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On the Nature of the Medical Passages
in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti*

Tsutomu YAMASHITA

1. Introduction

In the Yatidharma section of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (henceforth YS), there are detailed descriptions of the constituents and developmental processes of the human body. We find similar descriptions in the Viṣṇusmṛti (henceforth VS) Chapter 69. Modern scholars have directed their attention to these anatomical and embryological passages in the Dharmaśāstras. Julius Jolly pointed out that the information on anatomy and embryology in the YS and the VS corresponded to the medical doctrine of Āyurveda. A.F. Rudolf Hoernle made a comparative study of the knowledge of human bones, “osteology” common to the āyurvedic and the non-āyurvedic texts including the YS and the VS. Then J.J. Meyer demonstrated that the YS incorporated anatomical description into its Yatidharma section from the Śārīrasthāna (henceforth Śā) of the Carakasamhita (henceforth CS), and that the VS, on the other hand, borrowed this description from the YS roughly.

It has been shown by these studies that the anatomical and embryological descriptions of the YS and the VS are directly or indirectly indebted to āyurvedic texts. However, it still remains to be answered which motives led the authors of Dharma texts to introduce such specific medical theories in their account of duties of ascetics (yatidharma). In this paper, I intend to examine the motives through analysis of the medical accounts found in the Yatidharma section of the YS. At the same time, I would like to attest the

* I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. G. Jan Meulenbeld, and the members of the project of the Joint Seminar on ‘Law (dharma) and Society in Classical India’ at the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, especially to Prof. Yasuke Ikari, Prof. Muneo Tokunaga, and Prof. Michio Yano for helpful suggestions and comments.  
2 Hoernle, [1907].  
3 Meyer, [1928].
sources of these accounts in āyurvedic texts. Since J.J. Meyer has fully investigated the relation between the YS and the VS concerning the descriptions of the body parts, I will not enter into this topic in this paper.

2. The textual formation of the Yatidharma section of the Yājñavaalkyasmrī

As a beginning, I would like to show the textual formation and topics of the Yatidharma section of the YS. We see from Table 1 that this section (YS 3.56-206) is divided into five parts in terms of content.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YS</th>
<th>Topics</th>
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<td>3.56-66</td>
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<td>3.67-74</td>
<td>Birth of the ātman</td>
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<td>3.75-83</td>
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<td>3.84-107</td>
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<td>3.108-206</td>
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From the above structure of the Yatidharma section, it is clear that the embryological and anatomical passages (3.75-107) are inserted inside the descriptions of the ātman (3.67-74 and 3.108-206). Medical doctrines are thus closely related to the ātman theory in the Yatidharma section of the YS. Consequently, it is necessary to read YS 3.67-206, including embryological and anatomical passages, as an account of the ātman theory as a whole. That is to say, the embryological passage (3.75-83) is to be understood as an account of the development and delivery of the ātman, and the anatomical passage (3.84-107) as an explanation of the body parts of the ātman.

Besides these medical passages, the ātman theory found in the Yatidharma section of the YS is also quite similar to the descriptions of the ātman found in the CS Śā in contents. As we shall see later, this means that the author of the YS in its Yatidharma section quoted not only the medical

4 Meyer, op. cit.
5 Hereafter, for the text of the YS, I will mainly use the text with Viśvarūpa’s commentary known as Bālakṛṣṇā (henceforth B). In some cases, I will show important variants in the other editions, namely the text with Viśnūnāyana’s commentary known as Miṭākṣara (henceforth M), the text with Aparārka’s commentary (henceforth A), and Stenzler’s text (henceforth S).
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descriptions but also the ātman concept from the CS Śā or at least from a kind of archetype of the extant text of the CS.

3. “Birth” of the ātman (YS 3.67-74)

There is a well-known passage concerning the ātman in the *Yatidharma* Section of the YS. The description begins with “birth” of the ātman. Table 2 shows the topics in this part (YS 3.67-74) and the corresponding passages in the CS Śā.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YS</th>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>CS Śā</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>3.72ab</td>
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<td>3.72cd</td>
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<td>3.10</td>
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</table>

We shall look carefully into each verse of the YS and its correspondence in the CS Śā.

**YS3.69-70:** Synonyms for the ātman and receiving the five mahābhūtas

In YS 3.69, the author gives eight synonyms for the ātman, and in YS 3.70, he states that the ātman receives the five great elements (mahābhūtas) at his birth just as he does so when he creates the world.

YS 3.69ab: nimittam aksaraṇ 7 kartā bodhā brahma guntī vaśī /
YS 3.69cd: ajāḥ śariragrahaṇāt sa jāta iti kirtyate //

“A cause, an imperishable one, an agent, one who perceives [objects], the brahman (neuter), one who possesses qualities, a ruler; being an unborn one, he (i.e., ātman) is called ‘born’ because of assuming the body.”

YS 3.70ab: sargādaau sa yathākāsaṃ vāyurj yotir jālam mahīṃ /
YS 3.70cd: srjātī ekottaraguṇāṁs tathādāte 'bhavann' 8 api //

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6 In the tables of this paper, ‘Cf.’ indicates the passages which do not agree literally, but appear to be relevant in contents.
7 M, A, S: aksaraṇ
8 M, A, S: bhavann

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“Just as he creates space, wind, fire, water, and earth at the beginning of the [world-]creation, so [he] receives [these elements] possessing qualities which increase one by one [at his birth] although he does not yet exist.”

A similar and longer list of synonyms for the ātman appears in the beginning part of the CS Śā, 4.8 in prose.

CS Śā 4.8 (the first segment): ... sa hi hetuh kāraṇāṁ nimittaṁ aksaraṁ kartā mantā veditā bodhdā droṣṭā dhātā brahmaṁ viśvākarmā viśvarūpaḥ puruṣaḥ prabhavo 'vyayo nityo guṇā grahaṁ pradhānam avyaktam jīvo jīvaḥ pūdgalas cetanāvān vībhur bhūtaṁ cendriyātmā cāntaraṁ ceti.

Here we find six out of the eight synonyms of the ātman in YS 3.69 in the same order. It seems that the author of the YS chose six words from here and added vasī (a ruler) and aja (an unborn one) to YS 3.69. The contents of YS 3.70 under the influence of Sāṃkhya system correspond to the following part of CS Śā 4.8.

CS Śā 4.8 (continued from the above quotation): sa guṇopādānakāle 'ntaraṁ pūrvarm anyebhya gunebhya upadatte. yathā pralayātyaye sisyakṣur bhūtāny aksarabhūta ātmā sattopādaṁḥ pūrvataram ākāśaṁ sṛṣṭi, tataḥ kramena vyaktaṭaragunānāṁ dhātun vāyūdīkāṁśa caturāḥ; tathā dehagrahaṇe 'pi pravarta-māṇaḥ pūrvataram ākāśam evopādatte, tataḥ kremena vyaktaṭaragunān dhātun vāyūdīkāṁśa caturāḥ. ...

“When [he] receives the qualities, he receives space prior to the other [elements]. Just as the ātman, willing to create the living beings, an imperishable one, receiving sattva, creates space first of all, and then [creates] successively the [other] four elements, wind etc., in which the qualities become more manifest, at the end of the destruction of the world; so [the ātman], who is beginning to operate when [he] assumes [his] body, receives space first of all, and then [receives] successively the [other] four elements, wind etc., in which the qualities are more manifest.”

Sargādau in YS 3.70a may be meant as equivalent to pralayātyaye in CS Śā 4.8. Ṣārīragrahaṇa in YS 3.69c corresponds to dehagrahaṇa in CS Śā 4.8. Thus, it seems that the subject-matter in the long prose of CS Śā 4.8 is condensed into the above two verses of YS 3.69 and 70. It deserves attention that the ātman, so says the author of the YS, is called ‘born’ simply because of his assuming the body (ṣārīragrahaṇa in YS 3.69c, dehagrahaṇa in CS Śā 4.8) although he himself is still an ‘unborn’ one (aja).

YS 3.72: The sixth element

The five great elements (mahābhūtas) and the sixth element as the constituents of the ātman are referred to in YS 3.72.
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YS 3.72ab: \(^9\) *strípuṃsayoḥ samprayoge viśuddhe śukraśoniṭe* /
YS 3.72cd: \(^11\) *paṇca dhātun svayaṃ śaṣṭha ādatte yugapat prabhuh* //

"Then, at the time of the union of a man and a woman, when semen and blood are pure, the lord (i.e., ātman) as the sixth [element] receives the five elements (i.e., mahābhūtas) at the same time, of his own accord."

YS 3.72ab seems to agree, in terms of content, with CS Šā 8.17 in which the purity of śukra and śopīṭa is emphasized. As regards to the six elements, we can find a similar concept of a foetus or puruṣa in some places of the CS. The following are examples of this case.

CS Šā 1.16ab: *khādayaś cetanāśaṣṭha dhātavaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ* /
CS Šā 1.16cd: *cetanādhātuv apy ekāḥ smṛtaḥ puruṣasamjñākāḥ* //

"It has been taught that the puruṣa consists of the elements, [i.e.,] space, etc. and the cetanā as the sixth. The cetanā element alone has also been taught to have the name puruṣa."

CS Šā 4.6: *garbhas tu khalv antarikṣavāyuvagnotayabhūmikārāś cetanābhūṭhānābhūṭhāḥ. evam anayaḥ yuktyā paścamahābhūṭāvārasmudāyātmako garbhaś cetanābhūṭhānabhūṭhāḥ, sa hy asya śaṣṭho dhātuv uktaḥ."

"Then, a foetus is indeed a transformation of space, wind, fire, water, and earth, and is the basis for cetanā. For this reason, a foetus consists of an aggregate of the transformations of five great elements, and [also] the one which is the basis of cetanā, because this [basis of cetanā] is said as the sixth element of him."

It should be noted that cetanā is not referred to in YS 3.72, while CS 1.16 and 4.6 regard cetanā as the sixth constituent element of the puruṣa. As we shall see later, the six elements are enumerated in YS 3.145ab and CS Šā 5.4, where the brahman is referred to in place of cetanā.\(^12\)

**YS 3.73-74: Entities born from the ātman**

Besides the six constitutional elements, a foetus is also considered to be composed of the mental and physical entities which are born from his/her mother, father, the ātman, suitability (sātmya), essence of food (rasa), and

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\(^9\) M, S: *strīpuṃsayos tu samyoge*, A: *strīpuṃsayos ca samyoge*

\(^10\) B: *śuklaśoniṭe*

\(^11\) S: *paṇicadāhuṭu*

the manas in ayurvedic texts. According to this ayurvedic theory, the word ātmajā in YS 3.74c should be interpreted as "an entity born from the ātman". YS 3.73-74 enumerates each item of the ātmajās as we can see in the following quotation.

