Health and Healing: Retention of the Popularity of Ashtavaidya Tradition during the Colonial Regime

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Abstract

During the early 19th century, health and medical care was one of the avenues of contestations whereby the British Raj sought to establish their hegemony. With the introduction of western epistemic framework, allopathic medicine became the official medical system of British India. Licenses, charters, permits and acts, colonial hospitals and doctors came together to disparage the indigenous system of medicine and healthcare. Assailed as using ‘unscientific Oriental procedures’ several folk healers lost their traditional practice and livelihood. However, amidst all these colossal manoeuvres, the popularity and relevance of the Ashtavaidya tradition, practiced by eighteen Namboodiri families in Kerala remained unscathed. The medical practices customized by the Ashtavaidyans who themselves were an “outcaste” within the Namboodiri community was highly codified and has remained a closely guarded secret within their lineage. This essay probes into the multiple reasons behind how the Ashtavaidya tradition retained its relevance, despite the colonial gambit to repudiate the indigenous practices. Through the legends and mythical stories woven around the healing practices of Ashtavaidyans in Aithihyamala by the court scribe of 19th century, Kottarathil Sankunni, the essay argues that relevance of the Ashtavaidyans could be due to the transformation of Ashtavaidya tradition as markers of cultural pride and the popular image generated by various myths and legends that got registered in the public consciousness.

Keywords: Ashtavaidyans, healthcare, colonialism, nationalism, philanthropy

Kerala, the southernmost state on the Malabar Coast of India, has been popular for its amazing repository of knowledge system on traditional methods of healing and prevention of diseases.\(^1\) 2\(^{nd}\) century BC onwards, maritime trade with countries across the globe including Greece, Italy, China, Portugal, Netherlands and England led to a further exchange of knowledge on multifarious usage of medicinal plants, animal products and minerals. Initially, the Ayurvedic practices that has been a part of Kerala’s healing and wellbeing since time immemorial was dispensed through folk healers called the nattu vaidyans.\(^{ii}\) It becomes interesting to note how these medical practitioners were drawn from a cross section of Hindu, Christian and Muslim communities and it never remained the monopoly of a particular caste. The caste system came to be established in Kerala around the 8\(^{th}\) century with a large influx of Brahmans (popularly known as the Namboodiris) who migrated from Karnataka to Kerala. The Namboodiris, with their superior knowledge of Vedas and agricultural techniques were able to convince the rulers of their higher rank in social hierarchy. Their hegemonic practices began with consolidation of power over the temples and lands around them called devaswam.\(^{iii}\) Consequently, these temples became the site of socio-cultural conglomeration and arenas for popularising Vedic knowledge brought by the Namboodiris. The highly
institutionalised and codified practice of medicine began with the onslaught of the Ashtavaidyans tradition in Kerala between the 13th and 17th century. This ushered the formal training of eighteen families belonging predominantly to the Namboodiri caste (the uppermost caste in social hierarchy) in eight branches of Ashtanga Hrudayam, one of the basic texts of Ayurveda composed by Vagbhattacharya, a disciple of Charaka. The initial medical practitioners of Ashtanga Hrudayam were believed to be trained by Vagbhatta himself and were called the Ashtavaidyans, they were the ones who mastered 7,120 verses of the text. The training of students who aspired to be medical practitioners in the Ashtavaidya tradition were rigorous and impeccable. Each student was expected to put in several years of hard work and dedication to attain medical expertise. In local Malayalam dialect it was put as: “Ezhuthil Anju, Kattil Anju, Vettil anju” which involved five years of learning Sanskrit, mastering medicinal treatises and philosophies of Nyaya, Vaisheshika and Samkhyya, five years of familiarization and research of medicinal herbs with the help of tribals, villagers and cowherds and the last five years of rigorous in-house training in the preceptor’s house as an apprentice to gain hands-on experience in treatment of various ailments.

Although the study of Ashtanga Hrudayam was open to people belonging to all castes, certain commentaries like Kairali (popularly known as Pulamanthol commentary) authored by Ashtavaidan Pulamanthol Moose was taught exclusively to Brahmins. The local rulers of the time too took a keen interest in these commentaries. For instance, Ravivarma Koyithampuran of Lakshmipuram Palace in Changanachery initiated a commentary on Ashtanga Hrudayam. However, despite occupying a seminal position in terms of the medicinal practice and expertise, the Ashtavaidyans were treated as “out caste” or “Jatimatkaras” or “barely caste people” (Thurston, 1909, p. 125) and were excluded from religious functions; as they handled knives and blood as surgeons; which were deemed “inappropriate” according to their varna (codes of societal conduct and duty based on caste). They were allowed to read the Vedas, but were not sanctioned to take up the role of a preceptor of Vedas nor perform yagyna, like the other Namboodiris. However, despite all these exclusions, they held a highly respectable position in the society because of their medical acumen and resourcefulness. In this essay, I critically probe into the roles occupied by the Ashtavaidyans, their engagement with the colonial masters and also the myriad ways in which their identity is registered in the literary and social consciousness of the indigenous communities. To acquire a closer understanding of their roles and elevated status in popular imagination and the public sphere, I have borrowed literary representations from the book of legends by Kottarathil Sankunni, Aithihyamaala (Vol I & II).

