# GLOSSARY

The words are listed in the following alphabetical order:  $a \ \bar{a} \ \bar{a}/i/\bar{\iota} \ u/\bar{u} \ e/ai \ o/au \ k \ kh \ g$   $c \ j \ \tilde{n} \ t \ th \ d \ n \ p \ ph \ b \ m \ y \ r/rr \ l \ v \ s \ s/ss \ s \ h \ Anusvara (m)$  and subscript hook (') have not been considered in the alphabetic order. Nasalised vowels (i.e. unetymological *anusvara*) are treated as the alphabetic equivalent of non-nasalised vowels (e.g. a = a). The nasalised vowels are also not considered in the headings. No distinction has been made between  $\ddot{a}/i/\bar{\iota} \ u/\bar{u} \ e/ai \ o/au$ , differently from *a* and  $\bar{a}$ .

The headings reflect, as much as possible, the Late Khotanese spellings in PiŚ. The precedence to more conservative forms is given when more variant spellings are available. In a more general context, the words listed in the glossary may have several meanings. In the present glossary, only the meaning pertaining with the context has been recorded. On the base of a comparison with the *Siddhasāra* and the *Jīvakapustaka*, the corresponding Sanskrit meaning has been recorded between round brackets. The abbreviation LW indicates that the word is an Indian loanword, unless is stated otherwise. In the case of several terms, it was not possible to establish the gender or meaning (e.g. names of unknown ingredients). When gender is uncertain, it is indicated by 'n.', the abbreviation for 'noun'.

Occurrences containing the editor's supplements or emendations are marked by an asterisk \* before the paragraph number. *Akṣara*s or part of *akṣara*s deleted either by the copyist (marked with double square brackets [[...]] in the text) or the editor (with braces {...}) are not taken into consideration in the glossary. Grammatical terms are abbreviated as follows: N = nominative, A = accusative, GD = genitive-dative, IA = instrumental-ablative, L =locative, S = singular, P = plural.

A

akūţ- vb. 'to be unbroken': ppp. akūțya-: GDSm akūțye 85.
akşara- m. 'akşa' [LW ← Skt. akşa 'a measure of weight']: NS akşarä 8, akşari 8 (2×), akşä 8.
amguşḍa- m. 'asa foetida (Skt. hingu)': NS amguşḍi 80, amguṣḍi 107.
anarva- adj. 'unburst': NS anarva 117.

- aysā'yā- n. 'a medicament': NS aysā'yä 17 24, aysā'ya 14 (P 2889), aysāya 14.
- aysu pers. pron. 'I': GD mam 6.
- arrja- m. 'piles (Skt. arśas) [LW]: GDS arrjä 77 81 82 83; NAP arrja 79, arrjä 78 80 81.
- arūvā- f. 'castor-oil plant (?)' [LW]: NS arūva 34.
- arvā- f. 'medicament, drug (Skt. auşadha, dravya, bheşaja)': NS arva 8; IAP arvyau jsa 65, arvyau jsä 108.
- avașāyā-n. 'a medicament': N avașāyą 94.
- avişgī'naa- adj. 'pert. to pistachio nut (Skt. abhişuka)' [LW + -īnaa-]: NS avişgī'nai 8.
- avīysāra- m. 'diarrhoea (Skt. atīsāra)' [LW]: AS avīysārä 117.
- aśa-m. 'horse': GDS aśä 52.
- aśvagamdhā- f. 'winter cherry (Skt. aśvagandhā)' [LW]: NS aśvagamdhą 14 108, aśvägamdhä 113, aśvagadha 14 (P 2889).
- aşnūha-m. 'pigeon (Skt. kapota) dung (Skt. viș)': NAP așnūha 26 94, așnūha 90 91.
- askin- vb. 'to take out': part. nec. askināña-: NSm askināñä 128.
- ah-: ya- vb. B act. intr. (perf. intr.) 'to be, exist': negative 3S pres. ind. *naiśtä* 62; 3P pres. ind.
   *īmde* 45 68 108 113 114; 3S pres. opt. *ī* 47.
- aha- m. 'belly': AS aha 57 60; GDS ahe 58 62; LS ahaña 10, ahañāṣṭä (+ āṣṭä) 59.
- ahaysnāva- adj. 'unwashed': NSm ahaysnāva 13.
- ahi n. 'a medicament': NS ahi: 117.
- ahauda- m. 'bottle-gourd (Skt. alābu)': GDS ahauda 120, ahāda 48 72.
- ahaudi-vārrja- m. 'bottle-gourd leaf': GDS ahaudi-vārrjä 45.

## Ā

- ā conj. 'or': ā 87, ā-v-am jsä (+ -am jsä) 115. Phrase: ā vā 'or alternatively' 19 21 47 64 85 91 94 (2×) 114.
- āchaa- m. 'disease (Skt. gada, roga; 'wind disease' māruta-roga, anila gada)': NAP āchā 12 14 45, āchā 75; GDP āchām 1 63 125.
- **ājvā-** f. 'skin': NAP *ājve* 96.
- **āḍa-** m. 'barley semolina (Skt. *saktu*)' [LW]: NS *āḍä* 24 26 61 102 104 124, *āḍa* 10 12 19 91. Compound: **rūsāḍa-**.
- $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$  na postp. + L or adv. 'from':  $\bar{q}$ na 7 117.
- āphāra- m. 'disturbance': GDS āphārä 5; AS āphārä 38 42 118.

- **āphir-** vb. A mid. intr. 'to be disturbed (Skt. *duṣțā*)': 3S pres. ind. *āphide* 4, *āphede* 5 6; 3P pres. ind. *āphīrārai* 8.
- **āma** adj. 'undigested' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. *āma*]: ASm *āma* 10.
- āyv- vb. tr. 'to heat': part. nec. āyvāña-: NSm āyvāñä 22 72; NAPm āyvāñä 109.
- ā'ysam m. 'millet': NS ā'ysam 81.
- ār-: ārrda- vb. tr. 'to grind': part. nec. ārāña-: NSm ārāñä 50 58 110 126, ārāña 122; NS ārāñä 28; NAPm ārāña 2 44 62 90, ārāña 124, ārāñä 6 10 12 20 22 24 26 27 30 51 52 55 59 71 103 106 117 (2×) 122 128, ārrāñä 91; NAP ārāña 113, ārāñä 18 78; N ārāña 117; ppp. ārrda-: NSm ārrdä 21; N ārrdä 127.
- ārā-n. 'sweet flag (Skt. vacā)' [LW]: NS āra 14 14 (P 2889) 53 55 90 91 107 125, ārä 26.
- **āşka-** m. 'drop': NAP *āşkä* 36 44 (2×) 48 52 92.
- **ā**ş**kia-** adj. 'tearful': NSm *ā*skī 6.
- -āstā directional suffix + L or adv.: see aha-, niha-, tciman-, bimdā, hāna-.
- āstaa- m. 'bone (Skt. asthi)': NAP āste 48.
- āstamna postp. + GD 'beginning with, and so on': āstamna 100.
- ā'sia- m. 'itching (Skt. kaņdū)': AS ā'sī 94, āsī 97, āsī 88 95; GDS ā'sī 94, āsī 87; IAS ā'sye 85; NAP ā'sye 91; GDP ā'syām 84, āsyau 93.
- āh-: āsta- vb. B mid. intr. (perf. intr.) 'sit, dwell': part. pres. NAPf āni 85.
- āha- m. 'mouth (Skt. āsya, vadana)': LS ehi 127.
- āhā- f. 'egg (Skt. anda)': NS āha' 44; IAS āha'na 21.
- \*āhusāñ- vb. A tr. 'to make sweat (Skt. presveda, sveda, svedana, svinna)': 3S pres. ind. āhusāñe 125.
- āhvaraa- adj. 'sour (Skt. āraņala, amla-kāñjika)': IAS āhvarai 91.
- I/Ī

-ī encl. 3S pron.:  $-i/-\ddot{a} + -\bar{i} > -\bar{i}$  see tciman-, drāma-, śliṣma-;  $-i/-\ddot{a} + -\bar{i} > -ai$  see bimdä, şi'.

- **īraņdaa-** m. 'castor-oil plant (Skt. *eraņḍa*)' [LW]: NS *īraņde* 14 22 32 39 50 51 75 107 108, *īrande* 27 55 70 125, *īrade* 14 (P 2889) 27 (P 2889); GDP *īrandām* 29.
- U/Ū
- **u** conj. 'and': *u* 1 3 4 5 6 (4×) 10 11 (2×) 12 14 (4×) 14 (P 2889) 18 22 (3×) 24 27 28 (2×) 36 37 39 43 44 45 48 (3×) 50 52 54 60 63 64 65 66 67 (2×) 69 70 72 (3×) 74 78 80 81 (2×) 83 84

85 (5×) 86 87 88 (2×) 89 90 99 (2×) 102 104 (2×) 106 (2×) 111 (2×) 116 117 (5×) 118 120 122 124 128 (6×), *ū* 38 61 80 82 99 117.

- -ūm, -m encl. 3P pron.: see biśa-, vara<sup>2</sup>; -ūm jsa see jsena, pindaa-, -ūm jsä see pindaa-, nașa-,
  -m jsä- see ranīka-, -am jsä see ā, ū jsä see makș-.
- utcā- f. 'water (Skt. ambu, jala, vāri, etc.)': NS ūtca 107, ūtcä 99 (2×), utcī (+ -ī) 119; IAS uci jsa 6 14, uci jsä 17 73, ūci jsa 19, ūci jsä 8 120, ūcä jsi 7, ucä jsä 61, ucä jsa 94, ucäna 128 (2×).

**ūpadeś** $\mathbf{\ddot{s}}$ -n. 'venereal disease' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. upadamśa]: AS ūpadeśä 69.

uysanā- f. 'breath (Skt. śvāsa)': GDS ūysąna 38, uysąnä 118, uysänä 42.

**ūysūy-: \*uysuta-** vb. tr. 'to strain out': part. nec. *ūysūyāña-*: NAPm *ūysūyāña* 109.

uysbāy- vb. A tr. 'to draw out': 3S pres. ind. uysbāyi 80.

- uysmā- n. 'clay': NS uysmä 21.
- ura-m. 'belly (Skt. udara)': GDS ura 11, urä 22.
- ulīña- adj. 'pert. to the camel (Skt. auṣṭra)': NSf ulīña 75 108, ūlīna 39; IASf ulīne 22 70, ūlīnye 57.
- u'stā- 'hogweed (Skt. punarnavā, varsābhū, vrscīva)': NS u'stä 105.
- **ūskivaše** n. 'a disease (?)': N *ūskivaše* 72; A *uskävaše* 72.
- ustama- adv. 'finally': ustam 11.
- uspaśd- vb. tr. A 'to produce': 3S pres. ind. aspaśde' 74.

#### O/AU

auda adv. 'up to': audä 122.

aumalaa- m. 'emblic myrobalan (Skt. *āmalaka*, *āmalakī*, *dhātrī*)' [LW]: NS *aumalai* 2 5 7, *āmalai* 42 68.

## K

kanga- m. 'skin': GDS kamgyä 37.

kacau adv. 'somewhat': kacau 4.

kanaā- f. 'drop': NAP kanai 8.

- kaņḍāriā- f. 'wild eggplant (Skt. kaņṭakārikā, brhatī, vyāghrī)' [LW ← Skt. kaņṭakārikā]: NS kaņḍārya 64.
- kapāysa- m. 'cotton plant (Skt. JP karpāsa)' [LW]: NS kapāysä 98 107.
- kapūra- m. 'camphor (Skt. karpūra)' [LW]: NS kapūrä 8, kapūra 8.

