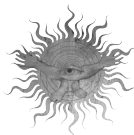


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42

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INDICE

ALEX PIOVAN

Gli usi modali di ben: un'analisi qualitativa preliminare » 9

DIEGO SIDRASCHI, FRANCESCO COSTANTINI

*Un manoscritto ottocentesco della Dottrina Cristiana
nella parlata tedesca di Sauris/Zahre in Carnia:
origini del testo e analisi linguistica* » 35

STEFANO GHIROLDI

*La cavalcatura dai «Ferri Dorati»:
Origini e riscritture scandinave di un motivo normanno* » 65

CONCETTA GILIBERTO

*Il colore 'blu' nel medioevo frisone:
afris. wēden, wēdan, wēdin* » 99

MAURO MAGGI

*Light on the Siddhasāra from the Jīvakapustaka:
the Hapuṣādyaghr̥ta in Khotanese (JP 26)
and its Indian sources* » 121

MAURO MAGGI

(Università degli studi di Roma La Sapienza)

Light on the Siddhasāra from the Jivakapustaka: the Hapuṣādyaghṛta in Khotanese (JP 26) and its Indian sources

Abstract

The Jivakapustaka is a collection of Āyurvedic prescriptions from various texts. It is preserved in a Dunhuang manuscript in Sanskrit and Late Khotanese. The latter contains amplifications on methods of preparation, quantities of ingredients, and use of medicines. The source of the formula for the medicated ghee Hapuṣādyaghṛta in Jivakapustaka 26 is Siddhasāra 9.14. This is clearly true for the Sanskrit text but not for its Khotanese version, which explicitly mentions pomegranate (drrāma = Sanskrit dāḍima). Pomegranate features also in the corresponding prescriptions of Caraka and Vāgbhaṭa. Accordingly: (1) the current interpretation of Siddhasāra 9.14 has to be revised so as to include pomegranate as an ingredient (Sanskrit amla- 'sour' is used as an epithet for amla-dāḍima- 'sour pomegranate'); (2) the Khotanese Jivakapustaka took into account oral Āyurvedic tradition drawing from teachings in various texts. In the case of the Hapuṣādyaghṛta, pomegranate as an ingredient depends presumably on Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā, which circulated in Central Asia, as fragments of the work in Old Uighur and Sogdian confirm.

Keywords: *Indian medicine, classical Āyurveda, Khotanese medical texts, Jivakapustaka, Siddhasāra, Hapuṣādyaghṛta*

1. Introduction

The *Jivakapustaka* is a medical text in Sanskrit and Late Khotanese belonging to the Indian Āyurvedic tradition¹. The work is preserved only in a bilingual manuscript, incomplete and without colophon, which was found

¹ For comments and suggestions they made after reading a draft of this paper, I am grateful to Paolo De Troia, Alessandro Del Tomba, Silvia Luzzietti, and Dieter Maue, as well as to Doug Hitch, to whom I am also indebted for kindly polishing my English. Abbreviations of medical texts used in this article are: A.h. = *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*; A.s. = *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha*; Ca. = *Carakasamhitā*; Ci. = *Cikitsāsthāna*; JP = *Jivakapustaka*; Ka. = *Kalpasthāna*; PiŚ = *Pinḍasāstra* (cf. Maggi 2018: 251 n. 30); Si = *Siddhasāra*; Sū. = *Sūtrasthāna*. Conventions employed in the quoted texts are: *italics* (roman in quotations in italics) = uncertain letters not entirely visible (manuscript partially broken or erased); () = supplement; [] = expunction by the copyist.

in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas (Qianfodong) near Dunhuang in north-western China and is now kept in the British Library (manuscript Ch. ii.003 = IOL Khot 97–110). The manuscript, in Khotanese documentary Brāhmī script, presumably dates back to the 10th century and consists of 71 folios².

The text is a collection, made for practical purposes, of 91 prescriptions drawn from various medical texts and organised into chapters by type of preparation. Because the first chapter presents itself as the teaching of the Buddha to the physician Jīvaka (JP 2), Harold W. Bailey assigned the text the conventional title of *Jīvakaṣṭaka* ‘The book of Jīvaka’ for ease of reference³. Chapter 1 is devoted to an antidote (JP 1–3), chapter 2 to drugs mixed with ghee (JP 4–46), chapter 3 to drugs mixed with sesame oil (JP 47–73), and chapter 4, incomplete, to medicated powders (JP 74–93). In chapter 1, which consists of a single prescription but is divided into three paragraphs according to the numbering by Sten Konow⁴, the Sanskrit and the Khotanese alternate phrase by phrase. In the other chapters, which contain a prescription per paragraph, the two languages alternate paragraph by paragraph. The Khotanese version is based on the Sanskrit, which is very corrupt. Translation errors suggest that the translator did not fully understand it⁵. In general, the single prescriptions contain the list of ingredients, instructions for preparation and application to various diseases, and often the title of the prescription itself.

