Chapter 3

The Religious Orientation and Cultural Identity of Early Classical Ayurveda*

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1. Introduction

The history of Indological research on the religious orientation and cultural identity of Ayurveda can be roughly divided into two phases that correspond with two radically different perceptions. In the initial phase, starting with the publication of Julius Jolly's survey of ayurvedic medicine in 1901, scholars viewed Ayurveda as a derivative of Vedic medicine that, in it is religious dimension, was an offshoot of Vedic Brahmanism.[1] This assessment persisted throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Even as late as 1964, Jean Filliozat summarized in the English translation of his *La doctrine classique de medicine Indienne* the results of his research on the religious affiliation of Ayurveda in the following manner:

> Indian medicine has therefore drawn on the Veda even for the principal elements of its general doctrines. Thereby Ayurveda is the legitimate heir to the Veda, but it has developed to a large extent the patrimony thus received.[2]

Filliozat was well aware that Ayurveda is built upon conceptions that are lacking in the Vedic intellectual world such as, for example, the teaching of the three pathogenetic substances wind (*vāta*), bile (*pitta*), and phlegm (*śleṣman* or *kapha*), which exist in a healthy human body in a suitable relation. Despite these apparent innovations, he saw Ayurveda as a continuation of Vedic medicine based on a Vedic worldview.

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1 Jolly 1901.

2 J. Filliozat 1964: 188.

Kenneth G. Zysk, whose groundbreaking studies on the history of medicine in ancient India, published between 1985 and 1991, mark the beginning of the second phase of Indological research on Ayurveda's original religious milieu, developed a new perception by taking more seriously than Filliozat the fact that Vedic sources do not attest to the existence of specifically ayurvedic medical conceptions and methods, such as the just-mentioned theory of pathogenetic substances or humors. When he identified conceptions and methods of treatment occurring in early Buddhist literature as predecessors of related ayurvedic theories, Zysk concluded that Ayurveda did not develop from Vedic medicine, which was based on the "magico-religious" concepts of Vedic medicine, but from methods of healing that were first practiced in early Buddhism and other contemporary ascetic traditions. He characterized these methods as "empirico-rational" and contrasted them with the religio-magical conceptions of Vedic medicine.[3] Ayurveda's affiliation with Vedic Brahmanism results, according to Zysk, from the endeavor of ayurvedic physicians to create acceptance for their profession in a society that was dominated by Brahmanical norms and values.

In *Greater Magadha*, Johannes Bronkhorst drew upon Zysk's work to support his paradigm-shifting hypothesis on the early South Asian history of culture and religion.[4] Bronkhorst argued in favor of the existence of the cultural complex of Greater Magadha that was largely independent of Vedic Brahmanism in the eastern part of the Ganges valley from the middle of the first milennium BCE onwards and identified this complex as the home of the so-called ascetic or *śramaṇa* religions, among which Buddhism and Jainism have survived to the present date. According to Bronkhorst, the *śramaṇa* religions of Greater Magadha, which developed in the context of newly emerging city-states, had a different worldview and culture than Vedic Brahmanism. This reveals itself, for example, in their belief in karma and rebirth, cyclic time, a unique funerary practice in round sepulchral mounds, and practicing an empirical-rational system of medicine, i.e., Ayurveda.

For his identification of the cultural complex of Greater Magadha as the origin of Ayurveda, Bronkhorst relied almost exclusively on Zysk's *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India* and left the sources of early Ayurveda, specifically the *Carakasaṃhitā*, unconsidered.[5] However, this comprehensive work, which can be dated for its earlier strata that comprise the first five *sthāna*s and the beginning of the sixth to approximately the first century CE, is an eminent source for research into the cultural and religious history of early Ayurveda, even if the composition and compilation of this work took place at the very end of Ayurveda's formational period.[6] Considering that the *Carakasaṃhitā* is an amalgamation of various medical

3 However, this does not mean that Ayurveda was "scientific" in the modern western sense of the word. Cf. Engler 2003.

4 Bronkhorst 2007: 57–60.

5 Zysk 1991.

6 On the redactorial history of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, see Maas 2010. Meulenbeld (1999–2002 vol. IA: 114) argues that the *Carakasaṃhitā* must have been composed between ca. 100 BCE and 200 CE.

traditions that were current when Caraka composed and compiled his medical compendium,[7] many of which will have had a prehistory, the *Carakasaṃhitā* should reflect the cultural and religious milieu of Ayurveda at a very early stage of its development.

Based on this assumption, the present article surveys and interprets selected passages from the *Carakasaṃhitā* on the backdrop of the pertinent secondary literature, earlier and contemporaneous Sanskrit and Pali sources, and in connection with a passage from Strabo's *Geography* to reassess Bronkhorst's hypothesis of Ayurveda's origin in the culture of Great Magadha and to reach preliminary conclusions concerning early classical Ayurveda's cultural identity and religious orientation in relation to the *śramaṇa* worldview and that of Vedic Brahmanism.

2. Vedic Brahmanism

As indicated above, already the early Indological scholarship on Indian medicine noticed that Ayurveda presents itself as an off-shoot of Vedic Brahmanism. This holds good already for the early classical Ayurveda of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, as can be concluded from the very fact that the early redactor of the *Agniveśatantra*, who is called Caraka in the section headings throughout the work and in Siddhisthāna 12.37d f., used the Sanskrit language to compose his work. He thus chose the prestigious form of the Old Indo-Aryan language that was the liturgical language of Vedic Brahmanism, and intimately related to the socio-political ideology of Brahmanism. Opting for Sanskrit was an obvious choice, considering that at Caraka's time, Brahmanism had become influential in many parts of South Asia to such an extent that even religions such as Buddhism and Jainism that had originally used Middle Indo-Aryan languages for the composition of their canonical and exegetical literature, now partly turned

However, a date around the beginning of the common era appears to be the best-educated guess at the present state of research, considering terminological and conceptual similarities between *Carakasaṃhitā* Śārīrasthāna 5.9f. and Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* (12.16–30), which can be confidently dated to the first half of the first century CE (Maas 2018a: 72f., n. 80).

7 Throughout this article, the name "Caraka" is used as a convenient designation for the author and redactor who composed the earliest written version of the first more than five *sthāna*s of the *Carakasaṃhitā,* which became the starting point of the manuscript transmission of this work. J. Filliozat (1964: 21) argued that the personal name "Caraka" might hint at his association with the Vedic school of the Black Yajurveda that likewise is called Caraka. Michael Witzel (1981: 121) took up this lead, for which the text of the *Carakasaṃhitā* provides little evidence. An alternative and maybe more plausible speculation would be to connect the name with the *caraka*s, a group of homeless ascetics (*parivrājaka*), mentioned in Buddhist and Jaina literature (see Edgerton 1953: 225a, s.v. *caraka*) because the *Carakasaṃhitā* depicts ideal physicians as homeless wanderers (see below, p. 95). The largely uniform style of writing that prevails throughout the first five *sthāna*s and the beginning of the sixth points, however, to the author-cum-redactorship of a single person for this part of the work. For a comprehensive survey of the academic discussion of the identity and dating of the author of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, see Meulenbeld 1999–2002, vol. 1A: 105–115.

towards Sanskrit.[8] However, the Sanskrit of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, as that of other ayurvedic compendia, "shows similarities with that of the epics and Purāṇas, with that of inscriptions, and with 'Hybrid' Sanskrit,"[9] and thus does not fully comply with the standard of Brahmanism.

A further sign of Ayurveda's affiliation to Brahmanism is the designation of the medical system of knowledge as Ayurveda, i.e., the knowledge (*veda*) of a long life, which may be interpreted as an allusion to the Vedic text corpus.

As can be expected under these conditions, textual evidence for the proximity of early Ayurveda to Vedic Brahmanism frequently occurs throughout the *Carakasaṃhitā*. Already the origin myth of Ayurveda at the outset of the work narrates that the Vedic gods Prajāpati, the Aśvins, and Indra transmitted the entire body of ayurvedic knowledge that originally only the god Brahmā possessed from heaven to earth. This lineage of teachers and students connects Ayurveda with the Vedic pantheon and implicitly with the Vedic religion.[10]

A direct reference to the four collections of Vedic literature occurs in *Carakasaṃhitā* Sūtrasthāna 30.20f.:

> In this regard, if there should be persons questioning which of the four Vedas of the *Ṛg-*, *Sāma-*, *Yajur-* and *Atharvaveda* the experts in Ayurveda teach, … the physician thus questioned should declare that among the four [collections] of the *Ṛg-*, *Sāma-*, *Yajur-*, and *Atharvaveda* his own adherence is to the *Atharvaveda*. As is well-known, the Veda of the *Atharvaṇa* priests teaches medicine because it encompasses donations, benedictions, *bali* offerings, auspicious acts, fire sacrifices, self-restrictions, atonements, fasting, mantras, and so on.[11]

The above-quoted passage mentions the *Atharvaveda* as the collection of Vedic literature to which the ayurvedic physician claims devotion. However, the relationship between the *Carakasaṃhitā*'s Ayurveda to the ritualism of the *Atharvaveda* probably was not as intimate as the text suggests at first sight. The fact that ayurvedic physicians may be asked about their Vedic affiliation indicates that some socially relevant actors may have questioned the connection of Ayurveda to Vedic Brahmanism.

8 On the spread of Sanskrit in South Asia and beyond, see Bronkhorst 2011: 42–65. On Buddhism's and Jainism's linguistic turn towards Sanskrit, see *op. cit.*: 122–153. Vincent Eltschinger (2017) confirms that the apropriation of Sanskrit in larger segments of Buddhist communities reflects Buddhism's rivalry with Brahmanism as an important socio-political factor.

9 Das 1990: 47.

10 Cf. Zysk 1990: 122.

11 *tatra cet pṛṣṭārāḥ syuḥ – caturṇām ṛksāmayajurartharvavedāṇāṃ kiṃ vedam upadiśanty āyurvedavidaḥ? … tatra bhiṣajā pṛṣṭenaivaṃ caturṇām ṛksāmayajuratharvavedānām ātmano 'tharvavede bhaktir ādeśyā, vedo hy ātharvaṇo dānasvastyayanabalimaṅgalahomaniyamaprāyaścittopavāsamantrādiparigrahāc cikitsāṃ prāha …* CS Sūtrasthāna 30.20f., p. 186b.

Nevertheless, Caraka's reference to Ayurveda's proximity to the *Atharvaveda* was well-founded. Some of the means of ritual healing that the above-quoted passage mentions appear in a list in Vimānasthāna 8.87 referring to medicine "depending on destiny or karma" (*daivavyāpāśraya*) as one of two main categories of medicine, the other being medicine "depending on combination" (*yuktivyāpāśraya*). In Sūtrasthāna 11.54, these two main categories are supplemented with "conquering the mind" (*sattvāvajaya*) as a third basic category of medicine.[12] For Caraka, the fundamental role that these passages ascribe to ritual healing justified the presentation of the ayurvedic physician as standing in the tradition of the *Atharvaveda*, even though in the bulk of the *Carakasaṃhitā* ritual healing does not play a prominent role. Nevertheless, Caraka's project to establish a connection between Ayurveda and Vedic Brahmanism through ritual healing became quite a success. In his commentary on the above-quoted passage, approximately a thousand years after Caraka, Cakrapāṇidatta identified the *Atharvaveda* with Ayurveda right away.[13]

The *Carakasaṃhitā* does not only integrate Vedic rituals as foundational forms of medicine, but it also contains numerous references to the socio-political ideology of Vedic Brahmanism concerning the stratification of the society into the four classes of priests (*brāhmaṇa*), warrior nobility (*kṣatriya*), free workers (*vaiśya*) and servants (*śūdra*), for example, in the reappearing summons to venerate the gods, cows, *brāhmaṇa*s and other high-status beings.[14]

Caraka also addressed the question of the social position of ayurvedic physicians within the Brahmanical scheme of social stratification into four classes in Sūtrasthāna 30.29, where he discussed the question of which social position qualifies for studying medical science.

> And *brāhmaṇa*s, *kṣatriya*s, and *vaiśya*s may study this [Ayurveda]. Of these, *brāhmaṇa*s [may study Ayurveda] for the sake of kindness to living beings, *kṣatriya*s for the sake of protecting, and *vaiśya*s for the sake of payment. Or, in general, all [may study Ayurveda] for attaining merit [gained through fulfilling obligations] (*dharma*), wealth (*artha*), and pleasure (*kāma*).[15]

In the third sentence of this passage, in which Caraka connected the practice of Ayurveda with the "three major domains of human activities and pursuits that are beneficial to persons who

12 See Angermeier 2022 and Maas 2018b: 554.

13 "He [i.e., Caraka] mentions the cause for the identity of Ayurveda with the *Atharvaveda*" *āyurvedasyātharvavedābhedahetum āha* (*Āyurvedadīpikā* Sūtrasthāna 30.21, p. 186b). Cf. Dasgupta 1932: 278.