Kottarathil Sankunni is the pen name of Vasudevan Unni Junior, a noted Sanskrit scholar and poet born in 1855. Although he has thirteen Manipravalikas to his credit, Kottarathil Sankunni’s Aithihyamaala is judged as one of his best works by both connoisseurs and critics. The ancient Indian knowledge system has been predominantly oral and kathas (stories) or legends played a unique role as they served as a repository of information regarding the thought process and worldview of an erstwhile era. It employed methods like recalling to memory certain instances or events connected to a specific individual or group of individuals. Aithihyamala cannot be seen as the concerted efforts of one individual or the author (Kottarathil Sankunni) alone. It involves narrative efforts of several individuals as it was based on the collective memory of an entire community. These stories were passionately recounted by a heterogeneous community to Kottarathil Sankunni during his prolific travels to different parts of Kerala. Aithihyamala is a collection of 48 stories which revolve around themes like patriotism, bravery, concern for the society, medical acumen of the Ashtavaidyans etc. Although many of these stories on Ashtavaidyans handpicked by Kottarathil Sankunni, add a dash of mystery and supernatural elements, they help in reflecting the manner in which the Ashtavaidyans engaged with the problematics of medical
complexities. Furthermore, Kottarathil Sankunni’s *Aithihyamala* has also succeeded in capturing the popular beliefs which circulated amongst the people of late 19th and early 20th century. In the current essay, I have employed a mixed method of textual analysis and interviews to understand and draw conclusions regarding the popular imagination of the *Ashtavaidyans*.vi I have developed the theoretical framework for this essay from the ideas proposed by critical thinkers like Partha Chatterjee, K.N Panikkar, Edgar Thurston and social researchers like Indudharan Menon and Zimmermann.

**Understanding of swasthya or health and well-being through the Ashtavaidya lens**

In Ayurveda, the state of ‘well-being’ can be attained when both body and mind are in a balanced state and to achieve this equilibrium, diverse components like food, lifestyle, medicine and cultural factors play a crucial role. The mural art paintings (frescos) in several temples and palaces of Kerala, based on the tales from Puranas and epics (Ramayana and Mahabharata) succinctly explains this concept of health. According to both scriptures and visual art forms, Lord Dhanvantari, is worshipped as the God of Ayurveda and is considered as the ultimate healer by physicians and devotees alike. According to the Puranas, Lord Dhanvantari is an incarnation of Lord Vishnu who emerged from the milky ocean with the pot of nectar (Amruth) when it was churned by the gods and demons. The iconographic symbols associated with Lord Dhanvantri in the mural arts depict how this knowledge system believed in not only healing the physical anomaly of the afflicted but also eliminating mental blocks like fear and depression associated with illness. These symbols stand a testimony to the fact that the *samya* or equilibrium that Ayurveda aspires for can be gained through a balanced interaction and interrelations with everything around in this cosmos. The following verses which pay obeisance to Lord Dhanvanthri extols him for not only eliminating the jara (old age), but also removing the fear of the uncertainties including the death.

\[\text{Namami Dhanwanthary Aadi Devam, Surasura Vanditham Pada Padnam,}\
\text{Loke Jara Rugbhay Mrityu Nashakam, Datharam Eesham Vividhaushadhadinam}\]

(I respectfully bow to Lord Dhanvantri, the primal God, whose lotus feet is reverently worshipped by both the demons and Gods, who is the remover of jara (old age), pain and even the fear of death itself and who has different kinds of medicine and healing modalities to heal various ailments in this universe)

A physician in the ancient science of Ayurveda tradition was not simply a healer; he occupied the position of ‘a life saver’ and his powers were considered akin to the divine who was vested with the capacity to bestow life, protect the well-being of the patients and even lead them to a higher state of consciousness.

