On Two Medical Verses in the Yuktidipikä

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1. The Yuktidipikā (= YD), the most important commentary on Isvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṃkhyakārikā extant and available, contains — as Śāṣtra works generally do — not a few quotations, both in prose and verse. R.C. Pandeya's edition (pp. 177sqq.) includes among other things also an 'Index of Verses Quoted in YD' and an 'Index of Prose Passages Quoted in YD'. Already a cursory comparison between these two alphabetically arranged lists shows that the prose passages could be identified to a remarkably large extent, whereas for very few of the verses is their source mentioned. Now it is clear that in view of the paucity of suitable and reliable research tools an editor is to a considerable degree dependent on his own knowledge of texts and his own power of recollection, unless he is assisted by friends and colleagues or by a stroke of luck. It would hence not be fair to find faults with an editor for failing to identify each and every quotation found in his text, provided he has done what he ought to do, namely add a list of all the quotations.

The importance of such an index is too obvious to call for further comment. Indeed, a consolidated index of the indexes already available (as a rule attached to editions, e.g. of philosophical texts) should be compiled (with the help of a PC) and published. Among other things this would surely go far towards identifying many of the quotations that have so far resisted attempts at identification.

But even then there is very great likelihood indeed that in most cases it will be only a certain percentage of the quotations a particular text contains that can be traced back to their original source; the number of Sanskrit texts which have not come down to us is simply too large to warrant the hope that completeness, and perfection, can be achieved in this regard. On the other hand, it need hardly be stated that except for this untraceable rest all the other quotations in a given text should certainly be identified. One of the reasons is the important role which quotations play in discussions about the relative chronology of texts, i.e. in establishing a terminus ad quem and/or a terminus post quem, etc. Quite evidently, such arguments cannot be based on an accidental or arbitrary choice of quotations, but presuppose — ideally that all of them without exception have been identified, but as this is practically never possible — that at least all those which have been taken from extant texts² have actually been identified.³

I I should like to add the remark that the critical edition of this text, the preparation of which I announced quite some time ago (see fn.47 on p.455 of my article 'Some Observations on the Yuktidipika' in: ZDMG, Supplement II, Wiesbaden 1975, pp.439-455), will finally be completed in the course of the next year in cooperation with two Japanese colleagues, Prof. Shunjun Motegi and Mr. Hisayoshi Miyamoto. — In 1970 Dr. Ramāšankar Tripāṭhī published in Varanasi a book entitled Isvarakṛṣnaviracitā Sāṇṇkhyakrikā Da. Ramāšankaratripāṭhiviracitayā Tattvaprabhākhyayā vyākhayā ajnātakarṭrkayā Yuktidīpikayā vivṛtyā ca vibhūṣitā," which gives the bare text of the YD following to all appearances Pandeya's edition. The recent publication mentioned below in fn.12 deserves still less to be called an edition.

² I hope that this kind of quotation is meant by the use of the word 'some' in the statement 'possibly, when a critical edition of the text has been completed and some of the many quotations identified, one will be able to determine a more precise date' [of the YD], found on p.228 of G.J. Larson's and

2.1. As for the YD, the result achieved by Pandeya can be improved upon. E.g. the hemistich

gṛhasthah sadṛṣiṃ bhānyāṇ vindetānanyapūrvikām found on p.15 1.30 and stated by the — anonymous⁴ — author to stem from 'another śāstra' (śāstrāntara*) is a quotation of GautDhS (1.)4.1, which however reads ananyapūrvāṃ yaviyasim.⁵ The context, but more importantly the contents of the quotation itself, quite clearly point in the direction of the Dharmaśāstra, so that it is somewhat surprising that Pandeya failed to identify it and hence to recognize that its being part of a verse is highly questionable.

Or to give another example, the arya

vṛkṣāgrāc cyutapādo yadvad anicchan naraḥ pataty eva

tadvad gunapurusajño 'nicchann api kevalī bhavati

quoted on p.21 II.28-29 is verse 83 of the Paramarthasara of Adiseşa, where however the reading (naraḥ) kṣitau patati seems to be attested without variant(s). This identification was apparently made first by Danielson, who also used it as (the only) argument for determining the terminus ad quem of the Paramarthasara, in that he subscribed to Frauwallner's view that 'the YD existed in the year 550 A.D.' and hence drew the conclusion that 'the PS must be earlier than that'. This is, I think, a good example of the danger which one should try not to incur, viz. relying on the date of a text B, without carefully examining the evidence, or pseudo-evidence, on which it is based, in order to determine the relative chronology of another text A in which one is primarily interested. It is admittedly rather annoying to have to enter into a discussion of the date of a second text, or even many more texts, since quite often such problems

turn out to have a snowball effect, but there is no way by which this kind of ensuing complexity could legitimately be avoided.

2.2 Pandeya's 'Index of Verses Quoted in YD' includes a rather strange entry too, viz. 'sambandhiśabdah sāpekso 25', for as a rule verses, or parts of verses, quoted in the YD are quite clearly marked off in his edition, but one looks in vain for such a typographically distinct element on p.25. Only when reading the whole of this line by line does one finally chance upon the clause sambandhisabdah sapekso niwam vrttau samasyate (1.19). Now this forms part of the counterargument — its prior part being pūrva eva samāso 'stu — of the defensor; he wants to invalidate an objection (of the opponent) by deciding in favour of the first interpretation of the compound mulaprakrti (according to which it is to be paraphrased by mūlam cāsau prakrtih, and not mūlam prakṛtīnām) and by (now directly) refuting the view that the karmadhārava compound would not be correct (a view based on and explicitly justified by quoting Patanjali's famous dictum saviśesanam vrttir na [vrttasya vā viśesanam na prayujyate] (Mahābhāsya I 361.5ff; cf. II 18.7ff), 'no word-composition (i.e. compounding) [is allowed] of [words] qualified [by an outside] word[, nor is a qualifying word [[allowed to be added to that part of speech]] which has [[already]] been made a compound]').8 and this view seems to be refuted by the statement, just quoted, viz. sambandhisabdah sapekso nitvam vrttau samasyate, which is, however, found only in one of the two MSS, used by Pandeva for his edition of the YD, namely that of Ahmedabad.

Now the counterargument as a whole is introduced by an *ucyate* which is used in this function stereotypically in the YD — just like $\bar{a}ha$ announcing an objection of the opponent. Therefore one cannot but wonder why the second part of this counterargument could be regarded by Pandeya as a quotation: in fact there is in the text no indication of a quotation. Most probably Pandeya thought of $V\bar{a}kyapadiya$ III 748 [= 14 ($V_{I}ttisamuddesa$), 48], which reads thus:

sambandhisabdah sāpekşo nityam sarvah prayujyate [svārthavat sā vyapekṣāṣya vṛṭṭāv api na hiyate]. 10

but Pandeya has failed to add this reference, either in a footnote on p.25 or in the 'Index ...', and has forgotten to mark off what he considered to be a quotation (if this idea did not come to his mind only later, i.e. at the time of compiling the indexes). In this connection it has to be noted that such confusion would by no means be surprising in an edition which abounds in (prose) quotations which are identified in footnotes given at the bottom of the page where they occur, but which are nevertheless (or for that very

R.Sh. Bhattacharya's volume Sāṇikhya. A Dualist Tradition in Indian Philosophy, (Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies), Princeton 1987.

³ See also the remark on p.458 (together with fn.6) of my article 'Further References to the Vaiseşika-Sūtra in the Pātanjalayogašāstravivaraņa (Studies on the Pātanjalayogašāstravivaraņa III)' in Amrtadhārā, Prof. R.N. Dandekar Felicitation Volume, ed. by S.D. Joshi, Delhi 1984, pp.457-472.

⁴ The ascription of the YD to Vācaspatimisra (I.) in the colophon of the Poona MS. is so evidently wrong that I do not deem it necessary explicitly to justify why the author has for the time being to be regarded as unknown. In passing I should, however, like to mention that this error, or the — partially unnecessary — discussion it has provoked, has in its turn had the consequence that MSS. of Vācaspatimiśra's Tattvakaumudi which do not contain even a hint to this effect have wrongly been listed in the entry on the YD in the corresponding, not yet published volume of the New Catalogus Catalogorum.

⁵ Sce also VāsDhS 8.1 and the Bhavisyapurāna as quoted by F. László, Die Parallelversion der Manusmni im Bhavisyapurāna, (AKM XI,2), Wiesbaden 1971, p.166 (6.5c); cf. also M. Shee, tapas und tapasvin in den erzählenden Partien des Mahābhārata, Reinbek 1986, pp.63ff. — It seems that the characterization of Sudaksinā as ātmānurūpā (with reference to Dilipa) in Raghuvamša 1.33 has also to be seen in the light of this rule of the Dharmaśāstra.

⁶ It is introduced by uktam ca, but not followed by an iti.