14 See, for example, CS Sūtrasthāna 8.18: *devagobrāhmaṇaguruvṛddhasiddhācāryān arcayet* (p. 48a), Vimānasthāna 8.7: *devarṣigobrāhmaṇaguruvṛddhasiddhācāryebhyo namaskṛtya* (p. 262a), and Cikitsāsthāna 1.4.31: *devagobrāhmaṇācāryaguruvṛddhārcane ratam* (p. 388b).

15 *sa cādhyetavyo brāhmaṇarājanyavaiśyaiḥ. tatrānugrahārthaṃ prāṇināṃ brāhmaṇair ārakṣārthaṃ rājanyair vṛttyarthaṃ vaiśyaiḥ sāmānyato vā dharmārthakāmaparigrahārthaṃ sarvaiḥ* (CS Sūtrasthāna 30.29, p. 169b).

perform them,"[16] it remains ambiguous whether the pronoun *sarvaiḥ* refers to all members of the before-mentioned three social classes or whether it refers to men in general independent of their class membership. In the first case, the medical profession would be reserved for the group of *ārya*s, i.e., the society's inner circle with active access to the Vedic religion consisting of the three classes explicitly mentioned in the quoted passage above. In the second case, physicians could be recruited from any stratum of society.

Caraka's attitude towards the socio-political ideology of Brahmanism and its relationship to Ayurveda becomes clearer from the text passage Cikitsāsthāna 1.4.51–53, in which he encouraged the veneration of qualified physicians.

> Living beings should venerate an ethically good, intelligent, and focused twice-born who has reached perfection in the knowledge system [of Ayurveda] as if he were their own teacher because he is traditionally known to be a teacher of life. It is said that at the completion of his education,[17] the physician obtains his second birth because the doctor does not bear the title of a doctor because of his previous birth. At the completion of his education, a firm *brāhma-* or *ārṣa-*mind takes possession of him because of his knowledge. Therefore, the doctor is traditionally known to be a twice-born.[18]

Here, Caraka explained that at finishing his medical education, the student becomes constantly possessed of a specific type of mind. He thus alluded to his categorizations of minds in Śārīrasthāna 4.36–41, where he initially explained that although the variety of minds of living beings is infinite for several reasons, minds can be categorized as triple based on the dominance of one of the three qualities *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*.[19] In Caraka's worldview these qualities are, in contradistinction to classical Sāṅkhya, psychological factors rather than constituents of the material world. *Sattva* is the substance of which the mind naturally consists, whereas *rajas* and *tamas* are mental pathogenetic factors that bind beings to the cycle of *saṃsāra*.

The minds of living beings, according to the classification of the Śārīrasthāna, may be pure, i.e., dominated by their sattvic nature. In this state, the mind is virtuous (*kalyāṇāṃśatva*). Alternatively, if *rajas* dominates the mind, it is partly dominated by passion (*roṣāṃśatva*), and,

16 On the three domains in premodern South Asian intellectual traditions and their relationship to the concept of *puruṣārtha*, see Olivelle 2019; for the three spheres of human activities in the context of Ayurveda, see Roşu 1978b.

17 On the meaning of *vidyāsamāpti* "completion of education," see Olivelle 2017: 14.

18 *śīlavān matimān yukto dvijātiḥ* śāstrapāragaḥ | prāṇibhir guruvat pūjyaḥ prāṇācāryaḥ sa hi smṛtaḥ* || 51 || *vidyāsamāptau bhiṣajo dvitīyā jātir ucyate | aśnute vaidyaśabdaṃ hi na vaidyaḥ pūrvajanmanā* || 52 || *vidyāsamāptau brāhmaṃ vā sattvam ārṣam athāpi vā | dhruvam āviśati jñānāt tasmād vaidyo dvijaḥ smṛtaḥ* || 53 || CS Cikitsāsthāna 1.4.51–53, p. 389b. Variant reading: **dvijātiḥ*] *trijātiḥ*. The stemmatical relavant manuscripts of the *Carakasaṃhitā* support the hypothesis that the reading *dvijātiḥ* is of archetyal origin. See Kajihara 2016: 278, n. 15. For a different translation of this passage, see Dominik Wujastyk 1993: 762.

19 Cf. Roşu 1978a: 117f.

finally, the mind becomes deluded when dominated by *tamas*. Caraka subdivided in descending order the quality of minds dominated by the quality *sattva* into seven subcategories, those with a prevalence of *rajas* into six, and tamasic minds into three.[20]

The two subcategories of minds that Caraka referred to as the *brāhma-* and the *ārṣa*-minds head this sixteen-fold categorization scheme. He described the most excellent mind as follows:

> One should know that the *brāhma*-mind is pure, truth-speaking, self-restrained, sharing, perfected in general and specific knowledge, speech, and counterspeech, mindful, free from desire, anger, greed, arrogance, delusion, envy, lust and impatience, and impartial to all beings.[21]

This collocation of traits characterizes the perfectly healthy mind from the perspective of Ayurveda, and it also depicts the exemplary character of a physician as described in several instances of the *Carakasaṃhitā*. Caraka referred to the perfection of mental health when he described the *brāhma*-mind as "free from desire, anger, greed, arrogance, delusion, envy, lust, and impatience," in a compound parallel to the enumeration of mental diseases occurring in Vimānasthāna 6.5.[22] Caraka's allusion to the medical profession becomes clear from his mentioning of being "perfected in general and specific knowledge, speech, and counterspeech," which corresponds to the description of the suitable partner in a friendly medical debate described in Vimānasthāna 8.17.[23] In addition, mindfulness or possessing an excellent memory is one of the qualities that a suitable medical student requires, according to Vimānasthāna 8.8.[24]

Caraka characterized the traits of the second-best mind, i.e., the one belonging to the *ārṣa*-category, immediately after the *brāhma*-mind.

> One should know that the *ārṣa*-mind is highly inclined towards sacrificing, studying, vows, fire oblations, and religious conduct. It keeps the vow of hospitability, is calm, devoid of arrogance, longing, aversion, delusion, greed, and

20 See CS Śārīrasthāna 4.36, p. 323a.

21 *śuciṃ satyābhisaṃdhaṃ jitātmānaṃ saṃvibhāginaṃ jñānavijñānavacanaprativacanasaṃpannaṃ smṛtimantaṃ kāmakrodhalobhamānamoharṣyāharṣāmarṣāpetaṃ samaṃ sarvabhūteṣu brāhmaṃ vidyāt* || (CS Śārīrasthāna 4.37.1, p. 323b).

22 "*Rajas* and *tamas* are the mental pathogenetics. Their diseases are desire, anger, greed, delusion, envy, arrogance, intoxication, sorrow, anxiety, agitation, fear, and lust." *rajas tamaś ca mānasau doṣau | tayor vikārāḥ kāmakrodhalobhamoharṣyāmānamadaśokacintodvegabhayaharṣādayaḥ* (CS Vimānasthāna 6.5, p. 254a).

23 *jñānavijñānavacanaprativacanaśaktisaṃpannenākopanenānupaskṛtavidyenānasūyakenānuneyenānunayakovidena kleśakṣameṇa priyasaṃbhāṣaṇena ca saha saṃdhāyasaṃbhāṣā vidhīyate* (CS Vimānasthāna 8.16 in Preisendanz *et al*. forthcoming, corresponding to 8.17, p. 264b in Jādavji Trikamji Ācārya printed edition). The compound occurs at two further instances in CS Vimānasthāna 8.20 to characterize members of an assembly of referees in a debate.

24 Caraka described the ideal medical student as "perfected in thinking and mindfulness" (*vitarkasmṛtisaṃpanna*). See CS Vimānasthāna 8.8, p. 262b.

> passion. It possesses intuition, speech, special knowledge, and the capability to memorize.[25]

This collocation of character traits differs from the preceding by mentioning various inclinations to ritual activities as they are common in Vedic Brahmanism. Living beings with an *ārṣa*-mind have an inclination for sacrificial rituals (*ijya*) and fire oblations (*homa*). Like the *brāhma*-mind, the *ārṣa*-mind lacks mental defects, even though its degree of mental excellence seems lower since the second passage's list of lacking faults is shorter than the previous one. Also, the collocation of positive characteristics of the *ārṣa*-mind is less comprehensive, lacking the perfection of counterspeech (*prativacana*), general knowledge (*jñāna*), and containing the capability to retain knowledge (*dhāraṇaśakti*) instead of mindfulness or memory (*smṛti*).

Returning to the analysis of Cikitsāsthāna 1.4.51–53, it appears that for Caraka, fully educated physicians fall into two categories. The first one is that of an ideal ayurvedic physician with a *brāhma*-mind who is rationally orientated and morally perfected. The second category comprises physicians with an *ārṣa*-mind who are morally almost equally excellent as physicians with a *brāhma*-mind, also rationally orientated but more ritualistically inclined.

Even more pertinent concerning the present investigation into early classical Ayurveda's attitude towards Vedic Brahmanism is Caraka's reference to physicians with the term twice-born (*dvijāti*), which in Vedic Brahmanism frequently designates the class of *brāhmaṇa*s, although, from the theoretical perspective of Dharmaśāstra, the term applies to members of all three hereditary classes of the society of *ārya*s, i.e., *brāhmaṇa*s, *kṣatriya*s, and *vaiśya*s,[26] who are entitled to the study of the Veda. The ritual initiation into this study (*upanayana*), through which the initiate became a full member of the society of the *ārya*s, was regarded as a second birth, succeeding the initial biological birth.[27]

In the quote above, the term "twice-born" is used with a divergent meaning, which indicates a re-interpretation of this technical term of Dharmaśāstra. As stated by Hartmut Scharfe and Patrick Olivelle, Caraka used the word "twice-born" not to designate *ārya*s who have entered into Vedic study but for medical students who completed their education in Ayurveda.[28] Accordingly,

> [w]hat these two verses clearly do is to anchor the exalted status of a physician (*bhiṣaj*) on the fact that he is a doctor (*vaidya*) on account of accomplishment in

25 *ijyādhyayanavratahomabrahmacaryaparam atithivratam upaśāntimad* amānarāgadveṣamohalobharoṣaṃ pratibhāvacanavijñānopadhāraṇaśaktisaṃpannam ārṣaṃ vidyāt* || Variant: **upaśāntimad*] emendation of PM; *upaśāntamad* ed. (CS Śārīrasthāna 4.37.2, p. 323b).

26 See Lubin 2005: 86–89.

27 "This [initiation] is a second birth." *tad dvitīyaṃ janma*. (*Gautamadharmasūtra* 1.8, Olivelle 2000: 120; 2005: 54). See also *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 2.169: "According to scriptural injunction, the first birth of a Brahmin is from his mother; the second takes place at the tying of the Muñja-grass girdle …" (tr. Olivelle 2005b: 103). For further references to the *upanayana* in the Gṛhya- and the Dharmasūtras, see Kajihara 2016: 276–278.

28 Scharfe 2002: 262f. and Olivelle 2017: 13–15.

> knowledge, and it is this status that confers on him the second birth and the title of "twice-born," that is, a true Brāhmaṇa.[29]

The fact that Caraka identified the completion of medical study with a second birth implies that medical students of early classical Ayurveda cannot have undergone a Vedic initiation before they entered the study. Otherwise, completing medical education would not account for the second but the third birth of a physician.[30] Therefore the qualification for medical education must have been independent of the social class membership. In other words, the medical profession was not exclusively reserved for *ārya*s. This conclusion is supported by the passage Vimānasthāna 8.8, which describes the mental and physical qualities of an ideal medical student virtually without reference to the social status of the initiate.[31]

> Now the injunction for teaching. A master, being determined to teach, should, first of all, examine the student concerning whether he is calm, of a noble nature, does not act meanly, has straight eyes, mouth, and nasal bone, has a delicate and soft tongue, does not have deformed teeth or lips, does not speak indistinctly, is resolute, not egoistic, intelligent, perfect in thinking and mindfulness, has a noble mind, is born in a family of medical experts or practices the lifestyle of a medical expert, is devoted to what is real, is not deformed, has unimpaired sense faculties, is firm, not arrogant, not vicious, of good behavior, pure and dedicated, endowed with skill and devotion, desirous of studying, utterly devoted to practical knowledge and perceiving the treatment, neither greedy nor idle, desires the wholesome for all beings, observes all commands of the master, and is attached.[32]

29 Olivelle 2017: 15.

30 This is the view of Yogindra Nath Sen, a student of Gangadhar Ray (1789–1885), as quoted in n. 3 to CS Cikitsāsthāna 1.4.51, "The first birth [of a physician] is the birth from the mother's womb, the second the Vedic initiation, the third, however, occurs at the completion of the medical education. Therefore the physician who has mastered the medical corpus of knowledge is called a thrice-born on account of his third birth, which is characterized by the completion of his study. ("*prathamā jātiḥ mātṛgarbhato janma, dvitīyā jātir upanayanāt, tṛtīyā tu vaidyavidyāsamāptau, ataḥ śāstrapārago vaidyaḥ vidyāsamāptilakṣaṇatṛtīya janmanā trija ucyate*" iti *Yogīndranāthasenaḥ*, p. 389b). On Gangadhar Ray and his work, see Pecchia 2022.

