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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, Bhāvaprakāśa, 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 rarity 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 extensive literature on classical medicine.³ This literature was transmitted in manuscript form until the widespread printing of Sanskrit texts became common in the nineteenth century.⁴ Many hundreds of thousands of Sanskrit medical manuscripts still exist today, preserved in private collections and in libraries in India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and the rest of the world.⁵ Yet extensive cataloguing and searches in this wealth of manuscripts has turned up almost no pre-modern images of any kind. Some alchemical manuscripts contain sketches of alchemical apparatus.⁶ But although the medical texts discuss and describe many topics that would lend themselves to illustration, such as intricate surgery, human anatomy, and medical botany, no images related to these or any other subjects are to be found in the manuscripts of these works. The cultural history of the manuscript book in India is complex and yet to be fully worked out, especially for the earlier periods.⁷ It will involve reception theory and a sociology of book production, patronage and readership. At the present stage of research, all we can say is that Sanskrit medical manuscripts were normally not illustrated.

In contrast, medical illustrations from pre-modern China and Japan are much more common.⁸ It may be the influence of book culture from East Asia that explains the appearance of numerous medical illustrations in manuscripts from Tibet and Nepal. The extraordinary series of medical paintings produced under the patronage of Sangye Gyamtso (1653–1705) was a unique and influential project whose social and intellectual origins deserve further exploration.⁹ Whatever the causal posi-

¹E.g., Comba 1991, Meulenbeld and Wujastyk 1987, Van Alphen and Aris 1995, Wujastyk 1998.

²Bronkhorst 2007, Wujastyk 1993, 2003a,b, 2004b, Zysk 2000.

³This literature is surveyed by Meulenbeld 1999–2002.

⁴Shaw 1978, 1987.

⁵Janert 1965 and Biswas and Prajapati 1998 survey the catalogues of Indic manuscripts worldwide.

⁶Wujastyk 1987.

⁷Losty 1982.

⁸E.g., Brokaw and Chow 2005, Kornicki 1998, 2003, Lo and Morishima 2005a,b, Matuk 2006, Shumin *et al.* 2007.

⁹Parfionovich *et al.* 1992.

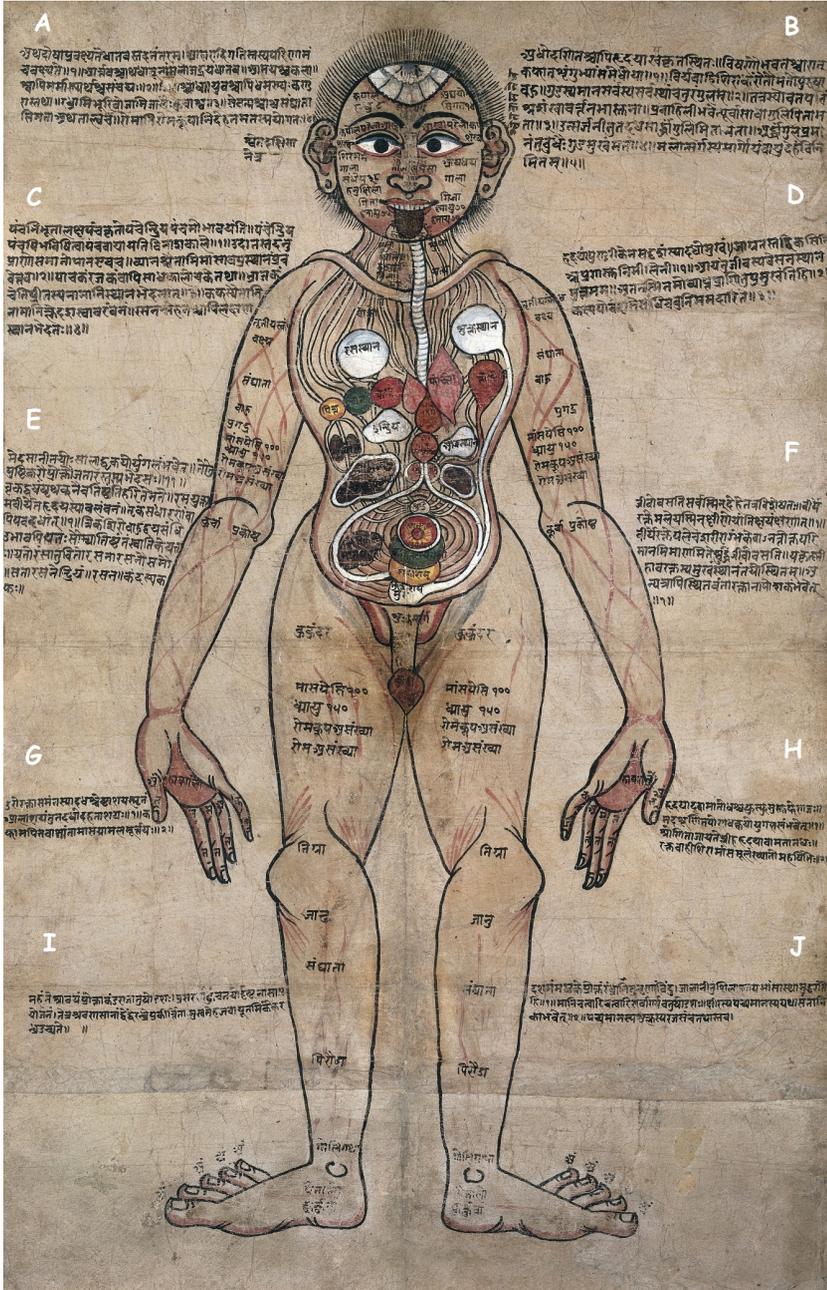


Figure 1: Ayurvedic Man, with added text labels.

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

¹⁰Wujastyk 2002, 2007 and forthcoming.

¹¹Das 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 *Bhāvaprakāśa*]....'

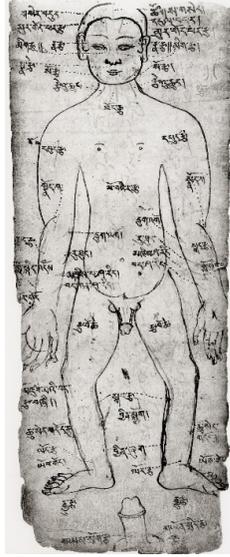


Figure 2: Tibetan Bloodletting and Moxibustion points. Wellcome Or. Tibetan chart 48(1). Reproduced courtesy of the Wellcome Library.

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 Laṭakana. 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.¹² 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.¹³

¹²Meulenbeld 1999–2002, IIa, pp. 239–46 provided a discussion of the evidence for this date.

