

PŪRVĀPARAPRAJÑĀBHINANDANAM
EAST AND WEST, PAST AND PRESENT

**Indological and Other Essays
in Honour of Klaus Karttunen**

EDITED BY

BERTIL TIKKANEN & ALBION M. BUTTERS

STUDIA ORIENTALIA 110

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LAKṢMAṆA'S YOGACANDRIKĀ

Jan Meulenbeld

INTRODUCTION

The *Yogacandrikā* by Lakṣmaṇa is a post-classical Sanskrit medical treatise on therapeutics, one out of a large number of similar works. An edition, the first one, together with translations into Hindī and English, was published by Dr. Asha Kumari and Prof. P.V. Tewari in 1998.¹ This edition makes it possible to give a more accurate description and analysis of the work than available in the short entry of my *A History of Indian Medical Literature*.²

The *Yogacandrikā* consists of 1,268 verses,³ arranged into 38 chapters, and three supplementary stanzas with information on the author.

The metres are varied, but mostly long. *Alaṅkāras*, in particular *yamaka* (paronomasia) and *anuprāsa* (alliteration), are frequent.⁴ Also characteristic of the author's style is the large number of unusual synonyms used for items in the materia medica.⁵ These features support the inclusion of the *Yogacandrikā* in the group of medical treatises that resemble *kāvya*s. The most conspicuous of this group are the works of Lolimbarāja⁶ and the *Vaidyakaustubha* of Mevārāmamiśra,⁷ which are medical *citrakāvya*s.

The *Jvaranirṇaya* by Nārāyaṇa, one of Lakṣmaṇa's teachers, contrasts sharply with the style of the *Yogacandrikā* in being almost completely composed in *śloka*s. On the other hand, the treatise on which he wrote a commentary, Śārṅgadhara's *Triśatī*, is composed in intricate long metres.

1 The edition is based on eleven manuscripts, one of them complete and another one almost complete. The latter has been chosen as the basic text for the edition. Variants are recorded in footnotes.

2 See Meulenbeld (2000: IIA 257).

3 This is the number of verses in the edition. Rahman (1982: 104–105) gives a number of 1,700 verses; one of the MSS he refers to contains 2,170 verses.

4 See the Introduction to the edition, xxiv.

5 Idem.

6 See Meulenbeld (2000: IIA 257–262).

7 See Meulenbeld (2000: IIA 304–305).

DESCRIPTION OF CONTENTS

The work begins with two chapters on general subjects. Chapter One (*vidhisūtranirdeśīya*; 99 verses) has three introductory stanzas, a *maṅgalācaraṇa*, and two verses in praise of the author's father, Datta, and his two teachers, Nāganātha and Nārāyaṇa.

The chapter continues with a discussion of the *doṣas* (7–21), oleation (*snehana*; 22–27), sudation (*svedana*; 28–32), purgation and emesis (*virecana* and *vamana*; 33–47), some recipes (48–50), the use of *trivṛt*⁸ as a purgative (51), prescriptions for enemas against *vāta* disorders, generalities about the nasal applications of drugs (54), the formula of the errhine called *aṇutaila* and rules for its application (55–56),⁹ rules for medicinal smoking (*dhūmapāna*; 57–62), rules for gargling (*kavala*) and similar solutions to be held in the mouth for some time (*ganḍūṣa*) (63–65), rules for rubbing a medicinal substance with the fingers on the skin (*pratisāraṇa*; 66), the different uses of *mūrdhataila* (67–68),¹⁰ the application of eye-drops (*āścyotana*; 72), collyria (*añjana*; 72–73) and a special type of eye-drops employed as saturating agents (*tarpaṇa*; 74). The next subject is blood-letting (*raktamokṣaṇa*; 77–86), in particular by means of leeches (*jalaukā*; 87–96). The chapter concludes with a set of rules for the amount of blood to be drained (97) and some general instructions (98–99).

