

On the Nature of the Medical Passages in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti**

Tsutomu YAMASHITA

1. Introduction

In the *Yatidharma* section of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (henceforth YS), there are detailed descriptions of the constituents and developmental processes of the human body. We find similar descriptions in the *Viṣṇusmṛti* (henceforth VS) Chapter 69. Modern scholars have directed their attention to these anatomical and embryological passages in the *Dharmaśāstras*. Julius Jolly pointed out that the information on anatomy and embryology in the YS and the VS corresponded to the medical doctrine of *Āyurveda*.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 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.

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

² Hoernle, [1907].

³ Meyer, [1928].

sources of these accounts in āyurvedic texts. Since J.J. Meyer has fully investigated the relation between the YS and the VS concerning the descriptions of the body parts,⁴ I will not enter into this topic in this paper.

2. The textual formation of the *Yatidharma* section of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*

As a beginning, I would like to show the textual formation and topics of the *Yatidharma* section of the YS.⁵ 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 (*Yatidharmaprakaraṇa*)

YS	Topics
3.56-66	Rules for ascetics
3.67-74	Birth of the <i>ātman</i>
3.75-83	Monthly development of a foetus, and delivery
3.84-107	Constituent parts of the human body
3.108-206	Various aspects of the <i>ātman</i>

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

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

⁴ Meyer, *op. cit.*

⁵ Hereafter, for the text of the YS, I will mainly use the text with Viśvarūpa's commentary known as *Bālakṛīḍā* (henceforth B). In some cases, I will show important variants in the other editions, namely the text with Vijñāneśvara's commentary known as *Mitākṣara* (henceforth M), the text with Aparārka's commentary (henceforth A), and Stenzler's text (henceforth S).

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 2 YS 3.67-74

YS	Topics	CS Śā
3.67	The simile of sparks	
3.68	Behaviors of the <i>ātman</i>	
3.69	Synonyms for the <i>ātman</i>	4.8
3.70	Receiving the five <i>mahābhūtas</i>	4.8
3.71	The doctrine of five fires	
3.72ab	Semen (<i>śukra</i>) and blood (<i>śoṇita</i>)	Cf. 8.17
3.72cd	The five <i>mahābhūtas</i> and the sixth element	1.16, 4.6
3.73-74	Entities born from the <i>ātman</i>	3.10

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 akṣaram*⁷ *kartā boddhā brahma guṇī vaśī* /

YS 3.69cd: *ajāḥ śarīragrahaṇāt sa jāta iti kīrtyate* //

“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: *sargādaḥ sa yathākāśam vāyurṇ jyotir jalam mahīm* /

YS 3.70cd: *srjaty ekottaraguṇāms tathādatte ’bhavann*⁸ *api* //

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: *akṣaraḥ*

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 Śā, 4.8 in prose.

CS Śā 4.8 (the first segment): ...*sa hi hetuḥ kāraṇaṃ nimittam akṣaraṃ kartā mantā veditā boddhā draṣṭā dhātā brahmā viśvakarmā viśvarūpaḥ puruṣaḥ prabhavo 'vyayo nityo guṇī grahaṇaṃ pradhānam avyaktaṃ jīvo jñāḥ pudgalaś cetanāvān vibhur 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 *Sāṃkhya* system correspond to the following part of CS Śā 4.8.

CS Śā 4.8 (continued from the above quotation): *sa guṇopādānakāle 'ntarikṣaṃ pūrvam anyebhyo guṇebhya upādatte. yathā pralayātyaye sisṛkṣur bhūtāny akṣarabhūta ātmā sattvopādānaḥ pūrvataram ākāśaṃ srjati, tataḥ krameṇa vyaktataraguṇān dhātūn vāyvādikāṃś caturah; tathā dehagrahaṇe 'pi pravartamānaḥ pūrvataram ākāśam evopādatte, tataḥ krameṇa vyaktataraguṇān dhātūn vāyvādikāṃś 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.”

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

YS 3.72: The sixth element

The five great elements (*mahābhūtas*) and the sixth element as the constituents of the *ātman* are referred to in YS 3.72.

YS 3.72ab: ⁹ *strīpumsayoḥ saṃprayoge viśuddhe śukraśoṇite*¹⁰ /

YS 3.72cd: ¹¹ *pañca dhātūn svayaṃ ṣaṣṭha ādatte yugapat prabhuḥ* //

“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 *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 Śā 1.16ab: *khādayaś cetanāṣaṣṭhā dhātavaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ* /

CS Śā 1.16cd: *cetanādhātur apy ekaḥ smṛtaḥ puruṣasaṃjñakaḥ* //

“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 antarikṣavāyavagnitoyabhūmivikāraś cetanādhiṣṭhānabhūtaḥ. evam anayā yuktyā pañcamahābhūtavikārasamudāyātmako garbhaś cetanādhiṣṭhānabhūtaḥ, sa hy asya ṣaṣṭho 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 *brahman* is referred to in place of *cetanā*.¹²

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

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

⁹ M, S: *strīpumsayos tu saṃyoge*, A: *strīpumsayoś ca saṃyoge*

¹⁰ B: *śuklaśoṇite*

¹¹ S: *pañcadhātu*

¹² See also the *Bhelasamhitā* (henceforth BhS) Śā 5.11; CS Sū 11.23,32, 25.15; CS Vi 8.49; CS Śā 5.4; cf. *Manusmṛti* 1.16, 17. Cf. Roṣu, [1978] 160 and Meulenbeld, [1999-02] BII 76 footnote 2.

the *manas* in āyurvedic texts.¹³ According to this āyurvedic 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: *indriyāṇi manas prāṇo jñānam āyuh sukham dhṛtiḥ* /
 YS 3.73cd: ¹⁴*dhāraṇāpreraṇe duḥkham* ¹⁵*icchāhaṅkāram eva ca* /
 YS 3.74ab: ¹⁶*prayatnākṛtirūpāṇi svaradveṣau bhavābhavau* /
 YS 3.74cd: ¹⁷*tasyedam ātmajaṃ sarvaṃ anāder ādim icchataḥ* //

“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: ... *garbhasyātmajāni ... tadyathā tāsu tāsu yoniṣūtpattir āyur ātmajñānaṃ mana indriyāṇi prāṇāpānau preraṇaṃ dhāraṇaṃ ākṛtisvaravarṇaviśeṣāḥ sukhaduḥkhe icchādveṣau cetanā dhṛtir buddhiḥ smṛtir ahaṅkāraḥ prayatnaś ceti ātmajāni*.

Ātmajñāna in CS Śā 3.10 is rendered into only *jñāna* in YS 3.73b. Among the items of *ākṛtisvaravarṇaviśeṣa* 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 *bhavābhavau*. On the other hand, among the items listed in CS Śā 3.10, *tāsu tāsu yoniṣūtpatti* (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: *mātṛtaḥ pitṛta ātmataḥ sātmyato rasataḥ sattvato ity etebhyo bhāvebhyah samuditebhyo garbhaḥ sambhavati*. “A foetus is formed from the combination of these entities, [*i.e.*,] one being born from mother, father, *ātman*, suitability (*sātmya*), essence of food (*rasa*), and *sattva* (*i.e.*, *manas*).” Cf. BhS Śā 6.1; the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (henceforth SS) Śā 3.33; the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā* (henceforth AHS) Śā 3.4c-8c (3.5c says *caitana* instead of *ātmaja*); the *Aṣṭāṅgasan̄graha* (henceforth AS) Śā 5.7-15. Cf. *Agnipurāṇa* 396.32-33; *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* 115.14d-15.

¹⁴ M,A,S: *dhāraṇā preraṇaṃ*

¹⁵ M,A,S: *icchāhaṅkāra*

¹⁶ M,A,S: *prayatna ākṛtir varṇaḥ*

¹⁷ M,A,S: *tasyaitad*

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 3 YS3.75-83

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

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.¹⁸ 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

¹⁸ For example, *Mahābhārata* 12.308.116-117; *Padmapurāṇa* 2.66.30; *Garuḍapurāṇa* 2.32. 23-25; *Garbhopaniṣad* 3; *Gauḍapādabhāṣya* on *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 43; *Candrānandavṛtti* on *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 5.2.19; *Samyutta Nikāya* 10.1.3; *Milindapañha* Trenckner 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.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 sarvaḡuṇavān garbhatvam āpannaḡ prathame māsi saṃmūrcchitaḡ sarvadhātukaluṣīkṛtaḡ khetabhūto bhavaty avyaktavigrahaḡ sadasad-bhūtāṅgāvayavaḡ.*

“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: *dvitīye māsi ghaṇaḡ saṃpadyate piṇḡaḡ peśy arbudaṃ vā. tatra ghaṇaḡ puruṣaḡ, peśī strī, arbudaṃ napuṃsakam.*

“In the second month, [he] becomes a *ghana*, a *piṇḡa*, a *peśī*, or an *arbuda*. There, the *ghana* is a male, the *peśī* a female, and the *arbuda* a hermaphrodite.”

