

The Yogatattvabindu

योगतत्त्वबिन्दु

Yogatattvabindu

Critical Edition
with annotated Translation

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Indica et Tibetica Verlag
Marburg 2024

Bibliographische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliographie; detaillierte bibliographische Informationen sind im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by Die Deutschen Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

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Satz: Nils Jacob Liersch

Herstellung: BoD – Books on Demand GmbH, Norderstedt

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Introduction

General remarks

The *Yogatattvabindu* is a premodern Sanskrit Yoga text on Rājayoga that was written in the first half of the seventeenth century¹ in northern India.² The most salient feature of the work that makes it historically significant is its highly differentiated taxonomy of types of Yoga. In the *Yogatattvabindu*'s introduction, most manuscripts name fifteen types of Yoga, presented as subtypes of Rājayoga. The text is a yogic compendium written in a mix of mainly prose and 41 verses in textbook-style, where its 58 topics are introduced in sections launched by recognizable phrases. Most sections deal with the subtypes of Rājayoga and their effects, but others also cover topics like yogic physiology and cosmogony.

The *Yogatattvabindu* has not been discussed or considered in secondary literature on Yoga. The only exception is BIRCH (2014: 415–416) who briefly described its list of fifteen Yogas in the context of the “fifteen medieval Yogas” and noted that a similar³ list occurs in Nārāyaṇatīrtha's *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* (17th – 18th century), a commentary on the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* that integrates almost an identical taxonomy of yogas within the *aṣṭāṅga* format. An incomplete account of the fifteen Yogas is found within the Sanskrit Yoga text *Yogasvarodaya*, which is known only through quotations in the *Prāṇatoṣinī* and *Yogakarnīkā*.⁴ The *Yogasvarodaya* provides a total of fifteen Yogas but names only eight of them in its introductory *śloka*s. A complete account of the text is yet to be found and might be lost forever. The *Yogasvarodaya* is the primary source and template for the compilation of the *Yogatattvabindu*. Rāmacandra closely follows the content and structure by rewriting the *Yogasvarodaya*'s *śloka*s into prose. Due to the incomplete transmission of the *Yogasvarodaya*, Rāmacandra's *Yogatattvabindu* is a natural and valuable starting point for an in-depth study of the taxonomy of the fifteen types of Yoga. The other source text that

¹The dating of the text is discussed on p.5.

²The detailed discussion of the place of origin is found on p.??.

³My research suggests that list of fifteen Yogas in Nārāyaṇatīrtha's *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* must be chronologically later than the ones found in the *Yogatattvabindu* and its sources. As I will show in the discussion of the fifteen Yogas on p.??, we have to assume that Nārāyaṇatīrtha saw the need to map the fifteen Yogas onto system of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* due to their popularity among practitioners in his sphere of activity.

⁴Manuscripts under the name of *Yogasvarodaya* seem to be lost. I was not able to allocate the manuscripts of the text in any manuscript catalogue at hand.

Rāmacandra used is the *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* whose content he draws on, particularly in the last third of his composition. Another text that includes a similar taxonomy of twelve Yogas divided into three tetrads is Sundarāś's *brāj bhāṣa* Yoga text named *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā* which not just shares most of the types of Yogas but also many of the practices and contents found within the *Yogatattvabindu* and *Yogasvarodaya*.⁵

These complex taxonomies that emerged during the 17th and 18th centuries crossed sectarian divides and were adapted to the specific needs of different authors and traditions. The *Yogatattvabindu* thus encapsulates the diversity of Haṭha- and Rājayoga types and teachings after the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (15th century) that were adopted by a broad spectrum of religious traditions and strata of Indian society. In the particular case of the *Yogatattvabindu*, there are various statements throughout the text that reveal a strategy to detach Yoga from its renunciate connotations and to enforce the supremacy and universality of Rājayoga as a practice that can yield the highest benefits even for practitioners who enjoy worldly pleasures and an extravagant lifestyle. Textual evidence suggests the possibility that *Yogatattvabindu* may be a unique example of a Rājayoga text that was composed for warrior aristocracy and members of an royal court.

In addition, the analysis of the *Yogatattvabindu* and the historical retracing of its teachings provides insight into a complex network of at least twenty texts,⁶ all of which include one specific set of yoga theorems and practices with minor deviations - three to five *cakras*, sixteen *ādhāras*, two to five *lakṣyas*, and five *vyomas*. This intertextual network spans at least an entire millennium. It begins in early śivaite Tantras such as the *Netratantra* and ends in the large premodern Yoga compendiums like the *Haṭhatattvakaumudī* and *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*. The examination of this network provides insights into the history of the related yoga traditions and enables, for example, the reconstruction of the genesis of individual yoga categories mentioned in the fifteen Yogas,

⁵For a comparative table of the complex Yoga taxonomies see table ?? on p.??.

⁶This intertextual network which shares those specific teachings consists of the *Netratantra*, *Śāradatilakatantra*, *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, *Ūrmikaṭārnāvatāntra*, *Tantrāloka*, *Manthanabhairavatantra*, *Śārngadhārapaddhati*, *Vivekamārtanḍa*, *Śivayogapradīpikā*, (recensions of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*), *Amaraughaśāsana*, *Yogasvarodaya*, *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā*, *Nityanāthapaddhati*, *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati*, *Yogatattvabindu*, *Yogacūḍāmaṇyupaniṣad*, *Maṇḍalabrāhmaṇopaniṣat*, *Haṭhatattvakaumudī* and *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*.

such as Lakṣyayoga, whose techniques were originally taught in early śivaite Tantras, but were only labeled as a separate type of yoga from the 17th century onwards.

One printed edition of the *Yogatattvabindu* was published in 1905 with a Hindi translation and based on an unknown manuscript(s). This publication has the title '*Binduyoga*' confirmed by the printed text's colophon. However, as I discuss in the course of the introduction, the text was likely known as *Yogatattvabindu*. The consulted manuscripts contain significant discrepancies, structural differences and variant readings between them and the printed edition. Furthermore, the manuscripts are scattered over the Indian subcontinent, which suggests that it was widely transmitted at some point. Lengthy passages of the *Yogatattvabindu* are quoted without attribution in a text called *Yogasamgraha* and Sundaradeva's *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*. A critical edition will undoubtedly improve on the published edition and shed further light on the transmission of this important work.

This book contains an introduction, critical edition and annotated translation of the *Yogatattvabindu*. The introduction discusses provenance, authorship and the audience of the *Yogatattvabindu*. A comprehensive discussion of the taxonomy of the fifteen Yogas based on the critical edition of the *Yogatattvabindu*, together with a close examination of the above-mentioned related texts with similar taxonomies, aims to establish their position within the broader history of yoga and particularly elucidates the development of Haṭha- and Rājayoga traditions in the late medieval period. The remainder of the introduction contains an overview of the manuscript evidence and the editorial policies underlying the edition.

Dating the *Yogatattvabindu*

The oldest dated manuscript of the *Yogatattvabindu* N₁⁷ was written in Nepal *saṃvat* 837, which is 1716 CE. Since the text of this manuscript is missing a significant and lengthy passage (ca. 25% of the entire text) and contains various corruptions, one can assume that some time had passed from the original composition for the transmission to deteriorate to this extent. Therefore, it is likely

⁷For a description of the manuscript see p.??.

that the work was composed at least a few decades before the creation of this Nepalese manuscript, perhaps sometime in the 17th century. The discovery that Sundaradeva's *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* quotes a lengthy passage of the *Yogatattvabindu* without attribution confirms this suspicion. The passages quoted from the *Yogatattvabindu* include the teachings on the sixteen *ādhāras*⁸ and the teachings on Lakṣyayoga and its subtypes.⁹ The dating of the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* just recently had to be revised due to the discovery that some first-hand notes surrounding the main text of the Ujjain *Yogacintāmaṇi* were in all likelihood borrowed from Sundaradeva's *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*.¹⁰ BIRCH (2018) dated the Ujjain *Yogacintāmaṇi* to 1659 CE.¹¹ Thus, the *terminus ante quem* for the compilation of the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* is 1659 CE which automatically makes it also the *terminus ante quem* for the *Yogatattvabindu* and the *Yogasvarodaya*, due to the fact that Sundaradeva quoted from the *Yogatattvabindu* and Rāmacandra quoted from and rewrote the contents of the *Yogasvarodaya*. Thus, we can safely assume that the *Yogatattvabindu* was written in the course of the first half of the 17th century or earlier. Because of that Rāmacandra's main source text *Yogasvarodaya* must have been written even earlier.