Chapter Two (*svarasādīkalpanā*; 34 verses) is devoted to the rules for making medicinal preparations; the number of these preparations (*kaṣāya* in a general sense) is five:¹¹ expressed juice (*svarasa*), paste (*kalka*), decoction (*kvātha*), cold infusion (*hima*) and hot infusion (*phāṇṭa*). Their effectiveness decreases in the aforementioned order (2). The author describes how to make these preparations, mentions their doses and ways of application in the following order: a *svarasa* from dried drugs or with the *puṭapāka* method (4–7),¹² a *kalka* (8–9), a *cūrṇa* (powder) (10–11),¹³ a *kvātha* with water and with milk (12–15), a *hima* (16), and a *phāṇṭa* (17).¹⁴

The chapter proceeds with descriptions of the methods of making a number of special types of preparation, their doses and some related subjects. These prepa-

8 Identified as *Operculina turpethum* (Linn.) Silva Manso.

9 Compare to this well-known formula: *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, *Cikitsāsthāna* 4.28 (in prose), *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā*, *Sūtrasthāna* 20.37–38, *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha*, *Sūtrasthāna* 29.8–9, etc.

10 This oil is used for massage (*abhyāṅga*), irrigation (*seka*), in a tampon (*picu*), and in an enema (*basti*).

11 This agrees with *Carakasaṃhitā*, *Sūtrasthāna* 4.7.

12 On the preparation of a *puṭapāka*, see *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, *Uttaratantra* 18.33–38.

13 This item is added to the preceding list.

14 Compare *Carakasaṃhitā*, *Sūtrasthāna* 4.7.

rations consist of a *mantha* (a churned preparation) (18), an *avaleha* (an electuary) (19–20) a *guṭī* (pill) (21–22), followed by verses on doses (22–24), the preparation of medicated oils and ghees (*snehapāka*; 25–27), a verse on general pharmaceutical rules (28), verses on weights and measures (*bhārapramāṇa*; 29–33), and, finally, a verse on vegetable drugs that should always be used in a fresh state (34).

The focus of the text is on internal medicine (*kāyacikitsā*); the other branches of *āyurveda* are dealt with more briefly. The author may have been averse to surgery or he restricted himself with a determined mind to the compound preparations (*yogas*) described in his treatise.

The absence of obstetrics in general and of the malpositions requiring intervention is in conformity with this attitude.

The chapter on diseases of the eyes (29) is silent on couching, the surgical removal of a pterygium (*arman*), and many other surgical interventions in the area of ophthalmology.

The chapters on treatment (3–38) are arranged in the same order as in the *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥dayasamhitā* and *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* ascribed to Vāgbhaṭa, and not, as in the majority of post-classical works, in that adopted in the *Mādhavanidāna*.

Chapter Seven (*kṣāyacikitsā*; 126 verses) has twelve verses on treatment; the remaining part is entirely devoted to alchemical procedures. It is the only chapter that does not exclusively deal with a particular disease or cluster of diseases.

The subjects dealt with here are: the seven metals and their purification (13–16), the *nirutthāpana*¹⁵ and *māraṇa* (killing)¹⁶ of gold (six methods; 17–23), the properties of gold and its *bhasman* (ashes)¹⁷ (24), the *māraṇa* of silver (three methods; 25–28), the properties of silver and its *bhasman*, together with a formula containing this *bhasman* (28–30), the preparation of the *bhasman* of copper (two methods; 31–36) and its properties (37), the *māraṇa* of *āra*, a synonym of *pittala* (brass), and *kāṃsya* (bronze) (38), the properties of the *bhasman* of *pittala* (39–40), the preparation of the *bhasman* of *nāga*, also called *sīsa* (lead) (two methods; 41–44) and its properties (45), the preparation of the *bhasman* of *vaṅga* (tin) and its properties (46–48), the preparation of the *bhasman* of *ayas*, also called *loha* (iron) (four methods; 49–53) and its properties (54), and a method of *māraṇa* for all the metals (55–56).