¹³Dattārāma Srikrṣṇalāla Māthura 1890–1904, v. 1, p. 36. Cf. Meulenbeld 1999–2002, IIb, p. 271, n. 194. The Sanskrit text of Dattārāma's description is cited by Wujastyk 2005, p. 108 and n. 28.

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.¹⁴ 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 (*nighaṇṭu*). 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. Bhāvamiśra cited scores of earlier authorities and his work has remained influential right up to the present time, when it forms part of the standard degree syllabus at Ayurvedic colleges across India.¹⁵ 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

¹⁴Meulenbeld 1999–2002, IIb, pp. 261–2, n. 14.

¹⁵Detailed references to citations are given by Meulenbeld 1999–2002, IIa, pp. 241–2.

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.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.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 1907.¹⁸ 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 initiated under the patronage of the Bir Shamsheer 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 Mahamahopādhyaya Hara Prasad Śāstrī, who was working in Kathmandu at the time.¹⁹

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

¹⁷Gombrich 1960.

¹⁸Wujastyk 2000.

¹⁹Notice 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 Āyurvedic medicinal plants, prepared under the patronage of the late Prime Minister of Nepāl. The pictures were drawn and painted by men of the Citrakara [i.e., painter] caste under the direction of an expert Sanskrit and Āyurvedic scholar. The pictures related not only to the Himālayan 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 Śāstrī 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 *pāṭhaśālā*.

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 ⊔ is used to show illegible characters. Upper brackets [⌈] [⌋] 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 Śāstrī and Vaiśyaḥ 1960 and published as volume 130 in the Kāśī 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

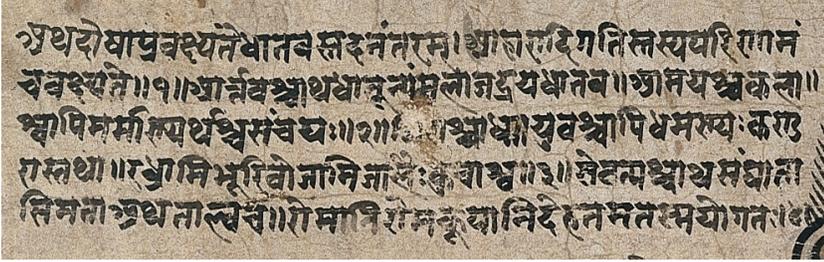
²⁰Unfortunately, each different edition of KSS v. 130 has different pagination.

²¹Meulenbeld 1999–2002, pp. 261–2, n. 14, edition ‘m.’

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.

Text A



Transcription

अथ दोषा¹ प्रवक्ष्यन्ते धातवस्तदनन्तरम् । आहारादि² गतिस्तस्य परिणामं³
 च वक्ष्यते ॥ १ ॥ आर्तवश्चाथ⁴ धातूनां मलाजद्रयपधातव⁵ ॥ आमयश्च⁶ कला ॥
 श्वापि⁷ मर्माण्यर्थश्च⁸ संचयः⁹ ॥ २ ॥ ॐ¹⁰श्वाधायुवश्चापि¹¹ धमण्यः¹² कण्ड
 रास्तथा ॥ रन्ध्रामि¹³ भूरि वोजामि¹⁴ जालैः कुचाश्च¹⁵ ॥ ३ ॥ सेवन्वश्चाथ
 संघाता¹⁶ सिमता¹⁷ अथता¹⁸ त्वच¹⁹ ॥ रोमानि²⁰ रोमकूपानि²¹ देह
 तमतस्मयोगतः²² । ४ ।

KSS edition readings:

1 दोषाः	7 °श्वापि	13 रन्ध्राणि	19 त्वचः
2 आदेर्	8 अथ च	14 श्रोतांसि	20 लोमानि
3 परिणामश्	9 सन्धयः	15 कूर्चाश्च रज्जवः	21 लोमकूपाश्च
4 आर्तवं चाथ	10 शिरा	16 °आः	22 एतन्मयो मतः
5 मलास्तद्रयपधातवः	11 स्नायवश्चापि	17 सीमान्ताश्	
6 आशयाश्च	12 धमन्यः	18 च तथा	

This passage represents *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *pūrvakhaṇḍa*, *bhāga 1*, *prakaraṇa 3* *garbhaprakaraṇa*, verses 94c–98b (KSS, p. 28).

Translation

94cd Now the humours will be described, and after that, the tissues.

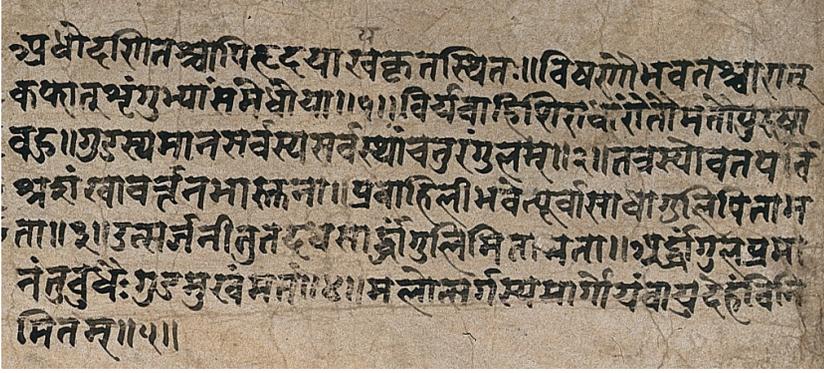
95 The movement of food etc., and its transformation will be stated; blood too, and the impurities of the tissues and the subsidiary tissues;

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;

97 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,
98ab the hairs and pores. The body is thought to be made of these.

²²On the 'aggregates' संघाता, as a type of bone, see *Suśrutasaṃhitā* śā.5.16.

Text B



Transcription

अधो दणि¹तश्चापि हृदया² ख³य⁴कृत⁵ स्थितः⁴॥⁵ विषणौ⁶ भवतश्चारात्⁷
 कफात्शृंगुभ्यां⁸ समेधीया⁹॥ १॥ विर्यं¹⁰वाहिशिराधारौ तौ मतौ पुरुषा¹¹
 बहु¹²॥ गुडस्य¹³मान¹⁴ सर्वस्य सर्वस्थां¹⁵चतुरंगुलम्॥ २॥ तत्र स्योवतप¹⁶ तिं¹⁷
 श्रं¹⁸शंखावर्त्तनभास्¹⁹ तु ना²⁰॥ प्रवाहिली²¹ भवेत्पूर्वा साधागुलिपिता²² म
 ता॥ ३॥ उत्सर्जनी तु तदध²³ साद्द्वर्गागुलिमिता²⁴ मता²⁵॥ अर्द्धगुलप्रमा
 नं²⁶ तु बुधैः²⁷ गुडमुखं²⁸ मतं॥ ४॥ मलोत्सर्गस्य मार्गोऽयं वायुदेहं²⁹ विनि
 मितम्³⁰॥ ५॥