Kottarathil Sankunni’s legend titled *Alathiyur Nambi* in the *Aithihyamala* gives a vivid description of the understanding of the concept of health through the *killipattu* mode of interaction that occurs between two birds. From 16th C onwards, the genre of *killipattu* or parrot songs introduced by Ezhuthachan in Malayalam literature became a popular means to disseminate knowledge or explicate complex ideas. One bird amongst the two, raises the query to the other, “korukku, korukku” which means “who can be deemed healthy?”, to which the famous *Ashtavaidyans*, Alathiyur Nambi replies; “Kale hithamit bhoji kruth chamkraman kramen vamasaya; moothr preesh; sthreeshu yathatma cha yo nara; sorukke” (Sankunni, 2016, p. 281) which can be loosely translated as one who consumes a balanced diet on time, one who walks a few yards after consuming a meal, one who sleeps on the left side, one who answers nature’s call on time, one who indulges in normal sex is deemed “healthy”. So, the responsibility of good health and longevity was
never seen as a casual factor subjected to the circumstances and facilities generated by State or ‘care’ bestowed onto an individual by his/her immediate support system, but it was understood as a project wherein the individual himself or herself was an equal stakeholder. And perhaps, this was one of the fundamental premise that physicians of both Ashtavaidya tradition and folk tradition (nattu vaidyans) compulsorily imparted to their patients coming for a treatment. Excessive indulgence of any kind, whether sleep, health or sex were essentially seen as factors hampering health. Thus it accentuated an awareness that swasthya or health is rooted in one’s own self; and when there is a disease, the self inherently possesses an innate ability to relieve itself or cope up with the stress of disease, recuperate and regain health and wellness. And this transfer of responsibility onto the patient was something which has been reinforced in ancient scriptures too.

**The Colonial Tryst with indigenous Medicines**

From the early 16th century onwards, Ayurvedic practices of the Malabar Coast incited curiosity amongst the early Europeans like the Portuguese and the Dutch. The Europeans were anxious about their officers falling a prey to tropical diseases and sea-borne ailments like scurvy, due to long overseas journey and lack of Vitamin C. The first textbook on tropical medicine by Garcia da Orta, *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India* in the 16th C, became an essential tool for Europeans travelling to tropical colonies in the 17th and 18th centuries. Later on, in the 17th century, the paradoxical combination of benevolent intentions as well as imperial mission led to the publication of *Hortus Malabaricus* (1678), a twelve-volumed comprehensive study of the properties of the flora of the Indian states of Kerala, Karnataka and Goa. It was compiled laboriously by the Dutch Governor of Malabar, Hendrik Van Rheede, and the Ezhava physician, Itty Achuthan Vaidyar. However, with the onslaught of British imperialism, the East India Company (EIC) was thoroughly dissatisfied with the ‘unscientific’ Oriental methods and were looking for ways in which they could improvise the medical support provided to officers stationed in the Raj. The need to introduce modern allopathic medicine became even stronger as the officers posted in colonies were falling prey to various ailments because of the tropical heat, scorching winds, ‘badly ventilated barracks and the guard rooms; and the intemperate habits of the men’ which led to ‘general derangement of health in the form of fevers, dysentery, scurvy, small pox, flu, cholera and elephantiasis. The anxiety of the East India company to safeguard the health and lives of its employees led to the foundation of the hospital in Malabar.’ (Mamatha, 2014, p. 849). Furthermore, the indigenous method of treatments was a fallout with the colonial officers, due to race consciousness and lack of enthusiasm to consult the native doctors. The long duration of treatment, bitter concoctions like kashayams, and the strict diet (pathyam) which had to be followed during the intake of Ayurvedic medicine, didn’t register favourably in the colonial consciousness and they worked aggressively towards introducing modern medicine which aimed at treating specific bodily conditions, often ignoring the mental states associated with itvii.

The western medicine and healthcare discourse was dispensed through the newly opened hospitals, and aggressive efforts of the church and missionaries. Though the princely kingdoms were not much in favour of colonial healthcare systems, they couldn’t decline their patronage or challenge colonial overtures to establish the same. There existed a huge chasm in the approaches taken by the Western and Ayurvedic practice of medicine. The colonial masters found this ideology of ‘moderation’ as prescribed in Ayurvedic texts, a direct clash with their materialistic pursuits and pleasures on which the very foundation of empire rested. On one hand, if the western science and medicine aimed zealously to homogenise the drugs and patterns of treatment, the native physicians including the Ashtavaidyans worked towards prescribing a customised treatment for the patients depending on their body type, dosha, availability of a medicine, and caste sanctions for
Health and Healing: Retention of the Popularity of Ashtavaidya Tradition during the Colonial Regime