- **kabā** n. 'a measure' [LW ← Chin.  $k\hat{a}p$  (合 gě)]: NS kabä 118.
- kamala- m. 'head (Skt. mūrdhān)': NS kamalä 8; GDS kamala 8; LS kamä'ñä 119, kami'ña 124. Phrase: see rāha-.
- kalamakyä- n. '?': NAP kalamakyä 120.
- kalarbā- n. 'a medicament': NS kalarbä 69.
- kaśś-: kasta- vb. mid. intr. B 'to appear': 3S pres. ind. kąśte 72.
- kaşā'a- m. 'decoction (Skt. kaşāya, kvātha, sva-rasa, etc.)' [LW ← Skt. kaşāya]: NS kaşā' 8; IAS kaşe'na 89 102, kaşe' jsa 104; LS kaşā'ña \*8.
- kasaa- m. 'fever (Skt. jvara JP)': AS kasai 52 53 54.
- kastīrā- n. 'tin': NS kastīrä 64.
- kamha- m. 'hemp': NS kahä' 85, kahä:' 117.
- kamhīnaa- adj. 'pert. to hemp': NSm kahīnai 99.
- kākauți- f. 'a medicament (Skt. kākolī)' [LW]: NS kākauțä 106.
- kāmjia- m. 'sour gruel (Skt. kānjika, \*sauvīra)' [LW]: IAS kāmjīna 114.
- **kāla-** m. 'time (Skt.  $k\bar{a}la$ )': NS kālī (+  $-\bar{i}$ ) 62.
- kumjsata- m. 'sesame (Skt. *tila*)': NS *kumjsa* 3 6 (2×) 14 20 22 30 34 38 40 52 55 59 61 70 107, *kūmjsa* 5 39, *kumjsä* 75 104, *kāmjsą* 26 91, *kāmjsa* 110 114 117, *kujsa* 122 124 125 128, *kūjsa* 14 (P 2889), *kaujsa* 112; IAS *kumjsamna* 8.
- kumijsavīnaa- adj. 'pert. to sesame (Skt. 'sesame oil' taila)': NSm kumijsavīnai 65, kujsavīnai 125, kāmijsavīnai 107, kāmijsavīnai 115, kāmijsavīnai 100; IASm kumijsavīnai 71, kujsavīnai 86, kujsavīnai 29 50 81, kūjsavīnai 73, kūjsävīnai 47, kaujsavīnai 64; LSm kumijsavīnai 80.
- kumjsārgyā- f. 'sesame oil cake (Skt. piņyāka)': NAP kumjsārgyä 16.
- kumbā n. 'linseed (Skt. atasī)': N kumbā 6 (2×) 14 28 38, kumbā 20, kāmbā 14 (P 2889) 26 91 117 125, kāmbā 112.
- kūț-: \*kūțäta- vb. tr. 'to pound; to ache' [LW ← Skt. kuțț]: part. nec. kuțāña-: NSm kūțāñä 98, kūțāña 111 114; NSf kūțāñä 69; NS kūțāñä 82, kuțāñä 17; NAPm kūțāña 3 5 7 8 68 87 108 112, kūțāñä 14 25 31 32 34 38 39 41 46 47 48 53 57 58 60 64 75 81 92 95 96 97 107 120 128, kuțāña 40, kuțāñä 6 13 33 115, kūțā 'ñä 61; NAPf kūțāñä 79; NAP kūțāñä 23 94, kuțāñä 105; ppp. \*kūțäta-: NSm kūțye 99; IASm kūțye 89; NAPf kūțya 85 99.
- kurkāma- m. 'saffron (Skt. kunkuma)' [LW]: NS kurkām 8, kurkām 8.

- kuṣṭa- m. 'costus (Skt. *kuṣṭha*)' [LW]: NS *kuṣṭä* 14 32 50 55 64 71 91 107, *kuṣṭi* 27 125, *kūṣṭä* 27 (P 2889), *kūṣṭa* 14 (P 2889).
- kusta- m. 'skin disease (Skt. kustha)' [LW]: NS kustä 99; GDS kustä 86 100.
- kūsta conj. 'where': kūstä 108 110 115, kustä 85 113 114.
- kaura hvāşa- m. 'kaura-grass': LS kaura hvāşi 86.
- kyahai- vb. C mid. intr. 'to itch': 3P pres. ind. kyahāre 6, kyihāre 85.
- krremgīña- adj. 'pert. to the fowl (Skt. dakṣa)': NSf krrimgīñä 44; IASm krremgīne \*21.
- krrimga-rūvaa- m. 'anus (Skt. guda)': LS krremga-rūya 80, krremgä-rūya 78, krregä-rūya 79.
- kṣāra- m. 'alkali (Skt. kṣāra)' [LW]: NS kṣārä 48 126.
- kși' card. num. 'six': NA kși' 8.
- **kşīra-kākauțā-** f. 'a medicament (Skt. *kşīra-kākolī, kākolī-dvaya*)': NAP *kşīra-kākauțä* 106. **KH**
- khaśa'- m. 'drink (Skt. pāna)': NAP khaśa' 7.
- khāysa- m. 'food (Skt. anna)': GDS khāysä 60.
- khāysāna- m. 'stomach (Skt. āmāśaya)': LS khāysāña 9 11 12 13 14 14 (P 2889) 24 25 26 27 48, khāysāñä 10.
- khāś- vb. A act. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to drink': part. nec. khāśāñä-: NSm khāśā'ñä 120, khāśąñä 65 118; NAPm khāśąñä 7, khāśą 'ñä 76.
- khāhā- f. 'spring': GDP khāhām 19.
- khu conj. 'when, if, as soon as; so that, that': 'when, if, as soon as' *khu* 4 5 8 (4×) 71 73 74, *khvai* (+ -*i*) 47; 'so that' *khu* 8, *khū* 100 120, *khvai* (+ -*i*) 127; 'that, as' *khū* 100 (2×). Phrases:
  khu ra 'until': *khu ra* 7, *khu ri* 86; see also damdä.
- khūra- adj. '?': NAPm khūra 52.
- khaiyā- f. 'ache': AS khaiya 55; GDS khaiya 40.
- khyera- adj. 'pert. to the ass': NSm khyera 109; IASm khyera 50 122; NSf khyerä 108; IASf khyerye 55 70.
- G
- gachāka- m. 'kernel': GDP gachākām 7, gīchākām 62.
- ganama- m. 'wheat (Skt. godhūma)': NS ganam 111; LS ganīma 28.
- ganānaa- adj. 'stinking, fetid': NSm ganānai 14 ganānai 115, ganām 14 (P 2889).
- ggamtsa-m. 'hole': NS gatsä 85.

gaysa-m. 'reed': GDS gaysä 91.

garkha- adj. 'heavy': NAPf garkhye 4; garkhyä 6.

garşva- m. 'stone (?)': NAP garşva 52.

gichana- m. 'plantain (Skt. moca)': GDP gichanām 8, gīchanā 14 52, gīchanā 14 (P 2889).

gitsīrinaa- adj. 'of gypsum': LSm gitsīrījā 123.

gītsera- m. 'gypsum': NS gītserä 85.

guņā-/gāņā- n. 'a medicament': GDP guņām 14, gāņām 97, gāņā 14 (P 2889) 51 52 91, gāņā 95.

ggūnaa- m. 'mark, sign (Skt. rūpa, laksana)': GDS gūnai 69.

gumal- vb. tr. 'to mix; to besmear': part. nec. gūmalyāñä-: NSm gūmalyāñä 27 28 32 73, gūmalyāña 102, gūmalyāñä 20 24 67 104 127, gūmalyāña 27 (P 2889), gūmalyāña 122, gumalyāñä 50, gūmilyāñä 26, gūmilyāñä 124; NAPm gūmalyāñä 99; NAP gūmalyāñä 29.

**gūra-** m. 'grape (Skt. *drākṣā*, *mṛdvīkā*)': NAP *gūra* 3 5 25 33 34 39 40 41 42 51 58 60 61 87 95 97 124, *gūrä* 75, *gurä* 46 57.

**gurgulă-** n. 'bdellium (Skt. *pura*)' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. *gulgulu*]: NS *gurgula* 22.

gurmāña- vb. 'to be broken (?)': part. nec. gurmāña- : NSm gurmāñä 50.

**gūrva-** m. 'semolina': NAP gūrva 19 46 57 91.

gūrva- adj. 'ground': NSm gūrve 55; IAPm gūrvyau 85, gūrvām 8.

gula- m. 'crude sugar (Skt. guḍa, phāņita)' [LW ← Skt. guḍa]: NS gulä 48.

**gau'ma-** m. 'internal tumour (Skt. gulma)' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. gulma]: NAP gau'ma 48, gā'mi 91.

gau'sa- m. 'millet (Skt. priyangu)': IAS gau'säna 89.

grrāma- adj. 'hot, warm (Skt. *uṣṇa*)': reduplicated NSm *grrām grām* 5, *grām grām* 6 55 68 70 72 109 128; IASf *grāmye* 120.

grāmaka- adj. 'warm (Skt. usņa)': NSm grāmakä 4.

grāmūtcā- f. 'warm water': LS grāmūcä 29.

grūska- m. 'skin, bark (Skt. tvac)': NS grūskä 48; GDP grūskyām 48 126.

grrainaa-, grīmjā- adj. 'of clay': LSm greña 115; NSf grīmja 85.

gvāś- vb. act. tr. 'to separate': part. nec. gvāśa'ña-: NSm gvāśau'ñä 86.

gvīha'- adj. 'pert. to the cow': NSm gvīha' 7 8, gvīhä': 127, gvīhä 115, gvīhi' 93 102, gvī 'ha' 118, gvī 'hi' 107, gvī 'hä': 125; GDSm gvī 'ha' 94; IASm gvīha' 20 59, gvīhä' 60 62, gvīhä' 122,

gvī'ha' 27 28 31 34 58 124, gvī'hä' 32 87 94 128, gvī'hä': 47, gvīhi': 106, gvī'ha': 33, gvīhą 27 (P 2889), gvī'hye 22 33.

- gvai' n. 'a medicament': N gvai' 94.
- C/KY
- candana- m. 'sandal-wood (Skt. rakta-candana)' [LW]: NS camda 40, camdä 64.
- cambūla- adj. 'disturbed': NAPm cambūlą 6.
- **cī** conj. 'if': *cī* 62.
- cimga- m. 'Chinese person': GDPm cimgām 8, cigām 8, cegām 123.
- cipan- vb. B 'to cut up, chop, crush': part. nec. *cipañāña-*: NSm *cipañāñä* 43; NAPf *cipañāñä* 119.
- cirutta-m. 'beeswax (Skt. siktha)': NS ciruttä 105; IAS cirųttäna 106.
- **cu** conj. 'when, if, which, that': *cu* 6 7 28 41 64 68 85 127, *cū* 68 (2×) 71 72 78 122 123 127, *ci* 128, *cvai* (+ *ī*) 98.
- $c\bar{u}$  indef. pron. 'whatever':  $c\bar{u}$  45.
- cūvam n. 'barberry extract': NS cūvam 71, cuvam 78.
- caittraa- m. 'leadwort (Skt. agni, citraka, vahni)' [LW ← Skt. citraka]: GDS caittrai 48.
- caurśi' n. 'a medicament': NS caurśī' 76.

J/GY

- **jarra-** m. 'liver': NS *jara* 41; AS *jara* 43; GDS *jara* 37 42 43 44 47 48, *jarä* 35 36 39 46, *jarra* 47, *jarrä* 40 45; LS *jarąña* 45.
- jastā- f. 'eyeball': NAP jastä 85.
- jah-: jasta- vb. B mid. intr. 'to be cured (Skt. sidh, sukhī bhū)': 3S pres. ind. jatte 4 5 6 7 36 64 66 100 127; 3P pres. ind. jahāre 8, jihāre 108.
- jin- vb. B act. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to remove' (Skt. (°)*śudh*, (°)*han*, *hr*, etc.): 3S pres. ind. *jimdä* 8 11
  12 14 17 20 22 23 24 26 27 28 32 38 42 47 48 (2×) 52 55 61 65 70 75 106 112 113 114 115
  122 124 126 128, *jidä* 2 8 29 39 48 105 128, *jemdä* 33 67 69 78 (2×) 79 81 96 104 109 118
  121 124, *jemdä:* 107.
- jināka- m. 'remover' (Skt. (°)śudh, (°)han, hr, etc.): NS jinākä 30 34 40.
- jīy-: jīta- vb. B mid. intr. 'to disappear; be removed (Skt. ghna, nud, prakṣīņa, etc.)': 3S pres. ind. jīye 119 128, jįye 123; 3P pres. ind. jāre 99.
- jilabhamga- m. 'acute-angled cucumber (Skt. jālini-phala)': NS jilabhamgä 120.

jīvaka- m. 'a medicament (Skt. jīvaka)' [LW]: NS jīvaka 105, jīvakä 106.

jīvatti- f. 'a medicament (Skt. jīvantī)' [LW]: NS jīvattä 106.

jīs-: jista- vb. B mid. intr. 'to boil': 3S pres. ind. jīsdi' 8; ppp. jista-: IASm jistye 89.

jūna- m. 'time (Italian volta)': NAP jūna 6 120, jūm 8 128.

jușțīnaa- m. 'jute fabric': IAS jușțīnainai (+ -i) 85.