KSS edition readings:

¹ दक्षिण	⁹ च मेदसाम्	¹⁷ ति०	²⁴ सा साद्द्व
² हृदयाद्	¹⁰ वीर्यं	¹⁸ ०स्रः	²⁵ om. v. 90cd
³ यकृतः	¹¹ पौरुषा	¹⁹ ०निभास्	²⁶ ०जं
⁴ स्थितिः	¹² ०वहौ	²⁰ ताः	²⁷ बुधैर्
⁵ om. vv. 81c–88a	¹³ गुडस्य	²¹ प्रवाहिणी	²⁸ गुद०
⁶ वृषणौ	¹⁴ मानं	²² साद्द्वर्गागुलिमिता	²⁹ पायुदेहं
⁷ भवतः सारात्	¹⁵ साद्द्वर्गा स्याच्	²³ ०अधः	³⁰ ०मितः
⁸ कफासृङ्गभ्यां	¹⁶ स्युर्वलयस्		

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.

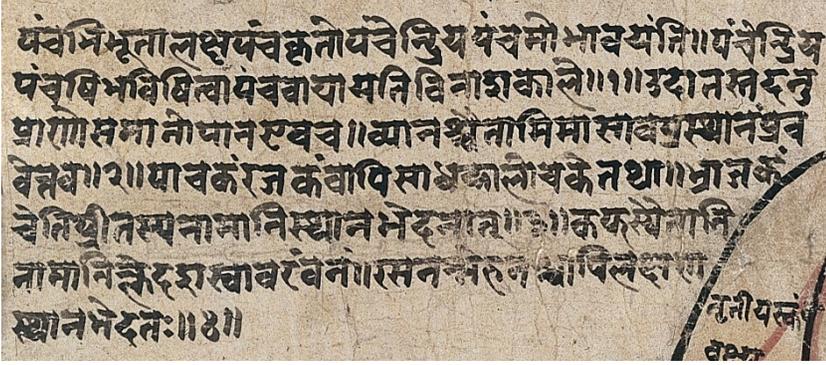
Notes on readings

- 5 The omission of vv. 81c–88a may be attributable to a scribal *saut du même au même* from 81c स्थितः to 88d प्रतिष्ठिता.
- 8, 9 The KSS edition readings recorded in these notes refer to p. 28, note 3 of the edition, that gives कफासृग्भ्यां च as an unattributed variant for the accepted reading कफासृङ्गांस °.
- 24 Haplography.
- 25 A *saut du même au même* from °सम्मिता 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.

Text C



Transcription

पंचभिभूतालक्ष्यं च कृतो यचेन्द्रियं यंचमो भावयन्ति ॥ पंचेन्द्रियं⁶
 पंचषि⁷ भविषित्वा⁸ पंचवायामति⁹ विनाशकाले ॥ १ ॥ उदातस्तदनु¹⁰
 प्राणो¹¹ समानोपान एव च ॥ व्यानश्चैतामि¹² मासावप्र¹³ स्थानं¹⁴ प्रव¹⁵
 वेत्तव¹⁶ ॥ २ ॥ पाचकं रजकं¹⁷ वापि¹⁸ साधकालोचके तथा ॥ भ्राजकं
 चेति प्रीतस्य¹⁹ नामानि स्थानभेदनात्²⁰ ॥ ३ ॥ कफस्यैतानि
 नामानि क्लेश²¹ खावरं वनं²² ॥ रसन²³ श्लेहनश्चापि²⁴ लक्षण²⁵
 स्थानभेदतः ॥ ४ ॥

KSS edition readings:

1 °भूतास्	8 भावयित्वा	15 प्रभे	22 चावलम्बनः
2 त्वथ	9 पञ्चत्वमायान्ति	16 दतः	23 °नः
3 कृत्वः	10 उदानस् °	17 रज्जकं	24 श्लेह °
4 °न्द्रियं	11 प्राणः	18 चापि	25 श्लेषणः
5 पञ्चसु	12 °तानि	19 पित्तस्य	
6 °न्द्रियं	13 नामानि वायोः	20 °भेदतः	
7 पञ्चसु	14 स्थान	21 क्लेदनश्	

This passage represents *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *pūrvakhaṇḍa*, *bhāga* 1, *prakaraṇa* 3 *garbhaprakaraṇa*, verse 266 (पञ्चभि...), followed by v. 108 (उदानस्तदनु°...), v. 121 (पाचकं...), and v. 127 (कफस्य...) KSS, pp. 69, 30, 31, and 35.

Notes on readings

- 1 This word, printed as पञ्चभिभूतास् in the KSS and several other editions, is problematic, as is the whole verse. It is a direct quotation from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, that has the verse at *śārīrasthāna*, *adhyāya* 9, v. 11 with पञ्चा°: Ācārya 1915, p. 301 f.:

पञ्चाभिभूतास्त्वथ पञ्चकृत्वः पञ्चेन्द्रियं पञ्चसु भावयन्ति ॥
पञ्चेन्द्रियं पञ्चसु भावयित्वा पञ्चत्वमायान्ति विनाशकाले ॥ ११ ॥

There is a grammatical difficulty of either a missing final letter required for the instr. pl. पञ्चभिस्, or a long आ required for a sandhi of पञ्च+अभि°, and the odd sense that the latter phrase would give. The nineteenth-century edition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* by Muralīdharaśarman gives the emendation पञ्चादिभूतास् which makes some sense (1895–1899, v. 2, p.115). Muralīdharaśarman discussed the difficulty of this verse in his footnote on the same passage, and noted a variant reading with long आ, i.e., °आभिभूतास्.²³ This latter is the reading later adopted by Ācārya and cited above. These and other readings were present in the manuscripts available to the commentator Ḍalhaṇa (12th century). He offered several different possible meanings for this verse.²⁴ Clearly this verse has been problematic for many centuries.²⁵ The earliest setting of the verse is in the summary of a chapter about pipes (धमन्यः),²⁶ 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, Muralīdharaśarman, is given in Wujastyk 2002.

²⁴E.g., पञ्चाभिभूताः/पञ्चभिर् अभिभूताः/पञ्चादिभूतान्यथ पञ्चकृत्वा/पञ्चाभिभूतास्त्वथ पञ्चधा वा.

