

The Yogatattvabindu

योगतत्त्वबिन्दु

Yogatattvabindu

Critical Edition
with annotated Translation

Von
Nils Jacob Liersch

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>.

© Indica et Tibetica Verlag, Marburg 2024

Alle Rechte vorbehalten / All rights reserved

Ohne ausdrückliche Genehmigung des Verlages ist es nicht gestattet, das Werk oder einzelne Teile daraus nachzudrucken, zu vervielfältigen oder auf Datenträger zu speichern.

Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism or review, no part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photo form, microfilm, or any other means without written permission. Enquiries should be made to the publishers.

Satz: Nils Jacob Liersch

Herstellung: BoD – Books on Demand GmbH, Norderstedt

Contents

Contents	v
Introduction	I
General remarks	3
Dating the <i>Yogatattvabindu</i>	5
Implications for the dating of the <i>Yogasvarodaya</i> and the <i>Sid-</i> <i>dhasiddhāntapaddhati</i>	6
The complex medieval yoga taxonomies	7
The rise of diversity: The increasing complexity of Yoga teaching systems in late medieval and pre-colonial India	8
Comparative Analysis of the complex Yoga taxonomies	8
I. Kriyāyoga	9
Kriyāyoga in the <i>Yogatattvabindu</i>	9
Kriyāyoga in the <i>Yogasvarodaya</i>	12
Kriyāyoga in the <i>Yogasiddhāntacandrikā</i>	16
Kriyāyoga in the complex late-medieval Yoga taxonomies . . .	17
Excursus: Popularisation of a new Kriyāyoga in a global context . .	18
The Kriyāyogas of the lineages of Paramahaṃsa Yogānanda, Svāmī Śivānanda Sarasvatī and Ramaiah	20
Definitions	20
Histories of the new forms of Kriyāyoga from an emic perspective	23
The practice of the new Kriyāyoga	25

Hypothesis on the transition from the late medieval models to the modern models of Kriyāyoga .	30
2. Jñānayoga	32
Jñānayoga in the <i>Yogatattvabindu</i>	32
Jñānayoga in the <i>Yogasvarodaya</i>	33
Jñānayoga in the <i>Yogasiddhāntacandrikā</i>	34
Jñānayoga in the <i>Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā</i>	36
3. Caryāyoga	36
Caryāyoga in the <i>Yogatattvabindu</i>	37
Caryāyoga in the <i>Yogasvarodaya</i>	37
Caryāyoga in the <i>Yogasiddhāntacandrikā</i>	39
Carcāyoga in the <i>Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā</i>	40
4. Haṭhayoga	41
Haṭhayoga in the <i>Yogatattvabindu</i> and <i>Yogasvarodaya</i>	41
Haṭhayoga in the <i>Yogasiddhāntacandrikā</i>	43
Haṭhayoga in the <i>Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā</i>	47

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 gelehrtten 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.

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	Sarvāṅgayogadīpikā
1.	<i>kriyāyoga</i>	<i>kriyāyoga</i>	<i>kriyāyoga</i>	<i>bhaktiyoga</i>
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>	<i>haṭhayoga</i>
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>	<i>sāmkhyayoga</i>
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>premabhaktiyoga</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.

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 an intention. Doing that [following] procedure with all its parts, one becomes established in Kriyāyoga.

kṣamāvivekavairāgyaśāntiśantoṣaṇisprhāḥ |
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'sucih || 4 ||

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

rāga dveṣau ghr̥ṇālasyaśrāntidambhakṣamābhramāḥ |
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 bestower of liberation.

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

(7) Until the mind enters absorption into Kṛṣṇa, in one's own self, into 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≈Kulārṇavatāntra 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 *Yogakarnīkā*.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 *Yogakarnīkā* 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 *Yogakarnīkā*, the practitioner is referred to as *mantrin* and should perform recitation and fire offerings until entering absorption (*laya*).

A possible historical link, particularly in front of the Vaiṣṇava background, is the model of Kriyāyoga as found in the *Uddhavadgītā*²⁵ which is a part of the famous *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*²⁶. 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

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 *Yogakarnīkā* 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 *Yogakarnīkā* 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 i.e., CAKRAVARTIN et al. (2007).

²⁶See i.e., SHASTRI and TAGARA (1950).

recitation 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).

Furthermore, this concept of Kriyāyoga in the *Yogasvarodaya* might be linked to the *kriyāpāda*²⁷ 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 texts²⁸ usually consist of four sections (*pādas*): The *jñānapāda* (knowledge section), *kriyāpāda* (action section), *caryāpāda* (behaviour section) and the *yogapāda* (yoga section).²⁹ It can be no coincidence that *jñāna*°, *kriyā*° and *caryā*° were each integrated as a separate Yoga category within the taxonomy of the fifteen Yogas³⁰. 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 initiates³¹ can be found here.³² 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

²⁷ See e.g. GANESAN (2016) and *Mrgendrāgama (Kriyāpāda and Caryāpāda)*, Ed. pp. 1-205.

²⁸ The fourfold division of *pādas* is only present in a limited number of *Āgamas*: *Kiraṇa*, *Suprabheda*, *Mrgendra* and *Mataṅgaparamaśvara* (as *Upāgamas*), see BRUNNER, 1993: 225-461 for an overview.

²⁹ The order or the *pādas* varies, but the *yogapāda* is always the last.

³⁰ see p.??.

³¹ These are *samayin*, *putraka*, *sādhaka*, *ācārya*, and *astrābhīṣeka*.

³² See 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 *Mrgendrāgama (Kriyāpāda and Caryāpāda)*. For this see BHATT (1962) & BRUNNER-LACHAUX (1985).

preceding all actions (*saṅkalpa*) or [mental] waves (*kallola*), I have not yet been able to locate in the Śaiva *āgamas*, but they seem to be a simplyfied rendering of the Pātañjalean model of Kriyāyoga that was passend on in hitherto unknown traditions that practiced this type of Kriyāyoga.

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.³³ 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 yogayuktaḥ*). In *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.1, Kriyāyoga is defined as follows:

tapahṣvādhyāyeśvarapraṇidhānāni kriyāyogaḥ |

The Yoga of action consists of auterity, the self-study and devotion to the supreme lord.

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 the supreme lord (*īśvarapraṇidhāna*). 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.³⁴ 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

³³For an earlier brief discussion of Kriyāyoga in Nārāyaṇatīrtha's *yogacandrika* see PENNA, 2004: 62–66.

³⁴VIMALĀ, 2000:71.

not mentioned, the more general term for fear (*bhaya*) is cited.³⁵ The Kriyāyoga in *Yogatattvabindu* and *Yogasvarodaya* could, therefore, be perhaps regarded as a degenerated or simplified variant of the Pātāñjalean 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.³⁶

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

³⁶The Kriyāyoga of the *Pātāñjalayogaśāstra* 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 ARANYA 1983: 113 et seqq. For a comprehensible and more accessible overview, see BRYANT 2009: 170 et seqq.

Excursus: Popularisation of a new Kriyāyoga in a global context

The comparatively unique treatises on Kriyāyoga, which can only be found in the Yoga literature from the 17th-century onwards³⁷ 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 *Uddhavaḡitā*, 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 1805³⁸ 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.³⁹ It also

³⁷The terminus *ad quem* for the *Yogasvarodaya* and *Yogatattvabindu* is 1659 CE, see p.5 for the details.