⁷ H. Danielson, Adisesa, The Essence of Supreme Truth (Paramarthasara), Sanskrit Text with Translation and Notes, Leiden 1980, pp.1f. and fn.268 (p.77); in the 'Introduction' it is convincingly shown that this work cannot be classified as belonging to the Samkhya school of thought.

⁸ My translation is modelled on that of S.D. Joshi, *Patanjali's Vyākarana-Mahābhāsya Samanhāhnika* (P. 2.1.1) ..., (Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class C, No. 3), Poona 1908, p.40

⁹ According to the numbering of the critical edition by W. Rau, Bhantharis Vakyapadiya, (AKM XLII,4), Wiesbaden 1977.

¹⁰ This kārikā is also quoted by Kaiyaṭa on Mahābhāṣya I 361.1f., viz. Pradipa (NSP-Edition) II 319 b 25-26.

reason?) not included in the corresponding index, 11 so that everybody is free to guess what this index is meant to embrace!

What is then the meaning of this 'quotation'? Shiv Kumar and D.N. Bhargava, to whom we owe the first volume of an English translation of the YD, 12 have correctly recognized that sapekso has the function of a predicate, but their rendering of the first clause by 'the related word is always needed' is quite evidently wrong, and nonsensical¹³ (whereas 'and is also compounded in a complex formation'¹⁴ as equivalent of the second clause is unobjectionable). Instead it should be translated as follows: 'A relational word is always dependant on/always shows a relation to [the correlated word].' Thus this sentence as a whole indeed expresses basically the same idea as Bhartrhari's verse, although in a very abridged form, especially as regards padas c and d which can be translated thus: 'This its interdependence swith the other word correlated with itl is [also] not abandoned even in a complex formation (i.e. in compounding) just as its own meaning (is not abandoned by a relational word).' As regards the relation in which the YD's sentence stands to the Vakyapadiya verse, it cannot simply be taken for granted that the former is a quotation of the latter. All that can be said with certitude is that this verse may have lurked in the mind of whoever uttered the sentence. 15 In cases like this it is evidently not at all easy clearly to distinguish between an intended quotation, i.e. an utterance made by someone in order to repeat another person's statement verbatim, but differing from it because of a slip of memory, on the one hand, and an original statement, on the other, the formulation of which is, consciously or unconsciously, influenced by what has been said by another person. 16 But it need hardly be added that in spite of the boundary being fluid this distinction as such is of no little importance.

However, it is not only highly questionable whether this sentence can in fact be regarded as a quotation, but it is also not clear at all that it forms a part of the text of

the YD. Doubts seem to be justified first of all because the sentence is attested to only in one of the MSS.. but in this case observations about the dialectical structure and the 'formulae' used in the stylized discussion that very largely characterize the YD allow one to come to a decision which is well founded and hence convincing. For the taking up of an argument brought forward already earlier - and therefore explicitly characterized as pūrva -17 is not something done only once by the author of the YD. On the contrary, there are some more instances (even though it does not seem to be a particularly common feature of this text), and in the other cases it is, significantly enough, also coupled with a subsequent recalling, i.e. quoting, of an objection, or objections, raised earlier against it, but now only in order to reject it or them definitively. At YD 38.23 we read: ucyate ... athavā punar astu pūrvakam evodāharanam (cf. 38.20) | vat tūktam anekāntād iti (cf. 38.20) atra brūmah ...; and at 3.23f.: ucyate - pūrva eva parihāro 'stu (cf. 3.16) athavā punar astu tantrāntarokter ity ayam parihārah (cf. 3.18) | yat tūktam pramānānupadeśaprasanga itv atra brūmali In the second case, though, the clause containing the key word pūrva is not immediately followed by the vat tūktam phrase, but quite evidently only because a second alternative refutation is also taken into account. or rather preferred to the first one. The structure of the 'formula' as such, however, stands out distinctly in relief: it is of such a kind that the clause containing the key words pūrva and astu must be immediately followed by yat tūktam ..., except for the case - which is, however, perfectly understandable both in terms of logic as well as of syntax — when it is stated that a second alternative refutation (parihāra) holds good equally. And this observation is strikingly confirmed if one also looks into the Mahābhāsya, which obviously served as a model for the author of the YD in this regard:18 for it is this immediate sequence that is found also in Patanjali's work, e.g. at I 10.26 athavā punar astu jūāna eva dharma iti (cf. 10.5) | nanu coktam jūāne dhārma iti cet tathādharma iti (cf. 10.5ff.) ..., or 12.21; athavā punar astu sūtram (cf. 11.15) | nanu coktam sūtre vyākarane sasthyartho 'nupapanna iti (cf. 11.16ff.) | ... or 17.16; athavā punar astu vişayena tu nānālingakaranāt siddham ity eva (cf. 17.8, vārtt. 9) | nanu coktam itsamiñāpraklptyartham etat syād iti (cf. 17.11), etc. etc. The philologically trained reader of the YD has therefore good reason for rejecting the sentence in question; most probably it is a marginal note that crept into the text in a direct predecessor of the Ahmedabad MS., whatever its relation to the Vākyapadiya verse may be.

2.3. Another type of quotation is equally deserving of attention. It is represented in the YD e.g. by the verse (22.12-13):

akke cen madhu vindeta kimartham parvatam vrajet

iştasyarthasya sampraptau ko vidvan yatnam acaret.

This verse is also quoted in Vācaspatimiśra's Tattvakaumudi, though already on the first kārikā and not, as in the YD, in the commentary on kārikā 2, i.e. in a different context. ¹⁹ But Vācaspatimiśra's categorizing it as a laukikānām ābhānakah is quite

¹¹ Thus e.g. on p.23 quotations from the Chandogya-Up., viz. 8.7.1 (rightly called prajapater vacanam, but containing many variants) and 3.11.4-6 (with variants) and Mundaka-Up. 1.1.4 (also with variants); two more sentences, viz. vidvārpsah prajārn nākārnayanta, kim prajayā karisyāmah and putraisanāyās ca vittaisanāyās ca vyutthāya bhaikṣacaryām caranti, have not been recognized as quotations (from BÅU 4.4.22).

¹² Yuktidipikā Vol.I, Delhi (Eastern Book Linkers) 1990. The text is also given, but without any variants or explanations.

¹³ As for the quality of this translation in general, it is enough to note that prākņikā wikārapuruṣās tathā of Ārambhaśloka 6 is rendered by 'the materialists (i.e. the Carvakas) and the perverted persons', and that such howlers are a common feature of it. — The rendering (of the YD passage in question) in the volume on Samkhya of the Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophy (cf. fn.2 above), p.238 '(the word 'primordial') ... cannot be attached to another word ...' is likewise not acceptable.

¹⁴ On the term vitti cf. P. Thieme's review of L. Renou, Terminologie grammaticale du Sanskrit, Paris 1957, in GGA 212, 1958, 23ff. (= Kleine Schriften, Wiesbaden 1971, pp.731ff.).

¹⁵ And perhaps he knew only the version of the verse which is attested e.g. in the Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa (cd. by R.B.K.P. Trivedi, (BSS no. LXX), Bombay 1915), p.160, viz. with samasyate instead of prayujyate. — On the secondary reading vākyavat (for svānhavat) cf. S.D. Joshi, op. cit. (fn.8), pp.38f.

¹⁶ A particularly noteworthy subvariety of the latter is the allusion to a famous statement, known to the educated, the deliberate use of a formulation, hallowed by time and tradition, in a modified form.

¹⁷ It should be noted that there are also other 'formulae' used for taking up a previous argument (etc.).

¹⁸ With relationship of the YD to the Mahābhāsya I shall deal elsewhere.

¹⁹ On this verse, and other works in which it is quoted, cf. S.A. Srinivasan, Vācaspatimišras Tatīva-kaumudī ..., Hamburg 1967, p.180. — On arka cf. my article 'A Note on Mahābhāsya II 366.26: gunasam-drāvo dravyam (Studies on Mallavādin's Dvādašāranayacakra II)' in Buddhism and Its Relation to Other Religions, Essays in Honour of Dr. Shozen Kumoi on His Seventieth Birthday, Kyoto 1985, [n.34.

evidently not provoked by the context, but merely by the contents of the verse itself and perhaps by his knowing it as a 'popular saying, a proverb'.

In a case like this it is, of course, not reasonable to search for the source of the quotation, even though it cannot but ultimately have been composed by an individual author. On the other hand, it cannot a limine be excluded that the label 'proverb' is wrong or that the verse, or prose passage, became a 'proverb' only secondarily; nor should it be forgotten that a list of occurrences of (genuine) proverbs is a natural tool of any philology.

3. But my main concern is with two medical verses which are quoted in the YD on Sāṃkhyakārikā (12.12-15) and which read thus:

sarveṣāṃ vyādhirūpāṇāṃ nidānaṃ trividhaṃ smṛtam āhāraś ca vihāraś ca karma pūrvakṛtaṃ tathā | | tatrāhāravihārotthān rogān dravyam apohati yas tu karmakṛto vyādhir maranāt sa nivartate.

