A Body Of Knowledge: 
The Wellcome Ayurvedic 
Anatomical Man And His Sanskrit 
Context

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Abstract
A widely-known painting currently in the Wellcome Library (Iconographic 574912i) depicts an anatomical view of the male human body according to the tenets of classical Indian medicine, or ayurveda. The painting is surrounded by text passages in the Sanskrit language on medical and anatomical topics. In this paper, the Sanskrit texts are identified, edited, translated and assessed. I establish a terminus a quo for the painting, and explore the relationship of text and image.

Keywords
Ayurveda, anatomy, painting, India, Sanskrit, medicine, Bhāvamiśra, Bhava-prakāśa, Suśruta, Suśrutasaṃhitā, history, South Asia.

Introduction
In October 1986, the Wellcome Library in London acquired the painting shown in Fig.1 from an art dealer in London. It was accessioned by the library as ‘Iconographic Collection 574912i.’ The painting measures 62.5×40.5 cm, and is executed in pen and watercolour. The painting is uniquely important because it presents an interpretation of the interior of the human body as understood by practitioners of ayurveda, the medical system originating in early South Asia. Other examples of

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this particular type of image are at present unknown. Because of the
cracy of this type of illustration, this painting has been used as a book
cover or an illustration in many publications, and has begun to take on
a public life.1

Ayurveda, the classical medical system originating in South Asia,
is a structured method of theorising the human body, illness, therapy,
and the healthy lifestyle. It has a documented history that stretches
back to the time of the Buddha in the fifth century BC.2 For more than
two millennia, thousands of authors in South Asia produced a very ex-
tensive literature on classical medicine.3 This literature was transmit-
ted in manuscript form until the widespread printing of Sanskrit texts
became common in the nineteenth century.4 Many hundreds of thou-
sands of Sanskrit medical manuscripts still exist today, preserved in pri-

1 E.g., Comba 1991, Meulenbeld and Wujastyk 1987, Van Alphen and Aris 1995, Wuj-
3 This literature is surveyed by Meulenbeld 1999–2002.
5 Janert 1965 and Biswas and Prajapati 1998 survey the catalogues of Indic manuscripts
worldwide.
6 Wujastyk 1987.
7 Losty 1982.
Figure 1: Ayurvedic Man, with added text labels.
tion of Sangye Gyamtso’s medical illustrations in the history of Tibetan painting from the late seventeenth century onwards, it remains the case that Tibetan medical manuscripts from before his time did sometimes contain paintings of materia medica, and other medical-related themes.

But the Wellcome Library’s ‘Ayurvedic Man’ stands out in the tradition of painting in peninsular South Asia, and in the slender history of Sanskrit medical illustration. The artist, presumably collaborating with or under the instruction of a physician, produced an image that charts the organs and vessels of the ayurvedic medical body according to the Sanskrit medical textual tradition.

**Tradition and textuality**

Text is always at the heart of ayurvedic medicine. Text legitimates and empowers participants in the tradition. Ayurvedic physicians, pharmacologists, marketeers and even historians use the high textuality of ayurvedic knowledge as a reference point and a badge of validity. It is entirely in keeping with this disposition to textuality that the creators of this image attached blocks of text to the body. It is not only a painting, it is a diagram. It is labelled, inscribed, annotated and commented upon, exactly like a Sanskrit manuscript text. We can view this painting in the same light as Michelangelo’s ‘Prisoners’ series of sculptures. In their case, the figures are embedded in rock, and struggle to free themselves. The Ayurvedic Man is willingly imprisoned in text, passively permitting the texts to speak for him.

I have presented discussion elsewhere to show that this painting is a Nepalese production, directly influenced by Tibetan traditions of illustrating bloodletting points.\(^{10}\) The connection with Tibetan medical painting is clear to inspection: see Fig.\(^{2}\) and compare the treatment of hands and feet, their outward rotation, the elbow and knee joints, overall posture, etc. These characteristic features also appear in some images from South East Asia, though usually not in Chinese medical body images. Further exploration of the art history of the stylistic features of medical images across Asia is likely to lead to important discoveries and connections. While some progress has thus been made with identifying the stylistic influences affecting the painting, the texts surrounding the Ayurvedic Man image have not previously been systematically and completely identified, edited and translated.\(^{11}\)

\(^{10}\) Wujastyk 2002, 2007 and forthcoming.

\(^{11}\) Das 2003, p. 77, n. 249 did correctly note that, ‘there are several text passages on the sides of the diagram. Those I attempted to identify were all found in [the Bhāvaprakaśa]…’
Ayurvedic man’s texts

The text passages that frame this body image are excerpts from a sixteenth-century ayurvedic work called the *Bhāvaprakāśa*, by the author Bhāva Miśra, son of Lātakana. The title is playfully polysemous, meaning ‘Bhāva’s Clarification’, ‘An Illumination of the States of Being’, ‘Light on the Conditions’, and ‘An Elucidation of What Is’. Bhāva Miśra wrote his encyclopaedic compendium of ayurvedic medicine between 1550–1590, probably in north India. The nineteenth-century ayurvedic physician Dattārāma (fl. ca. 1882/1923), whose views may presumably be taken as representative of learned orthodox opinion in Mathura, wrote in 1895 that Bhāvamiśra was born in the country of the Madras (around modern Sialkot and the surrounding regions between the Ravi and the Chenab rivers) and settled later in Varanasi, where he became a renowned physician with 400 pupils.
The Bhāvaprakāśa gradually established itself as one of the more important Sanskrit medical works ever written. Manuscript copies are abundant in libraries in South Asia and abroad. Printed editions began to appear from 1855 onwards, especially from presses in Bombay and Calcutta. These editions were often accompanied with Hindi, Bengali or Gujarati translations. At least 16 editions were published between 1855 and 1998, and older editions continue to be reprinted. An English translation of the Bhāvaprakāśa was completed by Srikantha Murthy in 1998–2000.