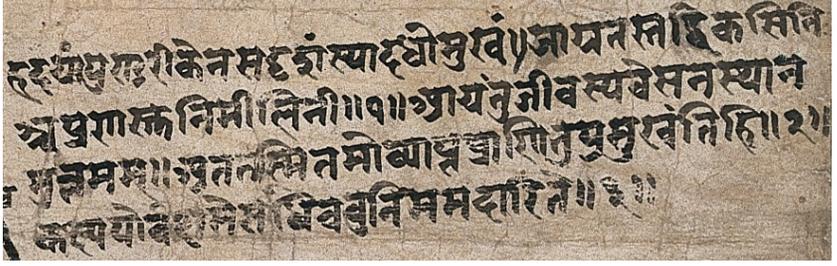
²⁵The verse is also cited and discussed by Kāśīrāma (fl. ca. 1600) in his commentary *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* on v. 1.5.38 of the *Śārīrasthāna* of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* Śāstri 1931, p. 55b.

²⁶*Suśrutasaṃhitā* śā.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

हृदयां¹ पुण्डरीकेन² सदृशं स्याद् अधोमुखं ॥ जाग्रतस्तद्विकसति³
 अप्रणस्तु⁴ निमीलिनी⁵ ॥ १ ॥ आयंतु⁶ जीवस्य वेसनस्थान⁷
 मुत्तमम् ॥ अत⁸ तस्मि⁹ तमोव्याप्त¹⁰ प्राणितु¹¹ प्रसुखंति¹² हि ॥ २ ॥
 कक्षयोर्वक्षसे¹³ संधि¹⁴ वत्रुनि¹⁵ ममदारिते¹⁶ ॥ ३ ॥

KSS edition readings:

1 हृदयं	5 निमीलति	9 तस्मिंस्	13 ०सः
2 ०एण	6 आयस्ततु	10 व्याप्ते	14 सन्धी
3 विकसति	7 चेतन०	11 प्राणिनः	15 जत्रुनी
4 स्वपतस्तु	8 अतस्	12 प्रस्वपन्ति	16 समुदाहृते

Notes on readings

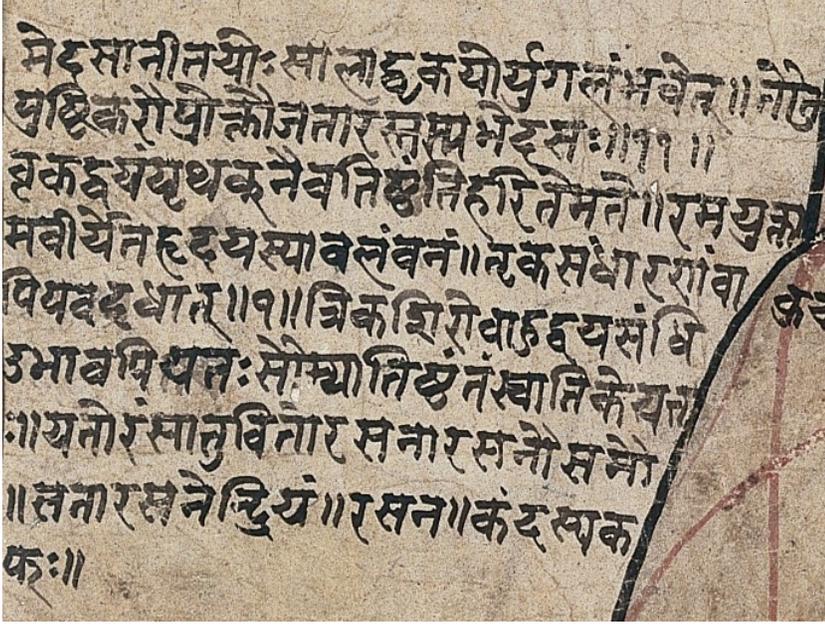
16 This appears most likely to be an error in taking down dictation.

This passage represents *Bhāvaprakāśa, pūrvaḥkhaṇḍa, 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

मेदसानीतयोः¹ सालाद्² वृकयोर्युगलं भवेत् ॥ तौ तु
 पुष्टिकरौ प्रोक्तौ जतारस्तस्य³ भेदसः⁴ ॥ ११ ॥
 वृकद्वयं⁵ पृथक् नैव तिष्ठति हरिते⁶ मते ॥ रमयुक्ता
 मवीर्येत⁷ हृदयस्यावलंबनं⁸ ॥ तृकसंधारणं⁹ वा¹⁰
 पि पवदधात्¹¹ ॥ १ ॥¹² त्रिक¹³ शिरोवाहुद्वयसंधि¹⁴
 उभावपि यतः¹⁵ सौम्या¹⁶ तिष्ठंतं¹⁷ स्वातिके¹⁸ यत
 : ॥ यतो रंसात्तुवितो¹⁹ रसनारसनौ समौ
 ॥²⁰ लता²¹ रसनेन्द्रियं ॥ रसन²² ॥ कंदस्यक
 फः²³ ॥

KSS edition readings:

¹ मेदःशोनितयोः

² सालाद्

³ जठरस्थस्य

⁴ भेदसः

⁵ [वृकं]

⁶ [हारीते]

⁷ रसयुक्तात्मवीर्येण

⁸ °लम्बनम्

⁹ त्रिकं

¹⁰ चा°

¹¹ विदधात्यवलम्बनः

¹² [पुष्पचिह्नाङ्कितम्]

¹³ त्रिकं

¹⁴ शिरोवाहुद्वयसंधिः

¹⁵ ततः

¹⁶ सौम्यौ

¹⁷ तिष्ठतश्

¹⁸ चान्तिके

¹⁹ रसान्विजानीतो

²⁰ [पुष्प°]

²¹ रसना

²² रसनः

²³ कण्ठस्थ°

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 *Hārītasamhitā* (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.

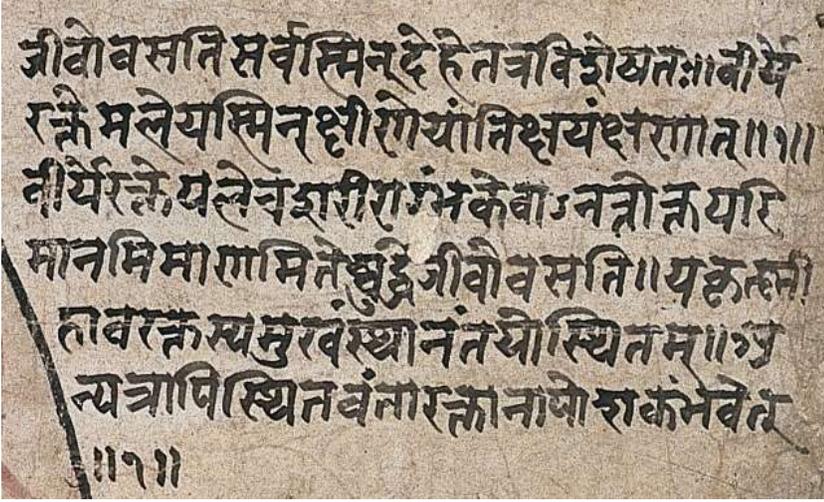
Remarks

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 क्लेदन, अवलम्बन, रसन, स्नेहन and श्लेषण. 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