31 On the contextualization of the initiation of the medical student in the *Carakasaṃhitā* Vimānasthāna and the literature of Ayurveda, see Preisendanz 2007.

32 *athādhyāpanavidhiḥ — adhyāpane kṛtabuddhir ācāryaḥ śiṣyam āditaḥ parīkṣeta, tadyathā, praśāntam āryaprakṛtim akṣudrakarmāṇam ṛjucakṣurmukhanāsāvaṃśaṃ tanuviśadajihvam avikṛtadantauṣṭham aminmiṇaṃ dhṛtimantam anahaṃkṛtiṃ medhāvinaṃ vitarkasmṛtisaṃpannam udārasattvaṃ tadvidyakulajam athavā tadvidyavṛttaṃ tattvābhiniveśinam avyaṅgam avyāpannendriyaṃ nibhṛtam anuddhatam avyasaninaṃ śīlaśaucānurāgadākṣyaprādakṣiṇyopapannam adhyayanābhikāmam atyarthaṃ vijñāne karmadarśane cānanyakāryam alubdham anālasaṃ sarvabhūtahitaiṣiṇam ācāryasarvānuśiṣṭpratikaram anuraktam.*. (CS Vimānasthāna 8.7 criticially edited in Preisendanz *et al*. forthcoming, corresponding to CS Vimānasthāna 8.8., p. 262b in Jādavji Trikamjī Ācārya printed edition; for variant readings, see Appendix, p. 101.)

From this comprehensive list of qualities, only two attributes may be interpreted as having a social connotation, namely (1) "being of a noble nature" (*āryaprakṛti*) and (2) "belonging to a family of medical experts" (*tadvidyakulaja*), for which the text mentions "practicing the conduct of medical experts" (*tadvidyavṛtta*) as an alternative. Of these, the first specification is ambiguous since it remains open whether the word *ārya* in *āryaprakṛti* is used with reference to the class membership of the student or whether it means more generally "noble." Considering that in ayurvedic contexts, the second part of the compound, "nature" (*prakṛti*), usually refers to the humoral constitution of human beings rather than their social background,[33] and taking into account that the qualified student's family affiliation is determined by education rather than birth, it appears safe to conclude that for Caraka the social position of an aspirant was of little relevance for admission into the medical study. In any case, Caraka did not see any necessity to mention the class membership of the medical student expressively.

A different attitude towards class membership of the medical student prevails in Suśruta's ayurvedic compendium, which was probably composed a few decades after the *Carakasaṃhitā*.[34]

> A physician may initiate anybody as a student who is a *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, or *vaiśya*, possesses a good family, youth, ethical conduct, courage, purity, proper behavior, self-control, willpower, strength, intelligence, firmness, mindfulness, and cognition, has a fine tongue, lips and tip of the teeth, a straight mouth, eyes, and nose, a pure mind, speech, and actions, and endures afflictions. He may not initiate anybody with contrary properties.[35]

In this passage, which parallels to a considerable degree Caraka's above-quoted account, Suśruta explicitly mentioned that only members of the *ārya* community may be initiated into medical studies. Access to medical study is, in Suśruta's view, strictly regulated through hereditary class membership. Moreover, *Suśrutasaṃhitā* Sūtrasthāna 2.4 prescribes a different initiation ritual for each of the three classes, and Sūtrasthāna 2.5 regulates the eligibility to initiate medical students according to the class membership of teachers. Teachers are only entitled to initiate members of their own and lower classes. The section ends with the statement that according to some authorities (*eke*), even *śūdra*s of good family and qualities may be admitted to study, however, without any initiation ritual. Suśruta's attitude towards class membership was thus considerably more restrictive than that reflected in Caraka's work, which does not contain regulations concerning the social status of initiates, prescribing a

33 See Maas 2021.

34 See Meulenbeld 1999–2002, vol. 1A: 351.

35 *brāhmaṇakṣatriyavaiśyānām anyatamam anvayavayaḥśīlaśauryaśaucācāravinayaśaktibala medhādhṛtismṛtimatipratipattiyuktaṃ tanujihvauṣṭhadantākramṛjuvaktrākṣināsaṃprasannacittavākceṣṭaṃ kleśasahaṃ ca bhiṣak śiṣyam upanayet ato viparītaguṇaṃ nopanayet* (SS Sūtrasthāna 2.3, p. 10b). For a slightly deviant translation, see Hoernle 1897: 13.

ritual initiation for members of all social classes. Nevertheless, Caraka could not ignore the socio-political ideology of the fourfold stratification of society. The fact that he referred to the class membership of ayurvedic physicians in several instances of his work indicates the relevance of this classification scheme in the society to which Caraka belonged. It appears, however, that Brahmanism had not successfully enforced the ideology of social stratification in all segments of the society.

Caraka's approach to defining membership in the social class of *brāhmaṇa*s for physicians through the excellence of their character, which is in turn lacking from the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, is reminiscent of the *brāhmaṇa*-conception in early Buddhism, where the usage of the term is not restricted to the hereditary membership to the highest social class. For example, in the *Kassapasīhanādasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, the Buddha explains to the ascetic Kassapa that the designation *brāhmaṇa* is applicable to a monk who lives a moral life after having realized spiritual liberation from the cycle of rebirth and to ascetics who follow specific ascetic observances.

> Kassapa, a monk who cultivates a non-hostile, non-oppressive, friendly intention, who remains in the state of having for himself fully understood, realized, and attained in this world here the liberation of his mind and the liberation of his insight, which because of the destruction of mental taints is free from mental taints, this monk, o Kassapa, is therefore called a *śramaṇa* and also a *brāhmaṇa*.[36]

In *The Snake and the Mongoose*, Nathan McGovern interpreted this passage and related ones in which the two terms *śramaṇa* and *brāhmaṇa* occur side by side to indicate that in the cultural milieu of early Buddhism no ideological opposition existed between *śramaṇa*s and *brāhmaṇa*s.[37] According to McGovern, both terms were more or less indistinctively used for male adults pursuing a spiritual quest as homeless wanderers. Even if this should have been the case in the early phase of Buddhism, i.e., from 400 BCE onwards within Buddhism's original cultural milieu, the situation was different at the time of the composition of the *Carakasaṃhitā* within the milieu of Brahmanism. Caraka's meritocratic view of Brahminhood resulting from the completion of medical education is clearly at odds with the Brahmanic theory of social stratification, according to which membership in the *brāhmaṇa* class is attainable exclusively through birth, even though birth alone is no sufficient condition for maintaining the *brāhmaṇa* status.[38]

36 *Yato kho Kassapa bhikku averaṃ avyāpajjhaṃ metta-cittaṃ bhāveti, āsavānañ ca khayā anāsavaṃ ceto-vimuttiṃ paññā-vimuttiṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ vuccati Kassapa bhikkhu samaṇo iti pi brāhmaṇo iti pi* (*Dīghanikāya* 8.15, p. 167).

37 McGovern 2019: 81–84.

38 In Brahmanism, birth is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for maintaining the status of a Brāhmaṇa, which needs to be supplemented by an appropriate fulfillment of social and ritual obligations to maintain the "hereditary qualification (*adhikāra*) and … identity as an Aryan" (Halbfass 1990: 332).

The high social ranking that Caraka postulated for ayurvedic physicians contrasts sharply with the low social standing that Brahmanism ascribed to the medical profession. The literature of Dharmaśāstra is explicit in this regard. As Patrick Olivelle has highlighted in his above-quoted article from 2017, several works of the Dharma literature, from the earliest texts onwards, portrayed physicians as belonging to a despised group of persons from which *ārya*s are not allowed to accept food. The *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, which may be dated approximately 150 years after the earlier layer of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, states in this regard that

> [f]ood of a medic is pus; the food of a lascivious woman is semen; the food of a usurer is excrement; and the food of an arms merchant is filth.[39]

The fact that Manu enumerated the physician in the same breath as lustful women, usurers, and arms merchants attests to the low standing of physicians in his view of society. The *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra*, which may be roughly contemporaneous to the earlier layers of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, outrightly denies the *brāhmaṇa* status of physicians, "implicitly affirming that Brāhmaṇas may, indeed, have taken up these professions" (Olivelle 2007: 3) when it states that

> a man ignorant of the Veda is not a Brāhmaṇa, and neither is a trader, an actor, one taking orders from a Śūdra, a thief, or a medic.[40]

On the backdrop of the low social prestige of physicians in Brahmanism, Caraka's claim of meritocratically qualified Brahminhood for ayurvedic physicians through education must reflect the attempt to create social recognition for physicians within the society of the *ārya*s, which in fact, was not fully established. However, the fact that Caraka could depict the status of a *brāhmaṇa* as accessible through medical education presupposes a certain openness for this idea within Caraka's intended audience. The *Carakasaṃhitā* apparently addressed listeners or readers who were familiar with – and to some degree open for – the Buddhist meritocratic ideal of the *brāhmaṇa*, which may be an inheritance of the *Carakasaṃhitā*'s early classical Ayurveda from the cultural complex of Greater Magadha.

3. Cyclic time

The early classical ayurvedic worldview of the *Carkasaṃhitā* resembles the worldview of the *śramaṇa* religions, which, according to Bronkhorst, had developed in the cultural complex of Greater Magadha in having a conception of time as cyclic. According to this view, time

39 *pūyaṃ cikitsakasyānnaṃ puṃścalyās tv annam indriyam | viṣṭhā vārdhuṣikasyānnaṃ śastravikrayiṇo malam ||* (*Mānavadharmaśāstra* 4.220, tr. Olivelle 2017: 4).

40 *nānṛg brāhmaṇo bhavati na vaṇiṅ na kuśīlavaḥ | na śūdrapreṣaṇaṃ kurvan na steno na cikitsakaḥ ||* (*Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* 3.3, Olivelle 2020: 360f.).

stretches eternally into the past and the future, lacking a beginning and end, except for those few beings who realize liberation from the cycle of rebirth. Within its eternal extension, time is structured into different periods, called eons or *kalpa*s in Buddhism, at the end of which the world is destroyed and recreated in the next *kalpa*. According to Bronkhorst, this conception is attested in early Buddhism, Jainism, and Ājivikism, and the idea of cyclic time appears to be a shared inheritance of the three religion's common cultural milieu, i.e., that of Greater Magadha.[41]

Similar time conceptions, which are unattested in early and middle Vedic literature, occur in the literature of early classical Hinduism, such as the *Mahābhārata* and the Dharmaśāstras. The possibly earliest account of the concept that time is structured into four world ages or *yuga*s in which the life span and living conditions of humans deteriorate sequentially appears, however, in the *Yugapurāṇa*-section of the *Gārgīyajyotiṣa* or *Gargasaṃhitā*,[42] a work on divination for which John Mitchiner suggested the period around the year 25 BCE as the most likely date of composition, i.e., approximately a few decades earlier than the oldest strata of the *Carakasaṃhitā*.[43] However, Vincent Eltschinger draws this early date of the *Yugapurāṇa* seriously into question by highlighting parallels of this brief work to quite late strata of the *Mahābhārata*, which suggest the *Yugapurāṇa*'s "indebtedness to late (second to fourth century CE?) strata of the *Mahābhārata* and perhaps other texts such as the *Harivaṃśa* and early Purāṇas."[44]

Caraka was thoroughly familiar with the concept of the *kṛta-*, *tretā-*, *dvāpara-* and *kaliyuga*, to which he referred in at least three instances. In Sūtrasthāna 12.8, he mentioned the destructive force of agitated wind, viewed, according to the eleventh-century commentator Cakrapāṇidatta, as a divinity that produces the clouds, sun, fire, and storm that destroy the world at the end of the four ages.[45] Moreover, in Śārīrasthāna 5.5, while laying out the homology of the cosmos with the human body, Caraka identified the four ages of the world with the four ages of the human being and the end of a sequence of *yuga*s with death.[46] Finally, Caraka referred to the deterioration of the human life span in the course of the ages in Vimānasthāna 3.24–27 while discussing mass mortality.[47] This account differs from other descriptions of the sequential deterioration of the life expectancy within each *yuga* cycle. According to Vimānasthāna 3.26, the life span of humans decreases by one year after a hundred years have passed

41 See Bronkhorst 2007: 69f. and Bronkhorst 2023.

42 See Gonzáles-Reimann 2009: 415.

43 Mitchiner 1986: 82.

44 Eltschinger 2020: 51.

45 *prakupitasya khalv asya lokeṣu carataḥ karmāṇīmāni bhavanti, tadyathā: … caturyugāntakarāṇāṃ meghasūryānalānilānāṃ visargaḥ* (CS Sūtrasthāna 12.8, p. 79b).