The work is voluminous and slightly confusing in its arrangement, due to having several overlapping methods of reference. It consists of three large divisions (khaṇḍas) with an embedded treatise on materia medica (nighañtu). Division I has six chapters (prakaraṇas) followed by the materia medica treatise, and then by a seventh chapter that is itself about the same length as the first six chapters together. Chapters 1–6 and 7 are also called parts 1 and 2. Divisions II and III both focus on therapy and also constitute an eighth chapter, with 73 internal subsections. Bhāvamīśra cited scores of earlier authorities and his work was has remained influential right up to the present time, when it forms part of the standard degree syllabus at Ayurvedic colleges across India. The passages of the Bhāvaprakāśa used to accompany the Ayurvedic Man image are drawn from the third chapter (prakaraṇa), that deals with embryology and anatomy. Can we draw any conclusions from the decision to use the Bhāvaprakāśa as the source of the texts to accompany the painting? I think not, beyond the patron’s wish to use a popular and authoritative work that was in wide circulation and was well known to many pandits and physicians.

The identification of the painting’s text passages as citations from the Bhāvaprakāśa does, however, provide us with a definite terminus post quem for the painting. It cannot have been produced before the late sixteenth century. Theoretically, the painting of the Ayurvedic Man could have been produced at an earlier period, and the text added later, but the tight integration of text and image makes this unlikely.

Reflections and conclusions

There remain a number of open questions regarding this image. For example, is the image intended by the artist to be of a corpse or a living person? The ‘living’ eyes would suggest that it is the latter. Images of...
gods in India are often given open eyes as part of a ceremony of investing them with life and divine presence. Open eyes suggest life. Furthermore, the image is related to Tibetan images showing moxibustion and bloodletting points, and these are only relevant to a living being.

Nevertheless, the display of internal organs might suggest the dissection of a dead body. In that case, the body would probably be lying on its back, not standing.\textsuperscript{16} My subjective impression is that this painting is in the nature of a diagram, rather than an artist’s impression from life. It may be argued that the uncertain correspondence between some ayurvedic organs and those known to modern anatomy proves that the image contains a fictional element, and that again it cannot be from life. This seems to me to be a weak argument since, as Ernst Gombrich argued convincingly many years ago, in the making and viewing of images, interpretation, presupposition and prior knowledge is all.\textsuperscript{17} For a physician who knew, because his authoritative and trusted scholarly education told him so, that certain receptacles, pipes, and other entities were to be found in the human body, those entities would be evident to the interpreting eye.

We must also ask how this painting was received, its audience and function might have been. The trail of the painting’s provenance stops abruptly in London in 1986, so that avenue of investigation into its production and use is unfortunately closed to us. Very little is known about the social history of images and their production and consumption in the pre-modern period. But in a short article written some years ago, I drew attention to an account of the production of an series of ayurvedic botanical paintings that was prepared in about 1907.\textsuperscript{18} This album was produced in Kathmandu, and thus shares at least the general location with our present painting, even if the date is about two hundred years later.

The Kathmandu botanical paintings were a collaborative project between a learned physician and a group of artists for whom painting was a caste skill. The project was was initiated under the patronage of the Bir Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister of Nepal from 1885 to 1901. We know of this work because of the account given by the Bengali Scholar Mahamahopādyaya Hara Prasad Śāstrī, who was working in Kathmandu at the time.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{16}However, we may recall that Vesalius drew his dissected bodies in various standing poses, so this is not a medical historical imperative.

\textsuperscript{17}Gombrich 1960

\textsuperscript{18}Wujastyk 2000

\textsuperscript{19}Notice of this work appeared in H. P. Śāstrī’s preface to v. 2 of his catalogue of Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts in the royal library of Kathmandu (Śāstrī 1905, 1915 v. 2, pp. i–ii).
In the summer of 1907 I obtained permission from the Government of Bengal to proceed to Nepal for the purpose of examining a new collection of manuscripts made by the Nepal Darbar.

At the library, we spent our time in examining the ancient palm-leaf manuscripts mainly, some of which were written in transitional Gupta, ancient Newari, ancient Bengali and other ancient characters. We spent our mornings in examining some ancient Bengali songs, with Sanskrit commentaries, found in the library, and the evenings were spent in examining several hundreds of pictures of Indian Ayurvedic medicinal plants, prepared under the patronage of the late Prime Minister of Nepal. The pictures were drawn and painted by men of the Citrakara [i.e., painter] caste under the direction of an expert Sanskrit and Ayurvedic scholar. The pictures related not only to the Himalayan plants but also to plants found in the plains of India. The Scholar and the Citrakara went together and drew those pictures under the very trees they painted. Sometimes their identification was doubtful, but in the majority of cases it was all right. It reflects great credit on the Nepal Durbar for undertaking this difficult task which, when published, will be very much appreciated by all interested in Indian botany, specially in Indian medicinal plants.

The series of paintings was never published, and their fate remains unknown at the present time.

Several elements in the above account suggest patterns of production that are plausible in relation to the anatomical painting under discussion here. A rich, perhaps royal, patron who initiates the project. A physician who is also a scholar of Sanskrit and ayurveda. And one or more painters of the Citrakara community. Finally, a calligrapher or scribe. Some clues about the interaction between the scribe and the scholar can be gleaned from the analysis of the texts given below. The scholar was not a great expert in the Sanskrit texts, and the scribe was apparently ignorant of Sanskrit. Between them, they produced texts that are riddled with errors and incoherent in terms of selection and placement. The sparse linguistic clues given in the analysis below that pertain to provenance support the location of the work in Nepal.