After the metals follow verses on the *upadhātus*: a list of the *upadhātus* (57), the *śodhana* (purification) and *māraṇa* of *tuttha* (copper sulphate) and its properties (58–60), the *śodhana* of *abhraka* (mica) (61), its *māraṇa* (two methods; 62–65) and

15 On this term and its interpretations, see Hellwig (2009: 438).

16 On *māraṇa*, see Hellwig (2009: 11–12).

17 On *bhasman*, usually an oxide, see Hellwig (2009: 12).

the properties of its *bhasman* (66–67), the purification and properties of *nīlāñjana* (antimony sulphide) (68–70), the *śodhana* and *māraṇa* of (*svaṛṇa*)*mākṣika* (pyrites) (71–72), the *śodhana* and the properties of *vimalā* (= *raupyamākṣika*) (pyrites) (73–74), the *śodhana* and the properties of *manaḥsilā* (realgar) (75–76), the *śodhana* and *māraṇa* and the properties of *haritāla* (orpiment) (77–82), and the *śodhana* and *māraṇa* and the properties of *rasaka* (calamite) (83–84). This section of the chapter ends with two verses (85–86) on the *śodhana* and *māraṇa* of all the metals.

The chapter proceeds with a section on the *ratnas* (precious and semi-precious stones): the *śodhana* and *māraṇa* of *vajra* (diamond) (three methods; 87–91), *vaikrānta*¹⁸ (92–93), the *śodhana* and *māraṇa* of the other *ratnas* (94–96), the properties of all the *ratnas* (97), and the relationships between the *ratnas* and the sun and planets (98).

COMMENTS

Lakṣmaṇa's *Yogacandrikā* belongs to a minority of post-classical works characterized by the absence of literal quotations, a feature closely connected with his preference for long metres.

The verses on weights and measures (2.29–33), though having much in common with those on the same subject of the *Carakasamhitā* (*Kalpasthāna* 12.87–97), written in *ślokas*, are composed in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The units preceding the *śāṇa* in the *Carakasamhitā* are omitted, as they are in the *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥dayasamhitā* (Ka.6.25cd–29ab). The synonyms of the various units differ partly from those found in the classical treatises. An example is the string of synonyms for an *akṣa* (= 2 *kola*). These synonyms are in the *Carakasamhitā* and *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥dayasamhitā*: *picu*, *pāñitala*, *suvarṇa*, *kavalagraha*, *karṣa*, *biḍālapadaka*, *tinduka*, and *pāñimānikā*, while the *Yogacandrikā* has: *picu*, *ṣoḍaśikā*, *biḍālapada*, *pāñimānī*, *kiṃcitpāñi*, *suvarṇa*, *haṃsapadaka*, *tinduka*, and *udumbara*. The names for a *drona* (= 4 *āḍhaka*) form a second example. These names are more like those in the *Carakasamhitā* than those in the *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥dayasamhitā*. Caraka's synonyms are: *armaṇa*, *nalvaṇa*, *kalaśa*, *ghaṭa*, and *unmāna*. Those of Vāgbhaṭa are: *kumbha*, *ghaṭa*, and *armaṇa*. Lakṣmaṇa enumerates: *ghaṭa*, *rāśi*, *unmāna*, *nalvaṇa*, *kalaśa*, and *armaṇa*.

A well-known formula like that of *mahātiktakaghṛta* (21.5–7ab), already found in the *Carakasamhitā* (*Cikitsāsthāna* 7.144–150) where it is written in *āryās*, has been changed and is composed in *indravajras*.

¹⁸ On *vaikrānta*, see Hellwig (2009: 419–420).

One chapter only (33: *vraṇacikitsā*; 26 verses) is devoted to *śalya* (surgery). The *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* divides its much more extensive material on *śalya* over six chapters: *Uttarasthāna* 25 (*vraṇa*), 26 (*sadyovraṇa*), 27 (*bhaṅga*), 28 (*bhagandara*) and 30 (*granthi*, *arbuda*, *ślīpada*, *apacī*, *nāḍī*). All these subjects are covered in one chapter of the *Yogacandrikā*, with the exception of *bhaṅga*, which is not dealt with at all.

