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<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>YAMASHITA, Tsutomu</td>
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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 Śārīraśāstra (henceforth Śā) 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

* 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 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-valkyasmrtri

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>
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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

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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 Bālakṛṣṇa (henceforth B). In some cases, I will show important variants in the other editions, namely the text with Viśnunāśvara’s commentary known as Mitākṣara (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>Semen (śukra) and blood (śośita)</td>
<td>Cf. 8.17</td>
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<td>3.72cd</td>
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<td>3.73-74</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 aksaraṁ*७ kartā bodhā brahma gūṇi vaśī /
YS 3.69cd: *ajaḥ śarīragrahaṇāt 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 yathākāśam vāyup jyotir jalaṁ mahīṁ /*
YS 3.70cd: *srjaty ekottaragūṁams tathādatta 'bhavann९ 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 brahma viṣvākarma viṣvarūpaḥ puruṣaḥ prabhavo 'vyayo nityo guṇi grahaṇam pradhanam avyaktaṁ jīvo jīvaḥ pudgalaś cetanāvān vibhūḥ bhūtātmā cendriyātmā cāntarātmā 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 vaśī (a ruler) and aja (an unborn one) to YS 3.69. The contents of YS 3.70 under the influence of Śaṁkhyā system correspond to the following part of CS Śa 4.8.

CS Śa 4.8 (continued from the above quotation): sa guṇopādānakāle 'ntarikṣam pūrvam anvebhya guṇebhya upādatte. yathā pralayātyaye sīrṣṣur bhūtāṁ aksaraḥbhūta ātmā sattopādanaḥ pūrvataram ākāśam sajātī, tataḥ kramena vyaktataraṇṇāṁ dhātūṁ vāyudikāṁś caturah; tathā dehagraṇaṁ 'pi pravarta-mānaṁ pūrvataram ākāśam evopādatte, tataḥ krameṇa vyaktataraṇṇāṁ dhātūṁ vāyudikāṁś 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.”

Sārgādau in YS 3.70a may be meant as equivalent to pralayātyaye in CS Śa 4.8. Sarīraraṇaḥ in YS 3.69c corresponds to dehagraṇaḥ 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 (sarīraraṇaḥ in YS 3.69c, dehagraṇaḥ 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 *strīpuṁsayaḥ sampravyaoge visuddhe śukraśonite* 10
YS 3.72cd: 11 *paṇca dhātāṁ sevāṁ saṣṭha ādatte yugapat 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 Śā 8.17 in which the purity of śukra and śoṣita 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 Śā 1.16ab: *khādaṇyaḥ cetanāṣaṣṭhā dhātavaḥ puruṣāḥ smṛtah* /
CS Śā 1.16cd: *cetanādhiḥātur apy ekaḥ smṛtah puruṣasamjñākah* //

"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 Śā 4.6: *garbhas tu khalv antarikṣavāyvanitoyahumikāraś cetanādhiṣṭhāna-bhitah. evam anayā yuktā pañcamahābhūta-vākarasamudāyātmako garbhaś cetanādhiṣṭhānabhūtaḥ, sa hy asya śaṣṭho dhātur 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 Śā 5.4, where the brahmān 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: *strīpuṁsayaḥ tu samyoge, A: strīpuṁsayaḥ ca samyoge
10 B: śuklaśonite
11 S: paṇca-dhātu
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: indriyāṇī manah prāṇo jñānam āyuh sukham dhṛtih /
YS 3.73cd: dhāraṇāpṛeranā duḥkhah 15 icchāhāṅkāram eva ca /
YS 3.74ab: 16 prayatnākṛtirūpāṇi svaradveṣau bhavabhavau /
YS 3.74cd: 17 tasyedam ātmajāṇam sarvam anāder ādān icchātaḥ //

“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 ātmajas in CS Śā 3.10.

CS Śā 3.10: ... garbhasyātmajāni ... tadyathā tāsu tāsu yonisūtpattir āyur ātmajānāṁ mana indriyāṇi prāṇāpāṇau preraṇām dhāraṇām ākṛtisvaravarṇaviśeṣāh sukhaduḥkhe icchādveṣau cetanā dhṛtir buddhiḥ smṛtiḥ ahaṅkāraḥ prayatnāḥ ceti ātmajāni.