As for audience, reception and usage, the account by Hara Prasad Śāstra gives no description of the purpose of the 1907 botanical series, and we can only speculate over their use(s) as well as those of the
present painting. The painting is flat and shows no signs of having been rolled up, so it was presumably intended for display. On the other hand, the colours and condition are fresher than would be the case if the painting had been exposed for two centuries. Perhaps the painting was created to be displayed in the examining room of a royal physician. It may have been used for teaching, again presumably in a well-financed setting such as a royal college or pāṭhasāla.

To conclude, the Ayurvedic Man is an image painted no earlier than about 1700, on which have been written extracts from the classic ayurvedic work called Bhāvaprakāśa by Bhāvamiśra (fl. ca. 1650–1690). The extracts are taken from chapter 3 of the work, that deals with anatomy and embryology. Although the extracts are connected with physiology and anatomy, but do not function as tightly-integrated labels to the body image, but rather as reflections on related anatomical issues. There are many errors.

As the sections below show, the textual quality of the extracts from the Bhāvaprakāśa is poor. In each short passage there are 20 or more errors. The high density of erroneous readings makes it impossible, in my view, that these texts could have been read and understood by someone without a pre-existing knowledge of the text. For such a person, the texts might have been recognisable, and would have been sufficient to bring the correct verses to the memory of the physician-scholar. For others, the verses would have been more or less unintelligible, and would have appeared as a collection of relevant lexical items in a general syntactic sequence broadly suggestive of anatomical significance.

The texts

The following are diplomatic transcriptions from the texts in the painting. The transcriptions reproduce scribal errors faithfully. The symbol $\omega$ is used to show illegible characters. Upper brackets $\lceil \rceil$ mark superscript or marginal insertions or additions to the text by a second scribe. The line-division in the transcription are the same as those in the painting. The texts are mostly in verse, but the line-division in the painting does not reflect the verse structure. The textual notes attached to each passage record the readings of the fourth edition of the Bhāvaprakāśa edited by Sāstri and Vaiśyāḥ 1960, and published as volume 130 in the Kāśi Sanskrit Series (henceforth KSS).20 This is a popular and authoritative vulgate edition that has gone through several editions and reprints.21 The edition gives no account of the manuscript sources on

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20 Unfortunately, each different edition of KSS v. 130 has different pagination.
which it is based. Its Sanskrit is generally correct, as is usual with KSS editions, although its relationship to the manuscripts on which the text is based is not transparent.

The translations below are my own and are based on the KSS edition. Where even the corrected text in the painting differs from the KSS edition, I have translated the KSS version of the verses. The single-word labels that appear on various parts of the body image are often hard or impossible to read. Furthermore, they are often not in Sanskrit, but in bhāṣā, i.e., a vernacular derivative of Sanskrit. I hope that in future, further scrutiny of the image, and further ingenuity by scholars, may lead to more decipherments of these labels. I would always be glad to hear of these.
This passage represents Bhāvaprakāśa, pūrvakaṇḍa, bhāga 1, prakaraṇa 3 garbhaprakaraṇa, verses 94c–98b (KSS p. 28).

Translation

94cd Now the humours will be described, and after that, the tissues.
95 The movement of food etc., and its transformation will be stated; blood too, and the impurities of the tissues and the subsidiary tissues;
96 the receptacles and the layers of skin, the lethal points and the joints; and the ducts and sinews as well as the pipes and the tendons too;
the orifices and mass of tubes with nets, and the brushes and ropes; the grooves too, and the junctions and aggregate bones,22 the seams, and also the skin, the hairs and pores. The body is thought to be made of these.

22 On the ‘aggregates’ अग्रेणता, as a type of bone, see Suśrutasamhitā śā.5.16.
Text B

Transcription

अथ दण्डी तशापि हुदया ॥ २  खण्डकृत  ३ स्थित:  ४ || विष्णु  ६ भवत्तारात्  ७ करातुंग-गुण-यां  ८ समेतीया  ९ || १ विरं  १० वातिजिरारावेरी ती मती पूपाना  ११ वषां  १२ || गुडुस्य  १३ मान  १४ सर्वस्य सर्वस्था  १५ चतुरंगुलुम  १६ || तथा स्थापनतप  १७ श्रेर  १८ अं kc t u  १२ तता  २२ म  ता  ३ || उस्तज्जी तु तदः  २३ साद्रिक्षकिमिति  २४ मता  २५ || अद्वितुर्ध्वम मने  २६ तु बुधे  २७ गुडुस्यं  २८ मतं  ४ || मलोत्समाय्य मार्गोऽयं वायुदेहः  २९ विनि मितम्  ३० || ५ ||

KSS edition readings:

1 दक्षिण
2 हुदया
3 खण्डकृत
4 स्थिति:
5 om. vv. 81c–88a
6 वृष्णी
7 भवत: सारात्
8 करातुंग-गुण-यां
9 प्रसादसम्
10 बीयं
11 पीतामुक्ता
12 वहाँ
13 गुडुस्या
14 माने
15 साद्रि प्राप्ति
16 स्याक्ष प्रसादोऽयं स्याक्ष प्रसादोऽयं
17 ति:
18 श्रेर:
19 विनि:स्यात्
20 ता:
21 प्रवाहिणी
22 साद्रि किमिति
23 अधः:
24 सा साद्रि
25 om. v. 90cd
26 श्रेर
27 बुधे
28 गुडुस्या
29 वायुदेहः
30 मिति:

This passage represents a version of Bhāvaprakāśa, pūrvakhaṇḍa, bhāga 1, prakaraṇa 3 garbhaprakaraṇa, verses 81–91 [KSS] pp. 27–8 that omits several verses through common processes of scribal error.
Notes on readings

5 The omission of vv. 81c–88a may be attributable to a scribal *saut du même au même* from 81c स्थितत्व: to 88d प्रतिचित्ता.

