Premodern Yoga Traditions and Ayurveda: Preliminary Remarks on Shared Terminology, Theory, and Praxis

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INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary global market for wellness, the combining of Yoga and Ayurveda is common. More than a married couple, Yoga and Ayurveda are deemed to be sisters, born of the same scriptural family, the Vedas. A recent example of this seemingly familial relationship is found in the promotional material of the Moksha Festival, which is one of the many Yoga events held annually in America. It is billed as “a celebration of wellness, spiritual expansion and conscious living through: Yoga, Health, Ayurveda, Sacred Music and Spiritual Art,” and the festival’s website states:

... Ayurveda is the sister science to yoga. Together yoga and Ayurveda work toward the goal of helping a person achieve health, happiness, and ultimately liberation. According to Ayurveda and yoga, health can only be achieved by the balanced and dynamic integration of body, mind and spirit with the changing cycles of nature.

The idea that Yoga and Ayurveda are “sisters” might seem somewhat unsurprising to those who practise Yoga for health and wellbeing, because “New Age

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1 For example, Lad (1984) wrote an article entitled “Yoga’s Sister Science: An Introduction to Ayurveda” in Yoga Journal. Also, Frawley (2002: 5) connected them both to the Vedas: “Yoga and Ayurveda are sister sciences that developed together and repeatedly influenced each other throughout history. They are integral parts of the great system of Vedic knowledge....”

2 Moksha Festival 2015.
Ayurveda” is marketed as an alternative health therapy. Furthermore, those who have learnt Yoga in India are unlikely to question the compatibility of Yoga with Ayurveda, for they would be aware that some of the most prominent Indian gurus of Yoga in the twentieth century were knowledgeable about Ayurveda. For example, Krishnamacharya’s son Desikachar has written that his father would rely on his “great knowledge of Ayurveda” to read the pulse of his students and prescribe changes in diet and medicines. Also, Swami Sivananda, who founded the Divine Life Society in 1936 after studying Western medicine and serving as a doctor in Malaysia for ten years, believed that “yogins have a sound practical knowledge of Ayurveda”. One of Krishnamacharya’s students, B. K. S. Iyengar, whose style of Yoga has become popular internationally, likened Patañjali and Caraka to physicians, the former treating the mind and the latter the body.

From the medical side, the Indian surgeon K. N. Udupa published two influential books on yoga and mental health in the 1980s, namely *Stress and its Management by Yoga* and *Promotion of “Health for All” by Ayurveda and Yoga*.

In more recent decades, some gurus have profited from combining Yoga and Ayurveda. For example, Baba Ramdev, whose televised Yoga classes have become popular in India, is the head of a prosperous business for Ayurvedic products, known as the Patanjali Yogpeeth. Similarly, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi

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3 Kenneth Zysk was among the first to coin the phrase “New Age Ayurveda” in his 1995 lecture at an IASTAM conference in London, published in Zysk 2001. In a more recent publication, “New Age Ayurveda” has been defined as “the more recent trend of a globally popularized and acculturated Ayurveda, which tends to emphasize and reinterpret, if not reinvent, the philosophical and spiritual aspects of Ayurveda” (Dagmar Wujastyk and Smith 2008: 2). For references to those scholars who have dismissed modern Ayurveda as a New-age fad and have critiqued its promoters for commodifying the tradition, see Warrier 2011: 87.


6 Strauss 2005: 36. In his book on Ayurveda, Sivananda goes so far as to say that Ayurveda “is even superior to the other Vedas because it gives life which is the basis of all enjoyments, study, meditation and Yoga Sadhana.” (Sivananda 2006: 20, first published in 1958).

7 Iyengar 2006: 142. Other students of Krishnamacharya whose teachings are known internationally have studied and taught Ayurveda. For example, A. G. Mohan has co-authored a book called *Yoga Therapy: A Guide to the Therapeutic Use of Yoga and Ayurveda for Health and Fitness* (Mohan 2004). In his book *Yoga Mala*, Pattabhi Jois quotes an “Ayurvedic pramana” to support the assertion that vegetables should not be eaten (Jois 2002: 24). I have not been able to trace the Sanskrit source of his quotation. Eddie Stern has informed me that “after retiring from the Sanskrit College, [Pattabhi Jois] worked at and attended the Ayurvedic college in Mysore for three years. He was knowledgeable about Ayurveda and learned pulse diagnosis (he read my pulse once). He recommended herbal remedies only on occasion, but felt that food regulation was of paramount importance to health and success in yoga” (personal communication, 16.7.2015).

8 Udupa 1985a, b.

9 Chakrabarti 2012: 151.
is known worldwide for his teachings on Transcendental Meditation (TM). Since 1985, this guru has promoted “Maharishi Ayur-Ved,” which has been described as “among the most successful models of a globalised Ayurveda”. In 2014, the Indian government established a separate ministry of Ayurveda, Yoga and Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha and Homoeopathy (AYUSH), which promotes Ayurveda and Yoga in tandem.

The current interplay between Yoga and Ayurveda raises two questions. Firstly, how old might this relationship be and, secondly, was it as intimately connected in pre-modern times as it seems today? The first question is relatively easy to answer because textual evidence from the classical period of India’s history suggests that some kind of relationship dates back to the beginning of the first millennium, although not to the time of the composition of the Vedic hymns, as claimed by some. One of the oldest and most authoritative texts of Ayurveda, the Carakasaṃhitā, that is generally ascribed to the first century ce, has a chapter on Yoga that contains a system with eight auxiliaries (aṣṭāṅga). This indicates that physicians (vaidya) of that time were willing to adopt Yoga. As Dominik Wujastyk (2012: 33–5) has observed, Caraka’s Aṣṭāṅgayoga predates the Pātañjalayogaśāstra and it appears to have been influenced profoundly by Buddhism. In addition, there is evidence which suggests that Patañjali himself

10 Jeannotat 2008: 286.
11 The affiliation of Ayurveda with the Vedas is mentioned in the classical texts themselves. For example, Caraka says that a physician should proclaim his own devotion in the Atharvaveda, because the Atharvaveda teaches therapy and therapy is taught for the benefit of longevity (Carakasaṃhitā, Sūṭrsthāna 30.21 – नं निर्विस्तरं तत्त्वं वेदं दृष्टं) ... चिन्तनेति ग्रहणं भिन्नांशि पद्यमानां (Sūtra 30.21). Suśruta said that Brahmā taught the eightfold Ayurveda as an auxiliary to the Vedas (Suśrutasaṃhitā, Sūtrasthāna 34.8ab – ब्रह्मान् वेदाङ्गायुषाणां विद्वद्धां मामसापि वेदीश्च भगवदन्ति) and Vāgbhaṭa described it as an upaveda of the Atharvaveda (Aṣṭāṅgasanāgraha, Sūtrasthāna 1.7cd–18.ab – तन्त्रास्तु वैदिकां नित्यां मां तन्त्रास्तु – आयुष्यां पालनं वेदं वेदिश्च). Some scholars, such as Jolly (1977), have noted a few correspondences between vedic medicine and the classical works of Ayurveda, particularly in regard to their use of mantras (Zysk 1998: 10). However, the scholarly consensus appears to be that most of the theory of classical Ayurveda, for example the trīḍaṇa theory, is not found in the Vedas. See, for example, Bronkhorst (2007: 56–60) who argues that Ayurveda derives from the culture of Greater Magadha and not from Vedic Brahmanism, and Dominik Wujastyk (2003b: 395–5) who notes that the narrative context of Caraka’s assertion undermines its interpretation as a historical claim. A further problem with claims that Yoga and Ayurveda derive from the Vedas (e.g., Frawley 2002: 309) is that they frequently rely on a subjective identification of yoga-like elements in vedic mantra and ritual practices. Seeing that the earliest layers of the Vedas do not mention a system of Yoga and unambiguous references to Yoga do not appear until the middle Upaniṣads, such as the Kathopanisat and Śvetāśvataropanisat, the Vedic origin of the salient features of Yoga in the Pātañjalayogaśāstra and some chapters of the twelfth book of the Mahābhārata is rather unlikely, in my opinion.
had some knowledge of Ayurveda, because his commentarial definition and
discussion of disease (vyādhi), which is mentioned in sūtra 1.30, is similar to one
given by Caraka. After considering this as well as a list of bodily constituents
(dhātu) and their relation to the humours (doṣa) in the Pātañjalayogaśāstra, Philipp
Maas (2008: 153) concludes:

On the whole, the system of medical knowledge with which Patañjali
was acquainted is clearly Āyurvedic, and of an early classical style.

The research for this article was prompted by the second question posed
above on the synthesis between Yoga and Ayurveda. I will attempt to give a pre-
liminary answer by assessing the shared terminology, theory and praxis between
a reasonably large corpus of Yoga texts that date from the eleventh to nineteenth
century and the foundational works of Ayurveda. As such, this article is struc-
tured as follows:

1. Corpus of Texts on Yoga and Ayurveda
2. Shared Terminology
   • The Names of Disease
   • Humoral Diseases
3. Theory
   • Fire, Digestive Fire and Digestion
   • Yogi-Physicians and Humoral Theory (tridoṣa)
   • Vital Points (marman)
     – The Early Corpus
     – The Late Corpus
   • Herbs
4. Praxis
   • Postures (āsana)
   • The Six Therapeutic Actions (ṣaṭkarma) of Haṭhayoga
   • Yoga Therapy (yogacikitsā)
     – A Vaidya-Yogi-Scholar

As far back as the Carakasamhitā, methods have been incorporated into Ayur-
veda for the attainment of the the three aims (eṣaṇā) of self-preservation (prāṇa),
wealth (dhana) and the world beyond this one (paraloka). It is not unreasonable

12 For a translation and commentary (Sūtrasātha 11.3), see Dominik Wujastyk
on this passage in the Carakasamhitā 2003a: 45 and 60.
to suppose that the authors of the yoga texts listed in section 1 might have had an extensive knowledge of Ayurveda and borrowed material from Ayurvedic works. The Yoga traditions in question aim at liberation (mokṣa) from transmigration by means of the practice of Yoga and, generally speaking, they regard disease as an obstacle to liberation insomuch as it can obstruct the practice of Yoga. Therefore, yogins desirous of liberation might have consulted Ayurvedic doctors to cure their illnesses. Also, one might surmise that longevity would provide a yogin with more time to achieve liberation. This is implied in the Carakasaṃhitā’s discussion of how a healthy person can attain the world beyond (paraloka) by pursuits which include absorption of the mind (manahsaṃādhi).  

In most cases, health and healing is a salient theme of the Yoga texts consulted for this article. As I will argue, the evidence suggests that yogins resorted to a more general knowledge of healing disease, which is found in earlier Tantras and Brahmanical texts, without adopting in any significant way teachings from classical Ayurveda. In some cases, it is apparent that yogins developed distinctly Yogic modes of curing diseases.

1. CORPUS OF TEXTS ON YOGA AND AYURVEDA

The yoga corpus examined in this article consists of texts that teach physical techniques and meditative absorption (samādhi), either as auxiliaries within a system of Yoga or as autonomous systems in themselves. These works were composed between the eleventh and the nineteenth century CE. Generally speaking, the physical techniques became known as Haṭhayoga and samādhi as Rājayoga, and the texts in which they appear posit the practice (abhyāsa) of Yoga as the chief means to liberation (mokṣa). In the following list of the early texts of these types of Yoga, which I refer to as the “early corpus,” I have grouped each work according to the name of the Yoga it teaches. Though these emic categories reveal some important commonalities between these works, it should be noted that there is no evidence for a premodern source that either categorizes them in this way or recognizes them as a unified textual corpus.  

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13 See Carakasaṃhitā (Sūtrasthāna 11.33).

14 In these texts, meditative absorption is referred to by a variety of terms, such as samādhi, amanaska, unmanī, nirālamba, laya, etc. In this article, I will refer to it by the generic term samādhi.

15 For information on the dating of these texts, see Birch 2011: 528. More recent information on the dating of some texts has been cited in the footnotes of this article. One might argue that there are at least two Advaitavedānta texts written before the sixteenth century that contain enough Haṭha- and Rājayoga in them to justify their inclusion among the early texts consulted for this paper. The first of these texts is the Aparokṣānubhūti, that teaches a system of
• The Fourfold System of Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha- and Rājayoga

  The *Dattātreya yogaśāstra* (12–13th c.)
  The *Yogabijā* (14th c.)
  The *Amaraughaprabodha* (14th c.)
  The *Śivasanhitā* (15th c.)

• Rājayoga only

  The *Amanaska*, chapter two (11–12th c.)

• Haṭha- and Rājayoga only

  The *Yogatārāvalī* (14th c.)

• Ṣaḍaṅgayoga

  The *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* (12–13th c.), later known by other names (e.g., *Gorakṣaśataka*)

• Aṣṭāṅgayoga

  The *Vasiṣṭhasanhitā* (12–13th c.)

Rājayoga with fifteen auxiliaries. It was probably written before the fourteenth century, owing to a commentary on it called the *Dīpikā*, that is attributed to Vidyārāṇya in its colophons and begins with a *maṅgala* verse commonly used by the fourteenth-century Advaitavedāntin named Vidyārāṇya (Olivelle 1981:80). I wish to thank James Madaio for pointing out to me the importance of the *Dīpikā*’s *maṅgala* verse. The second text is the *Jīvanmuktiviveka* by the same Vidyārāṇya, who integrates Advaitavedānta with Pātañjalya. I have omitted these two texts because they did not influence the *Hathapradīpikā* nor the works on Yoga (mentioned in this article) which followed it. An exception to this is that the *Aparokṣānubhūti* provided verses for two Yoga Upaniṣads, the *Nādabindupanisad* and the *Yogaśikhopanisad* (Bouy 1994:34, 36).

16 As part of this fourfold system of Yoga, the *Dattātreya yogaśāstra* teaches a system of Ṣaḍaṅgayoga with eight auxiliaries (*aṣṭāṅga*), which it says was first taught by Yājñavalkya. Seeing that the principal structure of this text is that of the fourfold Yoga (and its Aṣṭāṅgayoga is one of two types of Hathayoga), it is more appropriate to include it in this category.

17 There are two redactions of the *Amaraughaprabodha*, a short and long one. The long redaction has been published by Mallik (1954a:48–55). The short one is preserved in two manuscripts (MS Chennai, ARL 70528 and MS Chennai, GOML SR1448). Internal evidence suggests that the short redaction antecedes the long one and it is likely that only the short redaction predates the *Hathapradīpikā* (Birch 2018a).

18 The *Śivasanhitā* in its current form may not predate the *Hathapradīpikā*. It is a compilation and its fifth chapter appears to be unrelated to the first four. For details on this, see Birch 2018b.

19 For a discussion on the date of the *Yogatārāvalī*, see Birch 2015:5–8.

20 For the different names of this text, see Bouy 1994:18 and Mallinson 2007a:166 n. 9.
The Yoga-yājñavalkya (13–14th c.)

• Others

The Amṛtasiddhi (11th c.)
The Gorakṣaśataka (14th c.)
The Candrāvalokana (13–14th c.)
The Khecarīvidyā (14th c.)

These texts can be considered “early” in so far as they were forerunners to the fifteenth-century Haṭhapradīpikā, with which they share one or more verses. Svātmārama, the author of the Haṭhapradīpikā, formulated a system of Hathayoga, the structure and techniques of which were widely regarded as typical of Hathayoga after the sixteenth-century. This is evinced by Yoga texts, such as the Haṭharatnavālī, which borrowed extensively from the Haṭhapradīpikā as well as compilations, such as the Yogacintāmaṇi, which quote the Haṭhapradīpikā at length on matters of Hathayoga.

In the centuries following the Haṭhapradīpikā, the literature on Haṭha- and Rājayoga changed significantly. More extensive texts on the fourfold system of Yoga and Aṣṭāṅgayoga were written, as well as at least two expanded versions of the Haṭhapradīpikā. Also, learned Brahmins attempted to integrate teachings on Haṭha- and Rājayoga with those of the Pātañjalyogasāstra and various Brahmanical texts such as the Upaniṣads, Epics, Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras, and this resulted in large eclectic compilations on Yoga. As Bouy (1994) noted,
most of the so-called Yoga Upaniṣads integrated Haṭha- and Rājayoga with teachings on Advaitavedānta. These texts, which I shall call the “late corpus” in this paper, are as follows:

- **The Fourfold System of Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha- and Rājayoga**

  - *The Hātharatnāvali* (17th c.)
  - *The Yogamārgaprakāśikā* (16–18th c.)
  - *The Śivayogaprādīpikā* (late 15th c.)

- **Expanded versions of the Hāthaprādīpikā**

  - *The Siddhāntamuktāvali* (18th c.)
  - *The Hāthapradīpikā* (10 chapters) (18th c.)

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27 I have not included a work by the name of the *Āyurvedasūtra* in this corpus because, as far as I am aware, it is not cited and does not share textual parallels with the corpuses of yoga texts that I am examining. Therefore, for the purposes of my inquiry, the *Āyurvedasūtra* is an eccentric work that is beyond the scope of this article. For information on it, see *HIML* IIA, 499–501 *et passim* and Slatoff 2017.

28 For the date of the *Hātharatnāvali*, see Birch 2018a.

29 Sections of the *Yogamārga-prakāśikā* appear to be redactions of earlier texts that teach Haṭhayoga. In particular, it has many parallel verses with the *Hāthaprādīpikā* and the *Śivasaṃhitā* and some with the *Yoga-yājñavalkya*. Other sections may be original or derive from Yoga texts no longer extant. There are a few loose parallels with commentarial and unattributed passages quoted in Brahmananda’s *Hāthaprādīpikā-pādaśītā* (Brahmananda’s *Hāthaprādīpikā-pādaśītā*). If Brahmananda borrowed from the *Yogamārga-prakāśikā*, then the latter’s *terminus ad quem* is the mid-nineteenth century.

30 For reliable information on the date, author and manuscripts of the *Śivayogaprādīpikā*, see Powell 2017. Powell will write his doctoral thesis on this text and will publish more information on it in the coming years.

31 Birch 2018a.

32 The *terminus a quo* of the *Hāthaprādīpikā* with ten chapters is the original fifteenth-century *Hāthaprādīpikā* (with four chapters). Its *terminus ad quem* is either the *Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṅgraha*, which quotes verses from the tenth chapter of a *Hāthaprādīpikā* (*hathaprādīpikāyaṁ daśamopadeśe*), or Bālakṛṣṇa’s commentary (called the *Yogaprakāśikā*) on the *Hāthaprādīpikā* with ten chapters. The date of the *Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṅgraha* is not certain, though it post-dates the *Siddhisiddhāntapaddhati*, which might be as late as the eighteenth century (Mallinson 2014: 170–71). The date of Bālakṛṣṇa’s *Yogaprakāśikā* is not known, although this Bālakṛṣṇa does mention a “Mānasiṃha” (Gharote 2006: xxix), which would place him in the nineteenth century if this is Man Singh II of Jodhpur who patronized the Nāths. Bālakṛṣṇa’s commentary also quotes the *Siddhisiddhāntapaddhati* (Gharote 2006: xxix), which indicates that Bālakṛṣṇa lived sometime after the eighteenth century. If the *Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṅgraha* and Bālakṛṣṇa can be assigned to the nineteenth century, then the *Hāthaprādīpikā* with ten chapters might have been written in the eighteenth century. In its first chapter (1:35), it mentions a yoga with six auxiliaries (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*), but this verse is taken from the *Vivekamārtanda*. The text
• Āṣṭāṅgayoga

  The Jogapradīpyakā (18th c.)

• Compilations on Yoga

  Godāvaramiśra’s Yogacintāmani (16th c.)
  Śivānanda’s Yogacintāmani (17th c.)
  The Yuktabhavadeva (17th c.)
  The Haṭhatattvākauṃudi (18th c.)
  The Hathaṃsaketaṇḍrīkā (18th c.)
  Rāmacandra’s Tattvabinduṣyoga (17–18th c.)

• Texts on Specific Techniques of Haṭhayoga

  The Satkarmasaṅgraha (18th c.)
  The Kumbhakapaddhati (17th c.)

of the extended Haṭhapradīpikā does not limit itself to six auxiliaries, as it includes teachings on yama and niyama (1.55–58) and is structured largely on the contents of the original Haṭhapradīpikā with many additional verses throughout the text and additional chapters on pratyāhāra, along with dhāraṇā and dhyāna, kālajñāna and videhamukti.

33 The Jogapradīpyakā was written by a Rāmānandī named Jayatarāma (Mallinson 2011a: 774). A colophonic verse at the end of the text (957) gives the date as saṃvat 1794 āśvinaśukla 10, which is 4.10.1737 ce. It does not mention Haṭhayoga, but teaches an āṣṭāṅgayoga (verse 18) which integrates various techniques of earlier Haṭha traditions, such as the standard āsana(s), kumbhaka(s), mudrā and sāṭkarma(s), with many other āsana(s) and mudrā(s) as well as some practices not usually found in this corpus such as pranayāma and śāntakrama. The result is an eclectic Yoga that includes many practical details which are absent in earlier Yoga texts. At the end of the Jogapradīpyakā, Jayatarāma cites the Haṭhapradīpikā and the Pātañjaliyogaprakāśa among other texts.