YS 3.73ab: indriyaṇī manāḥ prāṇo jñānam āyuh sukham dhṛtih /  
YS 3.73cd: dhārānāprerāṇe duṣkhham ictbhāṅkārāṁ eva ca /  
YS 3.74ab: prayatnākṛtirūpāṇi svaradveṣau bhavabhavau /  
YS 3.74cd: tasyedam ātmajāṁ sarvam anāder ātīm iṣcataḥ //

"The sense organs, the manas, vital breath, knowledge, duration of life, pleasure, firmness, sustenance, impulse, suffering, desire, self-consciousness, effort, appearance, form, sound and aversion, existence and non-existence; all these are born from the ātman and [thus belong] to him (i.e., ātman), who wants to have the beginning, although he has no beginning."

There is a similar list of ātmajās in CS Śa 3.10.

CS Śa 3.10: ... garbhasyātmacāni ... tadyathā tāsā tāsu yonisūtpattir āyur ātmajājānāṁ manā indriyaṇī prāṇopāṇau prerāṇau dhārāṇau āktisvaravarṇaviśeśāṁ sukhadūḥkhe iṣcādveṣau cetanā dhīrti buddhiḥ smṛti ṣaṁkāraḥ prayatnaś ceti ātmajāni.

Ātmajānāṁ in CS Śa Śa 3.10 is rendered into only jñāna in YS 3.73b. Among the items of ākṛtisvaravarṇaviśeṣa in CS Śa Śa 3.10, varṇa is rendered into rūpāṇi in B edition of the YS, and the word viśeṣa is omitted in YS 3.74ab. However, all of the items enumerated in YS 3.73-74ab are found in the list of CS Śa Śa 3.10 except bhavabhavau. On the other hand, among the items listed in CS Śa Śa 3.10, tāsā tāsu yonisūtpatti (birth in each womb), apāna, cetanā, buddhi, smṛti are not found in YS 3.73-74ab. It should be noted again that the author of the YS does not refer to cetanā here.

13 For example, CS Śa 4.4: maṁrtaḥ pitṛā ātmacaḥ sātmaya roṣaṇah satvata ity etebhyo bhāvebhayaḥ samudītebhhyo garbhaḥ sāṃbhavati. "A foetus is formed from the combination of these entities, [i.e.,] one being born from mother, father, ātman, suitability (sātvaya), essence of food (rasa), and satvata (i.e., manas).” Cf. BhŚ Śa 6.1; the Suśrutasaṁhitā (henceforth SS) Śa 3.33; the Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayaṁśaṁhitā (henceforth AHS) Śa 3.4c-8c (3.5c says caitana instead of ātmajā); the Aṣṭāṅgasanātgraḥa (henceforth AS) Śa 5.7-15. Cf. Agniṣṭhūpam 396.32-33; Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa 115.14d-15.

14 M.A.S: dhāraṇā prerāṇaḥ  
15 M.A.S: iṣcāhāṅkāra  
16 M.A.S: prayatna ākṛtir varṇaḥ  
17 M.A.S: tasyaitad
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To sum up: The above observations in this chapter have shown that the part concerning “birth” of the ātman (YS 3.67-74) in the yatidharma section seems to have been influenced by the ātman concept in ayurvedic texts, especially the CS Śā to a considerable extent. In this part, we can also find somewhat intentional alterations of the ayurvedic theory by the author of the YS at some places.

After this part, a series of the embryological accounts follows directly (YS 3.75-83). Thus, the author of the YS enters into an account of the process how the ātman is born as a foetus, even though he is “an unborn one” (*aja*).

4. Monthly development of a foetus, and delivery (YS 3.75-83)

Table 3 shows the topics in this part and the corresponding passages in the CS Śā.

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<tr>
<th>YS</th>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>CS Śā</th>
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<td>4.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.75c</td>
<td>Two-months-old embryo</td>
<td>4.10</td>
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<td>3.75d</td>
<td>Three-months-old foetus</td>
<td>4.11</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.76-78</td>
<td>The human body and the five mahābhūtas</td>
<td>4.12,15</td>
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<td>3.79</td>
<td>Desires of a pregnant woman</td>
<td>4.15</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.80a</td>
<td>Four-months-old foetus</td>
<td>4.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.80b</td>
<td>Five-months-old foetus</td>
<td>4.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.80cd</td>
<td>Six-months-old foetus</td>
<td>3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>Seven-, and eight-months-old foetus</td>
<td>Cf.4.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>Eight-months-old foetus and ojas</td>
<td>4.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>Nine- and ten-months-old foetus and delivery</td>
<td>Cf.4.25</td>
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YS 3.75: One- to three-months-old embryo

There are embryological accounts on the developmental process of the human body in various kinds of Sanskrit and Pāli texts. We find the terms for the early developmental stages of an embryo such as *kalala*, *arbuda*, *ghana*, *pesī* and so forth in these texts. It is natural that the ayurvedic texts also contain such embryological accounts. The embryological description in the ayurvedic texts has the following distinctive features: (1) The developmental

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18 For example, *Mahābhārata* 12.308.116-117; *Padmapurāṇa* 2.66.30; *Garuḍapurāṇa* 2.32.23-25; *Garbhapanisad* 3; *Gauḍapāḍabhāṣya* on *Sūmkhyakārikā* 43; *Candrānandavṛtti* on *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 5.2.19; *Saṃyutta Nikāya* 10.1.3; *Milindapaṇha* Trencher ed., 40,125. Cf. Windisch, [1908] 87-92.; Müller, [1955]; Caillat, [1974a]; Comba, [1984]; Suneson, [1991].
stages of an embryo/foetus are expressed by the month; and (2) The terms of the early developmental stages are related to the difference of gender of the embryo/foetus.\textsuperscript{19}

The early stages of an embryo/foetus are described in the prose passages of CS Śā 4.9-11.

CS Śā 4.9: \textit{sā sarvāṇapāṇin gār bhātvaṃ āpannaḥ prathame māsi saṃmārechitaḥ sarvadhātuvaluṣiḥ khetabhāto bhavaty avyaktavigrahaḥ sadasad-bhūtāri-gāvayavah.}

“Having become an embryo with all the qualities, it, during the first month, is coagulated and a turbid mass of all the elements, in the form of mucus with an unmanifested human shape and with the body parts which are both existing and non-existing.”

CS Śā 4.10: \textit{dvitiye māsi ghanāḥ sanmpadyate piṇḍāḥ pesī arbudam vā. tatra ghanāḥ puruṣaḥ, pesī strī, arbudam napumsakam.}

“In the second month, [he] becomes a \textit{ghanā}, a \textit{piṇḍa}, a \textit{pesī}, or an \textit{arbuda}. There, the \textit{ghanā} is a male, the \textit{pesī} a female, and the \textit{arbuda} a hermaphrodite.”

CS Śā 4.11: \textit{tritiye māsi sarvāṇiyāṇi sarvā­ri-gāvayavās ca yaugapadyenābhini-vartante.}

“In the third month, all the sense organs and all the body parts develop simultaneously.”\textsuperscript{20}

The above expression of CS Śā 4.9-11 is similar to that of the following verse of YS 3.75.

YS 3.75ab: \textit{prathame māsi saṃkledabhāto dhātuvimārechitaḥ} / 
YS 3.75cd: \textit{māsya arbudam dvitiye tu tritiye 'ṅgendryair yutah /} 

“In the first month, it consists of moisture with the element[s] coagulated.

\textsuperscript{19} Cf. Suneson, \textit{op. cit.}, 113-114.

\textsuperscript{20} There are similar descriptions in the other āyurvedic texts. For example, SS Śā 3.18: \textit{tatra prathame māsi kalalaṃ jāyate. dvitiye sītoṣmānilair abhiprapacya-mānānāṃ mahābhūtānāṃ saṃghāto ghanāḥ saṃjīyaṭe yadi piṇḍāḥ pumān, strī cet pesī, napumṣakam ced arbudam iti. tritiye hastapūṣaśirasāṃ pāṇca piṇḍakā nirvartante 'ṅgapratyangavibhāgaḥ ca sūkṣmo bhavati. ...(SS Śā 3.18 is partly quoted in Vijīnānāsvāra’s commentary of the YS.)}

AHS Śā 1.37ab: \textit{avyaktah prathame māsi saptāḥ kalaḥ bhavet.}

AHS Śā 1.49cd-50a: \textit{dvitiye māsi kalalaḍ ghanāḥ pesī athavā'rbudam/ pumstrikībāḥ kramāt tebhyah.}

AHS Śā 1.54c-55: \textit{māse’ṣya tritiye gāṭrapaṇīcakam/ mūrdhā dve sakthini bāhū sarva-sūkṣmaṁgajanma ca/ samam eva hi mūrdhādyair jñānaṁ ca sukhaḥdhiḥkhayoḥ/}

AS Śā 2.7: \textit{tatra prathame māse kalalaṃ jāyate. dvitiye ghanāḥ pesī arbudam vā tebhyah kramāt pumstrīnāpumsakānī.}
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In the second month, [he becomes] an *arbuda*. In the third month, [he] possesses the limbs and the sense organs."

The author of the YS gives the same description of the embryonic development by the month as we see in the āyurvedic texts, especially in the CS. However, among the terms of the early developmental stages found in CS Śā 4.10, only *arbuda* is referred to in YS 3.75c, and further, no sexual distinction is made in the YS. It should be noted that both the YS and the CS do not mention the word *kalala* as an embryonic developmental stage here.

**YS 3.76-79:** The detailed descriptions of a three-months-old foetus

After the above description of a three-months-old foetus in CS Śā 4.11, the author of the CS inserts supplementary accounts in CS Śā 4.12-19 in prose passages before entering into the description of a four-months-old foetus. The synopsis of this part is as follows:

CS Śā 4.12: Constituent elements of foetus which are related to the five *mahābhūtas*
CS Śā 4.13: The parallelism of macrocosm (loka) and microcosm (puruṣa)
CS Śā 4.14: Bodily constituents which develop after birth
CS Śā 4.15: The "double-hearted" state (*dvaihrdayya*)
CS Śā 4.16: Signs of pregnancy and *dvaihrdayya*
CS Śā 4.17: Satisfaction of a pregnant woman’s desires
CS Śā 4.18: Injurious factors to a foetus
CS Śā 4.19: Suppression of a pregnant woman’s desires

The author of the YS seems to abstract the main points from the above supplementary accounts of the CS Śā and to incorporate them into the descriptions of a three-months-old foetus in four verses (YS 3.76-79). That is, the list of the constituent elements related to the five *mahābhūtas* in CS Śā 4.12 corresponds to a similar list in YS 3.76-78ab; and the contents of CS Śā 4.15 regarding the “double-hearted” state (*dvaihrdayya*) are reflected in YS 3.78cd-79. Let us consider the following quotations.

