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<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>ZINBUN (2003), 36(2): 87-129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue Date</td>
<td>2003-03</td>
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<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="https://doi.org/10.14989/48808">https://doi.org/10.14989/48808</a></td>
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<tr>
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On the Nature of the Medical Passages in the *Yājñavalkyasūtra*

Tsutomu Yamashita

1. Introduction

In the *Yatidharma* section of the *Yājñavalkyasūtra* (henceforth YS), there are detailed descriptions of the constituents and developmental processes of the human body. We find similar descriptions in the *Viṣṇusūtra* (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*.\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) Then J.J. Meyer demonstrated that the YS incorporated anatomical description into its *Yatidharma* section from the *Śārīrasthāna* (henceforth Šā) of the *Carakasamhitā* (henceforth CS), and that the VS, on the other hand, borrowed this description from the YS roughly.\(^3\)

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

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\(^*\) I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. G. Jan Meulens, 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.

\(^1\) Jolly, [1901] 42-44, 53-55 (English ed. 52-55, 66-68).

\(^2\) Hoernle, [1907].

\(^3\) Meyer, [1928].
sources of these accounts in ayurvedic 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 Yajña-VALKYASMRTI

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 1 YS 3.56-205 (Yatidharmapararana)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YS</th>
<th>Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.56-66</td>
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<td>3.67-74</td>
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<td>3.75-83</td>
<td>Monthly development of a foetus, and delivery</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.84-107</td>
<td>Constituent parts of the human body</td>
</tr>
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<td>3.108-206</td>
<td>Various aspects of the atman</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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 atman (3.67-74 and 3.108-206). Medical doctrines are thus closely related to the atman 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 atman 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 atman, and the anatomical passage (3.84-107) as an explanation of the body parts of the atman.

Besides these medical passages, the atman theory found in the Yatidharma section of the YS is also quite similar to the descriptions of the atman 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

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4 Meyer, op. cit.
5 Hereafter, for the text of the YS, I will mainly use the text with Viśvarūpa’s commentary known as BhālaKṛṣṇa (henceforth B). In some cases, I will show important variants in the other editions, namely the text with Viṣṇuśimhā’s commentary known as Mitākṣara (henceforth M), the text with Aparākṣa’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>
<tr>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>The simile of sparks</td>
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<td>Synonyms for the <em>ātman</em></td>
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<td>3.70</td>
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<td>3.71</td>
<td>The doctrine of five fires</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3.72ab</td>
<td>Semen (<em>āukra</em>) and blood (<em>śonita</em>)</td>
<td>Cf. 8.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.72cd</td>
<td>The five <em>mahābhūtas</em> and the sixth element</td>
<td>1.16, 4.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.73-74</td>
<td>Entities born from the <em>ātman</em></td>
<td>3.10</td>
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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 aksaraṃ⁷ kartā boddhā brahma guṇī vaśī* /
YS 3.69cd: *ajaḥ śaviragrahaṇāt sa jāta iti kirtaye* //

“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: *sargādau sa yathākāṣaṃ vāyur jyotir jālam mahīm* /
YS 3.70cd: *srjaty ekottaragūṇāms tathādatté bhavann⁸ 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: *aksaraḥ*
⁸ M.A.S: *bhavann*
“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 Śa, 4.8 in prose.

CS Śa 4.8 (the first segment): ... sa hi hetuh kāraṇaṁ nimittam aksaraṁ kartā mantā veditā boddhā droṣṭā dhātā brahmaṁ víśvākarmaṁ víśvarūpaḥ puruṣaḥ prabhavo 'vyayo nityo guni grahaṇaṁ pradhānam avyaktam jīvo jīvaḥ pudgalaś cetanāvān vibhar bhūtātmā cendriyātmā cāntarātmā cety.

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 vaśī (a ruler) and aja (an unborn one) to YS 3.69. The contents of YS 3.70 under the influence of Śāmkhya system correspond to the following part of CS Śa 4.8.

CS Śa 4.8 (continued from the above quotation): sa guṇopādānakāle 'ntariṣaṁ pūrvarn anye bhovo gunebhya upādatte. yathā pralayaṭya ye sitṛṣiṣur bhūtāng aksarabhūta ātmaṁ sattvopādānaḥ pūrvataram ākāśam srjaty, tataḥ krameṇa vyaktataragunān dhātun vāyudikāmā caturah; tathā deha grahaṇe 'pi pravartmānaḥ pūrvataram ākāṣam evopādatte, tataḥ krameṇa vyaktataragunān dhātun vāyudikāmā caturah. ...

“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.”

Sargādaṃ in YS 3.70a may be meant as equivalent to pralayaṭya ye in CS Śa 4.8. Sarīragrahaṇa in YS 3.69c corresponds to deha grahaṇa in CS Śa 4.8. Thus, it seems that the subject-matter in the long prose of CS Śa 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 (sarīragrahaṇa in YS 3.69c, deha grahaṇa in CS Śa 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*stripymsayōḥ samprayaṣe viśuddhe śukraśoṇite* /
YS 3.72cd: ¹¹*paṇca dhātūṁ svayam śaṣṭha ādattē yogapat prabhūḥ //

“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 Śa 8.17 in which the purity of śukra and śoṇita 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 Śa 1.16ab: *khādayaś cetanāśaṣṭhā dhātavaḥ puruṣāḥ smṛtaḥ /
CS Śa 1.16cd: *cetanādhātūr apy ekāḥ smṛtaḥ puruṣasamjñākakāḥ //

“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 Śa 4.6: *garbhas tu khalu antarikṣavāyvagñitayabhūmiwikāraś cetanādiṣṭhānaṁ bhūtaḥ. evam anayā yuktā paścamaḥbhūtavākāramudāyātmaka garbhaś cetanādiṣṭhānaḥbhūtaḥ, sa hy asya śaṣṭho dhāturaṃ uktah.

“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 Śa 5.4, where the brahmā 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: *stripymsayos tu samyogete*, A: *stripymsayos ca samyogete*
¹⁰ B: *suklasoṇite*
¹¹ S: *paṇicadbhātu*
the *manas* in *ayurvedic* texts. According to this *ayurvedic* theory, the word *ātmaja* in *YS* 3.74c should be interpreted as “an entity born from the *ātman*.” *YS* 3.73-74 enumerates each item of the *ātmajas* as we can see in the following quotation.