³⁸See ("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,

³⁹Cf. *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.

has a large global following to this day. Yogānanda, his books, his followers and the numerous books written by his followers have popularised this innovative and new form of Kriyāyoga beyond the Indian subcontinent. The term Kriyāyoga was allegedly already defined by Yogānanda's predecessors, namely Lahiḍi Mahāśaya (1828-1895) and Śrī Yukteśvar Giri (1855-1936), as the central generic term for the Yoga practice of this line of tradition.⁴⁰

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.⁴¹

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.⁴²

⁴⁰Cf. GOVINDAN 2010:51-52

⁴¹Cf. *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

⁴²For 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

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.⁴³ 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 ⁴⁴ 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)

can already be found in a similar form in the lineages of T. Krishnamacharya. See SINGLETON and GOLDBERG, 2013: 81-121.

⁴³This 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).

⁴⁴Cf. HARIHARANANDA 1989: 16.

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

...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 Lahīḍi 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,⁴⁵ which states that Babaji explained to Lahiri Mahāśaya that 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 Lahiri Mahāśaya's 100 disciples was Śrī Yukteśvar (1855-1936), to whom Babaji is also said to have appeared three times. On one of these occasions, Babaji 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.⁴⁶ 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

⁴⁵Cf. YOGĀNANDA, 1949: 244 f.

⁴⁶A 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 Śivānanda/Satyānanda model in SATYANANDA, (1981: 697-952) and for the Yogānanda model in NITYĀNANDA GIRI, (2013: 249-340).

is the innovative and specific combination of the individual techniques into a practical and particularly effective sequence of exercises, referred to here as “Kriyā”.

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 brain⁴⁷, or positive effects of Kriyāyoga practice are legitimised with evolutionary biology theories, such as the polyvagal theory⁴⁸

GOVINDAN (2010: 216–225) distinguishes a total of seven main categories of Kriyāyoga. The first category he mentions is *Kriyā 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 *Kriyā 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 *Kriyā 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 *Kriyā 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 *Kriyā Bhakti Yoga*, the yoga of love and devotion. In GOVINDAN’s words, this is the “turbojet” of self-realisation.

⁴⁷NITYĀNANDA GIRI, 2013: 215.

⁴⁸LOWENSTEIN and LETT, 2021: 188.

This type of Kriyāyoga includes devotional love, chanting, ritual worship and pilgrimages to holy places.

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 *uḍḍīyānabandha* or *mahābandha*, various *mūdrā* techniques such as *mahāmuḍrā*, *śāmbhavīmudrā*, *yonimudrā*, or the so-called *Kriya Breath*. *Kriya Breath* is referred to as *kevalakumbhaka*. In addition, classical gymnastic exercises are also added⁴⁹ 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 Sāadhanā*,⁵⁰ “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

⁴⁹LOWENSTEIN and LETT, 2021: 118-124. Gymnastic exercises can also be found in STURGESS, 2015: 447-458.

⁵⁰The *ajapājapa*, recitation of the non-recitation of the *haṃsa* mantra.

from earlier yoga traditions, which are integrated into innovative exercise systems and attempted to be historically legitimised in different ways. Depending on the lineage and the teacher, individual characteristics and different explanatory models exist.⁵¹

One last exemplary publication is *The Kriya Yoga Upanishad and the Mystical Upanishads* (1993) by KRIYANANDA. This book offers translations of ten well-known *Yoga Upanishads* and one *Kriya Yoga Upanishad*. The translator claims that the name of the author of this Sanskrit Yoga Upanishad 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 Upanishads*,⁵² nor in publications of previously unpublished Upanishads.⁵³ Searching through various catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts was also unsuccessful.⁵⁴ 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.

⁵¹In 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).

⁵²Cf. *Yoga Upanishads* (1938),

⁵³Cf. (1938).

⁵⁴In *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.

Goswami KRIYANANDA learnt Kriyāyoga from his teacher Shelly Trimmer, who, according to the official website of the *Temple of Kriya Yoga*⁵⁵ founded by 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 ṁ. 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

⁵⁵ *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.

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 late medieval models to the modern 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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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,⁵⁸ 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 without a doubt freely combined in practice. Moreover,

⁵⁶ See BURGER (2014: 684) for dating and location of Sundardās and PENNA (2004: 24) for dating and location of Nārāyaṇatīrtha.

⁵⁷ JONES and RYAN, 2008: 255-56.

⁵⁸ See YOGĀNANDA, 1946: ???.

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 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.⁵⁹ Perhaps, the term Kriyāyoga had the advantage that it not only formed a link to the popular and hyped *Yogasūtra*, but also provided a basic framework that was open to interpretation due to the three constitutional practices *tapas*, *svādhyāya* and *īśvarapraṇidhāna*. Thus, the term opened up the possibility to integrate 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 this specific term.

⁵⁹See BIRCH.

2. Jñānayoga

Jñānāyoga⁶⁰ is the second yoga in Rāmacandra's list of the fifteen yogas as well as in his source text, the *Yogasvarodaya*. In Nārāyaṇatīrtha's list of the fifteen yogas in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, Jñānayoga takes sixth place. Sundardās positions Jñānayoga in tenth place in his list of twelve yogas in his *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā*. Here, it is subsumed under the category Sāṅkhyayoga, the fourth tetrad of his list.

Jñānayoga in the *Yogatattvabindu*

Jñānayoga occupies the second place in Rāmacandra's taxonomy of the fifteen Yogas but is not described as the second yoga in his text.⁶¹ The description is given from section XXI-XXII. The overarching goal of Rāmacandra's Jñānayoga is the long-term durability of the body (*bahutarakālaṃ śarīrasthitiḥ*) already mentioned in the introduction (section I), which is expressed here once again with other words: 'From the execution of this [Jñānayoga], time does not bring about the destruction of the body' (*tasya kāraṇāt kālaḥ śarīranāśaṃ na karoti*). Simultaneously, Rāmacandra's Jñānayoga leads to the attainment of the 'reality of Śambhu' (*śāmbhavisattā*).⁶² This Jñānayoga can be practised in two ways. The first method (XXI.1) arises through the application of 'non-dualistic thinking' (*avikalpatayā yuktyā*), and the second method (XXI.2) arises through the realisation that the entire world consists of all knowledge (*...sarvajñānamayaṃ jagat | ya evaṃ vettibodhena ...*). However, the text primarily deals with the first method. This method consists of viewing the world as a unity that is enlightened by the highest self (*viśvātman*). If one perceives this unity, one finds oneself in the 'reality of Śambhu'. However, this supreme reality cannot be recognised without further ado since it does not show itself as the desired unity but as a tenfold multiplicity (XXI.4ab). He compares this relationship to a seed from which a whole tree with its parts grows (XXI.4-XXI.5). The seed stands for the

⁶⁰see section XXI and XXII on p.??-??

⁶¹The description of Jñānayoga is preceded by Siddhakuṇḍaliniyoga and Mantrayoga (III-XII), Lakṣyayoga (XIII-XV), Rājayoga (XVI-XVII), Caryāyoga (XVIII) and Haṭhayoga (XIX-XX). See chapter ????? on structural problems of *Yogatattvabindu* on p.??.

⁶²This refers to the highest reality and the state of Rājayoga. See p.?? in the edition for a discussion of the term.

invisible unity of world and self. The tree, with its various parts, stands for the multiplicity of the visible world. The fundamental unity of the world is like the seed from which a whole tree has grown. It is no longer visible and is not perceived. However, what is perceived is a world consisting of a multiplicity. In the case of the seed, a tree with its branches, leaves, etc. In the case of the world ten basic principles (*tattvas*): Five [gross] elements (*pañcatattva*), thinking mind (*manas*), intellect (*buddhi*), illusion (*māya*), individuation (*ahaṃkāra*), and modifications (*vikriyā*).⁶³ Jñānayoga is supposed to produce the realisation of oneness (XXI.7). In order to realise this, the practitioner is supposed to apply the view of unity (*aikyena darśanam*) to recognise the identity between the visible world of multiplicity⁶⁴, and the invisible self (*viśvātma*). Through Jñānayoga, the practitioner then realises that the self is one with the world⁶⁵ and the changing forms of the worlds material appearance are empty.⁶⁶

Jñānayoga in the *Yogasvarodaya*

If we assume a correct transmission of the *Yogasvarodaya* in the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī*, then the text, in fact, describes two very different types of Jñānayoga.