**jambā-** f. 'applerose (Skt. *jambū*)' [LW]: NAP j(am)b(a) \* 18.

jşā'ñ- vb. act. tr. 'to boil': part. nec. jşā'ñāña-: NSm jşā'ñāñä 80 99; NSf jşā'ñāñä 69 118; NAPm jşā'ñāñä 102 104 115 128; NAPf jşyāñāñä 79; NS jşā'ñāñä 17 100; NAP jşā'ñāña 6, jşā'ñāñä 7 8 (2×) 67 113.

jsanaspārā- n. 'a medicament': NS jsanaspāra 18.

jsahāra- m. 'belly (Skt. udara)': NS jsahāra 10; LS jsahera 27.

jsā- vb. B mid. intr. 'to go': 3S pres. ind. jsāve 6 8.

jseņä adv. 'finely, in detail; slightly': *jsiņä* 8, *jsiņä* 85; reduplicated *jseņä jseņä* 86; + -ūm *jsa*: *jsiņūm jsa* 4.

## Ñ

ñya- m. 'buttermilk (Skt dadhi)': NS ñye 125; IAS ñyena 91, ñeną jsä 117, ñena 126.

ñūṣṭ- vb. act. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to wrap (Skt. ābaddha)': part. nec. ñūṣṭyāña-: NSm ñūṣṭyāña 4; NAPm ñūṣṭyāñä 70, ñūṣṭyāñä 37.

## T/TT

tta adv. 'so': reduplicated *tta tta* 86.

ttajs- vb. B act. intr. 'to ooze': 3S pres. ind. ttąśtä 85.

ttamgalaka- adj. 'thin': LSm ttamgalakaña 4.

ttani- f. 'skin (Skt. chavi)': GDS ttiñye 30; LS ttañä 33, ttaña 90.

ttara-m. 'thirst (Skt. tarșa, trșņā)': NS ttarä 123, ttar $\overline{i}$  (+ - $\overline{i}$ ) 123.

ttā directional particle for actions directed towards the person addressed: ttā 1 116.

ttī adv. 'then':  $tt\bar{t} 6 (2\times) 8 (2\times) 11 47 65 67 100 117 124 128 (2\times), tt\bar{t} 128.$ 

ttīman- nt. 'seed': NS ttīma 39 87 90 91, ttīm 98, ttī 107; NAP ttīme 120.

ttira- adj. 'such great': ASf ttira 8.

- ttīra- adj. 'bitter, sour (Skt. amla, tikta, śukta)': GDSm ttīra 48, ttīrä 72, ttīrä 120; IASm ttīra 91 117 126.
- ttīrādānā- f. 'a medicament': NAP ttīrādānä 85.

ttīrādānīnaa- adj. 'pert. to the *ttīrādānā* plant': NSm *ttīrādānīnai* 85, *ttīrādānīnai* 86.

ttīlaka- adj. 'little': NSm ttilakä 118 128, ttīlaka 4.

ttirscyā- n. 'oldenlandia (Skt. parpaţī)': NS ttirscya 59.

ttumgara- m. 'ginger (Skt. ārdraka, nāgara, viśvā, śunthī)': NS ttaugarä 76, ttāgarä 125.

tturra- m. 'mouth (Skt. vaktra)': NS tturä 85.

ttauda- adj. 'hot (Skt. uṣṇa, dāha)': NSm ttauda 128; GDSm ttaudye 31; NAP ttaudä 68.

tcabe'j- : tcabrīya- vb. A tr. (perf. tr.) 'to scatter, disperse': 3S pres. ind. *tcabe'je* 13 19 90, *tcaba'je* 89.

tcabe'jāka- m. 'disperser': NS tcabe'jākä 21.

tcāmśvā- n. 'a medicament': IA tcyāmśvīna 54.

**tcārā-** f. '(liquid) fat (Skt. *vasā*)': NS *tcāra* 39 108, *tcārä* 75 76 108 (2×); IAS *tcāra jsä* 22 48 70, *tcārä jsä* 70, *tcāri jsä* 57, *tcāri jsi* 55.

tcārba- adj. 'greasy (Skt. snigdha)': NSm tcārbä 86.

tciña- m. 'yeast (Skt. kiņva)': NS tcyąna 90, tcyąna 91.

tciman- nt. 'eye (Skt. akşi)': LS tcimña 2 4 5 6 (2×), tciňa 7, tciňa 3 5 128; tceňa 4, tcim ňāstä (+ -āstä) 8; NAP tcimeňa 127, tcařmeňa 8, tcimeňa 8, tcimeňa 8, tcimañī (+ -ī) 5, tcimañī (+ -ī) 6; GDP tcimañvā 4.

tcaura- card. num. 'four': NAm tcaura 127.

ttrahā- f. 'radish (Skt. mūlaka)': NAP ttrahe 11 12 16 18 24 25 26 27 32 79 117, ttrahi 27 (P 2889); GDP ttrahām 126.

ttrām-: ttranda- vb. A act./mid. tr./intr. (perf. intr.) 'to enter': 3S pres. ind. ttrāme 127.

ttriphalā- f. 'the three fruits (Skt. triphalā)' [LW]: NS ttriphala 7.

**ttraikșa-** adj. 'severe; acid' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Gandh. < Skt. *tīkṣṇa*]: GDSm *ttraikṣä* 94; NAPf *ttraikṣä* 47. **traulă-** n. 'turpeth (Skt. *trivṛtā*)': NS *traulä* 113.

TH

thamj- vb. A mid. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to pull, take out': 3S pres. ind. thamję 80; part. nec. thamjāña-: NSm thamjāña 8 99, thamjāñä 99; NAPm thamjāña 60.

tharka- m. 'walnut (JP aksota)' [LW ← Tib. star ka]: GDS tharka 39 76, tharkä 61 75 108.

thāsakā-n. 'a vessel': LS thāsakäñä 100.

D

- damdä adv. 'so much, so long': Phrase: *damdä khu ra* 'until': *damdä khu ra* 6 8 (2×) 99, *damdä khū ra* 99, *damdä khu* 85, *damdä…khū* 100, *dadä…khu* 128.
- dara- adj. 'split': GDSm darye 10.
- dara- m. 'hollow': LS darä 85.
- daśāmga- m. 'Daśānga' [LW ← Skt. daśānga]: NS daśāmgä 26.
- dasau card. num. 'ten (Skt. daśa)': NA dasau 6.
- daha- m. 'man': AS dahä 76.
- dahīña- adj. 'male': GDSm dahīñä 69.
- dāa- m. 'fire (Skt. agni, anala, jyotis; '(digestive) fire' dīpana, vahni): NS dai 85; IAS dāna 60.
- dājsamdaa- m. 'a medicament': NS dājsamdai 26 53 90.
- dātti- m. 'wild croton (Skt. dantī, nikumbha)' [LW ← Skt. dantī]: NS dāttä 117.
- **dīna** prep. 'below':  $d\bar{i}nai (+ -\bar{i}) 85$ .
- dīra- adj. 'bad': GDSm dirye 22.
- dīrą posp. + GD 'below, in': dīrą 85.
- dūmā- n. 'smoke': NS dumi 127.
- dūma-hausta- adj. 'smoke-dried': NAPm dūma-hausta 5 dūma-haustä 39, dūmä-haustä 51, dūma-haustä 42 75, dūmi-haustä 60 61, dūmi-haustä 95, dumi-haustä 97.
- dūra- adj. 'hard': NAPm dūra 71.
- dūvara- m. 'dropsy (Skt. udara)' [LW ← Gandh. < Skt. udakodara]: AS dūvarä 12 22 61.
- dūşa- m. 'doşa' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. doşa]: IAP dūşyau' jsa 7.
- **devadāra-** m. 'deodar (Skt. *dāru*, *devakāstha*, *devadāru*)' [LW ← Skt. *devadāru*]: NS *devadārä* 125.
- \*druș-: durșța- vb. 'to bite': ppp. durșța-: GDS dușți 94, durșți 93.
- drā-masi indecl. adj. 'having the size of a hair': drā-masi 4.
- drāma- adj. 'such': NS  $dr\bar{a}m$  100 128,  $dr\bar{a}m\bar{i}$  (+  $-\bar{i}$ ) 6.
- drāmma- m. 'pomegranate (Skt. dādīma)': NS drrāma 39 91 115, drāma 87 117.
- drai card. num. 'three': NA drai 6 (2×) 7 8, drrai 85 99 120 128, drre \*18; IA drayau 7.
- **dva** card. num. 'two': NAm dva 8 12 (4×) 72 85 (2×) 120; NAf dvī 7 8 (2×), dvyī 62 (2×).
- Ν
- na adv. 'below (Skt. adhas)': na 7 74 76 117.
- nata- adj. 'lower': NSm na 71.

- namvā- f. 'salt (Skt. lavaņa)': NS nämva 10, namva 11 12 26 52 81 109; IAS namve jsa 53, namvena 18 54 112.
- namvīnaa-, namvīmjā- adj. 'salted (Skt. lavaņa)': IASf namvīmje 73.
- naysdä-vaha'- adj. 'nearly cooked': NSm naysdä-vahä' 8.
- narām-: naranda- vb. act. tr./intr. (perf. intr.) 'to come out': 3S pres. ind. narāme 78 98 119.
- naraiyā- n. 'scrotal enlargement (Skt. *vrddhi*, JP *vardhma*)': AS *naraiya* 65 67, *naraiye* 66; GDS *naraiya* 63.
- nālā-virā- n. 'tubular wound (Skt nādī-vraņa)' [LW]: AS nālā-virä 96.
- nași n. 'coction': N nașī 117, nașīyūm jsä (+ -ūm jsä)117.
- naşkirr- vb. B tr. 'scatter (?)': 3S pres. ind. naşkirrdä 97.
- **naspaśd-** vb. A tr. 'to remove, expel': 3S pres. ind. *naspaśde*' 10.
- nāmji f. 'a medicament': N nāmji 28.
- nāman- nt. 'name': AS nāma 26.
- nāsta adv. 'downwards ('downwards motion' Skt. vistambhin)': nāsta 63 71.
- **nāha-** m. 'navel (Skt. *nābhi*)': LS *neha* 57 58, *neha*' 60, *niha* 59 62, *nihä* 61, *nihä*' 80, *nihāṣṭä* (+ -āṣṭä) 56.
- ni adv. 'not': ni 4 74, nä 8, na 120.
- nīyaka-m. '(fresh) butter' (Skt. navanīta): NS nīyakä 36 45; IAS nīyakänä 78.
- nīysua- m. 'lentil (Skt. masūra)': NAP nīysva 67.
- **nīra-** m. 'water' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. *nīra*]: NS *nīra* 8.
- nirūj-:\*niruta- vb. tr. 'to burst': ppp. \*niruta-: GDSf narve 87.
- niś-: niśāta- vb. A act. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to put in, insert': part. nec. *niśāña*-: NSm *niśą̃ñä* 5, *niśą̃ña* 4, *nīśą̃ñä* 6 10 11 19 22 67 70 72, *nīśą̃ña* 127; NS *nīśą̃ña* 83.
- nișem- : nășaunda- vb. A tr. 'to extinguish': 3S pres. ind. nișaime 128.
- nūvara- adj. 'new': GDSf nuvara 87.
- nūvara-ysāta- adj. 'new born': GDSm nūvara-ysā 81.
- nauka adv. 'finely': *nauka* 2 6 (2×) 7 10 12 14 17 18 22 24 39 40 41 48 50 51 52 53 59 62 71
  92 106 126, *naukä* 20 26 30 34 46 55 57 60 61 64 68 78 87 90 91 103 105 107 113 122 (2×)
  127.