YS 3.73ab: indriyaṇi manah prāṇo jñānam āyuḥ sukham dhṛthāḥ /
YS 3.73cd: dhāraṇāprerana duṣkham 15 icchāhankārām eva ca /
YS 3.74ab: 16 prayatnākṛtirūpāṇi svaradvesau bhavābhavau /
YS 3.74cd: 17 tasyadānām ātmajānāṁ sarvam anāde ādīn icchātāḥ //

“The sense organs, the *manas*, vital breath, knowledge, duration of life, pleasure, firmness, sustenance, impulsion, 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 *ātmajas* in CS Śā 3.10.

CS Śā 3.10: ... garbhasyātmajanīḥ ... tadyāthā tāsu tāsu yoniṣṭattīrīḥ āyur ātmajānāṁ manah indriyaṇi prāṇāpanau preranaṁ dhāraṇam ākṛtisvaravarṇavisiṣṭāḥ sukhamukkhē icchādvesau cetanā dhārtir buddhiḥ smṛtir ahaṁkāraḥ prayatnaś ceti ātmajānīṁ.

*Ātmajānīna* in CS Śā 3.10 is rendered into only *jñāna* in *YS* 3.73b. Among the items of *ākṛtisvaravarṇavisiṣṭāḥ* in CS Śā 3.10, *varṇa* is rendered into *rūpāṇi* in B edition of the *YS*, and the word *visesa* is omitted in *YS* 3.74ab. However, all of the items enumerated in *YS* 3.73-74ab are found in the list of CS Śā 3.10 except *bhavābhavau*. On the other hand, among the items listed in CS Śā 3.10, *tāsu tāsu yoniṣṭattīrīḥ* (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.

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13 For example, CS Śā 4.4: mātrataḥ pitraḥ ātmataḥ sātmyaḥ rasataḥ sattvata ity etebhyo bhāvebhayaḥ samuditebhyo garbhah saṃbhavati. “A foetus is formed from the combination of these entities, [i.e.,] one being born from mother, father, *ātman*, suitability (sātmaya), essence of food (rasa), and sattva (i.e., *manas*).” Cf. BhŚ Śā 6.1; the Suśrutasarṣita (henceforth SS) Śā 3.33; the Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayaśarṣita (henceforth AHS) Śā 3.4c-8c (3.5c says caitana instead of ātmaja); the Aṣṭāṅgasāraśgra (henceforth AS) Śā 5.7-15. Cf. Agnipuruṣa 396.32-33; Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa 115.14d-15.

14 M.A.S: dhāraṇā preranaṁ
15 M.A.S: icchāhankāra
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 āyurvedic texts, especially the CS Śā to a considerable extent. In this part, we can also find somewhat intentional alterations of the āyurvedic 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YS</th>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>CS Śā</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>One-month-old embryo</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.75c</td>
<td>Two-months-old embryo</td>
<td>4.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.75d</td>
<td>Three-months-old foetus</td>
<td>4.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.76-78</td>
<td>The human body and the five <em>mahābhūtas</em></td>
<td>4.12,15</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>Desires of a pregnant woman</td>
<td>4.15</td>
</tr>
<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 <em>oajas</em></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>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 āyurvedic texts also contain such embryological accounts. The embryological description in the āyurvedic 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; *Guruḍpurāṇa* 2.32.23-25; *Garbhapanisad* 3; *Gauḍapādabhāṣya* on *Sāṃkhyaśāstra* 43; *Candrāṇandavṛtti* on *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 5.2.19; *Sāṃyutta Nikāya* 10.1.3; *Milindapānha* Trencker 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: sa sarva\textsuperscript{1}vānān gan\textsuperscript{2}hāvatvām āpannāh prathame māsi saṁmārupcchita\textsuperscript{2}h sarvadha\textsuperscript{3}tukal\textsuperscript{4}tāra khe\textsuperscript{5}tabhūto bhavaty avyakta\textsuperscript{6}vī\textsuperscript{7}gra\textsuperscript{8}haḥ sadasad- bhūta\textsuperscript{9}ārupcchita\textsuperscript{2}h.

“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: dvitiye māsi ghanāh sam\textsuperscript{1}padye pindaḥ peśī ar\textsuperscript{5}budam vā. tatra ghanāh puruṣaḥ, peśī strī, ar\textsuperscript{5}budām napum\textsuperscript{2}sakām.

“In the second month, [he] becomes a ghaṇa, a pinda, a peśī, or an ar\textsuperscript{5}budā. There, the ghaṇa is a male, the peśī a female, and the ar\textsuperscript{5}budā a hermaphrodite.”

CS Śā 4.11: tritiye māsi sarvend\textsuperscript{1}riyāṇī sarvārupcchita\textsuperscript{2}vās ca yau\textsuperscript{7}gapadyenābhini\textsuperscript{8}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: prathame māsi saṁkledabhūto dhātuvimārcchitaḥ /
YS 3.75cd: māsy ar\textsuperscript{5}budam dvitiye tu tritiye 'nigendryair yutah ∥

“In the first month, he 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: tatra prathame māsi kalālaṁ jāyate. dvitiye sītās\textsuperscript{1}mānilaṁ abhi\textsuperscript{2}trapacca- mānānāṁ mahābhūtānāṁ saṁghāto ghanāḥ saṁjāyate yadi pindaḥ pumāṁ, strī cet peśī, napum\textsuperscript{2}sakaṁ ced ar\textsuperscript{5}budām iti. tritiye hastāpādaśirasāṁ paṁca pindaṁ nirvar- tante 'ngapratya\textsuperscript{1}nagavibhāgaś ca suṣk\textsuperscript{1}ma bha\textsuperscript{7}vati. ...(SS Śā 3.18 is part\textsuperscript{y}ly quoted in Vījā\textsuperscript{2}nā\textsuperscript{2}vāra’s commentary of the YS.)

AHS Śā 1.37ab: avyaktāḥ prathame māsi saptāhāt kalāḥ bhavet.