After the list of the constituent elements related to the five *mahābhūtas* (YS 3.76-78ab), YS 3.78cd runs:

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21 The usage of the word *arbuda* in this meaning is found also in BhS Śā 4.30 (*... nety āha bhagavān punarvasur ātreyaḥ. tasmād arbudam evāya prathamam sambhavati. tatra sarve śarīrapradesās sambhavanti ...*). Here Punarvasu Ātreya says that an *arbuda* arises first. Genders are not mentioned either in BhS Śā 4.30. However, it is not clear how the YS is related to the BhS in the usage of the word *arbuda* only from this passage.
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YS 3.78cd: ātmā grb̥nāty atah22 sarvam triyake spandate tataḥ //
“The ātman assumes all [of these constituent elements] during the third [month],
and then begins to move.”

This expression clearly corresponds to the first part of CS Śā 4.15 as follows:

CS Śā 4.15: tasya yatkalam evendriyāṇi samāsṭhante, tatkalam eva cetasi vedanā
nirbandhaṁ prāpnoti tasmāt tadā prabhṛti garbhaḥ spandate . . . .
“At the same time when its sense organs are accomplished, sense actions become
steady in the cetas. Therefore, the foetus begins to move from that time on.”

CS Śā 4.15 gives a detailed account on the “double-hearted” state
(dvaihrdayya) as follows:

CS Śā 4.15: (continued from the above garbhaḥ spandate) prārthayate ca
janmāntarāṇubahātan yat kiṃcet, tad dvaihrdayyam ācakṣate vṛddhāḥ.
mātrjñam cāsya ṣṛdayaṁ mātrihṛdayayābhīṣamābuddhaṁ bhavati rasavūhinibhūḥ
samvāhinibhūḥ tasmāt tayos tābhīr bhaktiḥ samspandate.
tac cāiva kāraṇam aveksamanāḥ na dvaihrdayasya vimāṇitaṁ garbhaṁ ichchanti
kartum. vimānane hy aṣya ārṣyate vināśo vikṛtir vā.
samānyagakṣemā hi tadā bhavati garbhena kesucida artheṣu mātā.
tasmāt priyahitābhīṣyan garbhiṇīṁ viśeṣenopacaranti kuśalāḥ.
“(The foetus moves) and tries to get whatever was experienced in its previous
life. Wise men call that [condition] the “double-hearted” state (dvaihrdayya).
Its heart born from the mother becomes united with the mother’s heart by the
vessels carrying rasas. Therefore, [the foetus’s and the mother’s] desire (bhakti)23
moves in consonance for the two through these [vessels]. With a careful look at
that reason, people try not to do what is disagreeable to the foetus of [the state]
dvaihrdayya, for it dies or suffers deformity if it is treated disagreeably [in this
stage]. In fact, the mother shares welfare with the foetus concerning whatever
things [that may occur] during that time. Therefore, experienced people attend
on a pregnant woman particularly with favourite and healthy things.”24

22 M,AS: ajaḥ
23 Cakrapāṇidatta comments here: bhaktiḥ icchā.
24 In the SS, “dvaihrdaya” or “dauhrda” is considered as the condition not during the
third month, but during the fourth month, and in the AHS considered as the condition
during the second month.

SS Śā 3.18: . . . dvaihrdayām ca nārīṁ dauhrdininām ācakṣate, dauhrdavimānānāt
kubjāṁ kūripaṁ khaṇjaṁ jādaṁ vāmanāṁ vikṛtāksamanākoṁ vā nāriṁ sutam janayati,
tasmāt sa yadyad ichchet tattat tasyai dāpayet, labdhadauhrdā hi vīryavantaṁ ciryusamāṁ
ca putram janayati.
AHS Śā 1.52cd: mātrijaṁ hy aṣya ṣṛdayaṁ mātus ca ṣṛdayena tat //
AHS Śā 1.53ab: saṁbaddhau tena garbhīṇyā neṣṭaṁ śuddhāvimānānam/
The above explanation on the *dvaihrdayya* seems to be condensed into only one verse in YS 3.79 as follows:

YS 3.79ab: 25 *dauhrdasāyāpaḍānena garbhā doṣām avāpnyāt* /
YS 3.79cd: *vairūpyaṁ maraṇaṁ vāpi tasmāt kāryaṁ priyaṁ striyaḥ* /

“A foetus may suffer from a disorder (*doṣa*), deformity, or even death, if one does not give [a favourite thing to the pregnant woman during] the “double-hearted” state (*dauhrda*). Therefore, what is favourite to the woman should be done [during the “double-hearted” state].”

One can safely infer that the word *dauhrda* (*dohada*) in YS 3.79a comes from *dvaihrdayya* in the above passage of the CS. Thus, even the supplementary accounts of a three-months-old foetus in the CS Śā are faithfully reflected in the verses of YS 3.76-79.

**YS 3.80:** Four-, five-, and six-months-old foetus

YS 3.80ab: *sthairaṁ caturthe tv aṅgaṁ paṁcane śonitodbhavah* /
YS 3.80cd: *saṣṭhe balasya varṇasya nakharompaṁ ca saṁbhavah* /

“Now, the limbs get firm in the fourth, blood is formed in the fifth, and strength, colour, nails, and hair of the body arise in the sixth [month].”

The above *sloka* appears to be an abridgement of the following passages in CS Śā 4.20, 21, and 22.

CS Śā 4.20: *caturthe māsi sthiratvam āpadyate garbhah, tasmāt tada garbhini śūryatvam adhikam āpadyate viśeṇa.*

“The foetus gains stability in the fourth month. Therefore, the pregnant woman especially feels an excessive heaviness of the body at that time.”

CS Śā 4.21: *paṁcane māsi garbhasya māṁsasāṅitopacayo bhavaty adhikam anyebhyo māsebhyaḥ, tasmāt tada garbhini kārṣyam āpadyate viśeṇa.*

“In the fifth month, flesh and blood of the foetus get especially richer than any other months. Therefore, the pregnant woman is in particular emaciated at that time.”

CS Śā 4.22: *saṣṭhe māsi garbhasya balavāryopacayo bhavaty adhikam anyebhyo māsebhyaḥ, tasmāt tada garbhini balavāryahānim āpadyate viśeṇa.*

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25 A,S. "n" of M: *dohasāyāpaḍānena*
"In the sixth month, strength and colour of the foetus grow more than in any other months. Therefore, the pregnant woman loses her strength and colour especially at that time."²⁶

The only deviation is that the author of the YS uses the words *udbhava* (springing) in YS 3.80b and *saṃbhava* (arising) in YS 3.80d, while the CS says *upacaya* (increase or growth) in CS Śa 4.21,22. Some āyurvedic texts including the CS adopt the view that all of the major and minor parts of the body develop simultaneously, however they are too subtle to be distinguished clearly at the early stage of foetal development.²⁷ Such an āyurvedic theory underlies the descriptions of the developmental process of an embryo/foetus in the CS. However, judging from the above expressions in YS 3.80b and 80d, the author of the YS does not seem to have taken this āyurvedic view into consideration.

**YS 3.81**: Seven- and eight-months-old foetus

YS 3.81ab: ²⁸ *manasā cetasā yuktō nāḍīsnāyusiṛā tatah /
YS 3.81cd: *saptōm cāṣṭām caiva tvācāvān smṛtimān api //

"[He is] united with *manas* and *cetas* and is provided with *nāḍī*, *snāyu*, and *sirā* in the seventh month, and [he] obtains skin and memory in the eighth month."

YS 3.81 does not show a direct correspondence with the account of a

²⁶ The other āyurvedic texts also describe the condition of a four-, five-, and six-months-old foetus. As regards the description of the six-months-old foetus, AHS Śa 1.57cd and AŚ Śa 2.13 seems to be closer to YS 3.80cd.

²⁷ See CS Śa 6.21; SS Śa 3.32. As we noted, CS Śa 4.11 also says that all the sense organs and all the body parts develop simultaneously during the third month.

²⁸ M.A.S: *manāscaitanyayukto 'sau nāḍīsnāyusiṛāyutaḥ
²⁹ A: *vāṣṭame vāpi
³⁰ M.A.S: *tvānimamsasmrtimān
seven-months-old foetus and its mother in CS Śa 4.23. The accounts of a seven-months-old foetus found in the other ayurvedic texts, for example, the SS, the AHS and the AS are also different from the description of YS 3.81.

**YS 3.82:** Eight-months-old foetus and its ojas

We find another account of the condition of a foetus in the eighth month in the next verse.

YS 3.82ab: \(^{33}\) punar garbhaṃ punar dhātrīṃ ojas tasya pradhāvatī /
YS 3.82cd: aṣṭame māṣy ātō garbho jātaḥ prāṇair vimucyate\(^{34}\) //

"His ojas rushes into the foetus and further into the mother in the eighth month. Hence, the foetus born in the eighth month is disunited from its vital breath."

Although the meaning of the above verse is not quite clear, it appears to me that the author of the YS condensed the following descriptions of ojas found in CS Śa 4.24 and CS Śu 17.74 into one verse.

CS Śa 4.24: aṣṭame māṣi garbhaś ca māṭṛto garbhataś ca māṭā rasahārinibhiḥ saṃvāhinibhiḥ mūhurmuhur ojaḥ parasparata ādādāte garbhyāsampūrṇatvāt. tasmāt tādā garbhiṇī mūhurmuhur mūdā yuktā bhavatī mūhurmuhuḥ ca māṭā, tatha garbhaḥ; tasmāt tādā garbhasya janma vyāpattimā bhavaty ojavo 'nava-sthitatvāt. . . .

"In the eighth month, the foetus repeatedly takes ojas away from the mother, and the mother from the foetus, [that is] from each other, through the vessels carrying rasa, because the foetus is (still) incompletely developed. Therefore, a pregnant woman repeatedly becomes happy at one time and gets tired at another. So does the foetus. Therefore, the delivery of the foetus is entailed with calamity at that time due to the instability of ojas.\(^{35}\)

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\(^{31}\) CS Śa 4.23: saptame māṣi garbhaḥ sarvair bhāvair āpāyan ghatate, tasmāt tādā garbhini sarvakāraḥ klāntatana bhavati.

"A foetus is filled up with all the properties in the seventh month. Therefore, a pregnant woman gets overfatigued in all respects."

\(^{32}\) SS Śa 3.30: . . . saptame sarvāṅga-pratyaṅgavibhāgaḥ pravayaktarab, . . .

AHS Śa 1.58ab: sarvaḥ sarvāṅgasampūrṇo bhāvaya puṣyatī sātame /
AHS Śa 2.13: . . . saptame sarvāṅgasampūrṇatā.