Implications for the dating of the *Yogasvarodaya* and the *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati*

Furthermore, MALLINSON¹² estimated the age of the *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* to circa 1700. Due to the above-mentioned new date of the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* and because Rāmacandra extensively quotes from *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* the new *terminus terminus ante quem* for the dating of the *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* likewise must be set to 1659 CE. Thus, the *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* was also likely composed during the first half of the 17th century or even earlier.

⁸ *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* (ms. no. 2244, f. 95r l. 3 – f. 96r l. 4).

⁹ *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* (ms. no. 2244, f. 124r l. 7 – f. 125r l. 3).

¹⁰ Cf. BIRCH (2024:52–54).

¹¹ Cf. BIRCH, 2018: 50 [n. III].

¹² Cf. James MALLINSON, ed. *Yogic Identities: Tradition and Transformation*. 2013. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20240116124707/https://asia-archive.si.edu/essays/yogic-identities/>.

The complex medieval yoga taxonomies

The rise of diversity: The increasing complexity of Yoga teaching systems in late medieval and pre-colonial India

In diesem Kapitel soll es darum gehen, dass zwischen dem 17. und 18. Jh. in Indien parallel zu einer Popularisierung des Yoga in breiten Schichten der Gesellschaft jenseits der asketischen Traditionen eine allgemeine Entwicklung zu beobachten ist, die sich in gesteigerter Komplexität äußert. In den damals zirkulierenden Texten kommt es zu einer Steigerung der Anzahl der gelehrten Cakras, Āsanas, Kumbhakas, aber auch die Taxonomien der einzelnen Yogakategorien die gelehrt werden nehmen an Komplexität zu.

Comparative Analysis of the complex Yoga taxonomies

The similarities between the Yoga taxonomies of Rāmacandra's *Yogatattvabindu*, his source text, the *Yogasvarodaya* as well as the taxonomies laid out by Nārāyaṇatīrtha in his *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* and Sundardās' *Sarvāṅgayogadīpikā* which all emerged within the same time period have been initially observed and discussed briefly by BIRCH (2014)¹³ In the following chapter, the lists and their items are examined in a comparative analysis.

A complete comparative description of all Yoga categories used in the literature would go far beyond the scope of this work. However, with this presentation I hope to adequately cover our understanding of the concepts of different Yoga categories circulating in the literature of the 17th – 18th centuries that include these complex taxonomies.

The analysis will follow the structure of the individual Yogas outlined in the *Yogatattvabindu*. Each Yoga will be described based on the explanations in the *Yogatattvabindu*, and its content will be compared with the explanations of the corresponding Yoga in the texts with similar taxonomies. The comparison will broaden and clarify our understanding of the respective spectrum of meanings of the individual Yoga categories in the discursive field of the authors of the texts containing the taxonomies. This comparison results in the documentation of the discursive web of word usage of various Yoga categories between the 17th and 18th centuries CE, most probably mainly localised in

¹³See BIRCH, 2014: 415–416.

central northern India.¹⁴ Individual Yoga categories that do not appear in the list of the *Yogatattvabindu* but are listed in the other texts with complex taxonomies will also be covered and outlined. In addition, Yoga categories that do not appear in any of the analysed lists but are nevertheless mentioned in the texts will also be covered so that this analysis attempts to approximate the overall picture of all Yoga categories used during the period under consideration as closely as possible. However, it is essential to emphasise that the comparison of Yoga categories focuses primarily on those texts that contain complex Yoga taxonomies and cannot claim to be exhaustive. Although the analysis and comparison of the Yoga categories can be extended to other Yoga texts, locations and time periods if necessary or valuable, the restriction to the complex Yoga taxonomies should be maintained to prevent this already complex endeavour going ad absurdum.¹⁵

I. Kriyāyoga

Kriyāyoga¹⁶ is the first Yoga within the list of fifteen Yogas presented by Rāmacandra and his source text *Yogasvarodaya*. Remarkably, Nārāyaṇatīrtha also positions Kriyāyoga at the first position within the list of fifteen Yogas in his *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. Sundardās, on the other hand, omits Kriyāyoga within his taxonomy.

The concept of Kriyāyoga in the *Yogatattvabindu*

Since Rāmacandra refers to all fifteen Yogas as variants of Rājayoga in his initial definition of Yoga, and no explicit hierarchy is recognisable from his formulations in the text, all variants of Rājayoga appear to have been regarded by him as equally effective. All Yogas aim towards the same goal: long-term durability of the body (*bahutarakālaṃ śarīrasthitiḥ*). The positioning of Kriyāyoga does not initially provide any information about the efficiency or the assignment of differently talented practitioners to a particular type of Yoga, as was

¹⁴The complex taxonomies evolved and circulated most likely in central northern India. For a detailed discussion see p.??.

¹⁵There are hundreds, if not thousand of Sanskrit and vernacular texts from different times and different regions of India, which operate with these categories.

¹⁶See section II. on p.??-??.

No.	Yogatattvabindu	Yogasvarodaya	Yogasiddhānta-candrikā	Sarvārṅgayo-gadīpikā
1.	<i>kriyāyoga</i>	<i>kriyāyoga</i>	<i>kriyāyoga</i>	bhaktiyoga
2.	<i>jñānayoga</i>	<i>jñānayoga</i>	<i>caryāyoga</i>	<i>mantrayoga</i>
3.	<i>caryāyoga</i>	<i>karmayoga</i>	<i>karmayoga</i>	<i>layayoga</i>
4.	<i>haṭhayoga</i>	<i>haṭhayoga</i>	<i>haṭhayoga</i>	<i>carcāyoga</i>
5.	<i>karmayoga</i>	<i>dhyānayoga</i>	<i>mantrayoga</i>	haṭhayoga
6.	<i>layayoga</i>	<i>mantrayoga</i>	<i>jñānayoga</i>	<i>rājayoga</i>
7.	<i>dhyānayoga</i>	<i>urayoga</i>	<i>advaitayoga</i>	<i>lakṣayoga</i>
8.	<i>mantrayoga</i>	<i>vāsanāyoga</i>	<i>lakṣayoga</i>	<i>aṣṭāṅgayoga</i>
9.	<i>lakṣayoga</i>	-	<i>brahmayoga</i>	sāṃkhyayoga
10.	<i>vāsanāyoga</i>	-	<i>śivayoga</i>	<i>jñānayoga</i>
11.	<i>śivayoga</i>	-	<i>siddhiyoga</i>	<i>brahmayoga</i>
12.	<i>brahmayoga</i>	-	<i>vāsanāyoga</i>	<i>advaitayoga</i>
13.	<i>advaitayoga</i>	-	<i>layayoga</i>	-
14.	<i>siddhayoga</i>	-	<i>dhyānayoga</i>	-
15.	<i>rājayoga</i>	- [rājayoga]	<i>premabhak-tiyoga</i>	-

Table 0.1: Complex Taxonomies of Yoga in Yoga Texts of the 17th - 18th Centuries

the case in the older fourfold taxonomies.¹⁷ Implicit hierarchical aspects are nevertheless present - although all Yoga types are a type of Rājayoga, Rāmacandra nonetheless places Rājayoga in the final and topmost position of his taxonomy. The only apparent reason why Rāmacandra specifies Kriyāyoga as the first Yoga seems to be that his primary source text, whose content structure he largely follows,¹⁸ specifies this type of Yoga as the first.