CS Śā 4.11: *tṛtīye māsi sarvendriyāṇi sarvāṅgāvayavāś ca yaugapadyenābhinir-vartante.*

“In the third month, all the sense organs and all the body parts develop simultaneously.”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 saṃkledabhūto dhātuvimūrcchitaḡ /*

YS 3.75cd: *māsy arbudaṃ dvitīye tu tṛtīye ’ṛgendriyair yutaḡ //*

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

¹⁹ Cf. Suneson, *op.cit.*, 113-114.

²⁰ There are similar descriptions in the other āyurvedic texts. For example, SS Śā 3.18: *tatra prathame māsi kalalaṃ jāyate. dvitīye śītoṣmānilair abhiprapacya-mānānāṃ mahābhūtānāṃ saṃghāto ghaṇaḡ saṃjāyate yadi piṇḡaḡ pumān, strī cet peśī, napuṃsakaṃ ced arbudaṃ iti. tṛtīye hastapādaśirasāṃ pañca piṇḡakā nirvar-tante ’ṛgapratyaṅgavibhāgaś ca sūkṣmo bhavati. ...* (SS Śā 3.18 is partly quoted in Vijñāneśvara’s commentary of the YS.)

AHS Śā 1.37ab: *avyaktaḡ prathame māsi saptāhāt kalalī bhavet.*

AHS Śā 1.49cd-50a: *dvitīye māsi kalalād ghaṇaḡ peśy athavā ’rbudaṃ/ pumstrīklībāḡ kramāt tebhyaḡ.*

AHS Śā 1.54c-55: *māse’sya tṛtīye gātrapañcakam/ mūrdhā dve sakthīnī bāhū sarva-sūkṣmāṅgaṇma ca/ samam eva hi mūrdhādyair jñānaṃ ca sukhaduḡkhayaḡ//*

AS Śā 2.7: *tatra prathame māse kalalaṃ jāyate. dvitīye ghaṇaḡ peśy arbudaṃ vā tebhyaḡ kramāt pumstrīnapuṃsakāni.*

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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,²¹ and further, no sexual distinction is made in the YS. It should be noted that both the YS and the CS do not mention the word *kalala* as an embryonic developmental stage here.

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

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

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

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

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

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 evāsya prathamam sambhavati. tatra sarve śarīrapradeśās 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.

YS 3.78cd: *ātmā grhṇāty ataḥ*²² *sarvaṃ tṛtīye spandate tataḥ* //
 “The *ātman* assumes all [of these constituent elements] during the third [month],
 and then begins to move.”

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

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

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

CS Śā 4.15: (continued from the above *garbhaḥ spandate*) *prārthayate ca
 janmāntarānubhūtaṃ yat kiṃcit, tad dvaihrdayyam ācakṣate vṛddhāḥ.
 mātṛjaṃ cāsya hrdayaṃ mātṛhrdayenābhisaṃbaddhaṃ bhavati rasavāhinībhiḥ
 saṃvāhinībhiḥ; tasmāt tayos tābhir bhaktiḥ saṃspandate.
 tac caiva kāraṇaṃ avekṣamāṇā na dvaihrdayyasya vimānitaṃ garbhaṃ icchanti
 kartum. vimānane hy asya dṛśyate vināśo vikṛtir vā.
 samānayogakṣemā hi tadā bhavati garbheṇa keṣucid artheṣu mātā.
 tasmāt priyakitābhyāṃ garbhīṇiṃ 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*)²³
 moves in consonance for the two through these [vessels]. With a careful look at
 that reason, people try not to do what is disagreeable to the foetus of [the state]
dvaihrdayya, for it dies or suffers deformity if it is treated disagreeably [in this
 stage]. In fact, the mother shares welfare with the foetus concerning whatever
 things [that may occur] during that time. Therefore, experienced people attend
 on a pregnant woman particularly with favourite and healthy things.”²⁴*

²² M,A,S: *ajāḥ*

²³ Cakrapāṇidatta comments here: *bhaktiḥ icchā*.

²⁴ In the SS, “*dvaihrdaya*” or “*dauhrda*” is considered as the condition not during the
 third month, but during the fourth month, and in the AHS considered as the condition
 during the second month.

SS Śā 3.18: ... *dvaihrdayam ca nārīṃ dauhrdinīm ācakṣate, dauhrdavimānanāt
 kubjaṃ kuṇḍinīṃ khaṇḍjaṃ jaḍaṃ vāmanaṃ vikṛtākṣamanakṣaṃ vā nārī sutaṃ janayati,
 tasmāt sā yadyad icchet tattat tasyai dāpayet, labdhadauhrdā hi vīryavantaṃ cirāyusaṃ
 ca putraṃ janayati*.

AHS Śā 1.52cd: *mātṛjaṃ hy asya hrdayaṃ mātuś ca hrdayena tat* //

AHS Śā 1.53ab: *sambaddhaṃ tena garbhīṇyā neṣṭaṃ śraddhāvimānanam* /

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

YS 3.79ab: ²⁵ *dauhrdasyāpradānena garbho doṣam avāpnuyāt /*

YS 3.79cd: *vairūpyaṃ maraṇaṃ vāpi tasmāt kāryaṃ priyaṃ 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 (*dauhrda*). Therefore, what is favourite to the woman should be done [during the “double-hearted” state].”

One can safely infer that the word *dauhrda* (*dohada*) in YS 3.79a comes from *dvaihrdaya* 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: *sthairyam caturthe tv aṅgānām pañcame śoṇitodbhavaḥ /*

YS 3.80cd: *ṣaṣṭhe balasya varṇasya nakharomṇām ca saṃbhavaḥ //*

“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 Śā 4.20, 21, and 22.

CS Śā 4.20: *caturthe māsi sthīratvam āpadyate garbhaḥ, tasmāt tadā garbhīṇī gurugātrratvam adhikam āpadyate viśeṣeṇa.*

“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: *pañcame māsi garbhasya māṃsaśoṇitopacayo bhavaty adhikam anyebhyo māsebhyaḥ, tasmāt tadā garbhīṇī kārśyam āpadyate viśeṣeṇa.*

“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: *ṣaṣṭhe māsi garbhasya balavarṇopacayo bhavaty adhikam anyebhyo māsebhyaḥ, tasmāt tadā garbhīṇī balavarṇahānim āpadyate viśeṣeṇa.*

AHS Śā 1.53cd: *deyam apy ahitaṃ tasyai hitopahitam alpakaṃ //*

AHS Śā 1.54ab: *śraddhāvighātād garbhasya vikṛtiś cyutir eva vā /*

also AS Śā 2.11, 12. For *dvaihrdaya* or *dohada*, see Lüders, [1898] and Jolly, [1899].