The Jñānayoga of the first passage⁶⁷ contains a description of the major components of the yogic body which the Yogi is supposed to know. Gaining knowledge about the body is the aim of this Jñānayoga.⁶⁸ In particular, the three primary channels (*nāḍīs*)⁶⁹, as well as a system with a total of nine *cakras* are supposed to be known. They are described in detail. The introduction to this first form of Jñānayoga mentions other things the Yogi should know, such

⁶³For a discussion of the tenfold *tattva* system, see S.?? n.??? and S.?? n. ??

⁶⁴This is also referred to by Rāmacandra as *saṃsāra* (XXI ll. 7-9).

⁶⁵Cf. *Yogatattvabindu* XXII ?? l. 5: 'Because of the power of Jñānayoga, there arises the conviction that the self is truly one (*jñānayogaprabhāvād eka eva ātmā iti niścayo bhavati*)

⁶⁶Cf. *Yogatattvabindu* XXII p.?? l.3: 'Through Jñānayoga he realises the emptiness of the mutability of form.' (*jñānayogād vikārarūparahito jñāyate*)

⁶⁷Cf. *Prāṇatoṣiṇī*, Ed. p. 831-833.

⁶⁸Cf. *Prāṇatoṣiṇī* Ed. p. 831 (*jñānayogam pravakṣyāmi tajjñāni śivatām vrajet | pathanāt smaraṇād vyānān maṇḍanāt brahmasādhakāḥ | tadbhedasyaikasandhānam aṣṭaiśvaramayo bhavet | tritirthaṃ yatra nāḍī ca tripuṇyaṃ parameśvari | svadehe yo na jānāti sa yogi nāmadhārakaḥ | navacakram kalādhāraṃ trilakṣaṃ vyomapañcakam | svadehe yo na jānāti sa yogi nāmadhārakaḥ*).

⁶⁹The left lunar channel (*idā*), the right solar channel (*piṅgalā*) and the central channel (*suśūmnā*).

as the three targets [for fixing the mind] (*lakṣyas*),⁷⁰ sixteen containers [for holding mind and often breath in the context of this type of yogic practice] (*ādhāras*) and the five [meditative] spaces (*vyomans*) through which the yogin progresses on the path to the highest state of Yoga. However, these do not specifically belong to yogic physiology like the channels and *nāḍīs*. Thus, they are not treated in the first Jñānayoga section but dealt with separately during the text.

This first form of Jñānayoga in the *Yogasvarodaya*, like much of its content and even its sequence, is adopted by Rāmacandra in his *Yogatattvabindu*. Surprisingly, he adopts the first form of Jñānayoga under a different name. Instead of Jñānayoga, Rāmacandra calls it Siddhakuṇḍaliniyoga and Mantrayoga. It is unclear why Rāmacandra made this change. Perhaps Rāmacandra did not want to teach two different forms of Jñānayoga, or he was convinced that Siddhakuṇḍaliniyoga and Mantrayoga were the more appropriate terms for this type of Yoga. Another possibility would be that the quotations of the *Yogasvarodaya* in the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī* are corrupted. However, this is the less likely scenario. A detailed discussion of Siddhakuṇḍaliniyoga and Mantrayoga in Rāmacandra's *Yogatattvabindu* can be found on p.??.

The Jñānayoga of the second passage⁷¹ is almost identical with Rāmacandra's Jñānayoga. Rāmacandra adopts most of the verses verbatim from the *Yogasvarodaya*. There are minor details that Rāmacandra modifies, but they do not significantly change the concept and aim of Jñānayoga. A slight simplification of the presentation can be observed.

Jñānayoga in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*

Nārāyaṇatīrtha situates his Jñānayoga⁷² in the context of *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*'s *sūtra* 1.28, which says:

taj japas tadarthabhāvanam || 28 ||

It's low-voice muttering; contemplation of its meaning.

⁷⁰In the sections on Lakṣyayoga in the *Yogasvarodaya* and *Yogatattvabindu* five targets (*lakṣyas*) are described in total. This is one of many inconsistencies in the *Yogasvarodaya* and the *Yogatattvabindu*.

⁷¹*Prāṇatoṣiṇī*, Ed. p. 835-837.

⁷²For an earlier brief discussion of Jñānayoga in Nārāyaṇatīrtha's *yogacandrika* see PENNA, 2004: 76.

This is the last *sūtra* of an extensive section (1.23 - 1.28) in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*⁷³, which is entirely dedicated to one of the means of attaining *samādhi*, namely *īśvarapraṇidhāna*, devotion to Īśvara, the Supreme Lord.

Īśvara is most aptly represented by the sacred syllable *aum̐*. The above *sūtra* instructs the quiet murmuring of this syllable while contemplating its meaning (*tadarthabhāvanam*) as a practical method of *īśvarapraṇidhāna* to attain the highest state of Yoga, which is called *asaṃprajñātasamādhi*.

In this context, Nārāyaṇatīrtha explains that in this *sūtra*, the term 'low-voice muttering' (*japa*) refers to the practice of Mantrayoga. The term 'contemplating its meaning' (*arthabhavana*) refers to Jñānayoga as a form of practice that cultivates discriminating knowledge (see previous paragraph). Furthermore, in this context, Nārāyaṇatīrtha refers to Advaitayoga, also associated with this *sūtra*, which is a form of Yoga characterised by the view of the non-differentiation of the individual self and the supreme self.⁷⁴

Nārāyaṇatīrtha, thus, offers two alternatives about the specific performance of the contemplation. Either, while quietly murmuring the *praṇava* syllable, which symbolises Īśvara and his qualities, attention is supposed to be focused on the distinction between consciousness (*puruṣa*) and primordial nature (*prakṛti*) including its effects (*tatkārya*).⁷⁵ This is Nārāyaṇatīrtha's Jñānayoga. Alternatively, one is supposed to reflect on the non-difference

⁷³An entire monograph entitled *God, Reason, and Yoga: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Commentary Ascribed to Śaṅkara on Pātañjalayogaśāstra 1.23—28* is dedicated to this section by HARI-MOTO (2014). It provides an edition, translation and detailed discussion of this critical passage in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstravivaraṇa*.

⁷⁴Cf. *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* Ed. p. 46: 'Furthermore, by the term *japa*, the practice of Mantrayoga is indicated; by '*arthabhavana*,' the knowledge of discrimination, the form of practice [called] Jñānayoga, and Advaitayoga is the form of cultivating non-differentiation. (*kiñca japa ity anena mantrayogaḥ arthabhāvanam ity anena vivekajñānā 'bhyāsarūpo jñānayogaḥ abhedabhāvarūpo 'dvaitayogaś ca saṃgrhītaḥ*)).