The quotation is introduced by aha ca, 'and fin accordance with that (i.e. what I stated just now)] it is said'; the particle iti is added only after a third verse which is also quoted, 20 though separated from the two earlier ones by an inserted punar apy aha. The pair of verses is adduced as a vindication of the defensor's proposition preceding the āha ca, viz. (YD 12.10f.): pratyaksa²¹ evaitad upalabhyate yad āyurvedavihitasva kriyākramasyābhiyuktam ātmavantam bheşajabhisakparicārasampannam praty ānarthakyam, which in its turn is meant to answer the opponent's objections (clothed in a question and directed at the last part of the kārikā), viz. (12.9): katham etad avagamvate []] yad dṛṣṭasya hetor anaikāntikatvam anātyantikatvam ca 'how is it known (i.e. is there really a means-of-valid-cognition which proves) that the perceptible means [for removing the threefold suffering) are neither certain (i.e. by necessity efficacious) nor final (i.e. successful once and for ever)?' The answer given is this: 'It is in fact perceived directly that the course of actions (i.e. the medical treatment in its particular deliberate succession) prescribed by the Ayurveda is useless/does not achieve the desired object [even?] with regard to [a sick person] who is careful, possessed of self-restraint [and] has the [right] medicine, a physician and people to attend and nurse him'. And it is clear already at first sight why the two verses are quoted thereafter; not, of course, because the author of the YD wants to draw attention to an individual case or a particular kind of such a perception - which would result in an unnecessary redundance or overexplicitness, since everybody knows from his own experience that what he has said about the failure of medical treatment is true -, but because he wants to make an additional point, viz. to point out that the science of medicine itself not only admits the unreliability of the remedies it provides, but in fact recognizes a particular class of diseases to be by its very nature incurable and hence absolutely fatal!

Hence there seems to be little doubt that the two verses are quoted from a text belonging to Ayurveda literature, even though the expression ayurveda(vihitasya) does not (directly) refer to them and they are also perfectly clear in this regard.

3.1 Two expressions used in these verses, however, seem to call for closer inspection, viz. āhāra and vihāra.

3.1.1 As for the former, there can hardly be any doubt that it is only the meaning 'taking food' or 'food' which can be countenanced here. Both meanings are well attested. Thus āhāra e.g. of Manu 5.105 is explained by Medhātithi by simply adding pavitrānām payomūlānām 'taking [viz. food] which, prepared from 22 milk, serves as a means of purification', or (grāmya) āhāra of Manu 6.3 is taken to mean vnhiya amayam annam23 by Medhātithi and similarly godhūmatilakādikum by Ramacandra while Rāghavānanda, explaining the attribute only, gives the explanation krsyādiyatnotpādyam (scil. bhaksyam). But it is not always possible to decide with certainty whether in a particular case the expression ahara is used to denote the action or its object: e.g. in the Manu verses referred to just now the commentator Manirama explains ahara of 5.105 by havisyarūpah, i.e. starts from the assumption that it means food or rather a particular kind of food, or Govindarāja in paraphrasing grāmya āhāra of M 6.3 by grāmodbhavā²⁴nnabhaksanam shows that he regards it as a nomen actionis! As justly pointed out already by the Larger Petersburg Dictionary,25 indigenous Indian grammarians are of the opinion that the meaning 'food' does not derive from the fact that the suffix is added to denote the object of the action (karman), but the apādāna, i.e. what normally is expressed by the ablative; for the author of the Kāśikā it even serves as the example for this function of the suffix glian, for in explaining Pan. 3.3.19 he says: aharanti tasmād rasam ity āhārah 'āhāra is semantically equivalent to [the phrase] 'They (i.e. the living beings) take from it the rasa (the digestible part of food, i.e. that which the organism is able to utilize for itself)". Now, this looks like a very medical, scientific conception of food, so that one even feels justified in doubting whether in this case the grammarians have really been led by their feeling for language and not rather by their knowledge of Ayurvedic theories, for there is little likelihood that this expression was coined to render the rather complicated notion of 'that from which a living being or an organism takes what it needs as nutriment'; and as far as I can see \bar{a}/h_I itself is also not used, at least not idiomatically, in a manner which would lend credibility to the explanation given in the Kāśikā. It is much more probable that Lingayasurin hits the target when he paraphrases hāhāra by āhriyate, bhuiyate, p.587, i.e. that his explanation in fact agrees with

²⁰ Viz. 12.17-18:

sopadravo sarvarūpo balamāṃsendriyāpahalı sāristas caiva yo vyādhis taṃ bhisak parivarjayet. This verse, too, still needs to be identified; see also below, fn.112.

²¹ This reading found in the Ahmedabad MS. is unfortunately not even mentioned in Pandeya's edition. His reading pratyaksa can hardly be correct as the locative is obviously, i.e. according to the dictionaries, used only as a quasi-preposition.

²² Not 'with', as follows from Medhatithi's commentary on Manu 11.106, viz. his explanation of havisyam by payomulaghnādi.

²³ Cf. also Kullūka (vrihiyavādikam bhakṣyam) and Maṇirāma (vrihiyavādibhakṣyam).

²⁴ Răghavănanda's explanation kṛṣyādiyutnotpādyam is less open to misconstruction than that given by Govindarāja which could be taken to refer to provisions obtained in a village.

²⁵ Cf. also V.S. Apte's dictionary (the reference to the Siddhānta Kaumudi I was, however, not able to verify) as well as Pt. S. Ramasubha Sastri et al., Krdantani pamālā, Madras 1971, p.1419.

²⁶ Amarakoša [1.] with the Unpublished South Indian Commentaries Amarapadaviviti of Lingoyasürin and the Amarapadapārijāta of Mallinātha, critically ed. ... by A. A. Ramanathan, Adyar: Madras 1971, p.587.

the idea normally connected with the word when used in the meaning of 'food',²⁷ but on the other hand it cannot be disputed that the interpretation offered by Jayāditya is equally possible in terms of Sanskrit word formation.

The next question which arises is whether or not āhāra = āhriyate is semantically identical with 'food' as defined e.g. in The New Penguin English Dictionary: ²⁸ '(minerals, vitamins, etc. together with) material consisting essentially of protein, carbo-hydrate, and fat taken into the body of a living organism and used to provide energy and sustain processes (e.g. growth and repair) essential for life'. ²⁹ In this connection it is important to take note of a remark found in the Sabdastomamahānidhi, ³⁰ viz. nīrāhārās ca ye jīvā iti smṛtau jalapāne 'py āhārasabdah, according to which 'the word āhāra is also used with reference to³¹ the drinking of water', ³² and the śloka pāda quoted as an example — albeit from a text which I was not able to identify — contains a compound which indeed bears witness to this assertion, for nīrāhāra³³ can only mean 'one whose āhāra consists of water (only)' and thus quite clearly demonstrates that water and other liquids can be subsumed under āhāra.

This observation is confirmed e.g. by Sarvajňanārāyaṇa who in his commentary on the Manu verse referred to already above, viz. 5.105, explains āhāra by brahmasuvarcalā pānādir dusṭajalādipāne, or by Rāmacandra who (on the same verse) similarly equates āhārah to jalapānādir. In the light of this evidence 'food' seems to be too narrow a concept, a more correct equivalent being 'what is taken, i.e. received into one's body through the mouth.' Is

3.1.2. The second expression to be examined, viz. vihāra, is likewise used as an illustration in a grammatical work, or at least a grammatical context, viz. in a kārikā which

Kaundabhatta quotes in his Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra (on verse 46 of the mūla), qualifying it as a vṛddhokti, 36 and which reads thus:

upasargena dhātvartho balād anyatra niyate317

prahārāhārasamhāravihāraparihāravat

The commentators obviously deemed this so clear that they unfortunately thought they could do without an explanation, and Kaundabhatta confines himself to demonstrating that this verse indeed supports the point he wants to make in discussing the various theories about upasargas and nipātas. But this does not really matter; for, what the primary nouns prahāra, āhāra, etc. are meant to illustrate is the semantic difference caused by the preverbs; therefore a commentator could only be expected to make clear this aspect, but not to discuss the various meanings each of these words has.

After all vihāra, in the verses from the YD, poses a problem in so far as none of the meanings listed in the dictionaries really seems to fit, except perhaps for that of walking for pleasure or amusement, wandering, roaming; sport, play, pastime, diversion, enjoyment, pleasure' (Monier-Williams). However, this clearly calls for a critical examination, and in this regard it is certainly useful to look for explanations of vihāra in commentaries of other works.