8, 9 The KSS edition readings recorded in these notes refer to p. 28, note 3 of the edition, that gives कफासुग्भ्या च as an unattributed variant for the accepted reading कफास्न्द्रास ९.

24 Haplography.

25 A *saut du même au même* from ॐसम्मिता at the end of 90b to मता at the end of 90d.

Translation

81ab Below and to the right of the heart is the location of the liver.

87cd The testicles arise from the essence of phlegm, blood, flesh, and fat.

88 They are thought to be the supporting structure for the ducts that carry virility, that convey manliness. The rectum is four and a half centimetres in total.

89 There are three folds in it. They are like the convolutions of a conch shell. The first is called ‘forward conductor’, and is thought to be one and a half centimetres long.

90ab Below that is the ‘expeller’, one and a half centimetres long.

91 Experts consider the orifice of the rectum to be half a centimetre long. This, the anus, is the passage created in the body for the expulsion of impurity.
This passage represents Bhāvaprakāśa, pūrvakhaṇḍa, bhāga 1, prakaraṇa 3 garbhaprakaraṇa, verse 266 (पञ्चभिभुताः), followed by v. 108 (उदातस्तदनुः...), v. 121 (पार्चकः...), and v. 127 (कफस्य...). [KSS] pp. 69, 30, 31, and 35.
Notes on readings

This word, printed as पञ्चभिमूलास्य in the KSS and several other editions, is problematic, as is the whole verse. It is a direct quotation from the Suśrutasamhitā, that has the verse at सृरस्तहान, adhyāya 9, v. 11 with पञ्चा: Acārya 1915 p. 301 f.:

पञ्चभिमूलास्य पञ्चकृत्: पञ्चनिन्द्रय पञ्चसु भावयन्ति॥

There is a grammatical difficulty of either a missing final letter required for the instr. pl. पञ्चभित्ति, or a long आ required for a sandhi of पञ्च+अभिय, and the odd sense that the latter phrase would give. The nineteenth-century edition of the Suśrutasamhitā by Muralidharasārman gives the emendation पञ्जाभिमूलास्य which makes some sense (1895–1899 v. 2, p.115). Muralidharasārman discussed the difficulty of this verse in his footnote on the same passage, and noted a variant reading with long आ, i.e., । अभिविभास। ।

This latter is the reading later adopted by Acārya and cited above. These and other readings were present in the manuscripts available to the commentator Dalhana (12th century). He offered several different possible meanings for this verse. Clearly this verse has been problematic for many centuries. The earliest setting of the verse is in the summary of a chapter about pipes (अभावतः), and its general meaning appears to be that the pipes are what connect the internal person to the external world of material objects, via his five senses, for the duration of his life.

Translation

266 [The pipes] made of all five elements five times cause the one having five senses to exist amongst the five. Having caused the one having five senses to exist amongst the five, they return to the fivefold state at the time of death.

p. 108 Up-breath, then fore-breath, co-breath, down-breath, and through-breath: these are the names of the wind distinguished according to location.

23Further discussion of the work of the pioneering editor and illustrator of ayurvedic texts, Muralidharasārman, is given in Wujastyk 2002.
24E.g., पञ्चभिमूलास्य: पञ्चनिन्द्रय अभिभूतस्य: पञ्चाभिमूलास्य पञ्चकृत्वा/पञ्चभिमूलास्य पञ्चभावा वा.
25The verse is also cited and discussed by Kaśirāma (fl. ca. 1600) in his commentary Gādārthadipikā on v. 1.5.38 of the Śāṅgadharasamhitā Sāstra 1931 p. 55b.
26Suśrutasamhitā सा.9.
p. 121 Cooker, dyer, reacher, illuminator, and shiner: these are the names of the bile, distinguished according to location.

p. 127 Moistener, dripper, taster, oiler, and gluer: these are the names of the phlegm, distinguished according to location.

These four verses were selected to give an account of how the five senses are connected to their objects, and then to give a series of five technical names each for types of wind, bile and phlegm (the three fundamental humours of ayurveda). The first verse does not seem to fit with the last three, but the common theme is that they each treat sets of five entities.
Text D

Transcription

हुदया ¹ पुण्डरीकेन ² सदुः स्याद अधोमुखः ॥ जाग्रतस्य दिक्कसितः ³
ब्रह्मस्तु ⁴ निमीलिनी ⁵ ॥ १ ॥ आयंतु ⁶ जीवस्य वेसनस्थानः ⁷
मुतममः ॥ अतः ⁸ तत्सम ⁹ तमोऽव्यासः ¹⁰ प्राणितु ¹¹ प्रसुखसति ¹² हि ॥ २ ॥
कष्णोवेश्य यें ¹³ संधी ¹⁴ वधुनि ¹⁵ ममदारिते ¹⁶ ॥ ३ ॥

KSS edition readings:

¹ हुदय ² पुण्डरीकेन ³ निमीलिनी ⁴ ब्रह्मस्तु ⁵ अतः ⁶ आयंतु ⁷ जीवस्य वेसनस्थानः
⁸ तत्सम ⁹ तमोऽव्यासः ¹⁰ प्राणितु ¹¹ प्रसुखसति ¹² हि ¹³ कष्णोवेश्य ¹⁴ संधी ¹⁵ वधुनि ¹⁶ ममदारिते

Notes on readings

[16] This appears most likely to be an error in taking down dictation.

This passage represents Bhāvaprakāśa, pūrvakhaṇḍa, bhāga 1, prakaraṇa 3 garbhaprakaraṇa, verses 75–77ab [KSS] p. 27.

Translation

p. 75 The heart is similar to a lotus, facing downwards. On waking up, it blooms; on sleeping, it closes up.

p. 76 That is the resting place of the soul. It is the supreme location of the consciousness. And so, when it is suffused with torpor, living creatures fall asleep.