\(^{33}\) M,S: punar dhātrīṃ punar garbham

\(^{34}\) M,A,S: viṣṇujyate

\(^{35}\) AS Śa 2.14 is in strict correspondence with CS Śa 4.24. The similar accounts are found in the SS and the AHS as follows: SS Śa 3.30: . . . aṣṭame 'sthīrābhavāty ojaḥ, tatra jātaś cen na jvēna nirojaśtvān nairṛtabhāgatvāc ca, . . .

AHS Śa 1.62cd: ojo 'ṣṭame saṃcaraśi māṭāputravuḥ māṭā kramāt /
AHS Śa 1.63ab: tena teu māṇamudātāv tatra jāto na āvai /
AHS Śa 1.63cd: īśūrojo 'navasthānanāvī nāri saṃśayita bhavet /
These accounts of ojas apparently form the background of the description in YS 3.82. That is to say, the account of the danger of miscarriage in the eighth month found in the YS is based on the concept of ojas found in the āyurvedic texts.37

YS 3.83: Nine- and ten-months-old foetus and delivery

YS 3.83ab: navame daśame 38 māsi probalaiḥ sūtimārūtaḥ /
YS 3.83cd: niḥsāryate bāṇa eva yantracchidreṇa sayavaḥ //
“In the ninth and/or tenth [month], he is caused to go out with pain by the strong winds of delivery, as an arrow through the hole of a yantra.”

We can find the same topic in CS Śā 4.25 and 6.24 as follows:

CS Śā 4.25: tasminn evadvasātikrante 'pi navamaṁ māsam upādāya prasavakaḷam ity āhūr ādaśamāṁ māśāt. etāvān prasavakaḷāḥ, vaikārikam ataḥ paraṁ kuṅśav avasthānaṁ garbhasya.
“Having arrived at the ninth month, if even one day more expires, they say it is the time of the delivery, upto [the end of] the tenth month. Staying in the womb after this [period] is abnormal.”

CS Śā 6.24: sa copasthitakāle janmani prasūtiṁārūtayogāt parivṛttyāvāksirā niṣ-krāṇatya apatyapatheṇa, . . . .
“And when the time of birth comes, he goes out through the path for offspring with his head downward, having turned round due to the wind of delivery.”

Both the YS and the CS refer to ‘the wind of delivery’ (sūtimārūta YS 3.83b; prasūtimārūta CS Śā 6.24). However, the CS and the other āyurvedic texts do not directly refer to the pain which a foetus feels at the time of

36 See also Cakrapāṇidatta’s commentary on CS Śū 17.74: yad uktaṁ tantrāntare — prāṇāśrayasya jñāsāsū 'ṛṣaṁ bindavo hrdayāśrayāḥ iti . . . aṣṭābindukasya tva avayavanāse 'pi mṛtyur bhavatīti . . . .
37 For the other accounts for miscarriage, see Wujastyk, [1999].
38 M,S: vāpi
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delivery (ṣajvara in YS 3.83d),

or do they cite the simile of an arrow shot through the yoniyaṇtra (YS 3.83cd).

As to the suffering of birth (janmajvara or janmaduḥkha), Prof. M. Hara has directed our attention to medieval religious texts which describe the loss of the memory of previous life due to the pain a foetus suffers going out of the mother’s womb through a narrow birth-canal. Among these texts, the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa (henceforth VDhP) offers a passage parallel to YS 3.83cd.

VDhP 2.114.18cd: tatās tu kāle sampūrṇe prabalaiḥ sū ✓imārūtaḥ
VDhP 2.114.19ab: bhavati avānimukho jantuḥ piđām anubhavan parām
VDhP 2.114.19cd: adhomukhaḥ saµkṣaṭena yoniyaṇṭe vāyūnā
VDhP 2.114.20ab: niḥśāraye bāṇa iva yantracchedeṇa saµvaraḥ
VDhP 2.114.20cd: yoniṣkramaṇaḥ piđām carmottaranaśamniḥbām
VDhP 2.114.21ab: prāpnoti ca tato jātāḥ tīrṇaḥ śītām asamśayam
VDhP 2.114.21cd: janmajvarābhihūtasya vijñānaṁ tasya naśyati

“Now, when the time is ripe, a child, suffering an extreme pain, turns his head downwards owing to the strong wind of delivery.

With his head downwards he is caused by the wind to go out with pain through the narrow door of the womb, as an arrow through the hole of a yantra.

From the escape out of the womb he gets a pain similar to the pealing of skin. Then, he indeed feels severe cold when he is born.

He loses his knowledge, being overcome by the pain of birth.”

The Agniṣṭhōṣa (henceforth AP) 369.27 may be quoted as an another example:

AP 369.27ab: sūṭivātair adhobhūto niḥśāred yoniyaṇṭratāḥ
AP 369.27cd: piđāyamāno māsāṃtratāṃ karaspāreṇa dhūkhitāḥ

“He will go out of the yoniyaṇtra with pain, with his face downwards due to the wind of birth, being afflicted for one month by the touch of hand.”

39 The pain is mentioned in CS Śā 8.42 in the accounts of newborn care: tathā sa kleśavihatān prāṇān punar labheta. “In that way, he will regain [his] life which was afflicted by pain.” Cakrapāṇidatta remarks on kleśavaha here as follows: kleśavahata tiḥ yoniyaṇtrapidaṇādiklesaḥaparāhataḥ (‘afflicted by pain’ means afflicted by the pain caused by the pressure of yoniyaṇtra and so forth).

40 Hara, [1977], [1980], and [1987].

41 Further examples:

Padmapurāṇa (henceforth PP) 2.66.94ab: evam etan mahākaśṭaṃ janmaduḥkhaṃ prakāṛṭitaḥ
PP 2.66.94cd: puṃsām ajñānadoṣena nānakarmavaśena ca
PP 2.66.95ab: garbhasthasya matir yāṣīt samjātasya praṇāṣyati
The yāntracchidra (YS 3.83d) is referred to in the Mahābhārata (henceforth MBh) 1.176.34 in the scene of selecting Draupādi’s bridegroom.⁴²

MBh 1.176.34ab: idām dhanur lakṣyam ime ca bāṣaḥ śṛṣṭvantu me pārthivāḥ sarva eva /
MBh 1.176.34cd: yāntracchidrenebhyaṭikramya lakṣyam samarpayadhvaṃ khagamīr daśārdhaḥ //

“Here is a bow. [Here is] a target. And here are arrows. Listen to me, all the kings! Let five arrows reach the target passing through the yāntracchidra.”

The above passages from the non-āyurvedic texts show that the word sajvāra in YS 3.83d implies the suffering which a transmigrating being experiences in its new birth (janmājvara or janmadūḥkha); and the word yāntracchidra in YS 3.83d has a double meaning, namely ‘a [narrow] birth canal’ or ‘the cause of the suffering at birth’ as a metaphor and ‘a split of a missile in archery’.⁴³ It follows from this that the YS borrowed the notion of janmājvara or janmadūḥkha from a different tradition than Āyurveda and incorporated it into the account of delivery.

To sum up: The above observations in this chapter about YS 3.75-83 have shown that the author of the YS borrowed the embryological accounts of āyurvedic texts especially of the CS Śā with several modifications as the process of the ātman’s birth, and also incorporated non-medical elements which are omitted in the āyurvedic texts from the other sources.

After this part, a series of the anatomical accounts follows directly (YS 3.84-107). Thus the author of the YS enters into accounts of the body parts of the ātman who has been born as a foetus.

⁴² Prof. Muneo Tokunaga was kind enough to point out to me this reference.
⁴³ The word yantra may also mean ‘surgical instrument’. However this usage at least at the normal delivery is not found in the āyurvedic texts.
5. The constituent parts of the human body (YS 3.84-107)

CS Śā Chapter 7 as a whole is devoted to anatomical enumerations. The names and numbers of the constituents of the human body are listed in detail in this chapter. As demonstrated by J.J. Meyer,\textsuperscript{44} the detailed anatomical descriptions of the human body in CS Śā Chapter 7 are incorporated into YS 3.84-107. The following List 1 and 2 show the contents of YS 3.84-107 and CS Śā Chapter 7 for comparison. One can see that a large part of them run parallel between the two texts. I have marked the topics and expressions which are peculiar to the YS with underlines in the list.

\textsuperscript{44} Meyer, [1928] 49-58.
YS 3.84: The body [made up] of the six [constituents]

YS 3.84ab: tasya śodhā 45 sarināṃ tat sat tava 46 dhārayanti hi 47 /
YS 3.84cd: saḍaṅgāni tathāsthānāṃ ca 48 saṣaṣṭiṃ vai śatatrayam //
“The six [layers of] skin, the six divisions of the body, and the three hundred and sixty bones maintain his body [made up] of the six [constituents].”

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45 M.A.S: sarināṇī śat
46 A: tvacāṃ
dhārayanti: to hold
47 M.A.S: ca
48 M.A.S: sāha śaṣṭyā
The expression “the body [made up] of six [constituents]” (soḍhā śarīram) (YS 3.84a) may be associated with the five mahābhūtas and the sixth element as the constituents of the ātman found in YS 3.72cd. We find the six layers of skin in CS Śa 7.4 and the three hundred and sixty bones also in CS Śa 7.6.\(^{49}\) Incidentally, the SS says that there are seven layers of skin in the human body (SS Śa 4.4) and argues that the total number of bones is three hundred from the viewpoint of surgical science (śalyatantra) (SS Śa 5.18).\(^{50}\)

According to CS Śa 7.5, the six major divisions (aṅga) of the body are upper limbs (bāhu), lower limbs (sakthi), head (śiras), neck (grīva), and trunk (antarādhi). The fifty-six minor divisions (pratyāṅga) of the body are enumerated one by one in CS Śa 7.11. In contrast, the YS does not give the detail of “six [major] divisions [of body]” (śaḍaṅgāni) (YS 3.84c), and provides only rough descriptions of the minor divisions of the body as śarīrake sthānāni in YS 3.96-99ab. We will come back to this topic later.

**YS 3.84d-90: Bones**

In the prose of CS Śa 7.6, the names and numbers of all kinds of bones are clearly expressed with the total number of bones stated as three hundred and sixty. On the other hand, we can find textual confusions in the descriptions of bones in the YS. Some of the names of bones are shortened or apparently mistaken and the numbers of some bones are not clearly stated in the verses of YS 3.85-90. Such confusions in the text of the YS may be due not only to the versification from the CS to the YS, but to the deficiency in the author's knowledge of the human bones.

Problematic points in the descriptions of bones in the YS are as follows:

1. “The alveolar bone” (dantolākhala) (CS Śa 7.6) is only described as sthāla in YS 3.85a.