Ātmajānāna in CS Śā 3.10 is rendered into only jñāna in YS 3.73b. Among the items of ākṛtisvaravarṇaviśeṣā in CS Śā 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 Śā 3.10 except bhavabhavau. On the other hand, among the items listed in CS Śā 3.10, tāsu 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 Śā 4.4: māṝtaḥ pitṛa ātmataḥ sātmayaḥ rasataḥ sattvata ity etehhyō bhāvebhyaḥ samuditebhhyō garbhah śāṁbhavaḥ. “A foetus is formed from the combination of these entities, [i.e.,] one being born from mother, father, ātman, suitability (sāṃtya), essence of food (rasa), and sattva (i.e., manas).” Cf.BhŚ Śā 6.1; the Suśrutaśarīrītī (henceforth SS) Śā 3.33; the Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasamhitā (henceforth AHS) Śā 3.4c-8c (3.5c says caityana instead of ātmaja); the Aṣṭāṅgasāṅgagraha (henceforth AS) Śā 5.7-15. Cf. Agnipurāṇa 396.32-33; Viṣṇudharmottarpurāṇa 115.14d-15.

14 M.A.S: dhāraṇā preraṇāḥ
15 M.A.S: icchāhāṅkāra
16 M.A.S: prayatnā ākṛtir varṇaḥ
17 M.A.S: tasya itad
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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.

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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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<td>3.75c</td>
<td>Two-months-old embryo</td>
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<td>4.11</td>
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<td>Desires of a pregnant woman</td>
<td>4.15</td>
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<td>3.80a</td>
<td>Four-months-old foetus</td>
<td>4.20</td>
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<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>ojas</em></td>
<td>4.24</td>
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<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, peśī* 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; *Garuḍapurāṇa* 2.32.23-25; *Garbhapanisad* 3; *Gaudāpādabhāṣya* on Sāmkhyaśāstra 43; *Candrānadavṛtti* on Vaiśeṣikaśāstra 5.2.19; *Sanguttas Nikāya* 10.1.3; *Milindapanha* Trenchner 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 Śa 4.9-11.

CS Śa 4.9: sa sarvāṇam gārabhavam āpannaḥ prathame māsi saṁmūrcchitah sarvadhatukalusikṛtaḥ khetabhūto bhavaty avyaktavigrahaḥ sadasadbhūtārīgavayavah.

“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 Śa 4.10: dvitiye māsi ghanah sampadyaṃ pinḍaḥ peśi arbudām vā. tatra ghanah puruṣaḥ, peśi strī, arbudām napumṣakam.

“In the second month, [he] becomes a ghan, a pinḍa, a peśi, or an arbuda. There, the ghan a is a male, the peśi a female, and the arbuda a hermaphrodite.”

CS Śa 4.11: tṛtiye māsi sarvāṇyāni sarvārīgavayavāś ca yaukapadeyāhūhinir-vartante.

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

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

YS 3.75ab: prathame māsi saṃkledabhūto dhātuvimūrcchitah /
YS 3.75cd: māśy arbudāṃ dvitiye tu tṛtiye 'ṅigendrayair yutah //

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

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

\textsuperscript{20} There are similar descriptions in the other āyurvedic texts. For example, SS Śa 3.18: tatra prathame māsi kalalaṃ jāyate. dvitiye sitosmānilairo abhiprapaciya-mānānam mahābhūtānām samghāto ghanāḥ saṃjñaye yadi pinḍah pumān, strī cet peśi, napumṣakam ced arbudām iti. tṛtiye hastapādaśirasāṁ pañca pinḍakā nirvar-tanteṅgapratyangavibhāgaś ca sūkṣmo bhavati. ...(SS Śa 3.18 is partly quoted in Vijñāneshvara’s commentary of the YS.)

AHS Śa 1.37ab: avyaktaḥ prathame māsi saptāhāt kalali bhavet.

AHS Śa 1.49cd-50a: dvitiye māsi kalalaḥ ghanah peśy athavārbudam/ pumstriklibhā/ kramāt tebyah.

AHS Śa 1.54c-55: māse’ya tṛtiye gātrapāñcakam/ mūrdhā due sakthini bāhū sarvasūkṣmānjanama ca/ samam eva hi mūrdhādyatīt jñāṇam ca sukhadūkhkhayoh//

AS Śa 2.7: tatra prathame māse kalalaṃ jāyate. dvitiye ghanah peśy arbudāṃ vā tebyah kramāt pumstrinapumṣakāni.
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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 (dvāihṛdayya)
CS Śā 4.16: Signs of pregnancy and dvāihṛdayya
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 (dvāihṛdayya) 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 evāsyā prathamam sambhavati. tatra sarve śarīrpradesās 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: अत्माः ग्रहण्यते अत:22 सर्वं त्रित्ये सपंदते तत: //
“The atman 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 yatākālam evendriyāṇi samtiṣṭhante, tatākālam eva cetasi vedanā
nirbandhaṁ prāṇoti; 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
dvāihṛdayya as follows:

CS Śā 4.15: (continued from the above garbhaḥ spandate) prārthayate ca
janmāntarānubhātaṁ yat kiṁcet, tad dvāihṛdayam ācakṣate vibhāḥ.
maṭrjñam cāsya ṛdayaṁ maṭṛdayenābhisaṁbuddhaṁ bhavati rasvāhiniṁśaṁ
sāṁvāhiniṁśaṁ; tasmāt tayos tābhir bhaktīṁ samspandate.
tac caiva kāraṇam avekṣamanā na dvāihṛdayasya vimāṇitāṁ garbhaṁ icchanti
kartum. vimānane ṣya dhryaṁ vināśo vikṛtīr vā.
samānyogakṣema hi tadā bhavati garbhena kḷesucid artheṣu mātā.
tasmāt priyāhitaṁbhyyaṁ garbhiniṁ 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 (dvāihṛdayya).
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 (bhaktī)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]
dvīhṛdayya, 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.A:S: ajaḥ
23 Cakrapāṇidatta comments here: bhaktīṁ icchā.
24 In the SS, “dvāihṛdaya” or “dauhrdā” 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: ...dvāihṛdayam ca nārīṁ dauhrdīnīṁ ācakṣate, dauhrdāvimiṁanat
kubjam kuṁśiṁ khanām jādaṁ vāmanāṁ vikṛṭākṣamanakṣaṁ vā nārī sutaṁ janayati,
tasmāt sā yadyad içchet tattat tasyai dāpayet, labdhadauhrdā hi vīravantaṁ cirāyuṣaṁ
cia putram janayati.
AHS Śā 1.52cd: maṭṛjayam hy asya ṛdayaṁ mātus ca hrdayena tat //
AHS Śā 1.53ab: sambaddhaṁ tena garbhinaṁ netaṁ śraddhāvimānaṁ//

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The above explanation on the *dvaihrdaya* seems to be condensed into only one verse in YS 3.79 as follows:

YS 3.79ab: \(^{25}\) *daubhrdayapradānena garbho doṣam avāpnyāt /
YS 3.79cd: *vairuṣyaṁ maraṇam vāpi tasmat kāryaṁ priyaṁ striyāḥ /*
“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 (*daubhrda*). Therefore, what is favourite to the woman should be done [during the “double-hearted” state].”

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

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

YS 3.80ab: *sthairyaṁ caturthe tv anīganāṁ pañcame śonitodbhavah /
YS 3.80cd: *saṣṭhe balasya varṇasya nakharopaṁ ca sambhavah /*
“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 *śloka* appears to be an abridgement of the following passages in CS Śa 4.20, 21, and 22.

CS Śa 4.20: *caturthe māsi sthiratvam āpadyate garbhaḥ, tasmāt tadā garbhiṁ gurugātravam adhikam āpadyate viśeṣena.
“The foetus gains stability in the fourth month. Therefore, the pregnant woman especially feels an excessive heaviness of the body at that time.”

CS Śa 4.21: *pañcame māsi garbhasya māṃsaśoṣitoracayo bhavaty adhikam anyebhya māsebhyaḥ, tasmāt tadā garbhiṁ kārṣyaṁ āpadyate viśeṣena.
“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 Śa 4.22: *ṣaṣṭhe māsi garbhasya balavarṇopacayo bhavaty adhikam anyebhya māsebhyaḥ, tasmāt tadā garbhiṁ balavarṇahānim āpadyate viśeṣena.

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\(^{25}\) A,S, “न” of M: *dohadasyapradānena*
“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 *sambhava* (arising) in YS 3.80d, while the CS says *upacaya* (increase or growth) in CS Sa 4.21, 22. Some ayurvedic 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 ayurvedic 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 ayurvedic view into consideration.

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

YS 3.81ab: 28 *manasa cetasa yuktosthad sadaisyusiritatah* /
YS 3.81cd: *saptame 29 caśtam caiva 30 tvacavān smṛtiman api //*

“[He is] united with *manas* and *cetas* and is provided with *nādi*, *snāyu*, and *sīra* 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
seven-months-old foetus and its mother in CS Śa 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 dhātriṃ ojas tasya pradhāvati /
YS 3.82cd: aṣṭame māsy ato garbho jātaḥ prāṇair 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 Śa 4.24 and CS Śu 17.74 into one verse.