In as much as vihāra, too, can be used as a verbal noun, it is legitimate to take into account also another derivative, viz. vihārana, which is attested in Sāṃkhyakārikā 28 in an enumeration of the functions (vtti) of the five kārmendriyas, i.e. faculties which serve action'. Since Išvarakṛṣṇa also follows the yathāsaṃkhya-principle, there cannot be the least doubt that vihārana (no. 3 in kārikā 28cd) refers to pāda (no. 3 in kārikā 26 cd), i.e. that it denotes the function of the feet. Now the author of the YD explains vihārana as follows (p.1041.2): višiṣṭaṃ hāranaṃ vihāranam | atas ca yad eva samavi-samanimnonnatacarikramaṇaparivartananāṭyavyāyāmādih sa indriyārtho nāṇyaḥ. That is to say that the word denotes different kinds of what one does with one's feet, viz. walking, circumambulating (?), dancing, doing physical exercises, etc., on the various kinds of ground. Hence the aspect of pleasure is not totally absent, but is quite evidently not dominant, being merely one among many others. A semantic development e.g. from 'walking' to 'walking for pleasure', and even to 'enjoyment, pleasure' is therefore

²⁷ See also the passage quoted below on p.136 from Śankara's Gitābhāsya.

²⁸ Harmondsworth 1986.

²⁹ Note that this definition is also primarily based on (the) science (of medicine) and not on common understanding of what food is.

³⁰ (A Sanskrit Dictionary) compiled by Śrī Tārānātha Bhaṭṭācārya, Varanasi 1967³. It is quite remarkable that Bhaṭṭācāryā confines himself to adding iti smṛtau to this quotation although, according to Prafulla Mitra's 'Memoir' (p.XII) he e.g. 'had the entire Mahabharata committed to memory which was so extraordinaryly retentive that he could tell anybody offhand the contents of any Sanskrit book and particular pages there of wherein the subjects occurred.'

³¹ It should be noted that the locative can, in a case like the present one, not be rendered by 'in the meaning/sense of'.

³² Or 'drink of water', since jalapana need not be a nomen actionis.

³³ Not listed in the dictionaries (as far as I can see).

³⁴ See also fn.56 and fn.81 below.

³⁵ Cf. in this regard also the common translation 'eat' for verbs seeming rather to mean 'take in' in modern Indian languages; see e.g. R.P.Das, 'Dravidischer Einfluß bei der Bildung neuindoarischer periphrastischer Passive? ...', Stll 11/12, 1986, 15f.

³⁶ In the Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa the quotation is simply followed by *iti cānyaḥ* in order to make clear that it is not also a verse of Kumārilabhaṭṭa's like the two quoted before it (which are taken from the Tantravārtijka on MS 1.3.33. ASS-edition II 250).

³⁷ Note the variant anyah pratiyate.

³⁸ This remark holds good for the compilers of the Kıdantarüpamālā (cf. fn.25 above) too, cf. Upodghāta p.IX.

³⁹ Cf. karmārhānindriyāņi karmendriyāņi (YD 99.15) [in contradistinction to buddher indriyāni buddhirdriyāni, 99.6f.].

⁴⁰ On which see H. Brinkhaus, 'Yathāsamkhya und versus rapportati', Sill 7, 1981, 21-70.

⁴¹ Unless this latter meaning is derived from the elliptic use of *vihāra* 'passing away [the time]'. In any case it is important to take into account the narrower or wider context; in the Arthaśāstra, e.g., *vihāra* always means '(place of) recreation' (1.10.13; 1.19.14; 2.1.33; 2.2.3; 5.1.23 and 28; 7.15.22; 12.5.47; 13.2.45) or '(sportive) amusement, pleasure' (2.26.5; 3.3.21; 5.5.7; 13.5.8).

indeed possible. Hence it is not necessary to check the passages on which this entry is based; but it is imperative to recognize, and not to lose sight of, the fact that *viharana* and *vihāra* are not basically connected with the idea of pleasure, amusement, play etc.

On the other hand, it is also possible that Isvarakrsna, and following him the author of the YD, deliberately restrict the meaning of viharana for obvious reasons. The criticism directed by Jayantabhatta against the Samkhya conception of the karmendrivas. or to be more precise, against the feet as a karmendriya, is based on different considerations, for what he says is (II 379.8f.):⁴³ api ca viharanam api na kevalam caranavugalakāryam, api tu jānūrujanghādisahitapādasampādyam api 'and in addition walking is also not only to be performed by [just] the pair of feet, but on the contrary, also something that is brought about by the feet in cooperation with the knees, thighs, the shanks, etc. At least it has to be noted that in the Mahabhasya the following sentence is found (1 363.25f.): antarena khalv api sabdaprayogam bahavo 'rthā gamyante 'ksinikocaih pānivihārais ca (cf. also I 388,4f.), where the compound pānivihāra can only mean 'movement, gesture of the hand(s) (used as signal)' (hastacestā). And it cannot simply be argued that the addition of the prior fumber is significant in that it shows that vihāra alone does not refer to a movement of the hands, for the qualification can likewise be accounted for by assuming that in the given context it was necessary to exclude movements of other parts of the body like the feet, etc. It is therefore at least probable that vihāra does not refer exclusively to 'functions' of the feet - as is in fact to be expected in view of the basic meaning of vi/hr 'to part asunder, keep apart, separate, to open' 45

However, it cannot be denied that the action primarily thought of in connection with the word *vihāra* and hence denoted by it is that of the feet, or rather legs, ⁴⁶ although the movement of walking or marching etc. affects, of course, the body as a whole.

To adduce a few more pieces of evidence: Bhag.Gitā 11.42ab

yac cāvahāsārtham asatkṛto 'si vihāraśayyāsanabhojaneşu

'and that you have not been shown due respect [by me] while walking, lying, sitting or eating [together with you] because I wanted to mock you', where Sankara's explanation viharanan viharah padanyayamah is indeed to the point since Arjuna clearly has in mind rules about giving precedence to another person, walking behind a person of higher rank and similar 'rules of etiquette'.

Another very interesting passage is Matsyapurāṇa 184.21cd-23ab: ⁴⁷
aṣṭau māsān vihārah syād yatināṃ saṇyatātmanām
ekatra caturo māsān vārṣikān nivaset punah | |
avimukte ⁴⁸ praviṣṭānāṃ vihāras tu na vidyate
na deho bhavitā tatra dṛṣṭaṃ śāstre purātane;

for it testifies to the fact that vihāra is used — in stark contrast to its meaning 'monastery' — to denote precisely the opposite, i.e. the specific activity of mendicant ascetics during the rest of the year, their homeless 'roaming about'. It is noteworthy that more than just the constant movement on foot is here at least implied.

In a metaphysical and slightly extended meaning vihāra is used in the Yogabhāṣya (on YS 4.10), viz. the passage⁵¹ ye caite maitryādayo dhyāyinām vihārās ..., which should certainly not be rendered — as it was by Woods⁵² — by 'as for friendliness and such [exalted states-of-mind], they are the diversions⁵³ of contemplative [yogins]', but rather by '... are the activities [of the mind-stuff] of [yogins] practising meditation', for the explanation given by the author of the Pātanjalayogaśāstravivarana (330.22f.), vihārāh [=] cittavyāpārāh, cestāni is highly convincing indeed.⁵⁴

⁴² That is to say kridā as it is then usually paraphrased by commentators (cf. e.g. Cakrapānidatta on Caraka, Cikitsāsth. 20.41 or Ādityadaršana, Devapāla and Brāhmanabala on KāṭhGS 1.19 (C. Dreyer, Das Kāṭhaka-Gṛḥya-Sūtra ..., Stuttgart 1986, p.20). By way of a specialization of meaning whāra can even have the meaning of surata; cf. e.g. the commentary called Laksmi on Sāhityadarpana 3.110 (ed. by Āchārya Kṛṣṇamohan Śāstri, Varanasi 1967, p.149), Śukraniti 3.112 (kuryād vihāram āhāram nirhāram vijane sadā).

⁴³ Reference is to Vol. II of the edition (MORIS 139) by K.S. Varadacharya, Mysore 1983.

⁴⁴ This is the explanation given by Cărudeva Śāstrī in his Upasargārthacandrikā, Vol. 3, Delhi—Varanasi 1979, p.419; cf. Nāgojibhaṭṭa's Uddyota (NSP-edition), 11 378 b 1.

⁴⁵ Cf. e.g. RV 10.162.4 and AiBr 2.35 (= Adhyāya 10.3). — Cf. also Pāṇini 1.3.41 (veḥ pādaviharaṇe).

⁴⁶ As rightly pointed out by Jayanta!

⁴⁷ In the edition by Pañcānana Tarkuratna, Calcutta 1891; it is 183.21ff. in *Matsyapurāna*, Text in Devanāgart, Translation and Notes in English, Foreword [and Translation!] by H. H. Wilson. Arranged by N.S. Singh, Delhi 1983.

⁴⁸ On this place name see e.g. V.S. Apte's dictionary.