²⁵ A,S, “ṇ” of M: *dohadasyāpradānena*

“In the sixth month, strength and colour of the foetus grow more than in any other months. Therefore, the pregnant woman loses her strength and colour especially at that time.”²⁶

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

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

YS 3.81ab: ²⁸ *manasā cetasā yukto nāḍisnāyusirā tataḥ /*

YS 3.81cd: *saptame* ²⁹ *cāṣṭame caiva* ³⁰ *tvacāvān smṛtimān api //*

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

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

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

SS Śā 3.18: ... *caturthe sarvāṅgapratyaṅgavibhāgaḥ pravvyakto bhavati, garbhahṛdayappravvyaktibhāvāc cetanādhātur abhivyakto bhavati, kasmāt tatsthānatvāt; tasmād garbhaś caturthe māsya abhiprāyam indriyārtheṣu karoti,...*

SS Śā 3.30: *pañcame manaḥ pratibuddhataraṃ bhavati, ṣaṣṭhe buddhiḥ,*

AHS Śā 1.57ab: *caturthe vyaktatāṅgānāṃ cetanāyāś ca pañcame /*

AHS Śā 1.57cd: *ṣaṣṭhe snāyusirāromabalavarṇanakhavacām //*

AS Śā 2.13: *caturthe 'ṅgapratyaṅgavibhāgaḥ pravvyakto garbhaś ca sthiro bhavati. pañcame manaḥ pratibuddhataraṃ bhavati māṃsaśoṇitopacayaś ca. ṣaṣṭhe keśaromanakhāsthisnāyvādīny abhivyaktāni balavarṇopacayaś ca...*

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

²⁸ M,A,S: *manaścaitanya yukto 'sau nāḍisnāyusirāyutaḥ*

²⁹ A: *vāṣṭame vāpi*

³⁰ M,A,S: *tvāṇmāṃsasasmṛtimān*

seven-months-old foetus and its mother in CS Śā 4.23.³¹ 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 3.81.³²

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

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

YS 3.82ab: ³³ *punar garbhaṃ punar dhātrīm ojas tasya pradhāvati /*

YS 3.82cd: *aṣṭame māsy ato garbho jātaḥ prāṇair vimucyate*³⁴ //

“His *ojas* rushes into the foetus and further into the mother in the eighth month. Hence, the foetus born in the eighth month is disunited from 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 Sū 17.74 into one verse.

CS Śā 4.24: *aṣṭame māsi garbhaś ca mātṛto garbhataś ca mātā rasahāriṇībhiḥ saṃvāhinībhir muhurmuḥur ojaḥ parasparata ādadāte garbhasyāsampūrṇatvāt. tasmāt tadā garbhiṇī muhurmuḥur mudā yuktā bhavati muhurmuḥuś ca mlānā, tathā garbhaḥ; tasmāt tadā garbhasya janma vyāpattimad bhavaty ojaso 'navasthitatvāt. . . .*

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

³¹ CS Śā 4.23: *saptame māsi garbhaḥ sarvair bhāvair āpyāyyate, tasmāt tadā garbhiṇī sarvākārāiḥ 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 Śā 3.30: . . . *saptame sarvāṅgapratyaṅgavibhāgaḥ pravyaktataraḥ, . . .*

AHS Śā 1.58ab: *sarvaiḥ sarvāṅgasampūrṇo bhāvaiḥ puṣyati saptame /*

AS Śā 2.13: . . . *saptame sarvāṅgasampūrṇatā.*

³³ M,S: *punar dhātrīm punar garbham*

³⁴ M,A,S: *viyujyate*

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: . . . *aṣṭame 'sthirībhavaty ojaḥ, tatra jātaś cen na jīven nirojastvān nairṛtabhāgatvāc ca, . . .*

AHS Śā 1.62cd: *ojo 'ṣṭame saṃcarati mātāputrau muḥuḥ kramāt //*

AHS Śā 1.63ab: *tena tau mlānamuditau tatra jāto na jīvati /*

AHS Śā 1.63cd: *śiśurojo 'navasthānān nārī saṃsayitā bhavet //*

CS Sū 17.74ab: *hṛdi tiṣṭhati yac chuddhaṃ raktam īṣatsapītakam /*

CS Sū 17.74cd: *ojaḥ śarīre saṃkhyātāṃ tannāśān nā vinaśyati //*

“That which is clean, red, and slightly yellowish, and which resides in the heart, is called *ojas* in the body. If it is lost, a human being will perish.”³⁶

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 prabalaiḥ sūtimārutaiḥ /*

YS 3.83cd: *niḥsāryate bāṇa iva yantracchidreṇa sajvaraḥ //*

“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 ekadivasātikrānte 'pi navamaṃ māsam upādāya prasavakālam ity āhur ādaśamān māsāt. etāvān prasavakālāḥ, vaikārikam ataḥ paraṃ kuṣāv avasthānaṃ garbhasya.*

“Having arrived at the ninth month, if even one day more expires, they say it is the time of the delivery, upto [the end of] the tenth month. Staying in the womb after this [period] is abnormal.”

CS Śā 6.24: *sa copasthitakāle janmani prasūtimārutayogāt parivṛttyāvākśirā niṣkrāmaty apatyapathena, . . .*

“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’ (*sūtimāruta* YS 3.83b; *prasūtimāruta* CS Śā 6.24). However, the CS and the other āyurvedic texts do not directly refer to the pain which a foetus feels at the time of

³⁶ See also Cakrapāṇidatta’s commentary on CS Sū 17.74: *yad uktaṃ tantrāntare — prāṇāśrayasyaujaso 'ṣṭau bindavo hṛdayāśrayāḥ iti . . . aṣṭabindukasya tv avayavanāśe 'pi mṛtyur bhavatīti . . .*

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 *yoniyantara* (YS 3.83cd).

As to the suffering of birth (*janmajvara* or *janmaduḥkha*), Prof. M. Hara has directed our attention to medieval religious texts which describe the loss of the memory of previous life due to the pain a foetus suffers going out of the mother's womb through a narrow birth-canal.⁴⁰ Among these texts, the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (henceforth VDhP) offers a passage parallel to YS 3.83cd.

VDhP 2.114.18cd: *tatas tu kāle sampūrṇe prabalaḥ sūtimārutaiḥ* //
 VDhP 2.114.19ab: *bhavaty avānimukho jantuḥ pīdām anubhavan parām* //
 VDhP 2.114.19cd: *adhomukhaḥ saṃkatena yonidvāreṇa vāyunā* //
 VDhP 2.114.20ab: *niḥsāryate bāṇa iva yantracchidreṇa sajvaraḥ* //
 VDhP 2.114.20cd: *yoniniṣkramaṇāt pīdām carmotkartanasamṇibhām* //
 VDhP 2.114.21ab: *prāpnoti ca tato jātaḥ tīvraṃ śītam asaṃśayam* //
 VDhP 2.114.21cd: *janmajvarābhibhūtasya vijñānaṃ 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 peeling 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 another example:

AP 369.27ab: *sūtivātair adhobhūto niḥsared yoniyantратаḥ* //
 AP 369.27cd: *pīḍyamāno māsamātraṃ karasparśena duḥkhitaḥ* //
 “He will go out of the *yoniyantara* 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 Śā 8.42 in the accounts of newborn care: *tathā sa kleśavihatān prāṇān punar labheta*. “In that way, he will regain [his] life which was afflicted by pain.” Cakrapāṇidatta remarks on *kleśavihata* here as follows: *kleśavihatān iti yoniyantrapīḍanādikleśaparāhatān* (‘afflicted by pain’ means afflicted by the pain caused by the pressure of *yoniyantara* and so forth).

⁴⁰ Hara, [1977], [1980], and [1987].

⁴¹ Further examples:

Padmapurāṇa (henceforth PP) 2.66.94ab: *evam etan mahākaṣṭhaṃ janmaduḥkhaṃ prakīrtitam* //

PP 2.66.94cd: *pumśam ajñānadoṣeṇa nānakarmavaśena ca* //

PP 2.66.95ab: *garbhasthasya matir yāsīt saṃjātasya 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.⁴²

MBh 1.176.34ab: *idaṃ dhanur lakṣyam ime ca bāṇāḥ śṛṇvantu me pārthivāḥ sarva eva /*

MBh 1.176.34cd: *yantracchidreṇābhyatikramya lakṣyaṃ samarpayadhvaṃ khagamair daśārdhaiḥ //*

"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 (*janmajvara* 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'.⁴³ It follows from this that the YS borrowed the notion of *janmajvara* 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.

PP 2.66.95cd: *saṃmūrchitasya duḥkhena yoniyantraprapīdanāt //*

PP 2.66.96ab: *bāhyena vāyunā tasya mohasaṅgena dehinām /*

PP 2.66.96cd: *sprṣṭamātreṇa ghoreṇa jvaraḥ samupajāyate //*

PP 2.66.97ab: *tena jvareṇa mahatā mahāmohaḥ prajāyate /*

PP 2.66.97cd: *saṃmūḍhasya smṛtibhramśaḥ śighraṃ saṃjāyate punaḥ //*

*Garbhopaniṣad*4:... *atha yonidvāraṃ saṃprāpto yantreṇāpīḍyamāno mahatā duḥkhena jātamātrās tu vaiṣṇavena vāyunā saṃsprṣṭas tadā na smarati janma-maraṇāni na ca karma śubhāśubhaṃ vindati.*

⁴² Prof. Muneo Tokunaga was kind enough to point out to me this reference.

