

〈Abbreviations and References〉

- CS: Carakasamhitā by Agniveśa, revised by Caraka and Dṛdhabala, with the Āyurveda-Dīpikā commentary of Cakrapāṇidatta, edited by Vaidya Jāḍavji Trikamji Āchārya. Varanasi: Chaukhambha Samskrit Samsthan, 1984. Reprint.
- SS: Suśrutasaṃhitā of Suśruta, with the Nibandhasaṅgraha Commentary of Śrī Ḍaḷhaṇāchārya on Nidānasthāna, edited by Vaidya Jāḍavji Trikamji Āchārya. 4th ed. Varanasi: Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1980. Reprint.
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The “Oldest Indo-Greek Text in Sanskrit” Revisited: Additional Readings from the Newly Discovered Manuscript of the *Yavanajātaka*

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0. Introduction

The *Yavanajātaka* (YJ, “Genethliacal astrology of the Greeks”) is one of the most important historical documents extant in Sanskrit which attests to the intellectual exchange between the Greeks and the Indians in the early centuries of the common era. In 2012, on the basis of a newly discovered Nepalese manuscript (Q), I have shown that Pingree’s generally accepted claim that the *Yavanajātaka* of Sphujidhvaja was “a versified work composed in 269/270 CE based on a prose original in Greek composed by Yavaneśvara in Alexandria in 149/150 CE” is no longer tenable in view of the new evidences.¹⁾ In this paper, I will attempt to consolidate my findings as well as filling in some of the lacunae in Pingree’s edition on the basis of the newly discovered manuscript (Q) as well as the old one (N) reexamined.

1. Spurious Claims of Dates and *Bhūtasamkhyā* in Pingree’s Edition

As shown in my previous study of the YJ, the important dates Pingree claimed to have identified in the colophon of the last chapter of the text (Ch.79, vv.60–62), based on the characteristic way of representing numbers by figurative words known as *bhūtasamkhyā*, turned out to be his own emendations.²⁾ Thus all Pingree’s claims which hinge on these *bhūtasamkhyā* readings will need to be reexamined.³⁾

The date of composition was in fact not given in this text as typical of all early *jyotiṣa*, or Indic texts in general. The adoption of the “beginning of Aries” (*meṣādi*) as the equinoctial point,⁴⁾ together with the use of astronomical cycle (*yuga*) of 165 years starting from Śaka -56 points only to the *terminus post quem* of 22 CE, while the actual date of composition could be much later.⁵⁾ Furthermore, it is not even certain that the text was composed by Sphujidhvaja, who was one of the Greek kings (*yavaneśvara*) himself, let

alone that there were two earlier texts beside the present one, one in prose Sanskrit and another one in Greek as Pingree suggested.⁶⁾ At any rate, hints of the actual date of the work may be gleaned from the general content of the work (§3), as well as its technical content and relation to other *jyotiṣa* texts (§4).

2. Lacunae/Corrupted Passages

In view of the availability of the new manuscript Q, some major lacunae/corrupted passages may now be amended (2.23–26; 3.7; 4.20–23; 4.35; 16.20; 17.6; 17.16; 18.34–36; 26.26; 28.1; 30.27, 66–67; 31.33–34; 34.21–22; 40.22; 57.32; 60.6, 28–30/78/88/94; 62.8–10; 67.8; 68.1–5; 73.1; 74.1; 79 et passim).⁷⁾

3. General Content

3.1. Mathematical Expressions and Units

The lack of *bhūtasamkhyā* in all the mathematical algorithms as well as some characteristic use of traditional Indian units ($3\frac{1}{8}$ *palas* = 1 *kuḍava*; 1 *nāḍikā* = 10 *kalās*, etc.) point to a certain affinity between the *Vedāṅgajyotiṣa* (VJ) and the YJ.⁸⁾ However, since the YJ utilizes indigenous Indian materials in tandem with the Greek ones (e.g., *horā* < *ῥῶπα*, *drekṇāṣas/drekāṣas/drekas/dreka* < *δεκαὺς*, *liptā* < *λεπτόν*, etc.), while there has been no explicit description of the planets or the Zodiac in the entire Vedic corpus, including the VJ, such disparity suggests that the VJ or the knowledge therein served as the substratum of the YJ. By and large, the mathematical thinking of the YJ is comparable only to that of the VJ and not to any known Greek work,⁹⁾ though more of the non-Greek nature of the work is evident through particularly its technical content as we shall see (§4).