¹⁷According to *Amaraughaprabodha* 18-24, Mantrayoga is best suited for the weak, Layayoga for the average, Haṭhayoga for the talented and Rājayoga for the exceptionally talented practitioner. In *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* 14, one finds the statement that the lowest practitioner should perform mantra yoga, which is then also referred to as the lowest Yoga. *Śivasamhitā* 12-28 expands this fourfold scheme of Yogas and practitioners with a temporal dimension. The weak practitioner needs twelve years to succeed with Mantrayoga, the average practitioner needs eight years with Laya, the able practitioner six years with Haṭha and the exceptional practitioner three years with Rājayoga

¹⁸see the chapter on "structural inconsistencies" on p.??,

The passage on Kriyāyoga in the *Yogatattvabindu* is relatively short. The four verses presented by Rāmacandra are quoted without attribution from the *Yogasvarodaya*. A prose section repeats the content of the verses. By definition, Kriyāyoga in *Yogatattvabindu* is “liberation through [mental] action” (*kriyāmuktir ayam yogah*). In contrast to Rāmacandra’s worldly definition of Rājayoga and its subcategories, here, liberation (*mukti*) overrides this initial goal. In addition, the practitioner achieves “success in one’s own body” (*svapīṇḍe siddhidāyakaḥ*). The method of Kriyāyoga involves restraining any [mental] wave before an action. This restraint consists of reducing negative [mind-]waves and cultivating positive ones. Noticeably, the number of negative waves significantly exceeds the number of positive waves.

Mental waves to be cultivated	Mental waves to be reduced
Patience (<i>kṣamā</i>)	Envy (<i>matsārya</i>)
Discrimination (<i>viveka</i>)	Selfishness (<i>mamatā</i>)
Equanimity (<i>vairāgya</i>)	Cheating (<i>māyā</i>)
Peace (<i>śānti</i>)	Violence (<i>himsā</i>)
Modesty (<i>santoṣa</i>)	Intoxication (<i>mada</i>)
Desirelessness (<i>niṣpraha</i>)	Pride (<i>garvata</i>)
	Lust (<i>kāma</i>)
	Anger (<i>krodha</i>)
	Fear (<i>bhaya</i>)
	Laziness (<i>lajjā</i>)
	Greed (<i>lobha</i>)
	Error (<i>moha</i>)
	Impurity (<i>aśuci</i>)
	Attachment and aversion (<i>rāga-dveṣau</i>)
	Disgust and laziness (<i>ghṛṇālasya</i>)
	error (<i>bhrānti</i>)
	Deceit (<i>dambha</i>)
	Envy (repeatedly) (<i>akṣama</i>)
	Confusion (<i>bhrama</i>)

Table 0.2: Mental waves to be cultivated and reduced in Rāmacandra’s Kriyāyoga

The one who cultivates positive [mind-]waves and reduces the negative is called a *kriyāyogī*. In the prose passage of the section, the term *bahukriyāyogī* is used. The term is unprecedented in the rest of the yoga literature and presumably intends to express many reduced and cultivated waves.

The concept of Kriyāyoga in the *Yogasvarodaya*

A closer examination of the Kriyāyoga section in the *Yogasvarodaya* reveals Rā-mancandra's reductionism since he excludes significant aspects of the original concept of the *Yogasvarodaya*'s Kriyāyoga.

dhyānapūjādānayaññajapahomādikāḥ kriyāḥ |
*kriyāmuktimayo yogāḥ svapiṇḍe siddhidāyakaḥ*¹⁹ || 1 ||

(1) Actions are meditation, ritual veneration, donation, recitation, fire sacrifice, etc. The Yoga made of liberation through action[s] bestows success in one's own body.

yat karomīti saṅkalpaṃ kāryārambhe manaḥ sadā |
tat sāṅgācaraṇaṃ kurvan kriyāyogarato bhavet || 2 ||

(2) "Whatever I do" at the beginning of an action, the mind always has intention. Doing that undertaking with all its parts, one becomes established in Kriyāyoga.

kṣamāvivekavairāgyaśāntiśaṇṭisprāhāḥ |
etad yuktīyuto yo'sau kriyāyogo nigadyate || 3 ||

(3) Patience, discrimination, equanimity, peace, modesty, desirelessness: The one endowed with these means is said to be a Kriyāyogī.

mātsaryaṃ mamatā māyā hiṃsā ca madagarvitā |
kāmaḥ krodho bhayaṃ lajjā lobho mohas tathā'suciḥ || 4 ||

(4) Envy, selfishness, cheating, violence, intoxication and pride, lust, anger, fear, laziness, greed, error, and impurity.

rāga dveṣau ghrṇālasyaśrāntidambhakṣamābhramāḥ |
yasyaitāni na vidyante kriyāyogī sa ucyate || 5 ||

¹⁹svapiṇḍe siddhidāyakaḥ YTB] sapiṇḍisiddhidāyakaḥ YSv sapiṇḍisiddhidāyakaḥ YK

(5) Attachment and aversion, disgust and laziness, error, deceit, envy [and] confusion: Whoever does not experience these is called a Kriyāyogī.

*sa eva muktaḥ sa jñānī caṇḍināśena īśvaraḥ |
kriyāmuktikaro yo'sau rājayogaḥ sa muktidaḥ || 6 ||* (om. YK)

(6) He alone, the wise one, the lord, through the destruction of impetuous [behaviour] who performs the liberation through action[s] is liberated. This Rājayoga is the giver of liberation.

*yāvan mano layaṃ yāti kṛṣṇe svātmani cinmaye |
bhaved iṣṭamanā mantri japahomau samabhyaset || 7 ||*²⁰ (om. YSv)

(7) Until the mind enters absorption [and] would be in Kṛṣṇa, in one's own self, filled with consciousness, the mantra practitioner (*mantrin*) should practise recitation and fire sacrifice with an aspiring mind.

*vidite paratattve tu samastair niyamair alam |
tālavr̥ntena kiṃ kāryaṃ lavdhe malayamārute || 8 ||*²¹ (om. YSv)

(8) When the highest principle has been realised through all the *niyamas*, as is proper, Why should one wave the palm frond when the wind from the Himalayas has already reached?

*tāvat karm māṇi kurvanti yāvajjñānaṃ na vidyate |
jñāne jāte pareśāni karmākarma na vidyate || 9 ||* (om. YSv)

(9) As long as [regular?] actions are performed, so long realisation is unknown. When knowledge ensues, oh, Supreme Goddess, neither action nor non-action is known.

²⁰7ab ≈ Rudrayamalam: uttara-tantram 38.58cd.

²¹≈ Kulārnavatantra 9.28 & Yuktabhavadēva 1.80.

These verses²² stem from the only two currently available sources of the *Yogasvarodaya*, namely the quotations from the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī*²³ and the *Yogakarṇikā*.²⁴ The quotations of both texts essentially correspond, but the last verses of the passage differ. It cannot be ruled out that the last three verses of the *Yogakarṇikā* in particular come from a different source and were not present within the *Yogasvarodaya*. However, their content is so closely interwoven with the preceding verses that this scenario can be considered unlikely.

The main difference to the Kriyāyoga that Rāmacandra has constructed from these verses is the definition of the actions (*kriyāḥ*) mentioned immediately at the beginning of the verses, of which the actions (*kriyās*) of Kriyāyoga is then predominantly composed, namely of (1) meditation, (2) ritual worship of God, (3) offerings, (4) recitation and (5) fire sacrifice, etc. Furthermore, while Rāmacandra declares the elements mentioned in the table 0.2 as waves (*kallola*) of the mind which are either required to be cultivated or reduced before any action is executed, the same elements are conceptualised in the *Yogasvarodaya* as the intentions (*saṅkalpa*) preceding the previously defined actions (*kriyās*), which should be observed.

In the three verses concluding this section, which are only handed down in the *Yogakarṇikā*, the practitioner is referred to as *mantrin* and should perform recitation and fire offerings until entering absorption (*laya*).