77ab The collarbones are defined as the junctions of the chest and the shoulders.
Text E

Transcription

मेदसानीतियोः सालाद्वृक्षयोंगाणं भवेत्। ती तु पुष्टिकरी प्राकृती जनताःस्वतः । भेदः। ॥ ॥
बुक्खयः५ पृथक् नेव तिहडी हरिते ॥ मेदसानीन्द्राः ॥ उभाभिः यत्: सम्म्यो ॥ स्वातिकं ॥ यतः:॥
यते। सम्म्यो ॥ सम्म्यो ॥ सम्म्यो ॥ यत:॥

KSS edition readings:
1 मेद । 2 साला । 3 जनताःस्वतः । 4 भेदः । 5 बुक्खयः । 6 हरिते । 7 रसयुक्तकामिन्यः । 8 लोहवनम् । 9 तिहडी । 10 यत: । 11 उभाभिः । 12 सम्म्यो । 13 स्वातिकं । 14 यत: ॥

[Image of page with text]
Notes on readings

5 This line is not found in the KSS edition, and the emendations are my own. The Bhāvaprakāśa does elsewhere include a reference of this type to the Hārītasaṁhitā (e.g., madhyakhaṇḍa, prakaraṇa 8, cikitsāprakaraṇa, v. 59). The line is translated in square brackets below.

12, 20 These explanatory Notes are marked with a small flower sign in the KSS edition. This siglum is not explained in the preliminary matter of the edition.

This passage represents Bhāvaprakāśa, pūrvakhaṇḍa, bhāga 1, prakaraṇa 3 garbhaprakaraṇa, verses 83 and 130–31 KSS pp. 27, 36.

Translation

83 The two kidneys come from the essence of fat and blood. They are said to provide nourishment for the fat in the belly.

[In the opinion of Harita, the two kidneys do not stand separately.]

130 ‘Prop (अवलम्बन)’ is the one that brings about the propping up of the heart, by its own power together with chyle (रस), and it also holds the upper back (त्रिक) together.

The ‘upper back’ is the junction of the head and the two arms.

131 The tongue and ‘saliva (रसन)’ are equivalent because they make known tastes. They are both of the nature of Soma and they are located close to each other.

‘Tongue (रसना)’ means the sense organ of taste;
‘Saliva (रसन:)’ means the phlegm located in the throat.

Remarks

The purpose of verses 130 and 131 is to give definitions of two of the sub-types of phlegm, namely ‘prop’ and ‘saliva’. The full five sub-types of phlegm are खेदन, अवलम्बन, रसन, ख्रेंन and ख्रषण. It is puzzling that just two of the definitions should be selectively reproduced here in Text E, and the rationale for providing these particular definitions is not obvious.

Being ‘of the nature of Soma’, mentioned in verse 131, means that they share the qualities and values of wetness, vegetation, coolness, and invigoration. This is in contrast to the polar opposite value of fieriness or being of the nature of Agni.27

27 See Wujastyk 2004a for a discussion of this generic dual classification.
Text F

Transcription

कीवो वसति सर्वस्मिनदेहे तत्व विरोधतः।। वीर्यं रके मले यस्मिन्न क्षीणं याति ।। क्षणं ॥ क्षणं ॥ ३।।

वीर्यं रके पले ।। च शरीरार्थं के वाणन्तरं कपिर ।। मानमि माणणिते + चुदे ।। जीवो वसति ।। यकृती हा।। रक्षस्य मुख ।। तथानंतरो ।। स्थितम् ।। अ न्यायः ।। स्थितवत्ता ।। रक्षाना ।। पोछक ।। भवत् ॥ १ ॥

KSS edition readings:

1 याति
2 क्षणम्
3 [पुष्पचिड़ाड़ितम्]
4 मले
5 वाणाटुकपिरो
6 माणमितो] om.
7 चुदे
8 omission
9 च
10 मुखम्
11 *योः
12 अन्यथ
13 सर्वमितन्तराः
14 *आः
15 पोषक

Notes on readings

The KSS edition reads क्षणं at this point, but क्षणं, with our painting, when the verse is repeated at v. 198. I suspect this is a misprint in the KSS edition at v. 141, since the Hindi paraphrase assumes क्षणं.

See the notes to footnote 12 on text E above.

Scribal dittography, or possibly a correction of the retroflex nasal, but without deleting the error.
This passage represents Bhāvaprakāśa, pūrvakhaṇḍa, bhāga 1, prakaraṇa 3 garbhaprakāraṇa, verse 141 and accompanying texts (KSS, p. 37). Verse 141 itself is repeated at v. 198 (KSS, p. 52).

**Translation**

141

Life dwells in the whole body, and especially in the virility, in the blood, in the waste. Being diminished in these, it is instantly destroyed (क्षयः).

[Addendum:] Life dwells in the virility, in the blood, and in the waste, that are pure when the body is first made, and in the quantity according to the metabolic process described by Vāgbhaṭa. Not in the corrupted and aged ones, because the instructions about blood-letting might then be pointless.

141 And the principal location of blood is the liver and the spleen. Located in them, it nourishes the bloods that are positioned elsewhere.

**Remarks**

Once again, verses that are widely separated in this chapter of the Bhāvaprakāśa are reproduced in the painting without their original contexts. The first part of this text, in its location at v. 198, is part of the Bhāvaprakāśa’s description of semen. The second passage is taken from a description of the formation and metabolism of blood, a description that is itself part of a larger enumeration of the seven elements (बाहुः): chyle, blood, muscle, fat, bone, marrow, and semen.28

The addendum to the first passage is an aside addressing a concern that if life is present in blood, then blood-letting might be dangerous. The argument is that life is fully present in the blood of the body in its pristine and original state. But blood can become corrupted and old, and then blood-letting is worthwhile.