3.2. Reference to Indian Culture

Although the YJ was considered by its author to be a work based on the Greek teachings,¹⁰⁾ the abundant Indian elements such as the utilization of the Sanskrit alphabets, and references to various aspects of Indian society, such as the *āyurveda*, castes and Indian deities must be properly accounted for. The well-wrought amalgamation as shown in various verses suggests a process of synthesis which might have lasted for decades or even centuries.

sūcivibaddhāni^A *vibaddhamārge*^B *sthitipravenyaś ca*^C *brhaspates*^D *tu* /
nīcāribhasthe vijitāridrṣṭe tadā tu kāpālikakaccham^E *āhuḥ* ||62.25||

^A °viba°]emend., °vina° N, °niba° Q ^B vibaddhamārge]emend., vibandhamārge NQ, °mārga Np

^C *pravenyaś ca*]p, *pravenyāśca* NQ ^D *brhaspates*]emend. *brhaspate* NQ, *brhaspatau* p ^E *kaccham*]p, °kañcham NQ

MAK: When [a planet] is occulted (i.e., by another planet, lit., whose path is obstructed), then [garments] stitched by a needle; but for Jupiter (even when it is occulted), firm woolen garments; if [the planet] is located in a house of the fallen (*nīca*-) or enemy (*-ari*-), and is overcome (*vijita*-) or aspected by an enemy (*-aridrṣṭa*-), then they say it is a rag (*kaccha*) of a *Kāpālika* (practitioner of a Śaiva tantric cult).

PINGREE: If (by) Jupiter, they are pieces of colored woolen cloth used as bandages or stop-signs on the road and fastened by pins; and if it is in its depression or in an enemy's house or if it is overcome or aspected by an enemy, then they say it is the hem of the lower garment of a beggar.

In this example, the planets and the garments were made to correspond to each other by analogy, resulting thus the occulted planet represented by stitched materials which are generally considered inferior. Jupiter should be taken separately since it is always auspicious.¹¹⁾ The worst planetary configuration is represented by the rag of a *kāpālika*, referring to a Śaiva cult which was ostracized by a certain segment of the Indian society.¹²⁾

4. Technical Content and Relation with Other Jyotiṣa Texts

There are a number of technical features which the YJ shared with the VJ but not any known Greek astral texts. These include most notably the concept of *tithi*, an artificial unit based on the synodic month which was described as the "soul" (*jīva*) of astronomical calculation in our text,¹³⁾ and the use of the twenty-eight Indian lunar mansions (*nakṣatras*).¹⁴⁾ Furthermore, there are also some features of the horoscopy in the YJ which are not attested in any Greek or Roman sources extant, for example, the division of a sign (30°) by seven (*saptāmśa*) and nine (*navāmśa*). While it is possible that the YJ inherited a Greek tradition lost to us, the Indian content of the horoscopy suggests that the YJ represents a new attempt to amalgamate the two.

Because of the early date Pingree gave to the YJ, this text was considered a progenitor of all later *jyotiṣa* texts, including the *Vṛddhayāvanajātaka* (VYJ) of Mīnarāja of which some parallel passages may be found. Pingree dated the VYJ to the early fourth century, interpreting *vṛddha*- as "expanded." However, more generally, *vṛddha*- may simply be understood as "old," suggesting the work to have preceded rather than succeeded the YJ. As far as the parallels are concerned, the VYJ may represent a smaller, and possibly earlier core.¹⁵⁾ Besides the VYJ, the hitherto unexamined *Gargasamhitā* and *Parāśaratantra*, both quoted

in the VYJ, may too be antecedents of the YJ. It is noteworthy that in Varāhamihira's BJ (sixth century), some of the Greek contents therein cannot be identified in the YJ, and by and large, there is no evidence that the very learned Varāhamihira knew this work at all. One may thus speculate that the circulation of the YJ must have been fairly limited or that it became widespread only after the time of Varāhamihira.