46 *yathā kṛtayugam evaṃ bālyam, yathā tretā tathā yauvanam, yathā dvāparas tathā sthāviryam, yathā kalir evam āturyam, yathā yugāntas tathā maraṇam iti* (CS Śārīrasthāna 5.5, p. 325b).

47 See Angermeier 2007: 47f. and 75–81.

in each age. In contrast, the *Yugapurāṇa* ascribes a life span of 100,000 years to humans in the *kṛtayuga*, 10,000 years to those in the *tretāyuga*, 1,000 to those in the *dvāparayuga*, and, implicitly, 100 years to humans in the *kaliyuga*. In contradistinction to these varieties of a *yuga* theory, the puranic quasi-standard account of the *yuga* conception teaches that the life span decreases from 400 years in the *kṛtayuga* by 100 years in each of the subsequent *yuga*s, reaching 100 years in the *kaliyuga*.[48] Thus, at least three *yuga*-conceptions were current in early South Asia from approximately the first centuries CE onwards. This fluidity, which is matched with terminological inconsistencies concerning periods of world-creation and destruction in the *Mahābhārata*,[49] suggests that *yuga* conceptions were still developing at Caraka's time and that early Ayurveda probably did not inherit its conception of cyclic time directly from the culture of Greater Magadha, even though, as Johannes Bronkhorst argues, the development of *yuga*-conceptions of Brahmanism may have been influence by the cyclic time conceptions that were prominent in the culture of Greater Magadha.[50]

4. Karma and rebirth

The most significant agreement between the worldview of early classical Ayurveda and that belonging to the cultural milieu of the *śramaṇa* religions is their common acceptance of a theory of karma and rebirth, combined with the religious goal of spiritual liberation.[51] For Caraka, karma and rebirth were not mere matters of faith but facts that can be established by all available means for a proper investigation (*parīkṣa*), i.e., reliable verbal communication (*āptopadeśa*), perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), and reasoning by the combination of facts (*yukti*) according to Sūtrasthāna 11.[52] Knowledge concerning karma and rebirth is obtained through the verbal testimony of previous and ancient sages or seers (*maharṣi*s), who have proclaimed this teaching after directly perceiving the functioning of karma and rebirth with their divine eye.[53]

Although direct perception by ordinary beings cannot provide knowledge of karma and rebirth, multiple directly perceptible facts, such as the difference between parents and their children, the different living conditions, experiences, and life spans of beings belonging to the same species, the attainment of results of previously committed acts, the longing of newborn babies for the breast of their mothers, the fact that the same actions performed by different people lead to different results, the unequal distribution of talents among humans, memories

48 González-Reimann 2009: 417.
49 González-Reimann 2009: 415.
50 See Bronkhorst 2023: 225.
51 On possible origins of karma theories in the region of Greater Magadha, see Bronkhorst 2022.
52 See also for the following section of this article P.-S. Filliozat 1993.
53 Cf. P.-S. Filliozat 1993: 102f.

of previous births and different emotional reactions of different people towards identical items lead to the inference that karma and rebirth must exist.[54]

Also, inference establishes knowledge concerning the existence of karma and rebirth by explaining the present existence as the result of actions in previous births and the future existence as the result of actions in the present birth, just like the existence of a fruit justifies inferring the existence of its seed, and the seed the existence of a fruit.[55] And finally, the mental "combination" of various facts (*yukti*) supports the doctrine of karma and rebirth.[56] Accordingly, for Caraka, the theory of karma and rebirth "is part of the system; it is not an artificial insertion of foreign matter in a medical book."[57]

This conclusion not only holds for the more philosophically orientated parts of the *Carakasaṃhitā,* but it also applies for passages dealing with essentially medical theories such as embryology and etiology.[58] For example, the karma of past lives explains the existence of diseases that are uncurable with ayurvedic remedies,[59] and it is karma that accounts for the various living conditions under which an embryo is finally born.[60] Caraka thus employed the theory of karma to explain the limitations of the medical practice in the case of incurable diseases. In addition, the theory played a role in the self-understanding of ayurvedic physicians, who consider their practice an ethically good activity, leading to a favorable rebirth.[61]

5. Spiritual liberation

Caraka's theory of karma and rebirth is intimately related to the idea of spiritual liberation, to which textual references frequently and prominently occur throughout the work. Caraka

54 Cf. P.-S. Filliozat 1993: 104f.

55 Cf. P.-S. Filliozat 1993: 106.

56 Cf. P.-S. Filliozat 1993: 108f.

57 Cf. P.-S. Filliozat 1993: 111.

58 See also Krishan 1980 and Weiss 1980.

59 "The karma of a previous life, designated with the term 'fate,' is also a cause for diseases perceived in accordance with time. It is well-known that no great action exists, the fruit of which is not experienced. Diseases that arise from karma cancel medical treatment and become alleviated only by its destruction." *nirdiṣṭaṃ daivaśabdena karma yat paurvadehikam| hetus tad api kālena rogāṇām upalabhyate || na hi karma mahat kiñcit phalaṃ yasya na bhujyate | kriyāghnāḥ karmajā rogāḥ praśamaṃ yānti tatkṣayāt ||* (CS Śārīrasthāna 1.116–117, p. 298a–b). For a slightly different translation of this passage, see Dominik Wujatstyk 2023: 244.

60 "The mother, the father, and the self do not, indeed, bring the fetus into various conditions according to their will. They produce a part of the result with their own power; another part happens through the power of karma." *na khalu garbhasya na ca mātur na pitur na cātmanaḥ sarvabhāveṣu yatheṣṭakāritvam asti; te kiṃcit svavaśāt kurvanti, kiṃcit karmavaśāt*. (CS Śārīrasthāna 3.9, p. 311b). Cf. Halbfass 2000: 228–230.

61 In Cikitsāsthāna 4.1.4, Caraka lets the god Indra describe the system of Ayurveda as "highly meritorious, … a sacred text (*brahman*) appropriate for seers … the illustrious imperishable [medical] action (*karman*) derived from Brahmā." Cf. below, p. 94.

referred to the concept of spiritual liberation already at the very beginning of his work in the context of Ayurveda's origin myth, in which the Rishis deplore the fact that diseases have arisen.

> Health is the most important root of merit [gained through fulfilling obligations] (*dharma*), wealth (*artha*), pleasure (*kāma*), and liberation (*mokṣa*).[62]

With this brief statement, Caraka characterized health through the mouth of a large congregation of eminent seers (who spoke with one voice) as the most important condition for the fulfillment of the major domains of human activities and pursuits. In contradistinction to the passage discussed above in which three valid human aims are considered – *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* – here Caraka lists a fourth: spiritual liberation (*mokṣa*).[63] By stressing the fundamental role of health in all domains of legitimate human pursuits, Caraka highlighted the fundamental importance of his own medical science. This may be interpreted as a further strategic move to create acceptance for the medical profession in a society where Brahmanical values and norms combined with those of the *śramaṇa* religions were prominent.

The inclusion of spiritual liberation into the set of legitimate domains of activity in the *Carakasaṃhitā* reflects the integration of the religious worldview of the *śramaṇa* religions into Caraka's religious horizon, which is paralleled in other roughly contemporary works of early Hinduism, such as the *Mahābhārata*, some middle Upaniṣads, and Dharmasūtras. In this synthesis, spiritual liberation did not substitute but supplement the Vedic soteriological aim of a post-mortem fate in heaven, as can be seen from Caraka's discussion of trustworthy verbal testimony (*āptāgama*) in Sūtrasthāna 11.27.

> In this regard, trustworthy verbal testimony is, first of all, the Veda. In addition, reliable verbal testimony is every other verbal expression of authoritative corpora (*śāstra*) that does not contradict the meaning of the Veda, was put forth by investigators, is approved by educated people, and exists for the welfare of the world. Because of trustworthy verbal testimony, one cognizes that donations, austerities, sacrificial rituals, truthfulness, non-harming, and chastity cause ascension [to heaven] and the highest good (i.e., liberation).[64]

Here, Caraka initially ascribed the highest authority of verbal testimony as a means of valid knowledge to the Veda, i.e., the sacred literature of Brahmanism. Then, he extended the range

62 *dharmārthakāmamokṣāṇām ārogyaṃ mūlam uttamam* || (CS Sūtrasthāna 1.15cd, p. 6a).

63 See above, p. 73f.

64 *tatrāptāgamas tāvad vedaḥ. yaś cānyo 'pi kaścid vedārthād aviparītaḥ parīkṣakaiḥ praṇītaḥ śiṣṭānumato lokānugrahapravṛttaḥ śāstravādaḥ sa cāptāgamaḥ; āptāgamād upalabhyate dānatapoyajñasatyāhiṃsā brahmacaryāṇy abhyudayaniḥśreyasakarāṇīti*. (CS Sūtrasthāna 11.27, p. 72b). For a slightly divergent translation, see P.-S. Filliozat 1993: 100.

of this particular means of valid knowledge to non-Vedic authoritative text corpora provided they do not contradict the Veda, are approved of by the educated members of society, were composed by investigators (*parīkṣaka*) – which may refer to rationally orientated ayurvedic physicians – and lead to the welfare of living beings.

The purpose of reliable verbal communication is to provide soteriological orientation. In the just-quoted passage, as elsewhere in early Hinduism, two alternative soteriological aims are acknowledged, namely the attainment of heaven after death through the fulfillment of ritual and social obligations (*dharma*) and the attainment of spiritual liberation. The former aim can be reached by ritual means, whereas the latter is realizable through special insights gained by ascetics. The list of religious practices that Caraka provided here integrates sacrificial rituals (*yajña*) leading to a post-mortem fate in heaven with ascetic practices aiming at spiritual liberation. In this way, Caraka downplayed the differences between the two alternative religious orientations.

Caraka did not only accept spiritual liberation as a legitimate human pursuit. In Śārīrasthāna 1.137–155, a passage that Rahul Peter Das (1993), Oliver Hellwig (2009), Dominik Wujastyk (2012 and 2023), and several previous scholars have analyzed, he also described how liberation is attained through yogic mindfulness.[65] In addition, Caraka provided a comprehensive account of the means for attaining spiritual liberation in the fifth chapter of the Śārīrasthāna, which has attracted less scholarly attention than the first chapter.

> In this regard, we shall teach the means for ascent available to those desirous of liberation. Among these, first of all, the means for a man who desires liberation because he is aware of the faults of the world are
>
> 1. approaching a teacher,
> 2. following his teaching,
> 3. kindling his fire,
> 4. seeking a corpus of knowledge on social and ritual obligations (Dharmaśāstra),
> 5. understanding its meaning,
> 6. relying on it,
> 7. performing actions as they are taught in it,
> 8. conversing with the good,
> 9. avoiding the bad,
> 10. not having contact with people,[66]

65 For a comprehensive and critical assessment of earlier scholarship on CS Śārīrasthāna 1, see Hellwig 2009.

66 Cf. "To achieve success, [the wandering ascetic (*parivrāja*)] must always wander alone, without any companion." *eka eva caren nityaṃ siddhyartham asahāyavān* (*Mānavadharmaśāstra* 6.42ab, ed. and transl. Olivelle 2005b, p. 601, and 150).

11. speaking what is true, beneficial to all beings, not harsh, at the right time, after having considered it,[67]
12. caring for all beings like for oneself,
13. not remembering, not thinking about, not desiring, and not speaking to any woman,[68]
14. giving up all property,[69]
15. a loincloth for covering,[70]
16. a red-colored garment,[71]
17. a needlecase for sewing the patched garment,[72]

67 Cf. the regulations of speech mentioned in the early Buddhist description of the way to liberation that frequently occurs within the *Dīgha-* and *Majjhimanikāya* (see Frauwallner 1953: 162–170). See below, p. 90.

