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AYURVEDIC TEXTS IN KHOTANESE LITERATURE

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One of the oldest medical schools in the world is the Ayurvedic School or Indian traditional medicine, which dates back to almost five thousand years ago. This method of medicine, which was formed and matured in the Indian subcontinent, has affected other medical schools in the world and Iranian medicine has also been affected by it. In extant texts from one of the Eastern Middle Iranian languages, Khotanese, we can clearly see the influence of this school. Khotanese once was spoken in the kingdom of Khotan in the southwestern Xinjiang Autonomous Region of China. The great bulk of the extant Khotanese documents belongs to date from the period between the 7th and 10th centuries CE, but some fragments have been dated on paleographical grounds to the 5th and 6th centuries CE. Khotanese is one of the most conservative Eastern Middle Iranian languages, thus we can see more Old Iranian features in it than in other Eastern Iranian languages. But on the other hand, it had been affected by Sanskrit due to the conversion of its speakers to Buddhism. Aside from Buddhist texts translated into Khotanese, there is a general or partial translation of some of the most important texts of the Ayurvedic School into Khotanese. Among the most important medical texts in the Khotanese language, which are in fact translations of Indian texts, are *Siddhasāra* and *Jīvaka-pustaka*. *Siddhasāra* has long been known and used as a comprehensive and complete source of medicine not only in India and Nepal but also in Central Asia. The author of this medical book is Ravigupta. Of the 31 chapters of *Siddhasāra*, only 15 have Khotanese translation; although

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some of these chapters are also incomplete. In addition to the Khotanese translation of this book, there is also a Tibetan translation, and the Khotanese translation is mainly based on the Tibetan translation. *Jīvaka-pustaka* is a bilingual treatise in Sanskrit and Khotanese. The Sanskrit text is in verse, but the Khotanese translation is in prose. This treatise is considered as an anthology or a collection of medical instructions that has been collected in the form of a single treatise. On the whole, there are ninety-one medical prescriptions in the extant *Jīvaka-pustaka*. The present article is an attempt to introduce these Khotanese texts and examine their content.

Keywords: Ayurveda, Khotan, Khotanese Medical Texts, *Siddhasāra*, *Jīvaka-pustaka*

1. Introduction

Medicine is one of the sciences that have a prominent role throughout human life, and its antiquity is as old as humanity. Since human life has always been accompanied by pain and disease, removing them and restoring health and sanitation has been one of the most important issues of human mind. It is not clear which people first established medical science, but most people of ancient civilizations believed that diseases have a supernatural origin; therefore, they also delegated the treatment of diseases to persons who were aware of supernatural affairs. Thus, priesthood and primitive medicine went hand in hand, and in fact were mutually interdependent, and leading to one of the most important theories on the origin of medical science. On the basis of this theory, medicine has a divine origin and is a gift from gods to humans.

One of the oldest medical schools in the world that has continued to this day is Indian medicine or *Āyurveda*. The word *Āyurveda* is composed of two components: *āyus* ‘health, longevity’ and *veda* ‘knowledge, lore’, and altogether means ‘life knowledge’ or ‘science of health’ [Monier-Williams 1899, 148–149, 1015; Krishna 2003, 237]. This knowledge, which dates back to almost five thousand years ago, matured in India and has influenced medical treatments in other schools such as Buddhism, Taoism, and Tibetan medicine and interacted with other medical schools in the world such as Iranian and Islamic medicine [Tirtha 1998, 3]. According to Ayurvedic texts, this knowledge is of divine origin; according to some of these texts, this knowledge was first known from Brahma, and from him reached to Prajāpati and then to Aśvins (medical doctors of the heaven). According to the book of

Suśruta-saṃhitā this knowledge was first taught by Indra to Dhanvantari (the God of surgery and medicine) and eventually it was transmitted by the divine to human beings through sages [Krishna 2003, 237].

The origin of Ayurveda is traced back to four books of knowledge called *vedas*: *Rig-veda*, *Sāma-veda*, *Yajur-veda*, and *Atharva-veda*. At the beginning, these four main books in spirituality existed and covered topics such as health, astronomy, government, military, poetry, and moral life. At the first, Ayurveda was used along with Vedic astrology, but eventually became a branch of *Atharva-veda*. Gradually, the knowledge of health (= Ayurveda) and its methods and teachings became more complete, and it was finally compiled into three important books known in Ayurvedic school as the senior triad (*vridhdhatraya*). These three books are *Caraka-saṃhitā*, *Suśruta-saṃhitā*, and *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya-saṃhitā*. In addition to these three main books, there are three other books called the junior triad (*laghu-traya*): *Mādhavanidāna*, *Śaraṅghāra-saṃhitā*, and *Bhāvaprakāṣa-saṃhitā*. The last three books are, in fact, the commentary on the first three books [Tirtha 1998, 6; Mishra 2004, *Introduction*].