⁴³ The word *yantra* may also mean 'surgical instrument'. However this usage at least at the normal delivery is not found in the āyurvedic texts.

5. The constituent parts of the human body (YS 3.84-107)

CS Śā Chapter 7 as a whole is devoted to anatomical enumerations. The names and numbers of the constituents of the human body are listed in detail in this chapter. As demonstrated by J.J. Meyer,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.

⁴⁴ Meyer, [1928] 49-58.

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 *prāṇa*
3.94-95 The internal organs
3.96-99b The minor parts of the body (*sthāna*)
3.99cd The nine orifices (*chidra*)
3.100ab *Śirā*:700 in number, the ligaments
(*snāyu*):900
3.100cd *Dhamanī*:200, the muscles (*peśī*):500
3.101 *Śirā dhamanisaṃjñākā*:2,900,956
3.102ab The beard and hair (*śmaśrukeśa*):
300,000
3.102cd The vital points (*marman*):107,
the joints (*saṃdhi*):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 *añjalīs*
rasa:9, water:10, feces:7, blood:8, *śleṣman*:6,
pitta:5, urine:4, *vasā*:3, *medas*:2, *majjā*:1,
the head:0.5, *śleṣmaujas*:0.5, *retas*:0.5
3.107cd Liberation (*mokṣa*)

List 2 CS Śā 7 in proses except 7.19-20

- 7.1-3** Introduction, Agniśeśa'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 num-
ber:360
7.7 The five seats of senses, the five sense or-
gans, the five motor organs
7.8 The heart (*hṛdaya*)
7.9 The ten places of *prāṇa* (*prāṇāyatana*)
7.10 The fifteen kinds of internal organs
7.11 The minor divisions of the body
(*pratyāṅga*)
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 in-
ferred."
The ligaments (*snāyu*):900 in number, *śirā*:700,
dhamanī:200, the muscles (*peśī*):400, the vital
points (*marman*):107, the joints (*saṃdhi*):200,
the minute tips of the veins:29956, the hair
(*keśa*)+the beard (*śmaśru*)+the hair of the
body (*loma*):29956
7.15 The entities measured by *añjalīs*
water:10, *rasa*:9, blood:8, feces:7, *śleṣman*:6,
pitta 5, urine:4, *vasā*:3, *medas*:2, marrow
(*majjā*):1, brain (*mastiṣka*):0.5, *śukra*:0.5,
ślaishmikasya ojas:0.5
7.16 The five *mahābhūtas*
7.17 The infinitesimal particle (*paramāṇu*)
7.18 Attachment (*saṅga*) and emancipation
(*apavarga*)
7.19-20 (*ślokas*) Physician who knows the num-
ber of all components of the body

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

YS 3.84ab: *tasya śoḍhā*⁴⁵ *śarīraṃ tat śaṭ tvaco*⁴⁶ *dhārayanti hi*⁴⁷ /
YS 3.84cd: *śaḍaṅgāni tathāsthānāṃ ca*⁴⁸ *śaṣaṣṭiṃ vai śatatrayam* //
"The six [layers of] skin, the six divisions of the body, and the three hundred and
sixty bones maintain his body [made up] of the six [constituents]."

⁴⁵ M,A,S: *śarīrāṇi śaṭ*

⁴⁶ A: *tvacaṃ*

⁴⁷ M,A,S: *ca*

⁴⁸ M,A,S: *saha ṣaṣṭyā*

The expression “the body [made up] of six [constituents]” (*ṣoḍhā 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 Śā 7.4 and the three hundred and sixty bones also in CS Śā 7.6.⁴⁹ Incidentally, the SS says that there are seven layers of skin in the human body (SS Śā 4.4) and argues that the total number of bones is three hundred from the viewpoint of surgical science (*śalyatantra*) (SS Śā 5.18).⁵⁰

According to CS Śā 7.5, the six major divisions (*aṅga*) of the body are upper limbs (*bāhu*), lower limbs (*sakthi*), head (*śiras*), neck (*grīva*), and trunk (*antarādhi*). The fifty-six minor divisions (*pratyaṅga*) of the body are enumerated one by one in CS Śā 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 sthānāni* in YS 3.96-99ab. We will come back to this topic later.

YS 3.84d-90: Bones

In the prose of CS Śā 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 Śā 7.6) is only described as *sthāla* in YS 3.85a.

(2) In CS Śā 7.6: *dve jānunī, dve jānukapālike, dvāv ūrunalakau, dvau bāhunalakau, dvāv aṃsau, dve aṃsaphalake* “There are two [bones] of the knees, two [bones] of the kneecaps, two long bones of the thighs, two long bones of the arms, two [bones] of the shoulders, two [bones] of the shoulder blades.” The corresponding expression of this passage is YS 3.87ab: *dve*

⁴⁹ For the six layers of skin, see also BhS Śā 7.1; AS Śā 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 Śā 5.18: *trīṇi saṣaṣṭīṇy asthiśatāni vedavādino bhāṣante; śalyatantre tu trīṇy eva śatāni*. Cf. AHS Śā 3.8d-9ab; AS Śā 5.18.

dve ⁵¹*jānukapāloruphalakāṃsasamudbhave*. In this expression, *jānukapālika* apparently corresponds to *jānukapāla*, however, *ūrunalakau*, *bāhunalakau*, *aṃsau*, and *aṃsaphalake* in CS Śā 7.6 seem to be condensed into only *ūruphalakāṃsa* in the YS, and the meaning of *samudbhave* in YS 3.87d is not clear.⁵²

(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 aikyaṃ hi tathā hanuḥ*, M,S: *jatru ekaikaṃ tathā hanuḥ*, A: *jatru ekaṃ ca tathā hanuḥ*. The number of each bone is not clear in any readings of the YS.⁵³

(4) In CS Śā 7.6: *dve hanumūlabandhane, ekāsthi nāsikāgaṇḍakūṭa-lalāṭaṃ* “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 lalāṭāsthi gaṇḍanāśāghanāsthikā*, M,A,S: *tanmūle dve lalāṭākṣi-gaṇḍe nāsā ghanāsthikā*. The text of B is fairly similar to the above expression of the CS. In the reading of M, A, and S, *akṣi*, 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 sapṭadaśāsthīni*). 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 (*hṛdaya*) in CS Śā 7.8: *hṛdayaṃ cetanādhi-ṣṭhānam ekaṃ* “There is one heart, which is the seat of *cetanā*.” follows after each enumeration of the five seats of senses (*indriyādhiṣṭhāna*), the five sense organs (*buddhīndriya*), and the five motor organs (*karmendriya*).⁵⁵ On the

⁵¹ M, A, S: *jānukapāloru-*

⁵² J.J. Meyer suggested that *samudbhave* might correspond to *aṃsaphalake* in the CS. Meyer, *op.cit.*, p.51, l.28–p.52, l.21.

⁵³ Vijñāneśvara 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, l.28–p.52, l.21.

⁵⁴ Cf. Meyer, *op.cit.*, p.51, ll.21–27.

⁵⁵ Cf. BhS Śā 7.3: *hṛdayaṃ ekaṃ cetanāyatanam*.

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 *cetanā*, 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 *Sāṃkhya* system.⁵⁶ 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: *nābhir oja gudaṃ śukraṃ*⁵⁷ *śoṇitaṃ śaṅkhakau tathā /*

YS 3.93cd: *58 mūrdhā ca hṛdayaṃ kaṇṭhaḥ prāṇasyāyatanāni tu //*

“The places of vital breath (*prāṇa*) are the navel, *ojas*, intestine (or anal region), semen, blood, the two temples, the head, the heart, and the throat.”