- CS Śa 4.24: aṣṭame māsi garbhaḥ ca mātrto garbhataś ca maṭā rasahāriṇībhiḥ saṃvāhinibhir muhurmuhur ojaḥ parasarapatā addātē garbhāṣaṃpūrṇatvāt. tasmāt tādā garbhiniḥ muhurmuhur muddā yuktā bhavati muhurmuhus ca mlānā, tathā garbhah; tasmāt tādā garbhāṣaṃ yanma vyāpattimad bhavatī ojasso '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 Śa 4.23: saptame māsi garbhaḥ sarvair bhāvair āpyāgyate, tasmāt tādā garbhini sarvakāraḥ klāntatamā 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 sarvāṇgāpratyaṅgavibhāgaḥ pravayaktarab,...
  AHS Śa 1.58ab: sarvaiḥ sarvāṅgasaṃpūrṇo bhāvaiḥ puṣyati saptame /
  AS Śa 2.13: ... saptame sarvāṅgasaṃpūrṇatā.

33 M,S: punar dhātriṃ punar garbham
34 M,A,S: viyujyate
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 'sthiribhavaty ojah, tatra jātaś cēn na jūven nirojastvān nirṛtabhāgatvāc ca,...
  AHS Śa 1.62cd: ojo 'ṣṭame saṃcarati mātāputravu mūhuk kramāt //
  AHS Śa 1.63ab: tena tāv mūnānudītāu tatra jāto na jūvati /
  AHS Śa 1.63cd: sīṣurojo 'navasthānān nārī saṃśayitā 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 sūtimārautaiḥ /
YS 3.83cd: niḥsāryate bāṇa i 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 ekadivaśātikrānte 'pi navamaṁ māsam upādāya prasavakālam ity āhur ādaśamanāṃ māsāḥ. etāvān prasavakālaḥ, vaikārikam atāḥ paraṇi kuksāv avasthāmanāṁ garbhasya.
“Having arrived at the ninth month, if even one day more expires, they say it is the time of the delivery, up to [the end of] the tenth month. Staying in the womb after this [period] is abnormal.”

CS Śā 6.24: sa copasthitakāle janmani prasūtimārautoṣa parivrīṭtyāvāksirā niś- krāmaty āpatyaphaṇena . . . .
“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’ (sūtimāruṭa YS 3.83b; prasūtimāruṭa 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

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36 See also Cakrapāṇidatta’s commentary on CS Śū 17.74: yad uktām tantrāntare — prāṇāsrayasayajasa 'ṣau bindavo hṛdayāsrayāḥ iti . . . . aṣṭābindukasya tv avayavanāsū ’pi meṛtyur bhavatīti . . . .
37 For the other accounts for miscarriage, see Wujastyk, [1999].
38 M,S: vāpi
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delivery (sajvara in YS 3.83d),
or do they cite the simile of an arrow shot through the yoniyantra (YS 3.83cd).

As to the suffering of birth (janmavara 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: tatas tu kāle sampūrṇe prabalaṁ sūtimārūtaṁ //
VDhP 2.114.19ab: bhavaty avānimukho jantuḥ piḍāṁ anubhavan parām //
VDhP 2.114.19cd: adhomukhāḥ sāmkṣetena yonīdvāreṇa vāyūnā //
VDhP 2.114.20ab: niḥsāryate bāṇa iva yantracchidreṇa sajvaraḥ /
VDhP 2.114.20cd: yoniṁśkrumāṇati piḍāṁ carno kartanaṁ saṁbhām //
VDhP 2.114.21ab: prāṇottari ca tato jātaḥ tiṇaṁ śītāṁ asamāyam /
VDhP 2.114.21cd: janmāvārabhīḥhūtasya viṇāṇāṁ tasya naṣāyaṇi //

“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: sūtivātair adhobbhūto niḥsared yoniyantrataḥ /
AP 369.27cd: piḍāyamāna māsamātraṁ karaspṛśena duḥkhitāh //

“He will go out of the yoniyantra 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 klesāvahatān prāṇān punar labheta. “In that way, he will regain [his] life which was afflicted by pain.” Cakrapāṇidatta remarks on klesāvahatā here as follows: klesāvahatān tīti yoniyantrapidānādiklesāparāhatān (‘afflicted by pain’ means afflicted by the pain caused by the pressure of yoniyantra and so forth).