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

Text F



Transcription

जीवो वसति सर्वस्मिन्देहे तत्र विशेषतः॥ वीर्ये
 रक्ते मले यस्मिन् क्षीणे यांति¹ क्षयं² क्षणात् ॥ १ ॥
³वीर्ये रक्ते पले⁴ च शरीरारंभके वाऽनन्तोक्तपरि⁵
 मानमि⁶माणमिते + शुद्धे⁷ जीवो वसति ॥⁸ यकृत्स्नी
 हा व⁹ रक्तस्य मुखं¹⁰ स्थानंतयो¹¹ स्थितम् ॥ अ
 न्यत्रापि¹² स्थितवंता¹³ रक्ताना¹⁴ पोशकं¹⁵ भवेत्
 ॥ १ ॥

KSS edition readings:

¹ याति	⁵ वाग्भटोक्तपरि०	⁹ च	¹³ संस्थितवतां
² क्षणम्	⁶ मानमि०] om.	¹⁰ मुख्य	¹⁴ ०आं
³ [पुष्पचिह्नाङ्कितम्]	⁷ शुद्धे	¹¹ ०योः	¹⁵ पोषकं
⁴ मले	⁸ omission	¹² अन्यत्र	

Notes on readings

- 2 The KSS edition reads क्षनं at this point, but क्षयं, 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 क्षयं.
- 3 See the notes to footnote 12 on text E above.
- 6 Scribal dittography, or possibly a correction of the retroflex nasal, but without deleting the error.

This passage represents *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *pūrvakhaṇḍa*, *bhāga* 1, *prakaraṇa* 3 *garbhaprakaraṇa*, verse 141 and accompanying texts (KSS, p. 37). Verse 141 itself is repeated at v. 198 (KSS, p. 52).

Translation

¹⁴¹/₁₉₈ 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 (क्षयं).

[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.

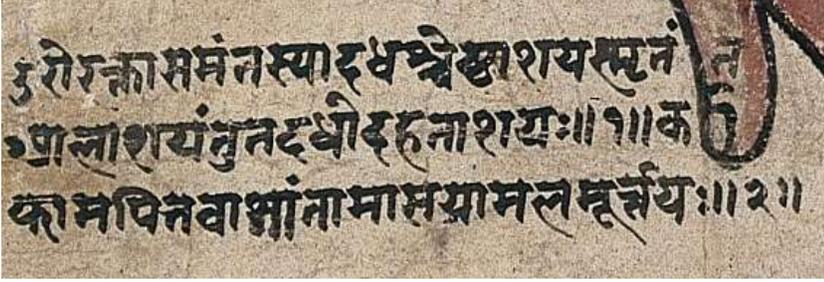
Remarks

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 (धातु): 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.

²⁸See 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 रक्तासमं¹ तस्याद्² अधश्चेष्टाशय³ स्मृतं
 आलाशयं⁴ तु तदधो⁵ दहनाशयः⁶ ॥ १ ॥ क
 कामपित्तवाशांताम्⁷ आसया मलमूर्त्तयः⁸ ॥ २ ॥

KSS edition readings:

¹ °रक्ताशयस्

² तस्माद्

³ अधः श्लेष्माशयः

⁴ आमाशयस्

⁵ °अधस्

⁶ तल्लिङ्गं चरकोऽवदत्

⁷ °वातानां

⁸ मलमूर्त्तयोः

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 तदधो to तदधः in v. 215, with 'दहनाशयः' being a semantically valid alternate reading for 'पवनाशयः' in the original.

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

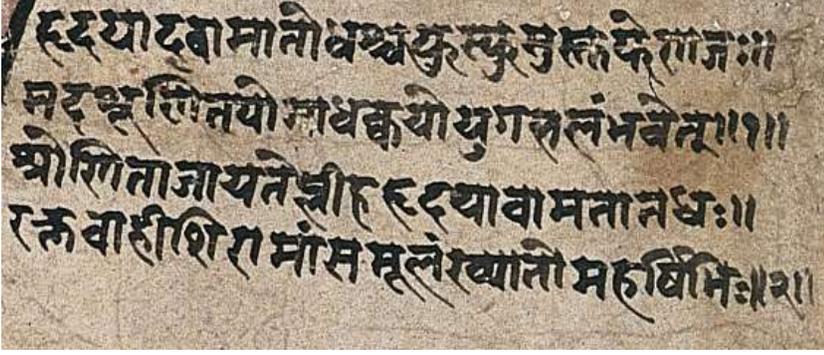
Translation

- 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 Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṃhitā*, ch.2 *Śārīrasthāna*, v.11 Kuṃṭe and Navare 1902, p.198.

Text H



Transcription

हृदयाद् वामतो धञ्च फुस्फुसुस्¹ तु² फेणजः³ ॥
 मदशूणितयो⁴ त्मा⁵ धक्कयो⁶ युगललं⁷ भवेत् ॥ १ ॥
 श्रोणिता⁸ जायते स्त्रीहृ⁹ हृदयावामतात्¹⁰ अधः¹¹ ॥
 रक्तवाहीशिरामां¹² स मूलं ख्यातो महर्षिभिः ॥ २ ॥

KSS edition readings:

¹ फुस्फुसो	⁴ मेदःशोनितयोः	⁷ युगलं	¹⁰ हृदयाद्
² रक्त°	⁵ साराद्	⁸ श्रोनिताज्	¹¹ वामतो
³ फेनजः	⁶ वृक्कयोर्	⁹ स्त्रीहा	¹² °वाहिशिराणां

Notes on readings

- 7 Dittography. But if taken as a misreading for संभवेत्, then it would be evidence that the scribe could not possibly know Sanskrit.
- 10 The word order in the KSS edition is: 'वामतो हृदयादधः'
- 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*, *pūrvakhaṇḍa*, *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.

79cd The spleen is made of blood. It is below and to the left of the heart.

80ab The wise call it the root of the ducts that carry blood.

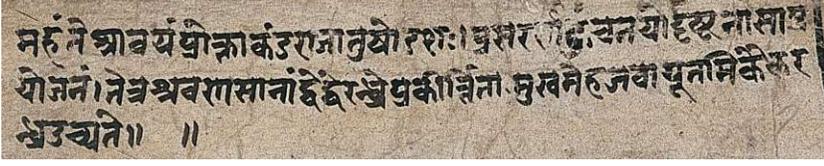
Remarks

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.²⁹

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

²⁹For further discussion on this, see Wujastyk 2003a, p. 271 n. 18 *et passim*.