⁷⁵Cf. *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* Ed. p. 45: 'The low-voice muttering of *praṇava* [and] pronunciation according to the rules [along with] the contemplation of the meaning of that *praṇava*, [being associated with] the Supreme Self endowed with inconceivable power and supremacy, is the fixation of the attention with discernment from the individual self and nature with its effects.' (*tasya praṇavasya japaḥ vidhivad uccāraṇam, tadarthasya praṇavārthasya acintyaiśvaryaśaktiyuktasya paramātmāno bhāvanam prakṛtitatkāryapurusebhyo vivekenānusaṃdhānam*).

between the highest self (*paramātmān*) and the individual self (*jīva*).⁷⁶ This is Nārāyaṇatīrtha's Advaitayoga.

Jñānayoga in the *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā*

The Jñānayoga of Sundardās (SYP 4.13–24) is similar to the Jñānayoga of Rāmacandra and the *Yogasvarodaya*. Although Sundardās does not mention a *tattva* system, the reality of Śambhu or the physical effects of this yoga is also about recognising that the universe and the world form a unity.⁷⁷ According to Sundardās, the self is the cause, and the whole universe is the effect.⁷⁸ To illustrate the relationship of cause and effect between self and universe, Sundardās presents the same metaphor of the seed and the tree as Rāmacandra in XXI.4–5.⁷⁹ The rest of the section consists of different comparisons, which are supposed to illustrate the non-difference between the self and the whole or the universe.⁸⁰

3. Caryāyoga

Caryāyoga occupies third place in Rāmacandra's list, is absent in the *Yogasvarodaya*, in second place in Nārāyaṇatīrtha, and also absent in Sundardās. However, Sundardās describes a Yoga with the almost homophonic name Carcāyoga, which will be compared in the following to determine whether there is a connection between the two concepts.

⁷⁶Cf. *ibid.*: 'Alternatively, its meaning is the repeated imprinting in the mind of the non-distinction between the individual self and the total supreme self.' (*athavā tadarthasya paramātmānaḥ pūrṇasya bhāvanam jīvābhedena punaḥ punaś cetasi niveśanam* /).

⁷⁷See BURGER (2014: 702) for an earlier brief discussion of Sundardās's Jñānayoga in French.

⁷⁸*Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā* 4.13: 'Now understand Jñānayoga. Recognize the cause and effect. The cause is the indivisible soul. The effect is the whole universe.' (*jñāna yoga aba esaṁ jānaim | kāraṇa aru kāraya pahicānaim | kāraṇa ātama āhi akhāṇḍā | kāraya bhayau sakala brahmaṇḍā* || 13 ||)

⁷⁹*Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā* 4.14: 'Just as the tree [grows] out of the seed, bringing forth countless branches, leaves, fruits and flowers, in the same way the self is the root of the universe.' (*jyaum aṁkuru teṁ taru vistārā | bahuta bhāṁti kari nikasi ḍārā | śāṣā patra aura pharaphulā | jyaum ātamā viśva kau mūlā* || 14 ||)

⁸⁰For example *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā* 4.20: 'Just like various ornaments made of gold, are worn with different names and forms. However, in essence, all become one in the melting pot. In the same way, the self is not separate from the universe.' (*jyaum kuñcana ke bhūṣana nānā | bhinna bhinna kari nāmva baṣaṇā | gāre sarba eka hi huvā | yaim ātamā biśva nahim juvā* || 20 ||)

Caryāyoga in the *Yogatattvabindu*

Rāmacandra keeps the section on Caryāyoga (section XVIII) extremely short, with only eight prose sentences. After characterising the self as 'formless, permanent, immovable and indivisible', Rāmacandra lets the reader know that by stabilising the mind in such a self, the self does not come into contact with sin and merit. When the mind is absorbed into the formless [self], this is Caryāyoga. This is all which Rāmacandra says on this subject. The brevity of the passage and the fact that Rāmacandra's source text, the *Yogasvarodaya*, does not contain this type of Yoga, but Rāmacandra clearly constructs it on the basis of a description of Rājayoga of the *Yogasvarodaya*,⁸¹ suggests that Rāmacandra merely wanted to do justice to his list mentioned at the beginning.⁸² It remains unclear why this Yoga with this particular description bears the name Caryāyoga. The apparent association of the first four Yogas in Rāmacandra's and *Yogasvarodaya*'s list with the four *pādas* of the Śaiva Āgamas (*kriyā-*, *jñāna-*, *caryā-* and *yogapāda*) does not offer a convincing solution in this case, as *caryā*^o in this context has nothing to do with the original ritual discipline of the śaivite practices, as would be the case in the *caryāpāda* of a Śaiva Āgamas. It is, therefore, unlikely that any Yoga practitioners practised a Caryāyoga that corresponds to the brief description of Rāmacandra.

Caryāyoga in the *Yogasvarodaya*

The term Caryāyoga does not exist in the *Yogasvarodaya* sources available to me, namely *Prāṇatoṣinī* and *Yogakarnikā*. The term Caryāyoga does not appear in the taxonomy of Yoga categories in the *Yogasvarodaya*.⁸³ Although the verses concerning the yogic taxonomy postulate a total of fifteen Yogas, only eight are mentioned. Whether Caryāyoga remained unmentioned is unclear, but its presence in the taxonomies of the *Yogatattvabindu*⁸⁴ and the *Yogasiddhān-*

⁸¹Cf. *Yogatattvabindu* XVIII, p. ??

⁸²One could argue that Rāmacandra may not have done so, since not all fifteen Yogas announced at the beginning are described in the course of his text anyway. I suspect that this may nevertheless have been his original intention but that Rāmacandra discarded this intention while writing his text, perhaps due to inconsistencies in his source text

⁸³*Prāṇatoṣinī* ed. p. 831.

⁸⁴*Yogatattvabindu* I. ll. 1-4.

*tacandrikā*⁸⁵ certainly makes its affiliation seem possible and quite probable. What the *Yogasvarodaya* originally looked like can only be surmised. Although it almost seems as if the entire *Yogasvarodaya* has been handed down in the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī*, the *Yogakarnīkā* contains several verses of the *Yogasvarodaya* which have not been handed down in the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī*.⁸⁶ For this reason, the text may have been more extensive and could have transmitted a Caryāyoga. The *Yogasvarodaya* was likely the first text to mention the taxonomy of the fifteen yogas.⁸⁷ If the association with the four *pādas* of the Śaiva Āgamas had been made by the author of the *Yogasvarodaya*, then a yoga related to the ritual discipline of śaivite practices would be the most obvious suggestion of what such a Caryāyoga might have looked like. Indeed, in *Yogakarnīkā* 1.23–61 under the heading *dinacaryā* ('daily [ritual] behaviour'), there are detailed descriptions of daily yogic ritual behaviour. It is surprising that for a large part of the first chapter (1.1–168), the source texts of the verses are not given, especially since the rest of the first chapter and all other chapters of the text are largely compilations of quotations consisting of verses from other texts on typical yogic topics. Throughout the *Yogakarnīkā*, larger sections of the *Yogasvarodaya* and other texts are repeatedly quoted with reference. Is it possible that Nāth Aghorānanda, the author of the *Yogakarnīkā*, also drew on verses from the *Yogasvarodaya* here? At least in the second part of the first chapter (1.169–280), 37 verses (1.244–280) have been taken from the *Yogasvarodaya* with reference and demonstrably at least four verses without reference (1.210–213).⁸⁸ This question cannot be answered without manuscripts of the *Yogasvarodaya*. However, there may be further verses of the *Yogasvarodaya* within the first 168 verses of the *Yogakarnīkā*. Nonetheless, for the time being, one of the most plausible scenarios is that the original Caryāyoga in the taxonomy of the fifteen Yogas was similar to the contents of the *dinacaryā* section of the *Yogakarnīkā*. This section deals with daily ritual ablutions with mantra recitation, visualisation and meditation (1.23–36) and other ritual acts such as ritual dressing, the ap-

⁸⁵ *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* Ed. p. 2.