2. In CS Śa 7.6: dve jānumi, dve jānukapālike, dvāv ārunalakau, dvau bāhunalakau, dvāv aṃsaau, dve aṃsaphalake “There are two [bones] of the knees, two [bones] of the kneecaps, two long bones of the thighs, two long bones of the arms, two [bones] of the shoulders, two [bones] of the shoulder blades.” The corresponding expression of this passage is YS 3.87ab: dve

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\(^{49}\) For the six layers of skin, see also BhS Śa 7.1; AS Śa 5.17; AP 369.43.44b; VDhP 2.115.26-27; VS 96.54. For the three hundred and sixty bones, see, for example, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 10.5.4.12, 12.3.2.3-4; AP 370.27; VDhP 2.115.77cd; VS 96.55.

\(^{50}\) SS Śa 5.18: trīṇi saṣaṣṭīṇī asthiṣaṭāṇi vedovādino bhāṣante; śalyatantre tu trīṇy eva śatāni. Cf. AHS Śa 3.8d-9ab; AS Śa 5.18.
In this expression, jānukapālīka apparently corresponds to jānukapāla, however, ārunalakau, bāhunalakau, aṃsaḥ, and aṃsaphalake in CS Śā 7.6 seem to be condensed into only āruphalakāṃsa in the YS, and the meaning of samudbhave in YS 3.87d is not clear.52

(3) In CS Śā 7.6: ekāṃ jatru, ... ekaṃ hanu asthi “There is one [bone] of the trachea, ... one [bone] of the chin.” The corresponding expression is found in YS 3.88d B: jatru aikyaṃ hi tathā hanuḥ, M, S: jatru ekaikaṃ tathā hanuḥ, A: jatru ekaṃ ca tathā hanuḥ. The number of each bone is not clear in any readings of the YS.53

(4) In CS Śā 7.6: dve hanumūlabandhane, ekāsti nāśikāgandakūṭa-lalāṭam. “There are two [bones] in the joining of the base of jaw, one bone [forming] the nose, the prominence of cheek, and the forehead.” The corresponding expression is YS 3.89ab: (continued from YS 3.88d hanuḥ) B: tanmūle dve lalāṭasthi gaṇḍanāśaṅganāsthiḥkā, M, A, S: tanmūle dve lalāṭakṣi-gaṇde nāsa gaṇāsthiḥkā. The text of B is fairly similar to the above expression of the CS. In the reading of M, A, and S, aksi, which is not found in CS Śā 7.6 nor in B of the YS, is inserted. Each name and each number of the various bones are not clear in any editions of the YS here.

(5) The number of bones of the chest is stated as fourteen in CS Śā 7.6 (caturdaśorasi). However, in YS 3.90c, the number of bones of the chest is described as seventeen (uraḥ saptadaśāsthāni). The bones of the chest is the last item in the YS’s list of bones. The author of the YS may intentionally change the number of bones of the chest to make up the total number of bones to three hundred and sixty.54

YS 3.92d: The manas

A brief description of the heart (ḥṛdaya) in CS Śā 7.8: hṛdayaṃ cetanādhi-śṭhānam ekam “There is one heart, which is the seat of cetanā.” follows after each enumeration of the five seats of senses (indriyādhiśṭhāna), the five sense organs (buddhindaṇī), and the five motor organs (karmendriya).55
other hand, in the YS, there is a description of manas instead of hrdaya after each enumeration of the five objects (viṣaya) of the sense organs, the five sense organs (indriya), and the five motor organs (karmendriya) in YS 3.92d: "The manas is consisting of the natures of both [the sense organs and the motor organs]." Such an account of manas is not found in the CS Śā. That is to say, the author of the YS may avoid referring to cetanā, the seat of which is said to be hrdaya in CS Śā 7.8, again here, as in YS 3.72, 74, and insert the account of manas intentionally under the influence of the Śāmkhyā system. This may be seen as one of the obvious cases of intentional deviation from the medical context by the author of the YS.

YS 3.93: The places of prāṇa

YS 3.93a-b: nabhār ojo gudām śukram /
YS 3.93c-d: mūrdhā ca hrdayam kaṇṭhāḥ prāṇasyāyatanāni tu//
"The places of vital breath (prāṇa) are the navel, ojas, intestine (or anal region), semen, blood, the two temples, the head, the heart, and the throat."

We find two similar lists of the ten places of prāṇa in CS Śā 7.9 and CS Śu 29.3. Ojas, intestine, semen, blood, the head, the throat, and the heart are found in all of the lists in the YS and the CS. The temples are found in YS 3.93b (śārikhakau) and CS Śu 29.3c (śārikau). The navel (nābhi) is listed in YS 3.93a and CS Śā 7.9. In addition to the above list of YS 3.93, the nine orifices (nava chidra) are mentioned as the places of prāṇa separately in YS 3.99c-d after the enumeration of the minor divisions of the body (sthānas). The nine orifices (nava chidra) are described also in CS Śā 7.12 just after the

56 Śāmkyaśāstra 27: ubhayātmakam atra manah samkalpakam indriyam ca sādharmyāt. Manusmrīti 2.92ab: ekādaśam mano jñeyam svagunenobhayātmakam.
57 B: śuklaṁ
58 M.S: mūrdhāṁsakaṇṭhahrdayaṁ, A: mūrdhā sakaṇṭhahrdayaḥ
59 CS Śā 7.9: daśa prāṇyāyatanāni; tadyathā — mūrdhā, kaṇṭhāḥ, hrdayaṁ, nābhiḥ, gudāṁ, bastiḥ, ojaḥ, śukram, śoṇitaṁ, māṃsāṁ iti. Cf. BhŚ Śu 17.1-2, Śa 7.3; AHS Śā 3.13 (jīvītadhāma); AS Śā 5.32.
60 CS Śā 29.3: daśāvāyatanānāyāḥ prāṇā yeśu pratiṣṭhitāḥ / śārikhau marmatrayaṁ kaṇṭho raktām śukrayāsī gudum // In the list of CS Śā 29.3, marmatraya "the three vital points" mean the heart, the bladder, and the head. Cf. CS Śu 11.48; CS Ci 26; CS Śi 9.3.
61 The navel (nābhi) is also listed as one of the internal organs in YS 3.94b and CS Śā 7.10.
enumeration of the minor divisions of the body. However, the nine orifices are not regarded as the places of prāṇa in the CS.

**YS 3.94-95**: The internal organs

Among the fifteen internal organs (kośṭhāṅga) listed in CS Śa 7.10, the omentum (vapāvahana) is inexplicably divided into two organs in YS 3.94a. vapā vapāvahananāṁ. This can be regarded as an example of textual confusion. The rectum (guda) is clearly divided into the upper part (uttaraguda) and the lower part (adharaguda) in CS Śa 7.10. Similarly, YS 3.95bc seems to distinguish two kinds of the rectum, though the expression is ambiguous. The author of the YS might interpret the two gudas as the anus and the rectum. The receptacle of digested food (pakvāśaya), which is listed in CS Śa 7.10, is not found in the list of the internal organs in YS 3.94-95.

**YS 3.96-99ab**: The minor parts of the body

In the CS, as I have mentioned earlier, the six major divisions (aṅga) and the fifty-six minor divisions (pratyāṅga) of the human body are listed (CS Śa 7.5 and 11). The YS enumerates only the minor divisions of the human body in YS 3.96-99b as sthānas. When the two lists of the minor divisions in the CS and the YS are compared, penis (śepha), armpits (ukhā), angles of the mouth (ṣrykkanī), and a certain part of tongue (gojihvikā) are omitted in the YS. On the contrary, the temples (śaṅkhau) and kidney

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61 For the internal organs, also see BhŚ Śa 7.4; SS Śa 5.5.8; AHS Śa 3.12; AS Śa 5.28.


63 M.A.S: vapā vasāvahananāṁ

64 Vijñānēśvara comments here that vapāvahana means fat (medāhsthāna). Vapāvahana is listed in CS Śa 3.6 as one of the entities which are born from mother (mātrja).

65 YS 3.95bc B: guda eva ca. udaraṁ ca gudāḥ kośṭhyo, M: guda eva ca. udaraṁ ca gudau kośṭhyau, A: guda eva ca. uttarau ca gudau kośṭhau(ṣṭhyau), S: gudam eva ca. udaraṁ ca gudau kauṣṭhyau


67 Pakvāśaya is not found also in the list of the internal organs in BhŚ Śa 7.4.

68 For pratyāṅga, also see BhŚ Śa 7.5; SS Śa 5.4.

69 Gojihvikā is not found in the lists of the minor parts of the body in BhŚ Śa 7.5 and SS Śa 5.4.
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(vṛkkau) are found only in the list of the YS. The temples have been listed as the places of prāṇa, as we noted in YS 3.93b (śārīkakau). The kidney has been properly listed as one of the internal organs in YS 3.94c as vṛkkakau.70 Such redundant enumerations of the temples and the kidney here can be due to textual confusion or to misunderstandings of the author. The word vṛkkau (YS 3.97a) may be confused with sṛkkanī.

YS 3.104: The infinitesimal particle (paramāṇu)

After describing a series of the large numbers of śīrā, snāyu, dhamani, peśi and so forth (YS 3.100-103),71 the author refers to the infinitesimal particle (paramāṇu) in YS 3.104. Although the meaning of this verse is not clear and there are some variants of the text, it is likely that the author’s intention is to imply the immensity of the number of paramāṇus which constitute the human body.

YS 3.104ab: vāyaviyair vigavyante vibhaktāh paramāṇavah /
YS 3.104cd: 72yady anve ko nu vedaiśāṁ bhūvānāṁ73 catva samsthitim //
“Even if other infinitesimal particles divided by entities relating to wind are counted, who does know the constitution of these entities?”

The word vāyaviya looks as if it is inserted here out of context. However, we can find the same word in CS Śā 7.16 among the list of components and functions dominated by the five great elements (mahābhūtas) within the human body. In this list, they are classified broadly into the five kinds relating to earth, water, fire, wind, and air (pārthivas, āpyas, āgneyas, vāyaviyas, and āntarikṣas), and are enumerated one by one. In this list, vāyaviyas are enumerated as follows:

CS Śā 7.16: . . . yad ucchvāsa-praśvāsa-unmeṣa-nimeṣa-akuṇcana-prasāraṇa-gamama-prerana-ḍhāraṇādi tad vāyaviyaṁ sparśāḥ sparśanāmaḥ ca.
“Expiration, inspiration, opening the eyes, closing the eyes, bending, stretching, moving, impelling, holding, touch, and the tactile sense are related to wind.”