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

41 Further examples:

Padmapurāṇa (henceforth PP) 2.66.94ab: evam etan mahākāṣṭaṁ janmaduḥkhaṁ prakṛttitaṁ /
PP 2.66.94cd: puṁsāṁ ajaṁnadoṣena nānākarmavaśena ca //
PP 2.66.95ab: garbhasthasya matir yāśīt samjātasya praṇaśyati /
The yantracchidra (YS 3.83d) is referred to in the Mahābhārata (henceforth MBh) 1.176.34 in the scene of selecting Draupadī’s bridegroom.\textsuperscript{42}

MBh 1.176.34ab: idaṁ dhanur lakṣyam ime ca bāṇāḥ āṛṣyantu me pārthivāḥ sarva eva /
MBh 1.176.34cd: yantracchidrenābhhyatikramya lakṣyaṁ samarpayadhvam kha-gamair daśārdhaṁ //

“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-āyurvedic texts show that the word sajvara in YS 3.83d implies the suffering which a transmigrating being experiences in its new birth (janmajyāra or janmaduḥkha); 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’.\textsuperscript{43} It follows from this that the YS borrowed the notion of janmajyāra or janmaduḥkha 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.

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\textsuperscript{42} Prof. Muneo Tokunaga was kind enough to point out to me this reference.

\textsuperscript{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, 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.

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

YS 3.84ab: tasya śodhāḥ 45 sarīrāṁ tat sat vakṣo46 dhārayanti hi47 /
YS 3.84cd: sādāṅgāṁ tathāsthāṁ ca 48 saṣaṣṭhim vai satatrayam //
“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: sarīrāṇi sat
\[46\] A: tvacāṁ
\[47\] M,A,S: ca
\[48\] M,A,S: saha saṣṭyā
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The expression “the body [made up] of six [constituents]” (*śoḍhā  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 (*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 *śarīrake sthanāni* 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” (*dantolūkhala*) (CS Śa 7.6) is only described as *sthāla* in YS 3.85a.

2. In CS Śa 7.6: *dve jānunī, dve jānukapālike, dvāv ārunalakau, dvau bāhunalakau, dvāv āmsau, dve āmsapahake* “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 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: *trīṇi sasāṅśṭīṇi oṣṭhiṣāṭāṇi vedovādino bhāṣante; śalyatanstre tu trīṇy eva sāṭāṇi*. Cf. AHS Śa 3.8d-9ab; AS Śa 5.18.
In this expression, jānukapālīka apparently corresponds to jānukapāla, however, ārunalakau, bāhunalakau, aṃsau, and aṃsaphalake in CS Śā 7.6 seem to be condensed into only ārupalakāmsa in the YS, and the meaning of samudbhave in YS 3.87d is not clear.  

(3) In CS Śā 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 aiṣyaṃ 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.

(4) In CS Śā 7.6: dve hanumūlabandhane, ekāsthi nāsikāgaṇḍakūta-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 gaṇḍaṇaśāghanāsthiṅki, M,A,S: tanmūle dve lalāṭakṣi-gaṇḍe nāsa ghanāsthiṅki. 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 saptadaśāsthiṅi). 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.

YS 3.92d: The manas

A brief description of the heart (hrdaya) in CS Śā 7.8: hrdayaṃ cetanādhi-ṣṭhānaṃ 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 (buddhindriya), and the five motor organs (karmendriya). On the

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51 M, A, S: jānukapoloru-
52 J.J. Meyer suggested that samudbhave might correspond to aṃsaphalake in the CS. Meyer, op.cit., p.51,1.28-p.52.1.21.
53 Vijāneśvara 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.
54 Cf. Meyer, op.cit., p.51,1l.21-27.
55 Cf. BhS Śā 7.3: hrdayaṃ ekaṃ cetanāyatanam.
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: manaś 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 Šā. That is to say, the author of the YS may avoid referring to cetana, the seat of which is said to be hrdaya in CS Šā 7.8, again here, as in YS 3.72, 74, and insert the account of manas intentionally under the influence of the Śāmkhya 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 praṇa

YS 3.93ab: nābhīr ojo gudāma śukraṃśa65 sōṇitam śārikhakaṃ tathā /
YS 3.93cd: 56mūrdhā ca hrdayam kauṭhah prāṇasyāyatanānī tu//
“The places of vital breath (praṇa) 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 praṇa in CS Šā 7.9 and CS Śū 29.3.59 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 Śū 29.3c (śāikau). The navel (nābhī) is listed in YS 3.93a and CS Šā 7.9.60 In addition to the above list of YS 3.93, the nine orifices (nava chidra) are mentioned as the places of praṇa separately in YS 3.99cd after the enumeration of the minor divisions of the body (sthānas). The nine orifices (nava chidra) are described also in CS Šā 7.12 just after the