Jean Filliozat identified 6 of the 91 prescriptions of the *Jīvakaṣṭaka* in previous Indian medical works and Ronald E. Emmerick identified numerous others for a total of 29, 15 of which have exclusive correspondence in Ravigupta’s *Siddhasāra* (mid-7th century), also known in a largely preserved Khotanese version⁶.

2 Facsimile of the manuscript in Bailey 1938: 69–141; edition, translation, and glossary of the Khotanese text by Konow 1941; edition of the Sanskrit and the Khotanese on facing pages by Bailey 1945–1956: vol. 1, 136–195; edition and reconstruction of the Sanskrit by Chen 2005: 267–455; new edition, Persian translation, and glossary of the Khotanese by Tāme 2014. On the work in general and for further references, see Emmerick 1992a: 42–43; Meulenbeld 1999–2002: vol. 2A, 126, vol. 2B, 144–145 nn. 223–234; Skjærvø 2002: xlii, 305; Maggi 2008; 2009: 350–351, 414–415. The paragraph numbering adopted here is that introduced by Konow 1941.

3 Bailey 1945–1956: vol. 1, vii with n. 3.

4 New edition and translation of chapter 1 in Emmerick 1992b.

5 Emmerick 1979a: 235, 243.

6 Filliozat 1946–1947, 135; Emmerick 1979a: 235–237. See Emmerick 1980 for a critical edition of the Sanskrit *Siddhasāra*. For the Khotanese version see the facsimile of the manuscript in

JP 11 resembles the fragmentary Tocharian B version of the *Mahāvaidēhaghṛta*, but the two prescriptions do not seem to be directly related and rather go back to a common source⁷.

A study of JP 1–25 with edition and translation of the Sanskrit and the Khotanese (folios 44r1–72r4 of the manuscript) titled “An ancient medical manuscript from Eastern Turkestan: Ch.ii.003” had been prepared for printing by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle but remained unpublished due to the author’s death (1918). It is now kept in the British Library under the signature MSS.EUR.D.723/22⁸. The prescription for the *Hapušādyaghṛta* studied in this article (JP 26) immediately follows the portion of the text studied by Hoernle.

Unlike the *Jivakapustaka*, which aims at the practical application of medicines to the treatment of diseases, the *Siddhasāra* is a systematic treatise on Āyurvedic medicine, which resulted from a reworking of the classical tradition and enjoyed great prestige, as Emmerick explains in the introduction to his edition of text⁹:

The reputation of Ravigupta’s *Siddhasāra* can in part be gauged by the extent to which it was quoted. About half the verses of the present edition have so far been traced elsewhere. Additional identifications can certainly be made [...].

Very rarely are verses found that are identical with those in the classical *samhitās*. Very frequently on the other hand are identical verses found in later sources.

Thanks to the high regard in which it was held, the work also spread outside India: it was incorporated into the Tanjur section of the Tibetan Buddhist canon (like the Vāgbhaṭa’s *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā*)¹⁰, in Central Asia it was translated into Khotanese and Old Uighur, and there are clear traces of it in medical works in Arabic and Latin¹¹.

Bailey 1938: 1–67, the edition in Bailey 1945–1956: vol. 1, 2–104 (manuscript Ch. ii.002 = IOL Khot 116–122, 123/2–137), vol. 5, 315–324 (manuscript P 2892). On the work in general and for further references, see Emmerick 1992a: 43–45; Meulenbeld 1999–2002: vol. 2A, 146–148, vol. 2B, 166–170 nn. 636–694; Skjærvø 2002: 316–317; Maggi 2009: 415–416.

⁷ See Maue 1990.

⁸ See Emmerick 1992a: 43; 1992b: 61; 1994: 29–30; 1997.

⁹ Emmerick 1980: 12.

¹⁰ See Emmerick 1982.

¹¹ See Emmerick 1981 and Zieme 2007: 310–312.

The *Siddhasāra* is a systematic treatise and is, thus, intrinsically superior to the *Jivakapustaka*. Further, the Sanskrit text of the *Jivakapustaka* is very corrupt and its Khotanese translation contains occasional mistakes. In the case of the *Hapušādyaghṛta*, however, it is precisely the Khotanese version in JP 26 that sheds light on the interpretation of its source in the *Siddhasāra*.