Consuming a particular medicine. There are several stories of such specialised medicines, in *Aithihyamala*, where the *Ashtavaidyans* have used novel methods and unusual substances like fat of a python, as a medicine to cure certain ailments. Medical formulations like *kashyams* and *tailams* were prepared either at the vaidyan’s home or the patient’s, home after the former closely introspected the symptoms of disease (*lakshanam*). *Aithihyamala* depicts how the *Ashtavaidyans* would instruct the patient’s relatives to gather herbs which were locally available to prepare the medicine and in case, a particular herb wasn’t available in the vicinity, he would immediately recall and suggest usage of an alternative herb. Each *Ashtavaidyans* family had its own therapeutic line of treatment and specific methods of transmission. Verse 64 of *Ashtanga Hrudayam* states that “there is nothing in this universe that is not a medicine and that cannot be used for many purposes and in many different ways.” (Parradkar, 2006, p. 209) Thus the *Ashtavaidyans* believed that if an imbalance has occurred in the body due to the permutation of elements or *doshas*, something in the universe would be available to restore its balance. While the western medicine completely depended on analytical methods to diagnose and prescribe treatments; the *Ashtavaidyans*, being spiritually inclined; invariably resorted to intuition while remaining rooted to analytical methods.

The British imposed their domination in the field of medicine and made the Western allopathy medicine the official medical system of British India, by imposing certain charters, acts, permits and licences. The plight of the *nattu vaidyans* became even much more deplorable than *Ashtavaidyans*. Before the introduction of Western epistemical frameworks, surgeries were rampantly employed by the *Ashtavaidyans*. However, with the onslaught of British surgical practices, the practices by the *Ashtavaidyans* were declared ‘unscientific’ and even hazardous. The Governor of Madras, Lord Pentlandite, expressed his complete disregard and delegitimised indigenous medicinal practices, while reluctantly inaugurating an Ayurvedic dispensary at Cheruthuruthy in Kerala:

> the indigenous system he asserted, had hardly any knowledge of anatomy, its medicines were deplorably poor in quality and practitioners had no ability to establish cause-effect relationships. Such a system, the government argues, had no claim on public money. (Panikkar, 2009, p.171)

The acts and licenses introduced by the colonial government marginalised the *nattu vaidyans* (local indigenous healers), and they were forbidden from practice and assigned the status of *quacks* by the British government. Scholar, Indudharan Menon points out the colonial attempts to privilege certain text-based traditions like Ayurveda and Unani and marginalise and delegitimise folk medicine and folk healers who found ‘no official recognition or legal status.’ (Menon, 2019, p.7) This encounter between Indian and Western medicine and colonial dictates, led to the emergence of new structural forms, which were as much paradigms of defence as sites of negotiation for these encounters.

The role of physicians in the newly established colonial hospitals were fraught with complexities. Often the British medical officers in Indian Medical Service (IMS) who were a part of the colonial entourage aimed to gain favours from their superiors. Consequently, their duty as a medical expert to treat patients without racial segregation remained neglected. Besides, their services were mostly restricted to people belonging to elite class, conveniently delegating most of the dealings with natives to the medical attendants and helpers. The chasm between the coloniser and the colonised was highlighted through separate medical-arrangements and accommodation of the patients; which further alienated both the races. Despite the grandiose claims and promotion of the superior quality and benefits of Western medicine; doctors, hospitals and dispensaries were...
insufficient to cater the requirements of the State. Furthermore, several dispensaries like the one in Malappuram were closed as they were highly dependent on the support from local community. A report on the closure of civil dispensary in 1862 in the Madras Presidency states that it closed as the people did “nothing towards its support.” (Mamatha, 2014, p. 852)

The medical arena became yet another avenue of the East India Company to consolidate their hegemony and the imperial efforts were assiduously masked by the façade of philanthropy. Postcolonial critic, Albert Memmi points out as to how their sense of superiority was premised on three major ideological components— the gulf between the culture of the colonialist and the colonised; the exploitation of these differences for the benefit of the colonialist; and finally, the use of these supposed differences as standards of absolute facts. (Memmi, 1965, p. 75) Thus, it was this cultural gulf that became the rationale for social engineering. Apart from performing their assigned duty of ensuring health and hygiene of military troops, the newly appointed cadres of Indian Medical Service (IMS) also involved themselves in what Michel Foucault refers to as ‘medical authority’ and ‘what was not its business’ (Foucault, 2014, p. 24)\textsuperscript{x} The British set up various committees to oversee and control the indigenous medical practices. However, despite the British attempts to target and disrupt the indigenous system of medicine, it was difficult to belittle, combat and erase, the glory and expertise of Ashtavaidyans who had both royal patronage and support from the locals. In fact, the locals believed that a mere touch of an Ashtavaidyan, with kaipunya was all that was required to heal the afflicted.\textsuperscript{x}