⁴⁹ I wonder how wihāna became to denote 'monastery'; I doubt whether this is a specialization of the meaning 'place of residence' because, at least originally, it served as a temporary abode only. Monier-Williams' explanation ('originally a hall where the monks met or walked about') is also not really convincing; and 'place of recreation, pleasure, amusement' can certainly also be excluded. I should like to propose that it is derived from (kālam) vivhī, 'to pass away [the time]', i.e. that it originally denoted a place where monks, and nuns, spent the rainy season, i.e. the time during which they could not roam about; cf. the semantically closely related middle Indic expression lena (< Skt. layana), 'place where an animal cowers [for shelter]' = 'burrow hole, den' and 'place where monks take shelter [during the rainy season' > 'monastery'. Sukumar Dutt's explanation of the term lena is, however, entirely different (Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, their History and their Contribution to Indian Culture, London 1962, p.93); on the other hand this book contains many pieces of information which seem to support at least my interpretation of vihāra (cf. pp.58f., 93 and particularly 94 {'The original purpose of a vihāra was apparently to provide shelter from inclemencies of weather and noxious things — they were no more than shelters for monks to dwell in for vassawasas')). Cf. also his book Early Buddhist Monachism, (2nd rev. ed.), London 1960, pp.99ff. and 150ff.

⁵⁰ Cf. the expression nivaset and avimukte pravistanam clearly in contrast to vihara.

⁵¹ According to Vācaspatimišra this is a statement of the ācāryah quoted in the Bhāsya.

⁵² The Yoga-System of Patanjali ..., (HOS 17), repr. Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1966, p.309.

⁵³ The italics are mine.

⁵⁴ In this connection Arunadatta's characterization of vihāra as vāgdehamanašcestālakṣana should be noted (Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya, Śārirasth. 3.44).

'Movement [of the body],55 but first of all of the feet', is hence a meaning of vihāra that is not only well-attested, but seems also quite suitable for the context of the two verses under discussion. 'Mode of life', an equivalent found e.g. among others in the Pali-English Dictionary of Rhys Davids und Stede, clearly suffers from being too broad, and inexact, a meaning. For, closely connected with the expression āhāra as vihāra is in our verses, it cannot by any means denote a concept which already by itself quite naturally includes the manner of eating. The syntagma āhāras ca vihāras ca of the second line of the two verses at issue⁵⁶ almost gives the impression of being the vigraha,⁵⁷ the separation of the corresponding dvandva compound āhāravihārau. In fact the compound aharavihara occurs quite frequently especially in Ayurvedic texts; both words are often mentioned together, either by themselves or as parts of a larger compound or series of expressions, so that one feels tempted to assume that the concepts denoted by them are in fact closely connected with or even supplementary to each other. But one should not count one's chickens before they are hatched, i.e. one should first take a closer look at some at least of the relevant passages in order to find out in which of its numerous meanings the word vihāra is in fact used in the Ayurveda, and whether the meaning is the same in all cases.

At Caraka, ⁵⁹ Vimānasth. 8.92-93 it is said — in the context of dealing with 'certain topics (viz. ten factors) [to be examined] for the knowledge of physicians (i.e. by the physicians in order to know more about the patient)' (kānicit prakaraṇāni bhiṣajāṃ jṇānārtham: 68, cf. 84) among which figures also deśa: deśas tu bhūmir āturaś ca | tatra bhūmiparikṣā — āturajṇānahetor vā syād auṣadhaparijṇānahetor vā | tatra tāvad iyam āturaparijṇānahetoh | tad yathā — ayaṃ kasmin bhūmideśe jātah saṃvṛddho vyādhito vā; tasmiṃś ca bhūmideśe manuṣyāṇām idam āhārajātam, idam vihārajātam, idam ācārajātam; ⁵⁰ it looks very much as though the various physical activities of people, as such activities are specific to a particular place or region, are here set off against cooking and drinking, on the one hand, and conduct and manners, on the other. A somewhat

different picture presents itself if the initial part of the kusthanidāna⁶¹ of the Susruta is compared with its parallels in the Aşṭāṅgahṛdaya, and Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha⁶², for what corresponds to Susruta,⁶³ Nidānasth. 5.3 mithyāhārācārasya(,) višeṣād gunuvinuddhāsātmyājīrṇāhitāśinah ... yo vā ... tasya pittaśleṣmāṇau prakupitau ...⁶⁴ in the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya⁶⁵ is Nidānasth. 14.1f.

mithyāhāravihāreņa viśeșeņa virodhinā sādhunindāvadhānyasvaharaņādyaiś ca sevitaih || pāpmabhiḥ karmabhiḥ sadyaḥ prāktanaiḥ preritā malāḥ

and this would seem to indicate that vihāra and ācāra are semantically so closely related (as regards a particular part of their respective semantic fields) that they can be interchanged (in this regard). Gayadāsa strikingly confirms this observation in that he explains in his commentary on the Suśruta passage: (mithyāśabdaḥ āhārācārābhyāṃ saha pratyekam abhisambadhyate | tatra dvādaśāśanapravibhāgoktavidhiviparītavidhir mithyāhārah |) 57 ācārah kāyavāmanobhedena trividho vihāraḥ68 | tasya svasthavṛttānāgatābādhavidhānād anyathākaranam mithyācāraḥ ... It should also be noted that Toḍara in his commentary 69 on the passage quoted just now from the Aṣṭāngahṛdaya offers an explanation of vihāra which is in remarkable agreement with that given by Gayadāsa for ācāra, viz. mithyāvihārena [=] hiṃsāsteyādikena kāyavānmānasena prānyupaghātaparuṣavacanāniṣṭavartinā. According to both these commentators vihāra means 'activity' of the (age-old) triad of 'body, speech and thought', 70 and this is a very interesting piece of information no matter whether the activity is considered to be wrong (mithyā) for ethical or for medical reasons, since it permits one to assign (tentatively) to vihāra the meaning 'habitual or occasional behaviour'— and the lexical content is thus indeed in accordance

⁵⁵ Cf. also the expression nisāvihārāh, referring to grahānām paricārakāh, at Sušruta, Uttarat. 60.22, which is explained in the context itself, viz. by nisācarānām (teṣāṃ hi ye ...) in the subsequent verse. Dalhaṇa paraphrases the former by rātrau bhramaṇasītāh; cf. also Cakrapāṇidatta's explanation of viharantam (at Caraka, Cikitsāsth. 21.4) by vicarantam.

⁵⁶ It is attested to also elsewhere, e.g. at Astāngahrdaya, Śārirasth. 3.44. — In his commentary on this passage Arunadatta qualifies āhāra as pānāsanādilakṣana (the *ādī perhaps referring to licking etc.).

⁵⁷ On this term see P. Thieme, 'Meaning and form of the 'grammar' of Panini', Stil 8/9, 1982/83, pp.29ff.

⁵⁸ Most of them were kindly pointed out to me a couple of years ago by Dr. R.P. Das.

⁵⁹ The edition used by me is that of Jādavaji Trikamji Āchārya, NSP: Bombay 1941³.

⁶⁰ In The Caraka Samhitā ..., ed. and published in six volumes ... by Shree Gulabkunverba Ayurvedic Society, Jamnagar 1949, this is translated as follows (II 928): '... such and such are the articles of diet used by the people; and such their modes of exercise and customs'. Priyavrat Sharma, Caraka-Samhita, Agniveta's treatise refined and annotated by Caraka and redacted by Drahabala ..., 2 vols., Varanasi—Delhi 1981, renders it thus: '... in that type of land the people mostly have such diet, behaviours, conduct ...' A parallel is Astangas., Sutrasth. 23; cf. also the compound āhāravihāropacāra(paricchadāh) at Caraka, Śarirasth. 8.14 and Astangas., Śarirasth. 1.

⁶¹ Cf. on this also R.E. Emmerick, 'Some Remarks on the History of Leprosy in India', Ind. Taur. XII, 1984, 93-105 as well as 'Die Lepra in Indien' in Aussatz. Lepra. Hansen-Krankheit, Ein Menschheitsproblem im Wandel, Teil II: Aufsätze, hrsg. v. J.H. Wolf, Würzburg 1986, pp.185-199.

⁶² Reference is to the edition by A.D. Athavale, Poona 1986.

⁶³ Reference is to the edition by Jadavaji Trikamji Āchārya, NSP: Bombay 1916.

⁶⁴ Dalhana explains: śāstroktavidhibhrastāhārācarasya.

⁶⁵ Reference is to the edition by Anna Moresvar Kunte, NSP: Bombay 19255.

^{66 =} Astängasamgraha, Nidanasth. 14.2f.

⁶⁷ As kindly pointed out to me by Dr. R.P. Das, the implicit reference is to Suśruta, Uttarat. 64.53 (or 56 in the edition used by G.J. Meulenbeld, *The Mādhavanidāna and it Chief Commentary* ..., Leiden 1974, p.344 fn.4, where the latter passage is translated).

⁶⁸ The bolding is mine.

⁶⁹ Quoted I.c. by the editor in the sixth edition of the work — NSP: Bombay 1939 — mentioned in fn.65; on the MS. used see no. 32 on p.15 of the Sücipatra section of this edition.