2. Jivakapustaka 26 and Siddhasāra 9.14

JP 26 contains the prescription for a medicated ghee called in Sanskrit *hapušādyaghṛta* ‘ghee with juniper etc.’ (72v2 *hamūṣādya ghṛatta*) and in Khotanese *hapūṣāda rūm* (73r1) from the name of its first ingredient¹². Emmerick identified JP 26 with Si 9.14. Unfortunately this prescription is lost in the Khotanese translation of the *Siddhasāra*.¹³ Emmerick established the Sanskrit text as follows¹⁴:

9.14 *hapuṣailānala-vyoṣa-cavya-dīpyaka-saindhavaiḥ*
sājājī-granthikaiḥ kola-mūlakāmlāmbu-vad ghṛtam
dadhi-kṣīra-yutaṃ pakvaṃ gulma-śūla-vibandha-nut
yoni-doṣāvipākārśaḥ-śvāsa-hṛt-pārśva-śūla-jit

Ghee (*ghṛtam*) cooked with (1) juniper (*hapuṣā-*)¹⁵, (2) cardamom (*elā-*), (3) leadwort (*anala-*), (4) the three hot ones (*vyoṣa-*), (5) chaba pepper (*cavya-*), (6) bishop’s weed (*dīpyaka-*), (7) and rock salt (*saindhavaiḥ*), with (8) cumin (*ajājī-*) and (9) root of long pepper (*granthikaiḥ*), and with the sour liquid (*amlāmbu-*) of (10) jujube (*kola-*) and (11) radish (*mūlaka-*) and (then) combined with thick sour milk (*dadhi-*) and milk (*kṣīra-*), removes internal tumours (*gulma-*), colic (*śūla-*), and constipation (*vibandha-*) and makes free of disease of the womb (*yoni-doṣa-*), indigestion (*avipāka-*), piles (*arśaḥ-*), uncomfortable breathing (*śvāsa-*), and pain (*śūla-*) in the heart (*hṛt-*) and the sides (*pārśva-*).

12 See Maggi 2020–2021 for the previously unexplained etymology of Sanskrit *hapuṣā-* ‘juniper’.

13 Si 9.14 is not preserved in the Khotanese version of the text because only the following chapters are extant: 1–3.26.12, 13.27–15.1, 15.15–23, 18.53–26.0–68 e 26.75–90 (see Maggi 2009: 415–416).

14 Emmerick 1979a: 235–237; ed. Emmerick 1980; my translation.

15 Ingredients are numbered for comparison with other formulations. Excipients such as ghee, milk, etc. are not numbered.

This preliminary translation essentially follows Chen Ming's modern Chinese translation and the early 9th century Tibetan version, whose text Emmerick establishes and translates thus¹⁶:

9.14 (1) *spa ma'i 'bras bu dang* / (2) *sug smel dang* / (3) *kru trug tres dang* / (4) *tsha ba gsum dang* / (5) *dbyi mong dang* / (6) *la la phud dang* / (7) *rgyam tsha dang* / (8) *go snyod dang* / (9) *pi pi ling gi rtsa ba rnams kyi phye ma* / (10) *rgya shug gi 'bras bu dang* / (11) *la phug lhan cig tu skol ba'i khu ba skyur por gyur pa / zho dang mar 'o mar ldan pahi nang du bskol te / mar nyi tshe lus pas skran dang / zug cing na ba dang / phyi sa 'gags pa sel cing / mngal gyi nyes pa dang / zas 'jur mi btub pa dang / gzhang 'brum dang / dbugs mi bde ba dang / snying na ba dang / rtsib logs na ba rnams med par byed do //*

If (one takes) the powder from (1) fruit of the juniper (*hapuṣā-*), (2) cardamom (*elā-*), (3) leadwort (*anala-*), (4) the three hot ones (*vyoṣa-*), (5) chaba pepper (*cavya-*), (6) bishop's-weed (*dīpyaka-*), (7) rock salt (*saindhava-*), (8) cumin (*ajājī-*), and (9) root of long pepper (*granthika-*), and boils (*pakvaṃ*) it in the liquid (*ambu-*) (obtained) by boiling together (10) fruit of the jujube (*kola-*) and (11) radish (*mūlaka-*), after (the liquid) has become sour (*amla-*), in thick sour milk (*dadhi-*) and in ghee (*ghṛtam*) accompanied by (*yutaṃ*) milk (*kṣīra-*), the pure ghee that remains removes (*nut*) internal tumours (*gulma-*), aches and pains (*śūla-*), and blocked faeces (*vibandha-*), and makes free of (*jī-*) disease of the womb (*yoni-doṣa-*), inability to digest food (*avipāka-*), piles (*arśaḥ-*), uncomfortable breathing (*śvāsa-*), pain in the heart (*hṛt-śūla-*), and pain in the side (*pārśva-śūla-*).

The correspondence between Si 9.14 and the Sanskrit text of JP 26—albeit corrupt, metrically irregular, deformed by variants influenced by Late Khotanese spelling habits (e.g. *kālā-* for *kola-*), and supplemented with the addition of the name of the preparation—is quite precise¹⁷:

- 26.1 ^(72r4)*hapuṣq[m i]* ^(72r5)*m ilānala-vyāṣa-cavya-dīpyaki-sādhava*
 <*sā*>*jājī-grrathqkī-kālā-mūlakāmbunū-va ghrratta*
 26.2 *da*<*dhi*>-*kṣīra-yūhtī padva gūlma-śūla-vībaṃdha-* ^(72v1)*nūtti*
yauna-dāmāvarṣākārśau-śvāsa-hṛitta-pārśva-śūla-jina
hamūṣāḍya ghrratta . ○

¹⁶ Chen 2005: 335; Emmerick 1982: 184–185.