68 In the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (vol. 2, p. 141, lines 12–17), the Buddha instructs his disciple Ānanda not to look at and not to speak to women. If a conversation with women cannot be avoided, Ānanda shall set up mindfulness (*satī*, Skt. *smṛti* "mindfulness, memory"). It is conceivable that Caraka was aware of this passage, considering the usage of the term *satī/smṛti* (mindfulness/memory) in both texts. Strict rules of conduct in relation to women are also prescribed for Brahmaṇa ascetics. See Oberlies 1997: 195.

69 Cf. "A mendicant shall live without possession" *anicayo bhikṣuḥ* (*Gautamadharmasūtra* 3.11, Olivelle 2000: 128f.; 2005a: 165f.).

70 Cf. "And wear a garment to cover his private parts" *kaupīnācchādanārthaṃ vāso bibhṛyāt* (*Gautamadharmasūtra* 3.18, Olivelle 2000: 128f.; 2005a: 165f.). For further references to the loin cloth of Brāhmaṇa ascetics in Dharmaśāstra literature, see Oberlies 1997: 189, n. 120.

71 The exact meaning of *dhāturāga* is challenging to determine. Kālidāsa used the word in *Meghadūta* 102 to refer to a mineral substance for drawing a portrait on a stone surface. The tenth-century commentator Vallabhadeva glossed *dhāturāga* with *sindūrādirāga,* "colors like red lead and so on," suggesting that the implied color is red or reddish (ed. Hultzsch, p. 53). *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* 2.11.21 describes the color of the garment of a *parivrājaka* as *kāṣāya* (*kāṣāyavāsāḥ*, ed. Olivelle 2005: 165), i.e., brown-red or ochre. The garment of the medical student at the time of initiation has apparently the same color (in spite of the different speeling of the word with a first short *-a-* as *kaṣāya*), according to CS Vimānasthāna 8.8 in Preisendanz *et al*., forthcoming, corresponding to 8.9 in Jādvji Trikmjī Ācārya's edition, p. 263a: "wearing an ochre garment" *kaṣāyavastrasaṃvītaḥ* (cf. n. 104). Oberlies (1997: 1990, referencing Kern 1884: 45) also takes the word *kāṣāya* to designate a reddish hue.

72 The compound *sūcīpippalaka* is problematic, too. Cakrapāṇidatta glossed the term with "a case for storing needles" (*sūcīsthāpanapātra*), but the meaning "case, receptacle" for *pippalaka* apparently is not attested elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. The lack of parallel usage suggests that the commentator provided an ad-hoc explanation from the context. Caraka also used the compound *sūcīpippalaka* in Śārīrasthāna 8.34, where the term appears together with the attribute "made of gold and silver" (*sauvarṇarājatau*). At this instance, Cakrapāṇi suggested that the compound either means "two knives in the shape of a needle" or "two cases for storing needles" (*sūcyākāre śastre sūcīpippalakau, kiṃ vā sūcī yatra sthāpyate sa sūcīpippalakaḥ*, p. 347a), thus confirming his semantic insecurity. Finally, *pippalika* occurs at CS Śārīrasthāna 8.53 in a description of the perfect female

18. a water pot for washing,[73]
19. carrying a staff,[74]
20. a bowl for begging food,[75]
21. taking food only to maintain life – once a day – that was not prepared in the village, as it becomes available,[76]
22. having a cover for the night consisting of withered dry leaves and straw to recover from fatigue,
23. binding the body for meditation,
24. living in a forest without a house,[77]
25. giving up all acts of lassitude, sleep, and sloth,
26. restraining attachment and trouble concerning sense objects,
27. acting with preceding mindfulness concerning undertakings that involve the activities of each limb of the body concerning food and physical activities, whether one sleeps, stands, or walks,
28. patience when being venerated, praised, censored, or discredited,
29. being able to endure hunger and thirst, exertion, exhaustion, cold and heat, and pleasant and unpleasant contact with wind and rain,
30. not being shaken by sorrow, affliction, agitation, greed, craving, envy, fear, and anger,
31. being conscious that egoism and so on are miserable,

breast, referring to the nipple. A needle (*sūci*) is one of the "requisites" that Buddhist monks are allowed to possess. Also, the possession of needle case (*sūcigḥara* or *sūcināḷikā*) is admissible for Buddhist monks, see Upasak 1975: 240, s.v. *Sūci* and *Sūcigḥara*.

73 *Baudhayanadharmasūtra* 2.17.11 lists a waterpot (*kamaṇḍula*) as one of the insignia of *brāhmaṇa* renouncer (*saṃnyāsin*): *yaṣṭayaḥ śikhyaṃ jalapavitraṃ kamaṇḍulaṃ pātram iti* (Olivelle 2000: 292f.; 2005a: 168f.).

74 *Baudhayanadharmasūtra* 2.17.11 also mentions staffs (*yaṣṭayaḥ*) as an emblem of *brāhmaṇa* renouncers (*saṃnyāsin*). See the preceding note. Buddhist monks were allowed to possess a staff (*khakhara*), according to the quite late *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. For references, see Edgerton 1953, vol. 2: 202a, s.v. *khakhara*.

75 The begging bowl (Skt. *pātra*, Pāli *patta*) is an item that both *brāhmaṇa* renouncers and Buddhist monks possess; see *Baudhayanadharmasūtra* 2.17.11 (Olivelle 2000: 292) and Upasak 1975: 133.

76 Eating only as much as necessary to survive is prescribed for the *parivrājaka* in *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* 10.22 "Let him take only as much as would sustain his life, …" *prāṇayātrikamātra syān* … (Olivelle 2000: 386f.; 2005a: 166f.). Eating a single meal per day is also an observance of Buddhist monks. For additional references, see Oberlies 1997: 193.

77 Cf. *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* 10.15 "living always in the wilderness" *araṇyanityaḥ* (Olivelle 2000: 386f.; 2005a: 166f.). On the abidences of *brāhmaṇa* ascetics, Jaina and Buddhist moks, see Oberlies 1997: 192–196.

32. observing the identity of the creation and so on concerning the world and the individual person,[78]
33. fearing that the moment for action may pass,
34. permanently having regard for the undertaking of yoga,
35. firmness in character,
36. applying his intellect, will, mindfulness, and power for the sake of liberation,
37. controlling the sense faculties within the mental faculty, the mental faculty within the self, and also the self,
38. constantly being aware that the body consists of bodily elements,
39. realizing that everything with a cause is painful, not the self, and impermanent,
40. recognizing evil in all activities, and
41. clinging to the conviction that joy results from the renunciation of everything.

This is the way toward liberation; in the opposite direction, one is bound. Thus the means for ascent have been taught.[79]

This passage lists forty-one means, i.e., activities and items, that help a mendicant attain spiritual liberation. The mendicant is described as living in the forest with minimal personal

78 Cf. CS Śārīrasthāna 5.6–7, p. 325b.

79 *tatra mumukṣūṇām udayanāni vyākhyāsyāmaḥ. tatra lokadoṣadarśino mumukṣor ādita* (1) *evācāryābhigamanam,* (2) *tasyopadeśānuṣṭhānam,* (3) *agner evopacaryā,* (4) *dharmaśāstrānugamanam,* (5) *tadārthāvabodhaḥ,* (6) *tenāvaṣṭambhaḥ,* (7) *tatra yathoktāḥ kriyāḥ,* (8) *satām upāsanam,* (9) *asatāṃ parivarjanam,* (10) *asaṃgatir janena,* (11) *satyaṃ sarvabhūtahitam aparuṣam anatikāle parīkṣya vacanam,* (12) *sarvaprāṇiṣu cātmanīvāvekṣā,* (13) *sarvāsām asmaraṇam asaṃkalpanam aprārthanam anabhibhāṣaṇaṃ ca strīṇām,* (14) *sarvaparigrahatyāgaḥ,* (15) *kaupīnaṃ pracchādanārtham,* (16) *dhāturāganivasanam,* (17) *kanthāsīvanahetoḥ sūcīpippalakam,* (18) *śaucādhānahetor jalakuṇḍikā,* (19) *daṇḍadhāraṇam,* (20) *bhaikṣacaryārthaṃ pātram,* (21) *prāṇadhāraṇārtham ekakālam agrāmyo yathopapanno 'bhyavahāraḥ,* (22) *śramāpanayanārthaṃ śīrṇaśuṣkaparṇatṛṇāstaraṇopadhānam,* (23) *dhyānahetoḥ kāyanibandhanam,* (24) *vaneṣv aniketavāsaḥ,* (25) *tandrānidrālasyādikarmavarjanam,* (26) *indriyārtheṣv anurāgopatāpanigrahaḥ,* (27) *suptasthitagatapreksitāhāravihārapratyaṅgaceṣṭādikeṣv ārambheṣu smṛtipūrvikā pravṛttiḥ,* (28) *satkārastutigarhāvamānakṣamatvam,* (29) *kṣutpipāsāyāsaśramaśītoṣṇavātavarṣāsukhaduḥkhasaṃsparśasahatvam,* (30) *śokadainya mānodvegamadalobharāgerṣyābhayakrodhādibhir asaṃcalanam,* (31) *ahaṃkārādiṣūpasargasaṃjñā,* (32) *lokapuruṣayoḥ sargādisāmānyāvekṣaṇam,* (33) *kāryakālātyayabhayam,* (34) *yogārambhe satatam anirvedaḥ,* (35) *sattvotsāhaḥ,* (36) *apavargāya dhīdhṛtismṛtibalādhānam,* (37) *niyamanam indriyāṇāṃ cetasi cetasa ātmany ātmanaś ca,* (38) *dhātubhedena śarīrāvayavasaṃkhyānam abhīkṣṇam,* (39) *sarvaṃ kāraṇavad duḥkham asvam anityam ity abhyupagamaḥ,* (40) *sarvapravṛttiṣv aghasaṃjñā,* (41) *sarvasaṃnyāse sukham ity abhiniveśaḥ. eṣa mārgo 'pavargāya, ato 'nyathā badhyate; ity udayanāni vyākhyātāni.* (CS Śārīrasthāna 5.12, p. 327a).

belongings and practicing an ascetic lifestyle, meditation, and yoga. The list is remarkable in various respects, the most notable of which is the lack of references to metaphysic or religious doctrines that would provide the backdrop of the path toward spiritual liberation. The only allusion to a specific conceptual framework for the outlined soteriological path is "observing the identity of the creation and so on concerning the world and the individual person" (no. 32), which refers to Śārīrasthāna 5.6–7, where Caraka explained that knowledge of the identity between the world and the person (*puruṣa*) is key for attaining liberation.

Although Caraka designated the list as "the way towards liberation," the text does not sketch a systematic and consecutive ascent towards spiritual liberation like we find in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*'s eight means or ancillaries of Yoga or the Buddhist noble eightfold path. However, Caraka's list is not entirely without a logical structure. Its interpretation allows for conclusions concerning Caraka's conception of ascetics aiming at spiritual liberation, considering the abundant parallels of this passage with the early Dharma literature, Buddhist, and Jaina sources.

The initial three activities, i.e., approaching a teacher for instruction, following his teaching, and kindling his fire, are reminiscent of the rules for Vedic students (*brahmacārin*) as prescribed, for example, in the *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra*.[80] According to Āpastamba, living in the teacher's house is a common prerequisite for all orders of life.[81]

The following four activities (4–7) expressively refer to the knowledge of the corpus on *dharma* (Dharmaśāstra), which prescribes rules of conduct for different types of ascetics. Caraka's list refers to ascetics similar to those wandering ascetics that the Dharmasūtras designate as *parivrāja(ka)*s or *bhikṣu*s.[82] According to Caraka, this corpus of knowledge provides the basic instructions for realizing spiritual liberation. He thus suggested an intimate relationship between the listed means for spiritual liberation to forms of asceticism sanctioned by the Dharma literature of his time. However, as Johannes Bronkhorst convincingly argued in *The Two Sources of Indian Asceticism* (1998), the mendicant and wandering ascetics of the *dharmasūtra*s "show no signs of having any inherent connection with the Vedic sacrificial tradition."[83]

Activities no. 8–14 refer to the social interaction of the ayurvedic ascetic, involving the conception that karmically relevant actions can be performed with body, speech, and mind.

80 Cf. "Every day he should fetch firewood from a wild tract and offer it in the sacred fire" *sadāraṇyāt samidha āhṛtyādadhyāt* (*Baudhayanadharmasūtra* 1.3.19, Olivelle 2000: 202f.; 2005a: 62). For further references to the Vedic student's kindling of his teacher's fire, see Kane 1941: 307, and Oberlies 1997: 173.

81 Cf. *sarveṣām upanayanaprabhṛti samāna ācāryakule vāsaḥ* (*Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.21.3, Olivelle 2000: 104f.; 2005a: 51f.).