The chapter on *kṣudraroga* (34) has only 12 verses, dealing with *ajagallikā* (1), *yavaprakhyā* (1), *mukhadūṣikā* (2), *padmakaṇṭhaka* (3), *alasa* (4), *tilakālaka* (5), *māṣa* (5), *carmakīla* (5–6), *vyāṅga* (7, 8, 9), *nīlī* (9), *mukhadūṣikā* again (10–12), *palīta* (10–12), *vyāṅga* again (10–12), *valī* (10–12), *nīlikā* again (10–12) and *tilaka* (10–12). Many *kṣudrarogas* are absent: *alajī*, *kacchapī*, *panasikā*, *pāṣāṅagardabha*, *vivṛtā*, etc.; even *masūrikā* and the dangerous *agnirohiṇī* are left unmentioned, as well as *koṭha* and *utkoṭha*.

The chapter on *guhyaṛoga* (35) has 38 verses. Diseases of the male member are restricted to *upadaṃśa* (1–4), whereas the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* devotes 21 stanzas to many types. The varieties of *yonivyāpad* are likewise neglected.

The chapter on *viśa* (36) has ten verses, the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* seventy-one. That Lakṣmaṇa was inspired by Vāgbhaṭa's works in the first place need not exclude an influence by other important medical treatises on the diseases he acknowledges.

One of the works that was obviously known to him is the *Mādhavanidāna* in its original form or as quoted in numerous later texts. A fact proving this is the employment of the terms *śītapitta*, *amla(ka)pitta* (8.11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21) and *āmavāta*.¹⁹

Lakṣmaṇa made selective use of Mādhava's treatise. Some diseases described in it are completely absent. Examples are *medoroga* and *masūrikā*. Chapters on the therapy of *āmavāta*, *śītapitta* and *amlapitta* do not form part of the *Yogacandrikā*.

Snāyuka (dracontiasis), added to the āyurvedic diseases in Vṛnda's *Siddhayoga*, is not mentioned by Lakṣmaṇa.

Some recipes from the *Siddhayoga*, however, are related to prescriptions in the *Yogacandrikā*.²⁰

Of chronological importance is a single reference to *somaroga* (35.20) as a women's disease. This disorder is described for the first time in Vaṅgasena's

19 See 23.4 (*sāmasamīraroga*), 23.16 (*āmavāta*), 23.71 (*āmavāta*), 24.23 (*āmavāta*), 24.33 (*āmādivāta*), 25.11 (*āmānila*).

20 Compare *Siddhayoga* 53.13 (?) and *Yogacandrikā* 8.13.

Cikitsāsārasaṃgraha. One of Vaṅgasena's recipes against *somaroga* is very closely related to that found in the *Yogacandrikā*.²¹

THE AUTHOR

The author mentions the name of his father, Datta, in the second introductory verse.

His teachers were Nāganātha and Nārāyaṇa, according to the third introductory verse.

The concluding verses (in *pr̥thvī* metre) state again that the author was a son of Datta. Additional research on his family reveals that he had two elder brothers called Gaṇeśa and Raghunātha and a younger brother named Viṭṭhala. He studied the *Caraka(saṃhitā)* and other works under the guidance of Nāgeśa (= Nāganātha) and his younger brother, Nārāyaṇa, in Vārāṇasī.

Both Nāgeśa (or Nāganātha) and Nārāyaṇa are well known authors of medical works. The former composed the *Nidānapradīpa*,²² while the latter wrote the *Jvaranirṇaya*, as well as a commentary on Śārṅgadhara's *Trisatī* called *Siddhāntacikitsā*.²³

A. Rahman and his collaborators ascribe two more works to Lakṣmaṇa aside from the *Yogacandrikā*: the *Advaitasudhā* and the *Sāracandrikā*. They regard him as a Southerner, possibly a Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇa, who became indifferent to the world, abandoned his property, and went to Benares, where he met his teachers.