¹⁷ Cf. the editions by Bailey 1945–1956: vol. 1, 158 and Chen 2005: 334–335. The nasalisation sign under the vowels transcribes an etymologically unexpected anusvāra.

3. The Khotanese version of Jivakapustaka 26, Caraka, and Vāgbhaṭa

3.1. Jivakapustaka 26 in Khotanese

The Khotanese translation of JP 26 follows Si 9.14 in the order of the ingredients, but differs from it in various respects. Not only does it enumerate in detail the single drugs grouped in Sanskrit under hyperonyms such as *vyoṣa-* ‘the three hot ones’ (= long pepper, ginger, and black pepper) and inserts, as usual, amplifications on the methods of preparation, the quantities of ingredients, and the employment of the medicine (printed in bold in the translation below), but also includes pomegranate (*dr̥rāma*) as a twelfth ingredient, which seems to be absent in Si 9.14, which I read and translate thus¹⁸:

(72v1) (1) *hapūṣi* : (2) *sūṣmīla* : (3) *cittri* (4a) *papala* (72v2) (4b) *tāṃgāra* : (4c) *mīrīṃsya* (5) *bādara* (6) *sāṇā* : (7) *sadalūṃ* (8) *auṣi* : (9) *papala mūla* : *ṣā*’
pq<na> arva paṃjsa paṃjsa mācāṃgya samām kūṭāṇa (10) *bara śji* (72v3)
śau śiṃga rīsū hāle śaṃga śau śaṃga ūca jsa pācḥi khu ra va śva’ *harṣtā*
āysmāstāṇa padāṇaṇa pyāṇāṇa khu ttīra (72v4) *hami dva śiṃga pisūjāṇā* (11)
hūṣkyi ttrahi dasau sira kūṭāṇa kṣasa śiṃga uca jsa jṣāṇāṇa khu ra va dva
śiṃga harṣta : (72v5) *stura dr̥rāma bīsta hathrrajāṇa dva śiṃga* (12) *dr̥rāma*
raysā śtākā gviha rūṃ dva śiṃga ṇi dva śiṃga . ṣvīda dva śiṃga . bīṣa hāṇa
tcirj u pācchai drrīm drrīm tcau tcau prrīṇi khā (73r1) *śā’ṇa grrāmaka gāma*
jīṇda u aharīna vīni <... vīni> *jsahira aṃgvā hīga padīmi hapūṣāda rūṃ* ::

(1) Juniper (*hapuṣā-*), (2) **lesser** cardamom (*elā-*), (3) leadwort (*anala-*), (the three hot ones [*vyoṣa-*], i.e.) (4a) long pepper (**pippalī*), (4b) ginger (**nāgara*/**śuṇṭhī*/**viśva*), (4c) black pepper (**marica*), (5) chaba pepper (*cavya-*)¹⁹, (6) bishop’s weed (*dīpyaka-*), (7) rock salt (*saindhava-*), (8) cumin (*ajāī-*), (9) root of long pepper (*granthika-*)—

18 Cf. the edition and translation by Konow 1941: 36–37 and the edition by Bailey 1945–1956: vol. 1, 159.

19 In his glossary Konow 1941: 95 identifies the Indian loanword *badara-* as ‘Zizyphus jojoba, jujube’, which is in fact one of the meanings of Sanskrit *badara-* (as a synonym of *kola-*), but prudently keeps the original term (“badara”) in his translation. Tāme 2014: 135, 212, 309 translates *badara-* as “onnāb [jujube]”. In reality, Khotanese *badara-* always corresponds in the *Siddhasāra* and 10 times out of 12 in the *Jivakapustaka* to Sanskrit *cavya-* ‘chaba pepper’, that is, *Piper chaba* Hunter (Meulenbeld 1974: 552), a synonym of the now preferred *Piper retrofractum* Vahl (<http://www.worldfloraonline.org/taxon/wfo-0001094116>, accessed on 9th July 2021). Contrast the tenth ingredient *bara śji* translating Skt. *kola-* ‘jujube’, a hendiadys consisting of the Indian loanword *bara-* ← **batara-* ← Sanskrit *badara-* ‘jujube’ and its Khotanese equivalent *śji* (see Bailey 1979: 399 s.v. *śimja* and cf. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* 5.15.2 *batarīgyo b[āggaro]* ‘a *leaf of jujube’ in Skjærvø 1986: 243, 257, translating Sanskrit *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* 5.15 *badari-patram* [ed. 2004]).