AHS Śā 1.49cd-50a: dvitiye māsi kalālaṁ ghanāḥ peśī athavār\textsuperscript{5}budam/ puṁstrīkliṁh kramāt teh\textsuperscript{5}yāḥ.

AHS Śā 1.54c-55: māsyā'ya tritiye gā\textsuperscript{1}trapācakāṁ/ mūrdhā dvā sakthiṇi bāhū sarva- sūkṣmān\textsuperscript{1}ganāma ca/ samam eva hi mūrdhādyair jī\textsuperscript{2}naṁ ā ca sukhadu\textsuperscript{2}khayoḥ∥

AS Śā 2.7: tatra prathame māse kalālaṁ jāyate. dvitiye ghanāḥ peśī ar\textsuperscript{5}budam vā teh\textsuperscript{5}yāḥ kramāt puṁstrīnāpuṁsakāṁ.
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In the second month, [he becomes] an *arbudā*. 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 Śa 4.10, only *arbudā* 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 Śa 4.11, the author of the CS inserts supplementary accounts in CS Śa 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 Śa 4.12: Constituent elements of foetus which are related to the five *mahābhūtas*
CS Śa 4.13: The parallelism of macrocosm (*loka*) and microcosm (*puruṣa*)
CS Śa 4.14: Bodily constituents which develop after birth
CS Śa 4.15: The "double-hearted" state (*dvairuddha*)
CS Śa 4.16: Signs of pregnancy and *dvairuddha*
CS Śa 4.17: Satisfaction of a pregnant woman's desires
CS Śa 4.18: Injurious factors to a foetus
CS Śa 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 Śa 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 Śa 4.12 corresponds to a similar list in YS 3.76-78ab; and the contents of CS Śa 4.15 regarding the "double-hearted" state (*dvairuddha*) 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 Śa 4.30 (*... nety aha bhagavān punarvasur ātreyaḥ. tasmād arbudam evāṣya prathamāṃ sambhavati. tatra sarve sariraśtrasāsān sambhavanti ...*). Here Punarvasu Ātreya says that an *arbuda* arises first. Genders are not mentioned either in BhS Śa 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.

95
This expression clearly corresponds to the first part of CS Śa 4.15 as follows:

CS Śa 4.15: tasya yatkālam evendriyāni sامتiṣṭhante, tatākālam eva cetasi vedanā nirbandhaṁ prāṇotī; 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 Śa 4.15 gives a detailed account on the “double-hearted” state (dvaihrdayya) as follows:

CS Śa 4.15: (continued from the above garbhaḥ spandate) prārthayate ca jannāṁtaṁ rṇubhāto yat kṣiṣcit, tad dvaihrdayyaṁ ācakṣate vṛddhāḥ. mātrjāṁ cāsa ṣṛdayāṁ mātrṛdayenābhisambuddhaṁ bhavati rasavūhinīḥḥiḥ samvūhinīḥḥiḥ; tasmāt tayos tābhīr bhaktiḥ samspandate. tac caiva kāratam akeṣamanā na dvaihrdayasya vimānitaṁ garbhaṁ ichchanti kartum. vimānane hy aṣya drśyate vināśo viktīr vā. samānayogakṣemā hi tadā bhavati garbhena kesucid artheṣu mātā. tasmāt priyāhitābhyaṁ garbhiṁīṁ viśeṣeṇopacaranti 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) 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.”

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22 M.A.S: 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 Śa 3.18: . . . dvaihrdayaṁ ca nāraiṁ dauhrdīnīṁ ācakṣate, dauhrdīvimanānaṁ kubjaṁ kuriṁ khaṇjaṁ jadant,vāmanat vikṛtākṣamanakṣaṁ vā nārī sataṁ janayati, tasmāt sa yadyad icchet tattat tasyai dāpayet, labdhadauhrdāhi viṛya vantaṁ cirāyuṣaṁ ca putram janayati.

AHS Śa 1.52cd: mātrjaṁ hy aṣya ṣṛdayaṁ mātuś ca ṣṛdayena tat//

AHS Śa 1.53ab: saṁbuddhaṁ tena garbhiṁyā nesτaṁ śraddhāvimānanam//
The above explanation on the *dvaihrdayya* seems to be condensed into only one verse in YS 3.79 as follows:

YS 3.79ab:  "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 favourable to the woman should be done [during the “double-hearted” state]."

One can safely infer that the word *dauhrda* (doha) 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:  "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 *slokā* appears to be an abridgement of the following passages in CS Śā 4.20, 21, and 22.

CS Śā 4.20:  "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:  "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:  "In the sixth 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."

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25 A,S, “n” of M: *dohasyāpradānena*
“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.”

The only deviation is that the author of the YS uses the words *udbhava* (springing) in YS 3.80b and *samābhava* (arising) in YS 3.80d, while the CS says *upacaya* (increase or growth) in CS Šāa 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. 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:  
*manasā cetasā yuktō nādisnāyusirā tathā ātāh /*

YS 3.81cd: *saptamebra caiva tvacāvūn smṛtmīn āpi ā*

“[He is] united with *manas* and *cetas* and is provided with *nādi*, *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...
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seven-months-old foetus and its mother in CS Śā 4.23. The accounts of a seven-months-old foetus found in the other āyurvedic 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: \[punar garbhaṃ punar dhātrिं ojas tasya pradhāvati \]
YS 3.82cd: \[aśṭame māṣya ato garbhō jātaḥ prāṣnair vimucyate \]

"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 his 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 Śā 4.24 and CS Śū 17.74 into one verse.

CS Śā 4.24: \[aśṭame māṣi garbhaḥ ca māṭro garbhaṭaḥ ca māṭā rasahārinībhīḥ saṁvāhinībhir muhurmuḥuḥ ojaḥ parasparata ōdātā garbhasyasampūrṇatvāt. tasmāt tadā garbhiṇī muhurmuḥuḥ mudā yuktā bhavati muhurmuḥuḥ ca mlāṇā, tathā garbhaḥ; tasmāt tadā garbhasya janma vyāpattimad bhavaty ojaso 'nava-sthitatvāt. . . .
\]

"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."