DATE

The editors write about the period of composition of the *Yogacandrikā*, "For determining the period of any book one has to depend on some external and internal evidences. Unfortunately no substantial external evidence could be found in case of the present treatise. There are some internal evidences like an influence of 'Śārṅgadhara Saṃhitā', in accordance with that 'Yogacandrikā' has not included 'Yaśada' (zinc) among the seven metals nor is Yaśada an ingredient in any recipe. Absence of phiraṅgaroga (syphilis) and use of the word 'dvīpāntarottha' for 'copacīnī' may be taken as an evidence to place the book a

21 *Vaṅgasena, strīroga* 86: *kadalīnāṃ phalaṃ pakvaṃ dhātṛīphalarasaṃ madhu / śarkarāsahitaṃ khādet somadhāraṇam uttamam //*

Yogacandrikā 35.20: *pakvaṃ phalaṃ kadalyā dhātṛīcūrṇena saṃyutaṃ sasitaṃ / madhu saṃyutaṃ nihanti pradaraṃ tadvac ca somarogam //*

22 On Nāganātha and his *Nidānapradīpa*, see Meulenbeld (2000: IIA 263).

23 On Nārāyaṇa and his *Jvaranirṇaya*, see Meulenbeld (2000: IIA 263–265). On Śārṅgadhara's *Trisatī*, see Meulenbeld (2000: IIA 210–212).

little prior to 'Bhāvaprakāśa'. Moreover one of the mss. (SB.1) has been scribed in the last decade of the seventeenth century and the scribe himself mentions that he has copied it for the use of the physician Raṅgojī, that indicates that the treatise had become quite popular up to that time. On the basis of these evidences the book may be placed in between 'Śārṅgadhara Saṃhitā' and 'Bhāvaprakāśa' somewhere in fourteenth or fifteenth century AD."

The validity of this line of reasoning has to be assessed critically and in detail.

The assertion that external evidence is absent is not correct. The *Yogacandrikā* is among the sources of the anonymous *Āyurvedābhisāra* (8821–8822).²⁴

Hariprapanna's *Rasayogasāgara* also quotes from the *Yogacandrikā*.²⁵

The chronology of Nārāyaṇa, one of Lakṣmaṇa's teachers, is elucidated by the date of Śārṅgadhara's *Triśatī*, on which work he wrote a commentary. This *Triśatī* was composed in the fifteenth century. Nārāyaṇa was also the author of the *Jvaranirṇaya*. At the end of this work he informs his readers that his father instructed him in the *śāstras* and his brother in medicine.

The absence of *yaśada* is insufficient as a proof of influence by the *Śārṅgadharaśaṃhitā*.

Śārṅgadhara's work differs completely from that of Lakṣmaṇa. Its nosology is mostly based on that of the *Mādhavanidāna*.

The presence of the plant name *dvīpāntarottha* is assumed to indicate that Lakṣmaṇa's treatise is somewhat anterior to the *Bhāvaprakāśa*. It is regarded as a synonym of *copacīnī*, a drug employed in the treatment of syphilis, a disease that is not found in the *Yogacandrikā* but is described in the *Bhāvaprakāśa*. Both arguments belong together and support each other.

Can this line of reasoning be thought to be convincing?

The first point is the correctness of the translation of the verses that include the name of a plant. These verses (23.45–46), in *sragdharā* metre, describe a treatment with a particular decoction for employment in sudation, which is called *nāḍīsveda* because steam is applied to the patient by means of a tube. According to the translation, two plants (*rāsnā* and *dvīpāntarotthā*) are the basic ingredients for the preparation: "One prasṛti rāsnā and dvīpāntarotthā (copacīnī) should be cooked with one tulā of water..."

24 The quotation runs: *nimbūrasair nimbadalodakair vā / vimardya yāmaṃ mīdam atra ruddham / sulīptasandhi prapacet kṣānau / tad ūrdhvbhāṅḍaṃ picunārdayec ca // yāmadvayād eva rasaṃ viśuddha- / m athordhvalagnaṃ bhiṣag ādadīta / vinaiva karmāṣṭakam eṣa yuktaḥ / samastakarmasv anayāpa uktaḥ //*

25 Two formulas are found in the *Rasayogasāgara*: *pañcāmṛtaparpaṭīrasa* (pakārādi 50) = 3.82–83, and *cintāmaṇīrasa* (122) = 7.118–125.

This rendering, however, is not correct. The text has: *rāsnāṃ dvīpāntarotthāṃ prasṭīparimitāṃ samyag ambhastulāyāṃ / paktvā...* (i.e. “Having boiled properly one *prasṭī* of *dvīpāntarotthā rāsnā* in one *tulā* of water...”). The adjective *prasṭīparimitā* indicates that only one plant is intended.