Thus, this concept of Kriyāyoga in the *Yogasvarodaya* might be a reference to the *kriyāpāda*²⁵ of the Śaiva *āgamas*. The Śaiva *āgamas* are collections of various tantric traditions, written in Sanskrit or Tamil, in which cosmology, epistemology, philosophical teachings, various practices such as meditation or Yoga, mantra recitation, worship of the gods, etc. are described. These

²²The numbering used here was introduced by me for practical reasons and does not correspond to the original numbering of the verses in the citations of the source texts. The *Prāṇatoṣiṇī* does not number the verses at all. The verses can be found in the printed edition of the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī* on p. 831. The verses here are in the *Yogakarṇikā* with the numbering 1.209-216 and can be found in the edition on p. 17.

²³A considerable part of the *Yogasvarodaya* is quoted with source reference (*yogasvarodaye*).

²⁴Normally the *Yogakarṇikā* quotes its sources. This passage is one of the few exceptional cases in which the verses have been taken from the *Yogasvarodaya* without citing the source. However, this passage ends after verse 1.216 with “*iti yogasaṅketāḥ*”.

²⁵See e.g. GANESAN (2016) and *Mṛgendrāgama* (*Kriyāpada and Caryāpada*), Ed. pp. 1-205.

texts²⁶ usually consist of four sections (*pādas*): The *jñānapāda* (knowledge section), *kriyāpāda* (action section), *caryāpāda* (behaviour section) and the *yogapāda* (yoga section).²⁷ It can be no coincidence that *jñāna*°, *kriyā*° and *caryā*° were each integrated as a separate Yoga category within the taxonomy of the fifteen Yogas²⁸. The *kriyāpāda* is the section of a Śaiva āgama that describes rules and practices for the performance of various rituals such as the significant initiation (*dīkṣa*), ceremonies and worship of the gods. Additionally, *prāṇāyāma* techniques and meditations are often found as parts of these rituals. There are also explanations of the nature of *mudrās*, *maṇḍalas* and *mantras*. Furthermore, various characteristics of different types of Śaiva initiates²⁹ can be found here.³⁰ The *kriyās* mentioned at the beginning of the *Yogasvarodaya* – meditation, ritual veneration, donation, recitation, fire sacrifice, etc. have hardly deniable parallels to the *kriyāpādas* of the Śaiva āgamas and thus could have their reception-historical roots precisely there. The other part, however, which describes the cultivation or reduction of certain mental configurations preceding all actions (*saṅkalpa*) or [mental] waves (*kallola*), I have not yet been able to locate in the Śaiva āgamas, but possibly they are a simplified rendering of the Pātañjalean model of Kriyāyoga that was passed on in hitherto unknown traditions that practiced this type of Kriyāyoga.

One other possible historical link which should not remain unmentioned is the model of Kriyāyoga found in the *Uddhavagīta*³¹ which is a part of the famous *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*³². Here, in chapter XXII.1–55 Kṛṣṇa describes a Vaiṣṇava form of Kriyāyoga in response to a request by his disciple Uddhava. The practice entails a very complex and devotional ceremonial veneration of the deity through offerings such as flowers and food, accompanied by the recitation

²⁶The fourfold division of *pādas* is only present in a limited number of Āgamas: *Kiraṇa*, *Suprabheda*, *Mṛgendra* and *Mataṅgaparameśvara* (as Upāgamas), see BRUNNER, 1993: 225–461 for an overview.

²⁷The order of the *pādas* varies, but the *yogapāda* is always the last.

²⁸see p.??.

²⁹These are *amayin*, *putraka*, *sādhaka*, *ācārya*, and *astrābhīṣeka*.

³⁰See GANESAN (2016) for a general overview of the four *pādas*. One of the few Śaiva āgamas that has been edited and translated into a Western language (French) is the *Mṛgendrāgama* (*Kriyāpāda* and *Caryāpāda*). For this see BHATT (1962) & MṚGENDRĀGAMA and BRUNNER-LACHAUX (1985).

³¹See i.e., CAKRAVARTIN et al. (2007).

³²See i.e., SHASTRI and TAGARA (1950).

of prescribed mantras, meditation, and the ritual consecration of the deity, among other rites. According to the text, this type of Yoga is the most beneficial for women and the working class (22.4) and is considered a means for liberation from the fetters of Karma (22.5). The Kriyāyoga described here is presented to be in line with both the Vedas and the Tantras, considering enjoyment (*bhukti*) and liberation (*mukti*) and is promised to bestow perfection in both this life and the next, by the Lord's grace (22.49).

The concept of Kriyāyoga in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*

The Kriyāyoga in Nārāyaṇatīrtha's commentary on *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* entitled *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* presents Kriyāyoga as the first of his fifteen Yogas, which he locates in Pātañjalayoga. The term Kriyāyoga occurs in *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.1. According to the introduction to this Sūtra, in the *bhāṣya*-part of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*, Kriyāyoga is the means by which someone with a distracted mind can also attain Yoga (*vyutthitacitto 'pi yogayuktah*). In *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.1, Kriyāyoga is defined as follows:

tapahṣvādhyāyeśvarapraṇidhānāni kriyāyogaḥ |

Kriyāyoga, or "yoga of action", is the action oriented method of Yoga consisting of three elements. Namely, austerity (*tapas*), which according to the *bhāṣya* should be practised both mentally and physically, the repetition of *mantras* or the study of sacred literature (*svadhyāya*) and devotion to God (*īś-varapraṇidhāna*). According to *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.2, these three elements of Kriyāyoga should lead the practitioner to attain *samādhi* by reducing the so-called *kleśas*. This explanatory model is picked up by Nārāyaṇatīrtha.³³ The five *kleśas* consist of ignorance (*avidyā*), self-centredness (*asmitā*), attachment (*rāga*), aversion (*dveṣa*) and fear of death (*abhiniveśa*). All three main components of Patañjali's Kriyāyoga are not mentioned in the *Yogatattvabindu* and *Yogasvarodaya*. Nevertheless, a practice similar to the reduction of the *kleśas* can also be found here. Although the specific fear of death (*abhiniveśa*) is not mentioned, the more general term for fear (*bhaya*) is cited.³⁴ The Kriyāyoga in

³³ VIMALĀ, 2000:71.

³⁴ The details of Nārāyaṇatīrtha's understanding of Kriyāyoga have already been discussed by PENNA (2004: 62-66) and will therefore not be covered here again.

Yogatattvabindu and *Yogasvarodaya* could, therefore, be perhaps regarded as a degenerated or simplified variant of the Pātañjalean model, which restricts itself predominantly to the aspect of the reduction of negative waves of the mind, which is comparable to the reduction of *kleśas* and adds the aspect of cultivating positive mind waves to be mix. In both systems, Kriyāyoga is a means for liberation.³⁵

Kriyāyoga in the complex late-medieval Yoga taxonomies

The analysis of Kriyāyoga within the taxonomies of fifteen yogas shows two distinct models. One is Nārāyaṇatīrtha's model, which draws directly on the Kriyāyoga of *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*. Additional śaiva influences characterise the other model of Kriyāyoga that seems to have been locally prominent in the 17. - 18. century C.E. The precisely defined *kriyās* of the *Yogasvarodaya* must be historically linked to the *kriyāpādas* of the Śaiva *āgamas*, whereby the core practice of reducing and cultivating specific mental configurations before any action is loosely associated with the Kriyāyoga of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*. The observation that the *kriyā*-, *caryā*-, and *jñānayogas*, are an allusion to the *kriyā*-, *caryā*-, *jñāna*- and *yogapādas* of the Śaiva *āgamas*, shows that Nārāyaṇatīrtha, as a proponent of the *Pātañjalayoga*, was most likely not the originator of the fifteenfold taxonomy, but rather that the taxonomy of the fifteen Yogas originated from local discourses around the authors and had achieved such local popularity at the time that Nārāyaṇatīrtha forced the fifteenfold taxonomy into Patañjali's *Yogaśāstra* in order to show that the *Yogaśāstra par excellence* and all those varieties of Yogas that were discussed in his sphere are in truth already present in the "classical" system of Patañjali.