34 Godāvaramiśra can be dated to the reign of the king Pratāparudra (1497–1539 ce) of Orissa (Goudriaan and Gupta 1981: 146). He was appointed as the king’s Rājaguru in 1510 ce (HIIML: IIA, 563), so the Yogacintāmani must have been written between 1510–1539 ce. For further details, see Gode 1953.

35 Birch 2013a: 403.

36 A colophonic verse at the end of the Yuktabhavadeva gives the year as 1545 (isuvyuga-śara-candra) in the Śaka era, which is 1623 ce (Gharote and V. K. Jha 2002a: xvi).

37 Birch 2018a.

38 For the date of the Hathaṃsaketaṇḍrīkā and the Haṭhatattvākauṃudi, see below.

39 Birch 2013a: 415, 434 n. 71.

40 For the date of the Satkarmasaṅgraha, see below.

41 The Kumbhakapaddhati’s terminus ad quem is the eighteenth-century Sundaradeva, who quotes the text with attribution in his Haṭhatattvākauṃudi (12.1, 38.12, 39.9, 40.8, 46.37, 47.11, 51.80). Its terminus a quo is yet to be fixed, though the fact that it is a compendium that describes more types of breath retention (kumbhaka) than any other Yoga text suggests that it is more recent than the Haṭhapradīpikā.
• Upaniṣads with Hatha- and Rājayoga (first half of the 18th c.)

- The Yogatattvopaniṣat
- The Dhyānabindūpāniṣat
- The Nādabindūpāniṣat
- The Śāṇḍilyopaniṣat
- The Yogacūḍāmanupaniṣat
- The Yogakundalinyupaniṣat
- The Yogaśikhopaniṣat
- The Darśanopaniṣat
- The Maṇḍalabrāhmanopaniṣat
- The Saubhāgyalakṣmyupaniṣat
- The Varāhopaniṣat

• Others

- The Amanaska, chapter one (15–16th c.)
- The Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati (17–18th c.)
- The Gorakṣayogaśāstra (15–16th c.)
- The Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā (18th c.)

42 These so-called Yoga Upaniṣads are part of a recent recension compiled in south-India in the first half of the eighteenth century and commented on by Upaniṣadbrahmayogin. Christian Bouy has identified many earlier Yoga texts as the sources of these Upaniṣads, including the Ḥathapradīpikā (Bouy 1994: 85–86), but also other texts such as the Gītāsāra, the Upāsanāśrutasangrahā, the Aparokṣānubhūti, the Uttaragītā, the Pātañjalayogaśāstra, the Gorakṣopaniṣat, etc. (Bouy 1994: 86–110).

43 This work is known as the Gorakṣopaniṣat in north-India (Bouy 1994: 42, 106–7). It borrows many verses from the Vasiṣṭhasamhitā (see pp. 28 f. of the 2005 Kaivalyadhama edition edited by Maheshananda et al.).

44 Birch 2013c: 32–35.

45 Birch 2018a.

46 MS Kathmandu NAK S 332 (microfilm A1333/20). I am not certain of the name and date of this text, which is called the Gorakṣayogaśāstra on the manuscript’s index card and in the final colophon. However, the final colophon (इित गोरÈजोगशाԖसमाљं) does not appear to be reliable evidence because it was written in a hand that is different to the rest of the manuscript. The compound भूलगच्छति follows the final verse, but this does not seem like a proper colophon to me. The manuscript is palm-leaf, undated and in Newari script. Nils Jacob Liersch is currently writing a master’s thesis on this text, which will include a critical edition and discussion of the text’s title, date, manuscripts and authorship. It will be submitted at the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University. The text has some verses and content in common with the Amṛtasādhisti and teaches some of the Hathayogic bandhas (see footnote 75), which indicates that it postdates the eleventh century. I have placed it in the late corpus because much of its content is derived from an earlier source. However, it may be earlier than the Ḥathapradīpikā.
It should be noted that it has been easier to identify textual passages and content from Ayurvedic sources in the late corpus for the simple reason that the majority of its texts cite and name their sources and tend to incorporate more theory and doctrine from a wide range of material, as noted above. In contrast to this, the early corpus is characterized by concise explanations of the practical details of their systems of Yoga, and rarely do the early works reveal their sources. The early texts give the impression that they were instruction manuals on Yoga written by practitioners for practitioners, whereas the late corpus contains texts that were written by scholars who had expertise in several branches of knowledge. One such example is the sixteenth-century Yogacintāmaṇi composed by Godāvaramiśra, who wrote other works on various topics, including Tantra, Advaitavedānta and an extensive treatise on politics and warfare. Therefore, given that many of the texts of the late corpus are compilations by learned authors who often cited their sources, it is easier to identify the content of Ayurvedic works in this corpus than in the early one, about which my comments are more speculative and provisional.

Most of my statements on Ayurveda are based on the contents of the so-called “great triad” (bhṛhatrāyī) of classical Ayurveda, namely, the Carakasaṃhitā, the Sūrutasamhitā and Vāgbhaṭa’s Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya. Where possible, I have consulted other works on Ayurveda and Rasaśāstra. However, a more systematic search outside the bhṛhatrāyī would further enrich the points of discussion raised in this article.

2. SHARED TERMINOLOGY

NAMES OF DISEASE

Even a cursory reading of the above-mentioned Yoga texts would reveal that both the early and late corpuses use terminology in discussions of the body and disease that occurs in classical Ayurveda. The Haṭhapradīpikā provides a good sample of this shared terminology because it is largely an anthology of the

47 I have inferred the first two topics from the titles of two of Godāvaramiśra’s works: the Tantracintāmaṇi and the Advaitadarpaṇa, which are both quoted in his Yogacintāmaṇi (Gode 1955: 474). The third work is called the Harharacaturāṅga, which has been edited and published. For details and a summary of this text’s contents, see Meulenbeld (HIML: II A, 562–3).

48 Although the term bhṛhatrāyī appears in modern publications on Ayurveda, an electronic search of the texts on Gre til, Sarit and Muktabodha does not reveal occurrences of it. The term could have been coined in the nineteenth century as part of an effort to create a medical canon. I am grateful to Dominik Wujastyk for suggesting this to me.
early corpus, and was regarded as an authority on Hathayoga in many works of the late corpus. In the Haṭhapradīpikā, the Ayurvedic word for disorder (doṣa) and the three bodily humours of bile (pitta), phlegm (kapha/śleṣman) and wind (vāta) are used frequently. There are also references to the bodily constituents (dhātu) and more specifically to fat (medas), as well as the names of various diseases such as swelling caused by tumours (gulma), abdominal diseases (udara), hiccups (hikkā), breathing difficulty (śvāsa), cough (kāsa), pain in the head, ears and eyes (śiraḥkarṇākṣivedanā), enlargement of the spleen (plīha), skin diseases (kuṣṭha), obesity (sīhāulya), problems caused by worms (kṛmidōsa), sloth (ālasya), fever (jvara), poison (visa), consumption (ksaya), constipation (gudāvarta), indigestion (ajīrṇa) as well as more generally to vāta, pitta and kapha diseases. In fact, the Haṭhapradīpikā (2.25) refers to a group of twenty phlegmatic diseases (क-फरोगा च वशितः), which appears to be an oblique reference to the group of twenty phlegmatic diseases that are enumerated in some Ayurvedic texts, such as the Carakasamhitā (Sūtrasthāna 20.10.17).

The frequency of many of the above terms in these Yoga texts is largely the result of literary style. Nearly all of the references to curing diseases and imbalances occur in the descriptions of Yoga techniques, such as in the examples of mahāmudrā and ujjāyīkumbhaka below. Seeing that these works describe many techniques, the names of diseases tend to be repeated throughout each work. The particularity of attributing certain benefits to certain techniques suggests that some of this knowledge was derived from the practical experience of yogins. Nonetheless, these authors also seemed obliged to repeat many platitudes in praising the efficacy of Yoga.

The mere presence of basic Ayurvedic terminology, even if somewhat profuse, is not in itself sufficient proof that the author of a Yoga text had expertise in Ayurveda. As I shall discuss below, this terminology is part of a more general knowledge of disease and the three humours, which pervades earlier Tantras, Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras. However, at times the authors of both the early and late corpuses reveal their understanding of the body and knowledge of medicines, and some occasionally quote or borrow from Ayurvedic texts. In my view, the last two of the following four types of textual evidence are the most certain indicators of an author’s knowledge of Ayurveda:

50 On the meaning of gudāvarta in the Pāśupatasūtrasbhāṣya and Mataṅgapārameśvara, see Sanderson 1999: 33. According to Alexis Sanderson’s interpretation of these sources, gudāvarta is “a fundamental incapacity of the anus (pāyuḥ) as organ of excretion.” This may well be a more serious condition than indicated by my translation of “constipation.”
51 See the Appendix, p. 65 below, for a list of these and their references in the Haṭhapradīpikā.
1. Shared terminology
2. Similar anatomical theory and medicines
3. Textual parallels with Ayurvedic texts
4. Citations of Ayurvedic texts

A good example of the complexities behind the shared terminology mentioned above can be seen in the four earliest texts that teach the Hathayogic practice called mahāmudrā; namely, the Amṛtasiddhi (11.3–11), the Dattātreyayogasāstra (132–34), the Vivekamārtaṇḍa (81–86) and the Amaraughaprabodha (29–32). These texts provide four separate accounts of mahāmudrā, which were borrowed or modified in various ways by nearly all subsequent works on Yoga. The benefits of this practice are described in the Vivekamārtaṇḍa as follows:

Because [of the practice of mahāmudrā,] no [food] should be [thought] wholesome or unwholesome. Indeed, all tastes become tasteless. Even a terrible poison consumed is digested as if it were nectar. Consumption (kṣaya), skin diseases (kuṣṭha), constipation (gudāvarta), swelling (gulma), indigestion (aṭīrṇa), fever (jvara) and anxiety (vyāthā): these disorders are destroyed for that [yogin] who practises mahāmudrā. This mahāmudrā is said to bring people great supernatural powers (mahāsiddhi) [such as minimization, etc.]. It should be kept secret and not given to just anyone.

These verses, which were reproduced in the Haṭhapradīpikā, demonstrate how premodern Yoga texts enumerate the effects of a technique, beginning with the relatively mundane ones of strong digestion and finishing with supernatural powers. This passage is typical in that it only mentions the names of various

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52 One exception is the section on mahāmudrā in the Jogapradīpikā (592–97).
53 I have followed the interpretation of Brahmānanda's commentary (i.e., the Jyotīsnā) on this verse in the Haṭhapradīpikā (3.18–): [...] महासिद्धिः सिद्धिः कार्याविकतस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्य तविचक्षुरस्य सधृश्च। सत्यविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। गणविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः। तस्यमहासिद्धिः कस्मविकर्तिस्मिन्नावतः।
54 Vivekamārtaṇḍa 61–63 (MS Baroda, Central Library 4110, f.3r, ll. 2–4): न हि प्रयासादेव व रसाः सवं नीरसाः। अपि भुक्तिः विन धरां पीयुषिमव त्रेतोद्वयिति। 61। कालात्नुतत्त्वात्त्वां कृष्णयो नास तुयो। तुयोऽैयं पीयूषिमव तुयोऽैयं महामुिा महािसि्द्यूयूणाम ्। गोपनीया ूयZeन देया यԧ कԧ िचत्॥ ६३॥ सवं। Codex.
55 Vivekamārtaṇḍa 84–86 = Haṭhapradīpikā 3.15–17.
diseases and omits any specialized medical knowledge on how these illnesses were diagnosed, treated and managed. Moreover, the names of these diseases appear in other genres of Sanskrit literature of the time such as Tantras, Purāṇas and Epics that predate the tenth century. Their occurrence in earlier Tantras is particularly significant in this regard, because of the influence of Tantra on these Yoga traditions. The likelihood that the above list of diseases derives from a Tantric source is somewhat indicated by the inclusion of gudāvarta which occurs in three Tantric works that predate Hathayoga, but it is not found in the classical texts of Ayurveda.

**Humoral Diseases**

Nearly all of the Yoga texts in question mention categories of disease such as phlegm (kapha/śleṣman), bile (pitta), wind (vāta) disorders (doṣa). This terminology refers to concepts that are more sophisticated than merely the names of disease. A good example of its usage in a Yoga text is seen in the description of the breath retention (kumbhaka) called ujjāyī, which first appears in the Gorakṣaśataka (36cd–39) and the Yogabīja (96–98ab). The Gorakṣaśataka’s description is reproduced in the Ṣaṁyuktāyurveda, which first appears in the Mahābhārata (12.292.6, 13.24.14, etc.; gulma – Mṛgendratantravṛtti Yogapāda 2, Suksmāgama 27.23, Aḥirbudhyanasamhitā 38.53, Garudamahāpurāṇa 1.157.22, etc.; ajīrṇa – Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 39.156, Garudamahāpurāṇa 1.161.8, etc.; jvara – Kṣemapāla 9.49, Netranatadāna 12.95, Bhagavadgītā 11.49, etc., etc.).

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56 Electronic searching of the Sanskrit texts available on Gretil and Muktabodha returns hundreds of examples of some of these terms in Tantras and Purāṇas. I shall provide only a few of each taken from contexts which indicate that the meaning is an illness. kṣaya – Sarva-jñānottara 19.6, Kīranatman 51.10, Brahma-mâyāman 61.66, Agnipurāṇa 282.21, etc.; kuṣṭha – Mālinīvijayottaratantra 16.56, Agnipurāṇa 31.21, Viṣṇudharmottara 3.436.2, Mahābhārata 12.292.6, 13.24.14, etc.; gudāvarta – see footnote 50; gulma – Mṛgendratantravṛtti Yogapāda 2, Suksmāgama 27.23, Aḥirbudhyanasamhitā 38.53, Garudamahāpurāṇa 1.157.22, etc.; ajīrṇa – Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 39.156, Garudamahāpurāṇa 1.161.8, etc.; jvara – Kṣemapāla 9.49, Netranatadāna 12.95, Bhagavadgītā 11.49, etc., etc.

57 Mallinson 2011:770; Birch 2015:8–10.

58 The term gudāvarta occurs in Pāśupatāsūtrabhāṣya 36–37, Mrgendratantra Yāga-pāda 2 and the Mūrḍha-gaṇapārameśvara, Vidyāpāda 18.34ab (Sanderson 1999: 33). On the meaning of gudāvarta, see footnote 50.


57 Mallinson 2011:770; Birch 2015:8–10.
Now, ujjāyī [is described]. Having closed the mouth and taken in the breath slowly through both nostrils, so that it resonantly (śasvaram) touches from the throat as far down as the chest, [the yogin] should hold it as previously taught and breathe out through the left nostril. [Ujjāyī] cures disorders (doṣa) caused by phlegm (śleṣman) in the throat and it increases fire in the body. It cures imbalances in the network of channels (nāḍījāla), abdomen and throughout the bodily constituents (dhātu). This breath retention called ujjāyī can be practised by one while walking or sitting.
References to the three humours in premodern yoga texts are frequent, but they are not a clear indication that yogins derived their knowledge of disease from Ayurveda because similar references occur in earlier Tantras and Purāṇas. To give but one example, the nineteenth chapter of the Netratantra sets out the various illnesses, among other calamities, which a king might neutralize by having a śānti rite performed for him. The illnesses include:

[...] the ill-effects of poison from snakes, etc., boils caused by worms and so forth, diseases (vikāra) of wind and bile (vātapitta) and all disorders of phlegm (śleṣmadoṣa). Piles, eye diseases, erysipelas and thousands of other diseases, detrimental effects of injuries and the like and internal illnesses that destroy the mind, such as grief and so on.  

In fact, the humoral concept of disease would have been known to yogins who were familiar with Brahmanical Sanskrit literature. For example, the basic terminology of disease and anatomy occurs in the Dharmaśāstras. A widely-known text of this genre, the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, contains a detailed passage on the creation of the body, which includes words such as rasa (nutrient fluid), dhātu (constituent), ojas (vital drop), sirī (tube), dhamani (pipes), śleṣm (phlegm), pitta (bile) and so on. Lists of the seven bodily constituents (dhātu) appear in the Mahābhārata and the Pātañjalayogaśāstra, as well as various Purāṇas, Tantras and Buddhist works. Furthermore, the notion that disease was an imbalance in the bodily constituents is mentioned in the Pātañjalayogaśāstra. As far as I am aware, such a definition is absent in the Yoga corpus consulted for this article,
with the exception of Brahmānanda’s commentary (the *Jyotsna*) on *Hathapradīpikā* 3.38. This definition of disease made its way from the *Pātañjalyogaśāstra* into the *Liṅgapurāṇa* and *Vāyaviyasyamhitā*.66

Given that some of the content and the non-Pāṇinian register of Sanskrit in much of the Yoga corpus under consideration is similar to the Śaivāgamas, one should think twice before reading more complex Ayurvedic theory into passages of these works that contain humoral terminology and more recondite anatomical terms, especially if a simpler meaning is possible. For example, in the above description of *ujjāyī*, one might be tempted to understand the compound *nāḍījāla*, which is based on a conjecture, according to Ayurvedic theory, referring to the network of blood vessels (sirājāla), which is one of four networks (jāla) mentioned in the *Suśrutasamhitā*.67 Apart from the fact that the word *nāḍī* is not used with this meaning in Ayurvedic works (Dominik Wujastyk 2003a: 37), this compound more probably refers to the general system of channels (nāḍī), which were a salient feature of the subtle body in Tantra. Similar references to a network (jāla) of channels can be found in Tantras predating Hathayoga such as the eighth or ninth-century *Parākhyatantra*:68

Even Yoga cannot accomplish its fruits if it is devoid of a support. Its support is the body, which is covered with a network of tubular vessels (sirājāla).69

Although the presence of humoral terminology is insufficient to prove that pre-modern yogins had expertise in Ayurveda, the prominence of such terminology in both the early and late corpuses indicates that yogins had a strong interest in the healing effects of many Yoga techniques. Indeed, the theme of healing diseases was important in the transmission and promotion of the tradition. The particularity of certain benefits suggests that some of this information had a practical value for yogins and it may have derived from actual observations and testimony.

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66 *Liṅgapurāṇa*: 1.9.4, *Vāyaviyasyamhitā*: 7.2.38-3, p. 406. I wish to thank Philipp Maas and Christèle Barois for pointing out these two references to me.

67 In the *Śārīrasthāna* of the *Suśrutasamhitā* (5.12), four separate networks (jāla) are mentioned in the muscle (māṃsa), channels (sirā), sinews (snāyu) and bones (asthi).

68 On the date of the *Parākhyatantra*, see Dominic Goodall 2004: xlviii–lviii.

 Nonetheless, the frequency of grandiose rhetorical statements, such as “this Yoga will cure all diseases,” indicates that the passages on benefits were also written to promote the type of Yoga being taught.  

3. THEORY

If the author of a Yoga text incorporated descriptions of physiology that rely on Ayurvedic terminology and theories, as seen in the Brhadāranyāki, this might provide more robust evidence for the use of specialized Ayurvedic knowledge in a Yoga tradition. This type of evidence is rare in the early corpus and difficult to trace because these texts do not reveal their sources. Furthermore, although some texts of the early corpus have descriptions of digestion and vital points (marman) that are conceptually similar to Ayurvedic physiology, there are also enough significant differences to suggest a non-medical source, as will be seen in the examples taken from the Yogayājñavalkya and the Amṛtasiddhi. In contrast to this, some texts of the late corpus, such as the Yuktabhavadeva and the Haṭhasanaketacandrikā, quote Ayurvedic texts explicitly or contain passages which can be proven to derive from them. These instances provide more solid ground for assessing how and why these authors combined Ayurvedic theory with Yoga.

FIRE, DIGESTIVE FIRE AND DIGESTION

Nearly all of the Yoga texts in the corpus refer frequently to a yogin’s inner fire (agni, anala, vahni, etc.). It is clear from expressions, such as jaṭharāgni, that this fire is located in the abdomen. Many Hathayogic practices are credited with increasing the body’s heat, and the fact that it can result in Rājayoga, which is the goal of Hathayoga, signifies the important role of a yogin’s inner fire in the soteriology of premodern Yoga traditions.

Descriptions of digestion tend to occur in explanations of the mundane benefits afforded by the practice of Yoga. A good example is found in the Amṛtasiddhi, which is the earliest known text to teach the three mudrās (i.e., mahāmudrā, ।

Expressions such as “it removes all diseases” (sarvarogahara), “it destroys all illness” (sarvarājaninalāsa) and so on are common in both the early and late corpuses. Various Yoga texts of both the early and late corpus describe the location of this fire; e.g., Dattātreyayogasūstra 139, Vivekamārtanda 135ab, etc.