56 Śāmkyaśāstra 27: ubhayātmakam ātra manaḥ samkalpakaṃ indriyaṃ ca sūdharmyāt.
Manusmṛti 2.92ab: ekādaśam mano jñeyaṃ svagṛpenobhayātmakam.
57 B: śuklam
58 M.S: mūrdhāṃsakaṃṭhaḥhrdayaṃ, A: mūrdhā sakaṃṭhaḥhrdayaḥ
59 CS Šā 7.9: daśa prāṇayatanānī; tadyathā — mūrdhā, kaṇṭhaḥ, hrdayaṃ, nābhīḥ,
gudaṃ, bastih, ojaḥ, śukraṃ, sōṇitam, māṃsam iti. Cf. BhŚ Šū 17.1-2, Ša 7.3; AHS Ša 3.13 (jīvitadhāma); AS Ša 5.32.
CS Šū 29.3: dāsāvāyanatānānāḥḥ prāṇā yeva pratiśtiḥḥ / śāikau marmatrayaṃ
dkaṇṭhaḥ raktam śukraṃśa gudāma // In the list of CS Šū 29.3, marmatraya “the three vital points” mean the heart, the bladder, and the head. Cf.CS Šū 11.48; CS Ci 26; CS Si 9.3.
60 The navel (nābhī) is also listed as one of the internal organs in YS 3.94b and CS Šā 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 (*koṣṭhāṅga*) listed in CS Śa 7.10, the omentum (*vapāvahana*) is inexplicably divided into two organs in YS 3.94a: *vapā vapāvahananam.* 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 (*pākvasāya*), 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 (*ṣepha*), armpits (*ukhā*), angles of the mouth (*ṣṛkkαṇi*), 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. Cf. Meulenbeld, [1974] 457.
62 Cakrāpāṇidatta comments here that *vapāvahana* is the place of fat (*medāḥsthāna*). *Vapāvahana* is listed in CS Śa 3.6 as one of the entities which are born from mother (*mātṛja*).
63 M.A.S: *vapā vasāvahananam*
64 Vijñāneśvara 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. udarām ca gudāḥ koṣṭhyyo*, M: *guda eva ca. udarām ca gudau koṣṭhyyau*, A: *guda eva ca. uttarau ca gudau koṣṭhau(ṣṭhau)*, S: *gudam eva ca. udarān 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.
(vrkkau) 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 (śaṅkhaṅkau). The kidney has been properly listed as one of the internal organs in YS 3.94c as vrkkau. Such redundant enumerations of the temples and the kidney here can be due to textual confusion or to misunderstandings of the author. The word vrkkau (YS 3.97a) may be confused with srkkañī.

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

After describing a series of the large numbers of śirā, snāyu, dhamani, pesī and so forth (YS 3.100-103), 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.

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70 M.S: vrkkakau, A: vrkkako

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: śirā dhamanisamjñiakāh, M.A: śirā dhamanisamjñiitāh, S:Śirādhamanisamjñiitāh 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, ll.3-12.

72 M: yady apy eko ’nuvetyt esāṃ, A,S: yady apy eko ’nuvedaisām

73 M: bhāvanāṃ

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109
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 Śa 1.70-72. The author of the YS may pay attention to the connection between vāyavīyas and the ātmān, 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 Śa 7.17.

CS Śa 7.17: śarirāsvayās tu paramāṇubhṛbdhenaṃpārīsaṃkhyaḥ bhavanti, atibahu-
vādvātisauṣkṣyād atīndriyatvāc ca. teṣāṁ saṃyogabhaṅgā paramāṇānāṃ kāraṇāḥ vāyugaḥ karmasvabhāva 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 (vibhaṅga) of the atoms are caused by vāyu and the own nature (svabhāva) of kārmaṇa.”

(Meulenbeld, [1999-02] IA 46)

It is obvious that the above descriptions of CS Śa 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 Śa 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 Śa 7.18.

CS Śa 7.18: tad etac chariṇam saṃkhyātām anekāsvayavatām drṣṭam ekatvena saṅgaḥ, prthaktvamāpaṅgāḥ. . .