⁷⁰ See fn.54 above; cf. also Arunadatta on Astangahidaya, Nidanasth. 1.6 (quoted in Nilamegha's Tantrayuktivicara on 2 (ed. N.E. Muthuswami, Trivandrum 1976, p.3): vihāras ca tasminn eva kaphaje jvare dehamanovvāpāroparamah.

with that of ācāra as the latter too seems to be explained within the context itself of the passage from the Suśrutasamhitā, viz. by snehapītasya vāntasya vā vyāyāmagrāmyadharmasevino 'of one who performs physical exercises or has sexual intercourse [immediately] after partaking of an oleaginous substance or after vomiting', and by yo vā majjaty apsūṣmābhitaptaḥ sahasā chardir vā pratihanti 'or who unwisely takes a bath in [cold] water after an exposure to heat or who forcibly suppresses [any nature urge] for vomiting'. Admittedly, sexual intercourse, a refreshing bath, and even killing of other living beings does in fact or can give pleasure, but clearly the aspect of amusing oneself, indulging in a particular action, is 'noematisch' not relevant⁷¹ here; but it is not for that reason alone that Hilgenberg and Kirfel's rendering of vihāra in this Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdhaya passage⁷² by 'Tätigkeit' is not entirely satisfactory.

Another of the ten topics of Caraka, Vimānasth. 8.68 and 84 already mentioned above, are 'the characteristics⁷³ of (< consisting in) physiological parent state etc.' which the author explains in 8.95: (tatra prakṛtyādīn bhāvān anuvyākhyāsyāmah |) tadyathā — śukraśonitaprakṛtim, kālagarbhāśayaprakṛtim, āturāhāravihāraprakṛtim, mahābhūtavikāraprakṛtim ca garbhaśarīram apekṣate. One has, of course, to read 'prakṛtim mātur āhāravihāraprakṛtim, ⁷⁴ which means '(the organism of the embryo depends, for its own development, on) ... the kind of food (or more precisely: what the mother takes into her body) and behaviour/activities of the mother'

This passage it is that Cakrapāṇidatta may have had in mind when he explains samyagupacāraih of Caraka, Śārirasth. 3.3 (yadā ... tadā garbho 'bhivartate, sa sātmyarasopayogād arogo 'bhivardhate samyagupacāraiś copacaryamānah ...) quite convincingly by garbhahitair āhāravihāraih, and he need not add mātur, or a similar expression, in order to make clear what he wants to say, viz. that the growth of the embryo is not impaired when the mother takes proper care of it by eating and drinking only what is salutory to it and by avoiding all activities that might be detrimental to it.

In a similar way a dependence is — again in principle correctly — seen between the āhāra and vihāra of a wet-nurse, or more generally a breast-feeding woman, and the quality of her milk; cf. e.g. Suśruta, Śārirasth. 10.32ff.:

dhātryās tu gurubhir bhojyair vişamair doşalais tathā doşā dehe prakupyanti tatah stanyam praduşyati. || mithyāhāravihārinyā duşṭā vātādayaḥ striyāḥ dūşayanti payas tena śārīrā vyādhayaḥ śiśoh || bhayanti kuśalas tāms ca bhişak samyag vibhāvayet.

Here too vihāra is clearly not used in the meaning of 'pleasure' or 'amusement', and therefore one will accept K.K. Bhishagratna's rendering as (basically) correct, viz. 'of

a woman, vitiated owing to injudicious and intemperate eating and living. His interpretation of mithyao is also quite convincing, and he, of course, starts from the assumption that this member of the compound has likewise to be construed with vihāra too—as explicitly stated by Gayadāsa on the passage from the Suśrutasamhitā just quoted.

At Astangahrdaya, Uttarasth. 1.17ab the following recommendation is met with: hitāhāravihārena yatnād upacarec ca te

(i.e. the two wet-nurses one should employ if the mother herself is not able to feed her baby). The translation proposed by Hilgenberg and Kirfel⁷⁷ 'diese pflege man sorgfältig mit zuträglicher Nahrung und Erholung' is somewhat problematic; apparently they did not recognize that hita° qualifies "vihāra as well as āhāra° just as mithyā° does in the other cases; 'salubrious way of living' does not, however, mean here 'recreation' or 'rest', but 'keeping bodily activities within certain [limits in order to avoid any decrease of the "milking capacity" or any deterioration of the quality of the milk'].

A further and particularly clear confirmation of the foregoing determination of one of the meanings of vihāra is provided by Suśruta, Cikitsāsth. 30.5 in so far as somavad ahāravihārau vyākhyātau, said in connection with prescriptions about the use of certain medicinal plants, must refer to the preceding adhyāya (29). And this latter contains a detailed description of the treatment, behaviour, diet etc. of a patient who has taken one of the somarasāyanas in the course of the many weeks of his developing a 'new body' (navā tanuh, 29.14). Therefore, K.K. Bhishagratna's translation 'the regimen of diet and conduct is the same as in the case of Soma' is fully justified.

At Caraka, Indriyasth. 1.3 a number of factors are enumerated which a physician should examine if he wants to determine a patient's remaining span of life, and among them ahāra and vihāra are also mentioned. Although that latter topic does not seem to be dealt with in detail in the Indriyasthāna, it is, I think, not unreasonable to assume that the expression vihāra is used in a meaning identical with that which it has in the Ayurveda passages discussed in the foregoing, and hence to accept Priyavrat Sharma's rendering ('diet, activities') as the one most probably correct and to reject that found in the edition and translation of the Shree Gulabkunverba Ayurvedic Society ('his diet, recreation').

For the same reason H.H.M. Schmidt's translation⁸⁰ of the compound pānāhāravihārabhesajam⁸¹ occurring in verse 102(ff.) of the Yogasataka ascribed to Nāgārjuna by

⁷¹ On this term and the semantic theory with which it is connected, cf. K. Hoffmann, Der Injunktiv im Veda, Heidelberg 1967, pp.37ff.

⁷² L. Hilgenberg and W. Kirfel, Vagbhata's Astangahrdayasamhita ..., Leiden 1941, p.270.

⁷³ According to Cakrapanidatta prakrti is here equivalent to svabhava.

⁷⁴ This is also evinced by Cakrapanidatta's explanation (... evam garbhāsayasthas ca doṣah); mātur āhāra-vihārau tatkālinau yaddoṣakaranasvabhāvau

⁷⁵ An English Translation of the Sushruta Samhita ... Varanasi 1963, vol. 11, p.228.

⁷⁶ The italics are mine.

⁷⁷ Op. cit. (cf. fn.72), p.518.

⁷⁸ Op. cit. (cf. fn.75), p.541.

⁷⁹ Oddly enough this idea is not even mentioned by Cakrapanidatta in his commentary on this passage and therefore no reference is given either.

⁸⁰ Das Yogaśata, Ein Zeugnis altindischer Medizin in Sanskrit und Tibetisch, hrsg. u. übersetzt ..., Bonn 1978, p.213.

⁸¹ Note that here pana is mentioned separately, and not subsumed under ahara

Trank., Nahrungs- und Vergnügungsmedizin'82 cannot be considered a successful attempt to render the original; no doubt J. Filliozat's 83 'médication par boisson alimentation et manière de vivre' is decidedly much nearer the point. Obviously the remedies referred to here correlate to corresponding causes, or types of causes, of diseases; in this connection Siddhasāra 84 5.2 and 9.1 should also be mentioned, since, respectively, particular dosas are stated there to be 'mithyāhāravihārotthāḥ' 85, and 'the wind etc.' to be excessively disturbed (dusta) 'mithyāhāravihārataḥ'!

But there are passages where one cannot be as sure as in these last cases, or where vihāra is quite evidently used at least in the meaning 'pleasant, amusing activity' if not directly 'pleasure, amusement' etc.

An interesting paragraph (12) of Caraka, Śārīrāsth. 5 is devoted to an explication of 'the means of ascending of those desirous of liberation' (munukṣūnām udayanāni); the lengthy list that is given in this paragraph also comprises suptasthitagataprekṣitāhāra-vihārapratyangaceṣṭādikeṣv ārambheṣu smṛṭipūrvikā pravṛṭtih; in view of gata 'going, moving', one hesitates to assume that vihāra means 'bodily activity' here, but 'pleasure' etc. is evidently excluded. It would appear that two traditional 'prefabricated' chains have been stringed together here, one made up of past participles used as verbal nouns and the other of primary nouns, and what is meant by vihāra, in contradistinction to 'food' and to the 'movement of minor limbs of the body', is most probably the remaining activities of the body, such as urinating, defecating etc. 17

In the description of various types of sativa at Caraka, Śārirasth. 4.36ff., however, expressions like ambhovihārarati (37.5), sukhavihāra (37.6), strivihāra (37.7), vikṛtāhāravihāraśila (38.3) or āhāravihārapara (35.6) are to be interpreted in the light of Cakrapāṇidatta's explanation vihārah [=] krīdā. That is to say, it has to be admitted firstly that vihāra can be used even in Āyurvedic texts to denote ways and doings which are first of all thought of as giving pleasure, and, secondly, that this holds good of the word too when it forms a compound together with āhāra. This compound as such cannot hence be regarded as an absolutely reliable indication of vihāra meaning 'walking, bodily activity' etc.