each of these drugs, five mākāṃgās each, must be pounded evenly—, (10) one śiṃga of jujube śtīji (*kola-*) (and) half a śiṃga of rice must be cooked with one ṣaṃga of water (*ambu-*) until a half remains there. (The mixture) must be placed in a vessel for fermentation²⁰. When it becomes sour (*amla-*), two śiṃgas (of it) must be clarified. (11) Ten ounces of dry radishes (*mūlaka-*) must be pounded (and) boiled with sixteen śiṃgas of water until two śiṃgas remain there. Twenty large pomegranates must be squeezed. Two śiṃgas of (12) pomegranate juice, two śiṃgas of cow oil (*ghṛtam*), two śiṃgas of thick sour milk (*dadhi-*), (and) two śiṃgas of milk (*kṣīra-*) are necessary: the whole must be put in a vessel and cooked. Three or four warm prūyas must be drunk at a time. (This cow oil) removes internal tumours (*gulma-*) and all pains (*śūla-*) (... , pains) in the abdomen (*hṛt-*) (and) the sides (*pārśva-*) (and) makes (the abdomen) smooth (*vibandha-nut*)²¹. (This is) the Hapūṣādi (cow) oil.

It may be noted incidentally that, compared to Si 9.14, the list of diseases treated with this preparation does not include ‘disease of the womb (*yoni-doṣa-*), indigestion (*avipāka-*), piles (*arśaḥ-*), [or] uncomfortable breathing (*śvāsa-*)’. However, the omission in 73r1 must be accidental and due to an eye-skip from a probable first occurrence of *vīni* ‘colic (*śūla-*)’ to a second occurrence of the word in <... *vīni*> *jsahira aṃgvā* ‘(pains) in the abdomen (and) the sides’ (*hṛt-pārśva-śūla-*).

What is more interesting is to focus on the presence of pomegranate juice (obtained from ‘twenty large pomegranates’). As we have seen, the pomegranate is absent in the Sanskrit original of Si 9.14 (§ 4) according to the Tibetan interpretation (where there is no trace of it), but is already

20 For Late Khotanese *āysmāstāṇa* < Old Khotanese **uysmāstauṇa-* ‘fermentation’ see Emmerick & Skjærvø 1982–1997: vol. 1, 25–26.

21 Konow has *hiṃga*, left untranslated. Bailey 1945–1956: vol. 1, 159 n. 1 suggests emending *hiṃga* to **haśa* that in *Siddhasāra* and *Jivakapustaka* translates Sanskrit *śopha-* and *śvayathu-* ‘swelling’, but this is a heavy intervention not justified by the Sanskrit original. There is no doubt that *hīga* is another Late Khotanese variant spelling in addition to *hu’gā* (with the synonymous derivative *hu’galakā*, PiŚ P 2893 48 and 38 in Bailey 1945–1956: vol. 3, 84), *hai’ga*, *haiga*, *hau’ga*, *hoga* < Old Khotanese *hulga-* ‘soft, smooth; gentle’ (cf. Emmerick 1979b: 249–250 n. 7 and in Emmerick & Skjærvø 1982–1997: vol. 3, 175–176 s.v. *haiga*). For the meaning of *hīga padīmi* ‘makes (the abdomen) smooth’ as a translation of Skt. *vibandha-nut* ‘removes constipation’, cf. Si 14.7 *khvai jsihārā hau’gā hame* ‘when his stomach becomes smooth (*snehitān*) [thanks to the ghee]’ (Emmerick’s unpublished translation). This interpretation is to be preferred to the one I suggested to Tāme 2014: 136, 213–214 n. 6 that *hīga padīmi* means ‘makes mild, soothes’ and complements the preceding *jimda u aharīna vīni jsahira aṃgvā*, hence ‘removes all pain in the abdomen (and) the sides (and) soothes (them)’.

found much earlier in the works by two classical authors of Āyurveda, the compendia by Caraka and Vāgbhaṭa. Pomegranate is listed among the ingredients in the corresponding prescription in the *Carakasamhitā* identified with JP 26 by Filliozat, though it “corresponds only in content, not in formulation”²², as well as in the similar prescriptions in Vāgbhaṭa’s *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasamhitā* and *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha*²³.