During the phase of anti-colonial nationalism, the nationalists clearly started demarcating the respective areas of sovereignty in terms of the material and spiritual, and in this tussle, the Ashtavaidyans and Ayurveda came to occupy a unique position. Partha Chatterjee, in his book, The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories (1993) elaborates this dichotomy, in the following manner:

The material is the domain of the “outside,” of the economy and of the statecraft, of science and technology, a domain where the West has proven its superiority and the East had succumbed. In this domain, then, Western superiority had to be acknowledged and its accomplishments carefully studied and replicated. The spiritual, on the other hand, is an “inner” domain of bearing the “essential” markers of cultural identity. The greater one’s success in imitating Western skills in the material domain, therefore, the greater the need to preserve the distinctness of one’s spiritual culture. (Chatterjee, 1993, p. 26)

The princely states were loggerheads with the British in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century and there was an aggressive intervention on the part of the former to reorganise indigenous healthcare practices which were deemed as markers of the Indian cultural forms. Although these rulers couldn’t resist the physical consolidation of territories; they tried their best to resist the cultural hegemony imposed by the British through several means. Furthermore, they also had an additional task of monitoring the youth who were increasingly attracted to modernity projects and ideas introduced by the imperialists. Noted social scientist, Burton Cleetus explains the socio-political scenario of the times thus: “The princely states used tradition as a powerful means of consolidating their legitimacy as well as offering cultural resistance to the colonial state.” (Cleetus, 2007, p. 134) The cultural past of the province was reclaimed through mediums like dance forms, architecture and medical practices and the kings used these cultural markers to consolidate their loyalty as well as relevance during the British era. The association with the Ashtavaidya tradition, which was patronised by the local rulers, became a cultural marker of the elite who were desirous of higher position within the social order which “embraced text bound classical tradition as a means to
The privileging of the Ashtavaidya tradition over any other form of medicine was a part of the larger scheme of promoting loyalty towards traditional treatment over colonial treatment and preference for this meant pledging loyalty towards nation and the native ruler.

In turn, the Ashtavaidyans too remained committed to their medical profession without any ostentatious display of affection or fear towards the colonisers. Aithihyamala depicts how several Ashtavaidyans like Aryan Moosse never took money or any form of reward from the British officers for the treatment. Kottarathil Sankunni gives his readers a vivid account of Mr. Kolf, an Englishman who was a business superintendent based in Alappuzha. After being relieved of a splitting headache by the treatment of Ashtavaidyan Aryan Moosse, Mr. Kolf offered him a reward of a tusker and thousand rupees which Aryan Moosse politely refused by stating “Treating patients is our way of serving mankind.” (Sankunni, 2016, p. 95) Another popular incident which has been recorded in the documents of Vaidya Ratna Oushadasala is the adept manner in which Ashtavaidyan Triparangode Parameswaran Moos treated the Chief Justice, Sir Basil Scott of a chronic pain. This gained him a great acclaim and also won the trust of a few colonizers in the indigenous medical practices. The dedication and efforts of Ashtavaidyans towards the society led Governor General Lord Harding to confer the title of Vaidyaratnam to Eledyathu Narayanan Moore for his exemplary service in the field of medicine. In one of my personal interviews with Ashtavaidyan E.T Ravi Mooss, on the subject, he states how the Ashtavaidyans occupied a ‘neutral position’ during the colonial times and expresses the opinion that none of them involved themselves in nationalist politics or hurt the sentiments of the stakeholders in power. He further explains how this stand essentially saved them from political encroachments and also aided them in continuing their medical practice effectively. Similarly, the British never suspected the Ashtavaidyans of engineering revolts with the nationalists or kings; hence, the identity of Ashtavaidyans remained neutral or harmless like the Parsi community in the conception of the British.