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70 M,S: vṛkkakau, A: vṛkkako
71 The contents of YS 3.100 and 102cd almost correspond to those of CS Śā 7.14. In YS 3.101, the expression B: śīrā dhāmanisamjñākāh, M,A: śīrā dhāmanisamjñītāh, S:śīrādhāmanisamjñītāh is not clear, and the number 2,900,956 is not found in the medical texts. The contents of YS 3.102ab and 103 disagree with those of CS Śā 7.14. See List 1 and 2 in this paper. J.J. Meyer suggests another source than the CS in this context. Meyer, op. cit., p.51, l.l.3-12.
72 M: yady apy eko ’nuvetty eṣāṁ, A,S: yady apy eko ’nuvedaiśāṁ
73 M: bhāvanāṁ
It is interesting to note that the above list of vāyaviyās has some connection with the list of the signs of the paramātman, as we shall see later in YS 3.175-77ab and CS Śā 1.70-72. The author of the YS may pay attention to the connection between vāyaviyās and the ātman, and then incorporate only vāyaviyās among the five kinds of entities into YS 3.104.

After this list, the description of paramāṇu and vāyu follows in CS Śā 7.17.

CS Śā 7.17: sarīrāvayavās tu paramāṇyudhenedāparsaṃkhyaṃ bhavanti, atibahuvad atisaṅkṣmyaḥ atiśriyabhvāc ca. teṣāṁ saṃyo jugabhāge paramānāṇāṁ kāraṇoṁ vāyugāḥ karmasvabhāvaḥ ca.

"With respect to their division into atoms (paramāṇu), the component parts of the body are countless, because these atoms are present in very large numbers, of very minute size and imperceptible. Conjunction (saṃyoga) and disjunction (vibhāga) of the atoms are caused by vāyu and the own nature (svabhāva) of karman."
(Meulenbeld, [1999-02] IA 46)

It is obvious that the above descriptions of CS Śā 7.16 and 17 explain the author’s intention behind the ambiguous expression of YS 3.104. It would be better to say that the author of the YS made an attempt to compress the meaning of CS Śā 7.16 and 17 into one verse of YS 3.104.

YS 3.107: Mokṣa

At the end of the anatomical accounts, there is a speculative description with a tinge of Vaiṣeṣika philosophy in CS Śā 7.18.

CS Śā 7.18: tad etac chari̇raṃ saṃkkhyātām anekāvayavamā dhṝtaṁ ekatvēna saṅgāḥ, prthaktvēna-paṛvaṝgāḥ. . .

“The view that the composite body is one whole leads to attachment (saṅga), the insight that its parts are separate to final emancipation (apavarga).”
(Meulenbeld, [1999-02] IA 46)

As we shall see later, one of the notable features of the CS Śā is the fact that such a sort of speculative descriptions of the ātman, transmigration, and emancipation are contained among the medical accounts. YS 3.107cd seems to reflect slightly such a sort of speculation. The word mokṣa is used instead of apavarga here.\(^{74}\)

\(^{74}\) J.J.Meyer suggests differently that YS 3.107c: ity etad asthirām corresponds to the last part of CS Śā 7.15: iti etac chari̇ratattvam uktaṃ. Meyer, op.cit., p.58 II.27-29.
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YS 3.107cd: *ity etad asthīrāṃ vartma yasya mokṣāya kṛty asau* //

"Thus, the one who knows that the body is unsteady is [suitable] for liberation."

To sum up: The above observations in this chapter about YS 3.84-107 have shown that the author of the YS tried to incorporate almost the whole of the anatomical contents in CS Śā Chapter 7 into the *yatidharma* section. However, the author does not seem to have reached adequate results. Considerable textual confusions as well as ambiguity and incorrectness of expressions are found in the YS’s accounts of the body parts. This fact may reveal that the author and the commentators of the YS as well, as authorities on dharma, did not have sufficient knowledge of anatomy.

6. Various aspects of the ātman (YS 3.108-206)

After the embryological and anatomical accounts, YS 3.108-205 give descriptions of various aspects of the ātman. The CS Śā seems to have had considerable influence even in this part of the YS. According to Dr. G. Jan Meulenbeld, P.V. Sharma has shown similarities between the YS and the CS in this part, namely YS 3.125 (cf. CS Śā 1.53); YS 3.129-130 (cf. CS Śā 1.6cd-8ab); YS 3.146-148 (CS Śā 1.43-45ab); YS 3.174-176 (cf. CS Śā 1.70-72); YS 3.177-180 (cf. CS Śā 1.63-67); YS 3.202-203 (cf. CS Śā 1.140). Sharma, [1970] 47-49 (I have not verified this reference). Cf. Meulenbeld, [1999-02] IB 193.

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75 According to Dr. G. Jan Meulenbeld, P.V. Sharma has shown similarities between the YS and the CS in this part, namely YS 3.125 (cf. CS Śā 1.53); YS 3.129-130 (cf. CS Śā 1.6cd-8ab); YS 3.146-148 (CS Śā 1.43-45ab); YS 3.174-176 (cf. CS Śā 1.70-72); YS 3.177-180 (cf. CS Śā 1.63-67); YS 3.202-203 (cf. CS Śā 1.140). Sharma, [1970] 47-49 (I have not verified this reference). Cf. Meulenbeld, [1999-02] IB 193.

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*3.165 is not found in M edition.*
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**YS 3.117:** The ātman’s birth and the world

YS 3.117ab: anādir ātmā kathitas \(^76\) tasyādiś ca śarīrakam /
YS 3.117cd: \(^77\) ātmanāś ca jagat sarvamā jagataś cātmamasambhavah //

“The ātman is said to be the one who has no beginning. [Assuming of] the body is his beginning. The whole world [arises] from the ātman, and the ātman arises from the world.”

We find a variation on the main motif of the ātman’s birth and the world here again. As we have noticed earlier, similar descriptions are found in YS 3.69-70 and CS Śā 4.8, and as we shall see next in YS 3.125 and CS Śā 1.53.

**YS 3.118-143:** Questions and answers on the ātman

The birth and nature of the ātman are treated in YS 3.118-143 in the form of questions and answers. These questions and answers seem to have some connection with a similar dialogue on the ātman found in CS Śā Chapter 1.\(^78\)

The following quotations are notable examples.

YS 3.125 is given as an answer to the question on the ātman’s birth (YS 3.118cd).

YS 3.125ab: anādir ātmā sambhūtir vidyate nāntarātmanah /
YS 3.125cd: samavāyi tu puruṣo mohecchādevaśakarmajah //

“The ātman has no beginning, and the origin of the inner ātman does not exist.

However, the puruṣa as the constitutive one is born from action based on desire and aversion which are originated from delusion.”\(^79\)

CS Śā 1.53 contains a similar expression and the same compound as follows:

CS Śā 1.53ab: prabhavo na hy anāditvād vidyate paramātmanah /
CS Śā 1.53cd: puruṣo rāśisāmyijás tu moheccchādevaśakarmajah //

“The origin of the supreme ātman does not exist, because [he] does not have beginning.

\(^76\) M.A.S: tasyās tu
\(^77\) M: ātmanas tu
\(^78\) The CS is basically written in the form of a dialogue between a student, Agniveśa and his teacher, Punarvasu Ātreya. Agnivesa inquires of the Ātreya about some key issues of medicine. Ātreya gives conclusive answers to his pupil’s questions, in some cases through discussions among sages. Ātreya’s opinions are eventually formulated as the medical theories of the Ātreya school.
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However, the *puruṣa* named as aggregation is born from action based on desire and aversion which are originated from delusion.\(^{80}\)

The above verse is an answer to the question in CS Śā 1.3d: *prabhavaḥ puruṣasya kaḥ* “What is the origin of the *puruṣa*?” It is clear that *prabhava* (CS Śā 1.53a) is rendered into *sambhuṭi* (YS 3.125a), *raṣi* (CS Śā 1.53c) into *samavāyī* (YS 3.125c), and notably *paramātman* (CS Śā 1.53b) into *antarātman* (YS 3.125b). As to the compound *mohecchādveṣakarmajāḥ* (YS 3.125d, CS Śā 1.53d), similar expressions can be seen also in the beginning part of CS Śā 5.10: *mohecchādveṣakarmamamālā prayttiḥ* “the source of activity is action based on desire and aversion which are originated from delusion.” and, as we shall see later in YS 3.155cd.\(^{81}\)

The following questions on the nature of the *ātman* in YS 3.129 and 130cd seem correspond to CS Śā 1.6cd and 1.7cd respectively.

YS 3.129ab: *yady evam sa katham brahman pāpayonisu jāyate /
YS 3.129cd: *iśvaraḥ sa katham bhāvair anīṣṭaḥ samprapnyayate //
“If it is so, Brahman!, why is he (*i.e.*, *ātman*) born in vicious wombs?
Why is he, even as *iśvara*, kept in undesirable conditions?”

CS Śā 1.6cd: *svatantraś ced anīṣṭāsu kathāṃ yonisu jāyate //
“If [the *ātman*] is an independent one, why is [he] born in undesirable wombs?”

YS 3.130cd: *vetti sarvagatāṁ kasmāt sarvāgo ‘pi na vedanāṁ //
“Why [the *ātman*], even as an omnipresence, does not feel omnipresent feelings?”

CS Śā 1.7cd: *sarvāḥ sarvagataś ca vedanāḥ kim na vetti saḥ //
“Then, why he, even as an omnipresence, does not feel all feelings?”

It is likely that the author of the YS incorporates some points from the philosophical dialogue in CS Śā Chapter 1 into this part.

**YS 3.145ab**: The six elements

The six elements which constitute the human being have been referred to in YS 72cd and 84a, as we noted. YS 3.145ab enumerates the six elements including the *brahman*.\(^{82}\)

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\(^{80}\) Cakrapāṇidatta comments here: *mohecchādveṣajanitakarmajāḥ mohecchādveṣa-karmajāḥ. mohād dhi bhāveṣu tchā dveṣā ca bhavati, tataḥ prayttiḥ, prayṛtter dharmādharmanu, tau ca śarīrāṃ janayato bhogārtham.*

\(^{81}\) See also *Vaiśēṣikasūtra* 6.2.17: *ichādveṣaśārvasvā dharmādharmanuḥ prayṛtthi.*

\(^{82}\) For the *brahman*, see also YS 3.69.
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YS 3.145ab: brahmakāniliatejaksi jalaṃ bhūṣ ceti dhātavah /
“The brahman, air, wind, fire, water, and earth are constitutional elements.”

A similar and detailed account can be seen in the prose of CS Śā 5.4:

CS Śā 5.4: ... śaddhātavah samuditāḥ loka83 iti śabdāṃ labhante. tad yathā pṛthivy āpas tejo vāyur ākāśam brahma cāvyaktam iti, etā eva ca śaddhātavah samuditāḥ puruṣa iti śabdāṃ labhante.
“The aggregate of six constituents is named as ‘world’ (loka), namely earth, water, fire, wind, air, and the unmanifested brahman. The same six aggregated constituents are named as ‘man’ (puruṣa).”