In the Haṭhapradīpikā alone, the increasing of fire in the body is mentioned nearly a dozen times and is expressed variously as follows: jaṭharapradīpti 1.27, udāyam jaṭhārājanālaśya 1.29, janayati jaṭhārāgna 1.31, analytics pradipanam 2.20, dahanaprādītam 2.29, mandāgnaśandipana 2.35, dehānālalavivardhana 2.52, sarīrágnivivardhana 2.65, agnīdipa 2.78, atyantapradīptah […] jvalanaḥ 3.66, jaṭhārājanivivardhini 3.79.

See Haṭhapradīpikā 1.1–2, 67, 2.76, etc.
According to the *Amṛtasiddhi*, the practice of these *mudrās* stimulates digestive fire, which initiates a chain reaction of increasing nutrient fluid, then bodily constituents (*dhātu*) and finally the foremost vital fluid, which in this text is probably semen. This process leads to a number of mundane benefits.

Having stopped the flow of the breaths and having performed inhalations and retentions, the yogin should undertake [this] practice in order to increase all enjoyment. By this means of practising day and night, uninterruptedly, every three hours, in every way, the breath becomes tamed. Because of taming the breath [thus], the fire in the body increases every day. When the fire is increasing, food is cooked easily. By cooking the food, nutrient fluid increases. When the nutrient fluid has constantly increased, then the bodily constituents increase. Owing to the increase in the bodily constituents, the foremost vital fluid increases. When there is an abundance of [this] foremost fluid because of the constant practice of Yoga, the best of yogins becomes nourished, has a firm body and great strength. Because of strength, the great practice of *mahābandha* arises. Because of the great practice of *mahābandha*, nutrient fluid is digested and all humours (*doṣa*), whose waste products are faeces and urine, are removed. (Amṛtasiddhi:14.3–12: यथा योगशीलानां निनिधा निनःफला भवेत्। तथा यासिवहीनानां ततः च निनजलं िनाः॥ एवं बुधः सद्याग्न्यसः। कल्यः। सातियनीनः। अथायासारग्नामेव पोणमायासिवहानामेव इत्यादित् ॥ 19॥)

19d *śrī*  Pitamahāśāstras (incident, MS Kathmandu NAK S 332 (microfilm A1333/20)).

"Just as treasure is pointless for those who are not inclined to use it, the [three] *mudrās* are certainly so for those who have abandoned their practice [of them]. Having realised this, wise men should always practise [them]. From the practice, Yoga arises, and from Yoga, everything is accomplished. Having assumed the first *mudrā* and having applied the two locks very firmly, [the yogin] should tap the three [main] channels of the body. Then, remaining steady, he should tap the hips with the penis seal.

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description of digestion occurs in the *Yogayājñavalkya*. Unlike the *Hathapradīpikā* and most of the other texts of the early corpus, the *Yogayājñavalkya* contains explanatory passages on metaphysical terms, such as the breath (*prāṇa*), the body's fire (*mātariśva*), *kuṇḍalinī* and so on. After locating the fire at the centre of the body and describing it as a triangular site of flames shining like molten gold, the process of digestion is then described as follows:

Water, food and its flavours are made wholesome in the stomach. When *prāṇa* has moved into the stomach, it separates them out again. Then, it puts the water on the fire and the food, etc., above the water. Having naturally reached [the place of] *apāṇa*, *prāṇa* along with *apāna*, then fans the fire in the middle of the body. Gradually, the fire is further fanned by *prāṇa* and *apāṇa*, [until] it then blazes in its abode in the middle of the body. Blazing with flames, the fire fuelled by the *prāṇa* there makes the water in the intestines extremely hot. By means of the hot water, the fire thoroughly cooks the food and the condiments [which were] placed on the water. The water becomes sweat and urine, the nutrient fluid (*rasa*) becomes semen (*vīrya*), and the food becomes faeces. O Gārgī, *prāṇa* makes [them so] one by one. While *prāṇa* along with *samāna* distribute the nutrient fluid in all the channels, *prāṇa* moves in the body by way of the breath. All the winds in the body constantly expel faeces, urine and other [waste matter] through the pores of the skin and nine orifices.

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This passage contains the salient features of various accounts of digestion in Ayurvedic works. These include the role of the bodily winds in ingesting food, fanning the digestive fire, distributing the nutrient fluid and excreting waste, as well as the cooking of food in the stomach to produce both nutrient fluid and waste. However, a closer comparison with Ayurvedic descriptions of digestion reveals that the Yogayājñavalkya’s is a rather simplified and even somewhat crude account. For example, the early seventh-century Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā narrates how food is transformed as it is cooked, first becoming sweet, then acidic and pungent. The cooking process produces phlegm, bile and wind at different stages. Also, five elemental fires, which correspond to the five elemental aspects of food, cook the food to nourish the body’s five elements. The resulting nutrient fluid is further cooked by seven fires in sequence, one for each of the seven bodily constituents (dhātu), which are nourished in turn. And each bodily constituent produces its own type of waste.\(^{80}\) This level of sophistication is absent in descriptions of digestion in the early corpus.

However, unlike the Amṛtasiddhi, the Yogayājñavalkya explains digestion without directly connecting it to the practice of Yoga. The Yogayājñavalkya is a compilation and much of it is based on the Vasiṣṭhasamhitā. In fact, the former borrowed over two hundred and fifty verses from the latter.\(^{81}\) By following the parallel verses in both texts, it is clear that the Yogayājñavalkya’s passage on digestion has been inserted into a large block of text taken verbatim from the Vasiṣṭhasamhitā, as shown in Table 1.

One might ask why the redactor of the Yogayājñavalkya inserted a description of digestion towards the end of this chapter, which culminates in teaching a method for purifying the channels (nāḍīśuddhi). Both the Vasiṣṭhasamhitā and the Yogayājñavalkya claim that nāḍīśuddhi ignites the fire situated in the abdomen,\(^{82}\) and both teach it as a preliminary practice to holding the breath (prāṇāyāma). As a preparatory practice, it results in only mundane benefits, whereas the practice of prāṇāyāma raises kundalini and takes the yogin to the goal of liberation.\(^{83}\) Therefore, as was the case with the Amṛtasiddhi, the redactor of the Yogayājñavalkya provided a theoretical explanation for the mundane benefits of nāḍīśuddhi.

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80 See the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā:Śā.3.54–64. Sanderson (1999: 38–42) has produced an annotated translation of this passage, which he says partly reproduces and partly paraphrases Carakasamhitā:Ci.15.5–19. He also translates the description of digestion in the Bhāvaprakāśa (2.193–213), which adds further detail to the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya’s account.

81 See p.28 of the introduction to the Vasiṣṭhasamhitā edition.

82 It is worth noting the slight variation between their readings: Vasiṣṭhasamhitā:2.68cd: [...] त्वं दिति वसी त धातुनिययम्. Cf. Yogayājñavalkya:5.21: [...] त्वं दिति वसी त धातुनिययम्.

83 Vasiṣṭhasamhitā 3.49–56 and Yogayājñavalkya 6.69–82.
which is generally consistent with the Ayurvedic notion that digestive fire is essential for the optimal functioning of the body.\textsuperscript{84} The compilatory nature of the \textit{Yogayājñavalkya} indicates that its passage on digestion was probably borrowed from somewhere. However, the simplicity of it in relation to descriptions of digestion in Ayurvedic texts suggests that the source was probably not a work on Ayurveda.

\textbf{YOGI-PHYSICIANS AND HUMORAL THEORY}

A possible source of the \textit{Yogayājñavalkya}’s passage on digestion is hinted at in its eighth chapter. The topic of this chapter is concentration (\textit{dhāraṇā}) on the five elements, the description of which is similar to \textit{dhāraṇā} in some earlier Tantras.\textsuperscript{85} In addition to its own teachings on this topic, the \textit{Yogayājñavalkya} mentions another

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textit{Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā} verse numbers & \textit{Yogayājñavalkya} verse numbers & Topic \\
\hline
2.6–7 & 4.9–10 & The length of the body and the sphere of \textit{prāṇa} \\
2.8–10 & 4.11–15 & Description and location of the fire in the body \\
2.11–18 & 4.16–24 & The \textit{kanda}, \textit{mūlacakra} and \textit{kuṇḍalinī} \\
2.19–41 & 4.25–46 & \textit{Suṣumnā} and fourteen other channels (\textit{nāḍī}) \\
\textit{omitted} & 4.47–57 & The five principal bodily winds (\textit{vāyu}) \\
2.50–54 & 4.58–66 & Digestion \\
2.55–69 & 4.67–71 & The five secondary bodily winds \\
2.42–49 & 4.71–72 5.3–22 & Purification of the channels (\textit{nāḍīśuddhi}) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{A comparison of passages from the \textit{Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā} and the \textit{Yogayājñavalkya}.}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{84} For example, \textit{Suśrutasaṃhitā}, \textit{Sūtrasthāna} 15.41: “One whose humours, digestive fire and the functioning of the bodily constituents and impurities are [all] in equilibrium; whose self, sense organs and mind are serene is called healthy” (समदोषः समािʡӡ समधा-तुमलिबयः। ूसХаΝेिКयमनाः ԪԚा इΟिभधीयते).

\textsuperscript{85} The Tantric practice of \textit{dhāraṇā} is described in \textit{Svacchandatana} 7.296cd–302ab, which is adapted from the \textit{Niśvasa’s} \textit{Nay-asūtra} 4.114–115 (Dominic Goodall et al. 2015:394). There is a more sophisticated practice of \textit{dhāraṇā} in the \textit{Mālinivejajotaran- tantra} (Vasudeva 2004: 297, 307–29).
group of yogins who claimed to unite the self (ātman) with the supreme deity by a practice that combined dhārāṇā and prāṇāyāma with humoral theory. These yogins were considered the best physicians (bṛhaspati) and they believed that their practice derived from the two Āsins, the divine physicians to the gods. One must wonder whether these yogi-physicians composed texts that have been lost, and whether the Yogayājñavalkya’s passage on digestion was taken from one of their works. All that remains of their teachings is the following brief report in the Yogayājñavalkya. It is a rare example from a premodern Yoga text of a true synthesis between the practice of Yoga and humoral theory:

However, in regard to this goal [of seeing the supreme lord], other yogins who are the best knowers of Brahma, the best physicians and highly skilled in [various] Yogas teach that the body certainly consists of the five elements (i.e., earth, water, fire, etc.). Therefore, O Gārgi, it consists of [the humours] wind, bile and phlegm. For all those whose nature is wind and are engaged in all [types of] Yoga, the body becomes dry because of prāṇāyāma. However, for those whose nature is bile, the body does not dry quickly. And for those whose nature is phlegm, the body becomes sturdy. For one who concentrates on the fire element [in the body], all [diseases] arising from vitiated wind disappear. For one who always concentrates on part earth and part water, phlegmatic and wind diseases soon disappear. For one who always concentrates on part space and part wind, diseases arising from disorders in [all] three humours are certain to disappear. For this purpose, the two Āsins [who were] the best of physicians taught people how to cure disorders of the three humours simply by prāṇāyāma. Therefore, Gārgi, you should always do this practice. While abiding by the [other auxiliaries of Yoga] such as the general observances (yama), practise concentration according to the [above] rules.86

86 Yogayājñavalkya: 8.32–40ab (edition 78–9): अभिचार्यत्र वदन्त्यो जोगिनो ज्ञात्विद्वारा। निपः स्वरा वरसोहो योगेषु परिमिथिता। दृश्य स्वरा यत्वदेव सुत्वा भूतान्त्वक सदाः॥
सदाः सर्वसुररोहे वातिपक्कान्तमसभूता॥ वातात्मकानां सत्त्वेय योगेन्यात्मनानाम॥
वातसंसारे नेत्र योगे वयपुरस्य योगे॥ विनियोगकानां विनियोवकृपाय सु-प्राप्ति कलेवरमु॥
कलेवरमु वातस्य भूतान्त्वक नि-शुप्ति कलेवरमु॥ धारणं कुवे षां योगे॥

Yogasārasaṅgraha: 33–34 are quoted in the Yogasārasaṅgraha: 33–34 and attributed to the Yogasāranyajñi.

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Yogayājñavalkya: 8.33–35 are quoted in the Yogasārasaṅgraha: 33–34 and attributed to the Yogasāranyajñi.
It is possible that some yogins were seen as physicians, who attempted to heal people’s diseases by combining Yoga techniques with a basic understanding of humoral theory and disease. If these yogins remained outside the profession of Ayurveda, they may have rivalled Ayurvedic physicians (vaidya) in treating people. Moreover, such rivalry was probably inevitable because of the claims that Yoga cures every disease and results in immortality.\(^{87}\) Such claims must have rendered Ayurveda and rasāyana largely superfluous to those yogins who believed them. In light of the curative powers of Yoga, it is no surprise that two texts of the early corpus present the guru as a physician whose healing capabilities extended to curing transmigration (samsāra). One of these, the Amṛtasiddhi, begins with the verse:

Salutations to the guru, the physician who cures the ignorance of those who are asleep because of the poison [of Samsāra], by means of the flow of nectar in the form of knowledge.\(^{88}\)

The above verse bears some resemblance to the opening one of Vāgbhaṭa’s Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā, which pays homage to the physician who can cure all diseases, including the passions that give rise to delusion.\(^{89}\) Therefore, any rivalry between gurus of Yoga and physicians in healing mundane diseases appears to have extended to curing the obstacles to liberation. It would seem that premodern Yoga and Ayurveda were distinguished not so much by the maladies they attempted to cure but by the methods with which the cure was effected.

**VITAL POINTS (MARMAN)**

*The Early Corpus*

The seventh chapter of the Yogayājñavalkya describes two methods of sensory withdrawal (pratyāhāra) which incorporate vital points.\(^{90}\) The first is taken ver-
batim from the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*,\(^9\) which probably borrowed it from the *Vimānārcanākalpa*, a Vaikhānasa text that could date to the ninth century.\(^9\) All three texts contain the same list of eighteen vital points (*marman*), enumerated below, and the same measurements in finger-breadths (*aṅgula*) of the distances between each of these points. The method is very simple and is described in a single verse:

> [The yogin] should make the breath go into these points and hold [them in each one] by means of the mind. By moving [the breath] from point to point, he performs *pratyāhāra*.\(^9\)

Comparing the eighteen vital points of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* et al., with those of earlier Ayurvedic works does not yield a positive result. The *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (*Śā.6*) and the *Aṣṭāṅghṛdayasaṃhitā* (*Śā.4*) describe one hundred and seven vital points but, as seen in Table 2, only half correspond with the Yogic ones in terms of location.\(^9\) The main problem in determining further correspondences is that the locations of the vital points in the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* et al., are less specific than the more detailed descriptions of vital points in the Ayurvedic texts. For example, the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* et al. simply mention the big toes (*pādāṅgūṣṭha*) but the closest point in Ayurveda is called *ksipra*, which is situated between the first and second toe of each foot.\(^9\) In the case of the neck, the Yogic sources refer to the pit of the throat (*kaṇṭhakūpa*), but Suśruta mentions four vital points called *dhamanī* on either side of the trachea (*kaṇṭhanāḍī*) and eight called *mātṛkā* on either side of the neck.\(^9\) If one takes these differences into account, then only nine of the vital

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\(^9\) *Yogayājñavalkya*: 7.1–21ab = *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*: 3.57–74. The apparent discrepancy in the number of verses is caused by the numbering in the edition of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, which, in this section, has several verses with six *pādas*.

\(^9\) Gérard Colas considers the *Vimānārcanākalpa* to be one of the earliest texts of the Vaikhānasa Saṃhitā corpus, which he dates between the 9th and 13th–14th centuries (Colas 2012:158). There is no firm *terminus a quo* for the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, although the editors of the text argue for a post-12th century date, based on the absence of citations in earlier works in which they expected to find it. The *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*’s *terminus ad quem* is the *Yogayājñavalī* (*Yogayājñavalkya*: 7.20cd–21cd (edition 76): ԚāनेԊेतेषु मनसा वायुमारोѥ धारयेत ्॥ ७.२०॥ ԚानाέानाΨ-माकृ ԉ ूΟाहारं ूकुव€तः).

\(^9\) The *Carakasaṃhitā*: Śā.7.14 mentions that there are one hundred and seven vital points, but does not enumerate them. The entire chapter on *marmans* in the *Aṣṭāṅghṛdayasaṃhitā* has been translated and discussed in Dominik Wujastyk 2003a: 201 f., 236–44.

\(^9\) *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Śā.6.24: (पादस्याक्षराह्रादयेऽपदचारणम्).

\(^9\) *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Śā.6.27: (तत्व कष्टाद्वैतमु-भवत्ततोऽपनम्नो अनौऽहूऽ च मन्यो ध्यान्यास्य, […] ग्रीवामुनयत्वातः लिङ्गश्वरोऽपनम्: राक्षसोऽपनम्), In 6.6, it states that there are four *dhumanī* and eight *mātṛkā* ([…] पतलो पम्म्रोऽड़ी मातृकाः […]].
points in the Suśrutasaṃhitā and Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā have identical locations to those in the Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā et al.

The most telling evidence that the vital points of the Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā et al., were not derived from Ayurvedic sources is that they do not adopt the special names of Ayurvedic points, like indraṃvasti or sthapāni. If Ayurveda were the inspiration behind Yogic points, one must wonder why only eighteen of the one hundred and seven known to Ayurvedic doctors were included. There is no qualifying statement that these eighteen Yogic points are more important than the others in Ayurveda. Furthermore, the Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā et al., omit much of the sophisticated details of the vital points in Ayurvedic texts. For example, the Suśrutasaṃhitā provides the measurements of the width of each point; most are half a finger breadth, but others are up to four finger breadths.\(^{97}\) Also, the Ayurvedic texts divide the vital points into groups depending on their relation to the body’s anatomy. For example, the Suśrutasaṃhitā divides its vital points into five groups; points in the flesh (māṃsaṃmarman), the blood vessels (strāmarman), the sinews (snāyumarman), the bones (asthimarman) and the joints (sandhimarman).\(^{98}\) One would expect some of this information to have found its way into the Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā et al., had their authors consulted Ayurvedic works.

In light of the above discrepancies between the Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā et al. and Ayurvedic sources and given the contents of the former derive from tantric and ascetic traditions, it is more likely that the list of vital points in the Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā et al. derives from such traditions, rather than an Ayurvedic one. The ascetic background is attested by the fact that this practice is found in the Vimāṇārcanākalpa, which was written by the Vaikhānasas, a community of hermits who performed the domestic rites of the Vaikhānasa Vedic school.\(^{99}\) Other possible sources include earlier Tantric traditions which taught methods of concentration (dhāraṇā) and meditation (dhyāna) that required a practitioner to hold the breath or mind on points in the body, which are sometimes called supports (ādhāra). The eleventh-century Kashmiri exegete Kṣemarāja provided two lists of supports in his commentary (uddvyota) on the Netratantra (7.1), in a section on meditation on the subtle body (sūkṣmadhyāna), which is the second of three methods for cheating death. As seen in Table 2, twelve of the supports in the first list are almost identical with vital points in the Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā et al.\(^{100}\) A similar list of bodily locations is given for the practice of concentration

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\(^{97}\) Suśrutasaṃhitā: Śā.6.28–29.
\(^{98}\) Suśrutasaṃhitā: Śā.6.4.
\(^{99}\) Colas 2012: 158.
\(^{100}\) Kṣemarāja introduces the second list by stating that it is a Kaula practice (ku-lapraṅgī). In a subsequent comment (Netratantra: 7.16), he distinguishes a meditation on the subtle body (sūkṣmadhyāna), which utilizes the supports (ādhāra) taught in the Kaula practice, from a meditation on the
(dhāraṇā) in the chapter on Yoga in the Śāradātilakatantra (25.23–25), which was probably composed in Orissa in the twelfth-century. This list appears to be derived from a similar one in the Prapañcasāratantra, another Orissan work that has been dated to the same century.

A Yoga text which is unlikely to predate the Vimānārcanākalpa and Vasiṣṭhasamhitā, but is nonetheless important to consider here is the Kṣurikopaniṣat, a so-called Yoga Upaniṣad that was written before the fourteenth century because it is cited in Śaṅkarānanda’s Ātmapurāṇa. It describes a practice of sensory withdrawal (pratyāhāra) in which ten bodily locations are mentioned. The technique resembles that of the Vasiṣṭhasamhitā et al., in so far as the yogin is instructed to focus the mind and hold the breath on ten bodily locations, which correspond to ten of the eighteen vital points in the Vasiṣṭhasamhitā et al. However, the Kṣurikopaniṣat does not call these locations either vital points (marman) or supports (ādhāra), and its practice of sensory withdrawal goes no higher than the throat.