Ayurvedic medicine has eight main branches (*tantra*): 1. *śalya* ‘lance, dart’ that includes these topics: removing any external substance has entered the body (arrow, thorn, etc.), removal of pus and infection from the body, pulling out the dead fetus from the womb, and cure of any swelling, pimples, and abscesses through surgery. 2. *śālākya* ‘the employment of pointed instruments as a branch of surgery’ that covers the treatment of diseases of the eye, ear, and nose with sharp tools (*śālāka*), and generally treats diseases that are situated above the clavicle. 3. *kāya-cikistā* ‘treatment of bodily diseases’ that embraces treatment of diseases affecting the whole body such as fever, diarrhea, epilepsy, etc. 4. *bhūta-vidyā* ‘the knowledge of evil beings’ that includes remedy of mental illnesses caused by angry gods or evil creatures. 5. *kaumāra-bhṛtya* ‘care of juvenile’ that comprises the treatment of diseases of children. 6. *agada-tantra* ‘doctrine of antidotes’ or removal of diseases produced by mineral, vegetable, animal poisons by antidotes. 7. *rāsāyana-tantra* ‘doctrine of elixir’ which generally includes recovery of youthfulness, beauty and vitality. 8. *vājīkaraṇa-tantra* ‘doctrine of aphrodisiacs’ that is related to the treatment of the weakened organs of generation and increasing the human race [Wise 1845, 2–3; Monier-Williams 1899, 148–149].

One of the most basic features in Ayurvedic medicine is the doctrine *tridoṣa*-. This term is composed of *tri* ‘three’ and *doṣa* ‘morbid element’, and it altogether refers to the three humours of the body. These three humours are *vāta* or *vāyu* ‘wind’, *pitta* ‘bile’, and *kapha* or *śleṣman* ‘phlegm’¹. In Ayurveda, most diseases are considered to be the result of the dysfunction of one of these humours. Also, Ayurvedic physicians divide people into three categories based on three humours: *vāta-prakṛti* ‘windy temperament’, *pitta-prakṛti* ‘bilious temperament’, and *kapha-prakṛti* ‘phlegmatic temperament’. These three humours were so important that even natural phenomena were incorporated into one of these three humours; for example, they considered the sun and the shadow phlegmatic or phlegmatic-windy respectively. In general, *vāta* ‘wind’ affects what is considered a type of movement in the body, such as breathing, intestinal peristalsis, and excretion; *pitta* ‘bile’ is responsible for digestion, metabolism, and mental processes; *kapha* ‘phlegm’ gives stability to the body and regulates the function of organs such as joints and the sense organs [Krishna 2003, 239–240; Chopra 2003, 77].

The transfer of Indian thoughts and sciences to the Iranian world has a long history and goes back to the pre-Islamic era. One of the oldest texts that has alluded to this issue is the fourth book of the *Dēnkard*. According to this book, Shapur I (reigned 240–270 AD) ordered to be collected the books in various fields of medicine, astronomy, creation, and so on, which were scattered in India, Rome, and other lands [Tafazzoli 2004, 315]. Also, Ibn al-Nadim has quoted from the Iranian astronomer and translator, al-Faḍl ibn Nowbakht (d. 200 AH), by the order of Ardashir Babakan (reigned 224–240 AD) and his son Shapur, several books were brought from India, China and Rome to Iran and translated into Middle Persian. The existence of Indian words such as *balādur* ‘cashew nut’, *halīlag* ‘myrobalan’, *kāpūr* ‘camphor’, *koṣā* ‘the second astrological mansion’, and others is further evidence of the influence of the Indian knowledge on the sciences

¹ In some old schools, blood was counted as the fourth humour (*doṣa*), but over time the idea of three humours (*tri-doṣa*) prevailed [Chopra 2003, 77]. It is worth mentioning that in classical Ayurvedic texts, blood is considered as one of the seven tissues (*dhātu*) of the body. These are the seven tissues of the body: *rasa* ‘lymph’, *rakta* ‘blood’, *māmsa* ‘muscle’, *meda* ‘fat’, *asthi* ‘bone’, *majjā* ‘bone marrow’, *śukra* ‘semen’ [Tirtha 1998, 18; Mishra 2004, 16].

of Sassanian times [Rezai Baghbidi 2000, 145–147]. The translation of foreign books into Middle Persian continued during the time of Khosrow I (reigned 531–579 AD). Among the most important Indian texts translated during this period was the book of Caraka, the famous Indian physician, that Ibn al-Nadim has mentioned under the name of *Sirak* (also: *Jerak*, *Sarak*) and Ya'qubi referred to it with the name of *Shirak* [Tafazzoli 2004, 320; Rezai Baghbidi 2013, 9]. Other Iranian people were, more or less, in touch with Indian culture and languages and were influenced by Indian culture. Among the Iranian people who were strongly influenced by Indian culture were the Sakas of Khotan.