3.2. The Hapuṣādyaghṛta in Carakasamhitā, Cikitsāsthāna 5.71–73

Caraka’s parallel to Si 9.14 was added by Bailey in the second edition of volume 1 of his *Khotanese texts* after Filliozat’s identification²⁴. Ca.Ci. 5.71–73 is formulated as follows²⁵:

- 71 hapuṣā-vyoṣa-pr̥thvikā-cavya-citraka-saindhavaiḥ |
sājājī-pippalī-mūla-dīpyakair vipaced ghṛtam || 71 ||
72 sa-kola-mūlaka-rasaṃ sa-kṣīra-dadhi-dāḍimam |
tat paraṃ vāta-gulma-ghnaṃ śulānāha-vimokṣaṇam || 72 ||
73 yony-arśo-grahaṇī-doṣa-śvāsa-kāsāruci-jvarān |
basti-hṛt-pārśva-śūlaṃ ca ghṛtam etad vyapohati || 73 ||

One must cook ghee (*ghṛtam*) thoroughly with (1) juniper (*hapuṣā*)²⁶, (4) the three hot ones (*vyoṣa*-), (2) cardamom (*pr̥thvikā*-), (5) chaba pepper (*cavya*-), (3) leadwort (*citraka*-), and (7) rock salt (*saindhavaiḥ*), with (8) cumin (*ajājī*-), (9) root of long pepper (*pippalī-mūla*-), and (6) bishop’s weed (*dīpyakair*), with the liquid of (10) jujube (*kola*-) and (11) radish (*mūlaka*-), and with milk (*kṣīra*-), thick sour milk (*dadhi*-), and (12) (juice of) pomegranate (*dāḍimam*). This is an excellent (remedy) for removing internal tumours due to wind (*vāta-gulma*-) and for making free of colic (*śūla*-) and constipation (*ānāha*-). This ghee (also) eliminates disease (*doṣa*-) of the womb (*yoni*-), piles (*arśo*-), chronic diarrhoea (*grahaṇī*-), breathing difficulties (*śvāsa*-), cough (*kāsa*-), loss of appetite (*aruci*-), fever (*jvarān*) and pain (*śūlaṃ*) in the lower abdomen (*basti*-), in the heart (*hṛt*-), and in the sides (*pārśva*-).

22 Filliozat 1946–1947, 135; clarification by Emmerick 1979a: 236.

23 Identified as equivalents to JP 26 etc., although differently worded, by Maggi 2020–2021: 8 n. 48.

24 See Bailey 1945–1956: vol. 1, 195.

25 Ed. Sharma 1998; my translation.

26 The numbering of the drugs follows their order in Si 9.14, taken here as a basis for comparison of the corresponding prescriptions and supplemented with number 12 (pomegranate) as in the Khotanese translation of JP 26.

3.3. *The Hapuṣādighṛta in Aṣṭāṅgahr̥dayasaṃhitā, Cikitsāsthāna 14.11–13ab*²⁷

11 *hapuṣoṣaṇa-pr̥thvikā-pañca-kolaka-dīpyakaiḥ |*
sājājī-saindhavair dadhnā dugdhena ca rasena ca || 11 ||

12 *dāḍimān mūlakāt kolāt pacet sarpir nihanti tat |*
vāta-gulmodarānāha-pārśva-hṛt-koṣṭha-vedanāḥ || 12 ||

13 *yony-arśo-grahaṇī-doṣa-kāsa-śvāsāruci-jvarān |*

One must cook ghee (*sarpir*) with (1) juniper (*hapuṣā-*), (4c) black pepper (*uṣaṇa-*), (2) cardamom (*pr̥thvikā-*), (4a, 4b, 5, 9, 3) the five hot ones (*pañca-kolaka-*) (i.e. long pepper, ginger, chaba pepper, root of long pepper and leadwort)²⁸, (6) bishop's weed (*dīpyakaiḥ*), (8) cumin (*ajājī-*), (7) rock salt (*saindhavair*), thick sour milk (*dadhnā*), milk (*dugdhena*), and the liquid (*rasena*) (obtained) from (12) pomegranate (*dāḍimān*), (11) radish (*mūlakāt*), and (10) jujube (*kolāt*). This (remedy) removes internal tumours due to wind (*vāta-gulma-*), enlargement of the abdomen (*udara-*), constipation (*ānāha-*), pains (*vedanāḥ*) in the sides (*pārśva-*), the heart (*hṛt-*), and the belly (*koṣṭha-*), disease (*doṣa-*) of the womb (*yoni-*), piles (*arśo-*), chronic diarrhoea (*grahaṇī-*), cough (*kāsa-*), uncomfortable breathing (*śvāsa-*), lack of appetite (*aruci-*), and fever (*jvarān*).

3.4. *The Hapuṣādighṛta in Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha, Cikitsāsthāna 16.4*²⁹

hapuṣā-marica-bāṣvikā-saindhava-dīpyakājājī-pañca-kolakaiḥ kola-
mūlaka-dāḍima-rasa-dadhi-kṣīra-vat sarpiḥ siddham siddham śūla-
vibandha-hidhmādhmāna-plīha-hṛd-roga-grahaṇī-hatanāma-kṛmi-
vardhma-pāṇḍu-kṣaya-śvāsa-kāsa-yoni-rogodara-jvarārocakeṣu