Various premodern Yoga texts contain references to the sixteen supports (ādhāra). Table 2 includes those of the sixteenth-century Śivayogapradīpikā (3.17–32), whose passage on meditation on the supports was quoted in the Yogacintāmaṇi (pp. 112–14) and was the basis for further descriptions in the more recent Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati (2.11–25), Yogataraṅgini (13) and Rāmacandra’s Tattvabinduyoga (ff. 13r–15v).}

(102) Bouy 1994: 31 n. 118.
(103) The Kṣurikopaniṣat: 6–11ab.
(104) The Kṣurikopaniṣat: 11cd–20 also describes concentration (dhāraṇā) on three vital points (marman) and various channels (nāḍī). The locations of the three vital points are somewhat obscure, the exception being one in the middle of the shank (jaṅghā), the cutting of which is called Indravajra. It is possible that this name was inspired by the name of the Ayurvedic vital point Indravasti, which is also located in the middle of the shank. However, beyond this, there is no evidence to suggest that the Kṣurikopaniṣat was inspired by Ayurvedic theory or praxis.
(105) For example, Haṭhapradīpikā: 3.72, Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā: 3.12, Yogacūḍāmaṇyupaniṣat: 3.
(106) The points inserted in square brackets are from the Prapañcasāratantra, which was the source for the list in the Śāradātilakatantra. The verse in the Śāradātilakatantra is very similar to two verses on the sixteen supports quoted without attribution by Brahmānanda in his commentary (i.e., the Jyotsnā) on Haṭhapradīpikā: 3.73 (अंशयुगात्यज्ञातस्मात्माः || हृदयवेय कष्टदेशक तत्त्ववक्ता नात्मिका तथा || भृतयं च तत्त्वादार्थेः सम्बन्धन्यतम ||)
<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Yoga-gājñāvakya, Vasiṣṭhasamhitā &amp; Vimānārcanakalpa (marman)</th>
<th>Suśruta-samhitā &amp; Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya (Śārīra-sthāna) (marman)</th>
<th>Netroddyota (ādhāra)</th>
<th>Śāradā-tilaka &amp; Śivayogapradīpikā (ādhāra)</th>
<th>Kṣurikopaniṣat</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Big Toes (pādāṅguṣṭha)</td>
<td>anguṣṭha</td>
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<td>padāṅguṣṭha</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ankles (gulpha)</td>
<td>gulpha</td>
<td>gulpha</td>
<td>gulpha</td>
<td>gulpha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Middle of the Shanks (jaṅghāmadhya)</td>
<td>indravasti</td>
<td>jaṅghā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Base of the [Tibial] mass (citimūla)</td>
<td>jānu</td>
<td>jānu</td>
<td>jānu</td>
<td>jānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Middle of the Knees (jānumadhya)</td>
<td>urvi</td>
<td>ūru</td>
<td>ūru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Middle of the Thighs (ūrumadhya)</td>
<td>guda</td>
<td>pāyu</td>
<td>[guda]</td>
<td>guda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Root of the Anus (pāyumūla)</td>
<td>jānu</td>
<td>jānu</td>
<td>jānu</td>
<td>jānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Middle of the Body (dehamadhya)</td>
<td>ūru</td>
<td>ūru</td>
<td>ūru</td>
<td>ūru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Penis (meḍhra)</td>
<td>medhra</td>
<td>linga</td>
<td>medhra</td>
<td>śiśna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Navel (nābhi)</td>
<td>nābhi</td>
<td>jathara</td>
<td>nābhi</td>
<td>nābhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Heart (hṛdaya)</td>
<td>hṛdaya</td>
<td>hṛd</td>
<td>hṛdaya</td>
<td>hṛd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pit of the Throat (kaṇṭhakūpa)</td>
<td>kanṭha</td>
<td>kanṭha</td>
<td>kanṭha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Root of the Palate (tālumūla)</td>
<td>tālu</td>
<td>tālumūla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Base of the Nose (nāsāmūla)</td>
<td>nāsā</td>
<td>ghrāṇamūla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Eyeballs (akṣimandala)</td>
<td>netra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Middle of the Brow (bhrūmadhya)</td>
<td>sthapanī</td>
<td>bhrūmadhya</td>
<td>bhrūva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Forehead (lalāṭa)</td>
<td>lalāṭa</td>
<td>[lalāṭāgra]</td>
<td>lalāṭa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>[Crown of] the Head (mūrdhan).</td>
<td>adhipati</td>
<td>brahma-</td>
<td>mūrdhan</td>
<td>randhra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Comparison of Lists of Vital Points.

---

107 I have adopted the reading gudādhāraṃ from the edition of the Yogacintāmani (p. 112) rather than the edition of the Śivayogapradīpikā, which has taḥādhāraṃ.

108 The reading ghrāṇamūlaṃ is from the Yogacintāmani (p. 113). The edition of the Śivayogapradīpikā has prāṇamūlaṃ.
The vital points of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* et al., correspond to as many if not more of the supports in Tantric and Yogic sources than to the vital points of Ayurveda. There are certain points, such as the abdomen (*nābhi*), heart (*hṛdaya*), middle of the brows (*bhrūmadhya*) and crown of the head (*mūrdhan*), which are probably universal to south-Asian conceptions of the human body. Other points such as the big toes (*padāṅguṣṭha*), penis (*meḍhra*), throat (*kaṇṭha*), palate (*tālu*) and forehead (*lalāṭa*) are prominent in the bodily conceptions and practices of Yoga traditions. However, there are two points that distinguish the list of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* et al.: the base of the tibial mass (*citimūla*) and the middle of the body (*dehamadhya*), which are shown in red in Table 2.¹¹⁰ The absence of these points

¹⁰⁹ According to *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*: 3.66cd–67ab, the *citimūla* is located eleven finger breadths from the middle of the shank and only two and a half finger breadths from the knee (*ज़मϩाि˳तेमू€लं य΋देकादशाʾुलम ्। िचितमूलान ्मुिनौेӺ जानुंसाधा€ʾुलϡयम ्*). *Yogayājñavalkya*: 7.13 is almost the same, except for a slight variation in the fourth *pāda*, which could be a corruption (जानुः ԧादʾुिलϡयम ्*). The *Vimānārcanākalpa* provides measurements between the points, but the text is corrupt because it omits the knee, thigh and anus, which yields the implausible statement that the *citimūla* is three and half finger breadths from the middle of the body: ततो दशाʾुलं जˇामϩं, ततो दशाʾुलं िचितमूलं, तदधा€ʾिधकं ΢ʾुलं देहमϩं [...]*. The *Vimānārcanākalpa* corr. : िचिदमूलं. Therefore, the readings of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and the *Yogayājñavalkya* are more reliable. According to them, *citimūla* is on the upper shank, but this does not indicate whether it is the anterior or posterior side. I am yet to find the term *citimūla* in the context of the body’s anatomy in another Sanskrit work, with the exception of a verse in the *Gherandasaṃhitā*: 2.14–15: “The two ankles are crossed and upturned beneath the scrotum; both *citimūla* are on the ground and the hands are on the knees. With mouth open and the Jalandhara [lock in place, the yogin] should look at the tip of the nose. This is the lion’s pose, the destroyer of all diseases” (मुणुकच च कृषणवायाम व्युक्तमनोज्जलिः गति। विषितमूलो मुणिसंबो* करी च जानुःपरिः। व्यासलक्ष जक्ष्म्ये शास्याम - वलतेशम। सिन्धूस्म भवेदालस्ययाविविषितादशम) . In *Simhāsana*, the ankles are crossed, thus raising the shank of one leg from the ground. If *citimūla* is below the knee, it must be the upper, anterior part of both shanks that touch the ground. Seeing that the term *citī* can mean a “mass” or, perhaps in this case, a bony protrusion on the upper shank, it is possible that *citimūla* refers to the anterior region of the upper shank known in modern anatomy as the tibial tuberosity.

¹¹⁰ Both the *Yogayājñavalkya* (7.15) and the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* (3.68cd–69ab) locate the middle of the body (*dehamadhya*) as two and a half finger breadths from the anus and two and a half finger breadths from the penis (*देहमϩं तथा पायोमू€लादध€ʾुलϡयम ्। देहमϩा΋था मेहं तϡΨाधा€ʾुλϡयम ्*). This measurement is missing in the *Vimānārcanākalpa*. This point is distinct from the navel, which is generally said to be the middle of the body in other Sanskrit works; e.g., *Sarvajñānottaratantra*: 30.10 (तत्व शरिमयं नान्ति) . The same precise location of the middle of the body in the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*, et al. is found in other Sanskrit works, such as *Ahirbudhyasamhitā*: 32.5 (शुष्पः गाहुसतः यजुरात्सरः हस्तम) . *Māndirasūtrā*’s *Mānasollāsa* 5.12 (देहमय स्थानं मूलापरः हमीये। सुषुतः यजुरात्सरः मेघासु यजुरात्सरः) . The middle of the body is included as a vital point in
in Ayurvedic and Tantric literature suggests that they derive from an undocumented tradition, perhaps, of ascetic or even martial origin.\(^{111}\)

**The Late Corpus**

The most extensive account of vital points (marman) in the context of Yoga occurs in one of the texts of the late corpus. The *Yuktabhavadeva* by the seventeenth-century Bhavadevamiśra is a digest (nibandha) that integrated teachings of Rāja and Haṭhayoga with those of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* and various Upaniṣads, Purāṇas, Tantras, Dharmaśāstras and the Epics. Apart from the fact that Bhavadeva cited a wide range of Sanskrit works, the breadth of his learning is attested by the commentaries attributed to him on various śāstras.\(^{112}\)

The third chapter of the *Yuktabhavadeva* begins by stating that the preservation of the body is useful for Yoga, and that what belongs to the body (śārīra) is for the sake of cultivating detachment (vairāgya) and attaining knowledge of creation (sṛṣṭi) and so on.\(^{113}\) A general discussion on the body ensues, drawing on Īśvarakṛṣṇa’s *Sāṅkhyakārikā*,\(^{114}\) Sureśvarācārya’s *Mānasollāsa*,\(^{115}\) the *Mahābhārata*’s *Mokṣadharma*, the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*,\(^{116}\) the *Yājñavalkyasyaṃṛti* and Yāska’s *Nirukta*.\(^{117}\) Having quoted a passage from the *Yājñavalkyasyaṃṛti*, which describes the various
processes that give rise to a foetus (garbha) in eight months, Bhavadeva quotes a verse on the body’s vital fluid (ojas) from a source that he designates only as “tradition” (smṛti). It so happens that this verse is from the Carakasamhitā, which is the first clear proof in the third chapter that the author had consulted an Ayurvedic work.\(^\text{118}\)

After describing the characteristics of the bodies of various species beginning with snakes, Bhavadeva commences his detailed discussion of the human body’s anatomy. The basis of his knowledge on this is the Suśrutasaṃhitā, as demonstrated by the fact that his very first comment, which is on the six sections (sāḍāṅga) and the subsections (pratyaṅga) of the body, is almost identical to that of Suśruta’s. The following comparison demonstrates the way in which Bhavadeva redacts sections of the Suśrutasaṃhitā, omitting much detail but covering the salient points of Suśruta’s discourse:\(^\text{119}\)

\(^{118}\) Yuktabhavadeva: 3.51 (which is introduced with ओजः(स्वरूपः प्राकः स्वरूपः) = Carakasamhitā:Śū.17.74.

\(^{119}\) The colour red indicates an exact parallel, and blue indicates a parallel with slight deviations.
Bhavadeva presents a reasonably accurate synopsis of Suśruta’s anatomy, although not all of his attempts at truncation are successful.\(^{120}\) He covers most of Suśruta’s fifth chapter in the Śārīrasthāna on the enumeration of the body’s contents (śarīrasaṅkhyā), the seventh chapter on the seven hundred ducts (sirā) in the

\(^{120}\) For example, Suśrutasamhitā:Śa.5.10 enumerates nine apertures (srotas) in the human body and states that there are three additional ones for women, two on the breasts and one below (i.e., the vagina) that emits blood. Bhavadeva’s list of nine apertures in Yuktabhavadeva: 3.62 appears to be defective. The omission of the mouth (vadana) and substition of the stomach (udana) for the anus (guda) may be textual corruptions. Although the apparatus of the Lonavla Yoga Institute’s edition (Yuktabhavadeva:6s) indicates that all four manuscripts, upon which it was based, support this reading, it is possible that a scribe omitted accidentally the word vadana, and the change of -ghrāṇagudamedhrāni to -ghrāṇodarameḍhrāni may have emanated from some initial transposition of ligatures (i.e., naguda → nad-agu → nodara). Nonetheless, Bhavadeva’s deliberate attempt to simplify this passage by omitting the mention of women and attributing the three additional apertures to men, the third one conveying nutrient fluid (rasa) rather than blood, is a rather clumsy redaction.
body and the ninth chapter on the twenty-four tubes (dhamanī), before beginning with the vital points, which are based on the sixth chapter. The textual parallels are unmistakable, although Bhavadeva’s tacit borrowing of Suśruta’s vital points is a more intricate work of bricolage than his earlier passages on anatomy. This is demonstrated by the example in Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yuktabhavadeva: 3.98–100</th>
<th>Suśrutasamhitā Corresponding passages in the Śārīrasthāna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| [...] तत्र सयःप्राणहराण्याग्रेयानि || ९८|| = 6.16  
अिन्युद्धास्यशु श्रीणेषु क्रप्यन्ति || ≈ 6.16  
ताति च || कण्ठधमनिःकाशকाशिकर्धणकाशणकालिणकालि || मूलसेतुरोहित  
अथियंतिशुद्धशुद्धस्वस्तिनाभिममाणि || ≈ 6.9  
कालिण्यकालिण्यसुन्याग्रेयानि || ९९|| = 6.16  
अिन्युद्धास्यशु क्रमेण सोमग्रेणु कालिण्यक्रमेण क्रप्य-  
न्ति || ताति च –  
व्योमस्ताद्वश्चकरोिहि || ६.११ || = 6.10cd  
कटीकत्रणे सुनिष्ठार्थजो वृहतौषधयम् || नित्यवाचिति चैताति || कालिण्यकालिण्यसुन्याग्रेयानि || १००|| = 6.11  
Table 4: Comparison of parallel passages in the Yuktabhavadeva and Suśrutasamhitā.

Throughout the Yuktabhavadeva, Bhavadeva quotes his sources with attribution and uses his own commentary to bind the quotations together in a narrative. It is, therefore, rather peculiar that he redacted so much of Suśruta’s anatomy without explicitly acknowledging his source. In fact, later in the chapter, Bhavadeva does attribute a quotation to Suśruta, which proves beyond doubt that he was using the Suśrutasamhitā and not an intermediary source. However, the irony here is that he cites Suśruta not on the topic of anatomy but on the activities that pregnant women should avoid.121 On the one hand, this might suggest that he was not as eager to flaunt his use of Ayurvedic texts as he was other Brahmanical and Yogic sources. His use of Ayurvedic sources may have

121 Yuktabhavadeva: 3.129–130 (= Suśrutasamhitā: Śā.3.16 and 13).
demonstrated the breadth of his erudition, but he was not compelled, it seems, to cite them as authorities in a compilation on Brahmanical Yoga. However, on the other hand, it may also be the case that Bhavadeva assumed that his audience would know the source of this anatomical information, seeing that the topic was specific to Ayurveda and his borrowing so extensive. The truth of this proposition would depend on how widely known the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* was among educated Brahmins of Maithilā in the seventeenth century.

It should also be noted that Bhavadeva’s own commentary on *Suśruta’s anatomy* is conspicuously sparse. Nonetheless, he anticipated the question of how this material might relate to Yoga. Apart from his introductory remarks at the beginning of the chapter, he states close to the beginning of the section on vital points that yogins should restrain their bodily winds (i.e., *prāṇa*, etc.) in each point. Be this as it may, the level of detail on anatomy provided by Bhavadeva seems unnecessary for a yogin. Unlike the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, which contains detailed anatomy for surgical procedures, Bhavadeva does not integrate detailed anatomy in the *Yuktabhavadeva*’s chapters on Yoga praxis. This is particularly notable in the chapter on *pratyāhāra*, because Bhavadeva was aware of the *Yogayājñavalkya*’s technique of sensory withdrawal involving the vital points. Rather than refer to *Suśruta’s vital points* or the earlier chapter on anatomy in the *Yuktabhavadeva*, Bhavadeva quotes the *Yogayājñavalkya*’s verses on the vital points which, as demonstrated above, are only superficially related to Ayurveda.

Therefore, Bhavadeva juxtaposed knowledge of Ayurveda and Yoga somewhat awkwardly in the *Yuktabhavadeva*. Indeed, his inclusion of Ayurvedic material in a literary digest on Yoga (*yoganibandha*) reveals more about his audience than his practical knowledge of these subjects. It appears that he was writing for a learned audience who could appreciate a synthesis of scholarly Brahmanical works with the praxis-orientated literature of Ḥaṭha- and Rājayoga.

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122 See footnote 113.
123 *Yuktabhavadeva*: 3.97. Bhavadeva makes the initial statement, which is found in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*: 6.15: “Because [the vital points] are conjunctions of flesh, ducts, ligaments, bones and joints, the bodily winds in particular converge naturally in them” (*मांसिसरा सह्यहि सहितानदिक्शितात् तेनु स्वभावत पद्ध विशेषण ग्रामाविलान्तिहि*). He then comments: “Therefore, yogins should restrain their [bodily winds] in these [points]” (*तत्सद्यशान्तिमितवेत् न निन्यमः*).
124 This is stated explicitly by *Suśruta* (*Suśrutasaṃhitā*: Śā.6.33) in the chapter that deals with vital points: “[The experts] teach that the vital points are half the science of surgery, because those harmed in regard to the vital points die instantly” (*शमाँगिण शत्यवि- पादपपरमुपवर्तिन्ति। यथम् मष्यृष्टि हत न भविति सत्यः*).
In addition to naming and locating the vital points in the body, *Suśruta* outlines the various consequences of harming each one (e.g., instant death, severe pain, trembling, etc.) and the dimensions of each point. This information would be essential for a surgeon, who might kill a patient by damaging a vital point.
125 *Yuktabhavadeva*: 8.17–40.
In addition to vital points, the *Yuktabhavadeva* contains a chapter on herbal preparations (kalpa). The use of herbs is mentioned in only a few texts of both the early and late corpuses. In the early corpus, there is a substantial passage on herbal recipes and their effects in the *Khecarīvidyā* and, though this passage may have been added to the *Khecarīvidyā* sometime after the first three chapters of the text were composed,\textsuperscript{126} it is likely to predate the *Yuktabhavadeva*. Similar recipes to some of those in the *Khecarīvidyā* are found in the eighteenth-century *Jogapradīpyakā* and a nineteenth-century unnamed compilation on Yoga, which will be discussed below. However, these are the only significant sources for the use of herbs in the Yoga corpus consulted for this article. Therefore, the role of herbs in these Yoga texts is marginal at most. Most of the works do not mention herbs, and those and those that do, mention them only in passing, without details of recipes and their specific benefits for yogins.

Moreover, even in those texts which describe herbal preparations, such as the *Khecarīvidyā* and the *Yuktabhavadeva*, the information on herbs appears to be unconnected to the system of Yoga practice taught in the same texts. This suggests that the use of herbs was, at most, an inessential supplement for some yogins. In fact, even as Hathayoga became more sophisticated after the fifteenth century with the integration of more elaborate techniques, metaphysics and doctrines, the *Jogapradīpyakā* is the only text among those consulted for this paper that explains how the practice of Yoga might be combined with taking medicinal herbs for a period of time.

The emphasis on attaining liberation in premodern systems of Yoga may partly explain the paucity of information on herbs, because the use of herbs is mainly advocated for the attainment of *siddhi*. A striking example of this occurs in the *Yogabīja*, which includes some general remarks on *siddhis*. It distinguishes two types of *siddhis*; the effected (*kalpita*) and spontaneous (*akalpita*). Those that are effected are accomplished by means of mercury, herbs, rites, auspicious mo-

\textsuperscript{126} Mallinson (2007a: 13) notes that this chapter was added to the text at a later time. Therefore, it may not predate the *Hathapradīpikā* because the only evidence for its *terminus ad quem* is the year of the *Khecarīvidyā*’s oldest dated manuscript, which is 1683 CE (Mallinson 2007a: 47).
36 PREMODERN YOGA TRADITIONS AND AYURVEDA

ments,127 mantras, the body128 and so forth.129 These methods for attaining siddhis are attested in earlier Tantras.130 Also, the Pātañjalyogaśāstra affirms at least two of these methods in attributing siddhis to births, herbs, mantras, asceticism and samādhi.131 Patañjali’s commentary (bhāṣya) clarifies the reference to herbs in this sūtra by indicating that a potion (rasāyana) is to be understood.132 Śaṅkara’s Vivaraṇa glosses rasāyana as “by eating soma, āmalaka and so on”.133 Both these substances are mentioned in the rasāyana sections of classical Ayurvedic texts.134 Bhojadeva mentions mercury (pārada) as an ingredient of this potion. Mercury appeared in medical works that date from the seventh century onwards.135 Patañjali’s statement is largely corroborated by a verse in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa that emphasizes the power of Yoga by claiming that one attains all the siddhis that

127 It is possible that kriyākāla should be read as a compound, in which case it could be understood as, “the auspicious time of a rite.” This compound is used several times in the Brähmaṇādhyāya (e.g., pata 96) with this meaning (personal communication from Shaman Hatley, 31.12.2015). It is also used in classical Ayurveda, where it refers to the opportune times for initiating treatment, six of which are described in the Śuṣrutasamhitā (Meulenbeld 2011: 38). However, it is highly unlikely that this meaning, which is peculiar to Ayurveda, was intended here.