2. Khotan and Khotanese Language

Khotan is located in the Xinjiang area six miles south of Taklamakan Desert. Khotan is called in the Chinese language *Ho-t'ien*, and is one of the most important agricultural and industrial centers at the southern bank of the Tarim basin [Emmerick 1992a, 1]. Today, the language of the inhabitants of Hotan is one of the Turkish varieties, but before the gradual domination of the Turks in this region, Iranian-speaking people lived there. Chinese sources referred to people lived in the west and south of the Tarim Basin as *sai* (older form *sāk*), which scholars identify with Saka. Before the conquest of this region by Muslims, the people of this region were Buddhist, and Khotan was one of the most important and prosperous Buddhist centers in Central Asia [Zhang 1996, 282]. Although the people of Khotan were Buddhist, in their language, there were some words that indicate ancient Iranian religion, although some of these words have been used with new meanings. For example, Kh. *urmaysde* 'sun' is derived from *Ahura-Mazdā*, Kh. *gyasta*, *jasta* 'god; royal person' is comparable to the Av. *yazata* 'adorable; god' [Bailey 1970, 70]. Even in some Chinese Turfan documents the term *Ho-t'ien* has been interpreted in the sense of Ohrmazd [Zhang 1996, 297].

The Khotanese language is one of the Saka dialects and one of the Eastern Middle Iranian languages. It is not possible to say precisely when this language became popular in Khotan territory, but it was most likely by the third century AD [Emmerick 2009, 377]. There is not much to be said for sure about the exact time of extinction of Khotanese language, except that it may have coincided with the conquest of Khotan by Muslims at the beginning of the 11th century [Emmerick 2009, 411]. The Khotanese texts have been discovered mainly

in the remnants of Buddhist shrines and temples in the kingdom of Khotan and the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas near Dunhuang in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by European and Japanese archaeologists, and now they are kept in museums in Paris, London, Stockholm, Berlin, Kyoto, etc. The date of these texts comes back to the fifth to tenth centuries AD. In general, these texts can be linguistically divided into two groups, Old and Late, and in terms of style and method, they can be divided into two literary and non-literary groups. The beginning of literary texts may have coincided with the first works on Buddhism. The bulk of the literary texts that should actually be called religious texts, is the translation of Buddhist works from Sanskrit to Khotanese. Non-religious works include a wide range of lyrical poems, correspondence, burlesque poetry, panegyrics, a geographical text, medical, and a few bilingual texts [Emmerick 1992a, 4; Maggi 2009, 333, 404].

3. Ayurvedic Texts in Khotanese Literature

All medical texts written in the Khotanese language are influenced by Ayurvedic medicine. Except for two detailed texts with titles *Siddhasāra* and *Jīvaka-pustaka*, other medical texts are in fact short fragments, often without any prologue or epilogue. The longest of these fragments is P 2893.32–267 [Emmerick 1992a, 45]. Bailey has transcribed this fragment in the third volume of *Khotanese Texts* [Bailey 1969, 82–93]. Later on, in an article comparing this fragment with the IOL Khot S9, Maggi translated parts of P 2893 that are about ointment and poultice. Another example of these fragments is the sixteenth chapter of the book *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* ‘The excellent sūtra of golden light’ [Maggi 2008a, 77–85]. This chapter is about the treatment of a merchant’s boy who is suffering from various diseases. The name of this chapter in Khotanese is *āchānu nāṣemākā* ‘The remover of illnesses’ (see: [Skjærvø 2004/1, 286–301]). Another short medical fragment in Khotanese is about demons called *graha* ‘raptor, demons who seize’ that make children sick [Bailey 1983, 1234]. There are also four Khotanese fragments in the Crosby collection, which are about the use of needles and cauterization [Emmerick 1993, 59]. In Khotanese texts the Sanskrit word *Āyurveda* has been translated literally, and these are its equivalents: *jsīñe vajsā’matu* ‘science of life’ and *jsīña bvāṣṭīña* ‘knowledge of life’ [Bailey 1979, 115]. In this paper, I will

focus only on two treatises: *Siddhasāra* and *Jīvaka-pustaka*. These two treatises are relatively detailed and have other versions in Sanskrit, Tibetan, etc.

3-1. Siddhasāra

The Sanskrit word *siddhasāra* consists of two components *siddha* ‘complete, perfect’ and *sāra* ‘selection, compendium’, and on the whole, it means ‘perfect selection’ [Monier-Williams 1899, 1208, 1215]. As the literal meaning of the title of this book suggests, this book summarizes the most common diseases that people suffer from. Apparently, this treatise has long been known and used as a comprehensive and complete source of medicine not only in India and Nepal but also in Central Asia. Evidence of this is the translation of this work from Sanskrit into other languages such as Tibetan, Khotanese, Uighur, and even references to this work are found in Arabic texts, including al-Razi’s works [Emmerick 1983, 19].

The critical text of Sanskrit version of this treatise was published by Emmerick in 1980, but no translation of this critical text has been published so far. In 1982, Emmerick published a critical text of Tibetan version with an English translation. Unfortunately, a complete translation of Sanskrit, Khotanese, and Uighur versions of this treatise has not been published so far. The Tibetan translation of this treatise was probably done in the early ninth century and the Khotanese translation was made in the late ninth century, or more likely the tenth century, based on the Tibetan version and with a glance at the original Sanskrit version. In Tibetan translation, the names of three translators are mentioned (*Ādityavarman*, *Candra*, and *Jinamitra*), but in the Khotanese translation does not allude to the name of any translator [Emmerick 1975–1976, 215].