⁸⁶ It is striking that Rāmacandra's prosaisation is based almost exclusively on the verses quoted by the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī*.

⁸⁷ See p. ?? for a general description of the *Yogasvarodaya*.

⁸⁸ The verses of *Yogakarnīkā* 1.244–280 and 1.210–213 are all also found in the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī*, ed. pp. 832–833 and ed. p. 831

plication of the sectarian sign (*tilaka*) including tying the hair into a knot (1.38), offerings, and the devotional performance of prostrations in front of one's own *iṣṭadevatā* etc. (1.39-61).

Caryāyoga in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*

In his *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*⁸⁹ Nārāyaṇatīrtha presents Caryāyoga⁹⁰ in the context of Yogasūtra 1.33:

Due to impurities of the mind like jealousy, etc., preventing the attainment of Yoga, the method of removing them is Caryāyoga - Purity of the mind arises through the cultivation of friendliness, compassion, joy and equanimity in circumstances of happiness, suffering, virtue and vice.⁹¹

Caryāyoga is to cultivate kindness towards those in fortunate circumstances to prevent jealousy. Towards those who are in sorrowful circumstances, compassion is supposed to be cultivated to prevent ill-will. Towards those who act virtuously, one is supposed to cultivate joy to prevent aversion; and towards those who act unvirtuously, one is supposed to cultivate equanimity to prevent anger.⁹²

With this practice of Caryāyoga, which gradually purifies the mind, the sattvic nature of the mind is brought forth. This leads to a clear and serene mind.⁹³

⁸⁹ *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, ed. pp. 2, 52-53, 100-101, 150.

⁹⁰ For an earlier brief discussion of Caryāyoga in Nārāyaṇatīrtha's *yogacandrika* see PENNA, 2004: 66-67.

⁹¹ *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, Ed. p. 52 (*tasya cittasyāsūyādimalavato yogāśambhavāt tannirāsoṇāyāṃ caryāyogam āha- maitrikaruṇāmuditopekṣāṇām sukhaduḥkhaṇyāpūṇyaviṣayāṇām bhāvanātaścittaprasādanam* || 33 ||)

⁹² Cf. Ibid. (*tathā ca sukhiteṣu maitrīm sauhārdam irṣyākāluṣyanivarttakam, duḥkhiṣu karuṇām dayāmasūyākāluṣyanivarttikām, puṇyavṛttiṣu harṣam dveṣyanivarttakam, apuṇyaśabditaṇṇāpīṣu upekṣām amarṣakāluṣyanivarttikām bhāvayet*)

⁹³ Cf. *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, ed. pp. 52- 53 (*tad evaṃ caryāyogena cittamalanirāsakena mukhyādiṣu yathākramamuktabhāvanārūpeṇa sātṭviko dharmo jāyate | tena ca śuklena dharmeṇa citṭam prasannaṃ bhavati | prasāde ca sthitipadaṃ labhate | etac ca puṣkalaṃ viraktasyaiva sambhavatīti mukhyacaryāyogo vairāgyameveti saṃkṣepaḥ* || 33 ||)

Since the word *caryā*° in this context refers to purposeful behaviour designed to give rise to the sattvic nature, the Caryāyoga of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* can be meaningfully translated as 'Yoga of behaviour'.

Carcāyoga in the *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā*

Within *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā* (2.40-51, Ed. pp. 96-98), Sundardās describes Cārcāyoga as one of the three subtypes of Bhaktiyoga which is *bhakti* towards unmanifest consciousness (*avyakta puruṣa*) in delightful devotion.⁹⁴ He extensively describes the unmanifest consciousness (*avyakta puruṣa*) as being formless and eternal and so on (40), as beginningless and endless, and so on (41). Next, Sundardās describes the various layers of creation emanating from *om* (42-45). He says the unmanifest consciousness illuminates every corner of existence (46), being the inner knower of all (47). Then, Sundardās expresses the importance of deep awe towards the infinite, divine, all-knowing and incomprehensible (48-49) unmanifest consciousness.

The entire passage on Carcāyoga is characterised by a discussion and description of the unmanifest consciousness (*avyakta puruṣa*). This aspect is the core of this type of Yoga. Unlimited unmanifested consciousness can be put into limiting words only, and yet the practitioner is confronted with the question of how it is supposed to be defined and determined.⁹⁵ And this is precisely the practice of Carcāyoga. The term *carcā*° here refers to 'discussing' or 'putting into words' and emphasising individual details of unmanifest consciousness to generate deep reverence for the cultivation of Bhaktiyoga, the Yoga of devotional worship of *avyakta puruṣa*. The following verse illustrates this:

How to discuss, where to find you, O Lord? You are the inner knower of everything. There is no end to describing creation. Your limit cannot be reached by any means.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ See BURGER (2014: 694-695) for an earlier brief discussion of Sundardās's Carcāyoga in French

⁹⁵ Cf. *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā* 2.41ab (*avyakta puruṣa agama apārā kaisaiṃ kai kariye nirdhārā* |

⁹⁶ Cf. *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā* 2.47 (*carcā karaiṃ kahāṃ laga svamī* | *tum saba hī ke antarjāmi* | *śṛṣṭi kahat kachu anta na āvai* | *terā pāra kaiṃna dhaiṃ pāvai* || 47 ||

Thus, it is clear that no direct conceptual connection exists between the Caryāyogas described above and Carcāyoga. A meaningful explanation for the conspicuous homophony of both terms cannot be offered for the time being.

4. Haṭhayoga

Haṭhayoga appears without exception in all complex late medieval yoga taxonomies. In the taxonomies with fifteen Yogas of the *Yogatattvabindu*, the *Yogasvarodaya* and the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, it occupies the fourth position. In the twelvefold taxonomy of Sundardā's *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā*, it is in fifth position and, in addition to its own category, is also the superordinate category for the three subsequent Yogas described by Sundardās, namely Rāja-, Lakṣa- and Aṣṭāṅgayoga.

Haṭhayoga in the *Yogatattvabindu* and *Yogasvarodaya*

In section XIX-XX of the *Yogatattvabindu*, two categories of Haṭhayoga are distinguished. Both are based on the explanations of the *Yogasvarodaya*, differ only slightly in formulation, and can, therefore, be considered together.⁹⁷ Both passages in these two texts are characterized by their brevity.

The first type of Haṭhayoga described teaches the control of the breath through exhalation (*recaka*), inhalation (*pūraka*) and breath retention (*kumbhaka*) etc. With the term “etc.” (°ādi°), the text probably refers to other known practices of *Haṭhayoga*. In addition to other breathing exercises, this could also refer to the other known basic building blocks of Haṭhayoga, which have been associated with Haṭhayoga since Svātmarāma's *Haṭhapradīpikā*: *āsana*, *mudrā* and *nādānusandhāna*. At least *āsana* is explicitly mentioned in the *Yogasvarodaya*, but not in the *Yogatattvabindu* (*kṛtvāsanam pavanāśam śarīre rogahāarakam*). Both texts then mention the six actions that purify the body (*ṣaṭkarma*). Then Rāmacandra states that when the full breath dwells within the solar channel (*sūryanāḍi*), the mind becomes immobile. Through the immobility of the