128 The term kṣetra can mean the “body,” as seen, for example, in the compound kṣetrajña (‘knowing the body’), which occurs in the Yogabīja:135. This meaning would make sense in the context of Hathayoga, in which physical techniques give rise to siddhis. However, kṣetra can also mean a sacred place, and it is not inconceivable that a sacred place might give rise to siddhis, although I am yet to find any evidence for this and, in the context of Yoga, it seems less likely.


130 For different substances, including herbs, that cause siddhis, see Hatley 2018:74–5, n.131. Also see Kṣemarāja’s commentary introducing the Svachchandatantra:10.825 as well as Matsyendrasamhitā:28.1. For references in various Tantras on the proverb that states that the power of herbs is inconceivable, see Dominic Goodall 1998:273 n. 340.


132 Pātañjalyogaśāstra: 4.1: “By herbs is [meant] such things as a potion [served] in the homes of the Asuras” (ओषिधिभरसुरभवने रसायने ओमावेः॥). On the meaning of asurabhavana, see Dominik Wujastyk 2014.

133 Vivaraṇa: p. 318: सोमामलकादभणेन. For a more detailed discussion of Pātañjalyogaśāstra 4.1 and the commentaries, see Maas 2017.

134 Soma is included as a divine drug (divyauṣadhi) in the rasāyana section of the Carakasamhitā and the Śuṣrutasamhitā (see Dagmar Wujastyk 2015:58, 62–63). On Emblic myrobalan, Dagmar Wujastyk (2015:57 f.) observes: “The emblic myrobalan or Indian gooseberry (Skt. āmalaka, Hindi āmlā) seems to be the most important ingredient in Caraka’s many rasāyana recipes, followed by the other myrobalans – the chebulic and belleric myrobalans.”

135 The first mention of mercury in rasāyana is in the seventh-century Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā (Dagmar Wujastyk 2015:104).
arise from births, herbs, asceticism and mantras through the practice of Yoga alone.\(^{136}\)

The Yoga\(\text{bija}\) goes on to say that spontaneous siddhis, which are brought about by Yoga, are more powerful and last longer than those deliberately effected. Nonetheless, as is the case with other texts of the early corpus,\(^{137}\) the importance of siddhis is overshadowed by the goal of liberation:

However, just as various sacred places pointing the way to Varanasi are seen by pilgrims traveling on the path, so [various] siddhis [are seen by yogins on the path to] liberation.\(^{138}\)

Although the use of herbs is most often associated with siddhis in Yoga texts, an important exception is the Amaraughaprabodha, for it states that there are sometimes two types of Rājayoga, herbal (ausadha) and spiritual (adhyātmaka).\(^{139}\) As far as I am aware, this is the only Yoga text containing the claim that one might achieve samādhi by taking herbs.\(^{140}\) Unfortunately, the Amaraughaprabodha does not provide more information on the herbal preparations used by yogins. Nonetheless, a subsequent verse questions the efficacy of Ayurveda by asking how diseases could be cured without samādhi:

Those who are skilful in following [the teachings of] Caraka and are desirous of hearing [those of] Suśruta have unsteady minds. How

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136 Bhāgavatapurāṇa: 11.15.34: जन्मीषितस्मि- मन्नयोंसंतीति सिद्धाः। योगमार्गार्थिता तत् सम्भवनेन गमित ज्ञेत। This verse is quoted by Brahmanda in his Jyotisā: 2.43.

137 For example, Amanaska: 1.75: “Those exceptional persons who desire to become absorbed in the state of the supreme Brahma, for them all the Siddhis become the cause of their ruin” (गुणूविनिष्ठान्ते येँ केचिंत्रयंहृष्टत् तेषु। भद्विस्तिष्ठु: सर्वलीको विवेशकारिकाः) and Dattāreyayogaśāstra: 101: “These [Siddhis] are obstacles to the great Siddhi (i.e., liberation). The wise person should not delight in them and he should never show his power to anyone” (पुरो विमा महासिद्धां रमेंस्यु बुद्धिमानाः। न दृश्येय कर्मे विवेशसम्बन्धस्य ति सर्वाः।)

138 Yogabija: 160, edition p. 42 यथा कार्यं समु- दिदय गण्डुज्ञेः पवित्रं: पवित्र। नानात्मकानि देखन्ते तथा मोक्षं तृ सिद्धयं।। मोक्षं तृ सिद्धयं।। emend. : मोक्षं पृ Ed.).

139 Amaraughaprabodha: 5ab (औषधोऽशा- भक्त्यिनिति राजयोगों द्वित्ये क चित। औषधोऽशा जयेन trying to follow the teachings of My Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राजयोगों जयेन Ed. : ज्योतिरस्य यें म्याराः राज�
can all people be indestructible without the medicine of the no-mind state?\footnote{Amaraughaprabodha: 12, edition p. 49: चरकानुचरणचतुराӡटुलिधयः सुौुतौवणलोलाः। अ-मन踶शवलिधयः कथमिखलजगदे‌यं भवित॥ चरकानुचरणचतुराश ् MS Chennai ARL 75278, Ed. : चरणिधयस ् MS Chennai ARL 70528. सुौुत- MS Chennai ARL 75278, Ed. : संौुत-MS Chennai ARL 70528. -वज~ MS Chennai ARL 70528: वाराहीक۔चूण~ घृतगुडसिहतं भÈयेΙुिӴवृύी (trans. Mallinson 2007a: 135).}

The fourth chapter of the \textit{Khecarīvidyā} has seventeen verses on herbal preparations that bring about \textit{siddhis}. The recipes include over a dozen herbs, the names of which are: \textit{muṇḍī},\footnote{This is referred to as \textit{bhikṣūttamāṅga-parikalpita} in \textit{Khecarīvidyā}: 4.2.} \textit{vārāhī}, \textit{guggulu}, \textit{triphalā}, \textit{āśvagandhā}, \textit{viśvasarpikā}, \textit{kusṭha}, \textit{kunaṣṭi}, \textit{bhṛṅga}, \textit{āmalaka}, \textit{nirguṇḍī}, \textit{rudralocana} and \textit{śālmaliniryāsa} as well as elements such as gold, mercury and sulphur. Generally speaking, these herbs are mixed with other foods like milk, ghee, sesame seeds, sugar or honey. The results (i.e., \textit{siddhi}) are mundane benefits such as youthful looks (i.e., the loss of grey hair and wrinkles), freedom from disease, greater strength and health, longevity, and freedom from old age and death. Most of the ingredients can be found in both the \textit{Carakasamhitā} and the \textit{Suśrutasamhitā}, and those absent in these two works occur in \textit{rasāyana} texts.\footnote{The exceptions are \textit{viśvasarpikā} and \textit{kun-aṣṭi}.} Some of the \textit{Khecarīvidyā’s} recipes are not unlike those of classical Ayurveda, the main difference being that the latter provide more details on the accompanying diet and regime. For example, the compound based on the herb \textit{vārāhī} is described in the \textit{Khecarīvidyā} as follows:


And in the \textit{Suśrutasamhitā}: Ci.27.11:

Having made a powder of a [certain] weight of the \textit{vārāhī} root, one should drink a measure of it combined with honey and mixed with
milk. When it is digested, [one should take] food such as milk, clarified butter, boiled rice and so on and [follow] the prohibitions (pratiṣedha) described earlier in this text. One who takes this treatment lives for one hundred years and does not tire when [having sex with] women.\(^{145}\)

The results of the Khecarīvidyā’s recipes appear to be the standard clichés that are found in the works of Ayurveda and Rasaśāstra. Therefore, it is entirely conceivable that the Khecarīvidyā’s recipes were taken or adapted from such works, although my research has yet to find textual parallels that might prove this. Nonetheless, two of the recipes appear to have been intended as treatments. As Mallinson (2007a:240 n. 466) has observed, the grammar of the verses on muṇḍi and vāraḥī indicate that both recipes were to be administered to the yogin by some unspecified person, possibly a physician or guru.

A post fifteenth-century commentary on the Khecarīvidyā, by the name of the Brhatkhecarīprakāśa,\(^{146}\) refers to three of the Khecarīvidyā’s recipes as herbal compounds (kalpa).\(^{147}\) The term kalpa is used with this meaning in sections on rasāyana in various Sanskrit works, such as the Kalyaṇākāra, the Ānandakanda, the Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra, the Gaurikāṇcalikātantra, the Rasaratnākara, the Rasārṇavakalpa, etc. These works teach many different kalpas, the Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra alone having fifty-one. The names of two of the kalpas mentioned in the Brhatkhecarīprakāśa are found in some of these texts, but the recipes differ.\(^{148}\) However, textual parallels and identical recipes are found between these works and a chapter on twelve kalpas in Bhavadeva’s Yuktabhavadeva.

It is likely that Bhavadeva was aware of the Khecarīvidyā’s chapter on herbs because he included one of the latter’s verses on muṇḍikalpa.\(^{149}\) Bhavadeva states

\(^{145}\) Suśrutasaṃhitā: 4.27.11

\(^{146}\) The Brhatkhecarīprakāśa mentions by name the Haṭhapradīpikā and Śivasaṃhitā, so it postdates the fifteenth century. For the references to these citations, see Mallinson 2007a:160–61.

\(^{147}\) Mallinson (2007a:240 n. 463) notes muṇḍikalpa and vāraḥīkalpa. Also, indrāṇīkalpa is mentioned (Brhatkhecarīprakāśa: f. 111v l. 12) and in other places, Ballāla simply says, “Now, he teaches another” (अथवावदयः).

\(^{148}\) For example, muṇḍikalpa is mentioned in the Anandakanda: 1.15.60–70ab, the Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra: 92–93, the Gaurikāṇcalikātantra: 10 and the Rasaratnākara: 4.64–66. Indrāṇīkalpa – otherwise known as nirguṇḍikalpa – is mentioned in the Ānandakanda: 1.15.111–120ab, the Kākacaṇḍīśvarakalpatantra: pp. 73–93 and the Rasaratnākara: 4.84–91. Vāraḥī is commonly used in Ayurvedic recipes, but a vāraḥīkalpa does not figure among the kalpas of the works I have consulted.

\(^{149}\) Yuktabhavadeva: 2.113 = Khecarīvidyā: 4.2.
that Śiva taught these kalpas to Pārvatī, which is consistent with the dialogic framework of the *Khecarīvidyā*. However, Bhavadeva’s exposition on herbs is much more extensive than the *Khecarīvidyā*’s. He sometimes quotes several sources on one kalpa, thus documenting various recipes for the same herb and a more comprehensive array of its siddhis. I have not been able to identify with certainty a particular source(s) on kalpas quoted by Bhavadeva. However, there are many textual parallels with the *Rasārṇavakalpa* and a few with the *Kāka-candīśvarakalpatantra*. Also, some of the *Yuktabhavadeva*’s prose sections contain the same content as other verses in both of these texts on rasāyana. These parallels strongly suggest that Bhavadeva was borrowing from Rasaśāstra, which he explicitly quotes but without naming any particular text.

As was the case in the *Khecarīvidyā*, the chapter on kalpas in the *Yuktabhavadeva* is somewhat disconnected from the rest of the text. Bhavadeva does not explain how nor why a yogin might integrate the taking of kalpas with the practice of Yoga. The end of the preceding chapter finishes with a short section on methods for attaining health (arogyopāya), in which Bhavadeva quotes without attribution nine verses from the *Śivasamhitā* (3.80–87) on several breathing techniques (vāyu-usādhana) involving the tongue. It is possible that Bhavadeva included the kalpas

150 *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.1: “Now, the herbal preparations [are taught]. Śiva taught [them] to Pārvatī because of his compassion for practitioners in this regard. The preparation of the [herb called] Īśvari is [first] narrated” (अथ कृः – तऽ साधकानां कृपया ौीमहेशवरेण पाव€Οै ूोɫम ्[।] ईۅ러ीकӆो िल‐
ktे). This is affirmed by *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.11:ab: “These kalpas, which were [first] taught by Śiva, have been briefly explained” (इित संÈेपतः ूोɫाः कӆाः ौीसʰरोिद‐
tाः).


153 The content of the *Yuktabhavadeva*’s sections on jyotismatīkalpa, somarājīkalpa, mayūraśikhā and śrīphalakalpa closely follows Rasārṇavakalpa: 261–98, 604–610, 618–629 (on mayūragirakalpa) and 783–89 (on śrīvṛkṣakalpa). The *Yuktabhavadeva*’s sections on īśvarikalpa (and nāgadaman) 2.12–29 follows some sections of the Kāka-candīśvarakalpatantra (in particular, cf. *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.2, 3 to Kāka-candīśvarakalpatantra: pp. 7–12: 2, 5a, 6cd, 7abc, 8cd–9ab, 12ab). Also, the *Yuktabhavadeva*’s sections on kākajanghākalpa closely follows Kāka-candīśvarakalpatantra (in particular, cf. *Yuktabhavadeva*: 2.82–86 to Kāka-candīśvarakalpatantra: pp. 64–69: 9–10ab, 12ab, 13–17ab, 19cd).
simply because of the many health benefits attributed to them. However, when his text is read as a whole, the effects of the kalpas seem unexceptional when juxtaposed with the numerous health benefits and supernatural effects of Yoga techniques. In fact, it begs the question as to why a yogin would resort to herbs when Yoga itself promised longevity, health and so much more.

As to how herbs might have been combined with the practice of Yoga, the most elaborate and compelling account of this is found in the eighteenth-century Jogapradīpyakā, written in Brajbhāṣā. At the end of its section on khecarīmudrā, which is the practice of inserting the tongue into the nasopharyngeal cavity, the Jogapradīpyakā explains in detail six auxiliaries (aṅga) of khecarīmudrā (i.e., cutting the frenum, moving, milking, inserting and churning the tongue as well as mantra recitation) and how they can be combined with the ingestion of medicinal herbs. The four recipes closely resemble those in the fourth chapter of the Khecarīvidyā.\textsuperscript{154} However, the Jogapradīpyakā goes on to explain how these herbs were taken during the practice of khecarīmudrā:

Next, I will describe herbs and explain [them] exceptionally clearly. Without herbs, one does not obtain siddhīs. Therefore, the yogin should always take herbs. Collect [the herb called] bhringa\textsuperscript{155} along with its root and having dried it, make a powder of it. Take black sesame, Emblic myrobalan and curd and, having mixed [them] with three sweeteners,\textsuperscript{156} one should take the whole [mixture]. It will remove all ailments and diseases, and old age and death will disappear.\textsuperscript{157} Jayatarāma will speak of [other] herbs which have these qualities. One who consumes a single leaf of the nirguḍī [plant]\textsuperscript{158} three times every day for a year, this will be the result: one destroys both old age and death.\textsuperscript{159} One should seek and obtain

\textsuperscript{154} Mallinson 2007a: 240 n. 462.

\textsuperscript{155} I am aware of the difficulties in identifying plant names in premodern Sanskrit works by referring to international Latin taxonomies (see Dominik Wujastyk 2003a: 23–26). Nonetheless, I have supplied the botanical names in Nadkarni 1954; Kirtikar, Basu, and an I.C.S 1987, etc. to give the reader some idea, but my research on these Sanskrit terms has not gone beyond this. The term bhringa is the equivalent of bhringarāja, which is Eclipta alba, Linn. (Kirtikar, Basu, and an I.C.S 1987: 2: 1361–63), Eclipta alba, alba or prostrata (Nadkarni 1954: 316) or Wedelia calendulacea, Less. (Dutt 1877: 181 f. HIML: 537).

\textsuperscript{156} The words “madha triya” may be referring to trimadhura in Sanskrit, which is ghee, honey and sugar (MW: s.v.). I wish to thank Nirajan Kafle for pointing this out to me.

\textsuperscript{157} Cf. Khecarīvidyā: 4.10.

\textsuperscript{158} nirguḍī = nirgundo in Sanskrit, which is Vitex negundo, Linn. (Kirtikar, Basu, and an I.C.S 1987: 3: 1937–40; Nadkarni 1954: 889).

\textsuperscript{159} Cf. Khecarīvidyā: 4.11.
the [herbs called] nīrguḍī, nalanī and mūṇḍī from the forest in equal quantities. Then, combine them with sugar and ghee and, having taken them for a year, one obtains siddhi. For six months, one should treat sulphur, make equal amounts of sesame and bitter orpiment and, having combined [them] with three sweeteners, make a powder. [By taking this powder,] one obtains the state of youth and immortality. Thus, the [section on] herbs.

Now, the [yogin’s] manner of living [while undertaking the practice of khecarīmudrā]. First, build a solitary hut in a forest or [in the grounds of] a hermitage, where it pleases the mind. For six months, one should hold a steady posture and not talk with any people. One should repeat mantras day and night, consume rice water, and avoid salt. One should not eat dry ginger, the [fruit of the] wood-apple tree nor radish. [However,] one can eat a little sweet food. Having done the practice, one should take those herbs which were described previously. When every seventh day, [which is] Sunday, comes, one should cut [the fraenum]; every fortnight, milk [the tongue] and, day and night, churn it with the mind focused.

When one does this for six months, one obtains a strong khecarīmudrā. The tongue grows four finger-breadths [in length] and one obtains two fruits, devotion and liberation. That man who has done what has to be done, washes off the impurities of birth and death. O Jayatarāma, having held one drop [of semen] in the body, it dissolves in copper, which [then] becomes gold. This is the special quality of khecarīmudrā.

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160 nalanī = nalinī in Sanskrit. I have not been able to find a botanical name for this Sanskrit word. Callewaert 2009: 1038 defines it as “a lotus (of the night-blooming variety, and always white).”

161 mūṇḍī is spelt muṇḍī in Sanskrit works. It is also known as mahāmuṇḍi and tapodhanī, and its botanical name is Sphaeranthus indicus, Linn. (Kirtikar, Basu, and an I.C.S 1987: 2: 1347 f.) or Sphaeranthus Microcephalus, Willd. (Nadkarni 1954: 814).


163 The term golocana is gorocanā in Sanskrit.

164 Callewaert (2009: 1727) defines mulī as any root used medicinally. I thank Nirājan Kafle for pointing out to me the more probable meaning of mulī here as radish, the consumption of which is sometimes prohibited in ritual contexts.

165 The cutting, milking and churning that are spoken of here are described in detail earlier in the text (i.e., Jogapradīpyakā: 623–52).

166 Jogapradīpyakā: 665–76, edition pp. 318–20: जयतराम अनाज सिध्वा सुनाउ, िजव िलेध प्रकट कर्कि गाउ। ज्ञान विना सिध्वा नही लहं, तत्ता ज्ञानी अविन्दि निव नी सदा॥ ६६५॥ भृʾ सिूल संभ आनै, तािह सुकु या चूरण ठानै। िबिैतल आमल दिध लेवै, मध िऽय सािध सकल कौ सेवै॥ ६६६॥ दोहा – रोग सब्ही कटै, जरामृΟुिमिट जाय। जयतराम
The above passage is such a striking example of herbal Yoga, so to speak, because it demonstrates precisely how the practice of Yoga and the taking of herbs might have been integrated. Yet, one must wonder why similar accounts are not found in earlier Sanskrit Yoga texts, had the taking of herbs been common amongst practitioners of this type of Yoga. Like the Jogapradīpyakā, earlier texts provide details on the yogin’s hut (maṭhī), postures (āsana) and dietary restrictions. However, in the Jogapradīpyakā, the inclusion of these details as a preliminary practice for six months, followed by the ingestion of herbal compounds and promises of youthfulness and immortality are all redolent of rejuvenation practices in Ayurveda.