### Р

pamjalau n. 'bell metal (Skt. kāmsa)': NS pamjalau 125.

pajs- : paha- vb. B act. tr. 'to cook, mature (Skt. *pac, śrta, svinna*)': 3S pres. ind. *paśtä* 14 32; part. nec. *pāchaa*-: NSm *pāche* 5 20, *pāchai* 6 10 14 14 (P 2889) 18 24 25 26 27 27 (P 2889) 28 32 38 40 44 50 51 52 53 54 64 65 81 86 89 99 102 103 104 105 108 110 111 112 122 124 125 128, *pajsąñä* 43 85 124; NSf *pāchai* 11; NAPm *pajsą̃ñä* 117; NAPf *pāche* 16; N *pāchai* 73 117 (2×).

pa'jsa- adj. 'strong': NSm pe'jsä 123; NSf pa'jsa 47, pe'jsä 127.

- pamjsa card. num 'five (Skt. pañca)': NA pamjsä 45.
- pat-: pasta- vb. B act. intr. (perf. intr.) 'to fall': 3S pres. ind. pettä 119.
- pattev- pattauda- vb. 'to toast, roast': part. nec. *pattevāña*-: NS *pattevāña* 28; ppp. *pattauda*-: NSm *pattaudä* 51 104 (2×) 117, *pattādä* 88; GDP *pattaudä* 95; NS *pattaudä* 117.
- pattrūsā-n. 'a medicament': N pattrūsä 117, pattrūsa 117.
- padā adv. 'first': padā 11.
- padajs- : padīya- vb. B act. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to burn': ppp. padīya-: GDSm padī 13; NAPm padīya 48 91 97; GDPm padīyām 126; N padīya 95.
- padav-:\*paduta- vb. B act. tr./ mid. intr. 'to fumigate': part. nec. padvāña-: NSm padvāñä 127.
- padīm- vb. A mid. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to make': 3S pres. ind. padīme 60 76; part. nec. padīmāña-: NSm padīmāñä 12 14 22 48 55 88 90 115, padīmāña 4 13 127, padīmāñä 73 85 122; NS padīmāñä 121; NAPm padīmāña 72, padīmāñä 71, padī 127.
- panam-: panata- vb. mid. intr. A (perf. intr,) 'to rise': 3S pres. ind. paname 74 76.
- papală- n. 'long pepper (Skt. kaņā, kṛṣṇā, pippali, māgadhī)' [LW ← Skt. pippali]: NS papala 76.
- \*paysāa- m. 'a medicament (?)': LS paysāya 28.
- paysau n. '(?)': NS paysau 119.
- parigrahă- n. 'a disease': AS parigrahä 52, parigrahä: 48.
- parkūn- vb. tr. 'to sprinkle': part. nec. parkūnāña- : NSm parkūnāñä 24 27 27 (P 2889) 32 50, parkūnāñä 10 36, parkūnāña 13, parkunāñä 29 38; NSf parkūnāña 43, parkūnāñä 45; NAP parkūnāñä 26; N parkūnāñä 127.
- pars-: parya- vb. B act. intr. (perf. intr.) 'to escape; to pass (of time)': ppp. parya-: ASm parye 5.
- paś- vb. A act. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to let go, release': part. nec. paśāña-: NSm paśąñä 123; NAPf paśąñä 8.

paşkāsaā- f. 'swelling (of the stomach) (Skt. *ādhmāna*, *āhāna*)': AS paşkāsā 24, paşkāsā 11.
paskyāstā adv. 'back, again; afterwards': paskyāstā 99 117 128, paskyāstā 6 8 22.

- paher- vb. tr. 'to moisten (Skt. bhāvita)': part. nec. paherāña-: NSm paherāñä 19 21 (2×) 22 86
  - 98 126, pahairāñä 78, piherāñä 57; NAPm paherāña 2 42 47 59, paherāñä 30, paherāñä 33
  - 41 61 62 68 92 117; NAP paherąnä 94.
- pāa- m. 'foot (Skt. pāda)': NAP pā 28, pvā 68; GDP pām 28 29.
- pātcä adv. 'then, next': pātcä 58 65 66 104 122 125, pātca 83.
- pāri- f. 'leaf': NAP perä 88, pirä 29.
- pā'sa- m. 'pig (Skt. vārāha)': GDS pvā'śä 108.
- pāstāmga- adj. 'upside down': NSm pāstāmgä 8, pāstumgä 85.
- pī n. 'fat (Skt. medas)': NS pī 3 34 39 46 75 87 96 107.
- pi'jsa adv. 'strongly': pi'jsa 85, pe'jsä 120.
- piņḍaa- m. 'poultice (Skt. piņḍaka)' [LW]: NS piņḍai 26, piņḍai 31 39 40 62 64 110 124 126 128, piņḍai 28 (2×) 44 45 46 54 (2×) 57 58 92 96 97 106 107 122, peṇḍai 5 93, peṇḍai 34 37 38 48 50 53 55 61 66 68 72 75 78 82 105 108 115 125, peṇḍai 3 4 (2×) 5 6 (2×) 11 (2×) 12 13 16 17 18 21 22 25 32 59 67 90 91 95 102 104 112, peḍai 33, peṇḍe 20, paiṇḍai 88 111 122, paiḍai 64 89 128, paiṇḍe 14 (P 2889), piṇḍai-y-ūṃ jsä (+ -ūṃ jsä) 73, peṇḍai-t-ūṃ jsa (+ -ūṃ jsa) 14; GDS peṇḍai 124; NAP piṇḍā 116, piṇḍā 77, piṇḍā 1 9 35 49 101, piṇḍā 72, peṇḍā 15, peṇḍā 84, peṇḍā 56.
- piņdaka- m. 'poultice (Skt. piņdaka)' [LW]: NS piņdakä 60 128.
- pirānaa- m. 'worm grain (Skt. krimi)': NAP pīrānā 78.
- pīrmāttama- superl. adj. 'best': NSm pīrmāttam 86.
- pūņvāña- vb. 'to be filled': part. nec. NSm pūņvāña 85.
- punarņavā- f. 'hogweed (Skt. punarnavā)' [LW]: NS punarņava 125.
- pūra-m. 'child': AS pūra 76.
- pūrāña- adj. 'pert. to the womb (Skt. yoni)': NAPm pūrāña 75.
- purgā- f. 'lees': NS purgä 13, purga 27 32, paurgä 27 (P 2889); IAS purgyäna 28.
- pușța-ttākavi n. 'a medicament': NAP pușța-ttākavi 85.
- pustara- m. 'wild Himalayan cherry (Skt. padmaka)': NS pustärä 86, paustarä 53.
- pușțarānă- n. 'a medicament': NS pușțarāna 24, pușțirāna 26.
- pe'- m. 'force; essence': NS pe' 6.

paijā- f. 'breast': LP paijvā 122 (2×).

- petta- m. 'bile' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. *pitta*]: AS petta 10; IAS pettana 5.
- pe'ma- m. 'woollen cloth': IAS pe'mą jsä 70.
- pe'maka- m. 'woollen cloth': LS pe'makaña 4.
- pe'śā'ra- 'evening (Skt. nākta, nīśā-mukha, sāyāhna)': GDS pe'śā' 4 6 7 8, pa'śā 4, pe'śā' 128.
- pe'sva- adj. 'steaming': NSf pe'sva 99.
- pau- m. 'onion': NS pau 3 31 43 58 75 104 124; GDS pau 61 96; IAS pāna 82.
- **pyan- : pyanda-** vb. A/B act. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to insert': part. nec. *pyanāña-*: NSm *pyąnāñä* 86, *pyąnāñä* 85.
- **pyamtsa** adv. 'in front of':  $pyats\bar{i} (+ -\bar{i})$  72.
- prahālj-: prhīya- vb. tr. A (perf. tr.) 'to open': 3S pres. ind. prrahāje 72.
- prūyā- n. 'a measure': NS prūye 8 (2×); NAP prūyi 7, prūye 8 (2×).
- **pŗyaṃgǎ-** n. 'perfumed cherry (Skt. *priyaṅgu*, *śyāmā*)' [LW ← Skt. *priyaṅgu*]: NS *pŗyaṃgä* 78. **PH**
- phaja- m. 'glowing coals': LS phaji 43 124.
- phaja-vaha- 'cooked in glowing coals': NSm phaja-vaha 3, phaji-vaha' 75.
- phāna- m. 'dust': NS phām 4.
- phāhā'- n. 'cough (Skt. kāsa)': AS phāhä' 14 39, phāhä: '118, phāhi' 42.
- phiysgāna- m. 'bladder (Skt. vasti)': LS phiysgāña 48 72, phaiysgāñä 75, pheysgāñä 70.
- B

baka adv. 'small, finely': bakä 8.

bagala- m. 'vessel': NS bagalä 85, bagala 85; GDS bagala 85 (3×); LS bagįla 86.

bañ-: basta- vb. A act. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to bind, tie (Skt. bandh)': 3S pres. ind. bąñe 117; 3S pres. opt. bañī (+ -ī) 124; part. nec. bañāña-: NSm bañāña 3 14 (P2889) 47 102 124, bañāñä 67 68, bañāñä 11 13 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 36 39 41 42 43 44 45 50 51 52 53 54 55 57 58 59 60 61 62 64 68 69 73 75 80 81 83 87 92 94 106 107 108 109 110 111 115, bañāñä 122, bāñāñä 78; NSf bañāñä 119; NS bañāñä 121; NAPf bañāñä 11 79.

**bana** n. '?': N bana 120.

- **banīja-** m. 'oak': GDP *banījām* 48 126.
- bam- vb. A tr. (perf. intr.) 'to vomit (Skt. ullekhana, chardana, chardī)': part. nec. bamāña-: NSm bamāñe 120.

- baysga- adj. 'thick (Skt. bahala)': NSm baysgä 113.
- baysga adv. 'thickly': baysgä 115.
- bara śīmijā- n. 'jujube (Skt. kola, badarī)' [LW + Kh.]: N bara šīmije 14 61, bara šīje 14 (P 2889).
- **balāttaka-** m. 'marking nut' [LW ← Skt. *bhallātaka*]: NAP *balāttakye* 48.
- basaka- m. 'calf': GDS basąkä 81.
- ba'hauyā-n. 'a medicament': NS ba'hauya 18, ba'hauyä 23, ba'hau'yä 94; IAS ba'hau'ya jsä 30.
- **bāga-** m. 'portion' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. *bhāga*]: NS *bāgä* 12 122; NAP *bāga* 12 (2×), *bāgä* 12 (2×).
- bājana- m. 'vessel (Skt. pātra)': LS bājinañä 115, bājinañä: 113.
- bājinaka- m. 'vessel': LS bājinakanä 71.
- bāņva şavarā- n. 'a medicament': N bāņva şavarä 12 18, bauņva şavarä 23 26.
- **bā** m. 'dill': NSm *bā* 14 (P 2889) 115.
- bā ttīman- nt. 'dill (Skt. śatapuṣpā)': NS bā ttīma 4, bā ttīma 14 71, bā ttīm 55.
- bātaa- m. 'new wine': NAP bātā 107.
- bāvā- f. 'root (Skt. mūla)': NS bāva 105, bāvä 103, bāta 69, bāta 105, bātä 105; AS bāva 14 32.
- bāvi- f. 'wind (doṣa) (Skt. vāta)': NS bāva 47; AS bāva 128; IAS beva jsa 4, beva jsä 8, bāva 14.
- bi'gaja- adj. 'of the kidney': NSm bi'gajä 75.
- bi'jāsīña- adj. 'of the bi'jāsana': NSf bi'jāsīña 76.
- bimjūha- m. 'sparrow dung': N bijūha 91.
- bina- adj. 'pert. to the wind': ASf bina 20, bina 124; GDPm binām 125.
- bīnāj- : bīnāya- vb. tr. 'to steep': part. nec. bīnājāña-: NAP bīnājāñä 29; ppp. bīnāya-: NAP bīnāyi 72.
- bimdä prep. and postp. + GD 'on': prep. bimdä 10 36 (2×), bimdai (+ -ī) 24 29 43, bemdai (+ -ī) 26, bidai (+ -ī) 13 27 32 38 45 50, bedę (+ -ī) 27 (P 2889); postp. bimdä 11 22 23 28 29 37 39 40 43 44 45 (2×) 51 54 55 69 78 81 83 87 92 124, bimdi 94, bidä 19 50 85 86 98 100 124 128, bimdąstä (+ -astä) 37, bimdastä 46 49 82, bidastä 35 93, bimdasti 31.
- bimdä adv. 'thereon': bimdä 11.
- bitcañ- vb. tr. 'to break up': part. nec. bītcañāña-: NSm bītcañāñä 124.
- biysamj- vb. mid. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to hold': 3P pres. ind. *biysamjāre* 85; part. nec. *biysamjāña*-: NSm *biysamjāñä* 8.