⁹⁷ See *Prāṇatoṣiṇi*, ed. p. 835 and *Śabdakalpadruma*, ed. p. 501. These passages contain quotations from the *Yogasvarodaya* of both types of Haṭhayoga. See also *Yogakarnikā* 12.23–26. Here, verses of the second category of Haṭhayoga are reproduced

mind, bliss arises, and the mind is absorbed into emptiness (*śūnya*). The resulting state leads to the delay of the time of death (*kālah samīpe nāgachati*). The naming of the sun channel is striking in this context. The *Yogasvarodaya* is no concrete help here, as it merely speaks of an unspecified *nāḍī*,⁹⁸ in which, triggered by the preceding practice, the fullness of breath is established (*etan nāḍyān tu deveśi vāyupūrṇaṃ pratiṣṭhitam | tato mano nīcalaṃ syāt tata ānanda eva hi* |). The majority of texts of the Haṭhayoga genre would certainly specify *suṣūmnā*, the central channel, and not the right channel associated with the sun called *piṅgalā*, in the context of the “immobility of the mind”, a central characteristic of the *samādhi* state, because the occurrence of the yoga state, or *samādhi*, is often associated with the entry of the breath into the central channel.⁹⁹ Either the term *sūryanāḍī* is to be understood here as an unfortunate synonym,¹⁰⁰ or the text is corrupt.¹⁰¹ A final possibility would be to assume a practice associated with the *piṅgalā* channel. The term *sūryanāḍī* is found in the *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati*, a text that also served as a model for Rāmacandra.¹⁰²

The second type of Haṭhayoga in *Yogatattvabindu* instructs the yogin to contemplate a non-specific form (*kiṃcidrūpā*) in the colours white, yellow, blue and red equal to the radiance of ten million suns in one's own body from head to toe (*cintyate*). This is supposed to burn away all diseases of the body and prolong life. In the *Yogasvarodaya*, there is no mention of an unspecific form. However, these colours and the sun's radiance are meant to be contemplated in the area of the tip of the nose (*ākāśe nāsikāgre tu sūryakoṭisamaṃ smaret | śvetam raktam tathā pītam kṛṣṇam ity ādirūpataḥ*). |). Rāmacandra and the *Yogasvarodaya*

⁹⁸ Since the YSv mentions no specific *nāḍī*, it is likely that it is the *nāḍī par excellence*, the *suṣūmnā*

⁹⁹ This is already evident, for example, in the oldest written testimony of the Haṭhyoga genre, the *Amṛtasiddhi* 26.1-2 (yo 'sau siddhimayo vāyur madhyamāpadanīcalaḥ | tadānandamayaṃ cittam ekarūpaṃ nabhaḥsamam || 26.1 || yadānandamayaṃ cittam bāhyakleśāvivarjitam | bhavaduḥkhāni saṃhr̥tya samādhir jāyate tadā || 26.2 ||) is the case. MALLINSON and SZÁNTÓ translate: (1) 'When Breath is perfected and fixed in the place of the Goddess of the Centre, then consciousness has the nature of bliss, uniform like the sky.' (2) 'When consciousness has the nature of bliss, free from external afflictions, then, having the sorrows of existence, Samādhi arises'. This idea, which can be found in this genre from the 11th century at the latest, subsequently permeates the entire genre

¹⁰⁰ In the sense of being ambiguous and overlapping with the *piṅgalā* channel.

¹⁰¹ A conjecture of *sūryanāḍī* to *śūryanāḍī* would be obvious. In *Jyotsnā* 4.10, Brahmananda understands “the void” (*śūnya*) as the central channel. In *Haṭhapradīpikā* 3.4, *śūnyapādavi* is a synonym of *suṣūmnā*.

¹⁰² Cf. *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati* 2.5: *pañcamam kaṇṭhacakraṃ caturāṅgulaṃ tatra vāme iḍā candranāḍī dakṣiṇe piṅgalā sūryanāḍī tanmadhye suṣūmnāṃ dhyāyet saivānāhatakalā anāhataśiddhir bhavati* |

describe the second type of Haṭhayoga so briefly and vaguely that the reader is denied a clearer picture. It should be noted at this point that the formulation is very reminiscent of Bāhyalakṣya's explanations in section XXIII¹⁰³. Interestingly, in Sundardā's *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā*, Lakṣ(y)ayoga is a subcategory, i.e. a partial practice, of Haṭhayoga. Is this the source for this differentiation? Further parallels to practices of other texts of Haṭhayoga involving coloured or non-coloured light exist but are still too distant to convincingly assign Rāmacandra's second type,¹⁰⁴ and thus remain enigmatic for the time being.

Haṭhayoga in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*

In the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, the discussion and description of Nārāyaṇatīrtha's Haṭhayoga is spread over several *sūtras* of the first two chapters, the *samādhipāda* (1.34) and the *sādhana-pāda* (2.46-52). The commentary by Nārāyaṇatīrtha is particularly extensive and detailed here.¹⁰⁵

Nārāyaṇatīrtha first locates Haṭhayoga in the context of *sūtra* 1.34. This *sūtra* is one of several options (1.32-40) that can be applied to overcome the distractions described in *sūtras* 1.30-31, which distract from the state of yoga (*asamprajñātasamādhi* or *kaivalya*) sought in Pātañjalayoga:

pracchardanavidhāraṇābhyāṃ vā prāṇasya || 34 ||

Or, through exhaling and restraining of the breath.

This method thus serves to establish a clear mind. This is referred to by Nārāyaṇatīrtha as Haṭhayoga. In his commentary, Nārāyaṇatīrtha explains that the term *pracchardana* means the slow outward emptying of the breath of the abdomen through one of the two nostrils in measured quantities.¹⁰⁶ The term *vidhāraṇa* is the external continuous breath-holding of exhaled air.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, Nārāyaṇatīrtha specifies this method of breath retention as

¹⁰³Cf. p. ??

¹⁰⁴see p.?? for the parallel passages

¹⁰⁵For an earlier, short discussion of Haṭhyoga in Nārāyaṇatīrtha's *yogacandrika* see PENNA, 2004: 76.

¹⁰⁶*Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* 1.34 (Ed. p. 53): *kauṣṭhyasya vāyoḥ pracchardanam, ekataranāsāpuṭeṇa mātṛāpramāṇeṇa śanaiḥ śanair bāhar niḥsāraṇam |*

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.* 1.34 (Ed. p. 53): *vidhāraṇaṃ recitasya vāyor bahir eva sthāpanaṃ kumbhakaṃ |*

recitakumbhaka. It is the first of a total of seven breathing postures (*saptakumbhaka*) and is considered particularly praiseworthy, as hardly any rules need to be observed for this type. However, this group of seven *kumbhakas* - *recita*, *pūrīta*, *śānta*, *pratyāhāra*, *uttara*, *ādhāra* and *sama* - is only mentioned in the second chapter in the context of the fourth limb of the *aṣṭāṅgayoga* called *prāṇāyāma* (2. 49-53) together with another seven of the eight *kumbhakas* of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.¹⁰⁸

According to Nārāyaṇatīrthas, the mastery of the breath and the mastery of the mind are intrinsically linked. At the same time, *prāṇāyāma* has the power to eradicate all sins, which enables the mind to concentrate and stabilize on a meditative focal point or goal (*lakṣya*).¹⁰⁹

Finally, Nārāyaṇatīrtha authenticates the linking of *prāṇāyāma* and Haṭhayoga (*prāṇāyāmasya haṭhayogatvam uktaṃ smṛtau*) with the famous verse of *Yogabīja* (148cd-149ab), in which the syllable “*ha*” is linked to the sun and the syllable “*ṭha*” to the moon. Thus, *haṭha* is understood as the union of sun and moon.¹¹⁰

The next section of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, which discusses aspects of Haṭhayoga, is only found in the context of the third limb of the *aṣṭāṅgayoga*, which is described beginning with *sūtra* 2.46.