5. Conclusion

From the above discussion, we can see that there is little evidence, if at all, to suggest that the YJ was a versification of a prose translation of a lost Alexandrian text in Greek dated mid-second century as Pingree claimed. The mathematical idioms, the general contents as well as the technical concepts utilized in the texts suggest that it was most likely an original attempt by the Indianized Greeks to amalgamate Greek astral science with the Indian one based on a preexistent tradition in India. The work was most likely conceived in Sanskrit by an author who was conversant in both Greek and Indian astral science, and was certainly greatly familiar with the Indian culture and the Sanskrit tradition. From a philosophical point of view, the YJ could be dated between 22 CE to early seventh century, with the likelihood of somewhere between the fourth and sixth century as suggested by various evidences. While it may not be the oldest *jyotiṣa* texts extant in Sanskrit, its content remains to be of great interests to scholars of different fields. A closer examination with other *jyotiṣa* texts such as the *Gargasamhitā*, the BJ and perhaps more importantly, the VYJ may help to establish its true historical position.

1) Mak 2013a: 1–2; 2013b: 81–82.

2) Mak 2013a: 11–14; 2013b: 68–71. The findings confirmed the suspicions of Shastri, who was in fact the first to propose the *bhūtasamkhyā* readings (and the śaka era interpretation), which were described by himself as "doubtful" (Shastri 1901: 8).

3) For example, the earliest use of zero in an Indian text, the earliest use of *bhūtasamkhyā*, the dating of the *Vasiṣṭhasiddhānta*, the interrelation amongst the *jyotiṣa* texts extant, the impact of Greek astral science on its Indian counterpart and so on.

4) The beginning of Aries (*meṣādi*) is referred to as the starting point of the luni-solar *yuga* (Mak 2013b: 88–89).

5) On the possible backward calculation, see Mak 2013a: 10 fn.16. The *terminus ante quem* for this work remains to be 629 CE, the date of Bhāskara's commentary to the *Āryabhaṭīya* where passages of the YJ were quoted.

6) On the problem of identity of Yavaneśvara and Sphujidhvaja, see Mak 2013b: 71–73.

7) A new critical edition of the YJ is currently under preparation.

8) Mak 2013a: 9.

9) There is no evidence of the concepts of geometry or trigonometry in the *Yavanajātaka*.

The entire chapter seventy-two titled *nāmavidhi* is the description of a system of prognostication which generates *aṣṭaras* based on their assumed correspondences with the *navāṃśas* of a sign.

11) Cf. *Bṛhajjātakam* 2.12a. 12) While *kāpālīka* itself may refer to the *kāpālavratins* or the "criminal brahmins" who perform asceticism to atone their sins, the description elsewhere seems to suggest the image of the later Śaiva cult, Śiva wearing a "garland of skulls" (*kapālamālī*)—2.4; a man wearing "hide strung with a chain of skulls" (*kapālamālākulabaddhacarmā*)—3.33. Dating of the Śaiva *kāpālīka* is problematic but undisputed references are generally only after the fifth century.

13) *krameṇa candrakṣayaṣṭyāddhilakṣyas tithiś caturmānavidhānājivam* (79.6ab, ed. mine). "The *tithi*, which is to be defined as the gradual waning or waxing of the Moon, is the soul of the principles of the four (systems of time-) measurement," (Mak 2013b: 90–92).

14) YJ Ch.73: *yātrānakṣatratithiphalam* "The influence of the *nakṣatras* and *tithis* on expeditions."

15) Compare eg., YJ 17.1–23 with VYJ 23.1–12.

Abbreviations

BJ *Bṛhajjātakam* [of Varāhamihira], Sītārāma Jhā, ed., Varanasi: Ṭhākuprasāda, 1973. **N** NGMPP A31/16 NAK 1/1180. **Np** Pingree's reading of N (**Np** = reading not supported by ms.). **Q** NGMPP A1122/3 NAK 6/2397. **p** Pingree's emendation. **VJ** *Vedāṅgajyotiṣa* of Lagadha: T. S. Kuppanna Sastry, and K. V. Sarma, "Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa of Lagadha," *Indian Journal of History of Science* 19, no. 3 (1984): 1–32. **VYJ** *Vṛddhayavanajātaka of Minarāja*, David Pingree, ed., 2 vols., Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1976. **YJ** *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, Pingree, ed., 1978.