Text I



Transcription

महंते¹ श्रावयं² प्रोक्ता³ कण्डराजातु⁴ षोडशः । प्रसरत्कुञ्चनयोर्⁵ दृष्टं⁶ नासा⁷ प्र
योजनं । नेत्रश्रवणसानां⁸ द्वे द्वे रन्ध्रे प्रकीर्त्तिता⁹ मुखमेहजवापूनम्¹⁰ इकैल¹¹ र
न्ध्रे¹² उच्यते ॥ ॥

KSS edition readings:

¹ महत्त्यः	⁴ कण्डरास्तास्तु	⁷ तासां	¹⁰ मेहनपायूनाम्
² स्रावयः	⁵ प्रसारणाकुञ्चनयोर्	⁸ नासानां	¹¹ एकैकं
³ काः	⁶ दृष्टं	⁹ कीर्त्तिते	¹² म्

Notes on readings

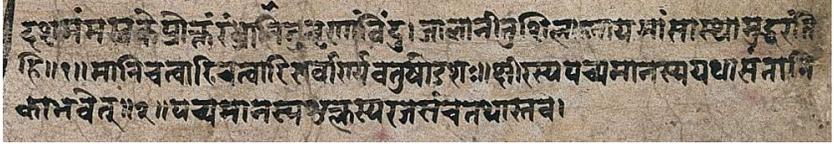
8 Haplography.

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.

Text J



Transcription

दशमं मस्तके प्रोक्तं रन्ध्रानितु¹ नृणां विदुः²। जालानी तु शिलास्राय³
मांसास्थाम्⁴ उद्धरन्ति⁵
हि॥१॥ मानि⁶ चत्वारि चत्वारि सर्वाण्यव⁷ तु⁸ षोडशः⁹॥ क्षीरस्य पच्यमानस्य
यथा संतानि
का भवेत्॥२॥ पच्यमानस्य शुक्रस्य¹⁰ रजसं¹¹ च तथा स्त्व¹²।

KSS edition readings:

¹ रन्ध्रानीति	⁴ मांसास्थाम्	⁷ एव	¹⁰ शुक्रस्य
² विदुः	⁵ उद्धवन्ति	⁸ च	¹¹ रजसश्
³ शिरास्रायुः	⁶ तानि	⁹ षोडश	¹² त्वचः

Notes on readings

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

This passage represents *Bhāvopprakāśa, pūrvakhaṇḍa, bhāga 1, prakaraṇa 3 garbhaprakaraṇa*, 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 पच्यमान 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.³⁰

³⁰Das 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:

अघयोगसिगत १४	
आखीपरेलाक ³¹	eyelash/lid...
शंख	temple
श्वेतवामनेत्र	white left eye [vertically, above ear]

³¹The ई vowel is faint, so possibly आखा°.

औषधय	herbs [?]
गाला	cheek (NIA ←Skt. <i>galla, gaṇḍa</i>)
गिजा	gums
†प्रायु ७०	sinews [presumed स्नायु?] 70
†प्राय ७०	sinews 70
[text on tongue and nose illegible]	
†प्रायु ७०	sinews 70
गिजा	gums
हनुक्षिला	jaw ?
संधय ३८	junctions
गाला	cheek
शिरमर्म	lethal point at a duct
शंख	temple
कपोलपरेला आ+खी	cheek-eyelash-eye
कपाल रन्ध्र ८	8 fissures in the skull

Throat



The text in this part of the painting is unclear.

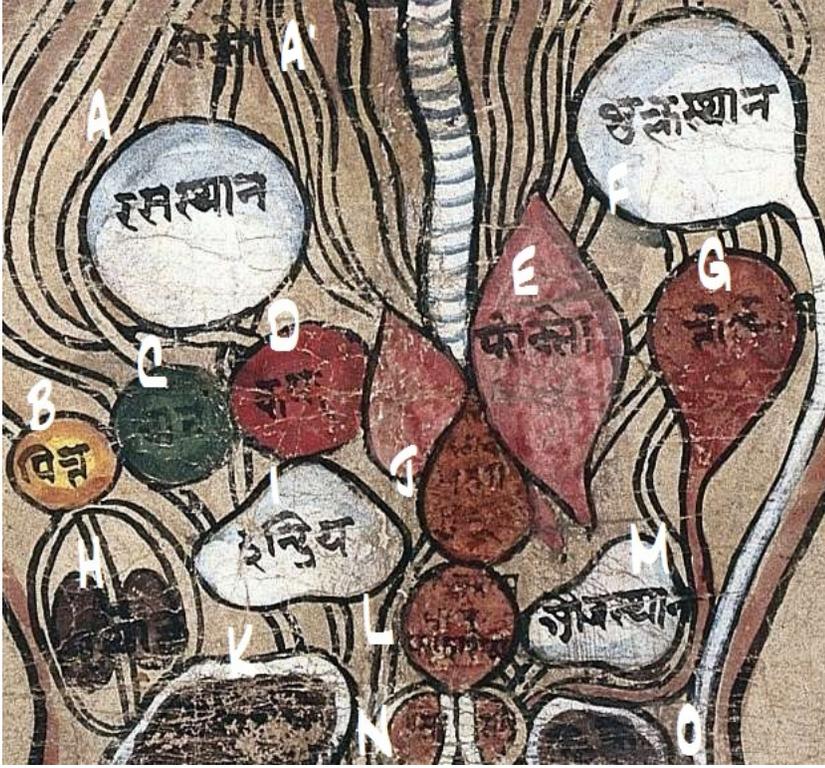
Left column

†मला	impurities [?]
†षितिया	[?]
†रुद्रय_इ	
निल (or नित्य, निम्य ?)	[?]

Right column

†शुया	[?]
†मत्थ	[?]

Torso



A	रसस्थान	place of chyle
A'	त्वोक्रो	
B	पित्त	bile
C	वात	wind
D	कफ	phlegm
E	फोक्सो	probably Nepalese फोक्सो 'lung' ³²
F	शुक्रस्थान	place of white (शुक्र semen)
G	illegible ³³	
H	illegible	

³²As 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.

³³I do not see evidence for the reading रक्तस्थान suspected by Das 2003, p. 77, n. 249.