bīysman- nt. 'urine (Skt. mūtra)': IAS bīysma jsä 22, bīysmä jsa 33.

birșța- adj. 'burst': NS birșțä 81

- biśa- adj. 'all'; adv. 'completely': 'all' NSm biśä 99; NAPm biśä 24 26 46 48 64 71 85 107 112 117 120 125 (2×), biśa 14 42, bīśī 45, biśi 53 108; GDPm biśūm (+ -ūm) 8; 'completely' biśä 85. Adv. phrase biśä vį 'everywhere' 125.
- bīśia- m. 'buttermilk': IAS bīśīnä 114.
- biśūña-/biśśūnia- adj. 'various': GDPm biśūnām 1.
- bisaa- adj. 'dwelling; located; inside': used as a mark of locative NSm *bīsai* 28 98, *bīse* 85; NAPm *bīsā* 52; N *bisā* 28.
- **bi'hą̄'yā̄-** n. 'a medicament': NS  $bi'h\bar{q}$ 'ya 10.
- bua'- m. 'perfume (Skt. *purā*)': NS *bū*' 13, *bū*' 22 31, *bu*' 93. Phrase: see śīya-.
- bu'jsaā- f. 'virtue': NAP bu'jsai 128, bve'jse 8.
- budära- comp. adj. 'bigger': NSm bādä 62.
- **būnă-** n. '?': NS *būna* 121.
- būri indefinite particle: *būri* 8, *buri* 45, *būre* 122.
- būysīña- adj. 'pert. to goat (Skt. chāga)': NSm būysīña 36 37; IASm buysīña 44; NS būysīña 3 39 87, būysīnä 46; GDS būysīnä 13.
- būśānaa- m. 'perfume': NS būśąnai 8 (2×) 123.
- būşv- vb. tr. 'to place': part. nec. būşvāña- : NSm būşvāña 45.
- būhanā- n. 'nut grass (Skt. musta)': N būhana 60, būhane 95 97.
- byāra- m. 'melon (Skt. ervāruka)': NS byārä 120.
- brrāmgā- f. 'thigh': NAP brrāmgä 78.
- brūska- adj. 'severe': NAPf brūskyä 70.
- brreha- m. 'back (body part)': GDS brrehä:' 124; LS brraha 124.
- Μ
- **makauța-** adj. 'closed' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. mukula]: NAPf makauțe 4.
- **makş-** vb. tr. 'to rub' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Pkt. < Skt. *mrakş*]: part. nec. *makşā'ña*-: NSm *makşāñū* (+ -*ū jsä*) 65.
- mamgāra- adj. 'old (Skt. purāņa)': NSm mamgārä 7; GDSm mamgārä 121, mamgāra 28; ASm mamgārä 54; IASm mamgārä 27 28 32 47 79, magāra 27 (P 2889).
  maysdara- m. 'nipple': LP maysdärvā 122.
  - 244

mara adv. 'here': ma 60.

mahābumja- m. 'liquorice plant (Skt. madhuka, yaṣṭīmadhu)' [LW ← Skt. \*mahābhūrja]: NS mahābumjä 8, mahābumji 20, mahābāmjä 103 122 124, mahābāmji 91 99 102 104 106 111 128, mahābaujä 30 41, mahābauji 105; GDS mahābāmji 89.

**mahā-midā-** f. 'Indian coral tree' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. mahā-medā]: NS mahā-midä 106.

- **māksia-** m. 'honey (Skt. *māksika*)' [LW]: NS *māksī* 118; IAS *māksīna* 2 92, *māksīna* 21 42 59 83, *māksī* 'na 41.
- mācāmgā- f. 'a measure, dram': NS mācāmgye 7 8; NAP mācāmgye 8 62 (3×).
- māśa'kā- n. 'jequirity (Skt. śārngastā)': NS māśa'kä 117.
- māşa-parņi- f. 'wild black gram' [LW]: N māşa-parņä 106.
- māstaa- m. 'buttermilk' (Skt. takra): NS māstai 36 37.
- mijejūna- adj. '\*of red colour': GDSf mijejūna 88.
- mäjsaï'- f. 'woman': GDP mijsām' 75.
- mijsāa- m. 'marrow (Skt. majjan)': NAP mijsā 39 107, mījsā 75, mījsā 61 76 108.
- **mijsāka-** m. 'kernel, marrow (Skt. *asthi*, *bīja*, *majjan*)': NAP *mījsāka* 14 52, *mijsāka* 14 (P 2889) 26 27, *mījsāka* 27 (P 2889), *mījsākä* 52 91, *mījsākä* 51 52 95 97; IAP *mijsākām jsa* 8.
- mijsākīnaa- adj. 'from marrow or kernel': NSm mījsākīnai 67; IAPm mījsākīnai 66.
- **midā-** f. 'a medicament' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. *medā*]: NS *mida* 106.
- mästa- adj. 'great': NSm mistä 85; GDSm mistye 64.
- mūdga-parņi- f. 'wild green gram (Skt. mudga-parņī)' [LW]: NS mūdgä-parņä 106.
- mūr- vb. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to rub; to crush': part. nec. mūrāña-: NSm mūrāñä 47 58 66; NS mūrāñä
  - 83; NAPm mūrąna 31 34 36 55 70 75 87 93 96 97, mūrrąna 95, mūrąnya 60.
- mūrau n. 'holy basil': N mūrau 91.
- mūlā-n. 'Indian asparagus': N mūla 82 83.
- **maittrā-** f. 'love' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. *maitrī*]: NS *maitträ* 74 76.
- mūlaskinā-n. 'a medicament': NS mūlaskinä 91.
- mau- m. 'liquor (Skt. mada)': NS mau 109 125; GDS mau 13 27 28 32, mauva 27 (P 2889) 94
  - 121; IAS mauna 10 11 16 18 24 25 26 27 27 (P 2889) 47 52 93 124, maunä 32.
- mauga- m. 'bean' [LW ← Skt. maudga]: NS maugä 38, māmgä 20 21 44 122, māgä 62.
- myām adv. 'in the middle': myām 8.
- myāna- m. 'waist': NS myām 71.

Y

- yan-: yiḍa- vb. B act. or mid. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to do'; + L 'to put in':3S pres. ind. *īmde* 71; part. nec. *tceraa*-: NSm *tcerai* 85 91 99, *tcirai* 6 100 106; NSf *tcerai* (+ *utcä* f.!) 99, *tcirā* (+ *kaṣā'* m.!) 8; NAPm *tcerai* 6, *tcerā* 118 128, *tcirai* 8, *tcirā* 117, *tcirā* 99; NAPf *tcerai* 7; NS *tcerā*
  - 117; N tcerā 28. Phrase: śira yan- 'to do good': 3S pres. ind. śira īmdä 8, śera īmdä 71.
- yamaa- adj. 'twin' [LW ← Skt. yamaka]: IASm yamai 24 104, yamai 123.
- yauga- m. ' prescription (Skt. yoga)' [LW]: NS yaugä 7 86 (2×) 99; NAP yauga 1, yaugä 84 116.
- yausā- f. 'musk (Skt. kastūrī)': NS yausa 8 (2×) 78.
- ysamgara- adj. 'old (Skt. pravayas)': NSm ysamgarä 86.
- ysambasta- m. 'garlic (Skt. laśuna)': NS ysambaste 91.
- ysaramjsä-n. 'safflower (Skt. kurumbha JP)': NS ysaramjsą 13, ysaramjsä 88.
- ysarūna- adj. 'green': NSm ysarūm 20 38 44 62 122.
- ysā'ysa- m. 'bile': GDS ysā'ysä 94.
- ysāluā- f. 'Indian barberry (Skt. dārvī, pīta-dāru)': NS ysālva 30 122, ysvālva 128.
- ysīdaa- adj. 'yellow (Skt. pīta)': NSm ysīdai 98; NAPm ysīdā 6 20 30 70 102 104 128.
- ysīdaurga- adj. 'yellowish': ASm ysīdaurgä 5.
- ysīra adv. 'roughly': ysīra 128.
- ysīraka- m. 'matter': NS ysīrakä 98.
- **ysua-** m. 'pus (Skt. *pāka*)': AS *ysū* 87.
- ysūn-: ysva- vb. act. 'to strain': part. nec. ysūnāña-: NSm ysūnāña 6, ysūnāñä 7 8 (2×) 99 122 128, ysūnāñä 117, ysauņvañä 126; NAPm ysūyāña 109, ysūnāñä 71 120.
- ysai adv. 'early, in the morning (Skt. pūrvāhņa, prātar)': ysai 127; reduplicated ysai ysai 4 6 (2×) 127.
- ysair-bana- m. 'region near the heart': LP ysair-banvā 122.
- ysvaurga- adj. 'suppurating': GDSm ysūrgä 34; ASf ysvaurgä 87.
- R/RR

ra coordinating conj. 'and, also': ra 7. Phrase: see damdä.

\*rran- vb. tr. 'to scrape': part. nec. ranāña-: NSm ranāñä 127.

rranīka- m. 'skin irritation': NAP ranīkä 85, rranīka-m jsä (+ -m jsä) 99; GDP rranīkām 100, rranīkām 98, ranīkām 86 (2×). rranūşka- m. 'scrapings': IAS ranūşkyänä 127; NAP rranūşkä 104, ranūşkä 13 52. raysa- m. 'juice' [LW ← Skt. rasa]: IAS raysäna 91.

rașabhaka- m. 'a medicament (Skt. rsabhaka)' [LW]: NS rașabhakä 105, rașabhakä 106.

rahi' pinä n. 'a medicament': N rahi' pinä 94.

- rrājaa- adj. 'pertaining to the plain (Skt. romaka)': NSf rājā 10 26, rrājā 12 52 81; IASf rrāji 53, rrāje 54.
- rrāha- m. 'pain': NS *rrāhä'* 7, *rāhä'* 128, *rāha'* 4 5 6; AS *rrāhä'* 8, *rāhä'* 2 124, *rrāhi'* 121. Phrase: kamala- rāha- 'headache (Skt. *śiro-'rti*)': AS *kamala rrāhä'* 124, *kąmala rrāhä'* 8.

rrīysū 'rice (Skt. taņdula, śāli)': N rīysū 20 38, rrīysū 40 112, rrīysva 46. rrvīysva 57.

rīšā'- n. 'appetite (Skt. rocanah, ruci-pradas)': AS raiśä' 60.

rrūna- m. 'oil (Skt. ghrta)': NS rrūm 99 107 125, rūm 7 8 (4×) 65 67 85 (2×) 86 93 99 100 109 115 (2×) 118 125, rum 8 (2×); IAS rūmna 20 27 28 29 32 33 34 47 (2×) 50 59 60 64 66 71 73 79 81 87 94 102 104 106 122 127, rūmnä 24 31 62, rrūmnä 86, rrūmna 123, rrumna 27 (P 2889), rumna 58, rūna 124; LS rūmña 69, rūñva 80.

rrūnaa- 'Indian madder (Skt. mañjisthā)': NS rūnai 41 46 92.

rrūnā-ttīman- nt. 'Indian madder seed': NS rrūnā-ttīm 47.

rrūvā- n. 'copper': N rūva 46.