As stated in the Sanskrit version of this treatise: *saṃhitā siddhasāreyaṃ raviguptena vakṣyate* ‘This Siddhasāra-saṃhitā will be said by Ravigupta’ [Emmerick 1980, 17], the author of this medical text is Ravigupta. Not much is known about the author of this book. According to the treatise itself, Ravigupta was the son of a veterinarian named Durgagupta, and he wrote this medical treatise in 31 chapters on behalf of his older brother, Devagupta, who had jaundice (*pāṇḍunāga*). According to him, the book includes the treatment of all diseases [Emmerick 1980, 148; 1982, 475]. Assuming that in *Siddhasāra*, there is no adaptation of *Suśruta* of Vāgbhata which dates back to the

6th century BC, Emmerick [1975–1976, 221] considers these two works to be almost simultaneous, and thus he estimates the time for writing the treatise at about 650 BC. However, based on the epilogue of a recent new manuscript, where the names of Ravipgupta and Vāgbhata are mentioned together, Wujastyk considers them to be from the same family, and not only he does not consider Ravipgupta to be a contemporary of Vāgbhata, but he also considers him the ancestor of Vāgbhata and thus older than him [Wujastyk 1985, 77].

As mentioned earlier, only parts of the Khotanese version have remained. A Manuscript called Ch. ii 002 has 65 folios, 64 of which has been allocated to the translation of the *Siddhasāra* [Bailey 1938, 11]. The Khotanese transliteration of this text, along with the Tibetan version, has been published by Bailey in the collection of *Khotanese texts I* [Bailey 1969, 2–134]. In total, of the 31 chapters of *Siddhasāra*, only 15 have Khotanese translation, although some of these chapters are also incomplete. To date, there is no complete translation of the Khotanese version of this treatise, although apparently Emmerick had prepared a critical text and its translation, it has not published yet (see: [Maggi 2009, 415, fn 262]). Here, I look at these fifteen chapters according to the Tibetan translation of *Siddhasāra* [Emmerick 1982]. It should be noted that Khotanese version of *Siddhasāra* also has a poetic introduction that does not exist in Sanskrit and Tibetan versions. From this introduction, it is clear that this work was not translated directly from Sanskrit, but from Tibetan version, although the translator saw the original Sanskrit text and corrected the mistakes of the Tibetan version [Maggi 2009, 415–416].

In the introduction, the translator first praises the gods and asks them for help to provide a correct translation of this medical treatise and to reveal its true meaning. He then describes the good qualities of this treatise and puts it at the forefront of other medical treatises, and calls it *jsīni hurākā* ‘the life-giving’, *dakhām jinikā* ‘the destroyer of pain’, and *anāhām mu’sdi’nai mahā-samudrrā* ‘the great ocean of compassion for the protectorless’. It is further stated that since this treatise was in the Indian language, it was previously possible to study and use it only in the presence of Indian teachers. For this reason, users have always had difficulty in understanding and describing it and often have been unable to understand the cause of the disease and to recognize the correct medicaments, and sometimes this caused

a lot of deaths. This led to the abandonment of this valuable treatise, until its Tibetan translation made its way to the court and was translated into Khotanese by the order of the King of Khotan².

The first chapter of this treatise, entitled *tantra* ‘doctrine, theory’, is dedicated to the foundations and basic principles of Ayurvedic medicine. At the beginning of this chapter, the names of eight branches of Ayurvedic medicine are mentioned one by one³. Their names are as follows: eye medicine (Skt. *śālākya*, Kh. *tcimañāṃ hīya krra*), body treatment (Skt. *kāya-cikitsita*, Kh. *ttaraṃdarā hīya krra*), removing demons (Skt. *bhūta-cikitsita*, Kh. *sparśā’ pverqma*), removal of foreign objects from the body (Skt. *śalya*, Kh. *śalyāharttā*), protecting from poison (Skt. *agada-rakṣa*, Kh. *ba’ īśāma*), protecting life (Skt. *vayorakṣa*, Kh. *jsīni huṣqñāma* ‘increasing life’), protecting children (Skt. *bāla-rakṣa*, Kh. *vitkavīja* ‘knowledge about children’), spermatogenesis (Skt. *bīja-vivardhana*, Kh. *śūkrā huṣqñāme*). In the continuation of this chapter, human diseases are divided into four categories: 1. physical illnesses (Skt. *śārīra-vyādhi*, Kh. *ttaraṃdaraja āchā*), 2. mental illnesses (Skt. *mānasa-vyādhi*, Kh. *aysmvaja āchā*), 3. incidental diseases (Skt. *āgantuvyādhi*, Kh. *āvamdva āchā*), 4. congenital diseases (Skt. *sahajā-vyādhi*, Kh. *hamtsa-ysātām āchā*). Then, the effect of each part of the day, month and year, and natural phenomena such as sun, wind, rain, etc. on the three humours, and disturbance in their function and other principles and generalities about diseases are mentioned (for translation of Tibetan version, see: [Emmerick 1982, 15–31]).