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きる日付を持つ。本稿では、それらの写本に関して見いだせることを数点紹介する。まず、ネパールでは仏教徒がそれらの写本の制作に関わっていた。さらには、仏教徒がテキストの著作にも関わっていた可能性を示す跡がこれらの写本には見いだされる。ネパール出の写本に見られるテキストは一つの伝承系統を形成する。つまりは、3本の写本はどれも共通の祖先から派生したと考えることができ、他の地域でのテキストの変遷からの影響は大きく受けていない。しかし、このネパールバージョンも長い伝承過程の痕跡を示す。すでに9世紀にはさまざまな形のテキストの意識的、無意識的な変化のあとが見いだされる。一つにはこれらの痕跡を通じて、さらには純粹に古い読みを保存することによって、ネパール出の写本は『スシュルタ・サンヒター』の古いテキストの復元を可能にし、テキストがどのように変化して来たかを知る手がかりを提供する。

185. 『スシュルタサンヒター』の構成における臨床的視点

森口 眞衣

インド医学の病理論について、*Carakasamhitā* (以下 CS) 系統の医学書では「病気の原因」を扱う *Nidānasthāna* (以下 Ns) を中心とする *nidāna* 論が展開されるが、*Suśrutasaṃhitā* (以下 SS) にそのような議論は見られない。本稿では医学書としての構成と標題(分類項目)に注目し、SSの病理への関心像を考察した。

Cikitsāsthāna (以下 Cs) は Ns との対応項目に増補して成立したと考えられ、SSの Ns は CS に比べ増補が多い。病巣の局在を基準により重篤あるいは診断の異なる病態を区別して配置した階層的構成をもつ SS は解剖学的な部位と疾患機序に基づいた分類を重視しており、その背景に豊富な臨床例の観察が想定された。

Uttaratantra (以下 Ut) は *Aṣṭāṅga* のうち4部門に対応し、CSのCsで増補された項目の一部がSSではUtの *kāyacikitsā* (以下 kyc) に収録される。基本的には病理(Ns)と治療法(Cs)は別々に記載されるが、Utは病理と治療法を同一項目内に収録し、循環器系・消化器系など身体機能に応じた配置で構成されている。従ってUtには現代の病理学や解剖生理学にも通じる臨床的視点がある。

ところで既出刊本ではUtにおいて6.38(女性生殖器疾患)が小児科を扱う *kau-mārabhṛtya* (以下 kmbh) 最終部に含まれているが、上記の特徴を踏まえると構成上6.38はkmbhではなくkycの泌尿器/生殖器関連箇所配置されるべきである。そこで the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) のSSネパール

写本を検証したところ、果たして6.38はkmbhではなくkycの男性生殖器疾患(6.59)に続けて収録されていた。従ってこれがUt本来の配置であったと想定される。

186. 最古のインド・ギリシャ系のサンスクリット文献の再考

——新発見の『ヤヴァナジャータカ』の写本に基づいて——

麥 文彪

『ヤヴァナジャータカ』(ギリシャ人の出生占星術)は紀元後のギリシャとインドの二つの文明の交流の証拠となる重要な文献である。このテキストは19世紀末から文献学者に知られていたが、校訂本は1978年にピングリーによって初めて出版された。その後、シュクラ(1989)とファルク(2001)がピングリーの校訂及びその解釈の様々な誤りを指摘したが、全体的にテキストについての研究は進んでいなかった。2012年に新しいネパール写本が発見されたのをきっかけとして筆者は『ヤヴァナジャータカ』が紀元後149/150年にアレクサンドリアでヤヴァネーシュヴァラという人物がギリシャ語で創作した作品を、紀元後269/270年にギリシャ人のスプジドヴァジャが韻文化したという「ピングリー説」を批判した。本稿は今までの様々な発見をまとめ、ピングリー版の誤読を訂正し、脱文を埋め、『ヤヴァナジャータカ』の歴史的な位置を再考する試みである。

187. ジャイナ教におけるブラフマチャリヤ

小林 久泰

ジャイナ教の基本文献『タットヴァ・アルタ・スートラ』における五大誓戒についての註釈には大きく二つの系統がある。すなわち、「注意を怠った人の行為によって」という「殺生」の定義に見られる限定句をそれ以外の四つの誓戒すべてに継起させる系統、そして、その限定句を不淫戒を除いた三つの誓戒にのみ継起させる系統との二つである。後者の系統は、白衣派の伝統にのみ特徴的に見られ、註釈者たちは、その典拠を白衣派独自に展開した戒律文献に求めている。白衣派註釈者たちが不淫戒を特別視するのは、このような戒律文献の影響を強く受けているためであり、またその戒律文献に説かれる通り、姦淫を行う人は、不注意であるか否かに関係なく、必ず欲望と嫌悪を伴っているため、他の誓戒とは異

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