- rūsāda- m. 'barley flour (Skt. yava-kalke)': NS rūsādä 13 19.
- raijsaa- adj. 'sharp (Skt. tīkṣṇa)': NAPf raijsai 128.
- rraustara- m. 'mudar (tree) (Skt. arka)': NS raustarä 34 39 46, rrustarä 87 94; GDS rrustiri 44, rrustirä 48.

rraustarānā- f. 'mudar grain': NAP rrustarāna 99, rrustirāna 119.

L

lakānā- f. 'basin': NS lakāna 85.

lamgara- m. 'groundsel (Skt. rāsnā)': GDS lamgära 103, lamgara 105.

lavamga- m. 'cloves' [LW ← Skt. lavanga]: NS ląvamgä 120, lavagä 8; GDS ląvamgä 8.

lākṣā-n. 'lac (Skt. lākṣā)' [LW]: NS lākṣä 64.

lūttā- f. 'spider' [LW ←Skt. lūtā JP]: GDS lūttä 94.

V

va<sup>1</sup> postpos. + GD or encl. pers. pron. (OKh. *vaska*) 'on account of, for': *va* 1 4 5 6 7 8 15 16 18
62 63 \*63 77 84 85 86 101 110 128, *va* 111.

- **va<sup>2</sup>** adv. 'there; in that case': *va* 5 6 7 8 (2×) 28 45 47 64 99 (2×) 120 122.
- **va**<sup>3</sup> part. indef.: *vq* 117.
- vandamga n. 'embelia ribes' [LW ← Skt. vidanga]: NS vandamga 78.
- vara<sup>1</sup> adv. 'on it, on there, on them': vara 41 71 78 108 113 115, varä 71 73 110.
- **vara**<sup>2</sup> prep. + A 'on': *varä* 68, *varam* (+ -*m*).
- valaka- adj. 'young (Skt. kanistha)': GDSm valakyä 64.
- vașț-: vistāta- vb. A act. intr. (perf. intr.) 'to remain' (Skt. sthā): 3S pres. ind. vaște 4.
- vașță post. + A 'throughout': vașță 6 45.
- vasīya-m. 'a measure' [LW]: NS vasī 6 7 120; NAP vasīya 6 7.
- vasūj- vb. A act. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to purify': 3Sm pres. ind. vasūje 20 57, vasūje 41 43 60 124; 3Pm pres. ind. vasūsīmdä 45.
- vasūjāka- m. 'a purifier': NS vasūjąkä 58.
- **vasta-** m. 'bladder' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. vasti]: LS vastaña 52.
- vasva- adj. 'pure': NSm vasve 66 100; NS vasva 21.
- vahīys-: vahästa- vb. B mid. intr. (perf. intr.) 'to descend': 3P pres. ind. vahaiysāre 64.
- vā enclitic conj. 'but, however, and; instead': vā 8 9 15 35 49 56 63 65 77 84 94 98 101 128.
  - Phrase: see **ā** v**ā** 'or alternatively' 19 21 47 64 85 91 94 (2×) 114.
- vātta-pitta- m. 'wind-bile' [LW ←Skt. vāta-pitta]: AS vātta-pittä 61.
- vāttasthīlā- f. 'wind tumour' [LW ←Skt. vātāsthīlā]: NAP vāttästhīlai 48.
- vāmīnaa- adj. 'pert. to almond (Skt. vātāma)' [LW + -īnaa-]: NS vāmīnai 8.
- vāmīrām n. 'a medicament': NS vāmīrām 24 78.
- vāśarūna- m. 'rheumatism (Skt. vāta-rakta, anila-rakta)' [LW]: AS vāśarūm 106 114, vāśärūm 104 107 109 113 115, vāśūrum 105; GDS vāśärūm 101 102 103 110 111; NAP vāśärūna 112.
- vī postpos. + A or GD 'on, to': + A vī 6 122, vī 125; + GD vī 4 42 47 (2×) (?) 48 52 53 55 60 103, vī 102. Phrase: see biśa-, hera vī.
- vījses-: vijsista- vb. B mid. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to see': 3S pres. ind. *vījsesde* 4, *vījaisde* 5; 3S pres. opt. *vijsyä* 8.
- viña adv. 'now': viña 1 116.
- vīnaa- m. 'aching part': GDP vīnām 128.

vīnā- f. 'pain (Skt. ruj, śūla)' [LW ← Skt. vedanā]: NAP vīne 106, vīne 27 115, vīnä 47 70 122, vīna 128, vīna 8 108 110 113 114 122 (2×), vīnai 72.

**vīnau** prep. + GD 'without': *vīnau* 7, *vīna* 62.

- vimath- vb. tr. 'to knead' [LW ← Skt. vimath]: part. nec. vimathāña-: NSm vimathāña 4, vamathāñä 17 128, vamathauñä 54.
- vi'yaji n. 'a medicament': NS vi'yaji 10 117, vi'yajä 47.
- vīra- m. 'root': NAP virä 91.
- virana- m. 'wound' [LW ← Skt. vraņa]: GDS viram 87; GDP viranām 34, vīranām 92.
- vīśt- : vistāta- vb. A act. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to place; to stanch, stop': 3S pres. ind. vīśtä 79, vīšte 52 53 54 81; part. nec. vīśtāña-: NSm vīśtāñä 72 85 111 122; NSf vīštāña 85; NAPm vīštāña 3, vīštāña 2 4 5 13 20 51 87 128, vīštāñä 57 68 102 122, vištāñä 10 25 27 46, vīštāñä 14 22 (2×) 24 26 30 31 32 34 38 39 40 41 42 44 47 48 52 53 55 58 59 61 64 70 71 75 81 88 91 92 96 97 107 120 124 125, vīštauñä 95; NAP vīštāña 18 94, vīštāñä 78, vištāñä 23.
- vihīlaa- m. 'belleric myrobalan (Skt. vibhītaka, vibhītakī, akṣa, etc.)' [LW]: NS vihīlai 2 5 42
  68, vihīle 7.
- Ś/ŚŚ

śamdā- f. 'ground': GDS samdai 85.

- śaśvāna-m. 'mustard (Skt. (śveta-)sarṣapa, siddhārtha)': NS śaśvām 14 14 (P 2889) 125.
- śāva- adj. 'pert. to copper (Skt. tāmra, śulva)': LSm śāvįña 71.
- śikara- m. 'sugar (Skt. śarkarā, sitā)' [LW ← Pkt. < Skt. śarkarā]: NS śikarä 8 43 45 57 58 59, śikara 8, śakarä 36 38.
- śimga- m. 'a measure, ounce (Skt. *prastha*)' [LW ← Chin. 升 (shēng)]: NS śimgä 8 85 99 (4×);
  NAP śimga 85 (3×), śigä 128.
- śīmjā- n. 'jujube (Skt. kola, bādara)': GDS śīmja 52, śiji 92. See also bara śīmjā-.
- śīya- adj. 'white (Skt. *pāņdu, śukla, sita*)': NSm *šī* 14 14 (P 2889) 31 42 43 58 104, *ši*' 124;
  GDSm *šī* 96; IASm *šī* 82; NSf *šīya* 11; NAPf *šīya* 11; NS *šīya* 94. Phrase: **šīya- bua'-** 'white perfume (Skt. *kunda, kaṭabhī-śvetā*)': NSm *šī bū*' 13, *šī bū*' 31, *šī bu*' 93.
- śira- adj. 'good'. Phrase: see yan-.
- śīlājattā-n. 'molten ore (Skt. śilājatu)' [LW]: NS śīlājattä 37, śīlājattä 42, śīlājatti 113.
- śilīşuma- m. 'phlegm (doşa)' [LW ← Pkt. < Skt. śleşman]: IAS śilīşumą jsa 14, śilīşumą jsi 6.</li>
  śśūjäta- rec. pron. 'one another': IASm śūjina 85.

śe' adj. 'second': NSm śe' 86, śe 99; GDSm śe'ye 123.

- **śau** card. num. 'one': N *śau* 6 7 8 (5×) 12 72 (2×) 99 (4×) 118 120 122, *śā* 6 8 (3×); A *śau* 8, f
- *śā* 11; reduplicated 'every single one, each one': N *śau śau* 128, *śā śā* 6 7 128.
- saul- vb. A tr. 'to suck dry: 3S pres. ind. saule 87.
- śtāka- adj. 'necessary': NAPm *śtākä* 33 85 103 104 105 106 108 115 117 128, *śtąkä* 112 125, *śtāka* 14 (P 2889).
- **ślişma-** m. 'phlegm (doșa)' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. śleşman]: AS (+ - $\bar{i}$ ) ślişm $\bar{i}$  10.
- śva'- adj. 'mid, half': NSm śva' 128. śva'- hadāa- m. 'midday': AS śva' hadā 5; śva hadā 5.
- śvāña adj. '?': NAPm śvąña 25.

#### Ş/ŞŞ

- samga- m. 'a measure': NS samgä 99.
- sala- m. 'zedoary (Skt. sadī JP)': NS sala 125.
- sarā- n. 'seed': NAP sara 48, sarä 72.
- savā- f. 'night': AS savä 11.
- și' dem. pron. 'this': NSm și' 3 4 5 6 (3×) 8 11 (2×) 16 22 26 28 (2×) 32 33 34 38 39 45 46 53 54 (2×) 57 58 59 60 64 66 67 72 75 78 85 (4×) 91 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 104 106 107 108 112 117 (3×) 122 124 125 126 127, șe' 4 17 61, șa' 5 127, șai' (+ -ī) 4 6 7 41 64 68 72 74 122; GDSm ttye 85 123 124; IASm ttye 102 104 127; NSf și' 99; IASf ttye 128; NAPm ttä 85 102, tti 9 15 22 35 49 56 58 71 77 84 101 104 120 122 128, ttī 63, tta 26 14 (P 2889), tta tta 120;

GDPm *ttyām* 60 85; IAPm *ttyau* 65; NAPf *tti* 8, *ttai* (+ -*ī*) 128; IAPf *ttyau* 108; *tvī* tvī 72.

- şīka-m. 'child': NS şīkä 117; GDS şīkä 64.
- şūa- m. 'horn (Skt. visāņa)': NS sū 127; GDS sū 13.
- \*şūni- f. 'loin': GDS sūñä 121; LP sūñyā 121.
- ssais- vb. B act. intr. 'to cling': 3P pres. ind. ssaidä 6 8, saidä 128.
- spaijaa- m. 'spleen': GDS spaijai 49 50 51 52, spaijai 53 54 55 (2×).
- st-vb. A mid. intr. (perf. intr.) 'to stand; be': 3P pres. ind. stāre 6.
- şvīda- m. 'milk (Skt. kşīra; 'human milk' stanya)': NS svīdä 125; IAS svīdana 5 19 38 40, svīdäna 100 122, svīdanä 72 88, svīdanä 90, svīdänä 98, svīdäna 44 103, svīdina 20, svī'dana 110, svī'danä 111, svī'da jsä 105, svīdi jsi 50, svīdä 106.

S

samkhal- : samkhilsta- vb. B act. tr. 'to smear (Skt. pradeha, pralip, lepa)': part. nec. samkhilyāña-: NSm samkhalyāñä 80 86 100 113 114 114, samkhalyāña 98; NS samkhilyāñä 71. NAPm samkhalyāñä 115.

sachā- f. 'sida (Skt. balā)': NS sącha 105, sacha 11; GDS sachi 88.