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31 CS Śā 4.23: \[saptame māṣi garbhaḥ sarvair bhāvair āpyāyyate, tasmāt tadā garbhiṇī sarvakāraḥ klāntatanaḥ bhavati.
\]
"A foetus is filled up with all the properties in the seventh month. Therefore, a pregnant woman gets overfatigued in all respects."

32 SS Śā 3.30: \[saptame sarvāṅgapratayaṅgavībhāgah pravayaktataraḥ, . . .
AHS Śā 1.58ab: sarvaḥ sarvāṅgasampūrṇo bhāvaiḥ puṣyati saptame /
AŠ Śā 2.13: \[saptame sarvāṅgasampūrṇatā. \]

33 M,S: \[punar dhātrिं punar garbham \]

34 M,A,S: viṣṇujyate

35 AS Śā 2.14 is in strict correspondence with CS Śā 4.24. The similar accounts are found in the SS and the AHS as follows: SS Śā 3.30: \[aśṭame 'sthirābhavyatī ojaḥ, tatra jātaḥ cen na juven nirojastvān nairṛṭabhāgatvāc ca, . . .
AHS Śā 1.62cd: ojo 'sṭam samścaraṇi māṭapraṇu muhuk kramāḥ //
AHS Śā 1.63ab: tena tāu māṇamudātāv tatra jāto na jīvati /
AHS Śā 1.63cd: šīśurojo 'navaṣṭhānāṇi nārī samśayaḥ bhavet //

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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 ayurvedic texts.37

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

YS 3.83ab: *navame daśame mäsi prabhālīḥ sūṭimārūtaḥ* /
YS 3.83cd: *niḥśāryate bāṇa eva yantaracchidreṇa saṃvārah* //

“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 Śa 4.25 and 6.24 as follows:

CS Śa 4.25: *tasmaṁ ekadivasātikṛante 'pi navamaṁ māsaṁ upādāya prasavaṅkalam ity āhur ādaśamān māsāt. etāvān prasavākālaḥ, vaikārikam atāḥ paraṇi kūṣāv avasthāmaṁ 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.”


“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’ (*sūṭimārūta* YS 3.83b; *prasūtimārūta* CS Śa 6.24). However, the CS and the other ayurvedic texts do not directly refer to the pain which a foetus feels at the time of

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36 See also Cakrapāṇidatta’s commentary on CS Śu 17.74: *yad uktam tantrantare — prāṇāśrayasyayuṣaṣu 'ṣṭau bindavohydrationāḥ iti ... aṣṭabindukasya tv avayavanaśe 'pi mṛtyur bhavatitī ....*

37 For the other accounts for miscarriage, see Wujastyk, [1999].

38 M,S: vāpi
delivery (sajvara in YS 3.83d),\(^{39}\) nor do they cite the simile of an arrow shot through the yoniyana (YS 3.83cd).

As to the suffering of birth (janmajvara or janmaduhkha), 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.\(^{40}\) Among these texts, the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa (henceforth VDhP) offers a passage parallel to YS 3.83cd.

VDhP 2.114.18cd: \(\text{tatas tu kāle sampūrne prabalaḥ sūtrimūrtaiḥ} /\)  
VDhP 2.114.19ab: \(\text{bhavaty avānimukho jantuḥ piḍām anubhavan parām} /\)  
VDhP 2.114.19cd: \(\text{adhomukhaḥ samkṣetaḥ yoniśvāreṇa vāyūnā} /\)  
VDhP 2.114.20ab: \(\text{niḥsaryate bāṇa iva yantracchidreṇa sajvaraḥ} /\)  
VDhP 2.114.20cd: \(\text{yonimārṣkrumānti piḍām carṇoḥ kartanāsaṃsmiḥkām} /\)  
VDhP 2.114.21ab: \(\text{prāṇopti ca tato jātah tīrṇam stīmam asamśayam} /\)  
VDhP 2.114.21cd: \(\text{janmajvaradvībḥutasya vijñānāṃ tasya naśyati} /\)  

“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 Agnipurāṇa (henceforth AP) 369.27 may be quoted as an another example:

AP 369.27ab: \(\text{sūtivātair adhobbhuto niḥsared yoniyantrataḥ} /\)  
AP 369.27cd: \(\text{piḍyaṁmo māmaṁtraṁ karasparsena duḥkkhitah} /\)  

“He will go out of the yoniyana with pain, with his face downwards due to the wind of birth, being afflicted for one month by the touch of hand.”\(^{41}\)

\(^{39}\) The pain is mentioned in CS Śī 8.42 in the accounts of newborn care: \(\text{tathā sa klesāvihētaṁ prāṁnāṁ punar labheta. “In that way, he will regain [his] life which was afflicted by pain.” Cakrapāṇidatta remarks on klesāvihēta here as follows: klesāvihētaṁ ti yoniyantrapiḍānādiklesāparahatām (‘afflicted by pain’ means afflicted by the pain caused by the pressure of yoniyana and so forth).}

\(^{40}\) Hara, [1977], [1980], and [1987].

\(^{41}\) Further examples:

Padmapurāṇa (henceforth PP) 2.66.94ab: \(\text{evam etan mahākaṣṭam janmaduhkhāṁ prakṛṭitaṁ} /\)  
PP 2.66.94cd: \(\text{puṁsāṁ ajñānadoṣena nānākarmavaśena ca} //\)  
PP 2.66.95ab: \(\text{garbhasthasya matir yāśīt samjātasya praṇaśyati} /\)
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The yantracchidra (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: idaṃ dhanur lakṣyam ime ca bāṇah ēryavantu me pārthivāh sarva eva /
MBh 1.176.34cd: yantracchidrenābhhyatikramya lakṣyam samarpayadhvanī kha-gamair dasārdhañāh \(/\)

“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 yantracchidra.”

The above passages from the non-ayurvedic texts show that the word sajvara in YS 3.83d implies the suffering which a transmigrating being experiences in its new birth (janmajvara or janmadoṇkhha); and the word yantracchidra 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 janmajvara or janmadoṇkhha from a different tradition than Ayurveda 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 ayurvedic texts especially of the CS Śa with several modifications as the process of the ātman’s birth, and also incorporated non-medical elements which are omitted in the ayurvedic 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.

