

The Quest for Liberation-in-Life

A Survey of Early Works on Haṭha- and Rājayoga

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The Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts which were composed before the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (mid-fifteenth century CE) provide a window onto what might be considered the formative phase of these types of yoga. Liberation (*mokṣa*, *mukti*, etc.) is mentioned frequently throughout this literature. Although the practice of Haṭha- and Rājayoga is said to bestow supernatural powers (*siddhi*) and mundane benefits, such as healing diseases, both yogas are undoubtedly soteriological because their main aim is to bring about liberation from transmigration (*saṃsāra*).

The survey of the early Haṭha- and Rājayoga corpus in this chapter reveals that a fundamental premise for the attainment of liberation is the successful practice of yoga. The culmination of the practice is a profound state of meditation, in which the yogin does not breathe, think, or move. This meditative state is called various names, such as *rājayoga*, *amanaska*, *unmanī*, *laya*, *samādhi*, *nirālamba*, and *sahaja*, which tend to be used interchangeably in these works.¹ In this chapter, I shall refer to it by the generic term *samādhi*. On the whole, *samādhi* is the necessary and sufficient cause for liberation in Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts. Even though gnosis (*jñāna*) and ritual (*kriyā*) may be mentioned in these works, both are unimportant for the attainment of *samādhi*, if not altogether superfluous. Although in some cases gnosis may characterize the liberated state, the study of scripture or the contemplation of doctrinal truths is not presented as a principal means to liberation.

The survey of this corpus further reveals that the ultimate goal of the prescribed yogas is the attainment of liberation-in-life (*jīvanmukti*). That is to say, the yogin remains alive after liberation, as opposed to being liberated at death, which was the default position, as it were, of Vedic Brahmanical religions. Seeing that these works tend to expound on practical matters and avoid, perhaps deliberately, philosophical or theoretical concerns, statements about the nature of liberation are in many cases piecemeal and not entirely consistent. Nonetheless, it is clear

¹ For a longer list of these terms, see *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.2–4.4. The earliest works to use these terms as though they were synonyms include the *Amanaska*, the *Candrāvalokana*, and the *Yogatārāvalī*. These terms refer to the same state of *samādhi* because, unlike the *Pātāñjalayogaśāstra*, Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts do not teach stages of *samādhi* that would suggest differences in their meaning.

that at least two different conceptions of the liberated yogin are presented. Some texts emphasize the liberated yogin's complete transcendence of the world, which is implied by his blissful state of minimal physical and mental activity, whereas other texts state explicitly the yogin's power to act in the world at will. I have attempted to understand these differences within the framework of 'freedom from' (*moṅsa*) and 'freedom to' (*siddhi*), bearing in mind, as Watson, Goodall, and Sarma (2013: 19) have noted, that this dichotomy is 'useful not because we can equate one kind with liberation, but because we see how the two kinds are differentially present within the various liberation doctrines.'

Most of the early works on Haṭha- and Rājayoga have not been critically edited or translated into English. Section 1 of this chapter ('Corpus of Early Haṭha- and Rājayoga') will provide the first survey of teachings on *samādhi* and liberation in these works. Section 2 addresses the meaning of the term *rājayoga* and section 3 discusses the relationship between Rājayoga and liberation-in-life, an essential conception of which can be traced back to earlier Kaula traditions. Section 4 of the chapter will examine how Rājayoga and liberation were understood in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, which is largely an anthology of the teachings of the early Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts (Bouy 1994: 40). I attempt to answer the more specific question of how its author Svātmārāma resolved the tension between transcendence and power, which is apparent in many of the works he used for the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. My research concludes that Svātmārāma favoured 'freedom from' by regarding the attainment of *samādhi* as identical with liberation and, in so doing, tends to understate the *siddhi*-orientated liberation.

1. Corpus of Early Haṭha- and Rājayoga

The early works of Haṭha- and Rājayoga have been identified by the verses which Svātmārāma borrowed for his *Haṭhapradīpikā*.² The estimates for their date of composition are based on the textual borrowings between them and other Sanskrit works.³ It should be noted that not all of the yoga texts in this corpus name their systems of yoga as Haṭha- or Rājayoga. Nonetheless, so much of their theory and practice is similar or, at least, relevant to one another that all of them should be considered important for understanding the early formative phase of these types of yoga. I have ordered the texts according to the theme of

² Since one of the main concerns of this chapter is to assess how Svātmārāma synthesized earlier conceptions of Rājayoga and liberation in his *Haṭhapradīpikā*, I have excluded some works that teach techniques of Haṭhayoga before the fifteenth century, which were not a source for the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Examples include the *Amarauḡhaśāsana* and the yoga sections of the *Śārngadharaḡadhati*. For the same reason, I have not included a few works of this period in other languages, which incorporate either techniques or systems of Haṭha- or Rājayoga, such as the *Jñāneśvarī*, *Vivekadarpaṇa*, *Tattvasāra*, and *Vivekasindhu*.