“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 Śa is the fact that such a sort of speculative descriptions of the ātmān, 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

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⁷⁴ J.J. Meyer suggests differently that YS 3.107c: ity etad asthiram corresponds to the last part of CS Śa 7.15: iti etac chariṇatattvam uktam. Meyer, op.cit., p.58 ll.27-29.
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YS 3.107cd: ity etad asthiram varṣma 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.\footnote{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.} 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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*3.165 is not found in M edition.
YS 3.117: The ātman’s birth and the world

YS 3.117ab: anādir ātmā kathitam tasyādiś ca śarīrakam
YS 3.117cd: ātmanaś ca jagat sarvaṃ 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 nāntarāttmanah
YS 3.125cd: samavāyī tu puruṣo moheccādveśakarmajah

“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 paramāttmanah
CS Śā 1.53cd: puruṣo rāśisamjñās tu moheccādveśakarmajah

“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. Agniveśa 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 Śa 1.3d: prabhavaḥ puruṣasya kah “What is the origin of the puruṣa ?” It is clear that prabhavaḥ (CS Śa 1.53a) is rendered into sambhūti (YS 3.125a), rāsi (CS Śa 1.53c) into samavāyī (YS 3.125c), and notably paramātman (CS Śa 1.53b) into antarātman (YS 3.125b). As to the compound moheccchādevākarmajah (YS 3.125d, CS Śa 1.53d), similar expressions can be seen also in the beginning part of CS Śa 5.10: moheccchādevākarmamālā pravṛttiḥ “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 to correspond to CS Śa 1.6cd and 1.7cd respectively.

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

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

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

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

It is likely that the author of the YS incorporates some points from the philosophical dialogue in CS Śa 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: moheccchādevājanitakarmajah moheccchādeva-karmajah. mohād dhi bhāveśu itchā deveśa ca bhavati, tataḥ pravṛttiḥ, pravṛttī dharmaḥdharmaṁ, tau ca śārīrāṃ janayato bhogārtam.
⁸¹ See also Vaiśeṣikasūtra 6.2.17: ichādevāsāpyviśe dharmādharmaḥyok pravṛttiḥ.
⁸² For the brahman, see also YS 3.69.
A similar and detailed account can be seen in the prose of CS Śa 5.4:

CS Śa 5.4: ... śaddhātavaḥ samuditāḥ loka	extsuperscript{83} iti śabdaṃ labhante. tad yathā prthivy āpas tejo vāyur akāśaṃ brahma cāvyaktam iti, etā eva ca śaddhātavaḥ samuditāḥ puruṣa iti śabdaṃ 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 Śa 5.10 in contents. The main point of CS Śa 5.10 is summarized that (continued from the earlier quotation: mohecchādvesakarmānmūla 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,	extsuperscript{84} 3) saṃśaya in YS 5.3.152ab as samdīghatati, 4) abhisamplava in YS 5.3.152cd as sampluta,	extsuperscript{85} 5) abhyavapāta is found in the content of YS 3.153ab, 6) vipratyaya in YS 3.153cd as viparītamaṇi, 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 samdeha, 4) abhisamplava in 12.24ab; 7) aviṣeṣa, 8) anupāya,

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	extsuperscript{83} Jādavaji Trikamji’s edition of the CS reads as puruṣa, Gaṅgādhara’s edition of the CS reads as loka.

	extsuperscript{84} M.S: udyoga

	extsuperscript{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.  

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: *evamṛttoo vinitātmā vitathābhiniveśavān /
YS 3.155cd: karmanā dvesamohabhīyām icchāya 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 *moheccādvesakarma-jaḥ* (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.

11. *drśṭasya daksinēnākṣṇā savyanavāgamā* (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 (*cīhna*) 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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1. **prāṇa**, 2. āpāṇa, 11. **drṣṭasya** dakṣiṇenākṣṇā 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** dakṣiṇenākṣṇā savyenāvagama, we can find a corresponding description in YS 3.149 as follows:

YS 3.149ab: mahābhūtāni satyāni yathātmāpi tathaiva hi
YS 3.149cd: ko nyathāikena netreṇa drṣṭam anyena paśyati //

“Just as the mahābhūtas are actual beings, so the ātmā 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 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.


(I put the same item-number of mine in the CS’s list to each corresponding item in meaning.)

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87 M.A: svargaḥ svapnāḥ ca bhāvānat. 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 Nyāyāsūtra 3.1.7: savyadrṣṭasyetareṇa praty-abhijñānat.