The second chapter of this treatise is about medicinal plants. In this chapter, medicinal herbs are introduced as a group. The name of this chapter in the Sanskrit version is *dravya-gaṇa* ‘the group of medicaments’ and its Khotanese equivalent is *arvāṃ u gāṃ’ hamāle* ‘the group of medicaments and collections’. In this chapter, the names of many medicinal herbs that were native to India are mentioned. Many of these plants were not known in either Tibet or Khotan, so in Tibetan version, and especially in Khotanese version, the names of those plants were restated with a slight change, and in some cases the other Indian name of those plants that was common in Central Asia, was

² For this introduction and its content, see: [Bailey 1962; Emmerick 1983].

³ It is mentionable that the names of Ayurvedic branches in this treatise are sometimes slightly different from the names in other Ayurvedic medical books, although they are not different in meaning.

cited. For example, instead of the name *sthirā* ‘tick trefoil’, the word *sālaparṇā*, which is Khotanese equivalent of Sanskrit *śālaparṇī* and means ‘tick trefoil’, is used in Khotanese version of *Siddhasāra*. In this chapter, medicinal herbs are stated in groups according to their properties, and at the end of each group, diseases that are treated with the mentioned herbs are cited. Sometimes a name is given to each of these groups. For example, the name *pañca-mūla* ‘five roots’ is given to a group of five herbal roots. At the end of this chapter, it is pointed out that the competent physician should cook these herbal groups with sesame oil or butter, depending on their properties, and how much oil should be added and how much should be extracted from it. Also, the cooking rate of each oil should be determined according to how it is used (drinking, smearing, etc)⁴.

The third chapter of this treatise deals with foods and drinks. The title of this chapter in Sanskrit and Khotanese versions is as follows: *anna-pāna-vidhi* ‘application of foods and drinks, *hvaḍām khaṣṭām hīye krre* ‘use of foods and drinks’. In the food section, first, the types of grains such as rice, barley, wheat, etc. are described by mentioning their curative properties and features. Then, the types of meat, herbs and summer vegetables, fruits, spices, and salts are addressed in the same way. In the drink section, first, the types of water such as rainwater, spring and well water, etc., are mentioned, and then the types of milk, such as cow, goat, and sheep’s milk, and dairy products are expounded by mentioning their healing properties and characteristics. Here is how to introduce two of these items in Khotanese: *cu krrimḡā hīya guṣṭa ṣi’ tcārba u garkha u graṃa ṣṭe bāta jimḍā vrrīṣanīya* ‘As to the flesh of cock, it is fat and heavy and hot. It removes wind (and) produces virility’, *cu bārā hīya utca ṣi’ raysgq dūṣe jimḍā ysairq bimḍq śirq īmḍā u bi jināka* ‘As to the rainwater, it is light, removes diseases (of the three humours), it is good for the heart and a remover of the poison’.

Chapters 4 to 25 of this treatise are about a variety of diseases, and each chapter is named after a disease that is the main topic of that chapter. In addition to the main disease in each chapter, more or less related diseases and their treatment are depicted. There is not Khotanese translation of chapters 4 to 12, 16, and 17, and the translation of other chapters is incomplete. There is only one section left from

⁴ For translation of Tibetan version, see: [Emmerick 1982, 32–47].

Khotanese translation of chapter 13. This section is about hemorrhoids (Skt. *arśas*, Kh. *arja*) and genital fistula (Skt. *bhagandara*, Kh. *baḡandala*). Chapter 14 deals with jaundice (Skt. *pāṇḍu-roga*, Kh. *ysiḍai āchai* ‘yellow disease’). Chapter 15 discusses hiccough (Skt. *hikkā*, Kh. *hika*) and uncomfortable breathing (Skt. *śvāsa*, Kh. *uys-nai āphāra* ‘disturbance of breath’). Chapter 18 is about the retention of urine and urinary diseases (Skt. *mūtra-kṛcchra*, Kh. *mūtre kicha*). Chapter 19 deals with constipation and bowel dysfunction and dry excrement (Skt. *udāvarta*, Kh. *udāvartta*). Chapter 20 discusses dementia (Skt. *unmāda*, Kh. *ādimāda*) and epilepsy (Skt. *apasmāra*, Kh. *avasmāra*). Chapter 21 is about rheumatism and diseases caused by dysfunction of the wind humour (Skt. *vāta-vyādhi*, Kh. *bāti-āchā*). Chapter 22 deals with wine and intoxicating liquor diseases (Skt. *ma-dātyaya*, Kh. *mau jsa āchai* ‘illness from intoxicant liquor’). Chapter 23 is about erysipelas (Skt. *visarpa*, Kh. *visarpa*). Chapter 24 deals with the types of swellings (Sanskrit: *śopha*, Kh.: *haśa āchai* ‘disease of swelling’). Chapter 25 is about wounds (Skt. *vraṇa*, Kh. *kaṃma*) and their treatment. Chapter 26 is concerned with eye-medicines and eye drugs and diseases (Skt. *śālākya*, Kh. *tcimña bisām arvām* ‘medicaments in the eye’). This chapter also deals with ear, mouth, throat and tooth diseases.