Ghee (*sarpiḥ*) cooked with (1) juniper (*hapuṣā-*), (4c) black pepper (*marica-*), (2) cardamom (*bāṣvikā-*)³⁰, (7) rock salt (*saindhava-*), (6) bishop's weed (*dīpyaka-*), (8) cumin (*ajājī-*), and (4a, 4b, 5, 9, 3) the five hot ones (*pañca-kolakaiḥ*) (i.e. long pepper, ginger, chaba pepper, root of long pepper, and leadwort) and with the liquid (*rasa-*) (obtained) from (10) jujube (*kola-*), (11) radish (*mūlaka-*), and (12) pomegranate

27 Ed. Das & Emmerick 1998; my translation.

28 For the list of drugs that make up the group called *pañca-kola(ka)-* see A.h.Sū.6.160–167ab = A.s.Sū.12.43–49 (in particular A.h.Sū.6.166cd–167ab = A.s.Sū.12.49cd–ef) and cf. Hoernle 1908: 228 s.v. *pañchan*.

29 Ed. Āṭhvale 1980; my translation.

30 On the identification of *bāṣpikā* (*bāṣvikā*) cf. Meulenbeld 1999–2002: vol. 1B, 706 n. 832.

(*dāḍima*-), thick sour milk (*dadhi*-), and milk (*kṣīra*-) is effective in the case of colic (*śūla*-), constipation (*vibandha*-), hiccups (*hidhmā*-), swelling (*ādhmāna*-), enlargement of the spleen (*plīha*-), diseases of the heart (*hṛd-roga*-), chronic diarrhoea (*grahāṇī*-), piles (*hatanāma*-), worms (*kṛmi*-), *vardhma* (*vardhma*-)³¹, yellow disease (*pāṇḍu*-), consumption (*kṣaya*-), uncomfortable breathing (*śvāsa*-), cough (*kāsa*-), disease of the womb (*yoni-roga*-), enlargement of the abdomen (*udara*-), fever (*jvara*-), and loss of appetite (*arocakeṣu*).

4. Siddhasāra 9.14 revisited

As the aforementioned interpretation of the Tibetan translators suggests, it seems that Si 9.14 simply mentions the ‘sour liquid of jujube and radish’ (§ 2), but not pomegranate, which is ingredient 12 in the Khotanese version of JP 26 and in the classical Āyurvedic authors Caraka (Ca.Ci.5.71–73) and Vāgbhaṭa (A.h.Ci. 14.11–13ab and A.s.Ci.16.4). Since it is unlikely that Ravigupta deviated from the classical tradition by omitting an ingredient, one may wonder whether the pomegranate is actually hiding in the compound *kola-mūlakāmlāmbu*- and in particular in its third element *amla*-.

Pomegranate is of two types (or even three types) according to *Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭu* 2.62cd, *Rājanighaṇṭu* 11.96ab (and *Bhāvaprakāśanighaṇṭu* 7.101cd): *madhura*-/*svādu*- ‘sweet’, *amla*- ‘sour’ (and *svādv-amla*- ‘sweet and sour’)³². Despite this, pomegranate is essentially regarded as a sour fruit. It is part of the group called *phalāmla*- ‘sour fruit juices’ according to Cakrapāṇidatta (on Ca.Ka. 1.12)³³, of the group called *caturamla*- ‘the four sour ones’ (mentioned at Ca.Ci. 15.111) according to Cakrapāṇidatta and others, and of the group called *pañcāmla(ka)*- ‘the five sour ones’ according to *Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭu* 7.57 and *Rājanighaṇṭu* 22.28³⁴. The *Ratnarasasamuccayaṭīkā* also assigns pomegranate to the *amlavarga*-, the ‘group of acidic substances’, to

31 “The identity of this disease, showing distinctive swellings in the groins, has still to be determined” (Meulenbeld 1999–2002: vol. 2A, 80, vol. 2B, 93 n. 97).

32 Cf. Sivarajan e Balachandran 1994: 123.

33 See Meulenbeld 1974: 480 s.v. *phalāmla*.

34 See Meulenbeld 1974: 441 s.v. *amla* and cf. Sharma 1996: 188–190 s.v. *dāḍima*, 226–227 s.v. *pañcāmla* on their uses in classical Āyurveda.

which sour fruit juices in particular belong and which was also employed in alchemical procedures³⁵.

The specific term *amla-dāḍima*- ‘sour pomegranate’ is also occasionally found in the texts: for example, Vaṅgasena, *Cikitsāsārasaṃgraha*, *Madātyayanidāna* 30 has *mātuluṅgāmla-dāḍimaiḥ*³⁶ ‘citrons and sour (*amla*-) pomegranates’ instead of *mātuluṅgāmra-dāḍimaiḥ* ‘citrons, mangos (*āmra*-), and pomegranates’ in Si 22.13, which is its possible source³⁷ and whose Tibetan version *jha lung dang // bal po se ’u skyur chu* ‘water lemons (*mātuluṅga*-) and sour pomegranates (**amla-dāḍimaiḥ*)’³⁸ also rests on a reading with *amla*- instead of *āmra*-.