The Ashtavaidyans remained a highly patronised clan amongst the royal families of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore of Kerala. Several Ashtavaidyans like Thycaut Moose were appointed as inhouse physicians in the royal court of Travancore. Although many local kings kept a resident British doctor in their court to show their solidarity with the British mode of treatment, they patronised the parampara Vaidyans or hereditary physicians like Ashtavaidyans. Another interesting reason of the Ashtavaidyans always being kept in good humour by their wealthy patrons like kings, chieftains and Namboodiris was their desire to enjoy life to the fullest. The feudal system of Kerala provided several outlets to hedonistic enjoyment of life especially to men belonging to the Namboodiri communities. These Namboodiris were well aware of the various rejuvenation therapies mentioned in the Ashtangahrudya which could reinstall youth and vigour to their sex life which eclipsed as a result of age. Thus, despite their marginalised status within their own community, the Ashtavaidyans became an indispensable resource to aid their materialistic pursuits. These reasons led to a further extollation of Ashtavaidyans by beneficiaries and court scribes like Kottarathil Sankunni. In addition, several medical treatises too made it evident that it was the utmost duty of Ashtavaidyans to remain committed to kings and royal clans: “The king is the most important of all patients... because his state of health expresses the artha or wellbeing of all his subjects”. (Zimmermann, 2011, p. 181) This shows how through these transactions and close nexus with the rulers, power operated to legitimise and eulogise certain hearsays and myths regarding the medical expertise of Ashtavaidyans.
Another function which further elevated the status of Ashtavaidyans was their presence in state sponsored religious events like Murajapam and Lakshadeepam. The Murajapam was instituted by the King of Travancore, Marthanda Varma (1705-1758), after he relocated his capital from Padmanabhapuram to Thiruvananthapuram in 1750. The Murajapam, conducted once in six years is the ceremonial chanting of the hymns from Rigveda, Yajurveda and Samaveda. The ceremonial chanting is held in seven sessions, with each lasting for eight days called a ‘mura’. Each mura concludes with a special ‘sheeveli’ or procession. Events like these were sponsored by the state to bring overall prosperity to the kingdom and the rulers and to ward off unwanted threats or hazards. According to Dr. Vysakh A. S, the Ashtavaidyans were given one mura each during the Murajapam. They were the official Ayurvedic doctors for the Brahmins conducting the rituals and chanting during the Murajapam and Lakshadeepam. The Kashayappura or medicinal store-house for preparation of medicines for the such occasions was specially established for meeting the medical needs of the participants and the vaidyans were available round the clock. (Vysakh, 2017, p. 379)

The following section of the essay focuses on another important factor that worked in favour of Ashtavaidyans which led to the registration of their identity in the public imagination as individuals possessing high degree of social responsibility.

Ashtavaidyans as registered in local consciousness as Custodians and Harbingers of health and a better life.

There are several stories in Aithihyamala where Ashtavaidyans like Ittery Moosse and Vayasakara Moosse treated patients without a fee or remuneration. Compassion to the suffering of patients, aiding them to redeem themselves from the agony and turmoil was seen as the utmost duty of the Ashtavaidyans. Although, the Ashtavaidyans belonged to the Namboothiriri caste, they were often excluded from performing certain important religious rituals like yagya because they had to treat patients belonging to all castes and engage even in surgery at times to save the life of a patient. Aithihyamala shows, how Ashtavaidyans like Aryan Moosse provided free services to poor people like Devassia, a man belonging to Syrian Christian community. In fact, he goes a step further to reward Devassia a one-rupee coin for having come to report and thank Aryan Moosse for his recovery. (Sankunni, 2016, p. 98.) The very fact, that despite being Namboodiris they would treat patients belonging to all castes and religions, earned the Ashtavaidyans a secular and cosmopolitan image amongst the masses. In a personal interview given to me on the subject, Ashtavaidyan E.T Ravi Moos recalls how his ancestors never used to charge differently from patients on the basis of their social status. In fact, as compared to other Namboodiris who worked in different capacities as scholars and temple priests, and received considerable amount of dakshina or money from temples, lands and the local chieftains, the Ashtavaidyans earned much lesser wealth. In fact, there was no fixed consultation fees and many times, the fee was waivered, when it came to economically deprived patients like Devassia. In fact, many a times, these Ashtavaidyans used to receive fresh fruits and vegetables as a token of gratitude from people who couldn’t afford the consultation fees. All their service-oriented works helped the Ashtavaidyans to earn a quasi-divine status and good will of the community. It is also very interesting to note how the expertise of the Ashtavaidyans were lauded over the other traditional vaidyans and the treatments provided by allopathy doctors. Aithihyamala indicates this preference by citing examples of patients like Maharaja Swati Thirunal of Travancore, Devaki Kunjamma of the Paliath royal family of Cochin and P.M Chacko, Principal of CMS College, Kollam. (Sankunni, 2016, p. 110-112) These patients who were unable to get respite from their ailments, by the western medical treatment, finally resorted to the customised treatment of the Ashtavaidyans, and got cured. Building trust in such influential notaries of the society further escalated the glory of Ashtavaidyans.
One amongst the four essential qualities of a healer was upliftment or elevation of the patient’s spirits and building a faith in the course of medical procedures to be undertaken. And on several occasions, the words uttered and rituals undertaken by the Ashtavaidyans assumed a quasi-divine status. Aithihyamala shows various instances where the Ashtavaidyans use a variety of methods including very strange ones as a part of their therapy to rekindle the lost faith and elevate the mental state of their patients. Ashtavaidyans of different branches were also involved with expertise in different fields like kalar and mantravadam. Narratives like Aithihyamala glorifies the potent power of spells and incantations which lent a midas touch to the Ashtavaidyans’s healing capabilities. It is observed that most physicians belonging to the Ashtavaidyan tradition underwent a year-long spiritual practice called bhajanam involving the recitation of Ashtanga Hrudyam to invoke the grace of the divine. It was believed this exercise would beget them the much-coveted kaipunyam desirable to heal the afflicted patients. Although several Ashtavaidyans were experts in diagnosing and prescribing treatments, several other Ashtavaidyans like Aryan and Ittery Moosse, as indicated in the Aithihyamala, were also experts in studying facial expressions and predicting the precise time of death. (Sankunni, 2016, p.114)