We find two similar lists of the ten places of *prāṇa* in CS Śā 7.9 and CS Sū 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 (*śaṅkhakau*) and CS Sū 29.3c (*śaṅkau*). The navel (*nābhi*) is listed in YS 3.93a and CS Śā 7.9.⁶⁰ 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 (*sthānas*). The nine orifices (*nava chidra*) are described also in CS Śā 7.12 just after the

⁵⁶ *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 27: *ubhayātmakam atra manaḥ saṃkalpakam indriyaṃ ca sādharṃyāt. Manusmṛti* 2.92ab: *ekādaśaṃ mano jñeyaṃ svaguṇenobhayātmakam.*

⁵⁷ B: *śuklaṃ*

⁵⁸ M,S: *mūrdhāmsakaṇṭhahṛdayaṃ*, A: *mūrdhā sakaṇṭhahṛdayaḥ*

⁵⁹ CS Śā 7.9: *daśa prāṇāyatanāni; tadyathā — mūrdhā, kaṇṭhaḥ, hṛdayaṃ, nābhiḥ, gudaṃ, bastiḥ, ojaḥ, śukraṃ, śoṇitaṃ, māṃsam iti.* Cf. BhS Sū 17.1-2, Śā 7.3; AHS Śā 3.13 (*jīvitadhāma*); AS Śā 5.32.

CS Sū 29.3: *daśaivāyatanānyāhuḥ prāṇā yeṣu pratiṣṭhitāḥ / śaṅkhau marmatrayaṃ kaṇṭho raktaṃ śukraujasī gudaṃ //* In the list of CS Sū 29.3, *marmatraya* “the three vital points” mean the heart, the bladder, and the head. Cf. CS Sū 11.48; CS Ci 26; CS Si 9.3.

⁶⁰ The navel (*nābhi*) is also listed as one of the internal organs in YS 3.94b and CS Śā 7.10.

enumeration of the minor divisions of the body. However, the nine orifices are not regarded as the places of *prāṇa* in the CS.

YS 3.94-95: The internal organs

Among the fifteen internal organs (*koṣṭhāṅga*) listed in CS Śā 7.10,⁶¹ the omentum (*vapāvahana*)⁶² is inexplicably divided into two organs in YS 3.94a:⁶³ *vapā vapāvahananaṃ*. 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 (*pratyaṅga*) 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 (*ṣṛkkaṇī*), and a certain part of tongue (*gojihvikā*)⁶⁹ are omitted in the YS. On the contrary, the temples (*śaṅkhau*) and kidney

⁶¹ For the internal organs, also see BhS 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 vasāvahananaṃ*

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, l.11-p.56, l.18.

⁶⁵ YS 3.95bc B: *guda eva ca. udaraṃ ca gudaḥ koṣṭhyo*, M: *guda eva ca. udaraṃ ca gudaḥ koṣṭhyau*, A: *guda eva ca. uttarau ca gudaḥ koṣṭhyau* (ṣṭhyau), S: *gudam eva ca. udaraṃ ca gudaḥ koṣṭhyau*

⁶⁶ Cf. Meulenbeld, [1999-02] IA 43, footnote 130.

⁶⁷ *Pakvāśaya* is not found also in the list of the internal organs in BhS Śā 7.4.

⁶⁸ For *pratyaṅga*, also see BhS Śā 7.5; SS Śā 5.4.

⁶⁹ *Gojihvikā* is not found in the lists of the minor parts of the body in BhS Śā 7.5 and SS Śā 5.4.

(*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 (*śāṅkhakau*). The kidney has been properly listed as one of the internal organs in YS 3.94c as *vṛkakau*.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 *sṛkkaṇī*.

YS 3.104: The infinitesimal particle (*paramāṇu*)

After describing a series of the large numbers of *śirā*, *snāyū*, *dhamanī*, *peśī* 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: *vāyavīyair viḡaṇyante vibhaktāḥ paramāṇavaḥ* /

YS 3.104cd: ⁷²*yady anye ko nu vedaiṣāṃ bhāvānām*⁷³ *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 *vāyavīya* looks as if it is inserted here out of context. However, we can find the same word in CS Śā 7.16 among the list of components and functions dominated by the five great elements (*mahābhūtas*) within the human body. In this list, they are classified broadly into the five kinds relating to earth, water, fire, wind, and air (*pārthivas*, *āpyas*, *āgneyas*, *vāyavīyas*, and *āntarīkṣas*), and are enumerated one by one. In this list, *vāyavīyas* are enumerated as follows:

CS Śā 7.16: ... *yad ucchvāsa-praśvāsa-unmeṣa-nimeṣa-ākuñcana-prasāraṇa-gamana-preraṇa-dhāraṇādi tad vāyavīyaṃ sparśaḥ sparśanaṃ ca*.

"Expiration, inspiration, opening the eyes, closing the eyes, bending, stretching, moving, impelling, holding, touch, and the tactile sense are related to wind."

⁷⁰ M,S: *vṛkkakau*, A: *vṛkkako*

⁷¹ The contents of YS 3.100 and 102cd almost correspond to those of CS Śā 7.14. In YS 3.101, the expression B: *śirā dhamanisaṃjñakāḥ*, M,A: *śirā dhamanisaṃjñūtāḥ*, S: *śirādhamanisaṃjñūtāḥ* 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 'nuvetty eṣāṃ*, A,S: *yady apy eko 'nuvedaiṣāṃ*

⁷³ M: *bhāvanām*

It is interesting to note that the above list of *vāyavīyas* has some connection with the list of the signs of the *paramātmān*, 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: *śarīrāvayavās tu paramāṇubhedenāparisaṃkhyeyā bhavanti, atibahutvād atisaukṣmyād atīndriyatvāc ca. teṣāṃ saṃyogavibhāge paramāṇūnāṃ kārṇaṇaṃ vāyuh karmasvabhāvaś ca.*

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

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

YS 3.107: *Mokṣa*

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

CS Śā 7.18: *tad etac charīraṃ saṃkhyātam anekāvayavaṃ dṛṣṭam ekatvena saṅgaḥ, prthaktvenāpavargaḥ. ...*

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

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

⁷⁴ J.J.Meyer suggests differently that YS 3.107c: *ity etad asthiraṃ* corresponds to the last part of CS Śā 7.15: *iti etac charīratattvam uktam*. Meyer, *op.cit.*, p.58 ll.27-29.

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YS 3.107cd: *ity etad asthiraṃ 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.⁷⁵ Table 4-1 and 4-2 show a rough sketch of YS 3.108-205 and the corresponding passages found in the CS.

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

YS	Contents	CS Śā
3.108-109 3.110 3.111 3.112-116	The <i>ātman</i> located in the heart (<i>hṛdaya</i>) The <i>āraṇyaka</i> and the <i>yogaśāstra</i> The <i>ātman</i> as an object of meditation (<i>dhṛyeya</i>) The various songs (<i>sāman</i> , <i>gītā</i> , etc.) and <i>mokṣa</i>	
3.117	The <i>ātman</i> and the world (<i>jagat</i>)	Cf.1.53, 4.8
3.118 3.118 3.119-124 3.125 3.126-128	Question 1: How did the world arise ? Question 2: How did the <i>ātman</i> arise ? Answers to questions 1,2: <i>Puruṣa</i> , <i>ātman</i> , and rituals Answer to question 2: Birth of <i>puruṣa</i> Answer to question 1: Birth of the world from <i>ādideva</i>	1.3d 1.53
3.129ab 3.129cd 3.130ab 3.130cd 3.131-132 3.133 3.134-139 3.140 3.141 3.142 3.143	Question 3: Why is he born in vicious womb (<i>pāpayoni</i>) ? Question 4: Why is he kept in undesirable conditions ? Question 5: Why does not he have knowledge of his previous [life] ? Question 6: Why does not he perceive every sense ? Answer to question 3: <i>Jīva</i> , births in various wombs and shapes Answer to questions 3, 4: Mature (<i>vipāka</i>) of actions (<i>karman</i>) Answers to questions 3, 4: Classification of personal characters Answer to question 4: <i>Rajas</i> , <i>tamas</i> , and transmigration (<i>saṃsāra</i>) Answer to question 5: The simile of mirror Answer to question 5: The <i>ātman</i> as intelligence (<i>jñatā</i>) Answer to question 6: Sensation (<i>vedanā</i>)	1.6cd 1.6cd Cf.3.13 1.7cd Cf.5.10 Cf.4.37-40 Cf.1.68cd Cf.1.55; 3.13 Cf.1.79,137
3.144 3.145 3.146ab 3.146cd 3.147ab 3.147cd 3.148	[One <i>ātman</i> and individuals] One <i>ātman</i> and its reflections, the simile of the sunbeams The six elements The simile of pot and potter The simile of house and house-maker The simile of blacksmith The simile of silk worm and cocoon Birth of the <i>ātman</i>	5.4; cf.1.16ab Cf.1.43ab Cf.1.43cd
3.149ab 3.149cd 3.150	[The existence of the <i>ātman</i>] The <i>ātman</i> as <i>satya</i> Optical image by the right eye and the left eye Ascertainment by hearings, recollection of the past, dream	Cf.1.71cd