*itaḥ paraṃ sakalarogādīnivr̥ttidvārā haṭhayogasyopāyam āsanam āha-
sthīrasukham āsanam || 46 ||*

From here on, postures, being the means of Haṭhayoga, are said to be the gateways to preventing all diseases etc.

A comfortable and steady position.

Nārāyaṇatīrtha then presents various *āsanas*. Of a total of 84 *āsanas*, 38 are described in detail. BIRCH observed as early as 2018,¹¹¹ that Nārāyaṇatīrtha's

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 1.34 (Ed. p. 53): *tathā cātra pūrakavarjanād recitapūrītasāntapratyāhārottārādhārasamabhe-
dena saptakumbhakeṣu madhye recitakumbhako 'yaṃ prathamābhyāse 'nekaniyamānapekṣatayā praśastah |
sarvam etad agre prāṇāyāmaprakaraṇe sphuṭi bhaviṣyati |*

¹⁰⁹ *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* 1.34 (Ed. p. 53): *tad etābhyāṃ prāṇajaye cittajasya tayoṃ avinābhāvāt prāṇāyā-
masya sarvapāpanāśakatvāt pāpanivr̥ttiyā ca cittam ekatra lakṣye sthīraṃ bhavati |*

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 1.34 (ed. p. 53): *hakāreṇa tu sūryo 'sau thakāreṇendur ucyate | sūryacandramasor aikyaṃ haṭha
ity abhidhiyate ||* The context suggests here, that Nārāyaṇatīrtha associates the sun and moon with the *piṅgalānāḍī* (representing the sun) and *iḍānāḍī* (representing the moon). Their union would then be the inhalation through these channels with subsequent breath holding.

¹¹¹ Cf. BIRCH 2018, p. 105, fn. 9.

descriptions of the *āsana* were borrowed from earlier yoga texts, such as the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (which Nārāyaṇatīrtha refers to as *Yogapradīpa*), the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and the *Dharmapatrikā*.^{112 113}

In 2.47-48, Nārāyaṇatīrtha specifies further details on the execution of the Yoga postures, which are not discussed further here.¹¹⁴ Far more important for the determination of Nārāyaṇatīrtha's Haṭhayoga is 2.49-51. In addition to a detailed discussion of the three basic elements of *prāṇāyāma* - exhalation (*recaka*), inhalation (*pūra*) and breath holding (*kumbhaka*) and their specifics in the commentary to 2. 49-50, Nārāyaṇatīrtha then discusses *kevalakumbhaka*, the fourth aspect of *prāṇāyāma*, the overarching goal and ultimate result of breath retention.^{115 116}

This *kevalakumbhaka* is achieved in a lengthy process with gradually more subtle advances through the practice of ordinary *kumbhaka*, which is specified as *sahitakumbhaka*.¹¹⁷ Only when the bodily channels have been purified through practice, and the movements of exhalation and inhalation have entirely ceased does *kevalakumbhaka* arise. An appropriate translation is "isolated breath retention", as it is isolated from the inhalation and exhalation.¹¹⁸

¹¹²A list of the 38 of 84 *āsanas* discussed in detail below can be found in *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* 2.46 (Ed. p. 107-108): *tac ca padma-siddha-bhadra-vīra-svastika-siṃha-daṇḍa-sopāśraya-paryāṅka-mayūra-kukkuṭa-uttānakukkuṭa-pāścimatāna-matsyendrapīṭha-cakra-gomukha-karma-dhanu-mrgasvastika-arddhacandra-aṅjalika-pīṭha-vajra-mukta-candra-arddhaprasāritaśava-kapāla-guruḍa-arddhāsana-kamala-krauñcaṇiṣadana-hastiniṣadana-uṣṭraniṣadanakapiniṣadana-yogāsana-yonyāsana-samasthāna-ādibhedena caturāṣitiprakāram | eteṣāṃ lakṣaṇāṇi yogapradīpādāv uktāni* | The detailed descriptions of the 38 *āsanas* can be found immediately following on p. 108-114.

¹¹³PENNA (2004: 207-209) has briefly discussed the *āsanas* of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*.

¹¹⁴A more detailed sketch of the *prāṇāyāma*-system of Nārāyaṇatīrtha's *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* can be found in PENNA (2004: 209-18).

¹¹⁵Cf. *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* 1.34 (Ed. p. 116): 'Yājñavalkya declares its characteristic as follows - Having abandoned inhalation and exhalation, that comfortable restraint of breath is breath-control. This indeed is indeed taught as "isolated retention"'. (*asya ca lakṣaṇam yājñavalkya āha-recakam pūrakam tyaktvā yat sukham vāyudhāraṇam | prāṇāyāmo 'yam ity uktāḥ sa vai kevalakumbhakaḥ* ||

¹¹⁶See *Haṭhapradīpikā* 2.72-80 for the locus classicus of all descriptions of *kevalakumbhaka*.

¹¹⁷This *kumbhaka* is "accompanied" (*sahita*) because, unlike *kevalakumbhaka*, it is still accompanied by inhalation and exhalation. Cf. *Haṭhapradīpikā* 2.73.

¹¹⁸Cf. *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* 2.51: *evambhūta ubhayoḥ śvāsaprasāvāsayor gativicchedaś caturthaḥ prāṇāyāma ity arthaḥ | etena sahitakumbhakaḥ evāsyā 'sādhāraṇam | yadā nāḍīviśuddhiḥ syād yoginastattvaadarśinaḥ | tadā vidhvastadoṣasya bhavet kevalasambhavaḥ* ||

The yogin who masters *kevalakumbhaka* can hold his breath for any length of time.¹¹⁹ Nārāyaṇatīrtha then quotes seven of the eight *kumbhakas*¹²⁰ of *Haṭhapradīpikā* (except *plāvaṇī*, cf. *Haṭhapradīpikā* 2.71).¹²¹ Then the other seven *kumbhakas* already mentioned in the commentary to 1.54 are explained in more detail.¹²² The commentary to 2.50 then quotes further explanations from various texts, such as *Yogabhāskara*, *Nandipurāṇa* and *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* on the subject of *prāṇāyāma*. In addition, the four stages (*avasthā*) of yoga practice – *ārambha*, *ghāṭa*, *paricaya* and *niṣpatti* are introduced,¹²³ etc.¹²⁴

The Haṭhayoga of Nārāyaṇatīrtha thus consists primarily of two of the four main classical categories of Haṭhayoga according to the *Haṭhapradīpikā*¹²⁵ – *āsana* and *kumbhaka*, which are located in Pātañjalayoga. The third main category of Haṭhayoga after the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, namely *mudrā*, is also found in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. However, surprisingly, the *mudrās*, together with the *śatkarmas*, are only taught in the context of Karmayoga. Surprisingly, because *mudrā* and *śatkarma* are the elements of Haṭhayoga that form the main distinguishing feature from other Yoga systems. These will, therefore, only be dealt with in the corresponding sub-chapter of this work. However, the fourth main category of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, *nādānusandhāna*, is not found in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*.

¹¹⁹Cf. *Haṭhapradīpikā* 2.76.

¹²⁰*Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* 2.51, ed. p. 118–121. The seven *kumbhakas* mentioned by Nārāyaṇatīrtha are: 1. *sūryabhedana*; 2. *ujjāyī*; 3. *sītka(rā)*; 4. *śītalī*; 5. *brahmārī*; 6. *mūrchā*; and 7. *bhastrīkā*.

¹²¹Cf. *Haṭhapradīpikā* 2.48–71.