Nevertheless there are passages in non-Ayurvedic texts too in which no other choice can reasonably be made. What I have in mind is e.g. Bhag.Gitā 6.17

yuktāhāravihārasya yuktacestasya karmasu

yuktasvapnāvabodhasya yogo bhavati duhkhahā,

and the relevant part of Sankara's commentary on this verse, viz. āhriyata ity āhārah [=] annam, viharanam vihārah [=] pādakramah, tau yuktau niyataparimānau yasya sah yuktāhāravihārah tasya, tathā yuktacestasya [anyā ca] yuktā niyatā cestā yasya karmasu tasya. For, just as in the case of Caraka, Sārirasth. 5.12 the fact that the compound under discussion and a second compound containing the word cestā are juxtaposed does not by any means warrant the conclusion that it cannot therefore have the meaning 'walking', all that has to be assumed is that cestā refers to other activities of the body, and this is expressed in the Caraka passage by the prior member pratyanga', and suggests itself quite naturally in the verse from the Bhagavadgitā too, as is also shown by the secondary explicatory addition of anyā ca.

Or consider Medhātithi's commentary on Manu 1.96, in which he takes bhūta to refer to plants like trees etc. and animals like worms, insects (?) (kiṭa)88 etc., but explains prāṇin — and the prāṇinah are said to be the relatively best among the bhūtas by Manu — by āhāravihārādicesṭāsamarhāḥ 'those [among them] who are able to eat food and to perform movements like walking etc.'.

Finally, the sentence drśyante ca prāninām kālānurūpāh svabhāvāhāravihāravyavasthāh, found at YD 131.12, has undoubtedly to be classed with this group too.

By way of summary it has to be emphasized that none of the entries found in special dictionaries or glossaries of technical terms of the Ayurveda s.v. vihāra fullfils the requirement of being comprehensive (i.e. distinguishing the various meanings) as well as of being precise (i.e. specifying the individual meaning). Thus, the author of the Vaidyaka-Sabdasindhu⁸⁹ confines himself to quoting the Medinikosa (cestāyām, bhramane); in the glossary attached to vol. VI of the edition and translation of Caraka by the Shree Gulabkunverba Ayurvedic Society⁹⁰ all that is given is the explanation gamanabhramanādišārīracestā, and with reference to just one passage (Śārīrasth. 2.29) at that; and the Āyurvediya Mahākośa⁹¹ does not contain more than the remark kāyavihāras caturvidhah gamanacankramanasthānāsanabhedena, which is in fact merely a part of Dalhana's explanation of viharet at the very end of Susruta, Cikitsāsth. 29,10, although it has to be admitted that the remark is of no little significance: what Dalhana seems to have in mind when he states that the particular vihāra referred to in the text is a kāyavihāra, is the threefold division of body, speech and thought⁹², and his

⁸² The fact that the Tibetan translator renders vihāra by gnas does not, as Schmidt thinks, warrant the conclusion that he took it to mean 'Aufenthaltsort'; it is either the stereotypical equivalent of this word (if it does not mean 'monastery') or an abbreviation for gnas higs, 'position' (etc.).

⁸³ J. Filliozat, Yogafataka, Text médical attribué à Nāgārjuna, Pondichéry 1979, p.107.

⁶⁴ Cf. R.F. Emmerick. The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta. Vol. 1: The Sanskrit Text, Wiesbaden 1980.

as The Tibetan translation (for which see R.E. Emmerick, The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta, Vol.2: The Tibetan Version with Facing English Translation, Wiesbaden 1982, pp.84f. and 180f.) adds an explanation (in both cases), viz. 'wrong positions such as (wrong way of) sitting and lying down'.

⁸⁶ Is this due to Buddhist influence or do we have to do here with a common trait of the Indian ascetic-meditative tradition?

⁸⁷ Cf. the explanation of the commentator on verse 101 of the Yogasataka (Filliozat, op. cit., p.150), vi-hāro viņmūtrādyutsargah. This meaning is alternatively taken into consideration also by Cārudeva Śāstrī, Upasargārthacandrikā (cf. fn.44), p.418. Note, however, that at Caraka, Siddhisth. 11.30 (akālanirhāravihārasevin) the malādinirgama (Cakrapāṇidatta) is expressed by nirhāra; a parallel is found at Aṣṭāṅgas., Sūtrasth. 27.

⁸⁸ On kija cf. also R.P. Das, Das Wissen von der Lebensspanne der Bäume, Surapālas Vṛkṣāyurveda, Stuttgart 1988, p.265.

⁸⁹ Compiler Kavirāja Umešachandra Gupta. Revised and enlarged 2nd ed. by Kavirāja Nagendra Nātha Sena. Varanasi—Delhi 1983³, p.990.

⁹⁰ See fn.60 above.

⁹¹ Ayurvediya Mahākošah arthāt Ayurvediya Sabdakoša ..., Sampādakau Veņimādhavašāstri Joši, Nārāvana Hari Joši, Bombay 1968, p.779.

⁹² Cf. p.139 and footnotes 54 and 70 above.

distinction of the four kinds of 'bodily activity', viz. 'going, marching,⁹³ standing and sitting (down)', is, of course, likewise worthy of note.

Only the lemma in the 'Index Sanskrit' added to J. Filliozat's edition and translation of the Yogasataka⁹⁴ testifies to a capacity of making distinctions, for it reads thus: 'situation, conditions extérieures (de l'organisme), manière de vivre, hygiène générale ...'.

I on my part should like to propose, in view of the evidence discussed in the foregoing, to enlarge the entry on vihāra in our Skt. dictionaries by inserting: 'bodily movements, especially going and walking, but also other kinds; activity/activities not only of the body, but also of speech and mind > way of living, mode of life (excluding eating and drinking).'

3.2 Of course what I am aiming at is the argument that vihāra—in the two verses of the YD which have provoked the rather lengthy discussion making up paragraph 3.1.—is used in the meaning determined in the foregoing and just described by way of summary. Hence I should like to propose the following translation:

'All the various types of diseases have a threefold cause, as is known from trustworthy tradition, [viz.] 1) what is taken into the body through the mouth, and 2) the bodily activity/mode of life and 3) the deeds done previously/in a former birth. Among these the diseases arising from what is taken into the body and from bodily activity/mode of life are removed by a drug; but a disease which is caused by [former] deeds, comes to an end [only] because of the death [of the person suffering from it].'

Quite evidently the dichotomy of curable versus incurable diseases⁹⁵ underlies this threefold distinction. As regards the particularly interesting distinction of two different causes of — in principle — curable diseases, viz. ahāra and vihāra, attention may first be drawn to some of the passages mentioned in the preceding paragraph, viz. Suśruta, Sārirasth. 10.32ff. and Siddhasāra 5.2 as well as 9.1. In addition two verses quoted in the Bhāṣya on the Rasavaiśeṣikasūtra should also be considered.

The first one reads thus (on 1.83):

vihārāhārahetūnām rtukālopajanmanām doṣāṇāṃ šamanārhāya svasthakarma vidhīyate | | šayanasthānagamanasnānapānāšanādibhiḥ, while the second is the following vaṃšastha (on 1.2): viņakvabhoù pratikārane (ra)ta hitāni cāṇnāni samācara

vipakvabhojī pratikāraņe (ra)to hitāni cānnāni samācaran (mitam) asāhasaṃ karma samācaran sadā śataṃ samā jīvati mānavah sukhī. The first verse bears further witness to the idea that vihāra and āhāra have in fact been regarded, though among other factors, as causes of 'disturbances', and the second one, though the two expressions are not used in it, confirms the existence of the idea that by observing a proper diet and by not overstraining oneself one lives as long as what is believed to be the ideal span of life (a hundred years), i.e. that one does not fall ill and die an untimely death.⁹⁶

The central importance which food has for the preservation of health is stressed also at Caraka, Sūtrasth. 25.31.: hitāhāropayoga eka eva puruṣavṛddhikaro bhavati, ahitāhāropayogah punar vyādhinimittam. And in the same text the idea is expressed that a hitabhojana lives a hundred years (Sūtrasth. 27.348; cf. 342ff.); the opposite idea, i.e. that among other faults an annadoṣa leads to death (of Brahmins) is known to Manu (cf. 5.4 and 5ff.).

As for bodily activity, in the verse from the commentary on the Rasavaiseşikasūtra one aspect only is emphasized; the other aspect, however, viz. that such activity, nay even exertion is — physiologically — necessary, is given its due in a verse occurring in the Kāśikā on Pāṇ. 6.1.6397 viz:

vyāyāmakşuṇṇagātrasya padbhyām udvartitasya ca vyādhayo nopasarpanti vainateyam ivoragāḥ. 98

In a similar manner further evidence will now be presented for the third cause, i.e. the idea that *karman*, too, exercises influence on the physical condition of man, although in this case also I cannot offer more than some material I have come across by chance since I have not had the time necessary for systematic search or comprehensive reading.