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Table 4-2 YS 3.151-205

YS	Contents	CS Śa
3.151ab	[The eight states of mind] Self-consciousness (<i>ahaṅkāra</i>)	5.10
3.151cd	Selfish attachment (<i>sakta</i>)	5.10
3.152ab	Suspicion (<i>samdigdhamati</i>)	5.10
3.152cd	Identity with the body (<i>sampluta</i>)	5.10
3.153ab	Self-based attachment	5.10
3.153cd	Opposite thinking (<i>viparītamati</i>)	5.10
3.154ab	Lack of discrimination (<i>aviśeṣavat</i>)	5.10
3.154cd	Unsuitable means for liberation	5.10
3.155	People who have been bound	Cf.5.10
3.156-159	[Immortals] The means to immortals	5.12; Cf.5.13
3.160	<i>Yoga</i>	
3.161	Recollections of the previous existence	Cf.3.13
3.162	[The <i>ātman</i> , body, and death] The simile of actor	
3.163	Foetal deformity	2.29
3.164	Unliberated <i>ātman</i>	
3.165*	Nondisease	
3.166	The simile of lamplight, untimely death	Cf.6.28; Cf.CS Vi 3.37-38,8.43-44
3.167-170	The <i>ātman</i> and luminous rays	
3.171-174	The <i>ātman</i> as a cause of the world	
3.175-177ab	Signs of the <i>paramātman</i>	1.70-73
3.177cd-180	<i>Kṣetrajña, avyakta, ātman</i>	1.63-66
3.181	The five elements and natures	1.27
3.182	Mature of action	
3.183	<i>Rajas, tamas</i> , and the simile of <i>cakra</i>	1.68
3.184	<i>Anādi, ādimat, liṅga, vikāra</i>	Cf.1.59-65
3.185-186	<i>Pitṛyāna</i>	
3.187-189	<i>Munis</i>	
3.190	Entities consisting of words	
3.191-198	Requirements for knowing the <i>ātman</i>	
3.199-204	The methods of <i>yoga</i>	Cf.1.140-141
3.205	Perfect accomplishment	
3.206	Liberation for a head of the household	

*3.165 is not found in M edition.

YS 3.117: The *ātman*’s birth and the world

YS 3.117ab: *anādir ātmā kathitas* ⁷⁶*tasyādiś ca śarīrakam* /

YS 3.117cd: ⁷⁷*ātmanas ca jagat sarvaṃ jagataś cātmasambhavaḥ* //

“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 nāntarātmanaḥ* /

YS 3.125cd: *samavāyī tu puruṣo mohecchādveṣakarmajaḥ* //

“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 paramātmanaḥ* /

CS Śā 1.53cd: *puruṣo rāśisaṃjñas tu mohecchādveṣakarmajaḥ* //

“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.

⁷⁹ Cf. *Manusmṛti* 6.63,73; 12.13.

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However, the *puruṣa* named as aggregation is born from action based on desire and aversion which are originated from delusion.”⁸⁰

The above verse is an answer to the question in CS Śā 1.3d: *prabhavaḥ puruṣasya kaḥ* “What is the origin of the *puruṣa* ?” It is clear that *prabhava* (CS Śā 1.53a) is rendered into *sambhūti* (YS 3.125a), *rāśi* (CS Śā 1.53c) into *samavāyī* (YS 3.125c), and notably *paramātmān* (CS Śā 1.53b) into *antarātmān* (YS 3.125b). As to the compound *mohecchādveṣakarmajaḥ* (YS 3.125d, CS Śā 1.53d), similar expressions can be seen also in the beginning part of CS Śā 5.10: *mohecchādveṣakarmamūlā 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 *ātmān* in YS 3.129 and 130cd seem correspond to CS Śā 1.6cd and 1.7cd respectively.

YS 3.129ab: *yady evaṃ sa kathaṃ brahman pāpayoniṣu jāyate /*

YS 3.129cd: *īśvaraḥ sa kathaṃ bhāvair anīṣṭaiḥ samprayujyate //*

“If it is so, Brahman!, why is he (*i.e.*, *ātmān*) born in vicious wombs ?

Why is he, even as *īśvara*, kept in undesirable conditions ?”

CS Śā 1.6cd: *svatantraś ced anīṣṭāsu kathaṃ yoniṣu jāyate //*

“If [the *ātmān*] is an independent one, why is [he] born in undesirable wombs ?”

YS 3.130cd: *vetti sarvagatām kasmāt sarvago 'pi na vedanām //*

“Why [the *ātmān*], even as an omnipresence, does not feel omnipresent feelings ?”

CS Śā 1.7cd: *sarvāḥ sarvagatatvāc ca vedanāḥ kiṃ 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

⁸⁰ Cakrapāṇidatta comments here: *mohecchādveṣajanitakarmajo mohecchādveṣakarmajaḥ. mohād dhi bhāveṣu icchā dveṣaś ca bhavati, tataḥ pravṛttiḥ, pravṛtter dharmādharmau, tau ca śarīraṃ janayato bhogārtham.*

⁸¹ See also *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 6.2.17: *icchādveṣapūrvikā dharmādharmanyoh pravṛttiḥ.*

⁸² For the *brahman*, see also YS 3.69.

YS 3.145ab: *brahmakhānilatejāṃsi jalam bhūś ceti dhātavaḥ* /
 “The *brahman*, air, wind, fire, water, and earth are constitutional elements.”

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

CS Śā 5.4: ... *ṣaḍdhātavaḥ samuditāḥ loka*⁸³ *iti śabdaṃ labhante. tad yathā pṛthivyā āpas tejo vāyur ākāśaṃ brahma cāvyaktam iti, eta eva ca ṣaḍdhātavaḥ samuditāḥ puruṣa iti śabdaṃ labhante.*

“The aggregate of six constituents is named as ‘world’ (*loka*), namely earth, water, fire, wind, air, and the unmanifested *brahman*. The same six aggregated constituents are named as ‘man’ (*puruṣa*).”

YS 3.151-154: The eight states of mind

YS 3.151-154 seems to correspond to the long prose of CS Śā 5.10 in contents. The main point of CS Śā 5.10 is summarized that (continued from the earlier quotation: *moheccchādveśakarmamūlā 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) *aviśeṣa* “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 *ahaṃkrta*, 2) *saṅga* in YS 3.151cd as *sakta*,⁸⁴ 3) *saṃśaya* in YS 5.3.152ab as *saṃdigdhamati*, 4) *abhisamplava* in YS 5.3.152cd as *saṃpluta*,⁸⁵ 5) *abhyavapāta* is found in the content of YS 3.153ab, 6) *vipratyaya* in YS 3.153cd as *viparītamati*, 7) *aviśeṣa* in YS 3.154ab as *aviśeṣavat*, 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) *aviśeṣa*, 8) *anupāya*,

⁸³ Jādavaḥ Trikaṃji’s edition of the CS reads as *puruṣa*, Gaṅgādhara’s edition of the CS reads as *loka*.

⁸⁴ M,S: *udyoga*

⁸⁵ M,S: *vipluta*

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 12.25-32.⁸⁶

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: *evaṃvṛtto 'vinītātmā vitathābhīniveśavān /*

YS 3.155cd: *karmaṇā dveṣamohābhyām icchayā 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 *mohecchādveṣakarmajah* (YS 3.125d, CS Śā 1.53d) and *mohecchādveṣakarmamūlā 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.

1.*prāṇa*, 2.*apāna*, 3.*nimeṣādi*, 4.*jīvana*, 5.*manaso gati* (CS Śā 1.70ab)

6.*indriyāntarasamcāra*, 7.*preraṇa*, 8.*dhāraṇa* (CS Śā 1.70cd)

9.*deśāntaragatiḥ svapne*, 10.*pañcatvagrahaṇa* (CS Śā 1.71ab)

11.*dr̥ṣṭasya dakṣiṇenākṣṇā savyenāvagama* (CS Śā 1.71cd)

12.*icchā*, 13.*dveṣa*, 14.*sukha*, 15.*duḥkha*, 16.*prayatna*, 17.*cetanā*, 18.*dhṛti* (CS Śā 1.72ab)

19.*buddhi*, 20.*smṛti*, 21.*ahaṅkāra* (CS Śā 1.72cd)

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

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

The signs (*cihna*) 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.