³⁵The Kriyāyoga of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* will not be dealt with in detail here, as this has already been done in countless academic and informal publications. For the *sūtras* related to Kriyāyoga and Patañjali's autocommentary in Sanskrit with English translation, see ĀRAṆYA 1983: 113 et seqq. For a comprehensible and more accessible overview, see BRYANT 2009: 170 et seqq.

Popularisation of Kriyāyoga in a global context

The comparatively unique treatises on Kriyāyoga, which can only be found in the Yoga literature from the 17th-century onwards³⁶ in *Yogasvarodaya* and Rāmacandra's *Yogatattvabindu*, which deviate from the Pātañjala model, albeit not entirely, and, as shown, show clear influences of tantric origin, can be regarded as marginal phenomena for the time being. The briefly touched upon model of *Uddhavaḡītā*, which describes a Kriyāyoga method for *mukti* and *bhukti* through ritual worship of god, is also comparatively rare in the literature. The overwhelming majority of the Sanskrit yoga texts written in the second millennium CE, as in the case of Nārāyaṇatīrtha's *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, are based on the model of Kriyāyoga propagated in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*. Accordingly, it was above all the publication of the *Yogasūtra* in the West, beginning with the translation by Henry Thomas Colebrooke in 1805³⁷ which ensured that the concept of Kriyāyoga contained therein also dominated the understanding of the term in academic and informal discourse in the West for a long time.

The Western discourse only changed with the global success and popularity of Paramahansa Yogānanda (1893-1952) and the *Self Realisation Fellowship* he founded in 1920, which, measured against the predecessor models forms of Kriyāyoga outlined above, spread an innovative Yoga practice under the generic term Kriyāyoga. The influence of Yogānanda and others significantly changed and expanded the range of meanings of the term Kriyāyoga. In addition to various books published by Yogānanda, it was above all, the book *Autobiography of a Yogi*, the autobiography of Yogānanda himself, published in 1946, which paved the way for Yogānanda's success. To this day, this work is considered a classic in popular Yoga literature, has been in print for over seventy years and has been translated into more than 50 languages.³⁸ It also has a large global following to this day. Yogānanda, his books, his followers and the numerous books written by his followers have popularised this in-

³⁶The terminus *ad quem* for the *Yogasvarodaya* and *Yogatattvabindu* is 1659 CE, see p.5 for the details.

³⁷See ("Henry Thomas Colebrooke and the Western "Discovery" of the Yoga Sutra". In: *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography*. Ed. by David Gordon WHITE. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014, pp. 53-80) for a detailed discussion,

³⁸Cf. *Official Yogānanda Website*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20240323081653/https://yogananda.org/autobiography-of-a-yogi>. Website saved with the Way Back Machine of archive.org on 23.03.2024. Self Realization Fellowship.

novative and new form of Kriyāyoga beyond the Indian subcontinent. The term Kriyāyoga was allegedly already defined by Yogānanda's predecessors, namely Lahīḍi Mahāśaya (1828-1895) and Śrī Yukteśvar Giri (1855-1936), as the central generic term for the Yoga practice of this line of tradition.³⁹

One of Yogānanda's contemporaries was Svāmī Śivānanda Sarasvatī (1887-1963), who similarly propagated a new form of Kriyāyoga. Although his Kriyāyoga was initially based mainly on the Pātañjalayoga model, it was expanded under the same umbrella term with Haṭhayoga practices and possibly influenced by Yogānanda's model. This expansion and integration of new practices under the umbrella term Kriyāyoga was continued excessively by his students, above all Svāmī Satyānanda Sarasvatī (1923-2009), the founder of the famous *Bihar School of Yoga* (since 1962).

The resulting popularity of Kriyāyoga triggered a global wave and inspired others, who in turn developed similar but sometimes differently nuanced Kriyāyoga systems. One example is S.A.A. Ramaiah, who founded the *Kriya Babaji Yoga Sangam* in 1952. In this case, too, there is a global following.⁴⁰

It was the actors mentioned above, above all Yogānanda, who ensured the global popularisation of this new form of Kriyāyoga so that their concepts are at least as well known in recent public discourse, if not better known, than the Kriyāyoga of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*.

These new forms of Kriyāyoga, which can only be traced from the beginning of the 19th century, are, as will be shown, a reservoir for innovative combinations and further developments of numerous practices already codified in Yoga texts in the medieval to pre-colonial period, which were integrated into seemingly coherent practice systems by actors such as Yogānanda, Śivānanda, Ramaiah, etc. The statements made by their traditions about the historicity of their Yoga practice utilise established narratives to lend this form of Kriyāyoga a tradition and historical legitimacy.⁴¹

³⁹Cf. GOVINDAN 2010: 51-52

⁴⁰Cf. *Kriya Babaji Yoga Sangam Website*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20240320214547/https://kriyababajiyogasangam.org/>. Website saved with the Way Back Machine of archive.org on 20.03.2024. Kriya Babaji Yoga Sangam

⁴¹For example, the tracing back of the Yoga tradition to a legendary founding figure, the time of the master in the Himalayas, lost writings that suddenly reappear and legitimise the practice can already be found in a similar form in the lineages of T. Krishnamacharya. See SINGLETON and GOLDBERG, 2013: 81-121.

The Kriyāyogas of the lineages of Paramahansa Yogānanda, Svāmī Śivānanda Sarasvatī and Ramaiah

So what constitutes these new forms of Kriyāyoga? To answer this question, recent publications on this topic were consulted.⁴² The following is a brief outline of the main features of the Yogānanda, Śivānanda and Ramaiah models of Kriyāyoga without claiming to be exhaustive. To my knowledge, a comprehensive and complete historical study of Kriyāyoga has not yet been carried out and cannot be done within this framework. This attempt is an outline and should be understood as a first approach to the topic in order to differentiate between the models circulating in public discourse on the one hand and, on the other, to formulate a hypothesis on the transition from the older models to the newer models, as these are very close in time.

Definitions

The publications consulted contain various creative etymologies and explanations of the term Kriyāyoga. HARIHARANANDA, a Kriyāyoga teacher authorised by Yogānanda ⁴³ himself explains:

'Kriya Yoga' are Sanskrit words, a combination of two root words. One is Kriya and the other is yoga. In the word Kriya there are two syllables: kri and ya. Kri means to pursue your work in daily life and ya means to be ever aware of the invisible God who is abiding in you and is directing and accomplishing work through you. ...The second word, 'yoga,' literally means union of the visible body with the invisible body. This union is always present in everyone. (HARIHARANANDA 1989: 83)

Another etymology of the term *kriyā* can be found in LOWENSTEIN and LETT (2021: 91):

⁴²This list is certainly not exhaustive. Nevertheless, I have consulted a wide range of these publications available to me. 1. For the Yogānanda model: YOGĀNANDA (1949); LOWENSTEIN and LETT (2021); SATYANANDA (1981); HARIHARANANDA (1989); KRIYANANDA (1993) and STURGESS (2015). 2. For the Śivānanda model: SIVANANDA (1955) and NITYĀNANDA GIRI (2013). 3. And for the Ramaiah model: GOVINDAN (2010).

⁴³Cf. HARIHARANANDA 1989: 16.

...kri meaning “work” and ya meaning “soul” or “breath” = The Work to be done with the Souls breath.