According to Aithihyamala, in addition to the divine grace, the guru’s grace played an equal role in alleviating sufferings brought forward by the ailing patients. Stories like Vidhi Kushmandam in Aithihyamala, reflects how every word of the master, taken with right and undeterable faith had the capacity to revive even the most critical case back to life. The popular folk tale Vidhi Kushamandam narrated to every beginner aspiring to be an Ashtavaidyan to explain the significance of master’s grace. (Sankunni, 2016, p. 185-188) Essentially, it functioned to legitimise two aspects; first in promoting the unique role of incantations in the process of healing; suggestive of the fact that doctor is a mere tool for divine intervention. The second figurative suggestion here being, the guru or the master is seen as second to God and every word and action of the guru remains unchallenged thus highlighting the benevolence of master who transfers knowledge through the guru shishya sampradaya or lineage. Unlike the western tradition whereby a breakthrough research could easily get a student much ahead of the master or preceptor, the Ashtavaidya tradition, consisted of unique rituals and frameworks that bound the student to remain grateful and indebted not only to the master but also the very parampara or tradition from where he has received the knowledge. As a final token of gratitude to the master, the student offers a transcribed copy of Ashtanga Hrudyam to the former, thereby ‘cementing his relationship with the text and his teacher.’ (Vysakh, 2019, p.179) An outsider has no place in this tradition and most of the incantations, spells or so called ottamoolis are passed down the lineage only to members of the Ashtavaidyan family.

Several myths and legends in Aithihyamala suggest that Ashtavaidyans like Alayatur Nambi have received knowledge from the highest order i.e the Ashwini Kumars or the twin Gods of medicine (Sankunni, 2016, p.284); hence, the esoteric knowledge is legitimised like the Vedas and thus remains unchallenged by humans who are mere mortals. In fact, the Ashtavaidyans are also credited with treating the Gods themselves. According to popular legends, the chief deity (Lord Bharata, younger brother of Sri Rama) of Koodalmanickam Temple falls sick and is “susceptible to bowel disorder every year after the Puthari neivedyam (the offering of newly harvested rice) on the Thiruvonam day”. (Sankunni, 2016, p. 134) As a solace to this ailment, a Mukkudi Nivedyam, a herbal decoration, is administered to the divine. The right to prepare this mukkudi, which is a curative for all kinds of abdominal problems was entrusted to Ashtavaidyan Kuttancherry Moose. Although this neivedyam was shared with all the devotees, the ingredients of this preparation still remains a closely guarded secret within Kuttancherry Moosse’s family. By humanising the divine, making the presiding deity undergo the bodily perils of a common man and then soliciting the
treatment from an Ashtavaidyan, conveys several messages to the common temple-goers who unconsciously internalise certain implicit meanings of power coded within the mythic narrative. These stories which are in circulation even in the contemporary age, embeds and cements the legitimacy of the Ashtavaidyan’s medical expertise in the minds of the temple-goers and also foregrounds the fact that ordinary doctors lack the kaipunyam or divine grace of Ashtavaidyans. Thus, knowledge and healing procedure vested in the Ashtavaidya parampara is elevated to a quasi-divine status by virtue of the narrative that surrounds the treatment.