⁸⁶ E.H. Johnston points out similar passages in MBh 12. See E.H. Johnston's translation and footnote of this passage, Johnston, [1936] 170.

21. *ahāṅkāra*, 20. *smṛti*, **medhā*, 13. *dveṣa*, 19. *buddhi*, 14. *sukha*, 18. *dhṛti* (YS 3.175ab)
 6. *indriyāntarasamcāra*, 12. *icchā*, 8. *dhāraṇa*, 4. *jīvita* (YS 3.175cd)
 9. *svapne sargaś ca bhāvānām*,⁸⁷ 7. *prerāṇa*, 5. *manaso gati*⁸⁸ (YS 3.176ab)
 3. *nimeṣa*,⁸⁹ 17. *cetanā*, 16. *yatna*, 10. *ādāna pāñcabhautika* (YS 3.176cd)

1. *prāṇa*, 2. *āpāna*, 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 'nyathaikena netreṇa drṣṭam 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 ?”⁹⁰

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 *paramātmān* 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. *jīvana*, 5. *manogati*, 6. *indriyāntaravikārā*, 14. *sukha*, 15. *duḥkha*, 12. *icchā*, 13. *dveṣa*, 16. *prayatna* (*Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 3.2.4)⁹²
 (I put the same item-number of mine in the CS's list to each corresponding item in meaning.)

⁸⁷ M,A: *svargaḥ svapnaś ca bhāvānām*. According to this reading, *svarga* may be an independent sign which is not found in the CS's list.

⁸⁸ B,A: *manaso 'gatih*

⁸⁹ A: *unmeṣas*

⁹⁰ There is one more similar description in *Nyāyasūtra* 3.1.7: *savyadrṣṭasyetareṇa pratyabhijñānāt*.

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: *prāṇāpānanimeṣonmeṣajīvanamanogatīndriyāntaravikārāḥ sukha-duḥkhe icchādveṣau prayatnaś cetyātmaliṅgāni*.

YS 3.177cd-180: *Kṣetrajña*, *avyakta*, and *ātman*

A kind of *Sāṃkhya* theory is illustrated in the philosophical dialogue in CS Śā Chapter 1. In the CS's *Sāṃkhya* theory, the *ātman* is regarded as *avyakta* (CS Śā 1.61a); the twenty-four principles are enumerated, namely the five *mahābhūtas* (*khādīni*), *buddhi*, *avyakta*, *ahankāra*,⁹³ the five sense organs (*buddhīndriyāṇi*), the five motor organs (*karmendriyāṇi*), 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 *Sāṃkhya* theory differs from the orthodox *Sāṃkhya* system⁹⁴ based on the twenty-five principles in some important respects.⁹⁵

YS 3.178-180 gives an account of the *Sāṃkhya* theory which is similar to the CS's theory including the twenty-four principles. In the YS's theory, the *ātman* is also regarded as *avyakta* and as *kṣetrajña* (YS 3.179a); the five sense organs (*buddhīndriyāṇi*), their objects (*arthāni*), the *manas*, the five motor organs (*karmendriyāṇi*), *ahankāra*, *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 yāti vyaktād avyaktatām punaḥ /*

CS Śā 1.68cd: *rajastamobhyām āviṣṭas cakravat parivartate //*

"[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: *sattvaṃ rajas tamaś caiva guṇās tasyaiva kīrtitāḥ /*

YS 3.183cd: *rajastamobhyām āviṣṭas cakravat 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 *Sāṃkhya* theory found in SS Śā Chapter 1 is almost identical with the orthodox *Sāṃkhya* system of the *Sāṃkhyakārikā*. Cf. Johnston, [1937] 10-11.

⁹⁵ Cf. Dasgupta, [1922] Vol.I, 213-222; Johnston, [1937] 51-55; Bedekar, [1957], Larson, [1979] 103-108.

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.

Table 5 The *Śārīrasthāna* of the *Carakasamhitā*

Chapter	Title	Contents
1	<i>Katidhāpuruṣīya</i>	The <i>ātman</i> theory in philosophical dialogue
2	<i>Atulyagotrīya</i>	Normal and abnormal processes of pregnancy
3	<i>Khudḍikāgarbhāvākṛānti</i>	Physical and spiritual construction of an embryo
4	<i>Mahatīgarbhāvākṛānti</i>	Monthly development of a foetus, and delivery
5	<i>Puruṣavicaya</i>	Macrocosm and microcosm, <i>mokṣa</i> , the <i>ātman</i>
6	<i>Śārīravicaya</i>	<i>Dhātu</i> , <i>guṇa</i> , questions on foetal development
7	<i>Śārīrasamkhyā</i>	Anatomy, the constituent parts of the body
8	<i>Jātisūtrīya</i>	Obstetrics

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

⁹⁶ Cf. MBh 12.205.17: *sattvena rajasā caiva tamasā caiva mohitāḥ/ cakravat parivartante hy ajñānāt jantavo bhṛśam//*

⁹⁷ An early form of this chapter first appeared in Yamashita, [1995] 106-109.

⁹⁸ Cf. Meulenbeld, [1999-02] IA 38-47.

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, Agniveśa, who is said to be one of the six disciples of the sage Punarvasu Ātreya and the first writer of the CS, raises twenty-three questions to Ātreya about various aspects of the *ātman* or *puruṣa*, to which Ātreya replies in detail. Their questions and answers are given not only from a medical point of view but also in the context of several philosophical speculations.⁹⁹ What is to be noted is that Ātreya shows here the *ātman* theories of various philosophical schools such as *Vaiśeṣika*, *Sāṃkhya-Yoga*, *Vedānta*, and possibly also Buddhism. The discussions in this chapter seem to reflect the philosophically complicated situation about the *ātman* or *puruṣa* during the time when *āyurveda* was still in a process of systematization. The words, *puruṣa*, *ātman*, *pumṣ* (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 Ātreya. *Karman* of a foetus and its parents is regarded as one of the causes of abnormalities in

⁹⁹ For further details of philosophical speculations in the CS Śā see Dasgupta, [1922] Vol.1 213–217, Vol.2 302–319, 366–402; Chattopadhyaya, [1977] 400–424; Roṣu, [1978]; Comba, [1987] 43–61.

¹⁰⁰ Cakrapāṇidatta comments on CS Śā 1.3: *ātmaiva śarīrarahitaḥ puruṣaśabdārthatvena vācyaḥ*, and on CS Śā 1.39–42: *puruṣa iha prakaraṇe ātmābhipretaḥ*. 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 *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 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.*, *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*).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 *ātman*, including *puruṣa* and *brahman*. In the early stage of development, the *ātman* is said to ‘receive’ (*upādatte*) 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 (*guṇa*), and pure and impure elements of the body are explained. In sections 20 to 30, Agniveśa 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

¹⁰¹ Cf. Weiss, [1980].

¹⁰² The title of this chapter contains a Prākṛt form *khuddika* (small) instead of the Sanskrit equivalent *kṣudraka*.

¹⁰³ Cf. Chattopadhyaya, [1977] 400–424.

¹⁰⁴ In the CS, *sattva* is often used as a equivalent term of *manas*. See, for example, CS Sū 8.4; CS Śā 1.100,141; 2.39; 3.3,13,18; 4.36; 5.13-16.

¹⁰⁵ Essence of food (*rasa*), blood (*rakta*), flesh (*māṃsa*), fat (*medas*), bone (*asthi*), marrow (*majjā*), and semen (*śukra*).

¹⁰⁶ In replying this question Ātreya presents the opinions of eight sages or doctors. This passage offers an exceptional case in the CS of the Ātreya school, because what serves

condition does it come out of the womb, 5-6. what food and management does it need after birth, 7. regarding the disorders caused by the wrath of gods *etc.*, 8. regarding timely death (*kālamṛtyu*) and untimely death (*akālamṛtyu*), 9. what is its maximum life-span and its cause. The answers to the nine questions are given in sections 21–30.