The most complex explanation of the term can be found in NITYĀNANDA GIRI (2013: 2-3), who also locates himself in the Yogānanda tradition:

The word *kriyā* is composed of the letters *k*, *r*, *i*, *y*, and *ā*. The letter -*k* (or *ka*), *ka-kāra*, represents the Lord, *Īśvara*. The Transcendental Lord, *Parama Śiva*, when he manifests Himself in the subtle world and makes Himself ready for creation He becomes *Īśvara*. The letter -*r* (or *ra*), *ra-kāra*, represents fire, light and manifestation. Creation is not seen by us with the ether and air elements since these are subtle elements. We are able to see manifestation from the fire element onwards. The letter -*i*, *i-kāra*, represents energy or *śakti*. So *kri* is the activating power of the Lord manifested in creation. The activating power is called *prāṇa* or vital force. The letter -*y* (or *ya*), *ya-kāra*, represents the air element and the letter -*ā*, *ā-kāra*, represents form. For the manifestations to take a form, *ākāra*, the Lord acts with the air element. With the ether element there is no form. The air element or gaseous state is the first created form although we only see the forms from the fire element onwards. Through the action of air the whole universe is manifested. This is the action of the Life-force, *prāṇakarma*, of the Lord. The word *kriyā* normally means action, but this is the action of god. We are made with the same principle God is. Our identification with the physical body makes us separate from God and this is the state of ignorance. We have to eradicate this ignorance by the action of God, i.e., the action of the breath, *prāṇakarma*. Our mind is the result of ignorance and is responsible for the wrong identification. Breath-practice, *prāṇakarma*, absorbs the mind into the vital force. This action of God reverses the process and leads us from body to God. This is why it is so necessary to perform that action. That is our spiritual practice. Then that action, *kriyā*, becomes yoga.

SATYANANDA (1981: 699), an important proponent of the Śivānanda model, defines Kriyāyoga as follows:

The Sanskrit word *kriya* means 'action' or 'movement'. *Kriya Yoga* is so called because it is a system where one intentionally rotates one's attention along fixed pathways. This movement of awareness is done, however with control. Also *kriya yoga* is so called because one moves the body into specific *mudras*, *bandhas* and *asanas* according to a fixed scheme of practice. The word *kriya* is often translated as meaning 'practical'. This is indeed a good definition, for *kriya yoga* is indeed practical. It is concerned solely with practice, without the slightest philosophical speculation. The system is designed to bring results, not merely to talk about them. Sometimes the word *kriya* is translated as 'preliminary'. This too is a good definition, for *kriya yoga* is a preliminary practice that leads first to *dharana* and then eventually to the transcendental state of *dhyana* (meditation) and *yoga* (union). It is a technique which has been designed to lead to that state of being which is beyond all techniques. Finally, the word *kriya* is used to describe each individual practice. Thus the process of *kriya yoga* consists of a number of *kriyas* each being done one after the other in a fixed sequence.

GOVINDAN (2010: 214), a student of Ramaiah offers a simple explanation of the term:

Kriyā is an activity performed with mindfulness.

As different as the concepts presented here may seem, they have in common that they are about consciously performed actions or practices that connect people with God or are intended to bring about a transcendent state, a state of *yoga*. In his definition, NITYĀNANDA GIRI already mentions the central action (*kriyā*) that should lead to a connection with God, namely breathing practice (*prāṇakarma*). In addition, SATYANANDA also mentions other practices such as directing attention, *mūdras*, *bandhas* and *āsanas*.

Further definitions can be found in the consulted texts. However, these are sufficient for the purposes here, as they illustrate the basic idea of the new models of *Kriyāyoga* on the one hand and show the fundamental diversity

and openness of the model, which permeates all areas of these new forms of Kriyāyoga, on the other.

Histories of the new forms of Kriyāyoga from an emic perspective

NITYĀNANDA GIRI (2013: 2-7), who places himself in the lineage of Yogānanda, explains that Kriyāyoga is an eternal tradition that stands at the beginning of human history. He explains that this is why many of the scriptures, such as the *Śivasūtrā*, the *Āgamas* and the writings of the Siddhas, teach the techniques and principles of Kriyāyoga in many different ways. Moreover, remnants of this primal Kriyāyoga can be found in almost all philosophies, be it Buddhism, Jainism, Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā or Vedānta.

SATYANANDA (1981: 699), the founder of the *Bihar school of Yoga*, explains that there is no history of Kriyāyoga and that its origins and development have been lost. Furthermore, the system of Kriyāyoga was so secret that there is not even a myth to explain its origin. Furthermore, he describes that parts of the Kriyāyoga taught by him are contained in the texts of Haṭhayoga, such as *āsanas*, *mudrās* and *bandhas*, but that these are not “integrated together”. Furthermore, he speculates that Kriyāyoga must have been known in China, as he sees strong parallels to practices in *Tai Chi Chuan*. Furthermore, he clearly distances himself from the Kriyāyoga of the *Yogasūtra*, which has nothing to do with the Kriyāyoga of his book *A Systematic Course in the Ancient Tantric Techniques of Yoga and Kriya* and serves solely as a preparation for Rājayoga. However, the only definitive historical statement he can commit himself to is the following:

Of history, all we will say is that kriya yoga was passed on by Swami Sivananda of Rishikesh.

Surprisingly, this same SIVANANDA of Rishikesh in his book *Tantra Yoga, Nada Yoga and Kriya Yoga* (1955) explicitly traces the Kriyāyoga he taught back to *Yogasūtra* 2.1. SIVANANDA (1982:168-182) uses the Kriyāyoga of the *Yogasūtra* as the overarching framework of his teaching, which also integrates *śatkarma* and breathing exercises from Haṭhayoga into it.

It is important to emphasise that SATYANANDA recognises that the traditional lineage of Yogānanda also practises the same Kriyāyoga he teaches. However, he explicitly distances himself from their narrative:

Of course, there are various other groups of people in India who have practiced and taught kriya yoga. For example, Swami Yogānanda, Yukteshwar Giri, Lahiri Mahasaya, Mahatma Gandhi and so forth practiced kriya yoga. In fact, a thriving organization still propagates it throughout the world. They also do now know the origin of kriya yoga, but they say that it was reintroduced by the great yogi Babaji as the ideal practice for sincere seekers of wisdom in the present Kali Yuga (Dark Age).

This narrative is by far the most widespread explanation of the origins of the new Kriyāyoga and is adopted not only in the tradition of Yogānanda, but also in the tradition of Ramaiah. In his book *Kriya Yoga and the 18 Siddhas* (2010: 31-64), GOVINDAN, a disciple of Ramaiah, has compiled this narrative in detail, which I would now like to summarise in a nutshell.

Mahāvātara Babajī, who according to GOVINDAN is considered an incarnation of the Buddha, was born in 203 CE in Parangipetta in Tamil Nadu under the name Najaraj into a Brahmin family, joined a group of wandering Saṃnyāsins at a young age and studied the holy scriptures. His path soon led him to Śrī Laṅka in Katirkāma (now Kataragama), where he became a disciple of Siddha Boganathar and was initiated by him into various *kriyās* such as *dhyāna*, *āsana*, *mantra* and *bhaktiyoga*. Bhoganathar later sent Babajī to another teacher, namely Siddha Agastya in Courtallam in the Pothihai hills of Tamil Nadu, located in today's Tinnevely district. He learnt the particularly important *kriyā* called *kuṇḍalinīprāṇāyāma* from him. Agastya then sent Babajī to Badrinath in the Himalayas, where he practised for many months and finally attained *samādhi*. After his enlightenment and attaining immortality at just 16, Babajī set himself the task of helping suffering humanity in its search for God-realisation. As an immortal, Babajī initiated great personalities such as Śaṅkarācārya (788-820) and Kabīr (1440-1518) into the techniques of Kriyāyoga over the centuries. Finally, in 1861, he initiated Lahiḍi Mahāśaya (1828-1895) into Kriyāyoga and gave him the task of passing it on to serious seekers. At this point, GOVINDAN quotes the autobiography of Yogānanda,⁴⁴ which states that Babajī explained to Lahiḍi Mahāśaya that

⁴⁴Cf. YOGĀNANDA, 1949: 244 f.

Kṛṣṇa had once passed on Kriyāyoga to Arjuna and that not only Patañjali knew it, but also Jesus Christ, who in turn had passed it on to John, Paul and other disciples. Among Lahīḍi Mahāśaya's 100 disciples was Śrī Yukteśvar (1855-1936), to whom Babajī is also said to have appeared three times. On one of these occasions, Babajī decided that he should send his disciple Yogānanda (1893-1952) to America to spread Kriyāyoga, which he did, gaining global fame and founding the *Self Realisation Fellowship* in 1920, which is still very active today.