82 *Āpastambadharmasūtra* (2.21.7) uses the term *parivrāja*, Gautama (3.11) called the homeless beggar *bhikṣu*, whereas Baudhāyana (2.11.16) and Vasiṣṭha (10.1) referred to the same group of ascetics as *parivrājaka*s.

83 Bronkhorst 1998: 33.

Caraka prescribed being committed to truthfulness (*satya*), chastity (*brahmacārya*), and not harming living beings (*ahiṃsā*, here positively formulated in activity no. 12 as "caring for all beings like for oneself"), which are paralleled in the list of five obligations (*yama*) for yogis in *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.30. These regulations figure already in the ancient Buddhist description of the way to liberation that frequently occurs in the *Dīgha-* and *Majjhimanikāya* (translated in condensed form by Erich Frauwallner 1953: 162–170) with a literal terminological agreement to Caraka's list regarding "abstaining from harsh speech" (*pharusaṃ vācaṃ*) and "being someone who speaks at the right time" (*kālavādī*).[84] Also, Caraka's means no. 14, "giving up all property" (*sarvaparigrahatyāga*), has a parallel in Patañjali's list of commitments (*yama*), and is identical to one of the five great vows (*mahāvratas*) of Jainism, namely "not having property" (*aparigraha*).[85]

The few possessions that, according to Caraka, are admissible for ascetics are listed as item no. 15–22, where the restriction of food consumption (no. 21) slightly interrupts the structural coherency of the list. This reference was associatively prompted by the preceding reference to the begging bowl. The listed items, i.e., the loincloth, the red-colored garment, the needlecase, the waterpot, the staff, and the begging bowl, are in general emblematic of *brāhmaṇa* ascetics of the *parivrākjaka* and *bhikṣu* type, with several parallels in early Buddhism and Jainism.[86]

The commentator Cakrapāṇidatta interpreted item no. 23, "binding the body for meditation" (*dhyānahetoḥ kāyanibandhanam*), as a reference to a yoga strap, which is used to fix a meditation posture.[87] However, since the context suggests interpreting *nibandhana* as the action noun "binding" rather than a means for binding, i.e., a "band," Cakrapāṇi's explanation is not convincing. The word *kāyanibandhana* needs to be understood as referring to meditational posture practice in general, even if the systematic reason for the occurrence of the activity at its present position remains obscure.

Activities no. 26 and 27, i.e., "restraining attachment to the sense objects and acting with preceding mindfulness," are further parallels with the early Buddhist description of the path toward liberation, which involves the protection of the sense faculties and the generation of mindfulness.[88]

The remaining part of the list, i.e., activities no. 28–41, refers to the development of mental attitudes conducive to spiritual liberation and the destruction of mental obstacles without

84 See, for example, *Majjhimanikāya* 27, Vol. 1, p. 179f. Cf. n. 67 above.

85 "The commitments are non-harming, truthfulness, not stealing, living chastely, and not having property" *ahiṃsāsatyāsteyabrahmacaryāparigrahā yamāḥ* (*Yogasūtra* 2.30. Āgāśe 1904: 102). The commitments are binding ethical prescriptions for ascetics aiming at spiritual liberation in Buddhism, Jainism, and Brahmanism. See Dundas 2002: 157–160. On the similarity concerning the ethical regulation of Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical ascetics, see Oberlies 1997: 180–188.

86 See notes 69–75 above and Oberlies 1997: 188–192.

87 *Āyurvedadīpikā*, Śārīrasthāna 5.12, p. 327b.

88 See Frauwallner 1953: 165f. and *Sāmaññaphalasutta*, *Dīghanikāya* 2.64–65, vol. 1, p. 70.

indicating a specific logical structure. Most of the listed features are too general to allow for the identification of a particular ascetic community that may have influenced Caraka's composition. However, item no. 39, "realizing that everything with a cause is painful, not the self, and impermanent" is unmistakeably an allusion to the Buddhist doctrine of impermanence and suffering as it is, for example, formulated in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* of the Pāli Canon.

> Whether Tathāgatas appear or whether Tathāgatas do not appear, this world, this causal complex, the configuration of the things, always remains the same: all composite entities are impermanent, all composite entities are painful, all composite entities are not the self.[89]

On the whole, Caraka fused in his list elements of ascetic practices that are characteristic of ascetics as described in the Dharmaśāstras of his time with early Buddhist and Jaina ethics and conceptions. The metaphysical backdrop of Caraka's soteriology was a worldview based on the identity of the world and the human body as outlined in Śārīrasthāna 5.6–7, which is otherwise rare in early South Asian literature.[90] However, in the first chapter of the Śārīrasthāna, Caraka's soteriology, which does not amount to a coherent philosophical theory, is influenced by various early currents of philosophical thinking that later developed into Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, and Yoga with a palpable additional influence of early Buddhist philosophical conceptions.[91]

At no point in his work did Caraka spell out his theory of spiritual liberation in detail. Any assessment of his position concerning the question of whether liberation may occur during the lifetime of an ascetic or whether it is attainable only at the moment of physical death, can only to be based on stray references.[92] A particularly relevant passage occurs, however, in CS Vimānasthāna 8.37, where, in the context of the theory of debate, Caraka defines the term "established teaching on a subject matter" (*adhikaraṇasiddhānta*).

> [That] is called established teaching on a subject matter with regard to which also other subject matters are established when the subject matter is brought up. For example [when one brings up the subject matter] "A [living] liberated person does not perform binding actions, because he is free from desire," then karma, its result, liberation, and the rebirth of a person become established.[93]

89 *Upādā vā bhikkhave Tathāgatānaṃ anuppādā vā Tathāgatānaṃ ṭhitā vā sā dhātu dhammaṭṭhītatā dhammaniyāmatā: sabbe saṅkharā aniccā … sabbe saṅkharā duḥkhā … sabbe saṅkharā anattā* (*Aṅguttaranikāya*, 3.134, vol. 1, p. 286).

90 See Robertson 2017.

91 See Hellwig 2009: 62–65.

92 On different attitudes towards the conception of "liberation in life" in pre-modern Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, see Bronkhorst 2010.

93 *adhikaraṇasiddhānto nāma — yasminn* adhikaraṇe prastūyamāne siddhāny anyāny apy adhikaraṇāni bhavanti. yathā: "na muktaḥ karmānubandhikaṃ kurute, nispṛhatvāt" iti prastute siddhāḥ karma-*

By choosing the particular example of a living liberated person as a subject matter that may be brought up in a debate, Caraka revealed that at least some ayurvedic philosophers accepted liberation while living. Whether or not Caraka himself would have subscribed to this view is not entirely clear from this passage.

Additional information on Caraka's position concerning the question of whether liberation from rebirth can be attained during one's lifetime is provided in the first chapter of the Śārīrasthāna, where Caraka outlines "the path to liberation through yogic mindfulness."[94] Towards the end of this remarkable passage, Caraka provided a final characterization of his soteriological method.

> The power of recollecting the truth (*tattva*) is the one path of liberation, the one that is revealed by liberated people. Those who have gone by it have not returned again. Yogins call this the way of yoga. Those sāṃkhyas who have reckoned the dharmas and who are liberated call it the way of liberation.[95]

This passage, according to Wujastyk, raises questions concerning the early history of Sāṅkhya and its relationship to Abhidharma Buddhism (2012: 38). It also reveals that Caraka considered at least some liberated persons (*mukta*) able to teach the way towards liberation. This implies that liberated sages must have been alive, which is exactly the way in which the eleventh-century commentator Cakrapāṇidatta interpreted this passage when he glossed the word *muktair* in stanza 150b with "One needs to understand the expression 'liberated persons' to mean 'liberated while living' because those who are liberated in every respect cannot be teachers since they do not have bodies."[96]

It thus emerges from the two above-quoted passages that the concept of living liberation (*jīvanmukti*) was current in the early Ayurveda of the first century CE, even though a similar terminology is first attested in the early fifth-century *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* (4.30), while a comparable two-level conception of spiritual liberation is also attested in the roughly contemporaneous *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (65–70).

Based on the above analyses of Caraka's sketches of the path toward spiritual liberation and the previous investigation into the religious horizon of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, the worldview of early Ayurveda can be described as a skilled combination of conceptions that, according

phalamokṣapuruṣapretyabhāvā bhavanti (Vimānasthāna 8.37; variant reading: **yasmin*] *sa yasmin* Bo8^{E} p. 238a).

94 Dominik Wujastyk 2012.

95 *etat tad ekam ayanaṃ muktair mokṣasya darśitam | tattvasmṛtibalaṃ yena gatā na punarāgatāḥ* ||150|| *ayanaṃ punar ākhyātam etad yogasya yogibhiḥ | saṃkhyātadharmaiḥ sāṃkhyaiś ca muktair mokṣasya cāyanam* ||151|| (CS Śārīrasthāna 1.150f., p. 301a, transl. Dominik Wujastyk 2012, p. 41).

96 *Āyurvedadīpikā* ad CS Śārīrasthāna 1.150 (p. 301a): *muktair iti jīvanmuktair iti jñeyam, sarvathāmuktānāṃ śarīrābhāvenopadeśakatvābhāvāt.*

to Bronkhorst, originated in the cultural complex of Greater Magadha with those of Vedic Brahmanism. However, the cultural and religious hybridity of early Ayurveda probably does not necessarily result from the Brahmanization of a current of medical knowledge that originated in Greater Magadha. As will be argued in more detail below, the hybridization of a *śramaṇa* worldview with Vedic Brahmanism is the result of more complex developments leading Caraka to fuse various currents of medical knowledge with different cultural, philosophical, and religious backgrounds in his medical compendium.

6. The self-representation of early classical Ayurveda

The following section of this article analyzes Caraka's mythological account of the origin of rejuvenation therapy in the first chapter of the Cikitsāsthāna. This self-portrait should not be read as an historical report but as a narrative description of early Ayurveda's self-understanding.

> 1–2. The venerable Ātreya said: Now, from hereon, I shall proclaim the chapter on *rasāyana* [entitled] "The Recovery of Ayurveda." 3. The Rishis lived as householders, sometimes of the *śālīna* type and sometimes of the *yāyāvara* type.[97] In general, they consumed village herbs, lived a life of luxury, became weary, and were not very healthy. When the great Rishis Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, Āgastya, Pulastya, Vāmadeva, Asita, Gautama, and so on were unable to perform all their duties properly, they realized that they themselves had committed the fault of living in villages. Then they went to their previous home, which was free from rural defects, to the fortunate, meritorious, and great Himalayas, the perfect refuge, which is suitable for sacrifices and impenetrable for people of bad conduct, to the source of the Ganges, attended by gods, heavenly musicians, and singers, to the storehouse of countless gems, which is filled with unimaginable and marvelous beauty, attended by Brahma-Rishis, accomplished saints and celestial singers, where herbs grow at heavenly places of pilgrimage, protected by the Lord of the Gods. 4. The god with a thousand eyes, the immortal teacher, Indra, spoke to them: "Welcome to you, Brahma-Seers, who know the Brahman and are rich in knowledge and austerities. Are you not tired, weak, voiceless, and pale – which is uncomfortable and leads to uncomfortable final consequences – because you lived in the village? Living in villages is known to be the root of all evil. Since you, the Seers, who act meritoriously, have done

97 *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* 3.1.1–3 differentiates three types of householders, *śālīna*s, *yāyāvara*s, and *cakracara*s without providing much additional information, except that the "name 'Śālīna' is derived from their living in houses (*śāla*). 'Yāyāvara' is derived from the fact that they follow (*yā*) an excellent (*vara*) means of livelihood, …" *śālāśrayatvāc chālīnatvam. vṛttyā varayā yātīti yāyāvaratvam* (Olivelle 2000: 302f.; 2005a: 160). See also Kane 1941: 641f.

this as an act of favor for the living beings, the time has come [for you] to care for your own bodies, and the time has come [for me] to teach Ayurveda to you Brahma-Rishis. The Aśvins passed down Ayurveda to me to favor myself as well as the living beings in the same way as Prajāpati had to the Aśvins and Brahmā to Prajāpati. The life of living beings is short, full of old age and disease. This is uncomfortable and leads to uncomfortable final consequences. Since life is short, little is the amount of asceticism, religious commitments, and observances that can be practiced, few gifts can be provided, and little can be studied.

After you have realized this, you are entitled to hear from me, to comprehend and to disseminate for favoring the living beings what is highly meritorious, extends the life span, cures old age and disease, provides strength, is imperishable, fortunate, protective and illustrious, a sacred text (*brahman*) appropriate for seers, related to benevolence and compassion as well as to your own highest merit, the illustrious imperishable [medical] action (*karman*) derived from Brahmā."