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28 See Wujastyk 2003a, introduction for further description, and Maas forthcoming for a recent critical discussion of the historical evolution of this listing.
Text G

Transcription

उरो रकासंग 1 तात्प्यद 2 अथ्येष्ठाय 3 स्मृतं आलायं 4 तु तदौ 5 दहनाययः 6॥ १॥ के फार्मित्वाशा० 7 आसया मल्लमृगं 8॥ २॥

KSS edition readings:

1. रकाययस्
2. तात्प्यद
3. अथ्येष्ठाय:
4. आलाययस्
5. अथ्यस्
6. तद्विं चर्को भवद्वत्
7. वातानां
8. मल्लमृगं

Notes on readings

6. This is not just a variant reading, of course, but a replacement word for an elided pāda. It is likely to be a saut du même au même from तदौ to तदौ: in v. 215, with ‘दहनाययः’ being a semantically valid alternate reading for ‘पवनाययः’ in the original.

This passage represents Bhāvaprakāśa, pūrvakaṇḍa, bhāga 1, prakaraṇa 3 garbhaprakaraṇa, verses 213, 217 (KSS p. 54).

Translation

213 The chest is the receptacle of blood. The receptacle for phlegm is considered to be below it. Below that is the receptacle for digestive residues, whose details Caraka described.

217 The receptacles of phlegm, digestive residues, bile, wind, and of waste and urine....
Remarks

The extract from v.217 is incomplete. The passage of which it forms part is a list of the locations and receptacles in the body of various substances. This verse explains that the receptacles listed occur in men and women, and that there are three further receptacles – breasts and uterus – in the bodies of women. It is related – but not identical – to Vāgbhata’s Astāṅgahṛdayasamhitā, ch.2 Śārīrasthāna, v.11 Kumṭe and Navare 1902, p. 198.
Text H

Transcription

हृदयाद् वामतो भश्य कुम्भसः 1 तु 2 केनजः 3 ॥
मदयुनितायो ⁴ तः ⁵ बधयो ⁶ युगलद ⁷ भवेन ॥ १ ॥
श्रोणिताः ⁸ जायले मीह ⁹ हृदयः ¹⁰ वामताः ¹¹ अथः ॥
रक्तवाहीविरामाः ¹² स मूलं स्वातो महिसभि: ॥ २ ॥

KSS edition readings:

1 कुम्भसो
2 तः
3 केनजः
4 मदयुनितायो
5 तः
6 बधयो
7 युगलद
8 श्रोणिताः
9 मीह
10 हृदयः
11 वामताः
12 रक्तवाहीविरामाः

Notes on readings

7 Dittography. But if taken as a misreading for सम्भवेन, then it would be evidence that the scribe could not possibly know Sanskrit.
10 The word order in the KSS edition is: ‘वामतो हृदयादभः.’
12 In the KSS edition, this is the first half of the pāda whose second half is the first line of text H.

This passage represents Bhāvaprakāśa, pūrvakhanda, bhāga 1, prakaraṇa 3 garbhaprakaraṇa, parts of verses 79, 80 and 83 (KSS p. 27).

Translation

80cd Below and to the left of the heart is the left lung (pupphusa). It is made of blood and foam.
83ab The two kidneys are made of the essence of fat and blood.
The spleen is made of blood. It is below and to the left of the heart. The wise call it the root of the ducts that carry blood.

Remarks

The exact referent of the *pupphusa* (v. 80cd) is not completely clear. It means ‘lung’ but not necessarily one of a pair of symmetrical organs. The right ‘lung’ is called *kloman*. Neither organ is involved in breathing.\(^\text{29}\)

The subject of verse 80ab, continuing from 79cd, is the spleen.

\(^{29}\)For further discussion on this, see Wujastyk 2003a, p. 271 n. 18 *et passim*. 
Text I

Transcription

महत्त्वः २ ब्राह्यं ३ प्रोक्तम् ४ कंडराजातूः ५ प्रसरंकुंणनयोर् ६ नासाः ७ प्र योजनं । नेत्रश्रवणसानां ८ दे दे रनध्रे प्रकीर्तिता । मुखमहाजवापुनम् । इकैक । र न्द्रः । उच्चायत।

KSS edition readings:

Notes on readings

Haplography.

This passage represents Bhāvaprakāśa, pūrvakhaṇḍa, bhāga 1, prakaraṇa 3, garbhaprakaraṇa, verses 269 and 267 (KSS, p. 69).

Translation

269 The large sinews are called tendons and there are sixteen of them. Their purpose is observed to be extension and contraction.
267 Each of the eyes, ears and nose has two obvious orifices. The mouth, urinary organ and rectum is each said to have one orifice.
Transcription

दशमं मस्तके प्रोकं रंध्रानितुः ¹ नृणां विषुः ² | जातानी तु शिलांत्रायः ³
मांसाल्पम् ⁴ उद्दरंति ⁵
हि ॥ ¹ मानि ⁶ चत्वारि चत्वारि ॥ सवाण्यवट ⁷ तु ⁸ पोडः ⁹ || क्षीरस्य चक्ष्मानस्य
यथा संतानि
का भवेत् || ॥ पच्यमानस्य शुकस्य ¹⁰ रजसः ¹¹ च तथा स्तवः ¹²।

KSS edition readings:

1 रंध्रानिति 4 मांसाल्पम् 7 एव
2 विषुः 5 उद्दरंति 8 च
3 शिलांत्रायः 6 तानि 9 पोडः
5 शुकस्य 10 रजसः
5 ताचः 11 च

Notes on readings

5 Appears to be a genuine variant, rather than scribal error.

This passage represents Bhāvaprakāśa, pūrvakhaṇḍa, bhāga 1, prakaraṇa 3
garbhapraṇaṇa, from verses 270, 273 and 279 [KSS, p. 70].