91 Antonella Comba has argued about the relation among the descriptions of ātmaliṅga 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: prānapādmeṣaunmesaṇiṣṭhānayanamivaḥindriyantaravikāraḥ sukha-duḥkhe icchādevasau prayatnaḥ cetyātmaliniḥ.
YS 3.177cd-180: Kṣetrajña, avyakta, and ātman

A kind of Sāmkhya theory is illustrated in the philosophical dialogue in CS Śā Chapter 1. In the CS’s Sāmkhya theory, the ātman is regarded as avyakta (CS Śā 1.61a); the twenty-four principles are enumerated, namely the five mahābhdrutas (khādīni), buddhi, avyakta, ahaṅkāra,93 the five sense organs (buddhindriyāśi), the five motor organs (karmendriyāśi), the manas, and the five objects of the sense organs (CS Śā 1.17, 63-64); all principles except avyakta are said to be kṣetra and avyakta (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 Sāmkhya theory differs from the orthodox Sāmkhya system94 based on the twenty-five principles in some important respects.95

YS 3.178-180 gives an account of the Sāmkhya 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 avyakta and as kṣetrajña (YS 3.179a); the five sense organs (buddhindriyāśi), their objects (arthaḥ), the manas, the five motor organs (karmendriyāśi), 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 Śā 1.68.

CS Śā 1.68ab: avyaktād vyaktatām yati vyaktād avyaktatām punaḥ /
CS Śā 1.68cd: rajastamobhyām āvīṣtāś 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: sattvam rajas tamas caiva guṇās tasyaiva kiritatāḥ /
YS 3.183cd: rajastamobhyām āvīṣtāś cakruvad bhrāmyate 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 Śā 3.63c.
94 The Sāmkhya theory found in SS Śā Chapter 1 is almost identical with the orthodox Sāmkhya system of the Sāmkhyakārikā. Cf. Johnston, [1937] 10-11.
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 Śārīrasthāna of the Carakasamhitā\(^ {97}\)

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.

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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: sattvēna rajasā caiva tamasā caiva mohitāḥ/cakravat parivartante hy ājnānāt jantavo bhṛśam//


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contents, we may summarize the main subjects of the CS Šā under the following headings: (1) Ātmaṇavāda 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, Agniveśa, who is said to be one of the six disciples of the sage Punarvasu Ātreyā and the first writer of the CS, raises twenty-three questions to Ātreyā about various aspects of the ātman or puruṣa, to which Ātreyā 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 Ātreyā 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, pumā (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 Agniveśa and Ātreyā. Karman 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 śarīraraḥitaḥ puruṣasabdārthatvena vācyas, and on CS Šā 1.39-42: puruṣa iva prakaraṇe ātmābhipretaḥ. 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 (avakṛnti) 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 5, 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’ (upādātte) 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 (dhatu), 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, 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 khudīkā (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 Śū. 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 (majja), 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 *et al.*, 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 *prayōktṛ*. 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’ (*śāriṇa*), 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 *śāriṇasthāna*, not *śāriṇasthāna*. Considering the whole idea of this volume inclusively, the word *śāriṇa* should not be interpreted only as “bodily” nor “relating to the body” here. 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.

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107 For the CS’s own definition of the word *śāriṇasthāna*, see CS Śā 8.69.

108 The arrow shows an indirect relationship between the topics.
Figure 1 The inclusive relation among the major topics in the CS Śā

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. 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, the notable feature of ātman theory seems to have been disappeared gradua-

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 Kāsyapasaṃhitā contain each Śā. The Śās of the BhS and the Kāsyapasaṃhitā 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 Śā. This may illustrate a part of the systematization process of Āyurveda.

Abbreviations


Texts

AHS: Āṣṭāṅgahṛdayam (The core of octopartite Āyurveda) composed by Vāgbhaṭa with the Commentaries (Sarvāṅgasundarā) of Aruṇadatta and (Āyurvedarasāyana) of Hemādri. collated by Anā Śāreneśvara Kūṇte and Kṛṣṇa Rāmchandra Śāstrī Navare, ed. by Bhīsagāchārya Hariśāstrī Parāḍakara Vaidyā, Jaikrishnadas Ayurveda Series No.52. Varanasi, Delhi, 1982.


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


SS: Suśrutasamhītā of Suśruta with the Nibandhasaṅgraha Commentary of Śrī Dalhanāchārya and the Nyāyacandrikā Paṇḍikā of Śrī Gayadāsāchārya on Nidānasthāna. ed. from the Beginning to the 9th Adhyāya of Cikitsāsthamā by Vaidya Jādevji Trikamjī Āchārya and the rest by Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya “Kāvyatirtha” Introduction by P. V. Sharma, Varanasi, Delhi, 1992.
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VDhP: The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇam. Delhi, 1985.

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

YS


B: The Yājñavalkyaṃṛtī with the Commentary Bālaṅkṛita of Visvāpurūpāchārya. ed. by Mahamahopadhyaya T.Ganapati Sastri. Trivandrum, 1921-22; repr. 1982, New Delhi. (I mainly used this edition in this paper.)


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