- sadalūna- m. 'rock salt (Skt. saindhava)' [LW ← Pkt. < Skt. sindhu-lavaņa]: NS sadalūņ 24 58 91, sadälūņ 29, saņdalūņ 115, sidalūņ 64 71.
- sam adv. 'precisely, just': sam 71.
- saṃdvāta- m. 'combination (of all three doṣas)' [LW ← Gāndh. < Skt. saṃnipāta-]: IAS saṃdvena 2, saṃdveṇna 20 104.
- samna- m. 'dung (Skt. viţka, viş, śakrt)': NS samnä 81 102, samna 109; IAP samñyau jsa 85.
- saṃbhāră- n. 'support (of the intestines)' [LW ← Skt. saṃbhāra]: NAP saṃbhāra 68, saṃbhārä 64 68 73.
- sarb-: sata- vb. A act. intr. (perf. intr,) 'to rise': 3P pres. ind. sarbīmdä 85.
- salīcä n. 'pea (Skt. satīna)': N salīcä 85.
- saha- m. 'hoof': GDS sahä' 52.
- sāda- adj. 'cold (Skt. *śīta*)': NAPf sāda 17; NAP sādä 68.
- sālye' '?': GDS sālye' 16.
- sä particle introducing direct speech: sä 6.
- sijsānā- n. 'a medicament': N sijsanā 122.
- simjsūrā- n. 'a medicament': N simjsūrä 78.
- sira-m. 'a measure, ounce': NS sirä 8, serä 128.
- sūjs-: sūta- vb. B act. intr. 'to burn': 3S pres. ind. sūśtä 85.
- sūdā-kṣīra-m. 'milkhedge (Skt. snuhī) [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. sudhā-kṣīra-]: NS sūdā-kṣīrä 48.
- sumam n. 'powder; nutmeg (Skt. mālatī)': NS sūmam 90 91, sūmam 42.
- sutta- m. 'verjuice (Skt. *śukta*)': NS *suttä* 107; IAS *suttäna* 65, *sauttäna* 64 94, *sauttana* 121; LS *sūttauña* 83.
- sauthara spyaka- m. 'fulsee flower (Skt. dhātakī)': NS sauthara spyakä 4.
- saunūskā-n. 'a medicament': N saunūskä 100.
- saunai phārā- n. 'a medicament': N saunai phārä 73.
- sauy- vb. tr. 'to rub': part nec. sauyāña-: NSf sauyāña 11.
- sauhīya rrauțā- 'a medicament': N sauhīya rrauțā 70, sauhīya rrauțā 71.

- stana-vidrradhi- f. 'mammary abscesses' [LW ← Skt. stana-vidradhi]: NAP stana-vidrradhi \*89.
- starr-: starrda- vb. tr. 'to strew': part. nec. starāña-: NSm starāñä 124.
- stāmga- adj. 'swollen': ASm stāmgä 88.
- stūra- adj. 'large': NS stūra 60.
- styūda- adj. 'firm (Skt. kathina)': ASm styūdä 95, styūda 33; GDSf styūdi 85; ASn as adv. 'firmly': styūdä 85.
- straha adv. 'stiffly': straha \*\*4.
- strīs-: strīya- vb. B act. intr. (perf. intr.) 'to become stiff (Skt. stambh)': 3Sm pres. ind. strīśtä 41.
- sträha- adj. 'stiff': NAPf streha 127.
- spajūm n. 'sochal salt (Skt. sauvarcala)': NS spajūm 50, spajū 62, spaju 55.
- **sparkā-** f. 'fenugreek' [LW  $\leftarrow$  Skt. *sprkkā*]: NS *sperka* 118.
- spyaa- m. 'flower (Skt. *puṣpa*)': NS *spye* 42; NAP *spye* 6 20 30 70 102 104 122 128. See also hajārnā spyaa-.
- svamna-gīraa- m. 'red ochre (Skt. kāñcana-gairika)' [LW ← suvarņa-gairika]: NS svamnagīrai 33 96.
- svāmilā- n. 'shoulder (Skt. amsa)': GDP svāmilau 122.
- Η
- hacäna- m. 'thatch (Skt. kāśa)': IAP hącänyau jsä 85.
- hadāa- m. 'day': GDS hadai 123; NAP hadā 6 45. See also śva'-.
- hamgă- n. 'bladder sorrel (Skt. amlavetasa)': NS hamga 26 41 52 108.
- hajārnā spyaa- m. 'a type of flower': NAP hajārnā spye 54.
- hatsuta- vb. intr. 'to come out, pass through': 3P pres. ind. hatsīmdä 120.
- hamthraj-: hamthrīya- vb. A/B act. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to squeeze': part. nec. hamthrajāña-: NAPm hamthrajāñä 120.
- hanājā- n. '?': N hanājä 100.
- hambāa- 'amount': NS hambāyi (+ -i) 120.
- hambusana- adj. 'suitable': NSm hambūsam 125.
- hambrāñ- vb. A tr. 'to heal': 3S pres. ind. hambrrauñe 87; nom. ag. : NSm hambrrauñākä 92.

- hambrrīh- vb. B mid. tr. 'to mix (Skt. yu, samyuj)': 3S pres. hambirtte ind. 100; part. nec. hambrrīhāña-: NSm hambrrīhānä 25 39 85; NAPm hambrrīhānä 22 37 (m.?) 122 125.
- hambva'- m. 'fester, ulcer': NAP hambva' 89 90, habva 91.
- hamtsä adv. 'together': *hamtsä* 8 (2×) 23 31 36 37 51 60 66 75 95 96 97 99 100 (2×) 102 104 109 125, *hatsä* 12 13 82 115.
- hamdana adv. 'inside': hamdäna 98.
- hamdev- vb. tr. A 'to ripen': 3S pres. ind. hamdäve 88, hamdeve 91 95.
- ham- : hamya- vb. A mid. intr. 'to become, occur, arise': 3S pres. ind. hame 6, hame 4 5 7 8 72
  113, hama 6, hami 100, hami 90; 3P pres. ind. hamāre 5, hamāre 4 6 128 (2×), hamāmde 68;
  3S pres. subj. hamāve 62 128.
- hama- adj. 'same': IAPm hamyau 65.
- hamamga adv. 'equally': hamamga 3 5 71, hamamga 2 87, hamamgä 18 20 25 30 31 32 34 38 39 40 48 51 55 57 68 75 81 88 90 91 94 96 102 104 113 122 124, hamamgä 10 14 22 23 24 33 42 44 46 52 53 58 (2×) 59 61 64 70 78 92 95 97 103 105 106 108 111 112 115 117 120 125 (3×), hamagä 13 26 27 41 47, hamaga 14 (P 2889), hamamga \*4.
- hamata- emphatic refl. pron. '(one)self': NSm hami 90.
- hama-ysāta- adj. 'uniform': NSf hama-ysā 45, hama-ysā 8.
- hamara- m. 'joint (Skt. samdhi)': NAP humari 85; LP hamarvā 111, hamarvā 105 107 108, hamarvā 109 112, hamirvā 106 (2×), hamirvā 110.
- hamāka- m. 'bowl': NS hąmākä 8; NAP hąmąkä 8.
- hamārnai phaură- n. 'a medicament': N hąmārnai phaura 12.
- haysgā- f. 'nostril (Skt. nāvana)': LP haysgvā 8, haysgvā 127.
- haryāsa- adj. 'black (Skt. asita, krsna)': NSf haryāsa 11; IASm haryāsä 8.
- hars- vb. B act. intr. (perf. intr.) 'to remain': 3S pres. ind. harśtä 6 7 8 (2×) 99; 3S pres. opt. harśä 99.
- halīraa- m. 'chebulic myrobalan (Skt. harītakī, pathya, abhaya) [LW ← Skt. harītakī]': NS halīrai 2 5 7 22 42 68; GDS halīrai 10; NAP halīrā 62.
- halaidrā- f. 'turmeric (Skt. niśā, haridrā)' [LW←Skt. haridrā]: NS halaidrä 42 43 57 107.
- haśa- m. 'swelling (Skt. *śopha*)': AS haśä 12 13 14 20 22 23 24 26 27 31 32 33 38 39 48 90,
- hąśä 128; GDS haśi 15 30, haśä 19 21 23 25 34, haśa 16 18; NAP haśä 91.
- hastä card. num. 'eight': NA hastä 127.

- hasv- vb. act. intr. A/B 'to swell': 3P pres. ind. hasvīmdä 28 68 73.
- hasvā- f. 'swelling': NAP hasve 17, hasvai 28 29 104 126, hasvā 71.
- \*hahvah- vb. tr. 'to hash': part. nec. hahvāña-: NS hahvāña 83, hahvāñä 82.
- hā directional particle: hā 4 6 (2×) 8 17 22 (2×) 25 32 36 45 54 64 67 72 85 (2×) 99 100 117
  - $(2\times)$  118 128;  $h\bar{q}$  4 7 128.
- hāda conj. 'but, nevertheless': hāda 6; hāde 6.
- hāna- m. 'vessel': LS hāña 8, hāñä 99, hauña 99, hāñāstä (+ -āstä) 128.
- hānā- f. 'eyelids': NAP hāne 4, hauni 6, haune 128.
- hāma- adj. 'uncooked, raw (Skt. āma)': ASf hāma 14, huma 32; NAPf hāma 11.
- hāmaa- m. 'wheat flour (Skt. *kaņikā*)': NS *hāmai* 10 12 17 24 25 26 54 66 88 93 102 104 107 115 117 124 128, *hāmai* 103, *haumai* 4.
- hālaa- m. 'half': NS hālai 8 (2×) 85, hālā 62.
- hīnaā- f. 'chaste tree (Skt. surasā)': NS hīnā 14, hīnā (P 2889).
- hīvia- 'one's own': used as a mark of genitive NSm hīya 48, hīvī 48 81 85 126; NAPm hīya 13 52, hīyä 104; NSf hīya 13 27 32; IASf hīye 19 28 61 94; NAPf hīye 96 120; NAP hīya 48 72, hīye 29.
- hīya- ppp. 'poured': NSm hīya 33.
- hära- m 'stuff': NS herä 85.
- hīśa' n. 'a medicament': NS hīśa' 36; GDS hīśa' 104.
- hīysamau n. 'coriander (Skt. dhānyāka)': NS hīysämau 107.
- hu'ga- adj. 'soft': NSm hu'gä 6 127, hau'gä 55; NS hu'gä 121.
- hu'galaka- adj. 'soft': NSm hu'galakä 4.
- hūñi- f. 'blood (Skt. asra, rakta, śoņita)': NS hūñä \*78; AS hūña \*79 81 124, hūñä 20; GDS hūña 5 128.
- hūrastā-n. 'orrisroot (Skt. pauskara)': NS hūrastä 14, hurastä 14 (P 2889), hūrasti 26.
- hūṣā- m. 'groin, thigh-joint (Skt. vankṣaṇa JP)': LS hūṣya 66 67.
- huşka- adj. 'dry (Skt. śuşka)': NAPm huşka 87, huşkä 57, hauşka 3 34 41 124, hauşkä 33 46; NAPf huşkyi 16 18 25 27, huşkyä 79, huşkyä 12 24 26 32, hauşkyä 27 (P 2889) 117; N huşka 91, hauşka 127.
- haikā- f. 'hiccough (Skt. hikkā)' [LW]: NS haikä 127.

- henaa-, hemjā- adj. 'red (Skt. aruņa, rakta)': NSm hainai 40 64; ASm heji 23, hinja 39, haijä
  24 128; GDSm hemje 19 21 31; NAPm hiną 94; NAPf hemja 128, hemjä 5.
- hera 'thing': *hera* 6.
- hera vī adv. 'really': hera vī 120.
- hauji '?': hauji 117.
- hauda card. num. 'seven': NA hauda 7 127.
- hva adv. 'separately': reduplicated hva hva 1.
- hvañ- vb. A mid. intr. (= pass.) (perf. tr.) 'to be called; to be explained': pres. ind. 3P hvañāre 1, hvañāre 116.
- hva'nd- m. 'man (Skt. nara)': GDS hvande 64.
- hvar-: hvaḍa- vb. B act. tr. (perf. tr.) 'to eat (Skt. ad, līḍha, lih)': part. nec. hveraa-: N hverai 117.
- hvā'ñ- vb. A tr. 'to make dry (Skt. viśoṣaṇa)': part. nec. hvā'ñāña-: NSm hvā'ñāñä 86, hvā'ñāñä 22.
- hvīya'- adj. 'human': IASm hvī 72 88 100, hvī' 90 98, hvī' 111, hvi' 103.