I	इन्द्रिय	senses
J	illegible	
K	illegible	
L	illegible	
M	औजस्थान	place of energy (Skt. ओजस)
N	illegible	
O	illegible	

Further location names that might be expected on the torso include स्त्रीहन् (spleen), वृक्कौ (kidneys), यकृत (liver), क्लोमन्, पुष्फुस, 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 पीत ‘yellow’.³⁴

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 *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 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.³⁵

³⁴Mayrhofer 1953–1972, ii, p. 279, noted that, ‘[pittām] ursprünglich dasselbe Wort wie *pītaḥ* “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*Suśrutasaṃhitā* śā.7.18 (Ācārya 1915, p. 294):

तत्रारुणा वातवहाः पूर्यन्ते वायुना सिराः ॥
 पित्तादृष्णाश्च नीलाश्च शीता गौर्यः स्थिराः कफात् ॥
 असृग्वहास्तु रोहिण्यः शिरा नात्युष्णशीतलाः ॥

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* śā.7.3 (Ācārya 1915, p. 293):

सप्त सिराशतानि भवन्ति ; याभिरिदं शरीरमाराम इव जलहारिणीभिः केदार इव च कुल्याभिरुपस्त्रिह्यते ऽनुगृह्यते चाकुञ्चनप्रसारणादिभिर्विशेषैः ; द्रुमपत्रसेवनीनामिव तासां प्रतानाः ; तासां नाभिर्मूलं , ततश्च प्रसरन्त्यूर्ध्वमधस्तिर्यक् च ॥

Belly



A	†शुद्धि (or शुद्धि ?)	navel? ³⁷
B	†तत्त्यस्कल_वत...नुम†	
C	illegible	पक्काशय , अग्नि ?
D	†क्र_यसमा	[?]
E	मलाशय	receptacle of impurities
F	†मूत्रा [?] शयमु_	receptacle of urine [?]

For comparison, the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* enumerates seven receptacles (*āśayas*) in the male body,³⁸

वाताशय	receptacle of wind
पित्ताशय	receptacle of bile

³⁷Cf. Turner 1966–85 #12516; cf. #5858 *tunda*.

³⁸*Suśrutasaṃhitā* śā.5.8 (Ācārya 1915, p. 282):

आशयास्तु वाताशयः, पित्ताशयः, श्लेष्माशयो, रक्ताशय, आमाशयः, पक्काशयो,
मूत्राशयः, स्त्रीणां गर्भाशयोऽष्टम इति

श्लेष्माशय	receptacle of phlegm
रक्ताशय	receptacle of blood
आमाशय	receptacle of raw matter
पक्वाशय	receptacle of digested food
मूत्राशय	receptacle of urine
	and an eighth in the female body
गर्भाशय	receptacle of the foetus

The *Bhāvaprakāśa* adds the following receptacles:³⁹

उरोरक्ताशय	receptacle of chest-blood
पाचकाशय	receptacle of the digester
अग्न्याशय	receptacle of fire
	and in the female body
स्तन्याशयौ	receptacles of breast milk

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 ग्रहणी 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 तिल, 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 Ḍalhaṇa, the twelfth-century commentator on the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, seems to have been the first author to equate तिल (क) with क्रोमन्.⁴⁰ In ayurvedic anatomy, the two

³⁹*Bhāvaprakāśa prakaraṇa 3 (garbhaprakaraṇa)*, vv. 213–18.

अथाशयानाह
 उरोरक्ताशयस्तस्मादधः श्लेष्माशयः स्मृतः
 आमाशयस्तु तदधस्तल्लिङ्गं चरकोऽवदत् २१३
 आमाशयादधः पक्वाशयादूर्ध्वन्तु या कला
 ग्रहणी नामिका सैव कथितः पाचकाशयः २१४
 ऊर्ध्वमग्न्याशयो नाभेर्मध्यभागे व्यवस्थितः
 तस्योपरि तिलं ज्ञेयं तदधः पवनाशयः २१५
 पक्वाशयस्तु तदधः स एव तु मलाशयः
 तदधः कथितो वस्तिः स हि मूत्राशयो मतः २१६
 ...
 धरा गर्भाशयः प्रोक्तः पित्तपक्वाशयान्तरे
 स्तनौ प्रवृद्धौ तावेव बुधैः स्तन्याशयौ मतौ २१८

⁴⁰Wujastyk 2003a, p. 271, n. 23, referring to Ḍalhaṇa's comments on *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 3.4.31 and 2.9.18. Cf. Meulenbeld 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 **tilikā* 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 دل *dil*, either by historical etymology or by horizontal contamination in the medieval period.⁴³

Below the तिल 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

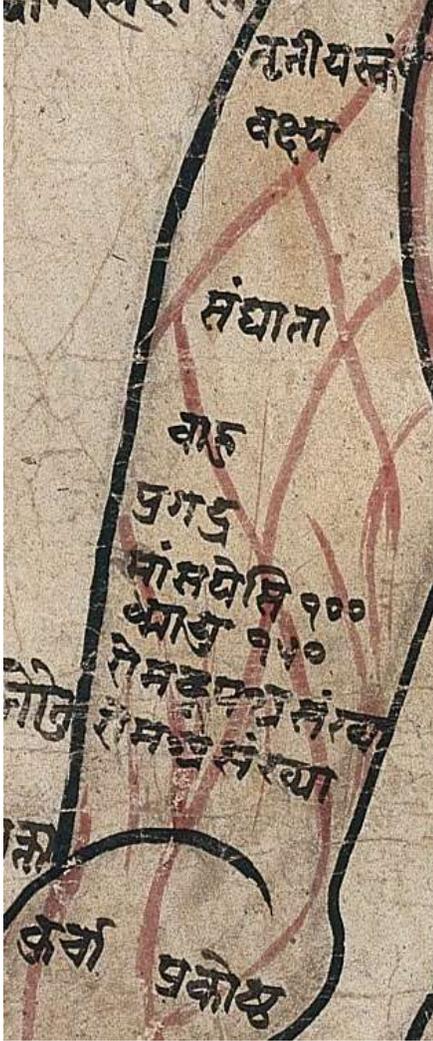
⁴¹Wujastyk 2003a, pp. 271, 276. Cf. Müller 1955, Dasgupta 1969, p. 288, n. 1, and Das 2003, pp. 213–5, 562.

⁴²Turner 1966–85, #5834 sub **tilikā* 'spleen'. A connection with MIA *pilihā* ← *plihán* is there considered unlikely.

⁴³Steingass 1892, p. 531: دل *dil* 'The heart, mind, soul;' etc. See also Wujastyk 2003a, pp. 271, 276; the diagram reproduced on p. 273, from Muralidharaśarman's nineteenth-century edition of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, calls the organ दिल rather than तिल (Muralidharaśarman 1895–1899, v. 2, frontispiece).

⁴⁴Cf. the description of the receptacles of the body presented by Śārṅgadhara (14th century), and translated by Wujastyk 2003a, pp. 271 f..