The only Sanskrit text consulted for this study that touches on details of how a yogin should use herbs is an unnamed compilation on Yoga, which was probably composed in the nineteenth century. It draws heavily on the Khecarīvidyā, but also tacitly includes verses from a diverse array of texts, notably the Hathapradīpikā, the Śivasamhitā, the Amṛtasiddhi, the Yogavāsiṣṭha, the Pātañjalayogaśāstra, the Bhagavadgītā and Śivānanda’s Yogacintāmaṇi. It contains a concise section on herbs (auṣadhikalpaṃ) with descriptions of five kalpas, two of which closely parallel recipes in the Khecarīvidyā. After the description of the fourth kalpa, this brief statement follows:

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I would like to thank Nirājan Kafle for his helpful comments on this passage. One might consider, as Nirājan has suggested, emending bhakti to bhukti (“enjoyment”) in 675b. I have retained bhakti because the Rāmānandīs are known for their devotion. However, bhukti also seems to fit the context well.
According to the rule of entering a hut, in a solitary place, free from wind, taking those [herbal preparations, the yogin] should go without drink and food, not socialize and maintain celibacy. Because of the power of this herbal preparation, his hair and teeth fall out. Having shed his skin like a snake, [even] an old man becomes [like] a sixteen-year old.\footnote{MS Jodhpur RORI 34946 f. 9v, l. 6–f. 10r, l. 2 (कुटीूवेशिविधना िनवा€तौ िवजनԚले तϗजвुɫ- पानाХो िनःसʾो ॄԳचय€वान ्॥ ६२॥ कӆԧाԧ ूभा- वेन केशा दϿाः पतिϿ च॥ अहेिरव Τचं िहΤा वृύः Τɥावदलित दϿनखरोमािण चाԧ पतिϿ }\footnote{Carakasaṃhitā:Ci.1.23, etc.} It is worth noting that the term used for hut in the above passage is kuṭī, which is found in Ayurvedic texts such as the Carakasaṃhitā,\footnote{Carakasaṃhitā:Ci.29.10–19. For a translation of this passage, see Dominik Wujastyk 2003a:171–77.} whereas Yoga texts tend to use the term maṭha or maṭhikā. Although many Yoga texts mention the location, dimensions and materials for a yogin’s hut, the distinguishing features of the above passage is the use of herbs and the subsequent loss of the yogin’s hair, teeth and skin. Such details are found in accounts of rasāyana treatment in Ayurvedic texts. For example, in the Śuśrutasaṃhitā’s description of a soma rite which rejuvenates the patient in four months,\footnote{Suśrutasaṃhitā:Ci.29.12: (ततोऽӴमेऽहिन […] लबशिवलित दϿनखरोमािण चाԧ पतिϿ }} On the seventeenth day the teeth grow back, then the nails, hair and skin, and by the end of the treatment one has a new body for ten thousand years. Such a process of bodily decay and renewal is not seen in other premodern Yoga texts and its inclusion in a section on herbs in this nineteenth-century, unnamed compilation on Yoga strongly suggests that the author knew of rasāyana therapy.

The literature’s ambivalence, as it were, towards the taking of herbs suggests that yogins neither condemned nor promoted their use as an integral part of their Yoga practice. Passing references to herbs and the inclusion of some recipes in a few Yoga texts indicate that some yogins must have taken them for their supernatural effects. This is unsurprising given the shared emphasis on healing and rejuvenation in both premodern Yoga and rasāyana. Nonetheless, there is no evidence to suggest that the taking of herbs was ever an essential component of Haṭha- and Rājayoga traditions.

\footnote{MS Jodhpur RORI 34946 f. 9v, l. 6–f. 10r, l. 2 (कुटीूवेशिविधना िनवा€तौ िवजनԚले तϗजвुɫ- पानाХो िनःसʾो ॄԳचय€वान ्॥ ६२॥ कӆԧाԧ ू�भा- वेन केशा दϿाः पतिϿ च॥ अहेिरव Τचं िहΤा वृύः Τɥावदलित दϿनखरोमािण चाԧ पतिϿ }
I would now like to turn my attention to Yoga techniques that were singled out in some texts as being particularly effective in healing diseases. Their curative role raises questions such as whether they were modelled on Ayurvedic techniques or therapies and whether the yogins who practised them were presented as physicians. There are several accounts of Yoga therapy (yogacikitsā) in the corpus consulted for this article and one of these therapies was written by an Ayurvedic doctor who composed large compendiums on Yoga.

The role of āsanas in healing disease was acknowledged in one of the oldest texts of the early corpus. In defining the six auxiliaries (aṅga) of its Yoga, the Vivekamārtanda says the following:

The best of yogins cures diseases by Yogic posture (āsana), sin by breath retentions (prāṇāyāma) and mental problems by withdrawing [his mind from sense objects] (pratyāhāra). He obtains stability of mind by concentration (dhiṇāra), wondrous power by meditation (dhyāna) and liberation by samādhi, after having abandoned [all] action, good and bad.174

Similarly, the Yogayājñavalkya adds the following general remark after describing the last of its eight āsana: “All internal diseases and poisons are cured”.175 The Haṭhapradipikā, which teaches the most āsana of the works in the early corpus, goes further than any of the yoga texts known to predate it in enumerating the curative benefits of āsana. After stating that āsana is the first auxiliary of Haṭha-yoga and results in steadiness, freedom from disease and lightness of limbs,176 Svātmārāma notes two traditions of āsana; those from sages (muni), such as Vasiṣṭha, and those from yogins, such Matsyendra.177 The āsana of Vasiṣṭha are those described in the Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā, which Svātmārāma borrowed verbatim (Mallinson 2013b: 227 f.). These postures and their descriptions contain only a

174 Vivekamārtanda: 92–93 (MS Baroda, Central Library 4110, f.4r, ll.2–4): आसनेन तजो हि ग्राणायामेन पातकम्। जस्यानायां च प्रयोगमभयायामानम्। कत्वाहारस्य मुनीः च ध्यान।-द्वियतंनभाष्यम्॥ समाधिसम आत्मति त्वक्ष्या कर्म शुभाशुभम्।

175 Yogayājñavalkya: 3.17ab: सवं चानामरथा रोगो विवचयति विषलम च। This comment is not found in the Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā, from which the Yogayājñavalkya borrowed its verses on āsana. Therefore, one can assume that this is a general comment added by the re-dactor of the Yogayājñavalkya, which reflects its stronger theme of curative aims.

176 Haṭhapradipikā: 1.17.

177 Haṭhapradipikā: 1.18. For a translation of this verse, see Birch 2018a.
couple of clichés about healing. For instance, bhadrāsana is said to cure all diseases (sarvavyādhivināśana).\(^{178}\) However, the other āsanas, which appear to derive from Matsyendra’s tradition and are yet to be traced to an earlier textual work, are those with elaborate curative effects. A good example is matsyendrāsana:

By means of practice, Matsyendra’s seat, which is a lethal weapon against a range of terrible diseases, stimulates digestive fire, awakens Kuṇḍalinī and stabilizes the moon in people.\(^{179}\)

One might also assume that verses on the healing power of paścimatānāsana, śavoīśana and mayūrāsana also derive from Matsyendra’s tradition. Even though mayūrāsana is taught in the Vasiṣṭhasamhitā, the verse on its curative effects does not derive from there. In fact, it is worth noting that the Vīmānārcaṇākalpa, which is probably the source of the Vasiṣṭhasamhitā’s āsanas,\(^{180}\) contains no statements on the diseases cured by āsanas. Therefore, Svātmārāma’s textual borrowing suggests that the Viṅghānas tradition was not the source of observations on the curative effects of āsana noted in Haṭhayoga texts, but rather a Śaiva tradition connected to Matsyendranātha.

Some yoga texts of the late corpus teach a considerably larger number of āsanas than the Haṭhapradīpikā.\(^{181}\) Among these, the Jogapradīpyakā adopted the systematic approach of mentioning the healing benefits of each āsana after its description, like the works of modern authors such as Swami Sivananda’s Yoga Asanas (1934), Swami Kuvalayananda’s Asanas (1931) and BKS Iyengar’s Light on Yoga (1966). The Jogapradīpyakā’s observations on the healing effects of āsana range from the usual clichés, such as curing all diseases, stimulating digestive fire and rejuvenation, to specific statements on curing particular diseases. Across the eighty-four āsanas, an impressive range of diseases are cured, including tuberculous (rājaroga), leprosy (kuṣṭa), tumours (gulama, golā\(^{182}\)), fever (jura), constipation (gudāvarta), indigestion (ajīrṇa), hiccup (hiḍakī), pain in the head and eyes (sīrānetra dūṣai), blindness (andha), knee pain (goḍā pīḍa), deafness (baharāpaṇa), sinus diseases (nāsā roga), dropsy (jalandhara roga\(^{183}\)) and counteracting the cold (jodo), reducing body heat (tapata tana) and so on. It should also be noted that certain

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178 Haṭhapradīpikā: 1.54d.
179 Cf. Vasiṣṭhasamhitā: 1.79f (सर्वव्याधीविनाशना).
178 Haṭhapradīpikā: 1.27, edition p.1a): मत्स्येन्द्रपीठ जटराधातिस प्रत्यत्तममञ्जलिनाधारम। अन्यासत: कुण्डलिनीत्वोष च द्वारापि पु-साम।
180 Mallinson 2013b: 227f. See also Dominik Wujastyk 2017.
181 On the proliferation of āsana, see Birch 2018a.
182 The literal meaning of golā is lump.
183 I am assuming that this is an alternative spelling for hicakī.
184 See Jogapradīpyakā: 1.46 and 2.69. As far as I am aware, a disease by the name jalandhara does not occur in another text. However, one wonders whether the author of the Jogapradīpyakā is referring to diseases of the jālandhāra, which is one of the tubes (sirā) in the body (see HIML: 1A: 524).
āsanas accomplish the more important aims of Yoga, such as purifying the channels (nāḍī), body and mind, raising kuṇḍalini, inducing samādhi, retaining semen, experiencing gnosis of the guru’s teachings (sabadjñāna) and so on.

Nonetheless, those āsanas which heal diseases are not presented within a regime of treatment, which might involve special modifications of diet and lifestyle, as well as taking medicines and other remedies, for the sake of curing a disease. Although dietary recommendations are given by various Yoga texts in the context of practising āsana, such advice is often said to be important only at the beginning of one’s practice. Therefore, in the context of Yoga, dietary advice is aimed more towards facilitating the practice rather than for curing ailments, as seen in Ayurveda.

THE SIX THERAPEUTIC ACTIONS (ṢAṬKARMA) OF HAṬHAYOGA

Unlike the role of Yogic āsanas, which were integral to the practice of prāṇāyāma and meditation, the ṣaṭkarma appear to have been incorporated into Hathayoga solely for their curative effects. The earliest textual evidence for the ṣaṭkarma is the Haṭhapradīpikā. The fact that this text is an anthology suggests that these six practices derive from an earlier source, which may no longer be extant. Svātmārāma included the ṣaṭkarma in the Haṭhapradīpikā’s chapter on prāṇāyāma as a preliminary practice for the eight breath retentions (kumbhaka). However, the verse which introduces the ṣaṭkarma stipulates their specific role in the practice of Yoga:

One who has excess fat or phlegm should first practise the ṣaṭkarma. However, other [people] should not practise them when their humours (i.e., phlegm, wind and bile) are in a balanced state [in relation to one another].

This verse indicates that the ṣaṭkarma are preliminary practices only for those who are not healthy. Therefore, they are more like therapeutic interventions that are dispensed with as soon as the practitioner regains health. The therapeutic role of the ṣaṭkarma is further implied by the fact that Svātmārāma places them immediately after two verses on the types of diseases caused by the improper practice of prāṇāyāma, such as hiccups, dyspnoea, coughing and pain in the head, 

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185 For example, Hathapradipikā: 2.14, Śivasamhitā: 3.42, Gherandasamhitā: 5.32, etc. There is also the idea that mastering certain techniques, such as mahāmudrā, enable one to eat anything (e.g., Vivekamārtanda: 60–61).

186 This reading is supported by Brahmānanda’s Jyotsnā: (शोषणात वववित्रविकानांम्).

187 Hathapradipikā: 2.21, edition p. 44 मंद-कृत्वादिणि: पुर्वपुष्पर्ममणि समाचरेत्। अन्यस्यो नाच्छर-चार्मिदं धीयवणि सम्माधित्।
ears and eyes.\textsuperscript{188} However, as is often the case in the \textit{Ha\ṭhapradīpikā}, Svātmārāma also presents the alternative view that all impurities and diseases can be cured by \textit{prāṇāyāma} alone. Therefore, he says, some teachers (\textit{ācārya}) do not teach other practices, such as the \textit{ṣaṭkarma}.\textsuperscript{189}

The \textit{ṣaṭkarma} consists of cleansing the stomach with cloth (\textit{vastradhauti}), emesis (\textit{gajakaraṇī}), a water enema (\textit{jalabasti}), cleansing the sinuses with thread (\textit{sūtraneti}), gazing at a fixed point (\textit{trāṭaka}), churning the abdomen (\textit{nauli}) and rapid breathing (\textit{kapālabhāti}). Although this list contains seven practices, it appears that \textit{gajakaraṇī} was considered a variation of \textit{dhauti}.\textsuperscript{190} The inclusion of emesis and enema in the \textit{ṣaṭkarma} raises the question of whether these practices were inspired by Ayurveda, because similar treatments figure among therapies in the \textit{Carakasaṃhitā} and \textit{Suśrutasaṃhitā}. The obvious difference between these two practices in Haṭhayoga and Ayurveda is that the former uses only water, whereas the latter administers herbal treatments for inducing emesis and for preparing the enematic fluid.\textsuperscript{191}

However, there is a more significant difference between the \textit{Ha\ṭhapradīpikā}’s \textit{ṣaṭkarma} and Ayurvedic therapies. Generally speaking, the \textit{Ha\ṭhapradīpikā}’s descriptions of the \textit{ṣaṭkarma} indicate that they were fashioned by and specifically for yogins to heal themselves. For example, \textit{gajakaraṇī} (literally, “the elephant’s action”)\textsuperscript{192} requires that the yogin raise abdominal vitality (i.e., \textit{apānavāyu}) to the throat and then control all the channels of the body (\textit{nāḍicakra}) through

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Ha\ṭhapradīpikā:} 2.16cd–17. These verses were probably borrowed from the \textit{Vivekamārtaṇḍa}: 12cd–22.
\item \textit{Ha\ṭhapradīpikā:} 2.38. This view is supported elsewhere in the \textit{Ha\ṭhapradīpikā} with statements that \textit{prāṇāyāma} can cure all diseases (e.g., 2.16ab).
\item All the reported manuscripts of the \textit{Ha\ṭhapradīpikā} in Kaivalyadhama’s critical edition place \textit{gajakaraṇī} directly after \textit{dhauti}, which is the first of the \textit{ṣaṭkarmas}. However, in Brahmānanda’s \textit{Jyotsnā}, \textit{gajakaraṇī} is placed as the last \textit{ṣaṭkarma}. The close association of \textit{gajakaraṇī} with \textit{dhauti} is affirmed by a more recent text, the \textit{Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā}: 1.38–39, in which both \textit{vastradhauti} and emesis (\textit{vamana}) are two variations of \textit{dhauti} for the heart (\textit{hṛddhauti}).
\item The drugs to be used for emesis are listed at \textit{Carakasaṃhitā}: Sū.2.7 and Si.3.35–71, and a detailed account of how the drugs are administered and the mode of treatment is given at \textit{Carakasaṃhitā}: Sū.15–16.
\item Cf. \textit{Suśrutasaṃhitā}: Ci.33. On enemas, the drugs to be used are listed at \textit{Carakasaṃhitā}: Vi.8.137–150 and details on preparing the drugs, administering them, etc., are given in \textit{Carakasaṃhitā}: Si.10. Cf. \textit{Suśrutasaṃhitā}: Ci.35–36.
\item Some manuscripts have \textit{jalakaraṇī} instead of \textit{gajakaraṇī} (see \textit{Ha\ṭhapradīpikā:} edition p. 46, n. 60). The name \textit{gajakaraṇī} may have come about because the practitioner emits a stream of water from the mouth as an elephant would from its trunk.
\item It is not entirely clear what \textit{nāḍicakra} (spelt elsewhere as \textit{nāḍīcakra}) refers to in \textit{Ha\ṭhapradīpikā}: 2.26. Brahmānanda does not gloss it in this verse, but does so when it appears in verse 2.5, where he says it is the totality of \textit{nāḍīs} (नाडीनां च समूहः).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
gradual practice, in order to vomit the contents (padārtha) of his stomach.\textsuperscript{194} In Ayurveda, such a treatment would be impracticable because it could not be prescribed by a physician for a patient who had not undergone the training to control their body in this way. The same might be said for the Hathayogic water enema, which requires that the yogin assume a half-squatting posture (called utkātāsana) in a river\textsuperscript{195} and create an internal abdominal vacuum to draw in the water.\textsuperscript{196} Also, both nauli and kapālabhāti depend on a high degree of abdominal control that might only be possible after a period of sustained practice. Therefore, the main difference between Ayurvedic remedies and the śaṭkarma is that the former was designed to be administered by a physician on a patient whereas the latter was intended to be self-administered by the yogin.

In the centuries following the Haṭhapradīpikā, the increasing importance of the śaṭkarma in Hathayoga is reflected by the prevalence and proliferation of their techniques in texts of the late corpus. For example, the Hatharatnāvalī: 1.26–58 teaches eight techniques (aṣṭakarma) and a few variations,\textsuperscript{197} and the Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā: 1.12–59 teaches over twenty by integrating many additional practices as variations of each of the Haṭhapradīpikā’s śaṭkarma.\textsuperscript{198} However, the most ambitious attempt to extend the śaṭkarma is found in a text called the Satkarmasaṅgraha, which incorporated some additional Ayurvedic practices to build a repertoire of thirty-seven therapeutic techniques for Yoga practitioners. The author’s unabashed efforts to transform a set of six techniques into a collection (saṅgraha) of several dozen appears to have resulted in the unexpected name, “A Collection of Good Practices” (satkarmasaṅgraha) rather than a collection of verses on the śaṭkarma (i.e., satkarmasaṅgraha).

meaning of this compound in earlier Tantric sources varies from the totality of the channels in the body (Rastelli and Dominic Goodall 2013:268) to a particular nexus of channels, sometimes consisting of the ten main channels in the body (Agnipurāṇa 214.1–5). Also, some sources locate it in the abdomen and others in the heart or the mūlādhāra region (see Rastelli and Dominic Goodall 2013:268f.).

\textsuperscript{194} Haṭhapradīpikā: 2.26.

\textsuperscript{195} Haṭhapradīpikā: 2.27. Brahmānanda adds the detail that the water is that of a “river, etc.” (nadyāditoya). One would expect the yogin to be squatting in flowing water.

\textsuperscript{196} This internal vacuum is not mentioned in Haṭhapradīpikā: 2.27. However, it enables the yogin to suck the water through the tube that is inserted into the colon. See Kuvalayānanda et al. 1924–1925; Bernard 1950: 38; Rosmarnowsk 1981.

\textsuperscript{197} The eight include the seven techniques of the Haṭhapradīpikā (i.e., both dhauti and gajakaraṇī) and cakrikarma. The Hatharatnāvalī also teaches two types of nauli, two types of enema (i.e., air and water) and an additional way of practising gajakaranī and kapālabhāstrikā (otherwise known a kapālabhāti).

\textsuperscript{198} The verse which lists the śaṭkarma in the Gherandasamhitā: 1.12 is almost the same as that in the Haṭhapradīpikā: 2.22.
The *Satkarmasaṅgraha*’s date of composition and the name of its author are not clear. One manuscript is dated in the *bhūtasaṅkhyā* system as 881, which is probably 1881 (i.e., 1824 CE).\(^{199}\) If this holds true, the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* was likely composed in the eighteenth century.\(^{200}\) At the beginning of the text, the author states his name as Cidghanānandanātha and then Raghuvīra at the end. The *ānandanātha* suffix of the first name suggests that that person was a *kaula* initiate belonging to the Dakṣiṇāmnāya.\(^{201}\) His Śaiva affiliation is further supported by the invocation to Śiva in the opening verse of the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*.\(^{202}\) Also, many of this text’s techniques, including the water enema, are attributed to Śiva.\(^{203}\)

\(^{199}\) The scribal comment is reported in the Kaivalyadhama edition of the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 50 n. 126: वैकितेऽ黥ेऽिԥāशुɿपÈो̊-मासके, which can be understood as the bright half of the month Kārttika in the year 881. If one assumes that the intended year was 1881 (i.e., *ekavasvaṣṭaika*), one can then assume that it must be the *vikramasaṃvat* era because the library acquired the manuscript between 1884 and 1895 CE (Harshe (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: iv)). Therefore, the date of this manuscript would be 1824 CE.