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の言葉なっきを、そのから、後きのきのなるのなるとないののなる こうちゃのふめ ちののうちまちょうちょうものしょう うちないますがう、そろうかがいのであるかの ちにとう あうなきます いっちのなるのからいっちのののののちちょう そうちあっろっているというのです ションマーマのない とうちょういう · ~ 7 3 6 4 4 4 5 5 5 - 8 0 1 2 8 3 . 5 : 5 4 . 5 % 5 5 . いろしかとう、生み、ない、ない、ななものののものをない、ならにな の、なるののなちちなるないないないないののもうにないないのの いますうちゅうきょうちょう ひますををむので いっぷ まちき あった いっち ひっちん いちもい あった やっちの ひっち ちちゃいののかっていないないののでであるのでののの ちの、うちかうなうのうちょうのの、ほののの、ううかうちょう えるのでいまれるかをきのようののしてきない、からいか コショので、ののもものでものいです ふう、うちを、こと うかいうううちょうのからなったのうちょうしますのうう ここのなんであったのうちのないのないいない こうしょう ゆうきしちなんの おちのからちまのしょう のうない いるをきからいをきちょうからないのもちやいなるもうない あるしょうものできるがあるなるないまたでのであるようない 「「「「「「」」」」の「「」」」」を見てい、日本していますの」 おちでも、ちょうちであったも やちっちょう あんちょうちょうのの あった ちゃちょう の の いのののののの

P 2893 Il. 131-156

the sale sale and a state いいますののいのからのであってものですのいまういい いきいやみんる のころでのころであるので、 あちょう きちてい あかちょうの、あったういろうのもののにののううの ちゃちちょうう うちうち ちちち ちちち ちちち ちちち ちちちち ちちちち ディネーム そうかみ・ふからまう やいちろ ちち ちょう ちょうのしょうそうない ちゅっこのしてもの見を見たかううう , 如田主日當大部部或是王指要一項了一日演出, 中國家 ないしたあってもなるをものいるななかのいるいののかなるので の、おうちをすういの、あうないのないないないのなかない テアのかきない、モアううスをいてきたかいのの、まなすまち やいううない あたちちなななないののでもない いろう ちちち のいななのをいるないたのできななはののをうないののもの ~ ううのをの、まちの、うちをあきないなかでもうちゃのの、その 第四日長をむにますの後のいのなられのないのであるののの ううちまますなどのなかののないの日前のまかの、りまれた いいちゃうちのころなってもちもちからろいちろいろう そこういやれるのでないまっきものまたないのであらんの ちまちちなかっしょやうちなかっち ちちちちなかかって ちろう まちわしょうからきっちろちの-=++まちゃっ」とうをのいろうと 2 ~ 2 3 0 3 8 a y ~ 4 2 15 5 5 5 3 2 1 2 0 8 こうからからい ぞえる どうくちょうからうのうち 284112..... にもう キーを むしひ いのんち ひちち、見いきするかったのう ちろうな あーをいる たいの いったようなのうきになりまたなななるのなきをひならいのいろう ちきちっちをのきをうてきるのテク、第の、るちまやのにもなるの ちんちったのいで、ちゃちっちをからちっからからないのう

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こう やおやちろうののうちまちかっちまちろうち まちうしんうちのちゃちゃのちのししろすのちゃのようたの、しのよう あちかち いちち ひちち ちゅうち ちちちをなななの ちょう 日のいっちをはっかないのですのいまえにでももかっちゃの 日のうの こうちょうないなー、「のなの気をままうでもどうしの」 282828282882829-20272482826268268268 の一方がないないないないないないないないのでものできる ちまちいうちの きちちちちちちち うちの おちちちの ころものののであることのないないのないのないのであるのであるである までの、まるまるうでなるまうののの、おきな、のの者るころを言 あやまるまのはっぷるいうちいのないというの からいならの、読みをというるいのなるのうちをきるののなるののの 意思者 おっちょうとののはいいちをまっしまでであった茶の、の ちちちちをしてい ちょうちん ちちちち ちょうちょう ちょうちょう いなき、なか、そのなる、ないかいなどをうしてきかる、やっている 1、見るないななます、ないのののののないない、などののあるの ちょいろうできまで、ままなみでものううのかう いなうき しのういの あいのうちな かきをになるため、あたのの ある 의 북우는 회 이 부분 \* ~ 가 추 은 · 풍구 후 전원 ~ ~ 은 바 ~ いないないで、「う、前方、そう、あくちゃこの、そころうなののでき の時になることをなるのであるときという。 こうちょうしゃうないののうちをしてないいないないない のふちろやもののひろのであっていたいかっていないないない こっちっ あっちまち ちんちち ちょうちちの しちちちの で、「「ないのない」」のない、ないない、ないのない、ないのない、 ちょうちゃ いろものをあっていたのいますのいないないないない そうちょう ひんちゅうあいろい ちしかのなからうしょうのなかのの ころや いしときのやないなの日 やちなをなるなんきとう ちゃ こうきのか なきないまちのうちのないちっちものしのうからのう

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そうのかのちを、日のほどか、なりの、ほうほんなの こことをしているないであるとうでのないでしているのでの ちょうみ、ないまわをあのことのこことまたのうないないでものう いちになるからもしないのち そのなのかのののかかのの おきものしてなのうになったりきをなるたちにの言をなのできる しきをおか なんからうちをうちをうちいろものしのかからのちゃ あっこうちっかっとのときからうちゃいろったからかなかいのまち いわしてもなってもないのではまろうとうのあってある」を ちょうなのうちょうでなるので、ころをえるち、このでえないの ながちゃ あいからのそうない しんのし ななる なる なるのかなるのかろう こうちなやちちをあるないない うちゃっちゃっちゃん あのとき えてのううちいないのとここで、ないないのの、そうちな デジモシーキの名前の、うちゃうち ひちゅうちう マガ ちゃうき 8-000 + 23, = 8 + 8 + 6 + 6 + - 6 + 5 + 9 + + 0 8 8 + ~ いみ、のないなっていいないろうないのないのでもないないののののの ち・ちゃちゃちゃちゅう。そう、いちちなか、いちななないないののものな きまうういろう ないない いちんちゅう うちのうちゅう そうなどのううかんから、そのうから、ころから、そのか ちょうちのが こうろうかっ ちちち おをまっちま ちか ちの ちちちち ちちちち ちちちょう このここをやってなるかの、こののでなる、このないすののや、ろう いいにちのいるころのまち、のなかり、ちょうのでき、まちゃのいう ある~うやいあるのなん、ないなるないないののののののないでの いっかるをますいないないないないない、ないしまたいなないないのである こうのなのないでいいいない ちのちのしのののないの いいまちる 気みますの気をまやしゅずのまやしゃまでも、うちをしのの おうちゃかかえきから、あったときにきない、ころいってきょうる stames Bright and the state of the street to

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いないいまちをないいいないない ちちのののののものでもの こうちないをあるないのちをういのなのあるいのませんのうちゃいいい BBBA to a a g Frit of feb of the of the of ちょうちゃのののあるにあいましたまた、やらいははなからしのもうです あなみ、のみを、のもうまうののになら、ない、 うるかのものなる、そうし、マラスないがない、いちなののなる そうちょう ゆうかう いろうちちちちょう うちちょう やうろの そののいのののうちもちゃちないのできまするいのうないかい ちもうない、デモス・そのないない、そのこのないので、 おうそうであるいないでもあいないないないないないないないないのの 6- 9:2- 19 48 9 40 · 67 7 6 6 . 2 9 8 5 . 8 9 8 2 2 1 :: ·· 80 \$ # 40. 24 6. 15 4 80 3 . 0 2 11 4 2 + \$ 5 4 まちなないのないのであるのののものなかののなり、なりない 5+61.48 # \$ B & + 3 \$ \$ 3 8 - 4 \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ 5 - 4 \$ \$ Et Offent all and a for a star ありからなきをきっならっちまの、日本の、ちまちなのほのある 5 # 6 16 % 6 w 2 F 6 2 5 2 : 3 3 + 3 3 4 6 6 3 3 9 6 このでいないまであっているまちかい、ありなならのいちますの カーガラーム・そうなのこうのここののなのしょとのできの こうがきちのいはあきまれないのののかすちょうちょうないのう わっすいでんかの あのうちを あちひにまちやきょうかう ちょう -おっきまちをもう からきう まちなから あのちかのうちをやら やちちものできたいでものないろうのもうろをいいううないのの 雪花の愛すぎるみない愛いできの、ひろううの、チェクショまで、ちょう 6 6 9 7 7 9 9 9

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いるでもうでのにきまのの主張のたいちりぎの出るのできまでの日気 5 4 5 6 6 6 6 6 5 4 6 6 2 4 6 6 6 2 4 6 6 1 2 4 6 6 1 2 4 6 6 1 2 4 6 6 1 2 4 6 6 1 2 4 6 6 1 2 4 6 6 1 2 4 6 6 ないまやるのないないのないのないのないのである そんいろはいいいのないのないのでいるのかちちょうちょうちょう シーネッジャ ひで やのうちまちい ちゃちゃち あっちん のうちののの、ちかううのかし、そここのないないの きっちきちちろう いちちんのちちのちゃのちゃのちゃのちゃの やくちのからいたかう、それのうちのあのの、うろうなの、 いのうちをないなのでもすであっていてきをまき、あらういう いうきまますをおかちのもうでいいでも、いっているの 8-88-63-039.88 4 6 - 896 8 - 4 13 B & B & B & A 5- 20 2 3 4 6 4 3 5 4 9 8 4 PO - 3 4 6 8 9 3 2 6 0 - 3 States or Hour of El Sal Calendary 5. 42B23549. #2. 62. 5 26. 63 34 24. 8 2 6 6 6 8 いまする きのかちのうちょう ちゅういろうちのにもうちまするとうちょう ちちちちを、うちをあるいちの、ちちちないいのでもちない ここのなからや かえの ちょうやししのなみののちゃ のなののなるをいうまれたのいいなのちののいなちのいまでも ~\*ちちたおちコ あらうちたき ~ ちそらもあいろちないない かっから 「そのちゃん」」なの、なのいない、ないののののなっちのの いないのないのなんないないないないのないのないのない これでは、おうちかっちものがき、時間、青きなる

P 2893 ll. 239-267

Ch. 00265 ーリぞろりデリ おいかや の、おきいなるとうないい しょうきをやいろのの the grade the grade a state a state grade ちょうっろれるもののおうちのあるのである。日本で いいろいのうないないのから、ないないのでの おうのうもののからし、そのののののかい、日間ののの

Ch. 0026, ll. 2-6

ちょうもうない、そこうそうのののない、日気のかのないのの 53 ~ 33 3 4 6. 6 2 3 2 3 0 0 . 4 2 2 - 6 6 . 5 2 0 あららい、なるもしなないの、ななない、なるのでなる、な おっちもいちもの、ちょうちの、ちょちん、~~ ちん あるの、日本語で、あっかり、大学のの、日からまたの、 こやの、ちちちょうちのうちのないで こののののの いたいなかろのうのうない、ないないのないない ふのちっちらろろ、などろ、はそののなど、ないなのちののもの 

Ch. 0026, ll. 6-15

これのようなものまでのないので、ころもち、ちょうの うちをうなんな、なるいのちゃのちかのりかの、なっちま ちょうののないのうかのいのないのないないない きちゃうううないをなる ちゃううちゃうちょう きょうまう うっちちゃちしょうの、ちちちゃののうちち 

Ch. 0026, ll. 15-24

ちちち いいちの いちのないない ちちち あいのちの 2 3 2 2 2 4 2 2 2 4 2 3 2 3 2 3 - 3 2 3 4 - 3 2 2 3 2 4 - 3 2 2 3 3 4 - 3 2 2 3 3 4 - 3 2 2 3 3 4 3 3 3 4 3 3 3 3 4 3 3 3 4 3 3 3 4 3 3 4 3 3 4 3 ちょうでの、うちをからたのからなるのいまのいからもない 2004 のはなります。そうものののうちにもなっているよう

Ch. 0026, ll. 24-34

6 3 3 3 3 3 - 5 1 2 8 m 6 6 5 3 1 3 8 6 5 3 - 3 8 4 5 2020360333065605+2595958:85.6 ふき、きっちをふす、きをぎっきってものろう、すなわる ちうちゃのうちょうからしきゃのちょうろうもといそのうないる。 

Ch. 0026, ll. 34-41