The practice of the new Kriyāyoga

In the following, the practices of the new Kriyāyoga are presented in outline based on the publications mentioned and consulted above.⁴⁵ The words of HARIHARANANDA (1989: 144) are surprisingly apt to give an essential first impression of this complex phenomenon:

Kriya Yoga is the essence and synthesis of all yoga techniques taught in the world.

SATYANANDA (1981:703) explains that each Kriyā consists of a certain number of subordinate techniques. These always consist of a combination of the following six tools: *āsana*, *mudrā*, *bandha*, *mantra*, *prāṇāyāma* and, as he calls it, 'psychic passage awareness'. This last point includes a group of exercises mainly involving "circulating awareness through the *cakras* in an ascending and descending way" or similar. A single Kriyā is an exercise unit comprising individual exercises from the six categories mentioned. However, these are not arbitrary but are integrated in a specific, scientific way in order to induce the process of concentration (*dhāraṇa*), meditation (*dhyāna*) and meditative absorption (*samādhi*). The main distinguishing feature from other yoga systems is the innovative and specific combination of the individual techniques into a practical and particularly effective sequence of exercises, referred to here as "Kriyā".

⁴⁵A comprehensive presentation and comparative analysis of the practices in the various traditions of the new Kriyāyoga would be too far-reaching for this chapter. The most detailed written practice instructions that I have consulted can be found for the Sīvānanda/Satyānanda model in SATYANANDA, (1981: 697-952) and for the Yogānanda model in NITYĀNANDA GIRI, (2013: 249-340).

In every model the individual exercises are drawn from the vast body of Yoga literature but primarily from the exercises taught in the medieval to pre-colonial texts of the Haṭha- and Rājayoga genres. This always takes place against the background of tantric and medieval concepts of the yogic body, such as *cakra*, *nāḍī* and *vāyu* systems. A common phenomenon in the new Kriyāyoga literature is scientific explanatory models that are used as a means of legitimisation. For example, certain *nāḍīs* are located in schematic sketches of the brain⁴⁶, or positive effects of Kriyāyoga practice are legitimised with evolutionary biology theories, such as the polyvagal theory⁴⁷

GOVINDAN (2010: 216–225) distinguishes a total of seven main categories of Kriyāyoga. The first category he mentions is *Kriya Hatha Yoga*. According to him, this is the starting point for every student of Kriya Yoga. This includes eighteen basic relaxation postures (*āsanas*), muscle blocks (*bandhas*), certain gestures (*mudrās*) and the sun salutation (*sūryanamaskāra*) defined by Babajī.

The second main category is what GOVINDAN calls *Kriya Kundalini Pranayama*. According to him, this practice is the art and science of mastering the breath and is considered to be the most essential and effective tool in Babajī's Kriyāyoga. This is not only meant to awaken the *kuṇḍaliṇī* but with regular practice, the student awakens all *cakras* and the associated levels of consciousness, which is supposed to ultimately lead to the breathless state of *samādhi* and self-realisation.

The third main category is *Kriya Dhyana Yoga*, which is intended to include meditation techniques that are not explained in detail but are supposed to awaken the mind's hidden faculties.

The fourth main category is *Kriya Mantra Yoga*. This involves the recitation or murmuring (*japa*) of mantras discovered by the Siddhas. The recitation of mantras must take place with faith, love and concentration.

GOVINDAN calls the fifth category *Kriya Bhakti Yoga*, the yoga of love and devotion. In GOVINDAN's words, this is the "turbojet" of self-realisation. This type of Kriyāyoga includes devotional love, chanting, ritual worship and pilgrimages to holy places.

⁴⁶NITYĀNANDA GIRI, 2013: 215.

⁴⁷LOWENSTEIN and LETT, 2021: 188.

Furthermore, *Kriya Karma Yoga* is named as the sixth category. In this case he refers to *Bhagavadgītā* II.47 f. and thus defines this subtype as selfless service that is performed consciously. All actions are supposed to be performed without the expectation of receiving anything in return, free from anger, selfishness, greed and personal desires. Thus, the practitioner is meant to examine his motivation before every action and is always supposed to act without selfish motives.

The seventh and final category is *Kriya Tantra Yoga*. According to this, the followers of Kriyāyoga, just like the Siddhas, lead a family life. This subtype of Kriyāyoga involves retaining the energy normally wasted during sexual activity and transporting it to the higher *cakras*. The partner is supposed to be loved as an embodiment of the divine.

A similar system is taught in LOWENSTEIN and LETT (2021). This initially includes a total of twelve *āsanas* and the five Tibetans, as well as typical *prāṇāyāma* techniques, *ujjāyi*, *kapalabhāti*, various *bandha* techniques such as *uḍḍiyanabandha* or *mahābandha*, various *mūdrā* techniques such as *mahāmuḍrā*, *śāmbhavamūdrā*, *yonimūdrā*, or the so-called *Kriya Breath*. *Kriya Breath* is referred to as *kevalakumbhaka*. In addition, classical gymnastic exercises are also added⁴⁸ In addition to the *āsanas* of Haṭhayoga, LOWENSTEIN and LETT also recommend *Tai Chi*, *Qigong*, physiotherapy or a personal trainer to stay fit. Now and then, a biblical quotation is used. For example, in the case of the *Third Eye Gazing* practice, he quotes Matthew 6:22. Furthermore, LOWENSTEIN and LETT emphasise the practice of *Hong Sau* as an important element of the practice. For NITYĀNANDA GIRI, *Hong Sau*, or in this case the indologically correct transliteration *haṃsa*, is also referred to by him as *Haṃsa Sādhana*,⁴⁹ “the very foundation” of Kriyāyoga.

As indicated at the beginning of this section, it is clear that the term Kriyāyoga has given rise to a kind of proliferation of different yoga techniques from earlier yoga traditions, which are integrated into innovative exercise systems and attempted to be historically legitimised in different ways. De-

⁴⁸LOWENSTEIN and LETT, 2021: 118-124. Gymnastic exercises can also be found in STURGESS, 2015: 447-458.

⁴⁹The *ajapājapa*, recitation of the non-recitation of the *haṃsa* mantra.

pending on the lineage and the teacher, individual characteristics and different explanatory models exist.⁵⁰

One last particularly noteworthy and exemplary publication is *The Kriya Yoga Upanishad and the Mystical Upanishads* (1993) by KRIYANANDA. This book offers translations of ten well-known *Yoga Upaniṣads* and one *Kriya Yoga Upanishad*. The translator claims that the name of the author of this Sanskrit Yoga Upaniṣad was lost in the course of history. His book has no bibliography, nor are the sources of the translations mentioned. Further searches for a verifiable source text of the *Kriya Yoga Upanishad* remain unsuccessful. The *Kriya Yoga Upanishad* is neither to be found in the known publications and translations of the *Yoga Upaniṣads*,⁵¹ nor in publications of previously unpublished Upaniṣads.⁵² Searching through various catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts was also unsuccessful.⁵³ It is also striking that the *Kriya Yoga Upanishad* is not mentioned in any other publications on Kriyāyoga consulted. For the time being, therefore, the possibility must be considered that KRIYANANDA is not only the translator of the *Kriya Yoga Upanishad* but also the secret author. Perhaps he wrote this supposedly ancient source text in order to legitimise his own Kriyāyoga doctrine.

Goswami KRIYANANDA learnt Kriyāyoga from his teacher Shelly Trimmer, who, according to the official website of the *Temple of Kriya Yoga*⁵⁴ founded by

⁵⁰In these books, one repeatedly comes across pseudo-scientific explanatory models and stumbles across parallels drawn here and there to other religions, such as Christianity and Buddhism, to emphasise the effectiveness and importance of certain practices and views. Particularly in the more recent publications, it can be seen that, depending on the author, typically individual expressions of the ideal type of postmodern spirituality and religiosity are expressed, which BOCHINGER, ENGELBRECHT, and GEBHARDT have labelled the “spiritueller Wanderer” (BOCHINGER, ENGELBRECHT, and GEBHARDT 2009: 33-49).