To all appearances, the expression ksetriya, taught by Pāṇini in a nipātanasūtra (5.2.92), and stated by him to be equivalent to the syntagma paraksetre cikitsyaḥ 'curable [only] in another dwelling/living-place [of the soul] (i.e. another body in the next birth)', has to do with the idea that certain diseases are by necessity fatal and that they are caused by karman, for the conception of a disease, in the proper sense of the word, which can only be cured after death in the next life would in itself be very strange indeed.

In other sources karman is regarded as a cause of diseases, or particular diseases, but no specification is given as to their character, i.e. severeness. Thus at Rasaratna-samuccaya 1.25 the importance of rasa is highlighted by stating:

hanti bhakşanamātrena pūrvajanmāghasambhavam rogasangham aşeśānām narārām nātra saṃśayalı;

⁹³ It seems that the intensity expressed does not refer to the speed, but to the distance and the manner of walking.

⁹⁴ P.150 (cf. fp.83 above)

⁹⁵ The dichotomy taught by Dărila in his commentary on Kausika-sūtra 25.2, quoted by S. Dasgupta, History of Indian Philosophy II, Cambridge 1965, p.275, viz. dviprakārā vyādhayah āhāranimitā asubhanimittāt ceti / tatra āhārasamutthānām vaişamya āyurvedam cakāra (recte: āyurvedah carakādipranitah famanārthah) adharmasamutthānām tu sāstram idam (viz. the Atharvaveda) ucyate, is basically not different, and cannot simply be put aside as a mere fabrication meant to explain the existence of both, the Atharvaveda and the Ayurveda (forming the upaveda of the former). (My attention was kindly drawn to this passage in Dasgupta's work, and to passages from the Suśrutasamhitā and the Astangasamgraha about a threefold division of diseases discussed below, by G.J. Meulenbeld in a letter dated 14 June 1987).

⁹⁶ Cf. also Caraka, Śārīrasth. 2.46: naro hitāhāravihārasevi ... bhavaty arogah.

⁹⁷ I am grateful to Mr. Mahes Raj Pant, Kathmandu, for drawing my attention to it.

⁹⁸ Note that the construction is anacoluthic.

⁹⁹ Cf. Kāśikā on P. 5.2.92: ... ksetriyam kuştham (cf. fn.61 above) / paraksetram [=] janmāntarašanram, tatra cikitsyah kṣetriyah / asādhyo 'pratyākhyeyo vyādhir ucyate / nāmṇasya nivanata ity anhah. Note that this is merely one of four different explanations offered, all of which, however, are stated to be 'authoritatively valid' (sarvam caitat pramānam).

it should be noted that it is the central aim of Indian alchemy to create a 'new body', i.e. ultimately to overcome death. 100

The compound pāparoga (e.g. Manu 5.164) — its derivative pāparogin is also attested e.g. Manu 3.92 and 159 — is commonly taken to be a karmadhāraya, but as the diseases referred to (according e.g. to the commentators on Manu) are ultimately incurable ones like kuṣṭha¹o¹ and kṣaya ('decline'), it is worth considering whether it should not perhaps be analyzed as a tatpuruṣa, viz. pāpād rogaḥ. At least, Manu himself clearly distinguishes (11.48) between a rāpaviparyaya 'in consequence of crimes committed in this life' (duścaritaiḥ) and 'in consequence of those committed in a former [existence]' (pūrvakṛtaiḥ), 102 and it is most probable that this verse, and those following upon it, were regarded by Bühler 103 as justifying the translation of pāparogin (e.g. at 3.92) by 'those afflicted with diseases that are punishments of former sins'. That adharma is the cause (kārana, nimitta) of diseases is an idea with which also Medhātithi, Govindarāja and Kullūka were familiar (cf. e.g. their commentaries on Manu 1.83). 104

Finally, the tripartition of the causes of diseases deserves consideration. Various threefold classifications of diseases (as such) are found in medical texts e.g. at Suśruta, Sūtrasth. 24.4 the division of duḥkha into ādhyātmika, ādhibhautika and ādhidaivika, referred to in Sārpkhyakarikā 1 and made explicit in the commentaries on it, is met with in connection with defining diseases to be duḥkhasanyoga. 105 According to Tisaţācārya 106 diseases are classified into three groups, viz. karmaja, doṣaja and ubhayaja, and Caraka (Śārirasth. 1.86ff.) distinguishes between past, present, and future vedanās.

We also find threefold divisions of the causes of diseases. Thus e.g. Caraka, Sūtrasth. 1.54 reads thus:

kālabuddhīndriyārthānām yogo mithyā na cāti ca dvyāśrayāṇām vyādhīnām trividho hetusamgrahah, wrong use, non-use and excessive use¹⁰⁷ of time (i.e. seasons etc.), intelligence and sense objects is the threefold complex of causes of diseases which have two loci (viz. body and mind)¹⁰⁸. Or in the Astangasamgraha (Sūtrasth. 22.6) the dosas, which are the only cause of all diseases (sarvarogaikakāraṇam: 22.5), are said to have in their turn a threefold nimitta, viz. asātmyendriyārthasanyoga, prajnāparādha and pariṇāma. On the other hand it has to be noted that Caraka (Sūtrasth. 1.23) teaches a quadruple division of āgantu, śārīra, mānasa and svābhāvika diseases.¹⁰⁹ It is hence as clear as one can wish that the threefold classification of the two verses quoted in the YD is merely one among many different attempts at systematically dividing the causes of diseases, and no clear parallel to it has so far been presented from a medical text. Hāritasaṃhitā 3.2.23 as quoted by Pandeya in a footnote on p.12 of his edition of the YD, viz.

karmajā vyādhayah kecid dosajā santi cāpare

sahajā kathitās cānye vyādhayas trividhā matāh,

does not, of course, meet this requirement, but it has also not been possible to identify the source from which the author of the YD quotes here. It cannot even be regarded as certain that it is a medical work, for when making the corresponding assumption¹¹⁰ I did not yet take into consideration the pronounced tendency of proper Ayurveda texts¹¹¹ to declare all diseases without exception, whatever their causes may be, to be curable. In fact it cannot at all be precluded that the source drawn upon in the YD belongs to quite a different branch of learning,¹¹² although the argument (that the quotation is meant to make) is, no doubt, strongest if it is the science of medicine itself which is called to witness.

Yet a definite answer to this question can only be given when a comprehensive investigation of all systematic divisions of the causes of diseases, found in medical texts, has been undertaken. ¹¹³ In view of the richness of the relevant material such a study would, however, clearly go beyond the scope not only of the present essay, but also of anything which could still be subsumed under the term 'article'. Nevertheless it is hoped that the above discussion has at least demonstrated: (a) that it is sometimes worthwhile to examine a quotation more closely even if it cannot be identified, (b) that semantic studies are very much needed in the field of Ayurvedic research, and above all (c) that 'cataloguing' of ideas, i.e. collecting, analysing and describing them with a view to

¹⁰⁰ Cf. also the prescription for the use of soma referred to above on p.141.

¹⁰¹ On which see (n.61 above.

¹⁰² Cf. also Śivatattvaratnākara 2.3.

¹⁰³ The Laws of Manu, (SBE XXV), reprint Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1967.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. also A. Roşu, 'Medicine and Psychology in Ancient India' in Curare 4, 1981, 205-210, in particular p.206, and last but not least M. G. Weiss, 'Caraka Samhitā on the Doctrine of Karma' in Karma and Rebinh in Classical Indian Tradition, ed. by W.D. O'Flaherty, Berkeley—Los Angeles—London 1980, pp.90-105. Much interesting information is also contained in works such as Višvešvara Bhaṭṭa's Madanamahārnava (ed. by E. Krishnamacharya and M.R. Nambiyar, (GOS 117), Baroda 1953), which discusses the causes of and cures for diseases mainly in terms of what may be called karman and adharma, and prayaścitta respectively. The great Bengali author Baakim Candra Caṭṭopādhyāy's Dharmmatattba (first published in book form in 1888) also contains a very interesting discussion on diseases being caused by adharma (in his own special neo-Hindu definition). This important work has unfortunately not yet been translated into any European language.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Suśruta, Sütrasth. 1.22.

¹⁰⁶ Cikitsākalikā, verse 10f.

¹⁰⁷ Note how the author expresses himself, i.e. that na and ati correspond to the compounds ayoga/yogabhava and atiyoga.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. the immediately following verse:
\$\frac{5ariram}{ariram} \text{sativasaminiam} \text{ca} \text{vyddhinām} \text{dsrayo} \text{matah} \dots \dots \dots \dots \delta \dots \delta \dots \dots \dots \delta \dots \dots

¹⁰⁹ At Astangas., Sutrasth. 22.1 a sevenfold division is taught.

¹¹⁰ See above p.132.

¹¹¹ Cf. e.g. Asjāngasamgraha 22.3.

¹¹² And this could likewise apply to the verse quoted in the YD after the two verses under discussion and mentioned already above (fn.20).

¹¹³ A preliminary attempt to gather material relevant for such an investigation has been made by R.P. Das, op. cit. (in fn.88), pp.268 and 519.