Left arm



तृतीयस्कंध	third shoulder
वक्ष्य	[?] (वक्षस् chest?)
संघाता	aggregate bone
वाहु	arm
प्रगद्र	
मांसपेसि १००	100 flesh muscles
अजायु १५०	150 sinews
रोमकूप असंख्या	uncountable hair follicles
रोम असंख्या	uncountable hairs
कुर्चा प्रकोष्ठ	extremity (कूर्च) forearm

Left hand



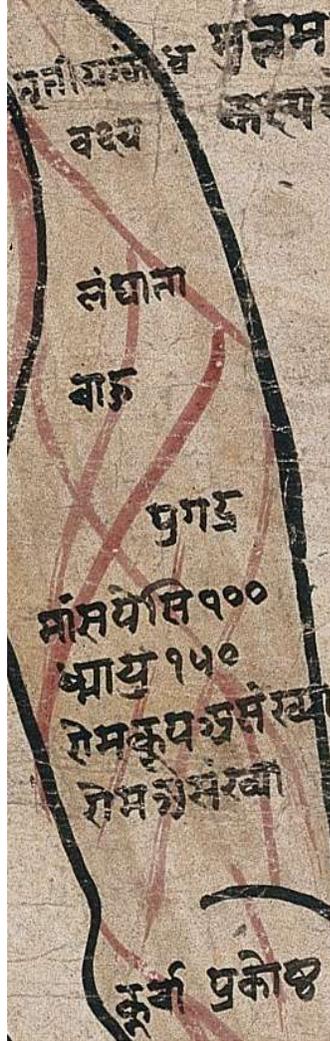
The top of the palm: हाकाले/हाकालो/हाकाले. The right hand shows, more clearly, हाकालो.

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

कनिष्ठा	little finger
अनामिका	nameless finger
मध्यमा	middle finger
तर्जनी	scolding finger
अंगुष्ठ	thumb

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



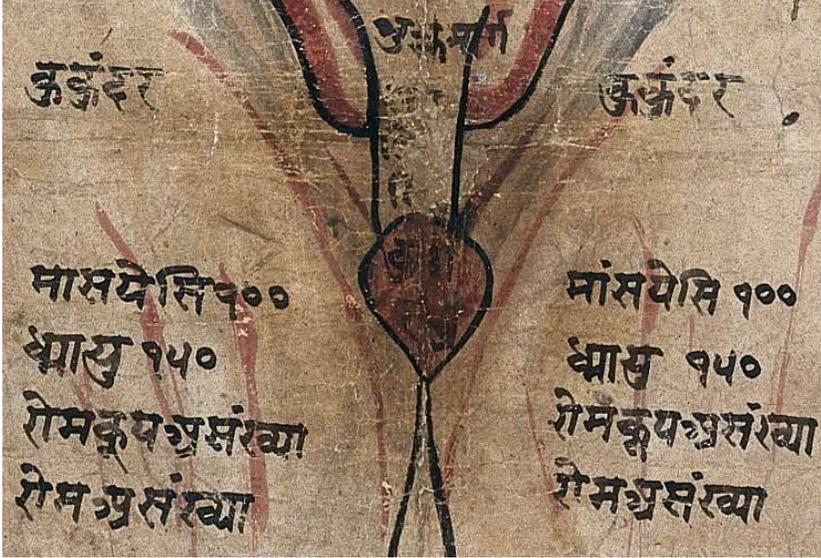
Details the same as the left arm.

Right hand



Details the same as the left hand.

Loins



Top centre

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

Left-hand column

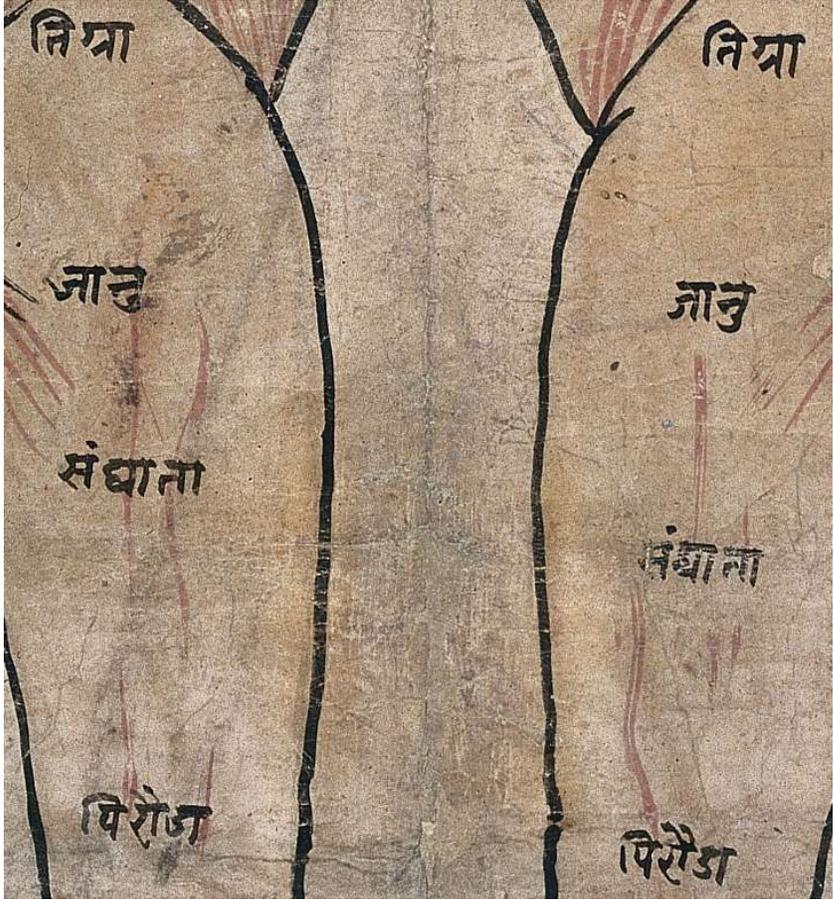
कुकुंदर	cavities of the loins
मांसपेसि १०० ⁴⁵	(Skt. मांसपेसी) flesh-muscle 100
ध्मायु १५०	(Skt. धमनी ?) pipes 150
रोमकूप असंख्या	countless hair-wells (follicles)
रोम असंख्या	countless hairs

Right-hand column

The same as left-hand column.

⁴⁵'मांसपेसि १००' in the right column.

Legs



Each leg has the following four labels:

तिग्रा	[?]
जानु	knee
संघाता	aggregate bone
पिरौडा	[?]

Feet



Each foot has the following four labels:

above the ankle: †गोलिगथा† (Not कुल्फ, गुल्फ ‘ankle’ as might be expected.)

below the ankle: †पैनालो†

above the heel: †कुर्कुवा† (for कूर्च?)

above each toe: अं for अङ्गुली ‘finger or toe’.

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