It is therefore possible that the adjective *amla*- ‘sour’ stands for an implied *dāḍima*- ‘pomegranate’ (as indicated by the formulations corresponding to Si 9.14 in the other texts) and does not qualify the following *ambu*- ‘liquid’ (as in the Tibetan translation).

In principle *amla*- might here be an abbreviation for *dāḍimāmla*- ‘sour juice of pomegranate’ (found for instance in A.h.Ci.914a, A.s.Ci.10.36, and as *dāḍimāmbala*- with consonant epenthesis in Bower manuscript I.77, II,727), as in the case of *amla*- used as an abbreviation for *dhānyāmla*- ‘sour gruel’ (literally ‘grain acid’) etc.³⁹. This analysis would be in line with Ca.Ci. 5.72 *sa-kṣīra-dadhi-dāḍimam*, which groups pomegranate together with two other liquids like milk and thick sour milk.

In the passage under consideration, however, *ambu*- already denotes the liquid obtained from jujube, radish, and pomegranate like *rasa*- in A.h.Ci. 14.11–12 *rasena ca dāḍimān mūlakāt kolāt* and A.s.Ci. 16.4 *kola-mūlaka-dāḍima-rasa*-. Accordingly, the substantivised adjective *amla*- refers generically to the fruit and is short for *amla-dāḍima*- in the same way as elsewhere *amla*- is short for *amla-vetasa*- ‘bladder sorrel’, (*amla*-)*kāñjika*- ‘sour gruel’, etc.⁴⁰.

The compound Si 9.14 *kola-mūlakāmlāmbu-vat* should accordingly be translated ‘with the liquid (obtained) from jujube, radish, and sour pomegranate’.

35 See Hellwig 2009: 47–48 and cf. Meulenbeld 1999–2002: vol. 2A, 288.

36 Ed. Bhaṭṭācārya 1893.

37 Cf. Emmerick 1980: 113 and Meulenbeld 1999–2002: vol. 2B, 248 n. 1490.

38 Emmerick 1982: 328–329.

39 See Hoernle 1908: 280 s.v. *dāḍima*, 332 s.v. *sa*, and Meulenbeld 1974: 480 s.v. *phalāmla*.

40 See Meulenbeld 1974: 441 s.v. *amla*. Cf. Tibetan *rtsabs skyur po* ‘sour gruel’ translating *amla*- (for (*amla*-)*kāñjika*-) in Si 26.120, 26.114, 29.30, 30.12, 30.54, 30.55, 31.7, 31.16.

5. General implications for the Khotanese translation of the *Jivakapustaka*

The clear mention of pomegranate in the Khotanese version of JP 26 = Si 9.14 contrasts with its omission in the Tibetan translation and sheds some light not only on the ambiguous Sanskrit original but, in more general terms, also on the circumstances of the Khotanese translation of the *Jivakapustaka*.

The work is an assemblage of prescriptions taken from various sources and was basically meant to allow the prescriptions to be used in current medical practice. This applies in particular to the Khotanese version which, compared to the original Sanskrit and notwithstanding its occasional mistakes in interpretation, adds information and clarifications on the quantities of ingredients to be used in the various recipes, on the methods of their various stages of preparation, and on their use for the treatment of diseases and even takes care to adjust the potentially ambiguous wording of the original, as in the case studied here. These amplifications and adjustments must depend on the knowledge of Āyurvedic medicine that was present in Central Asia not only as texts (suffice it to mention the Bower manuscript), but most probably also as oral teaching. This allowed physicians to integrate the information found in the texts by resorting, when appropriate, to different sources and most likely to some classical Āyurvedic text.

The specific case of the *Hapušādyaghṛta* in JP 26 and its explicit mention of pomegranate leads one to think, in principle, of the classical authors Caraka and Vāgbhaṭa, since they too mention in a clear way the pomegranate as an ingredient with respect to the ambiguous *amla-* of the Sanskrit source in Si 9.14. However, the influence of Vāgbhaṭa and particularly of his *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* is the most probable. As Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld writes⁴¹,

The fame of Vagbhata spread over a large area of Indian culture. The *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* became the object of intensive study, as shown by the very large number of its commentaries. Several later works were inspired by it. The *Hṛdaya* was translated into Tibetan, together with Candranandana's commentary, and reached the Islamic world.

41 Meulenbeld 1999–2002: vol. 1A, 656.

To this we can add that the *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdayasaṃhitā* circulated also in Central Asia, as is confirmed by the extant fragments of Old Uighur and Sogdian translations of the work⁴².

Mauro Maggi

Università degli studi di Roma La Sapienza

Istituto italiano di studi orientali

Circonvallazione Tiburtina 4

I-00185 Roma

mauro.maggi@uniroma1.it

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42 See Maue 2008 for Old Uighur and Reck & Wilkens 2015 for Sogdian.

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