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\(^{42}\) 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 ayurvedic 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.
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List 1 YS 3.84-107 in verses
3.84a The body [consisting] of six [elements]
3.84b The six layers of skin
3.84c The six parts of the body
3.84d-90 The total number of bones:360; the name of each bone
3.91-92c The objects of sense organs; the five sense organs, the five motor organs
3.92d The manas
3.93 The places of prāna
3.94-95 The internal organs
3.96-99b The minor parts of the body (sthāna)
3.99cd The nine orifices (chidm)
3.100ab Sirā:700 in number, the ligaments (snāyu):900
3.100cd Dhamanī:200, the muscles (peśī):500
3.101 Sirā dhamaṇisamānākā:2900,956
3.102ab The beard and hair (śmaṅkura):300,000
3.102cd The vital points (marman):107, the joints (saṃdhī):200
3.103 The hair of the body (roman): 546,750,000
3.104 The infinitesimal particle (paramāṇu)
3.105-107ab The entities measured by atijalis rasa:9, water:10, feces:7, blood:8, śleṣman:6, pitta:5, urine:4, vasā:3, medas:2, majjā:1, the head:0.5, śleṣmanajas:0.5, retas:0.5
3.107cd Liberation (mokṣa)

List 2 CS Śā 7 in prose except 7.19-20
7.1-3 Introduction, Agnivesa’s questions
7.4 (The followings are Ātreya’s answers)
The six layers of the skin
7.5 The six parts of the body
7.6 The name of each bone and the total number:360
7.7 The five seats of senses, the five sense organs, the five motor organs
7.8 The heart (ḥṛdaya)
7.9 The ten places of prāṇa (prāṇāyataṇa)
7.10 The fifteen kinds of internal organs
7.11 The minor divisions of the body (pratyṣaya)
7.12 The nine orifices (chidra)
7.13 “The above [parts] are visible and also able to be demonstrated.”
7.14 “The following [parts] are not [able to be] demonstrated, [but] are [able to be] only inferred.”
The ligaments (snāyu): 900 in number, sirā:700, dhamaṇi:200, the muscles (peśī):400, the vital points (marman): 107, the joints (saṃdhī): 200, the minute tips of the veins: 29956, the hair (keśa)+the beard (śmaṅkura)+the hair of the body (loma): 29956
7.15 The entities measured by atijalis water:10, rasa:9, blood:8, feces:7, śleṣman:6, pitta 5, urine:4, vasā:3, medas:2, marrow (majjā):1, brain (maṭiṣka):0.5, śukra:0.5, śleṣmanajas:0.5, retas:0.5
7.16 The five mahābhūtas
7.17 The infinitesimal particle (paramāṇu)
7.18 Attachment (sāṅga) and emancipation (apavarga)
7.19-20 (sloka) Physician who knows the number of all components of the body

YS 3.84: The body [made up] of the six [constituents]

YS 3.84ab: tasya śodhā 45 śarīrāṁ tat sat tvaco46 dhārayanti hi47 /
YS 3.84cd: śaḍāṅgāṁi tathāsthānāṁ ca 48 saṣṭaṁ vai śatātrayam ///
“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].”

45 M,A,S: śarīrāṇi sat
46 A: tvaco
47 M,A,S: ca
48 M,A,S: saha śaṣṭyā
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The expression “the body [made up] of six [constituents]” (sodha śārīram) (YS 3.84a) may be associated with the five mahābhūtas and the sixth element as the constituents of the atman 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 (bahu), 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” (ṣaḍaṅgāni) (YS 3.84c), and provides only rough descriptions of the minor divisions of the body as śārīrake 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 jānuni, dve jānukapālike, dvāv ārunalakau, dvau bāhunalakau, dvāv aṃsau, dve aṃsphalake “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

49 For the six layers of skin, see also BhŚ 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: triṇi sasaśtiṇī asthisatāni vedovādino bhāṣante; śalyatantre tu triṇy eva śatāni. Cf. AHS Śa 3.8d-9ab; AS Śa 5.18.
In this expression, jānukapālīka apparently corresponds to jānukapāla, however, ārunalakau, bāhunalakau, āṃsau, and āṃsaphalake in CS Śa 7.6 seem to be condensed into only ārupalakāṃsa in the YS, and the meaning of samudbhave in YS 3.87d is not clear.52

(3) In CS Śa 7.6: ekaṃ jatru, ... ekaṃ hanv 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 hanuh, M,S: jatru ekaikaṃ tathā hanuh, A: jatru ekaṃ ca tathā hanuh. The number of each bone is not clear in any readings of the YS.53

(4) In CS Śa 7.6: dve hanumūlabandhane, ekāsti nāsikāgaṇḍakīta- 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 hanuh) B: tanmūle dve lalāṭasthi gaṇḍanāsāghanāsthiḥkā, M,A,S: tanmūle dve lalāṭakṣi- ganḍe nāsā ghanāsthiḥkā. 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 Śa 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 Śa 7.6 (caturdaśorasi). However, in YS 3.90c, the number of bones of the chest is described as seventeen (uraḥ saptaḍaśāsthini). 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 (hrdaya) in CS Śa 7.8: hrdayaṃ cetanādhi- śṭhānam ekam “There is one heart, which is the seat of cetanā.” follows after each enumeration of the five seats of senses (indriyādhiṅṭhāna), the five sense organs (budhiṅḍriyā), and the five motor organs (karmendriyā).55 On the

51 M, A, S: jārūkapoloru-
53 Vijñāneshvara in his commentary and A.F. Stenzler in his translation interpreted that the two bones of the trachea are side by side (one bone on the right and one bone on the left). Cf. Meyer, op.cit., p.51,1.28 - p.52,1.21.
55 Cf. BhŚ Śa 7.3: hrdayaṃ ekaṃ cetanāyatanam.
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other hand, in the YS, there is a description of manas instead of hṛdaya 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: manas caivobhayātmakam “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 cetana, the seat of which is said to be hṛdaya 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 Śāṁkhya 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 3.93ab: nābhīr ojo gudām śukram |
YS 3.93cd: mūrdhā ca hṛdayaṁ kaṇṭhaṁ prāṇasyāyataṇāṁ 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 Śū 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 (śānikhakau) and CS Śū 29.3c (śārikau). The navel (nābhī) 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 3.99cd after the enumeration of the minor divisions of the body (sthānās). The nine orifices (nava chidra) are described also in CS Śā 7.12 just after the