\(^{200}\) As far as I am aware, verses of the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* have not been borrowed or cited in any other Yoga text, which leads me to suspect that it is a more recent work. However, I am yet to establish a firm terminus a quo for it. Reddy (1982a: 37) argues that the practice of cakrikarma was invented by the seventeenth-century Śrīnivāsa, because Śrīnivāsa states this in his *Haṭharatnāvalī* at 1.31ab (सवȵषां कम€णां चिबसाधनं ूो́ते मया). Bethisa it may, I have not found any textual parallels between the *Satkarmasaṅgraha* and the *Haṭharatnāvalī*. Furthermore, the former teaches three types of cakrī (*ūrdhva*, *madhya* and *adhaḥ*) and only the last of them corresponds in some way with Śrīnivāsa’s *cakrikarma*, though the wording is different and some significant details are added. Furthermore, the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 40ab says that Dhūrjaṭi, who is not mentioned by Śrīnivāsa, is the source of its teachings on *adhaḥcakrī* (see footnote 206). In dating the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*, Meulenbeld (*HIML*: IIA: 296) follows Reddy (1982a) and reports (*HIML*: IIA: 761) that Cidghanānandanātha’s guru was Gahanānandanātha, whereas Harshe’s edition (*Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 2) has Gaganānandanātha with no variants reported.

\(^{201}\) Mallinson 2007a: 166 n. 6.

\(^{202}\) *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 1: “I bow to lord Ādinātha, who wrote the scripture [called] the *Mahākālajaya* because of his compassion for his own devotees” (यआिदनाथो भगवािहजभɫान ुकҢया। महाकालजय ं शाԖं कृ तवाϿं नमाҴहम ्). The claim that Śiva wrote a scripture possibly called the *Mahākālajaya* is intriguing. It may refer to the *Mahākālayogaśāstra* (an unknown text to which the *Khecarīvidyā* has been ascribed) or the *Mahākālasaṃhitā*, to which various other works have been ascribed (Mallinson 2007a: 12; Kiss 2009: 44 f.).

\(^{203}\) In the *Satkarmasaṅgraha*’s descriptions of *vamana*, *vireka*, *śālākya*, *raktasrāva*, *karaṇāpyāyanāni*, *āścyotana*, *jaladhārā*, the seven auxiliaries of *vajroli*, the auxiliaries and mantras of *khecarīmudrā*, *kaśākarma*, *bhūrntibhastra*, *antarabhhastra*, *nālanaulī*, *snehana* and *jalabasti*, these techniques are ascribed to Śiva.

\(^{204}\) *Satkarmasaṅgraha*: 2–3 (भगवोगनानД-नाथपादाҨुजϡयम ्। यΚसादा;ृ ताथȸऽिԥ तं मूϦा€).
However, the concluding verses (148–9) of the Satkarmasaṅgraha state that it was composed by Raghuvīra, who may have done so for a royal family related to north-Indian Brahmins (dvijodīcya). Also, these verses refer to the work as a manual (paddhati) rather than a collection (saṅgraha). Although I am yet to find parallel verses with other texts, there is evidence in the Satkarmasaṅgraha which indicates that it is a poorly redacted compilation. Therefore, the confusion over authorship may have been the result of poor redacting in the process of combining two different texts (i.e., Cidghanānandanātha’s Satkarmasaṅgraha with Raghuvīra’s Karmapaddhati).

The Satkarmasaṅgraha is undoubtedly a text written for Yoga practitioners. As the following passage demonstrates, it addresses yogins and their practice of Yoga:

When people suppress their senses by restraining their breaths or when they practise khecarī or the attaining of vajroli, diseases arise

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205 Satkarmasaṅgraha:148–9 “[This] excellent collection of [therapeutic] techniques has been briefly taught thus by the learned Raghuvīra because of the favour of the venerable lord. It is the remover of obstacles in the [practice of] breath retentions and [Hathayogic] mudrās. The venerable family of the king, whose relatives are northern Brahmins named this excellent guidebook of techniques, which purifies the body” (इितःसंपतंूोवः कमणां स˃हः परः। िवषा रघुवीरेण ौी-महाथूसादतः॥ कुϑकेԊिप मुिासुूΟूहिविनवारकः। इित ौीमिũजोदी́ÉाितराजकुलोऽҖधात ्। देहशुिुक-रामेतां कम€णां पु ूर पराम्॥ -कुलािभधात ् Codex).

206 The Satkarmasaṅgraha:14 states that its techniques have been taught by Dhūrjaṭi in order to directly enhance the welfare of people (अथ वʌािम कमा€िण योिगनां यो-गिस्‌ये। याजाह धूज€िटः साÈाӑोकानुमहहेतवे) and the verses on adhaścakrī (37cd–40ab) may be quoted (iti) from an unknown text called “Instructions on Yoga” (yogaśāsana) by Dhūrjaṭi. Also, the author states that the practices of smoking (dhūma), sniffs (nasya), holding a mouthful of solution (kavalagraha) and enemas (basti) have been taught, in some cases more extensively, in another text by the same author called the Miśraka.

207 Harshë (Satkarmasaṅgraha:iv) proposes that the author’s pre-initiation name was Raghuvīra and post-initiation, Cidghanānandanātha. However, in my view, the corruption in the last verse of the Satkarmasaṅgraha (i.e., -कुलािभधात ्) as well as the fact that several passages of the text are clearly unrelated to its topic (e.g., 46–47ab, 59cd–66 and 69–71ab) suggest that the Satkarmasaṅgraha as we now have it was poorly redacted, and this has produced the confusion over the author’s name.

208 The term karaṇa usually means “actions” and could be understood as such here (i.e., when people restrain their actions). However, seeing that this “restraint” or “suppression” is being caused by holding the breath and that, more generally speaking, prāṇāyāma often precedes sensory withdrawal (pratyāhāra), I suspect that karaṇa means “the senses” here. Furthermore, karaṇa is used to mean “senses” in other passages of this text. For example, Satkarmasaṅgraha:101cd–102, 105cd (अथ कर-णायामानि। गोपूतं केरोपियतं नासायामकुोपतं॥ १०२॥ आज्ञे शंक्रया तुूर्न सनन्यायायं स्मृत। नूपुष-ह्रवित्तुतुन्न नयनायायायं परम॥ १०२॥ […] करणाया तुू दृश्यं संस्मरंचत सिद्धिः)
[even] for a sake because of negligence in [following] what is wholesome and [avoiding] what is unwholesome (pathyapathyā); carelessness in regard to the [proper] time and place [of practice] or because of chance obstacles in the world. These [diseases] can be cured by practising āsanas and by divine medicines. In the case that he is unsuccessful, the best of yogins should drive [them] away with the divine [therapeutic] techniques [taught in this text].

In the above passage, the Satkarmasaṅgraha presents its techniques as treatments that one should resort to when other methods, notably including the practice of āsana, have failed. Other texts also abandon the preliminary role of the śatkarma, which was stipulated in the Hathampradīpikā. For example, in the Hathambhāyaśa-paddhati, six sequences of āsanas are taught to make the yogin fit for the practice of the śatkarma. However, the Satkarmasaṅgraha goes on to say that the therapeutic role of its techniques is not only for yogins who fall sick because of negligence or chance obstacles, but also for those who injure themselves in the practice of Yoga:

A wise person who has knowledge of the body, skill in the practice of [holding] the breath and has obtained [this] expertise with the favour of good teachers should practise [these] divine techniques for healing harm [that arises] in the practice of kumbhakas, āsanas and mudrās. [Owing to the practice of these techniques], purification of the channels quickly occurs and even the prevention of [further] harm.

209 These divine medicines (divyābheṣajā) might be referring to divine herbs (divyauṣadhi), which are listed and discussed in the Carakasaṃhitā: Ci.1.4.6–26. Divine herbs are alluded to in the Suśrutasaṃhitā: Ci.30. I would like to thank Dagmar Wujastyk for these references.

211 Hathābhyāsapaddhati: f.2v: “Now, the postures are described for the sake of attaining the ability [to do] the śatkarma” (एषा षाटकर्मशीष्यो वायुसाधने। नवासनानांतः करणानां च साधने॥). Also, after the descriptions of the āsanas, the text says (f.23r): “When bodily strength has been achieved through the practice of postures, one should do the śatkarma” (ासना।ासेन शारीरकम् नाडीं शीर्ष्यं नाडीं शीर्ष्यं दशमीवधक्षणं कुयये।). This eighteenth-century text teaches more than the usual six techniques found in the Hathampradīpikā. It adds bhrāmaṇakriyā, the eating of wholesome food as prescribed in Ayurvedic texts (vaidyagrantha) and āghāraśuddhikriyā. At the end of the section on the śatkarma, it says (f.24v): “After the practice of the śatkarma, one should do the eight breath retentions for success in the ten mudrās” (शारीरकम् नाडीं शीर्ष्यं नाडीं शीर्ष्यं दशमीवधक्षणं कुयये॥).
The Satkarmasaṅgraha's intended audience of yogins is again affirmed at the end of the text when its entire collection of techniques is described as a remover of obstacles in the practice of kumbhakas and Hathayogic mudrās.  

The special Yogic abilities required by a practitioner of the Haṭhapradīpikā's ṣaṭkarma give way in the Satkarmasaṅgraha to the use of medicinal herbs, oils, snuffs, mouthwashes and even a surgical instrument (śalākā). Ayurvedic methods in the Satkarmasaṅgraha are distinctly apparent. Although the Satkarmasaṅgraha does not mention or allude to an Ayurvedic text, it does mention the celestial physicians several times: Dhanvantari is said to be lord of surgery and his favour (prasāda) is necessary for the success of a water treatment (jaladhārā) for wounds. Also, the yogin is advised to meditate on the two Aśvins when cleaning the sinuses with a thread (netī).  

The Satkarmasaṅgraha's medically inspired techniques include massage with oils (mardana), surgery (śālākya), vomiting with emetics (vamana), purgation with purgative drugs (virecana), bloodletting (raktaśrava), herbal eye drops (āścyotana), gargling with herbal waters (gaṇḍūṣa), oleation (snehana), sudation using salts, sand or medicaments (svedana), sudation using burning charcoal in a pot (vārāha), medicinal smoking (dhūma), errhines (nasya), and enemas for the eyes, head, ears, nose and bowels, some of which...
use medicated oils. Integrated with these, are distinctly Yogic śaṭkarma (as seen in the Hathapradipikā), which have been extended beyond those of earlier texts with the addition of many new practices and variations. A good example of this diversification of the basic śaṭkarma can be seen in the three varieties of nauli described in the Satkarmasaṅgraha. The first called bāhyanauli corresponds to the Hathapradipikā’s nauli, but the two following it, namely nālanauli and āntranauli, have no antecedents as far as I am aware:

Now, nauli [is taught]. One should move the abdomen left and right at the speed of a rapid whirlpool. It was taught by Śiva, [but] here the tutelary deity is Lakṣmī. This is the external nauli (bāhyanauli). It stimulates the digestive fire, increases [the body’s] fire, advances breath retentions and cooks consumed food.

Having united and correctly isolated both tube-like muscles (nala) according to the guru’s teachings, [the yogin] should draw them upwards. Thus, nālanauli has been taught by Śiva. This supreme secret should not be given to just anyone.

Having sat on a three-legged stool, [the yogin] should rub the lower abdomen and stomach. This is the internal nauli (āntranauli), which brings success in manibandha.

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228 See footnote 191.
229 Cf. Hathapradipikā:2.34–35: “Now, nauli [is taught]. With shoulders bent forward, [the yogin] should rotate the abdomen left and right with the speed of a rapid whirlpool. This nauli is taught by the Siddhas. It is effective for stimulating a weak digestive fire, cooking [ingested food] and so on. It always produces bliss and removes all faults and diseases. Nauli is the crown of Ṣaṭhayogic practices” (अथ नौिलः। अमरसतसतवे उवे वमुदवे तुसे। तसे तामवे देये नौिलः। विश्वासेन नौिलः। तानसी अतसी एतसी नौिलः। चालये बाेवुं तये ता जवमये देये। वाधोनीपिंियं प्रोक्ता ता मायसीधिविनी। 110॥ अधितपत्रायत सुभववे भुवासपायविनी। फौलीपुन् न के स्माकुशाय सुभमागां॥ 111॥ चालये बाेवुं तये ता जवमये देये। वाधोनीपिंियं प्रोक्तां ता मायसीधिविनी। 112॥ जवमाकात्तेत नालों, विश्वासेत। ते राधवे परम न ते राधवे परम कस्य पित्र॥ 113॥ जवमाकात्तेत बाेवुं बाेवुं बिवघ्षणात। आधोनीपिंियं प्रोक्तं मणिभमासिंघिविनी॥ 114॥ नौिलः। विश्वासेन नौिलः। चालये बाेवुं तये ता जवमये देये। वाधोनीपिंियं प्रोक्ता ता मायसीधिविनी। 115॥

230 I am not entirely sure of the meaning of nala here. It appears to be referring to the rectus abdominis muscles, which protrude when nauli is performed. The fact that nala is in the dual case would suggest that the author knew that the the rectus abdominis is a paired muscle.
231 Satkarmasaṅgraha:110–114, edition pp.39–40 अथ नौिलः। अन्तनूलूलवेये उवे वमुदवे तुसे। तसे तामवे देये नौिलः। विश्वासेन नौिलः। तानसी अतसी एतसी नौिलः। चालये बाेवुं तये ता जवमये देये। वाधोनीपिंियं प्रोक्ता ता मायसीधिविनी। 110॥ अधितपत्रायत सुभववे भुवासपायविनी। फौलीपुन् न के स्माकुशाय सुभमागां॥ 111॥ चालये बाेवुं तये ता जवमये देये। वाधोनीपिंियं प्रोक्तां ता मायसीधिविनी। 112॥ जवमाकात्तेत नालों, विश्वासेत। ते राधवे परम न ते राधवे परम कस्य पित्र॥ 113॥ जवमाकात्तेत बाेवुं बाेवुं बिवघ्षणात। आधोनीपिंियं प्रोक्तं मणिभमासिंघिविनी॥ 114॥ नौिलः। विश्वासेन नौिलः। चालये बाेवुं तये ता जवमये देये। वाधोनीपिंियं प्रोक्तां ता मायसीधिविनी। 115॥

The meaning of manibandha is not clear to me. The term manibandha usually refers to the wrist. One wonders whether it is a corruption of the cliché animādiprasiddhi (i.e., it bestows the supernatural powers beginning with minimization).
In addition to nauli, the Satkarmasaṅgraha’s expanded repertoire of the śat-karma include three types of cakrī, bhastrā (i.e., kapālabhāti), two types of siddhikāraṇī and netī as well as the practices of kaśā, netrī, kasana, śītivana, nāsādanti, udgāra, śirāsañcālana, karaṇāpyāyana and jaladhāra. Other practices of Hāṭhayoga such as khecarī and vajroli mudrās are mentioned but not described in any detail.

The Satkarmasaṅgraha does not mention whether a physician is needed to administer the Ayurvedic techniques it incorporated. Instead, the work presents it-

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232 Ěrdhvasacakrī is cleaning the palate (tālu) with the thumb (Satkarmasaṅgraha: 32ab-35ab); madhyacakrī is cleaning the tongue and back of the throat with a finger (35cd–37ab) and adhāsacakrī is cleaning the anus with the forefinger (37cd-40ab).

233 Rapid breathing (like a bellows) with the head held steady is called sthirabhastrā; with the head moving is bhrāntibhastrā and internally (i.e., with the tip of the nose closed) is antarbhhastrā (Satkarmasaṅgraha: 50cd–54).

234 Ěrdhvatrotana seems to be some sort of threatening movement of the hands to the left and right, while visualizing the wind’s wife (Satkarmasaṅgraha: 71cd–72ab: वामदिनतो हौ तजयेϡायुवӑभाम ्॥ सि̚Οोϫ€ऽोटकं क-म€ ौीशҭुतोिदतम ्॥

I am not sure of the meaning of this verse, but suspect that one should read सि̚Єोϫ€ and ौीशҭुनोिदतम ्. When done on the hips (kaṭi) it is cakratrotana and with the feet and hands, sarveṅgatrotana (Satkarmasaṅgraha: 72cd–73ab).

235 Ěrdhvāsiddhikārī begins with drinking water, then performing nauli and expelling the water through the anus. Adhāsiddhikārī is the opposite; water is taken in through the anus, nauli is performed and then it is expelled through the oesophagus (kanīṭhatāla). It results in more siddhis than most of the other techniques. The author adds that this divine purification was taught by Rāghava, after he saw the ancient texts whose doctrine was of the Nāthas. See Satkarmasaṅgraha: 87–92ab.

236 The two types of netī are distinguished by whether the thread (sūtra) is turned about or not (vartitāvartita) during the practice (Satkarmasaṅgraha: 67–68).

237 Kaśā is similar to netī. The difference seems to be that the string is to be rubbed (gharṣayet) when it has been inserted through the nose (Satkarmasaṅgraha: 42cd-43).

238 Netrī is threading a string into the left nostril and pulling it out the right (Satkarmasaṅgraha: 44ab-45).

239 Kasana is coughing forcefully (Satkarmasaṅgraha: 47cd–48).

240 Śītivana is expectoration using udāna, in which case phlegm is emitted from the throat or palate, and prāṇa, which draws phlegm from the abdomen (Satkarmasaṅgraha: 49–50ab).

241 Nāsādanti is drinking water through the right and left nostrils, and expelling it through the mouth (Satkarmasaṅgraha: 55).

242 Udgāra is forceful eructation (Satkarmasaṅgraha: 74).

243 Śirāsañcālana is moving the breath through all the body’s tubes (Satkarmasaṅgraha: 75).

244 Karanāpyāyana is the taking of various concoctions, mostly consisting of ghee, sugar, milk, etc., to revive the sensory organs (i.e., the nose, eyes, ears, skin and genitals). See Satkarmasaṅgraha: 101cd–104.

245 Jaladhāra is a water treatment, in which a pot is placed on the abdomen and water poured from above. Cold water is used for fever and hot water for pain (Satkarmasaṅgraha: 106cd–107).
self as a collection of self-administered therapeutic interventions for yogins who were ill or had injured themselves through the practice of Yoga.

PREMODERN YOGA THERAPY (YOGACIKITSĀ)

Apart from the ṣaṭkarma, there is evidence for one other significant development of a distinctly Yogic therapy, which was called such (i.e., cikitsā). This therapy is described in a chapter appended to the Ḥathapradīpikā’s four chapters in two manuscripts. The colophons of both manuscripts mistakenly entitle it as a section on herbs.246 It was undoubtedly added to the Ḥathapradīpikā at a more recent time, most probably at the beginning of the eighteenth century, judging by the date of one of these two manuscripts.247 Seeing that very few catalogue entries report of a Ḥathapradīpikā with five chapters, it is probable that the chapter on therapy had only a brief association with this Ḥatha text. The chapter has been taken from a Śaiva text called the Dharmaputrikā, which teaches a system of Yoga with six auxiliaries (sāḍaṅga) for the Śaiva laity.248 The Dharmaputrikā is sometimes included in bundles of manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, and it must have been composed earlier than the mid-eleventh century on the basis of two dated manuscripts.249 The fact that its chapter on therapy was attached to at least two manuscripts of the Ḥathapradīpikā suggests that it had some currency amongst yogins from the sixteenth to eighteenth century, possibly because of their interest in the practical application of its therapy for curing illness.

The aim of this therapy is to cure imbalances of the humours in relation to one another caused by a yogin’s negligence (pramāda).250 Negligence while practising

246 This chapter has been edited and published (as the fifth chapter) in Kaivalyadhama’s edition of the Ḥathapradīpikā (first published in 1970). They used two manuscripts for this chapter. The first is from the Pune University Library (Mahajan 1986:1: #2402) and the editors report the following colophon: इति श्रीवाचरामर्योगचिकित्सायाः हठथ्रिदस्याः अर्थार्थां नाम प्रभावेदिति... And the second is from the Sārvajanik Vācanālaya, Nāsik (no catalogue number) and its colophon: इति श्रीवाचरामर्योगचिकित्सायाः हठथ्रिदस्याः अर्थार्थां नाम प्रभावेदिति...
247 The manuscript at the Sārvajanik Vācanālaya, Nāsik is dated saka 1628, which is approximately 1706 CE.
248 I wish to thank Christèle Barois for informing me that the Dharmaputrikā has a chapter on therapy (cikitsā). She is working on this text for the AyurYog Project and will publish an article called “Medical Practices of Yogins in Medieval India: The Testimony of the Dharmaputrikā” that will contain a more detailed discussion on its content and place in the Śivadharma corpus (personal communication, 31.10.2015)
249 One manuscript, MS Kathmandu NAK 3/393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), is dated [Nepal] Saṃvat 189 (1069 CE), and the other, MS Calcutta, AS G 4077, is dated to [Nepal] Saṃvat 156 (1035–1036 CE) Shastri (1928:718–23). I wish to thank Peter Bisschop for these references (personal communication 25.3.2016).
250 Ḥathapradīpikā: 5.1: “For [the yogin]
Yoga may make the breath stray from its normal path in the body, causing a blockage (granthi) and then various diseases, which are obstacles to Yoga. The method of treatment proposed is very simple:

In whatever place pain arises because of disease, one should meditate with the mind on the breath in that place. Having meditated on it with a one-pointed mind, [the yogin] should breathe in and out completely, carefully [and] according to his capacity. Having performed many exhalations and inhalations again and again, he should draw out the breath that has accumulated [there], as one [would draw out accumulated] fluid from the ear with water.