Translation

270ab The tenth is said to be in the head. These are the orifices that men
are said to have, according to the wise.

273 The webs support the ducts, sinews, muscles, and bones. There
are four fours, sixteen in all.

279 A layer forms on the surface of milk when it is being cooked. In
just the same way, the skin is formed out of semen and menstrual
blood as they mature.
Remarks

Verse 270ab is a continuation of the list of orifices begun in Text I. Perhaps the text was intended to be read across the painting.

The anatomical identity of the ‘webs’ (jāla) is uncertain.

Verse 279 uses the same word पच्चमान for both ‘cook’ and ‘mature’. Menstrual blood (rajas) is the female analogue of male sperm; it is the fertile contribution of the woman to the child’s conception.\(^\text{30}\)

\[^{30}\text{Das 2003}\] explores this topic further.
Face

Transcription

The labels are translated where possible. Some are in Sanskrit, but several are in Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) or New-Indo Aryan (NIA). MIA and NIA terms have been checked in Turner[1966–85] but no pattern of linguistic or geographic distribution is obvious.

Clockwise from the top centre:

अष्टयोगसिंहत १४
आखीपरेशिकक ३१ eyelash/lid…
शंख temple
शेतवामनेत्र white left eye [vertically, above ear]

31 The ी vowel is faint, so possibly आखा.
herbs [?]
cheek (NIA ← Skt. *galla, gaṇḍa*)
gums
sinews [presumed नाय?] 70
sinews 70
[Text on tongue and nose illegible]
sinews 70
gums
jaw ?
junctions
cheek
lethal point at a duct
temple
cheek-eyelash-eye
8 fissures in the skull
Throat

The text in this part of the painting is unclear.

**Left column**

†मल्ला
†पित्या
†रुद्र
निल्ल (or निल्ल्य, निल्य?)

**Right column**

†शूया
†मल्य
As first suggested by Das 2003, p. 77, n. 249. See Turner 1966–85, #8391 for parallel New Indo-Aryan forms generally meaning ‘vacuous, void, hole, space’ and the suggestion that these may originate from a similar series of words in Dravidian documented by Burrow and Emeneau 1984, #4452.

I do not see evidence for the reading रक्षायन suspected by Das 2003, p. 77, n. 249.
Further location names that might be expected on the torso include श्रीहान (spleen), वृक्षो (kidneys), यकृत (liver), कोमन, पुष्कर, हृदय (heart), and perhaps आहारस्थान (place of food).

The text labels in the painting here do not closely follow lists of organs in this part of the body given in the Bhāvaprakāśa (e.g., prakaraṇa 3, vv. 75–83).

The colour-coding of these locations or receptacles in the body merit further investigation. For example, the receptacle of bile, पित्त is yellow, in accordance with its description, e.g., in Bhāvaprakāśa prakaraṇa 3, v. 120. This accords with the parallel concept of phlegm in the Greek tradition as a yellow choler (structurally opposed in Aristotelian humoral theory to black bile or Gk. melancholia). Historical phonology and the law of mora permit the suggestion that पित्त may be connected with पित 'yellow'.

The location of phlegm is red, which contradicts Bhāvaprakāśa prakaraṇa 3, v. 126, where it is described as white. The location of wind is green, but no colour is attached to wind in the Bhāvaprakāśa (e.g, prakaraṇa 3, vv. 102–19).

By comparison, the Suśrutaśāṃhitā describes the ducts (śirā) that transport fluids in the body as being coloured according to what they carry: those carrying wind are tawny, those carrying bile are dark blue, those carrying phlegm are white, and those carrying blood are red:

In that context, those that carry wind are tawny; these ducts (śirā) are filled with air. Because of bile they are hot and dark blue, and because of phlegm they are cool, white, and steady. Those ducts that carry blood are red, not too hot or too cool.

34 Mayrhofer 1953–1972, ii, p. 279, noted that, ‘[pittám] ursprünglich dasselbe Wort wie pīṭha “gelb”. Later (1986–), ii, p. 131) he still considered it possible that the words are cognate, although the history of pittam was, ‘Nicht aufgeklärt’. 35 Suśrutaśāṃhitā śā.7.18 (Acarya 1915, p. 294):
In the same chapter, the Suśrutasamhitā presents two important metaphors, one agricultural and one botanical, to describe the flow of these fluids in the body through the 700 ducts, starting from their root in the navel:

There are seven-hundred ducts. This body is irrigated by these, just like a garden by water channels, and a field by ditches. And it is assisted by special contractions and expansions. Their ramifications are like those of the veins on the leaf of a tree. Their root is the navel. From there, they spread out upwards, downwards and horizontally.\(^{36}\)

This passage establishes that the Suśrutasamhitā does not use a concept of fluid circulation, but rather works with a system of centripetal fluid distribution starting from the navel.