Chapter 7 deals with anatomy in the form of an enumeration of physical parts and spiritual elements of the whole body. In sections 16 and 18, the *ātman* is referred to by the equivalent expressions, *pradhāna* and *prayoktr*. 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 *śarīrasthāna*. 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

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

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

¹⁰⁸ The arrow shows an indirect relationship between the topics.

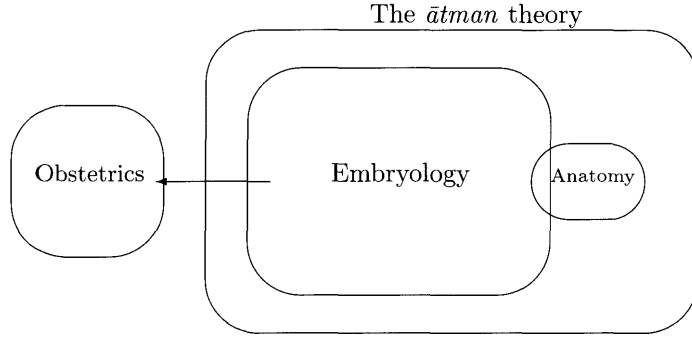


Figure 1 The inclusive relation among the major topics in the CS Śā

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 *Sanġitaratnākara* 1.2.1-119; the *Śivagītā* 8.13-37, 9.10-45; and the purāṇic 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-

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 *Kāśyapasaṃhitā* contain each Śā. The Śās of the BhS and the *Kāśyapasaṃhitā* 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

A: The edition of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* commented on by Aparārka, **AHS:** *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā*, **AP:** *Agnipurāṇa*, **AS:** *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, **B:** The edition of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* with Viśvarūpa's commentary *Bālakrīḍā*, **BC:** *Buddhacarita*, **BhS:** *Bhelasamhitā*, **Ci:** *Cikitsāsthāna*, **CS:** *Carakasamhitā*, **M:** The edition of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* with Viṇṇāneśvara's commentary *Mitākṣara*, **MBh:** *Mahābhārata*, **PP:** *Padmapurāṇa*, **Śā:** *Śārīrasthāna*, **S:** Stenzler's text of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, **Si:** *Siddhisthāna*, **SS:** *Suśrutasamhitā*, **Sū:** *Sūtrasthāna*, **VDhP:** *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, **Vi:** *Vimānasthāna*, **VS:** *Viṣṇusmṛti*, **YS:** *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*

Texts

- AHS:** *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayam* (The core of octopartite *Āyurveda*) composed by Vāgbhaṭa with the Commentaries (Sarvāṅgasundarā) of Aruṇadatta and (Āyurveda-rasāyana) of Hemādri. collated by Aṇṇā Moreśwara Kuṇṭe and Kṛṣṇa Rāmchandra Śāstrī Navare, ed. by Bhiṣagāchārya Hariśāstrī Parāḍakara Vaidya, Jaikrishnadas *Āyurveda Series No.52*. Varanasi, Delhi, 1982.
- AP:** *Agni Purāṇa*. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 41. Poona, 1957.
- AS:** Vṛddhavāgbhaṭa, *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgrahaḥ Induvyākhyāsahitaḥ*. Ananta Dāmodara Āṭhavale ed. Pune, 1980.
- BC:** *Aśvaghōṣa's Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*. Complete Sanskrit Text with English Translation, Cantos I to XIV translated from the Original Sanskrit supplemented by the Tibetan Version together with an introduction and notes by E.H. Johnston. Lahore; repr. Delhi, 1998.
- BhS:** V.S.Venkatasubramania Sastri & C.Raja Rajeswara Sarma eds. *Bhela Samhitā*. Central Council for Research in Indian Medicine & Homoeopathy Pub. 31. New Delhi, 1977.
- CS:** *The Charakasamhitā of Agniveśa revised by Charaka and Dṛidhabala with the Āyurveda-Dīpikā Commentary of Chakrapāṇidatta*. ed. by Vaidya Jāḍavaḥi Trikaṃji Āchārya. Bombay, 1941; 4th ed. New Dehli, 1981. (I mainly used this edition in this paper.)

- *Carakasamhitā, with the commentary Āyurvedadīpikā by Cakrapāṇidatta, and the commentary Japalkpataru by Gaṅgādhara*, ed. by Narendranāth Sengupta and Balaicandra Sengupta. Vols.1-3. Calcutta, 1927-1933; repr. 1st-5th parts. Varanasi, Delhi, 1991.
- Garbhopeniṣad: “Garbhopeniṣat.”, *Sāmānya Vedānta Upanishads*. with the commentary of Sri Upanishad-Brahma-yogin. Madras, 1921, 168-180.
- Manusmṛti: *The Manusmṛti with the commentary Manvarthamuktāvalī of Kullūka*, ed. with citical and explanatory notes etc., by Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya “Kāvya-tīrtha”. Bombay, 1887.
- MBh: *The Mahābhārata*. ed. by Vishnu S. Sukthankar and S.K. Belvalkar. Vol.22-24, Poona, 1951.
- Milindapañha: *The Milindapañho*, being Dialogues between King Millinda and the Buddhist Sage Nāgasena. The Pāli Text, ed. by V.Trenckner. London, 1880; repr. London, 1962.
- Nyāyasūtra: *Nyāyadarśanam* with Vātsyāyana’s Bhāṣya, Uddyotakara’s Vārttika, Vācaspati Miśra’s Tātparyatikā & Viśvanātha’s Vṛtti. Vols.I,II. Kyoto, 1982.
- PP: *Padma Purāṇa*. Calcutta, 1958.
- Sāṃkhyakārikā: *The Sāṃkhya-Kārikā, Īśvara Kṛṣṇa’s Memorable Verses on Sāṃkhya Philosophy with the Commentary of Gauḍapādācārya*, critically ed. with Introduction, Translation and Notes by Har Dutt Sharma. Poona Oriental Series No.9. Poona, 1933.
- Samyutta Nikāya: *The Samyutta-Nikāya of the Sutta-Piṭaka*, Part 1, ed. by M.L. Feer, Pāli Text Society, London, 1960.
- Saṅgītaratnākara: *Saṅgītaratnākara of Śārṅgadeva with Kalānidhi of Kallinātha and Sudhākara of Simhabhūpāla*. ed. by S.Subrahmanya Sastri.Vol.I–Adhyāya I. The Adyar Library Series No.30. Madras, 1943.
- Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa: *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa in the Mādhyandina Śākhā with extracts from the commentary of Sāyana, Harisvāmin and Dvivedagaṅga*. ed. by Albrecht Weber. Berlin, London, 1855; repr. Varanasi, 1964.
- Śivagītā: *Śivagītā*. ed. by Paṇḍitajvālāprasādamiśra. Bombay, 1987.
- SS: *Suśrutasamhitā of Suśruta with the Nibandhasaṅgraha Commentary of Śrī Dalhanāchārya and the Nyāyacandrikā Pañjikā of Śrī Gayadāsāchārya on Nidānasthāna*. ed. from the Begining to the 9th Adhyāya of Cikitsāsthāna by Vaidya Jādavji Trikamji Āchārya and the rest by Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya “Kāvya-tīrtha” Introduction by P. V. Sharma, Varnasi, Delhi, 1992.

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Vaiśeṣikasūtra: *Vaiśeṣikasūtra of Kaṇāda with the Commentary of Candrānanda*. critically edited by Muni Śrī Jambuvijayaji. Baroda, 1961; repr. Baroda, 1982.

VDhP: *The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇam*. Delhi, 1985.

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

YS

A: *Aparārkāparābhidhāparādityaviracitaṭīkāśametā Yājñavalkyasmṛtiḥ*. Poona, 1904.

B: *The Yājñavalkyasmṛti with the Commemntary Bālakṛīda of Visvarūpāchārya*. ed. by Mahamahopadhyaya T.Ganapati Sastri. Trivandrum, 1921-22; repr. 1982, New Delhi.
(I mainly used this edition in this paper.)

M: *Yājñavalkyasmṛti of Yogīśhwara Yājñavalkya with the Mitākṣarā Commentary of Vijñāneshwar edited with The 'Prakash' Hindī Commemntary by Umesh Chandra pāndey*. 5th ed. Varanasi, 1994.

S: *Yājñavalkyadharmasāstram. Yājñavalkya's Gesetzbuch. Sanskrit und Deutsch*, herausgegeben von Adolf Friedrich Stenzler. 2 Vols. Berlin, 1849.

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