5. After they had heard this speech of the Lord of the Gods, they all praised the best of the immortals with Rigvedic verses, were exceedingly delighted, and applauded his speech.[98]

The origin myth of rejuvenation therapy (*rasāyana*), which is also an account of a second transmission of Ayurveda from the divine realm to humans, starts with a description of the mythological founders of Ayurveda, the great seers (*maharṣi*s), who, according to the first origin myth of Ayurveda that occurs at the very beginning of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, had received

98 *athāta āyurvedasamutthānīyaṃ rasāyanapādaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ, iti ha smāha bhāgavān ātreyaḥ. ṛṣayaḥ khalu kadācic chālīnā yāyāvarāś ca grāmyauṣadhyāhārāḥ santaḥ sāṃpannikā mandaceṣṭā nātikalyāś ca prāyeṇa babhūvuḥ. te sarvāsām itikartavyatānām asamarthāḥ santo grāmyavāsakṛtam ātmadoṣaṃ matvā pūrvanivāsam apagatagrāmyadoṣaṃ śivaṃ puṇyam udāraṃ medhyam agamyam asukṛtibhir gaṅgāprabhavam amaragandharvakinnarānucaritam anekaratnanicayam acintyādbhutaprabhāvaṃ brahmarṣisiddhacāraṇānucaritaṃ divyatīrthauṣadhiprabhavam atiśaraṇyaṃ himavantam amarādhipatiguptaṃ jagmur bhṛgvaṅgiro'trivasiṣṭhakaśyapāgastyapulastyavāmadevāsitagautamaprabhṛtayo maharṣayaḥ. tān indraḥ sahasradṛg amaragurur abravīt – svāgataṃ brahmavidāṃ jñānatapodhanānāṃ brahmarṣiṇām. asti nanu vo glānir aprabhāvatvaṃ avaisvaryaṃ vaivarṇyaṃ ca grāmyavāsakṛtam asukham asukhānubandhaṃ ca? grāmyo hi vāso mūlam aśastānām. tat kṛtaḥ puṇyakṛdbhir anugrahaḥ prajānām, svaśarīram avekṣituṃ kālaḥ kālaś cāyam āyurvedopadeśasya brahmarṣiṇām; ātmanaḥ prajānāṃ cānugrahārtham āyurvedam aśvinau mahyaṃ prāyacchatām, prajāpatir aśvibhyām, prajāpatye brahmā, prajānām alpam āyur jarāvyādhibahulam asukham asukhānubandham. alpatvād alpatapodamaniyamadānādhyayanasaṃcayam, matvā puṇyatamam āyuḥprakarṣakaraṃ jarāvyādhipraśamanam ūrjaskaram amṛtaṃ śivaṃ śaraṇyam udāraṃ bhavanto mattaḥ śrotum arhatāthopadhārayituṃ prakāśayituṃ ca prajānugrahārtham ārṣaṃ brahma ca prati maitrīṃ kāruṇyam ātmanaś cānuttamaṃ puṇyam udāraṃ brāhmam akṣayaṃ karmeti. tac chrutvā vibudhapativacanam ṛṣayaḥ sarva evāmaravaram ṛgbhis tuṣṭuvuḥ prahṛṣṭāś ca tadvacanam abhinananduś ceti* (CS Cikitsāsthāna 4.1.1–5, p. 387a).

medical knowledge from the gods.[99] More specifically, the Great Seers were afflicted by disease because they had given up their natural living as ascetics, had become Vedic householders, and nourished themselves with plants grown in villages (*grāmyauṣadhi*). Being in bad health, they became incapable of practicing Ayurveda. When they realized that their suffering was related to their unnatural habitat, they went to their previous home (*pūrvanivāsa*), to the source of the river Ganges in the Himalayas, where Indra confirmed that their village life had affected their health. Indra, who according to the origin myth at the very beginning of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, had already instructed the seer Bhāradvāja in Ayurveda, explained to the congregation of *ṛṣi*s the cause of their suffering and imparted ayurvedic knowledge again for the benefit of the seers and all humans. This benefit extends human lifespans, enabling people to accumulate increased religious merit through practicing austerities, religious commitments, and other practices to improve their post-mortem fate. The seers were profoundly grateful and praised Indra with Ṛgvedic hymns, thus revealing through their intimate knowledge of the Vedic religion that they belonged to the class of *brāhmaṇa*s.

This narrative is remarkable in several respects. First, it depicts the life of a householder as unnatural for prototypal ayurvedic physicians who have to live as homeless ascetics in the wilderness outside of villages. Indra indicates that the seers deserve a second chance because they lived as householders not out of egoistical motives but to "favor the living beings." The narrative thus depicts the ideal physician as an ascetic with an altruistic attitude that can be related to the theory of karma and rebirth, who avoids villages, not to speak of the cities that were characteristic of the culture of Greater Magadha. The homeland of these ascetics is neither depicted as the region of Greater Magadha nor *āryāvarta*, the homeland of Vedic Brahmanism, but the Himalayas.[100] This region is also where the *ṛṣi*s had originally received the corpus of ayurvedic knowledge, according to the origin myth of Ayurveda at the beginning of the Sūtrasthāna. The present narrative explicitly mentions the source of the river Ganges as the specific region of the Himalayas that is Ayurveda's home, located in the present-day state of Uttarakhand.[101]

Caraka's identification of Ayurveda's home in the Himalayan region may be purely fictional and topical. However, it is also possible that Caraka's identification points to a historical fact, the faint memory of which was narratively transformed into a glorification of this region as a semi-divine realm. To the best of my knowledge, a comparable appraisal of the Himalayas is lacking from the literature of Vedic Brahmanism and early Buddhism. It may occur for the first time in the epics and roughly contemporary literature such as the *Carakasaṃhitā*.[102]

99 CS Sūtrasthāna 1.1–40, see above, p. 72.

100 On various demarcations of *āryāvarta* in the literature of late Vedic Brahmanism, see Bronkhorst 2007: 1–3.

101 Based on what Meulenbeld considered "meager evidence," several scholars have attempted to determine North Western India or Kashmir as the region of the *Carakasaṃhitā*'s composition. See Meulenbeld 1999–2002, Vol. 1A: 100.

102 On the Himalayas and other mountains in Epic mythology, see Hopkins 1915: 8–10.

7. Early South Asian physicians in Strabo's *Geography*

The hypothesis that early Ayurveda may have entertained a special relation to the Himalaya region is supported by a description of South Asian healers by the Greek historian Strabo, who lived approximately between 63 BCE and 24 CE and was thus an older contemporary of Caraka. Strabo never visited South Asia, however, and based his account of India in his *Geography* on information provided by previous authors. The respective passage, which Zysk and Bronkhorst have analyzed, reads as follows.

> In classifying philosophers, [the writers on India] set the Pramnai (i.e., Śramaṇas) in opposition to the Brachmanes (i.e., Brahmins). [The Pramnai] are captious and fond of cross-questioning; and [they say that] the Brachmanes practice natural philosophy and astronomy, but they are derided by the Pramnai as charlatans and fools. And [they say that] some [philosophers] are called mountain-dwelling, others naked, and others urban and neighbouring, and [the] mountain-dwelling [philosophers] use (i.e., wear) hides of deer and have leather pouches, full of roots and drugs, claiming to practice medicine with sorcery, spells, and amulets.[103]

Strabo initially differentiated two classes of Indian philosophers, namely *brāhmaṇa*s and Pramnai, i.e., *śramaṇa*s or ascetics who are not affiliated with Brahmanism. He then introduced a second classification, comprising mountain-dwelling, naked, and urban philosophers, which cannot be related to any ancient Indian systematization. However, Bronkhorst identified the healers mentioned at the end of the quoted section as *brāhmaṇa*s through their characteristic fur clothing.[104] Unfortunately, the *Carakasaṃhitā* neither confirms nor disproves this identification since it does not describe the clothing of physicians. Referring to the initiation of the medical student, Caraka mentioned an ochre robe.[105] If Strabo indeed referred to *brāhmaṇa* physicians, these *brāhmaṇa*s were natives of a mountain region, practicing magico-ritual healing. However, Strabo's account does not indicate, as Bronkhorst maintains, following Zysk, that the medicine of these *brāhmaṇa* mountain healers was exclusively based on ritual means. The fact that Strabo mentioned medicinal plants and roots in the physicians' possession suggests that their medical practice will have combined ritual methods with drug-based treatments. If this is correct, Strabo's description of the mountain-based Brahmanic healers fits quite well with the description of the early ayurvedic physicians in the *Carakasaṃhitā*, who, as mentioned above, practice both "medicine depending on destiny or karma" (*daivavyāpāśraya*)

103 Strabo, *Geography* 15.1.70; Trl. Bronkhorst 2007: 78. Harry Falk (2022: 168) confirms that the word *Pramanai* represents an original *śramaṇa* "through the misreading … *p* from *ś*."

104 Bronkhorst 2007: 57.

105 *muṇḍaḥ kaṣāyavastrasaṃvītaḥ* CS Vimānasthāna 8.8 (8.10, according to Jādvaji Trikamji Ācārya's edition, p. 263a). See above, n. 77.

and "medicine depending on combination" (*yuktivyāpāśraya*).[106] Like the healers that Strabo described, ayurvedic physicians located their homeland in a mountain region, the Himalayas, and claim membership to the class of *brāhmaṇa*s.

The fact that Strabo identified the healers living in the mountains as a separate category of Indian philosophers suggests that this group may also have held a discrete worldview. This would be a further characteristic that Strabo's healers share with early ayurvedic physicians, as can be concluded from a text passage from the eighth chapter of the Vimānasthāna, in which Caraka explained the term *samaya* in the context of the theory of debate. This technical term designates a foundational or core belief. Within a debate, the followers of a particular worldview may not contradict any core belief of their respective worldview to avoid an error of speech (*vākyadoṣa*) leading to their defeat in the debate.[107]

> The [term] "core belief," in turn, means the following: There exists a core belief of ayurvedic physicians, a core belief of ritualists (*yājñika*), and a core belief of specialists in soteriological knowledge (*mokṣaśāstrika*). Of these, the core belief of ayurvedic physicians is that "success arises from the four constituents [of Ayurveda, i.e., the physician, the assistant, medicine, and the patient].[108]" "The sacrificial animals have to be killed" is the core belief of the ritualists. "For all beings, non-harming" is the core belief of specialists in soteriological knowledge.[109]

This passage refers to three foundational or core beliefs, each belonging to a specific religiously defined group. The first group are the followers of Vedic Brahmanism, who practice sacrificial rituals associated with animal sacrifices. The second group, which consists of soteriologists, i.e., representatives of the *śramaṇa* worldview that originated in Greater Magadha, believes in a fundamentally different effectiveness of human action than the followers of Vedic ritualism. Crucial for reaching religious goals are not ritual actions but avoiding bad karma caused by ethically bad actions such as harming living beings. The third core belief, i.e., that of Ayurveda, is the conviction that ayurvedic medicine leads to success, i.e., the successful cure of the patient. All three core beliefs are related to a specific aim, which in the case of Vedic Brahmanism consists in the attainment of a favorable post-mortem fate in heaven, in the case of ascetics in the attainment of spiritual liberation by overcoming transmigration, and for Ayurveda in the fourfold aim that Caraka formulated in the context of the initiation of the medical student in the eighth chapter of the *Carakasaṃhitā* Vimānasthāna.

106 See above, p. 73.

107 See Oberhammer *et al*. 2006: 226.

108 On the four constituents of Ayurveda, see Dagmar Wujastyk 2012: 26–67.

109 *samayaḥ punar yathā — āyurvedikasamayaḥ, yājñiyasamayaḥ, mokṣaśāstrikasamaya iti. tatrāyurvedikasamayaś catuṣpādasiddhiḥ. ālabhyāḥ paśavaḥ, iti yājñiyasamayaḥ. sarvabhūteṣv ahiṃsā, iti mokṣaśāstrikasamayaḥ* (CS Vimānasthāna 8.54, crit. ed. in Preisendanz *et al*. forthcoming, for variants, see Appendix, below, p. 101).

> The physician who desires (1) success in treatment and (2) wealth, (3) the acquisition of fame, and (4) heaven after having deceased should make cows and Brahmins his primal concern and care for the well-being of all living beings, striving for and devoting himself to this aim day after day.[110]

By formulating a core belief of the ayurvedic worldview that deviates from those of the ritualists and the *śramaṇa*s, Caraka coined Ayurveda as a religious and philosophical current that considers itself distinct from ascetic soteriology and Vedic ritualism.