Conclusion

Community played a very important role in the development of medical knowledge in Kerala. Historians and court scribes like Kottarathil Sankunni advanced and emphasised the glory and acumen of the Ashtavaidyans who were in service of the royal houses and noblemen. The strongest weapon that the Ashtavaidyans possessed by virtue of their upper caste, was the impeccable training provided to them in the Sanskrit language; thereby bestowing them with the privilege of understanding various medicinal treatises, and assimilating and incorporating those in their medical practices. In addition, the political support provided them with adequate resources for research and experimentation, giving ample scope to enhance and develop their own ‘redacted, codified and complex system of medicine (Vysakh, 2017, p. 174) With each generation, their understanding of disease and expertise in diagnosis have passed on in a linear mode to their descendants; and furthermore, it has remained as an esoteric knowledge within the precincts of the Ashtavaidyaya family. Although in the postcolonial age, all the doctors belonging to this tradition has received education from prestigious and certified Ayurvedic colleges, certain yuktis. that is not taught in the conventional colleges is passed on to them with the same reverence as in the earlier centuries. Thus, along with the transfer of knowledge through the lineage, and whole hearted community service, it was the political stronghold that supplemented the Ashtavaidyans to surpass and establish themselves as the foremost in the field and register in the public consciousness as harbingers of social welfare and hope.

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Notes

i Some of the traditional methods of healing included the nattu vaidyam or local medicine by folk healers, healing methods of tribals and people belonging to the Mannan caste (washer-folk), kalari- chikilsa or the therapy associated with the martial art of Kerala called Kalaripayattu, marma chikilsa or application of pressure on marma points in the body to enhance health.

ii Nattu Vaidyans or nadan vaidyans practiced through their custom based, inter-generational methods of practice and generally their line of treatment remained uncodified or unwritten.

iii Rajan Gurukkal’s work The Kerala Temple and the early Medieval Agrarian System (1992) draws attention to how the Brahminical settlement around temples led to a societal and political reorganisation consequently leading to a hegemony of Brahminical ideas and institutions.
Health and Healing: Retention of the Popularity of Ashtavaidya Tradition during the Colonial Regime

The legendary stories put forth the view that Vagbhatta was brought to Kerala by Sage Parashurama, whereas other scholars claim that he belonged to Sindh region. The eighteen Ashtavaidyans families are as follows: Alattur Nambi, Akalnath Mooss, Chirattamanna Mooss, Choondal Mooss, Eleyedattu Taikkatt Mooss, Karantol Nambi, Kuriyedath Mooss, Kurumbempilly Mooss, Kuttanchery Mooss, Paduthol Mooss, Parappur Mooss, Pazhanellippurattu Taikkatt Mooss, Peringavu Moos, Pulamanthol Mooss, Ubhayur Mooss, Vatuthala Mooss, Vayaskara Moos, Vellodu Mooss.


Manipravalika's are texts written in Manipravalam language, a mix of Sanskrit and Tamil language crafted by Namboodiri Brahmins.

I have employed telephonic/ e-mail interviews with Ashtavaidyan E.T Ravi Moss, Princess Poyyam Thirunagiri Gouri Parvathy Bai, Dr. Vysakh A.S, and Dr. Preetha Prabhakaran on the subject.

Kashayams are decoctions which are dark in colour and are made of extract of single or multiple herbs. They are often bitter to taste. The patient administered with kashayam has to undergo a strict diet regimen called pathyam where a number of diets including tubers, alcohol and sometimes even non-vegetarian dishes are strictly not allowed.

The three Ayurvedic body types, or doshas, are Vata, Pitta and Kapha. Each type of dosha has a unique set of characteristics and the body type of a person depends on their physical and emotional attributes.

In his lecture delivered at the Institute of Social Medicine, State University of Rio de Janeiro, Michel Foucault throws light on how since the 18th century onwards, the colonial medical authority involved themselves in things other than clinical aspects. They could make decisions concerning a town, district, an institution or a new regulation. Thus medicine became more of a social practice than an individual one.

Kaipunyam is a Malayalam word and it refers to the Midas touch of certain doctors, bestowing them the unique ability to heal patients better and faster.

Aryan Moos is believed to have used ithilkanni (Sankunni, 2016, p.100), a commonly available herb to restore Devassia's health.

Ottamoolis are the unique single herbs than can cure certain diseases. The knowledge of this is largely esoteric and is handed down only to deserving students.

Thiruvonam is the most auspicious of the ten-day harvest festival celebrated in Kerala during the months of August/ September.

Yukti is the reasoning for proper assessment. It is absolutely essential in identifying the disease, stage of disease, administration of dosage, time of administration of medicine.

References


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