56 Śāṁskyakarīkā 27: ubhayātmakam atra manah samkalpakam indriyaṁ ca sādharmyā. Manusmṛti 2.92ab: ekādaśaṁ mano jñeyam svagupenobhayātmakam.
57 B: śuklam
58 M.S: mūrdhāṁsakanṭhahṛdayaṁ, A: mūrdhā sakanṭhahṛdayaḥ
59 CS Śā 7.9: daśa pṛṇāyatanāṁ; tadyathā — mūrdhā, kaṇṭhaḥ, hṛdayaṁ, nābhīḥ, gudām, bastīḥ, ojaḥ, śukram, śoniṭam, māṃsam iti. Cf. BhŚ Śū 17.1-2, Śā 7.3; AHS Śā 3.13 (jīvītaḥām); AS Śā 5.32.
60 CS Śū 29.3: daśāvāyatanānyāṁ bhūḥ prāṇā yeṣu pratiśthitāḥ / śānikāu marmatrayaṁ kaṇṭho raktāṁ śukrauṣaṁ gudām // In the list of CS Śū 29.3, marmatraya “the three vital points” mean the heart, the bladder, and the head. Cf. CS Śū 11.48; CS Ci 26; CS Śī 9.3.

The navel (nābhī) 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 Śā 7.10,61 the omentum (vapāvahana)62 is inexplicably divided into two organs in YS 3.94a: vapā vapāvahananāṁ. This can be regarded as an example of textual confusion.64 The rectum (guda) is clearly divided into the upper part (uttaraguda) and the lower part (adharaguda) in CS Śā 7.10. Similarly, YS 3.95bc seems to distinguish two kinds of the rectum, though the expression is ambiguous.65 The author of the YS might interpret the two gudas as the anus and the rectum.66 The receptacle of digested food (pakvāśaya), which is listed in CS Śā 7.10, is not found in the list of the internal organs in YS 3.94-95.67

**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 Śā 7.5 and 11).68 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 (srkkāni), and a certain part of tongue (gojīhvikā)69 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 Śā 7.4; SS Śā 5.5.8; AHS Śā 3.12; AS Śā 5.28. Cf. Meulenbeld, [1974] 457.
62 Cakrapāṇidatta comments here that vapāvahana is the place of fat (medaḥsthāna). Vapāvahana is listed in CS Śā 3.6 as one of the entities which are born from mother (mātrja).
63 M.A.S: vapā vasāvahananāṁ
64 Vijnāneśvara comments here that vasāvahanana means fat (vasā) and avahanana, and avahanana means the lung (pupphusa). However, this interpretation is untenable. Cf. Meyer, op.cit., p.55,1.11-p.56,1.18.
65 YS 3.95bc B: guda eva ca. udaraṁ ca gudah koṣṭhyo, M: guda eva ca. udaraṁ ca gudau koṣṭhyau, A: guda eva ca. uttarau ca gudau koṣṭhaun(ṣṭhyau), S: gudam eva ca. udaraṁ ca gudau kauṣṭhyau
67 Pakvāśaya is not found also in the list of the internal organs in BhŚ Śā 7.4.
68 For pratyāṅga, also see BhŚ Śā 7.5; SS Śā 5.4.
69 Gojīhvikā is not found in the lists of the minor parts of the body in BhŚ Śā 7.5 and SS Śā 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 (śānkhakau). The kidney has been properly listed as one of the internal organs in YS 3.94c as vṛkkaku.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 srkkanī.

**YS 3.104:** The infinitesimal particle (paramāṇu)

After describing a series of the large numbers of śīrā, snāyu, dhamani, pesi 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 vigānyante vibhaktāh paramāṇavāh /
YS 3.104cd: 72 yady anye ko nu vedaisāṁ bhāvānāṁ73 caiva saṃsthitim //
“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 Śa 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, śapyas, āgneyas, vāyaviyas, and āntarikṣas), and are enumerated one by one. In this list, vāyaviyas are enumerated as follows:

CS Śa 7.16: ... yad ucchvāsa-praśvāsa-unmeṣa-nimeṣa-ākuṇcana-prasāraṇa-
gamana-prerana-dhāranādi tad vāyaviyaṇam sparṣāḥ sparṣanaṁ 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 Śa 7.14. In YS 3.101, the expression B:śīrā dhamanisanjīnākāḥ, M,A:śīrā dhamanisanjīnātāḥ, S:śīrādhamanisanjīnātāḥ 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 Śa 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 ’nuvettī eṣāṁ, A,S: yady apy eko ’nuvedaisāṁ
73 M: bhāvanāṁ
It is interesting to note that the above list of vāyavīyas 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 vāyavīyas and the ātman, and then incorporate only vāyavīyas 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: śarīravavyavās tu paramāṇyuhahenāporisaṃkhyeyā bhavanti, atibahu-tvād atisauksmyād atindriyavāc ca. teśām saṁyogavibhāge paramāṇunām kāraṇaṃ vāyūḥ karmavabhāvaś 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 (saṁyoga) 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 Vaiśeṣika philosophy in CS Śā 7.18.

CS Śā 7.18: tad etac charīram saṃkhyātami aneekāvavyavoṃ drṣṭam ekatvena saṅgaḥ, prthakhvēṇāpavargaha. . .

“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 description 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.\(^7\)

\(^7\) J.J.Meyer suggests differently that YS 3.107c: ity etad asthiram corresponds to the last part of CS Śā 7.15: iti etac charīratavatvam uktaṃ. Meyer, op.cit., p.58 ll.27-29.
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YS 3.107cd: ity etad asthiram varṣma yasya mokṣaya 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.75 Table 4-1 and 4-2 show a rough sketch of YS 3.108-205 and the corresponding passages found in the CS.