Secondly, it remains to be established that *dvīpāntarotthā rāsnā* is identical with the *dvīpāntaravacā* of the *Bhāvaprakāśa*.²⁶ The chapter of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* on the treatment of *phiraṅgaroga* (*cikitsā* 59) prescribes a powder of *copacīnī* instead of *dvīpāntarotthā vacā* (*cikitsā* 59.24). Both plants are identical, according to the heading of *harītakyaḍivarga* 108: *atha copacīnī loke yā prasiddhā tasyā nāma guṇāṃś cāha*.

The *dvīpāntarā rāsnā*, however, appears to be a *hapax legomenon*. Other plants with the qualification *dvīpāntara* are known: *dvīpāntaracakramarda*,²⁷ *dvīpāntarasthā kharjūrī*,²⁸ *dvīpāntarīya cūkaka*,²⁹ *dvīpāntarīyavaṭa*,³⁰ and *dvīpāntarīyavṛkṣāmla*.³¹

Nevertheless, the translators may be justified in their interpretation. The special type of *rāsnā* of the *Yogacandrikā* appears to be the same as *copacīnī*, for it is employed against a number of *vāta* diseases and, most interestingly, against *liṅgavraṇa* and diseases brought about by sexual contact with a particular kind of woman (*yoṣāvīśeṣānugamopajāta*).

The editors have, surprisingly, not concluded that this disease may well be syphilis, the *phiraṅgaroga* of the *Bhāvaprakāśa*.

More difficult to explain is how they did not take much notice of a plant called *copa* (31.9) that can only be an abbreviation of *copacīnī*. The drug is one of the ingredients of a compound preparation, *khadirataīla*, used against diseases of the oral cavity; it is also thought to improve eyesight and the acuity of hearing.

According to the evidence collected so far, the chronological position of the *Yogacandrikā* may be determined to be not far removed from that of the *Bhāvaprakāśa*, namely the second half of the sixteenth century.³²

A detailed examination of the materia medica and the prescriptions of the *Yogacandrikā* may corroborate this dating.

26 See *Bhāvaprakāśanighaṇṭu*, *harītakyaḍivarga* 108: *dvīpāntaravacā kiṃcit tiktoṣṇā vahnidīptikṛt / vibandhād̥hmānaśūlaghñī śakṛṇmūtravīśodhinī // vātavyādhīn apasmāram unmādaṃ tanuvedanām / vyapohati viśeṣeṇa phiraṅgāmayanāśinī //*. The plant is identified by the editor as *Smilax china* (Linn.)

27 Raghunātha's *Bhojanakutūhala* 72. See Meulenbeld (2000: IIA 309).

28 *Nighaṇṭuratnākara* 68–69. See Meulenbeld (2000: IIA 366).

29 Kṛṣṇarāma's *Siddhabhēṣajamaṇimālā* 4.227. See Meulenbeld (2000: IIA 371).

30 Kṛṣṇarāma's *Siddhabhēṣajamaṇimālā* 4.620. See Meulenbeld (2000: IIA 371).

31 Kṛṣṇarāma's *Siddhabhēṣajamaṇimālā* 4.400 and 4.424. See Meulenbeld (2000: IIA 371).

32 See Meulenbeld (2000: IIA 246).

SUMMARY

Lakṣmaṇa's *Yogacandrikā* is a Sanskrit medical text on therapy, almost entirely restricted to internal medicine (*kāyacikitsā*). Chapter One discusses general treatment procedures, pharmaceutical preparations, weights and measures, and some related subjects. Chapter Seven is mainly about alchemical subjects. The remaining part of the work is devoted to prescriptions.

The order of the diseases agrees with the arrangement found in the works ascribed to Vāgbhaṭa. The order adopted in the *Mādhavanidāna* and accepted in the majority of āyurvedic texts of the post-classical period is rejected, though the names of some of the diseases described for the first time in that treatise are present in the *Yogacandrikā*.

The *Yogacandrikā* does not borrow literally from earlier works and is largely composed in long metres. It shows features of a medical *citrakāvya* and employs, accordingly, many unusual names for medicinal plants and other items of the materia medica.

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