⁵¹Cf. *Yoga Upaniṣads* (1938),

⁵²Cf. (1938).

⁵³In *Descriptive Catalogue of Yoga Manuscripts (Updated)* (2005: 50), two manuscripts with the title *Kriyāyoga* (AGJ 665/1 and TSM 6716) are listed, which, unfortunately, I was unable to consult. Neither manuscript is dated. AGJ 665/1 is a Devanāgarī manuscript on paper, and TSM 6716 is a Telugu manuscript on palm leaf. The author of the latter is named Venkaṭayogin. I suspect these manuscripts are probably later works that were created in the 18th century at the earliest. For now, however, no definitive statement can be made on this. However, their consultation could shed further light on the historical development of Kriyāyoga.

⁵⁴*Biography of Goswami Kriyananda. Temple of Kriya Yoga Website.* <https://web.archive.org/web/20240319134009/https://templeofkriyayoga.org/goswami-kriyananda/>. Website saved with the Way Back Machine of archive.org on 19.03.2024. Temple of Kriyayoga.

KRIYANANDA, was a guru, yogi, kabbalist and direct disciple of Yogānanda. KRIYANANDA studied philosophy for four years at the University of Illinois and then embarked on a business career. Whether KRIYANANDA would have acquired the qualifications to translate a Sanskrit source text remains to be seen. Possibly, he was a gifted autodidact.

In the *Kriya Yoga Upanishad*, the disciple Sanskriti asks the guru Dattatreya to teach him the teachings of Kriyāyoga. The latter agrees and explains Kriyāyoga in a total of ten chapters. The framework is formed by the eight-limbed Yoga system presented in 1.5, similar to the eight limbs of the Pātañjala scheme. The first chapter (1.6-25) presents the *Ten Spiritual Restraints*. Dattatreya explains the *Ten Spiritual Observances* in the second chapter (2.1-16). Chapter three, *The Nine Postures* (3.1-13), deals with nine āsanās with six sitting postures, one standing posture and one complex posture. The fourth chapter (4.1-63) discusses what KRIYANANDA calls *Mystical Anatomy*. Here, six cakras named after the planets (i.e. the mūlādhārācakra is called the “Saturn mass-energy converter cakra”), fourteen primary nāḍīs and Kriya Kundalini, which covers the ‘divine creative channel’ with its mouth, are taught. The fifth chapter (5.1-14) is entitled *Inner Purification* and contains simple prāṇāyāma techniques such as sūryabhedana and candrabhedana. Chapter six (6.1-39), entitled *Breath Control*, instructs another breathing exercise in combination with meditation on the three akṣaras that constitute the sacred syllable aum̐. During the inhalation (pūraka), the yogi is supposed to meditate on a, during the breathing posture on u and during the exhalation on m̐. In addition, the breathing technique śitalī (6.25) and a technique called yonimudrā (6.33-34) are presented. Chapter seven (7.1-10) is about *Withdrawal of the Senses*. The practitioner is instructed to let the breath move through the body in a specific order. The eighth chapter (8.1-9) is entitled *Concentration*. Here, the yogin is meant to inhale and hold the breath at specific bodily locations (not the cakras), which are associated with the five elements and the syllables ya, ra, va, la and ha, as well as specific deities. The even shorter ninth chapter, *Meditation* (9.1-6), basically only states that the practice of concentration leads to meditation after a while. The tenth chapter, *Samadhi* (10.1-12), then describes the final state of Yoga, which is defined as the “deep conscious trance in which the yogi experiences Absolute Wisdom”.

Hypothesis on the transition from the medieval models to the new models of Kriyāyoga

The *Yogasvarodaya* and Rāmacandra's *Yogatattvabindu* were written before 1659 CE. Nārāyaṇatīrtha must have lived between 1600 and 1690 CE., and because of that, his *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* was also written in this timeframe. Sant Sundardās, the author of the *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā* lived from 1596 to 1689. Interestingly, Nārāyaṇatīrtha and Sundardās lived in Benares.⁵⁵ Thus, we can safely assume that the complex taxonomies of twelve–fifteen Yogas were part of the local discourse of 17th-century Benares. One might speculate that Rāmacandra might also have lived in these surroundings, but this remains uncertain. Lahiḍi Mahāśaya, the person to whom the new forms of Kriyāyoga seem to go back, lived about a century later, from 1828 to 1895 CE. Interestingly, Lahiḍi Mahāśaya is also said to have spent much of his life in Benares. It is, of course, utterly unclear whether Lahiḍi Mahāśaya ever read any of the works mentioned above. However, at least we know that he not only enjoyed an education in philosophy in Benares but also learnt English and Sanskrit.⁵⁶ However, it is likely that the local discourse regarding the religious-spiritual offerings within Benares did not change abruptly. Lahiḍi Mahāśaya also lived as a family man and householder,⁵⁷ no sectarian affiliations are known so that the whole variety of religious-spiritual offerings of his time were open to him. He was able to combine them freely. As can be seen from the Yoga texts examined in this book, there was no lack of different Yoga categories in Benares between the 17th and 19th centuries CE. Although these were still labelled differently, they were freely combined in practice. Moreover, given the plethora of Yoga practices from different Yoga traditions and Yoga texts presented in the previous chapter and evident in the publications of the new Kriyāyoga consulted, it is not only credible but also plausible that this phenomenon already began with Lahiḍi Mahāśaya, as Yogānanda claims in his autobiography. However, why Lahiḍi Mahāśaya chose the category of Kriyāyoga as the generic

⁵⁵ See BURGER (2014: 684) for dating and location of Sundardās and PENNA (2004: 24) for dating and location of Nārāyaṇatīrtha.

⁵⁶ JONES and RYAN, 2008: 255–56.

⁵⁷ See YOGĀNANDA, 1946: ???.

term for his Yoga system cannot be answered conclusively. However, I would like to offer an educated guess.

I hypothesize that the term Kriyāyoga, as the generic term for his system of Yoga, was a strategic decision of Lahiḍi Mahāśaya. It is unlikely, and there is no clear evidence that Lahiḍi Mahāśaya knew the *Yogasvarodaya*, *Yogatattvabindu* and *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. It is impossible to determine if there ever was any influence of these texts on Lahiḍi Mahāśaya and his new Kriyāyoga system. But if there was, only the fact that all three texts that mention Kriyāyoga as the very first item in their taxonomies could have influenced his decision to unite all possible Yogas and their techniques under the term Kriyāyoga. Another factor could have been that he was consciously or unconsciously driven by the emerging Yogasūtra hype in the West, which triggered a wave of enthusiasm in India. One wonders why he did not choose the term Rājayoga to integrate many systems as others have done before him. Maybe because the term Rājayoga was already used as a generic term for Pātañjalayoga by then.⁵⁸ Perhaps the term Kriyāyoga had the advantage that it not only formed a link to the popular and hyped *Yogasūtra*, but already provided a basic framework that was very open to interpretation with the three constitutional practices *tapas*, *svādhyāya* and *īśvarapraṇidhāna*, but at the same time left the possibility for the integration of the variety of post-Pātañjalean physical and non-physical Yoga practices from the Tantras and texts of Haṭha- and Rājayoga through a literal interpretation of the compound prefix *kriyā°* in the sense of “action”. Whether his thoughts went in a similar direction must remain open. However, we must assume that the discursive environment of Benares at his time certainly played its part in encouraging Lahiḍi Mahāśaya to integrate the various Yogas circulating in the local discourse of his time under one term.

Jñānayoga - II

Jñānayoga⁵⁹ is the second Yoga within Rāmacandra's list of fifteen Yogas as well as his source text, the *Yogasvarodaya*. In Nārāyaṇatīrtha's list of fifteen, Jñānayoga occupies the sixth place. Sundardās positions Jñānayoga at the

⁵⁸ See BIRCH.

⁵⁹ See section XXI on p.??-??.

manifest consciousness, which is the critical component of his Cārcāyog type of *bhakti*.