This method is distinctly Yogic insofar as it relies on the yogin’s ability to meditate and manipulate the breath. Other verses in the chapter provide further advice on diet, the practice of kumbhaka, prāṇāyāma in a supine position and the various diseases that can be cured by this therapy. A significant comment on this therapy’s relation to Ayurveda is made towards the end of the chapter, when the yogin is advised to perform this Yogic therapy (yogacikitsā) in addition to taking the treatments prescribed in Ayurvedic texts (vaidyaśāstra). Therefore, it appears who is negligent when practising, [an imbalance in] wind, [bile or phlegm] arises. He should ascertain the flow of the breath for the treatment of that imbalance” (प्रेमादी यु- जन्म तनु वातादित्सत्य जायते। तीन्द्रय विकित्सायाम ग- ति वायुकयित्ययतं।) Dharmaputrikā: निकपय तं Ed.).

Negligence (pramāda) is not properly explained in the Hathapradipikā. However, in earlier chapters, the Dharmaputrikā explains that negligence gives rise to one of four types of obstacle (pramādajānatarāya). This type of obstacle seems to relate to a concentration practice (dhāranā) explained in the third chapter. It involves moving the vital breaths (prāṇa) through a series of joints (parvan), starting at the big toes, moving up through the body to the eighteenth joint at the top of the head and then moving beyond that to the twenty-eighth joint, which is the world of Brahma (brahmaloka). The seventh chapter asserts that if a yogin happens to be negligent while practising this sequence of concentration, the breath may settle in a place that has not been mastered (ajita), and this causes diseases to arise in the body, which gives rise to hindrances (vighna).
that the author of the *Dharmaputrikā* understood its Yogic therapy as distinct from but complementary to Ayurveda.\(^{253}\)

The art of healing diseases through meditation has another antecedent in Tantra. For example, the treatment of diseases (*rogacikitsā*) using concentration (*dhāranā*) on the elements and meditation can be found in the *Matysendrasamhitā*,\(^{254}\) which was composed at the time when early Hatha- and Rājayoga systems were being formulated.\(^{255}\) There are even traces of this conception in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*:1.32, in which the hindrances (*antarāya, vikṣepa*), including disease (*vyādhi*), are said to be prevented by focusing the mind on one object (*ekatattvābhyāsa*).

**A Vaidya-Yogi-Scholar**

The treatment (*cikitsā*) of diseases was also mentioned by Sundaradeva in his works on Yoga called the *Hathasanketacandrikā* and the *Hathatatvakaumudi*. Sundaradeva was a Brahmin who lived in Varanasi, most probably in the eighteenth century.\(^{256}\) The colophons of his works identify him as a doctor (*vaidya*), who was the son of Govindadeva and pupil of Viśvarūpatīrtha. He is also reported to have written various works on Ayurveda, such as the *Bhūpālavallabha* (or the *Bhūpacaryā* ), the *Cikitsāsundara*, the *Līlāvatī*, the *Yogaktivivekacandra* and the *Yogoktyupadeśāṃrta*.\(^{257}\) His knowledge was quite wide-ranging. For example, the *Bhūpālavallabha*, which is a treatise on dietetics and pathology, includes a section on wrestling (*mallavidyā*) from the *Mallapurāṇa* (*HIML*:IIA, 479). Both the *Hathasanketacandrikā* and the *Hathatatvakaumudi* are erudite and voluminous. They are written in a variety of metres and prose. Their content

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\(^{253}\) Haṭhapradīpikā: 5.22: “[The yogin] should carefully take treatment in the manner taught in the medical texts and he should perform Yogic therapy. [Thus], he quickly cures [his illnesses]” (वै الفكرत िबयां कुवȷत यZeतः। कुया€ϞोगिचîΨां च शीयमेव ूशाҴित).

\(^{254}\) *Matysendrasamhitā*:4.25-28ab: “Therefore, now listen, O Goddess, to the proper treatment of diseases. Having drunk rich and very hot rice-gruel, he should practice fixation (*dhārayet*) then. He should visualize nectar (*amṛta*) in his body that would remove all diseases. He should visualize (*dhyāyet*) the Fixation of Fire [and] the Wind [Fixation and] the Fluid [Fixation] […]” (translation by Kiss (2009: 250)).


\(^{256}\) Sundaradeva’s *terminus a quo* is the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Śivānandasarasvatī, which was composed in the early seventeenth-century, and his *terminus ad quem* is 1832 CE, which is the date of an incomplete manuscript of the *Hathasanketacandrikā* in the Cambridge University Library (MS Cambridge CUL Add. 2145). He quotes the *Kumbhakapaddhati*, which is an undated compendium of breath-retentions that was probably compiled in the seventeenth or early-eighteenth century.

\(^{257}\) These works are reported by Meulenbeld (*HIML*:IIA: 479) and the catalogues, upon which this information is based, are given in *HIML*:IIB: 490–91.
is largely derived from earlier sources, the main ones being texts of the early Yoga corpus, Tantras, the *Pātañjalyogaśāstra* and various Brahmanical works, including the early Upaniṣads, Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*. He quotes with attribution many of these sources, but more frequently rewrites earlier material in his own style without acknowledging the source.

In both the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* and the *Haṭhatattvaakaumudi*, Sundaradeva mentions therapy (*cikitsā*) in the context of illnesses that arise when the yogin is careless (*pramāda*) in practising Yoga at the wrong place or time (*deśakāla*). This discussion occurs towards the beginning of both works because Sundaradeva is addressing the commencement of Yoga (*yogopakrama*). He says that if an illness arises at this time, the yogin should resort to treatment:

Loss of memory, stupidity, complete muteness, deafness, blindness, severe cough and fever; these [all] arise because of unsteadiness and anger in the body of one who is practising Yoga in the wrong place or at an [inappropriate] time. Also, mental disorders arise, such as these: desire, fear, sleepiness and excessive greed. Having first overcome [these] impediments to Yoga, along with anger, one who is dedicated and very focused, should practise Yoga with a steady mind [...]. After that, the good practitioner who is careful and has not developed [these] severe faults should practise *prāṇāyāma* with a focused mind and [proper] knowledge. If diseases arise because of negligence, listen to the treatment (*cikitsā*) for them. It is as follows. One should spread oily and warm rice-gruel on the chest to cure abdominal swelling caused by wind (*vātagulma*). Just so, one [should put] thick sour milk (*dadhi*) on piles, and [take] rice gruel for tumours and diseases arising because of [vitiated] wind. In this system, when thirsty, one should visualize unripe fruit on the tongue; when deaf, a †[sound?]† in the ears; when one has a speech impediment, a mountain and when one has chest pain, one should hold [in mind] a *rasāṅka*. When shaking, one should visualize...
the Himālaya in one’s heart or one should place a very large rock [on one’s chest]. When intense pain in the head arises shortly [after] stopping [the breath, one should put] warm rice gruel saturated with ghee [on the chest]. When a practitioner holds his concentration on whatever place supports it, [then] in a hot [place], it has a cooling effect and in a cold [place], a heating one. Having placed a nail on one’s head, one should duly strike [one piece of] wood with another. Because of this, a sage’s memory returns, even if he has amnesia.261

The striking feature of Sundaradeva’s treatments is their lack of sophistication. Although medical practice and literature of the Early Modern period suggest that vaidyas did not use the complex materials of Caraka and Suśruta, but theory-free compendia of recipes,262 Sundaradeva’s above treatments appear more like home remedies. One might speculate that Sundaradeva believed that yogins would not have access to expensive medicines or doctors, and so prescribed remedies with common ingredients. However, it is more likely that Sundaradeva’s choice of treatments here has been determined by the genre of the text he was writing. In other words, in writing a Yoga text, he relied upon the curative power of visualization and concentration techniques. Therefore,

261 Hathasarāketasandrikā (MSS): 2.18–19, 21–25: स्थलितयो जनातिविविलनं विषयतन्यावहं- कलम्यर्थं। कृत्तियपेंद्रस्मरं परपुरुषोऽगुप्तेण योगममी चतुर्दशसम। 18. मानसा अष्टि दशसमसनान्त् न यथा। कामं भूष्यतिस्ततलोऽपि प्रभोष्ययमयोऽपि कौपयु- चन्तो। विवाहण सुनृमहातस्य सुषुष्यते योंते मनसा शिरर्यम्। 19. […] अपरस्तूता नातन्त्रनिरोधतान: प्राणसंरूपं सावधान:नन्धा। ज्ञात्वृपन सतस्य: वाच्यसंबंधादिविभक्तिः कियो ॥ 20 ॥ सा स्था। कियों कोणणं वायुं हुम परिवृंवातितुतमादिशायन्ये तदुपयोजितं स्वतित कर्तव्यस्वरुपेतः वचारमुः। वाह्यतमांग फर्ते व सरान हि तुष्य शांतयोऽपि अप्रान्तुः। 21 ॥ कियों संस्तं हुदि विब्यहितं स्थायसंस्त्वरूपोम् तथोपम्य, पूवा:पुपु: कोणयवाकूः: द्राक्षाप्रभोऽपिम मस्थाक्षुः उल्लकं। 21॥ उद्देश्यमिष्ठं बद्ध देशे तुषुकाळितप्राणं विब्यहितं, युष्मो हिंसा हिंसा विहिंसानां संक्त: बिन्दुः। 21॥ कौड़े विम्बः स्थायो च कां भूपव तांद्रेतस्मकः। न्यायसमस्तां सुनृस्त मं संजायते तेन॥ 21॥

C = MS Cambridge CUL Add 2145, G = MS Madras GOML R3239 and J = MS Jodhpur Mansingh PPL 2244.


unlike Bhavadevamiśra, who was willing to insert Ayurvedic material into his compilation on Yoga when opportunities arose, Sundaradeva appears to have refrained from doing so. In fact, towards the end of this same chapter, he acknowledges the limitations of medicines and advises one to resort to Yoga should they fail:

There are various diseases in which there is a predominant excess of wind. Having diagnosed the cause, it is removed and treated in this system [with the treatments mentioned in this chapter]. However, when a disease does not come to an end, [even] with hundreds of medicines, one should cure it with the [Haṭhayogic] mudrās, āsanas and prāṇāyāmas.263

In his works on Yoga, Sundaradeva does not contradict Yoga’s default position that the practice of its techniques can cure all diseases. His treatments are for yogins who are new to the practice and have become sick because they did not abide by the requisite rules. He provided little more than simple remedies for these neophytes who could not rely on an effective practice of Yoga to cure themselves. Although Sundaradeva quotes from Ayurvedic texts in both the Haṭha-tattvakaumudī and the Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā,264 he does so only on the topic of food. His quotation of Ayurvedic sources in these two works is very sparse and almost insignificant in relation to their size. Although Sundaradeva consulted a wide variety of texts, he did not borrow Ayurvedic material to supplement his discussions of anatomy, as Bhavadevamiśra did, nor did he incorporate herbal preparations to bolster the therapeutic arsenal of Yoga. In this sense, he appears to have kept his knowledge of Ayurveda and Yoga relatively separate by writing works dedicated to one or the other.

263 Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā (MSS): 2.29: वी-तात्त्वानक्षुभा बहुत गदा: स्युतलुं विक्रिलित्तिं विव-चार्य वार्तित। नो यात्वात्वमोहालेत्तु यदा मद्दोल्त मुद्दा-समानिनिन्दोभि जवेम।।


264 Haṭhatattvakaumudī: 4.47 (स्तूर्द्र साम-टन आयुव) = Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā: Sū.39. This hemistich about wind is also found in the Suśrutasamhitā: Sū.46.490cd. Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā (MSS) 3.26 in G and 3.25 in J (तथा चौंभाषामयीहः भवद्वादिरुस्तमेव सिद्धविनाय तासी-वक्कः)। मण्डो भान्य रथुः शीतो तौमाल्यात्यायकः। शीतोतोमाद्विक्षिप्पज्ञे मथमभाषाय हसित।

3.26 = Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā: Sū.6.26cd, 27ab.

265 This hemistich about wind is also found in the Suśrutasamhitā: Sū.46.490cd. Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā (MSS) 3.26 in G and 3.25 in J (तथा चौंभाषामयीहः भवद्वादिरुस्तमेव सिद्धविनाय तासी-वक्कः)। मण्डो भान्य रथुः शीतो तौमाल्यात्यायकः। शीतोतोमाद्विक्षिप्पज्ञे मथमभाषाय हसित।
5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

If yogins took medicines and if vaidyas appropriated some Yoga techniques, the findings of this study suggest that such interaction had little influence overall on the texts of the Yoga traditions that have been consulted. The authors of the early corpus tend to confine themselves strictly to the topic of Yoga. One could argue that this alone is why so little information on Ayurveda is found in these works. However, this could not be said of the late corpus because many of its authors were willing to integrate information from various traditions on topics related to Yoga. Nonetheless, like Sundaradeva, the majority of these authors appear to have lacked the will to combine Yoga and Ayurveda in any significant way. The instances in which they do so, such as discussions on disease, food or anatomy, prove that it could have been achieved on a much grander scale had they pursued it fully. In cases such as the Khecarīvidyā and the Yuktabhavadeva, in which significant sections on herbs appear and in the latter Ayurvedic anatomy, the borrowing seems somewhat contrived because it is not integrated with discourse on Yoga.

Health and healing were undoubtedly important aims of premodern Yoga. They were primarily achieved through the practice of Yoga and a basic understanding of anatomy and disease, which most probably derived from earlier Tantric, ascetic and Brahmanical traditions. Yoga traditions developed distinctly Yogic therapeutic interventions such as the ṣaṭkarma and, in this sense, they appear to have made a unique contribution to premodern medicinal traditions of South Asia. The Satkarmasaṅgraha is a true synthesis of Ayurveda and Hathayoga’s ṣaṭkarma for the treatment of yogins. Nonetheless, the allusions to a group of vaidya-yogins in the Yogayājñavalkya and the vaidya-guru in the Amṛtasiddhi appear to point to yogins who might have healed others through Yoga, rather than to yogins who had obtained the specialized knowledge of Ayurveda. Moreover, the metaphor of mokṣa as the ultimate healing of all suffering appears to have demarcated the battleground between the disciplines of Yoga and Ayurveda rather than common ground for their integration. The strong emphasis on healing in Yoga traditions and their distinct curative methods were the outcome of this rivalry.

Nearly all premodern Yoga texts claim frequently that their practices cure each and every disease. In fact, the curative powers of Yoga are declared so emphatically that one wonders how their proponents might have sought medical help without the embarrassment of having to admit that their Yoga practice

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265 For a discussion on Indian medicine beyond Ayurveda, see Maas 2019: 1–2.
had failed. Furthermore, there are instances where yogins claim that the practice of Yoga results in alchemical powers, such as the ability to turn iron and other metals into gold by smearing them with one’s own urine and faeces.\textsuperscript{266}

The proponents of these Yoga traditions were accustomed to competing with other soteriologies and it is likely that they did so with Ayurveda and Rasaśāstra. This would explain why their texts promoted their own methods and remained largely silent on those of other traditions which were vying for the same rewards. As noted above, the claims of doctors are questioned in the \textit{Amaraughaprabodha} and, in the \textit{Dattatreyyogaśāstra} (52), alchemy (\textit{dhātu}\textit{vāda}) is said to be an obstacle (\textit{vīghna}).

The conclusive remarks of this study should be understood within the limitations of the evidence on which they rely. Yoga texts are prescriptive\textsuperscript{267} and thus reveal very little about the actual behaviour of yogins when they were not practising Yoga. Travellers’ accounts which mention yogins can provide information that might not be in a Yoga text. Several of these accounts report of yogins taking medicines. For example, in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo observed “yogis” (\textit{ciugi}) taking alchemical cocktails of mercury and sulphur twice a month in order to prolong their lives.\textsuperscript{268} In spite of the uncertainty about the identity of such “yogis” in this and similar accounts, it seems reasonable to accept that those yogins whose reputations did not rely on claims that Yoga could cure all diseases and guarantee a long life, might well have been tempted to achieve health and immortality by combining Yoga with the consumption of medicinal compounds, if they were available.

Ideally, I would have liked to have searched more extensively for passages on Yoga in Ayurvedic and alchemical texts that date from the tenth to eighteenth century, but such research has remained beyond the scope of this article. I know of only one such passage which probably derives from a Yoga text. A section on Yoga in the alchemical compilation called the \textit{Ānandakanda} appears to be based on an early recension of the \textit{Vivekamārtaṇḍa}.\textsuperscript{269} Further research may reveal the extent to which alchemists integrated teachings specific to premodern Yoga traditions in their literary works.

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\textsuperscript{266} Dattātreyyogaśāstra: 99. Cf. Rasārnava: 12.20ab (तत्व मूर्तिरीवेण खर्चे भवति कालिन्म), 12.265, etc.

\textsuperscript{267} For more on the limitations of prescriptive texts, see Sanderson 2013: 215–16.

\textsuperscript{268} See White 1996: 50 for details of this reference in Marco Polo’s travel book and for more accounts by François Bernier and John Campell Oman.

\textsuperscript{269} Ānandakanda: 1.20.48–196. The \textit{Ānandakanda}’s chapter on Yoga contains the same contents as the \textit{Vivekamārtaṇḍa} (including the same six auxiliaries (\textit{aṅga}), the \textit{ajapā} mantra, the same \textit{āsanas, bandhus, mudrās} and so on).
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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APPENDIX: THE SHARED TERMINOLOGY OF YOGA AND AYURVEDA IN THE *HATHAPRADĪPIKĀ* (1972 EDITION)

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gudāvarta (constipation) 3.17
trṣā (thirst) 2.55, 58
kṣudhā (hunger) 2.55, 58
ajīrṇa (indigestion) 3.17
valīpalitavepaghnah (eliminating wrinkles, grey hair and trembling) 3.28
valitaṃ palitaṃ na dṛśyate 3.81

In addition to this, there are references to stimulating digestive fire, curing twenty phlegmatic diseases, curing eye diseases and throat problems, restoration of the bodily constituents (dhātu), senses and mind, destroying all or a group of diseases and bestowing health.

270 For example, jatharapradīpti 1.27, udāyaṃ jatharāṅgasena 1.29, janayati jatharāṅgini 1.31, analasya pradīpanam, 2.20, mandāgnisandīpam 2.34, dehānalavīvardhana 2.52, śārāṅigailavīvardhana 2.65, agnīdīpana 2.78, jatharāṅgīvitvardhini 3.79. This demonstrates that a number of phlegmatic diseases were known. However, in most cases, a Yoga technique is said to remove imbalances in phlegm (e.g., kaphadosavitārāśi 2.36).

271 mocanaṃ netraṅgānāṃ 2.33.

272 rogaḥ 3.74.
ABBREVIATIONS

MS manuscript
Ed. Edition
ed. editor
Σ All manuscripts
corr. correction
correction
emend. emendation
conj. conjecture
unmetr. unmetrical
emend. emendation
emend. emendation
cf. confer

ACRONYMS


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TEXT EDITIONS

In English alphabetical order.

**Ahirbudhnyasamhītā**


**Amanaska**

Amaraughaprabodha


Amaraughaprabodha (MS)

(N.d.). MS Chennai ARL 75278, MS Chennai ARL 70528, MS Chennai GOML SR 1448.

Amṛtasiddhi


Ānandakanda


Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā


Bhāgavatapurāṇa


Bhāvaprakāśa


Bṛhatkhecarīprakāśa


Carakasaṃhitā


Gorakṣayogaśāstra (MS)  (N.d.). MS Kathmandu NAK S 332 (microfilm A1333/20).

Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati  (N.d.).


Haṭhasanketacandrikā (MSS)  (N.d.). MS Madras GOML R3239, MS Cambridge CUL Add 2145, MS Jodhpur Mansingh PPL 2244.


Mānasollāsa A. Mahādeva Śāstri and K. Rangāchārya, eds. (1895). Dakṣināmūrtistotram śrīśaṅkara-cāryavira-citam = The Dakshinamurti-Stotra of Śrī Sankaracharya with Commentaries by
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Tattvabinduyoga (N.d.). MS Pune BORI 664 of 1883-84.
Vaiśeṣikasūtra  

Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā  

Vāyavīyasaṃhitā  

Vimānārcanākalpa  

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Yājñavalkyasmṛti  
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(N.d.). MS Jodhpur RORI 16329.

Yogacintāmaṇi


Yogacintāmaṇi (MS)

(N.d.). MS Pune BORI 220 of 1882–83.

Yogacūḍāmanyupaniṣat


Yogasārasaṅgraha


Yogataraṅgini

(N.d.). MS Ahmedabad LDI 22595.

Yogatārāvalī


Yogaśāñasākṣipta


Yuktabhavadeva

SECONDARY LITERATURE


d’Extrême-Orient, Nepal Research Centre, French Institute of Pondicherry, Universität Hamburg.


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