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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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Table 4-1 YS 3.108-150
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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 sarvaṁ jagataś catmasambhavah //

“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 moheccādveṣakarmajah //

“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 rāśisamjñas tu moheccādveṣakarmajah //

“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 Ātreyā. Agniveśa inquires of the Ātreyā about some key issues of medicine. Ātreyā gives conclusive answers to his pupil’s questions, in some cases through discussions among sages. Ātreyā’s opinions are eventually formulated as the medical theories of the Ātreyā 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 kah “What is the origin of the puruṣa ?”* It is clear that *prabhava* (CS Śā 1.53a) is rendered into *sambhūti* (YS 3.125a), *raśi* (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 *moheccchādevaśakarmajah* (YS 3.125d, CS Śā 1.53d), similar expressions can be seen also in the beginning part of CS Śā 5.10: *moheccchādevaśakarmamālā pravṛttih “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 evaṃ sa kathāṃ brahman pāpayonisu jāyate /
YS 3.129cd:* *iśvaraḥ sa kathāṃ bhāvair anīśtaḥ samprapuyate //
“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 anīśtaś kathāṃ yonisu jāyate //
“If [the ātman] is an independent one, why is [he] born in undesirable wombs ?”

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

*CS Śā 1.7cd:* *sarvaḥ sarvagatavatāc ca vedanāh 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: *moheccchādevaśajanaśakarmajah moheccchādevaśa-karmajah. mohād dhī bhāvēsācchā dhēsāḥ ca bhavati, tataḥ pravṛttih, pravṛttī dharmādharman, taur ca śārvān janayato bhogārtham.*

⁸¹ See also *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 6.2.17: *ichēdevaśapūrvikā dharmādharmanah pravṛttih.*

⁸² For the *brahman*, see also YS 3.69.
A similar and detailed account can be seen in the prose of CS Śā 5.4:

CS Śā 5.4: ... saḍdhātavaḥ samuditaḥ lokaḥ iti śabdāṁ labhante. tad yathā pṛthiny āpas tejo vāyur ākāśam brahma cāvyaktam iti, etā eva ca saḍdhātavaḥ samuditaḥ puruṣa iti śabdāṁ labhante.

“The aggregate of six constituents is named as ‘world’ (loka), namely earth, water, fire, wind, 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: moheccādveśaṁkarnamāla pravṛttiḥ) 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) vipratyaya “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.

In YS 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, 3) saṃśaya in YS 5.3.152ab as saṃdiḥhamati, 4) abhisamplava in YS 5.3.152cd as sampluta, 5) abhyavapāta is found in the content of YS 3.153ab, 6) vipratyaya in YS 1.5.3cd as viparitamati, 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) vipratyaya, 1) ahaṅkāra, 3) saṃśaya as saṃdeha, 4) abhisamplava in 12.24ab; 7) aviṣeṣa, 8) anupāya,
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2) *saṅga*, and 5) *abhyaṇapāta* in 12.24cd. After this enumeration, the eight verses each give explanations of the eight states of mind in BC 12.25-32.86 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: \textit{evamṛtto vinītātmā vitathābhīniveśavān /}
YS 3.155cd: \textit{karmanā dvēṣamohābhīyām icchāyā 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 *moheccādvesakarmacāh* (YS 3.125d, CS Śā 1.53d) and *moheccādvesakarmamulā pravṛttiḥ* (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.

9. *deśāntaragatiḥ svapne*, 10. *paścātvaṃgraḥaṇa* (CS Śā 1.71ab)
11. *drṣṭasya daksinānākṣṇā savyenaḥvagama* (CS Śā 1.71cd)

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 (*ciṅhna*) 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.

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6. indriyāntarasamcāra, 12. icchā, 8. dhāraṇā, 4. jīvita (YS 3.175cd)
9. svapne sargaḥ ca bhāvānāṁ, 7. preranā, 5. manaso gati (YS 3.176ab)
3. nimeṣa, 17. cetanā, 16. yatna, 10. ādāna pāñcabhautika (YS 3.176cd)

1. prāṇa, 2. āpāna, 11. dṛṣṭasya daksīṇenākṣṇā savyena-vāgama 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. dṛṣṭasya daksīnenākṣṇā savyena-vāgama, we can find a corresponding description in YS 3.149 as follows:

YS 3.149ab: mahābhūtāni satyāni yathātmapi tathaiva hi /
YS 3.149cd: ko ‘nyathaisena netreṣa dṛṣṭam anyena paśyati //
“Just as the mahābhūtas are actual beings, so the ātman 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.91

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

1. prāṇa, 2. āpāna, 3. nimeṣa, 3. unmeṣa, 4. jīvāṇa, 5. mano-gati, 6. indriyāntararavikārā, 14. sukha, 15. duḥkha, 12. icchā, 13. dveṣa, 16. prayatna (Vaiśeṣikasūtra 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 gatiḥ
89 A: unmeṣa
90 There is one more similar description in Nyāyasūtra 3.1.7: savyadrṣṭasyetareṇa prayatnabhijñānāt.
91 Antonella Comba has argued about the relation among the descriptions of ātmalinga found in the YS, the CS, and the Vaiśeṣikasūtra. Antonella Comba argued that the YS was one of the sources quoted by the CS in this passage. Comba, [1987] 54-57.
92 Vaiśeṣikasūtra 3.2.4: prāṇāṇāmsvāyaḥsvapnaṁpratyanjñānātmano-śaṃkalpravartana na pratyabhijñānāt.
YS 3.177cd-180: Kṣetrajña, anyaktā, and ātman

A kind of Sāṃkhyā theory is illustrated in the philosophical dialogue in CS Śa Chapter 1. In the CS’s Sāṃkhyā theory, the ātman is regarded as anyaktā (CS Śa 1.61a); the twenty-four principles are enumerated, namely the five mahābhūtas (khaḍīni), buddhi, anyaktā, ahaṅkāra,93 the five sense organs (buddhindriyāṇi), the five motor organs (karmendriyāṇi), the manas, and the five objects of the sense organs (CS Śa 1.17, 63-64); all principles except anyaktā are said to be kṣetra and anyaktā (i.e., the ātman) is said to be kṣetrajña (CS Śa 1.65); the tanmātras are not mentioned in this passage. Thus, the CS’s Sāṃkhyā theory differs from the orthodox Sāṃkhyā system94 based on the twenty-five principles in some important respects.95

YS 3.178-180 gives an account of the Sāṃkhyā 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 anyaktā 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 tamas are regarded as the causes of transmigration in CS Śa 1.68.