8. Conclusion

The self-representation of early classical Ayurveda, as discussed in section 7, matches the results of the previous sections of this article, according to which the early classical Ayurveda of the *Carakasaṃhitā* combined conceptions of Vedic Brahmanism with those of the *śramaṇa* religions. The Ayurveda of the *Carakasaṃhitā* is, on the one hand, orientated towards the religious and socio-political conceptions of Brahmanism, without, however, making class membership the defining criterion for admission into the medical profession. On the other hand, the *Carakasaṃhitā* unreservedly accepted and promoted conceptions that Bronkhorst identified as specific characteristics of the culture of Greater Magadha, such as the theory of karma, rebirth, spiritual liberation, and cyclic time. However, early classical Ayurveda possessed a discrete cultural identity that set itself apart from that of Vedic Brahmanism and the *śramaṇa* religions. The fact that Caraka neither presented the region of Greater Magadha as the geographical homeland of Ayurveda nor *āryāvarta*, the center of Vedic Brahmanism, but the Himalayas and, more specifically, the river headwaters of the Ganges fits neatly into this picture. The *Carakasaṃhitā* accordingly provides, on the one hand, virtually no evidence in support of the hypothesis of Ayurveda's geographical origin in Greater Magadha. On the other hand, the materials discussed in the present article do not contradict Bronkhorst's hypothesis. It is evident that defining elements of the religious worldview of Ayurveda are alien to Vedic Brahmanism, whereas they figure prominently in Jainism, Buddhism, and other religions that originated in the eastern Gangetic plain.

In a final analysis, Caraka may have intentionally created an ambiguous image of the religious orientation and cultural identity of Ayurveda to satisfy audiences with different cultural identities and religious orientations. His principal aim would then have been to promote Ayurveda to as wide a range of audiences as possible, living in a religiously diverse society in which Brahmanism was developing into the hegemonic socio-political ideology. If this is granted, Caraka's creative approach may explain the lack of logical coherence in

110 *karmasiddhim arthasiddhiṃ yaśolābhaṃ ca pretya ca svargam icchatā bhiṣajā gobrāhmaṇam ādau kṛtvā sarvaprāṇabhṛtāṃ śarmāśāsitavyam ahar ahar uttiṣṭhatā copaviśatā ca.* (CS Vimānasthāna 8.13 in Preisendanz *et al*. forthcoming, for variants, see Appendix, below, p. 101).

philosophical-orientated passages like Śārīrasthāna 1 and elsewhere as resulting from the specific authorial intention of promoting Ayurveda.[111]

Appendix: A critical edition of passages from *Carakasaṃhitā* Vimānasthāna 8.8

The critically edited text presented here is identical to the one in Karin Preisendanz, Philipp A. Maas & Cristina Pecchia forthcoming. However, the present edition differs from the forthcoming one concerning the documentation of variant readings. The present edition reports relevant variants only for the printed edition of Jādavjī Trikamjī Ācārya (1941) and the ten manuscripts that are crucial in reconstructing the earliest reachable text version of the *Carakasaṃhitā* (see Figure 4.1, below).[112] In contrast, the critical apparatus of the forthcoming edition documents readings from a set of fifty-two manuscripts and eight printed editions.

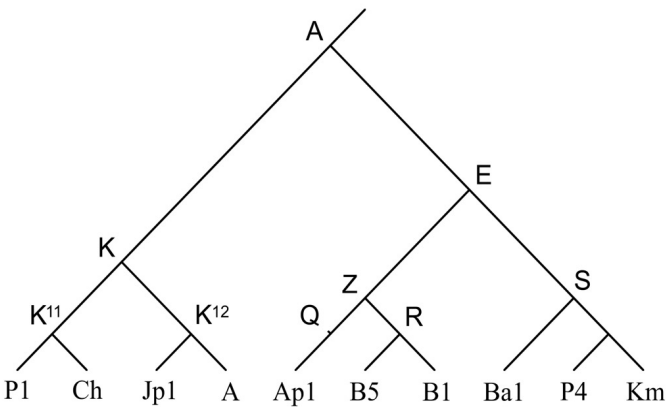

Figure 4.1: A hypothetical stemma of *Carakasaṃhitā* Vimānasthāna 8 for ten genealogically decisive manuscripts[113]

111 Oliver Hellwig (2009: 63f.) suggests three alternative explanations for the lack of logical coherence in Śārīrasthāna 1 when he says that this "may be a sign of different redactions or indicate an author who was either not really interested in this part of the Ca[rakasaṃhitā] or simply not able to compose the chapter in a coherent manner."

112 Maas 2009–2010: 33f. On a further stage of redactorial intervention that must have occurred after Dṛḍhabala's completion of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, see Maas 2010: 1–22.

113 The stemma is identical with the rooted cladogram presented in Maas 2009–2010: 95.

The critical apparatus records variant readings in lemmata that quote the critically edited text. These quotations, printed in bold and terminated by a closing square bracket, are preceded by the number of the line from which the critically edited text is extracted into the lemma. Next, all sigla of witnesses reading the critically edited text are listed. Following a semicolon, the (first) variant to the lemma text appears, which again precedes the list of sigla of witnesses that support this variant reading, etc.

In the critical apparatus, the following abbreviations and symbols are used:

om.	omits	text missing from the respective witness(es)
(*vl*)	*varia lectio*	variant reading recorded in the printed edition *Bo8*^{E}
xy	wavy underline	the reconstruction of the archetypal reading is uncertain
†	dagger	text not available due to a lacuna or damage of manuscript

A Critical Edition of Passages from *Carakasaṃhitā* Vimānasthāna 8

8

athādhyāpanavidhiḥ — adhyāpane kṛtabuddhir ācāryaḥ śiṣyam āditaḥ parīkṣeta, tadyathā, praśāntam āryaprakṛtim akṣudrakarmāṇam ṛjucakṣurmukhanāsāvaṃśaṃ tanuviśadajihvam avikṛtadantauṣṭham amiṇminaṃ dhṛtimantam anahaṃkṛtiṃ medhāvinaṃ vitarkasmṛtisaṃpannam udārasattvaṃ tadvidyakulajam athavā tadvidyavṛttaṃ tattvābhiniveśinam avyaṅgam avyāpannendriyaṃ nibhṛtam anuddhatam avyasaninaṃ śīlaśaucānurāgadākṣyaprādakṣiṇyopapannam adhyayanābhikāmam atyarthaṃ vijñāne karmadarśane cānanyakāryam alubdham anālasaṃ sarvabhūtahitaiṣiṇam ācāryasarvānuśiṣṭipratikaram anuraktam. evaṃguṇaṃ samucitam adhyāpyam āhuḥ.

8.1 athādhyāpanavidhiḥ] athādhyayanavidhiḥ K **adhyāpane]** Bo8^{E} Ba1^{d} Km^{d} P1^{ś} P4^{d}; adhyāpana A^{d} B1^{d} B5^{d} Ch^{d} Jp1^{d}; athādhyāpane Ap1^{d} **āditaḥ]** evāditaḥ E Bo8^{E} **2 ārya]** ācārya B1^{d} **-prakṛtim]** prakṛtikam Ap1^{d} **-viśada-]** *em.*; viṣada K; raktaviśada Bo8^{E} E **3 amiṇminaṃ]** Z; aminminaṃ Bo8^{E}; amirminaṃ K; *om.* Ap1^{d} **dhṛtimantam]** atimantam Ap1^{d} **anahaṃkṛtiṃ]** anahaṃkṛtaṃ Bo8^{E} R; anahaṃkṛtamati P1^{ś} **4 -kulajam]** kulakam B1^{d} **tadvidyavṛttaṃ]** tadvidyāvṛtaṃ K; ≈ tadvidyavṛtta Ap1^{d} **tattvābhiniveśinam]** tattvābhiniveśanam S **5 avyasaninaṃ]** avyasaninam akopanaṃ E; arthatattvabhāvakam akopanam avyasaninaṃ Bo8^{E} **-śaucānurāga-]** śaucācārānurāga S **6 adhyayanābhikāmam]** adhyanābhikām Ap1^{d} **atyarthaṃ]** *em.*; atyartha K; artha Bo8^{E} E **vijñāne]** vijñāna K **7 anālasaṃ]** analasam E **-bhūtahitaiṣiṇam]** bhūtahitekṣaṇam Ap1^{d}; bhūtaiṣaṇam K **-sarvānuśiṣṭi-]** sarvānuśiṣṭa Z; sarvānuṣṭitaśiṣṭa S **-pratikaram]** K; pratipattikaram Bo8^{E} E **-guṇaṃ]** P1^{ś}; guṇa Bo8^{E} E A^{d} Ch^{d} Jp1^{d} **samucitam]** K; samuditam Bo8^{E} E **8 adhyāpyam āhuḥ]** *om.* Ap1^{d}

13

karmasiddhim arthasiddhiṃ yaślābhaṃ ca pretya ca svargam icchatā bhiṣajā gobrāhmaṇam ādau kṛtvā sarvaprāṇabhṛtāṃ śarmāśāsitavyam ahar ahar uttiṣṭhatā copaviśatā ca.

13.1 arthasiddhiṃ] *om.* Ba1^{d} Km^{d} P4^{d} **ca1]** *om.* E **ca svargam]** cāpavargam P1^{ś} **bhiṣajā]** *om.* Ap1^{d} B1^{d} B5^{d} **2 śarmāśāsitavyam]** A^{d} Ap1^{d} Ch^{d} Jp1^{d} P1^{ś}; śarmāśaṃsitavyam Z

54

samayaḥ punar yathā — āyurvedikasamayaḥ, yājñiyasamayaḥ, mokṣaśāstrikasamaya iti. tatrāyurvedikasamayaś catuṣpādasiddhiḥ. ālabhyāḥ paśava iti yājñiyasamayaḥ, sarvabhūteṣv ahiṃseti mokṣaśāstrikasamayaḥ. tatra svasamayaviparītam ucyamānaṃ viruddham iti.

54.1 yathā āyur-] tridhā yathā bhavaty āyur Ba1^{d} Km^{d} P4^{d}; tridhā bhavaty āyur Ap1^{d} B1^{d} B5^{d} **yājñiya]** A^{d} Jp1^{d}; yājñika E Ch^{d}; † P1^{ś} **2 -vedikasamayaś catuṣpādasiddhiḥ]** vedikasamayaḥ catuṣpādaṃ bheṣajam iti Ap1^{d}; vedikasamayaḥ catuṣpādaṃ ṣoḍaśakalaṃ bheṣajam iti R; vedasamayaḥ catuṣpādaṃ ṣoḍaśakalaṃ bheṣajam iti S **ālabhyāḥ paśava iti yājñiyasamayaḥ]** A^{d} Jp1^{d} P1^{ś}; ālabhyāḥ paśava iti yājñikasamayaḥ Ch^{d}; yājñikasamayaḥ ālabhyāḥ paśava iti E **sarvabhūteṣv 3 ahiṃseti mokṣaśāstrikasamayaḥ]** mokṣaśāstrikasamayaḥ sarvabhūteṣv ahiṃseti E **iti]** K; bhavatīti vākyadoṣaḥ Ap1^{d}; bhavatīti vākyadoṣāḥ R

Sigla of witnesses for the *Carakasaṃhitā*

1. Available witnesses (manuscripts and printed edition)

Superscripts ^{d} Devanāgarī; ^{ś} Śāradā; ^{E} Printed Edition

A^{d}	Alwar, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute 2498
Ap1^{d}	Alipur, Bhogilal Leherchand Institute of Indology 5283
B1^{d}	Bikaner, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute 1566
B5^{d}	Bikaner, Anup Sanskrit Library 3996
Ba1^{d}	Baroda, Oriental Institute 12489
Bo8^{E}	Text of the *Carakasaṃhitā* in the printed edition of Jādavji Trikamjī Ācārya 1941
Ch^{d}	Chandigarh, Lal Chand Research Library 2315
Jp1^{d}	Jaipur, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum 2068
Km^{d}	Kathmandu, Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project E-40553
P1^{ś}	Pune, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 555 of 1875-76
P4^{d}	Pune, Anandashram 1546

2. Reconstructed witnesses

E Hyparchetype of the Eastern Version of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, most recent common exemplar of Ap1^{d}, B1^{d}, B5^{d}, Ba1^{d}, P4^{d}, and Km^{d}

K Hyparchetype of the Kashmir Version of the *Carakasaṃhitā*, most recent common exemplar of P1^{ś}, Ch^{d}, Jp1^{d}, and A^{d}

R exemplar of B1^{d}, and B5^{d}

S exemplar of Ba1^{d}, Km^{d}, and P4^{d}

Z exemplar of R and S

Abbreviations

CS *Carakasaṃhitā*

SS *Suśrutasaṃhitā*

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Baudhayanadharmasūtra see *Āpastambadharmasūtra*

Cakrapāṇidatta, *Āyurvedadīpikā* see *Carakasaṃhitā*

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