3-2. Jīvaka-pustaka

Another important text that deals with medicine is MS. Ch. ii 003, which contains 71 folios (folio 69 is numbered both 69 and 71, whereas folio 70 never existed). On account of the mention of the name of Jīvaka, Buddha’s famous physician, Bailey called this treatise *Jīvaka-pustaka* ‘The book of Jīvaka’ [Bailey 1983, 1233; Maggi 2009, 414]. This is a bilingual treatise in Sanskrit and Khotanese. However, since the Sanskrit version was written in a very confusing Brāhmī script, it was practically unusable until a decade ago⁵. The Sanskrit text is in verse and mainly in śloka⁶, but the Khotanese translation is in prose. The exact date of the writing of the Khotanese version is not exactly clear, and only, given that Khotanese language used in this edition is of the Late Khotanese and writing in Khotanese

⁵ For the reconstructed form of the Sanskrit version and its translation into Chinese, see: [Chen 2005].

⁶ It is a meter in Indian poetry, consisting of four eight-syllable *pādas*.

language is obsolete from the 11th century AD, its date is probably the end of the 10th century AD [Bailey 1969, vii; Emmerick 1992b, 60].

This treatise has no prologue and no epilogue, and two different types of numbering are used on the folios of this manuscript: 1) On each folio, in the middle of the left margin, from 44 to 116; 2) on the same side, within the blank circlet, from 1 to 71. The beginning of the numbers in this manuscript from 44 indicates that the existing manuscript was the continuation of another which is missing. The subject of folios 1 to 43 is not clear, but according to the rest of the manuscript, it can also be considered to have medical content. However, given that the folio 44 begins with the word *siddham*, as well as the numbering within the circlets that begins with one, it turns out that the missing folios must be considered a separate text with whatever subject they contain. The epilogue of this manuscript, unfortunately, has not left, and the formula on folio 116 is incomplete. Therefore, it is not possible to comment on the fact that this manuscript includes several other folios [Hoernle 1917, 415]. On the whole, this text should be considered as an anthology or a collection of medical instructions that have been collected in the form of a treatise.

Jīvaka's name is mentioned only in one of the prescriptions in this treatise. Therefore, this treatise cannot be considered merely the work of Jīvaka. But since the character of Jīvaka is so famous in Buddhist tradition and medicine, I briefly address this character here as well. Everything we know about Jīvaka and his life is limited to references in Buddhist texts in Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese languages. The oldest and most authoritative of which is in the *Mahāvagga*, part of larger Pali text on monastic rules. According to this narration, Jīvaka was born to the courtesan Salavati, in the city of Rājagaha. But as an infant, he was abandoned in a ruined place on a rubbish heap. By mere chance, Abhaya, son of the local king, Bimbisāra, found him and took responsibility for his upbringing (according to some people, Jīvaka nickname *komārabhacca* (Skt. *kumārabhṛta*) 'raised by the prince' confirms this story). He later studied medicine in the city of Taxila with a renowned physician and returned to his hometown after seven years. Then, he became the physician of the king Bimbisāra and the Buddha. Thus, his name has always been cited in Buddhist texts as the Buddha's physician, and he is named 'the great king of

physicians⁷. Apart from this information and short stories about the treatment of several patients, virtually nothing else is known about Jīvaka's life, and the only point on which there is general consensus is his competence in medicine and becoming the Buddha's physician [Chen, Chen 2002, 88, 91].

In terms of form, *Jīvaka-pustaka* is divided into four parts based on the use of the word *siddham* at the beginning of each part (44r1, 47v4, 88v1, 105r2), and in terms of content it is divided into four parts: The first part, that contains paragraphs 2–3, deals with an *agada* 'antidote' called *svastika* 'a kind of mystical cross or mark made on persons to protect and denote good luck'; The second part, which includes paragraphs 4 to 46, is about drugs mixed with clarified butter (Skt. *ghṛta*, Kh. *gvīha* 'rūna' 'cow oil'); The third part, from paragraph 47 to 73, deals with drugs mixed with sesame oil (Skt. *taila*, Kh. *kūṃjsavīnaa rūna*); The fourth part, from paragraph 74 to 93 (paragraph 93 is incomplete and only in Sanskrit), is about powdered drugs (Skt. *cūrṇa*, Kh. *cāṇa*) [Emmerick 1994, 29; Maggi 2008b]. But if we want to divide the contents of this treatise in more detail, we should also mention the following items: paragraphs 62, 64 and 65 belong to the group of *ghṛta* and *sarpis* 'clarified butter', and paragraphs 68 to 73 deal with drugs mixed with castor oil (Skt. *eraṇḍa taila*, Kh. *īraṃḍīnaa rūna*). Therefore, the medical prescriptions of *Jīvaka-pustaka* are divided into five parts in terms of content: antidote, clarified butter, sesame oil, castor oil, and powder.