YS 3.151-154: The eight states of mind

YS 3.151-154 seems to correspond to the long prose of CS Śā 5.10 in contents. The main point of CS Śā 5.10 is summarized that (continued from the earlier quotation: moheccchādvesakarmamāla pravṛttīḥ) the eight states of mind rise from this pravṛtti; and people who have been overwhelmed by the eight states of mind cannot reach liberation (mokṣa). The eight states of mind are said to be 1) ahaṅkāra “self-consciousness”, 2) saṅga “selfish attachment”, 3) saṃśaya “doubt”, 4) abhisamplava “considering the self to be identical with the body”, 5) abhyavapāta “self-based attachment”, 6) vipratya “opposite thinking”, 7) aviṣeṣa “lack of discrimination”, and 8) anupāya “employment of unsuitable means [for liberation]”. Then, the eight states of mind are explained respectively.

InYS 3.151-154, almost the same eight states of mind are explained in the same order in verses. The explanation of the above 1) ahaṅkāra is found in YS 3.151ab as ahamkṛta, 2) saṅga in YS 3.151cd as sakta,84 3) saṃśaya in YS 5.3.152ab as saṃdighamati, 4) abhisamplava in YS 5.3.152cd as sampluta,85 5) abhyavapāta is found in the content of YS 3.153ab, 6) vipratya in YS 3.153cd as viparītmati, 7) aviṣeṣa in YS 3.154ab as aviṣeṣavat, and 8) anupāya is found in the content of YS 3.154cd.

The Buddhacarita (henceforth BC) 12.24 has also listed these eight states of mind in a different order, namely in 12.24ab 6) vipratya, 1) ahaṅkāra, 3) saṃśaya as saṃdeha, 4) abhisamplava in 12.24ab; 7) aviṣeṣa, 8) anupāya,

83 Jādavaji Trikamji’s edition of the CS reads as puruṣa, Gaṅgādhara’s edition of the CS reads as loka.
84 M.S: udyoga
85 M.S: vipluta
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2) saṅga, and 5) abhyavapāta in 12.24cd. After this enumeration, the eight verses each give explanations of the eight states of mind in BC 12.25-32.\textsuperscript{86}

Considering the contents and the order of description of these eight states of mind found in both the CS and the BC, YS 3.151-154 seem to relate closer to CS Śā 5.10.

After the explanations of these eight states of mind, YS 3.155 runs:

YS 3.155ab: evaṃṛtto 'viniśātmā vitathābhīviniveśavān
YS 3.155cd: karmā dveṣamohābhīyām ičchāya caiva badhyate

“The one who behaves in such a manner, non-self-directed, and having an inclination to falsehood, is indeed bound by action, aversion, delusion, and desire.”

The above expression, as we noted, corresponds to mohecchādvesakarmajā (YS 3.125d, CS Śā 1.53d) and mohecchādvesakarmamulā pravṛtthī (CS Śā 5.10).

**YS 3.175-177ab:** The signs of the paramātman

The twenty-one signs (liṅga) of the paramātman are enumerated in the verses of CS Śā 1.70-72.

1. priṇa, 2. āpāna, 3. nimeśādi, 4. jīvāna, 5. manaso gatī (CS Śā 1.70ab)
6. indriyāntarasāśścāna, 7. preraṇa, 8. dhāraṇa (CS Śā 1.70cd)
9. deśāntaragatiḥ svapne, 10. paścavagrhaṇa (CS Śā 1.71ab)
11. drśālaya daksiniṇākṣṇā savyenaśvagama (CS Śā 1.71cd)
12. icchā, 13. dveṣa, 14. sukhā, 15. duṣṭkha, 16. prayaṭna, 17. cetanā, 18. dhṛti (CS Śā 1.72ab)
19. buddhi, 20. smṛti, 21. abhāṅkāra (CS Śā 1.72cd)

1. inspiration, 2. expiration, 3. twinkling of the eyes, etc., 4. life, 5. movement of manas, 6. shifting from one sense organ to another sense organ, 7. impulsion, 8. restraint,

9. going to another place in a dream, 10. receiving the five [elements], 11. perception of an object by the right eye which is received by the left eye in the same way, 12. desire, 13. aversion, 14. pleasure, 15. suffering, 16. effort, 17. consciousness, 18. firmness, 19. intellect, 20. memory, 21. self-consciousness

The signs (ciṁna) of the paramātman can be seen also in YS 3.175 and 176. I will show the signs enumerated in the YS with the same item-number of mine in the above CS’s list to each broadly equivalent item in meaning.

\textsuperscript{86} E.H. Johnston points out similar passages in MBh 12. See E.H. Johnston’s translation and footnote of this passage, Johnston, [1936] 170.
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6. indriyāntarasaṃcāra, 12. icchā, 8. dhāraṇā, 4. jīvita (YS 3.175cd)
9. svapne sargaḥ ca bhāvānāṁ, 7. prerāṇa, 5. manaso gati (YS 3.176ab)
3. nimeṣa, 17. cetanā, 16. yatna, 10. ādāna pāñcabhavyatikā (YS 3.176cd)

1. prāṇa, 2. āpāna, 11. drṣṭasya daḵṣiṇenākṣaṅ savyenāvagama and 15. duḥkha found in the CS’s list are omitted in the YS. On the other hand, *medhā is inserted in YS 3.175a. As for 11. drṣṭasya daḵṣiṇenākṣaṅ savyenāvagama, we can find a corresponding description in YS 3.149 as follows:

YS 3.149ab: mahābhūtāṁī satyāṁī yathātmāpi tathaiva hi
YS 3.149cd: ko ‘nyathāikena netreṣa āryaṃ anyena paśyati //

“Just as the mahābhūtas are actual beings, so the ātmān is also [actual being] indeed. If not so, who does see by the other [eye] an object seen by the one eye ?”

Although there are some apparent differences in expression and in the order of the signs between the above two lists, judging from the context, we may say that the author of the YS referred to the list of the signs of the paramātman in the CS 1.70-72 as the main source.

We must refer to another list of the ātmaliṅgas in Vaiṣeṣikasūtra 3.2.4. This list must be an original form for the lists of both the CS and the YS. In the Vaiṣeṣikasūtra, only the following signs are enumerated.

1. prāṇa, 2. āpāna, 3. nimeṣa, 3. unmeṣa, 4. jīvāṇa, 5. mano-gati, 6. indriyāntaravikārā, 14. sukhā, 15. duḥkha, 12. icchā, 13. dveṣa, 16.prayatna (Vaiṣeṣikasūtra 3.2.4)
(I put the same item-number of mine in the CS’s list to each corresponding item in meaning.)

87 M.A: svargaḥ svapnaḥ ca bhāvānāṁ. According to this reading, svarga may be an independent sign which is not found in the CS’s list.
88 B.A: manaso ‘yatiḥ
89 A: unmeṣa
90 There is one more similar description in Nyāyasūtra 3.1.7: savyadrṣṭasyetareṇa praty-abhiṣiṇāt.
91 Antonella Comba has argued about the relation among the descriptions of ātmaliṅga found in the YS, the CS, and the Vaiṣeṣikasūtra. Antonella Comba argued that the YS was one of the sources quoted by the CS in this passage. Comba, [1987] 54-57.
92 Vaiṣeṣikasūtra 3.2.4: prāpyapānānmesosvaoṣeṣaḥpratijānaṁamanotāṇaṣyāntaravikārāḥ sukhāduḥkhe icchādeṣaṁ prayatnaṁ cetyātmaliṅgāti.

118
YS 3.177cd-180: Kṣetrajña, anyakta, and ātman

A kind of Sāṃkhya theory is illustrated in the philosophical dialogue in CS Śā Chapter 1. In the CS’s Sāṃkhya theory, the ātman is regarded as anyakta (CS Śā 1.61a); the twenty-four principles are enumerated, namely the five mahābhūtas (khāḍīni), buddhi, anyakta, ahaṅkāra, the five sense organs (buddhindriyāṇi), the five motor organs (karmendriyāṇi), the manas, and the five objects of the sense organs (CS Śā 1.17, 63-64); all principles except anyakta are said to be kṣetra and anyakta (i.e., the ātman) is said to be kṣetrajña (CS Śā 1.65); the tanmātras are not mentioned in this passage. Thus, the CS’s Sāṃkhya theory differs from the orthodox Sāṃkhya system based on the twenty-five principles in some important respects.

YS 3.178-180 gives an account of the Sāṃkhya theory which is similar to the CS’s theory including the twenty-four principles. In the YS’s theory, the ātman is also regarded as anyakta and as kṣetrajña (YS 3.179a); the five sense organs (buddhindriyāṇi), their objects (arthāni), the manas, the five motor organs (karmendriyāṇi), ahaṅkāra, buddhi, and the five mahābhūtas (prthivyādīni) are implied as kṣetras (YS 3.178); prakṛti is not mentioned in this passage. However, YS 3.179 refers to the tanmātras which are not found in the CS’s theory.

YS 3.183: Transmigration

Rajas and tamaś are regarded as the causes of transmigration in CS Śā 1.68.

The corresponding expression can be seen in YS 3.182 as follows:

YS 3.182: cakram bhramantyā∥
YS 3.183ab: sattvam rajas tamaś caiva guṇās tasyaiva kiritāh /
YS 3.183cd: rajastamodbhāyam aviṣṭaś ca kruvad bhramyate hy asau /

“Sattva, rajas, and tamaś are said to be his (i.e., the ātman’s) qualities.

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93 These eight principles are regarded as bhūtaprakṛti in CS Śā 3.63c.
94 The Sāṃkhya theory found in SS Śā Chapter 1 is almost identical with the orthodox Sāṃkhya system of the Sāṃkhya karikā. Cf. Johnston, [1937] 10-11.
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The one possessed by rajas and tamas rotates like a wheel.\(^{96}\)

To sum up: The above observations in this chapter about YS 3.108-206 have shown that besides the medical accounts, the ātman theory itself of the CS Śā is also incorporated into the accounts of various aspects of the ātman in the YS to some extent. Compared with the preceding accounts of embryology and anatomy, the CS Śā’s influence on the YS is merely sporadic and not so clear in some cases in this part. However, judging from the context, we can be fairly certain that the author of the YS referred to the CS Śā as one of the major sources of its ātman theory.