CS Śa 1.68ab: avyaktād vyaktatām yatī vyaktād avyaktatām punah /
CS Śa 1.68cd: rajastambhāyāṁ avistāś cakravat pariwartate //
“[The puruṣa] gets manifested from the unmanifested state and again unmanifested from the manifest state. [Thus] the one possessed by rajas and tamas moves like a wheel.”

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

YS 3.183ab: sattvaḥ rajas tamaś caiva guṇās tasyaiva kirtitāḥ /
YS 3.183cd: rajastambhāyāṁ avistāś cakravat bhramyate hy asau //
“Sattva, rajas, and tamas are said to be his (i.e., the ātman’s) qualities.

93 These eight principles are regarded as bhūtaprakṛti in CS Śa 3.63c.
94 The Sāṃkhyā theory found in SS Śa Chapter 1 is almost identical with the orthodox Sāṃkhyā system of the Sāṃkhyakārikā. Cf. Johnston, [1937] 10-11.
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 Šā 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 Šā’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 Šā as one of the major sources of its ātman theory.

7. The textual formation of the Šārīrasthāna of the Carakasaṃhitā

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 Šā. 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 Šā, I will shift the emphasis away from the yatidharma section of the YS to the CS Šā. Table 5 shows the titles and contents of all the chapters in the CS Šā.

Table 5 The Šārīrasthāna of the Carakasaṃhitā

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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 mohitāh/ cakravat parivartante hy ajñānāt jantavo bhṛśam/;
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contents, we may summarize the main subjects of the CS Śā 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 Śā 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 Śā 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. What is to be noted is that Ātreya shows here the ātman theories of various philosophical schools such as Vaiśeṣika, Sāṁkhya-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 āyuṛveda was still in a process of systematization. The words, puruṣa, ātman, pūṁs (47c), paramātman (53b, 72d), and bhūtātman (14c, 57b, 84d, 155b) seem to be used ambiguously without rigid distinctions in this chapter. 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. Karman of a foetus and its parents is regarded as one of the causes of abnormalities in

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100 Cakrapāṇidatta comments on CS Śā 1.3: ātmaiva śarīraraḥitaḥ puruṣaśabdāraḥ thatvena vācyāḥ, and on CS Śā 1.39-42: puruṣa iha prakaraṇāt ātmakāraṇaḥ. For the characteristic usages of other philosophical terms in CS Śā Chapter 1, see Comba, *op.cit.*
Sections 16, 21, 29.101 Sections 28–38 of this chapter mention the movement of the ātmān 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 3102 describes physical and spiritual construction of an embryo in the framework of a dispute between Ātreya and Bharadvāja.103 Ātreya in this dispute gives an account of the descent (avakrānti) of a transmigrating self (jīva), its birth as a foetus (i.e., ātmān), 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).104 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 ātmān, including puruṣa and brahman. In the early stage of development, the ātmān is said to ‘receive’ (upādattē) 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, Agnivesa raises nine questions about the development of an embryo. The nine questions are 1. which part of an embryo arises first,106 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 khudḍika (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 (rāsa), blood (rakta), flesh (māṁsa), fat (medas), bone (asthi), marrow (maggā), 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
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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 *prayokṭṛ*. 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 Śā, the ātman, transmigration, and liberation are not treated directly.

As we have seen above, the word ātman has a broad sense in the CS Śā. 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’ (*śarīra*), 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 Śā. From this view point, we should not overlook the fact that the title of this volume is *śārīrasthāna*, not *śārīrasthāna*. Considering the whole idea of this volume inclusively, the word *śārīra* 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 Śā.108

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107 For the CS’s own definition of the word *śārīrasthāna*, see CS Śā 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 purānic texts which I mentioned in this paper.109 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 āyurvedic texts especially in their Śās,110 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 āyurvedic texts, BhS, CS, SS, AHS, AS, and the Kāṣyapaśamhitā contain each Śā. The Śās of the BhS and the Kāṣyapaśamhitā bear some similarities to the CS Śā in contents from the viewpoint of the ātman theory.
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: Aṣṭāṅgahrdayam (The core of octopartite Āyurveda) composed by Vāgbhaṭa with the Commentaries (Sarvāṅgasundarā) of Arunādatta and (Āyurveda-rasāyana) of Hemādri. collated by Anṇā Morēśvara Kuṇṭe and Kṛṣṇa Rāmchandra Śāstṛi Navare, ed. by Bhiṣagāchārya Hariśāstri Parādākara Vaidya, Jaikrishnadāś Āyurveda Series No.52. Varanasi, Delhi, 1982.


CS: The Charakasaṃhita of Aṅgīvaśa revised by Charaka and Dṛḍhabala with the Āyurveda-Dīpikā Commentary of Chakrapāṇidatta. ed.by Vaidya Jādavaji Trikamji Āchārya. Bombay, 1941; 4th ed. New Delhi, 1981. (I mainly used this edition in this paper.)
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Manuṣmṛti: The Manuṣmṛti with the commentary Manvarthamuktāvati of Kullāka, ed. with critical and explanatory notes etc., by Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya “Kāvyatirtha”. Bombay, 1887.


SS: Suśrutasaṃhitā of Suśrutra with the Nibandhasaṅgraha Commentary of Śrī Dalhanācārāya and the Nyāyacandrīkā Paṇḍikā of Śrī Gayadāsācārāya on Nidānasthāna. 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.
On the Nature of the Medical Passages in the Yājñavalkya smṛti


VDhP: The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇam. Delhi, 1985.

VS: Viṣṇusmrī, the Institutes of Vishnu together with Extracts from the Sanskrit Commentary of Nanda Pandit called Vaijayanti ed. with Critical Notes, an Anukramaṇīka, and Indexes of Words and Mantras by Julius Jolly. Calcutta, 1881; repr. Varanasi, 1962.

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(M I mainly used this edition in this paper.)


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