On the whole, there are ninety-one medical prescriptions in the extant *Jīvaka-pustaka*, some of which have been identified in other Indian medical literature. For the first time, Hoernle, who had a commanding view of Indian medical texts, considered the paragraph 18 of *Jīvaka-pustaka* to be similar to the prescription given in the section on cough disease in *Caraka-saṃhitā* [Hoernle 1917, 417]. Following the publication of the first edition of the *Khotanese Texts*, Filliozat in

⁷ In a Khotanese text called *mañjuśrī-nairātmyāvatāra-sūtra*, Jīvaka is referred to as *jīvai vījā re* 'Jīvaka king of physicians' [Bailey 1951, 131]. Another Khotanese text, the *Book of Zambasta*, has said about Jīvaka that he treated the maiden with herbs [Emmerick 1968, 119]. Also, in Khotanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, the treatment of Rāma by Jīvaka is mentioned [Bailey 1940, 570]. In Chinese Buddhist sources, he is also known as *Qipo* and with the title *yi wang* 'Medicine king' [Salguero 2009, 183, 192].

his review of *Jīvaka-pustaka* pointed out similar prescriptions can be found in other Indian texts and for five prescriptions gave references to *Caraka-saṃhitā* [Filliozat 1946–1947, 135]. Eventually, Emmerick was able to identify similar cases in other Indian medical texts, such as *Caraka-saṃhitā*, *Suśruta-saṃhitā*, *Siddhasāra*, etc., for the twenty-nine medical prescriptions used in this treatise [Emmerick 1979, 236]. Chen [2005] also mentioned the similar cases in the reconstruction of the Sanskrit text of *Jīvaka-pustaka*, and in addition to *Jīvaka-pustaka*'s paragraphs, he gave the original Sanskrit text of these sources. Undoubtedly, these medical prescriptions, all of which are of Indian origin, can also be found and retrieved in the medical texts of other nations, which have been influenced in some way by Indian culture. For example, in a medical fragment in the Tocharian B, which is common in Central Asia, we see an oil called *Mahāvaidehikaṃ*, which is actually the same as the *Mahā-vaideha* oil in the paragraph 11 of *Jīvaka-pustaka* [Maue 1990, 159–165].

According to the prescriptions and treatment methods mentioned in *Jīvaka-pustaka*, this text can be considered as one of the texts of the Ātreya school in Ayurvedic medicine, in which the treatment of diseases is done only with herbs and medicinal elements. This treatise does not contain any instructions from the Dhanvantari School that belongs to surgeons. The similarity of some prescriptions in this text with that of the *Caraka-saṃhitā*, which is the most important text of the Ātreya school, as well as mentioning the names of Ātreya and Bharadvāja, who are the two leading figures of the Ātreya school, fully confirms the attribution of this treatise to the above school. Most of the diseases mentioned in this text are related to the *kāya-cikistā* branch, which deals mainly with diseases that can be called common illnesses today. The main cause of these diseases, which can be urinary diseases, skin diseases, abdominal glands, epilepsy, diarrhea, heart disease, pain and soreness in each organ, is disturbance and dysfunction of one of the humours. Other branches of Ayurvedic medicine, which are discussed in this treatise, include *rāsāyana-tantra* or drugs that restore youth, vitality, and beauty; *kaumāra-bhṛtya* mainly related to the treatment of the diseases and the upbringing of children even before birth; *agada-tantra* or doctrine of antidotes, that treats poisoned people; *bhūta-vidyā* or diseases caused by supernatural beings; *vājīkaraṇa-tantra* or drugs that increase sexual desire.

Most of the prescriptions used in *Jīvaka-pustaka* have a special title. There are several different ways to name these prescriptions: 1) use the name of the first and most important medicinal element in a prescription: *aguru* ‘agalloch’ (Skt. *Agurvādyam cūrṇam*, Kh. *Agarāda cāṇa* ‘powder of agalloch’) in paragraph 77; 2) based on the number of herbs used in a prescription: *Daśāṅga* ‘ten members’ (from *daśa* ‘ten’ and *aṅga* ‘member’, Kh. *Daśāṅga*) in paragraph 8; 3) in agreement with the name of the main herb and its amount: *Dāḍimāṣṭaka* ‘pomegranate, eight parts’ (from *dāḍima* ‘pomegranate’ and *aṣṭaka* ‘consisting of eight parts’, Kh. *Dāḍamāṣṭa*) in paragraph 86; 4) sometimes the naming is based on a combination of a number and a unit of weight: *Ṣaṭ-palaka* ‘consisting of six *palakas*’ (from *ṣaṭ* ‘six’ and *palaka* ‘a unit of weight’, Kh. *Ṣaṣṭapala*) in paragraph 39; 5) in accordance with using herbs naturally or with changes such as pounding: *akṣata* ‘non-pounded’ (Skt. *Akṣatādaya*, Kh. *akṣattāṇḍa*) in paragraph 42; 6) based on the methods of drug use: *Abhyañjanaka* ‘smearing’ in paragraph 53; 7) in consonance with the most important application of the prescription for the elimination of diseases of one limb: *Netropalabdha* ‘eye recovery’ (from *netra* ‘eye’ and *upalabdha* ‘seized’, Kh. *Ṇittraupalabū*) in the paragraph 32; 8) Sometimes we see exaggerated naming that indicates the strength and effect of that drug: *Sūryodaya* ‘sunrise’ (from *sūrya* ‘sun’ and *udya* ‘rise’, Kh. *Sūryaudaya*) in the paragraph 47.