7. The textual formation of the Śārīraśthāna of the Caraka-
    saṃhitā\(^{97}\)

We have seen that the YS incorporated not only the anatomy and embryology but also the ātman theory into its yatidharma section from the CS Śā. That is to say, considering the context, the author of the YS seems to have regarded such a specific medical account as a part of the ātman theory. In this chapter, in order to examine the essential features of the ātman theory developed in the CS Śā, I will shift the emphasis away from the yatidharma section of the YS to the CS Śā.\(^{98}\) Table 5 shows the titles and contents of all the chapters in the CS Śā.

Table 5 The Śārīraśthāna of the Carakaśaṃhitā

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Since the chapters do not seem to have been arranged systematically according to their topics, nor the titles adequately seem to represent their

\(^{96}\) Cf. MBh 12.205.17: sattvena rajasā caiva tamasā caiva mohitāḥ/ cakravat parivartante hy ajñānāt jantaena bhṛṣam//


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contents, we may summarize the main subjects of the CS Šā under the following headings: (1) Ātmavāda or the ātman theory, (2) Embryology, (3) Anatomy, and (4) Obstetrics. The ātman theory, which is the main topic of Chapters 1 and 5, is related to the other subjects and is referred to repeatedly in the other chapters. The notable feature of the CS Šā itself may be found in this way of discussing the ātman frequently in various contexts. Embryology is dealt with in Chapters 2 to 6 from different viewpoints. Anatomy is found in Chapter 7. Obstetrics is somewhat independently dealt with in Chapter 8. We shall now briefly look at the contents of each chapter in the CS Šā with special attention to the description of the ātman, even though it may partly overlap with the quotations which I made in the preceding chapters of this paper.

In Chapter 1, Agniveṣa, who is said to be one of the six disciples of the sage Punarvasu Ātreya and the first writer of the CS, raises twenty-three questions to Ātreya about various aspects of the ātman or puruṣa, to which Ātreya replies in detail. Their questions and answers are given not only from a medical point of view but also in the context of several philosophical speculations.99 What is to be noted is that Ātreya shows here the ātman theories of various philosophical schools such as Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya-Yoga, Vedānta, and possibly also Buddhism. The discussions in this chapter seem to reflect the philosophically complicated situation about the ātman or puruṣa during the time when āyurveda was still in a process of systematization. The words, puruṣa, ātman, pums (47c), paramātman (53b, 72d), and bhūtātman (14c, 57b, 84d, 155b) seem to be used ambiguously without rigid distinctions in this chapter.100 Such ambiguous usages of the philosophical terms may also suggest the complicated situation as a background of this text. Sections 137–154 in this chapter deal with liberation (mokṣa) as another major topic.

Chapter 2 deals mainly with normal and abnormal processes of pregnancy and their results, in a dialogue between Agniveṣa and Ātreya. Karm of a foetus and its parents is regarded as one of the causes of abnormalities in

100 Cakrapāṇidatta comments on CS Šā 1.3: ātmaiva śārīrāvahitaḥ puruṣaśabdārthatvena vācyat, and on CS Šā 1.39-42: puruṣa iha prakaraṇe ātmābhikṣreṇa. For the characteristic usages of other philosophical terms in CS Šā Chapter 1, see Comba, op.cit.
Sections 16, 21, 29. Sections 28–38 of this chapter mention the movement of the ātman to the new-born body, and its transmigration. In sections 39–44, transmigration and liberation are impliedly mentioned in connection with the questions and answers about the causes of diseases, happiness, and sorrow.

Chapter 3 describes physical and spiritual construction of an embryo in the framework of a dispute between Ātreya and Bharadvāja. Ātreya in this dispute gives an account of the descent (avakrānti) of a transmigrating self (jīva), its birth as a foetus (i.e., ātman), and its transmigration.

Chapter 4, continued from the preceding chapter, explains the construction of an embryo/foetus, its monthly development, and various types of human personalities (sattva). In section 6, an embryo is said to be a product (vikāra) derived from the five elements (air, wind, fire, water, and earth) and to be a seat of consciousness. Section 8 enumerates twenty-nine synonyms of ātman, including puruṣa and brahman. In the early stage of development, the ātman is said to ‘receive’ (upādattā) the five great elements in the order of the least manifest to the most manifest, namely, air, wind, fire, water, and earth. It is after this that the man’s body becomes gradually manifest.

In Chapter 5, sections 3–8 observe similarities between man (puruṣa) and the world (loka), or between microcosm and macrocosm. The causes of transmigration are expounded in sections 9 and 10. Sections 11 and 20–25 deal with liberation (mokṣa). The means to liberation are explained in detail in section 12.

In sections 4 to 19 of Chapter 6, the seven tissues (dhātu)105, the qualities (guna), and pure and impure elements of the body are explained. In sections 20 to 30, Agni vēṣa raises nine questions about the development of an embryo. The nine questions are 1. which part of an embryo arises first, 2. how does it lie in the womb, 3. on what food is it sustained in the womb, 4. in what

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101 Cf. Weiss, [1980].
102 The title of this chapter contains a Prākrit form khuddīka (small) instead of the Sanskrit equivalent kṣudraka.
104 In the CS, sattva is often used as a equivalent term of manas. See, for example, CS Sū 8.4; CS Śā 1.100,141; 2.39; 3.3,13,18; 4.36; 5.13-16.
105 Essence of food (rasa), blood (rakta), flesh (māṃsa), fat (medas), bone (asthi), marrow (majjā), and semen (śukra).
106 In replying this question Ātreya presents the opinions of eight sages or doctors. This passage offers an exceptional case in the CS of the Ātreya school, because what serves
condition does it come out of the womb, 5-6. what food and management does it need after birth, 7. regarding the disorders caused by the wrath of gods etc., 8. regarding timely death (kālamṛtyu) and untimely death (akālamṛtyu), 9. what is its maximum life-span and its cause. The answers to the nine questions are given in sections 21–30.

Chapter 7 deals with anatomy in the form of an enumeration of physical parts and spiritual elements of the whole body. In sections 16 and 18, the ātman is referred to by the equivalent expressions, pradhāna and prayoktṛ. Section 18 refers to attachment (saṅga) and emancipation (apavarga).

The whole Chapter 8 looks like an independent monograph about topics related to obstetrics as well as rituals and customs involving childbirth. In Chapter 8, differently from the other chapters of CS Śa, the ātman, transmigration, and liberation are not treated directly.

As we have seen above, the word ātman has a broad sense in the CS Śa. It often indicates a spiritual element, a soul which carries out an important function on the occasion of conception and development of the human body and occasionally the same word has the meaning of ‘man’ (puruṣa). The concept of ‘body’ (sārīra), therefore, is closely related to the ātman, and we can say that the idea of the ātman implies the concept of ‘body’ in the CS. As a result, the embryological and anatomical knowledge is shown as an essential component of the ātman theory in the CS Śa. From this view point, we should not overlook the fact that the title of this volume is sārīraśthāna, not sārīraśthāna. Considering the whole idea of this volume inclusively, the word sārīra should not be interpreted only as “bodily” nor “relating to the body” here.107 The CS’s ātman theory can be characterized by its corporeality, however it does not show a gross deviation from the traditional speculative ideas on the ātman since the period of vedic literature. Figure 1 illustrates the inclusive relation among the four major topics in the CS Śa.108

here as a concluding remark is the opinion of Dhanvantari who plays a leading role in the SS. Dhanvantari states that all parts of the body of an embryo arise simultaneously. This idea is found again in a similar discussion of SS Śa 3.32 which works also as a conclusion. This fact evidently shows that the Dhanvantari school exercised influence upon the school of Ātreyas. We find a similar discussion also in BhŚ Śa 4.30, however, here Ātreyas draws the conclusion: what is called arbuda arises first in the womb. Cf. Dasgupta, [1922] Vol.2, 316; Müller, [1955] 33; Barkhuis, [1986] 12–15.

107 For the CS’s own definition of the word sārīraśthāna, see CS Śa 8.69.
108 The arrow shows an indirect relationship between the topics.
8. Conclusion

From what has been discussed in the preceding chapters, the motive which led the author of the YS to introduce specific medical knowledge in the accounts of the ātman becomes clear. The author of the YS understood the CS Śā in its entirety as a kind of ātman theory and intended to incorporate it into the yatidharma section almost faithfully in a condensed form. Since the ātman theory developed in the CS Śā comprises the embryology and anatomy as essential components, the YS’s ātman theory also came to reflect such contents.

We can find embryological and anatomical descriptions in other later non-medical texts in the same way, for example in the Saṅgītaratnākara 1.2.1-119; the Śivagītā 8.13-37, 9.10-45; and the purāṇic texts which I mentioned in this paper. These descriptions may also be regarded as components which constitute the same kind of corporeal ātman theory in each text.

On the other hand, in the later ayurvedic texts especially in their Śās, the notable feature of ātman theory seems to have been disappeared gradu-

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109 See Jolly, [1901] 44 (English ed. 52); Comba, [1984]; Sharma, [1994] (Dr. Yasuhiro Okazaki was kind enough to point out to me this reference.); Makoto Kitada “Embryology contained in an Indian Classical Musicological Text.” The 5th International Congress on Traditional Asian Medicine. Halle, 2002.

110 Among the ayurvedic texts, BhS, CS, SS, AHS, AS, and the Kāśyapasamhitā contain each Śā. The Śās of the BhS and the Kāśyapasamhitā bear some similarities to the CS Śā in contents from the viewpoint of the ātman theory.
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ally. The ātman concept is pushed into the background, and the embryological and anatomical accounts are more elaborated and come to consume the greater part in the later Śās. This may illustrate a part of the systematization process of Āyurveda.

Abbreviations


Texts

AHS: Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam (The core of octopartite Āyurveda) composed by Vāgbhaṭa with the Commentaries (Sarvāṅgasundarā) of Arunadatta and (Āyurvedarasāyana) of Hemādri. collated by Anāśa Mooreśuara Kunṭe and Kṛṣṇa Rāmchandra Śāstrī Navare, ed. by Bhīṣagacārya Hariśāstrī Parāḍakara Vaidya, Jaikrishnadas Āyurveda Series No.52. Varanasi, Delhi, 1982.


Manusmṛti: The Manusmṛti with the commentary Manvarthamuktāvai of Kullūka, ed. with critical and explanatory notes etc., by Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya “Kāvyatirtha”. Bombay, 1887.


SS: Suśrutasaṃhitā of Suśruta with the Nibandhasaṅgraha Commentary of Śrī Dalhanāchārya and the Nyāyacandrikā Panjikā of Śrī Gayadāsāchārya on Nidānasthāṇa. ed. from the Beginning to the 9th Adhyāya of Cikitsāsthāna by Vaidya Jādavji Trikamji Āchārya and the rest by Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya “Kāvyatirtha” Introduction by P. V. Sharma, Varanasi, Delhi, 1992.
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VDhP: The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa. Delhi, 1985.


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