\(^{36}\)Suśrutasamhitā śa.7.3 (Ācārya 1915, p. 293):

स सिराणां भवनिन्तः पाभिरिद गरीरामाम इव जलहारीशभि: केदार इव च कुल्याभिभिष्मित्वाते नुनु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु नु

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36 Suśrutasamhitā śa.7.3 (Ācārya 1915, p. 293):
Belly

For comparison, the *Suśrutasamhitā* enumerates seven receptacles (āśayas) in the male body,\(^{38}\)

\[\begin{array}{ll}
A & \text{षुड़ि (or शूड़ि ?) navel}\(^{37}\) \\
B & \text{तत्त्वस्कल, वत...मृत} \\
C & \text{illegible} \quad पक्षाय, अग्नि ? \\
D & \text{रक्षा,सयमा} \\
E & \text{मनोआय} \quad \text{receptacle of impurities} \\
F & \text{मुत्रा [?] शयमु} \quad \text{receptacle of urine [?]} \\
\end{array}\]

\(^{37}\) Cf. Turner 1966–85 #12516; cf. #5858 tunda.  
\(^{38}\) *Suśrutasamhitā* sa.7.8 [Acārya 1915 p. 282):
The Bhāvaprakāśa adds the following receptacles:\textsuperscript{39}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{उरोरकाशय} receptacle of chest-blood
  \item \textit{पाँचकाशय} receptacle of the digester
  \item \textit{अन्याशय} receptacle of fire
  \item and in the female body
  \item \textit{स्तन्याशयो} receptacles of breast milk
\end{itemize}

In Bhāvamiśra’s account, these receptacles are arranged vertically in the body, starting with the receptacle for chest-blood, below which is that of phlegm, then raw matter, cooked food, and the organ called ग्रहण that is also the receptacle of the digester. It is above the receptacle of cooked food. The receptacle of fire is above the navel, in a central location. Above that is the organ called तिल्त, sometimes translated ‘lung’. This is a difficult word to explain, and it refers to an organ that is difficult to identify. I have noted elsewhere that the Dalhana, the twelfth-century commentator on the Suśrutasamhitā, seems to have been the first author to equate तिल्त (\textit{k}) with कौमन्त\textsuperscript{40}. In ayurvedic anatomy, the two

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{Bhāvaprakāśa} prakaraṇa 3 (\textit{garbhaprakaraṇa}), vv. 213–18.

\textsuperscript{40} Wujastyk\textsuperscript{2003a}, p. 271, n. 23, referring to Dalhana’s comments on \textit{Suśrutasamhitā} 3.4.31 and 23.18. Cf. Meulenbeld\textsuperscript{1974} pp. 457–8.
lungs have different names, *pupphusa* and *kloman*. Early ayurvedic literature does not make it clear either that their identity or their involvement in respiration were recognized. The *tila* may be connected rather with the body’s heat, or else moisture and thirst, or else the secretions of the blood.\(^{41}\)

It is possible that the word is explainable as a derivative of an Indo-Aryan reconstructed word *\(\text{*tilik}a\)* that also accounts for a NIA cognate series meaning ‘spleen’.\(^{42}\)

It is also worth considering the possibility of a lexical connection with ‘heart’ from the Persian *\(\text{دیل}\)*, either by historical etymology or by horizontal contamination in the medieval period.\(^{43}\)

Below the तिल्ल्द्व is the receptacle of wind. Below that is the receptacle of cooked food, and the same is the case for the receptacle of impurities. Below that is the bladder, the receptacle for urine. In women’s bodies, the womb or receptacle for the foetus lies between the receptacles of bile and digested food. When the breasts are engorged, they are thought of as the receptacles for breast milk.\(^{44}\)


\(^{42}\)Turner 1966–85, #5834 sub *\(\text{तिल्क}\)* ‘spleen’. A connection with MIA *\(\text{पिल्हा}\)* ← *\(\text{पथान}\)* is there considered unlikely.

\(^{43}\)Steingass 1892, p. 531: दिल ‘The heart, mind, soul,’ etc. See also Wujastyk 2003a, pp. 271, 276; the diagram reproduced on p. 273, from Muralidharasarman’s nineteenth-century edition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, calls the organ तिल्ल्द्व rather than तिल्ल्द्व (Muralidharasarman 1895–1899 v. 2, frontispiece).

\(^{44}\)Cf. the description of the receptacles of the body presented by Śāṅgadhara (14th century), and translated by Wujastyk 2003a, pp. 271 f.
Left arm

- तृतीयस्कंध third shoulder
- वक्ष्य (?) (वक्ष्य स्वर्णम् chest?)
- संघाता aggregate bone
- वाहु arm
- प्रगढ़
- मांसपेशि १०० 100 flesh muscles
- न्यायु १५० 150 sinews
- रोमकृप असंख्या uncountable hair follicles
- रोम असंख्या uncountable hairs
- कृच्चा प्रकोष्ठ extremity (कृच्छ) forearm
The top of the palm: हाँकालो/हाँफालो/हाँफालो. The right hand shows, more clearly, हाँकालो.

The fingers have, from left to right, the initial letters of their names क, अ, म, त, and अ, standing for:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>निम्नदी</th>
<th>अनामिका</th>
<th>मध्यमा</th>
<th>तर्जनी</th>
<th>अंगुष्ठ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>little finger</td>
<td>nameless finger</td>
<td>middle finger</td>
<td>scolding finger</td>
<td>thumb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The top joints of the fingers are labelled त. Perhaps this stands for तरिता which has a lexical meaning of ‘fore-finger’ but perhaps could be understood as ‘top joint of the finger’.
Right arm

Details the same as the left arm.
Right hand

Details the same as the left hand.
Loins

Top centre

शुक्रमार्गः pathway of semen
[writing on penis] [illegible]

Left-hand column

कुंडर  cavities of the loins
मासपेषि १००  (Skt. मासपेषि) flesh-muscle 100
धामयु १५०  (Skt. धमनी ?) pipes 150
रोमकुप असंभ्या countless hair-wells (follicles)
रोम असंभ्या countless hairs

Right-hand column

The same as left-hand column.

45 मासपेषि १०० in the right column.
Each leg has the following four labels:

- निघ्रा [?]
- कानु knee
- सन्धाता aggregate bone
- परोडा [?]
Feet

Each foot has the following four labels:

above the ankle: तन्त्रिगाठ (Not कुल्क, गुल्क ‘ankle’ as might be expected.)
below the ankle: तीनालोगलक
above the heel: चुकुन्वाल (for कुर्च?)
above each toe: तं for अहुली ‘finger or toe’.

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