The general order used in making and using the prescriptions in this treatise is as follows: First, the ingredients for each prescription, including herbal, animal, and mineral materials, and the amount needed for each are listed. The drug preparation method is then mentioned. In this section, methods such as pounding, cooking, extracting, and fermenting are named. Sometimes in the preparation section, other details are discussed, such as what should be made from the soft and coarse parts of herbs after pounding them. Sometimes in this section, the use of incantations and spells is prescribed. Then, diseases that are treated with these drugs are one by one referred to, and how to use each of these drugs to get rid of each of those diseases. Among the methods of using the drugs in this treatise, we can mention the following: eating, drinking, fumigating, smearing, purging, and pouring in the mouth, ears, and nose. At the end of each prescription is sometimes the name of the physician or sage who described it and the name by which the prescription is known.

Here I briefly review the first prescription in this treatise, *Svastika* ‘a kind of mystical cross or mark made on persons to protect and denote good luck’. The main application of this prescription is in the elimination of poisons and is taught by the Buddha to Jīvaka. After mentioning the names of the herbs and the required amount of each and the *mantra* or spell that should be recited during its preparation, the features of the physician who prepares this drug and when he should prepare it, are enumerated. The drug is then prescribed for those who are poisoned by plant toxins or insect venom and to treat people infected with poisonous weapons, it is also recommended to smear the drug on the forehead and pour three drops into the mouth and nose. It is also helpful for women who are at risk for miscarriage. At the end of this prescription, the Buddha is introduced as the instructor of this drug⁸.

4. Conclusion

Although the Khotanese medical texts are considered non-religious texts, such as religious texts, the profound influence of Indian culture and Buddhism on them is evident, and in all the extant medical texts in Khotanese language, we can see a sign of traditional Indian medicine or Ayurveda. Of course, in Khotanese texts, there are some medical instructions that we do not know the original Sanskrit of them now, but the source of these cases must also be found in Indian medicine.

Abbreviations

Av. – Avestan
Kh. – Khotanese
Skt. – Sanskrit

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⁸ For translation of Khotanese version, see: [Konow 1941, 10–14]; for the Sanskrit reconstructed text and its translation, see: [Emmerick 1992b, 63–74; Chen 2005, 272–280].

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М. Тате
**АЮРВЕДИЧНІ ТЕКСТИ
В ХОТАНСЬКІЙ ЛІТЕРАТУРІ**

Однією з найстаріших медичних шкіл у світі є аюрведична школа, або індійська традиційна медицина, яка сягає майже п'яти тисяч років. Цей метод медицини, що сформувався та застосовувався на індійському субконтиненті, позначився на інших медичних школах світу, й іранська медицина також зазнала її впливу. У наявних текстах однієї зі східно-середньоіранських мов, хотанській, ми чітко бачимо вплив цієї школи. Колись хотанською мовою говорили в королівстві Хотан у південно-західному Китайському автономному регіоні Сінцзян. Значна частина існуючих хотанських документів належить до періоду між VII та X ст. н. е., проте деякі фрагменти датуються за палеографічними ознаками V та VI ст. н. е. Хотанська є однією з найбільш консервативних східних середньоіранських мов, тому ми можемо побачити в ній більше давньоіранських особливостей, ніж в інших східноіранських мовах. Але з іншого боку, на неї вплинув санскрит через навернення її носіїв на буддизм. Окрім буддійських текстів, перекладених хотанською, існують повні або часткові переклади цією мовою деяких найважливіших текстів аюрведичної школи. Серед найважливіших медичних текстів хотанською мовою, які насправді є перекладами індійських текстів, – “Сіддгасара” та “Джівака-пустака”. “Сіддгасара” відома давно й використовується як всеосяжне й повне джерело медицини не лише в Індії та Непалі, але й у Середній Азії. Автором цієї медичної книги є Равігупта. З 31 розділу “Сіддгасари” лише 15 мають переклад хотанською, до того ж деякі з цих розділів також неповні. Окрім хотанського перекладу цієї книги, існує також тибетський; хотанський переклад робився переважно з тибетського перекладу. “Джівака-пустака” – двомовний трактат на санскриті та хотанській мові. Санскритський текст віршований, але хотанський переклад – прозовий. Цей трактат розглядається як антологія або збірник медичних приписів, оформлених як один трактат. Усього в “Джівака-пустаци” міститься дев'яносто один медичний припис. Ця стаття є спробою написання вступу до цих хотанських текстів та досліджень їхнього змісту.

Ключові слова: Аюрведа, Хотан, хотанські медичні тексти, Сіддгасара, Джівака-пустака

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