¹²²*Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* 2.51, p. 121: *kumbhaḥ saptavidho jñeyo recitādīprabhedataḥ | recitaṃ pūratīḥ śāntaḥ pratyāhārottaro'dharaḥ || samaśceti vinirdiṣṭaḥ kumbhakaḥ saptabhedataḥ iti eteṣāṃ lakṣaṇāni cāha-recitasya bahistambho vāyo recitakumbhakaḥ*
textitpūrakeṇa vinā samyag yogo 'yaṃ sukhado nṛṇām || 1 || pūritasyodare rodhaḥ paścādrecaḥ samyutaḥ | nāḍīsuddhikaraḥ samyak proktaḥ pūritakumbhakaḥ || 2 || kāyasyāntarabahir vyāptir yā sa syāc chāntakumbhakaḥ || 3 || sthānāyorantare rodhaḥ pratyāhārākhyakumbhakaḥ || 4 || āpūrayet kramādūrdhvam ūrdhvarodho hṛdādiṣu || 5 || uttaraḥ kumbhakaḥ sa syādadho 'dho mūrdhato 'dharaḥ || 6 || recanāpūraṇe tyaktvā manasā maruto dhṛtiḥ | yā nābhyādpradeśeṣu samaḥ kumbhaḥ prakīrtitaḥ || 7 ||

¹²³See *Amṛtasiddhi viveka* 19, 21, 29 and 31 for the oldest account of the four stages. Also cf. *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.16–25.

¹²⁴For example, the yogic dietary guidelines and the dwelling of the yogi based on the explanations of the first chapter of *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

¹²⁵Cf. *Haṭhapradīpikā* 1.56.

Haṭhayoga in the *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā*

In the *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā* (3.1-52), Haṭhayoga is both an individual category (3.1-12) and a superordinate category. In the following, Haṭhayoga is primarily discussed as a single category. As a super-category, it subsumes three other yogas, namely Rājayoga (3.13-24), Lakṣayoga (3.25-36) and Aṣṭāṅgayoga (3.37-52). These subcategories will be only briefly characterised in this chapter. They are then discussed in detail in the respective chapter according to the order of the list of the fifteen yogas of the *Yogatattvabindu*.¹²⁶

Sundardās initially locates Haṭhayoga within the Ādinātha tradition and specifies the union of sun and moon as its definition.¹²⁷

This is followed by describing the ideal environment for Yoga practice, short practice instructions and dietary rules (3.2-8). These are very reminiscent of the explanations in the first chapter of *Haṭhapradīpikā*.¹²⁸ The chapter concludes with the naming of the six actions (*ṣaṭkarmas*). Due to the lack of details in his descriptions, it is hardly comprehensible to perform the practices without a teacher or other instructive texts. Sundardās could not have conceived his text as an instruction manual. Instead, his primary aim must have been to list and characterise the respective Yogas.

The ideal environment for Haṭhayoga is in a well-governed country where justice prevails. Here, the yogin is supposed to build a hut (*maṭhikā*) with a small door and no holes. The yogin shall smear the hut with cow dung for this purpose. A small well is dug into the ground next to the hut.^{129 130}

The yogin is supposed to sit in the hut, devote himself to Haṭhayoga and regulate the breath.¹³¹ Accordingly, for Sundardās, as in all texts with complex yoga taxonomies without exception, breath cultivation is the central element of Haṭhayoga. In the following, he specifies the practice of Yoga postures

¹²⁶ A French description of Haṭhayoga in the *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā* can be found in BURGER 2014, pp. 701-709.

¹²⁷ *Sarvāṅgayogapradīpikā* 3.1: *abahi hahūṃ haṭhayoga sunāi | ādinātha ke bandaiṃ pāi | ravi śaśi doṃ eka milāvai | yāhi teṃ haṭhayoga kahāvai || 1 ||*

¹²⁸ See *Haṭhapradīpikā* 1.57-60.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 3.2-3ab: *prathama sudharma deśa kahūṃ tākai | bhalau rājya kachu deśala na jākai | tāhām jāi kai maṭhikā kari | alpa dvāra aru chidra su bharai || 2 || lipta karai cahūṃ ora sugandhā | kūpa sahita maṭha ihim bidhi baṃdhā |*

¹³⁰ Cf. *Haṭhapradīpikā* 1.12-13.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* 3.3cd: *tāmahim paithi karai abhyāsā | gutu gami haṭha kari jātai svāsā || 3 ||*

(*āsana*).¹³² Furthermore, Sundardās recommends ritual washing and god worship in the morning.¹³³ The diet is supposed to be regulated.¹³⁴ For Sundardās, this means avoiding hot, spicy and sour foods. Mustard, sesame, alcohol, meat, green vegetables, ginger and garlic, shall be avoided.¹³⁵ A diet of rice, milk,¹³⁶ ghee, honey and gourd vegetables is recommenced. Furthermore, clear water is supposed to be ingested.¹³⁷ When the Haṭhayogin eats in this way, his body is freed from disease.¹³⁸

Verses 3.9–11 mention the six actions (*ṣaṭkarmas*) – *dhauti*, *basti*, *netī*, *trāṭaka*, *naulī* and *kapālabhātī*. They are used to purify the channels,¹³⁹ and lead to success.¹⁴⁰ In the last verse of this section, we learn that the power of Haṭhayoga leads to bliss.¹⁴¹

As already mentioned at the beginning, Sundardās also subsumes Rājajayoga (3.13–24), Lakṣayoga (3.25–36) and Aṣṭāṅgayoga (3.37–52) under the superordinate category Haṭhayoga. Sundardās's Rājajayoga practice is for him what is commonly known as *vajrolīmudrā*.¹⁴² Lakṣayoga, a practice found in all complex late medieval taxonomies, is the fixation of the gaze (*drṣṭi*) on differently located points or objects inside or outside the body. In the context of Aṣṭāṅgayoga, the generally known eight limbs are then discussed individually. Similar to Nārāyaṇatīrtha, characteristic practices of Haṭhyoga such as *āsanas*, *kumbhakas*, *murdās* and *bandhas* are assigned to the individual limbs. A detailed comparative discussion of the subcategories takes place in the following chapters.

¹³² Ibid. 3.5ab: *haṭhi kari āsana sādhaīm bhāi hatha kari nidrā tajatau jāi* |

¹³³ Ibid. 3.7b: *prāta sanāna upāsana koī* | What this might have looked like is described in great detail within the first chapter of the *Yogakarnikā*.

¹³⁴ Ibid. 3.5c: *haṭha hi kari āhāra ghaṭāvai* |

¹³⁵ Ibid. 3.6: *haṭha kari tikṣaṇa kaṭuka sutyāgai | sarasoṃ tila mada māṃsa na māṃgai | harita śāka kabahū nahim śai | himgu lasanu saba deśa bahāi* || 6 ||

¹³⁶ Ibid. 3.7c: *gohūṃ śālī su karai ahārā* |

¹³⁷ Ibid. 3.8ab: *śira śaṃḍa ghrta madhi puni sāṃni sūṃṭhi paṭola nirmala ati pāṃni* |

¹³⁸ Ibid. 3.8cd: *yahu bhojana su karai haṭha yogi dina dina kāyā hoi nirogi* || 8 ||

¹³⁹ Ibid. 3.9b: *nāḍī śuddha hoṃhi mala ṭalai* |

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. 3.10c: *ye ṣaṭa karma siddhi ke dātā* |

¹⁴¹ Ibid. 3.12a: *yā haṭha yoga prabhāva teṃ, pragaṭa hoi ānanda* |

¹⁴² The verses do not specify the term, but the practice is identical