³ For information on the dates of these works, see Birch 2011: 528 and Birch 2018a: 5–8.

transcendence (i.e. ‘freedom from’) and power (i.e. ‘freedom to’). Those at the beginning more closely equate liberation with the transcendent state of *samādhi*, whereas those towards the end describe more explicitly the liberated yogin’s power to act in the world. Those in the centre do not clearly emphasize one or the other.

Vivekamārtaṇḍa (twelfth to thirteenth century)

Candrāvalokana (fourteenth century)

Yogatārāvalī (fourteenth century)

Amanaska, chapter two (eleventh to early twelfth century)

Goraḥṣaṣataka (early fourteenth century)

Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā (twelfth century) and the *Yogayājñavalkya* (thirteenth to fourteenth century)

Amṛtasiddhi (eleventh century)

Amarauḡhaprabodha, short redaction (twelfth century)

Dattātreyayogaśāstra (thirteenth century)

Yogabīja (thirteenth to fourteenth century)

Khecarīvidyā (thirteenth to fourteenth century)

Śivasamhitā (fifteenth century)

1.1. The *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*

The *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* teaches a yoga with six auxiliaries (*ṣaḍaṅga*), which it does not identify as either Haṭha- or Rājayoga. However, this Śaiva text contains one of the earliest accounts of Haṭhayogic *mudrās*, including the three *bandhas*, namely, *mūlabandha*, *uḍḍiyāṇabandha*, *jālandharabandha*, *mahāmudrā khecarī*, and *viparītakaraṇa*. The aim of its yoga is liberation. In fact, the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* twice refers to itself as a ‘ladder to liberation’ (1, 198). The role of its auxiliaries in the attainment of liberation is stated as follows:

Diseases are cured by yogic posture (*āsana*), sin is [destroyed] by holding the breath (*prāṇāyāma*) and the best of yogins cures his mental disturbances by withdrawing [his mind from sense objects] (*pratyāhāra*). Stability of the mind is produced by concentration (*dhāraṇā*), wondrous power by meditation (*dhyaṇa*) and [the yogin] obtains liberation by *samādhi*, after having abandoned [all] action, good and bad.⁴

⁴ *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* 92–3 (*āsanena rujo hanti prāṇāyāmena pātakam | pratyāhāreṇa yogīndro vikāraṃ hanti mānasam ||92|| dhāraṇayā manodhairyaṃ dhyānād aiśvaryaṃ adbhutam | samādher mokṣam āpnoti tyaktvā karma śubhāśubham ||93||* 93a *dhāraṇayā mano-*] Nowotny Ed.: *dhāraṇā manaso* Codex).

The verses following the above passage indicate how the yogin progresses through the auxiliaries:

By [practising] breath retentions twelve times, withdrawal from sense objects is said [to occur]. By practising this withdrawal twelve times, good concentration arises. The practice of concentration twelve times is said to be meditation by those skilled in meditation. By practising meditation twelve times, it is called *samādhi*. The fruit of *samādhi* is the [appearance of] a light, unbounded on all sides. When it is seen, rites, action and [whatever] comes and goes cease.⁵

The definition of *samādhi* refers to the time spent in meditation. A subsequent verse elaborates on this by saying that concentration arises after two hours, meditation after a day, and *samādhi* after twelve days.⁶ The *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* finishes with a lengthy description of *samādhi*, which is consistent with that of other texts in this corpus. The *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* does not mention liberation-in-life nor does it discuss liberation generally. The fact that the text ends with the following passage on *samādhi* suggests that its teachings aimed at complete transcendence of the world:

When the self and mind unite because of yoga, just as the fusion of salt and water by being mixed, it is called *samādhi*. When the breath perishes and the mind dissolves, and then the state of coalescence arises, it is called *samādhi*. In this system, the state of oneness of the individual self with the supreme self, in which all intentional thinking has disappeared, is called *samādhi*. [...] The yogin immersed in *samādhi* does not cognise smell, taste, form, touch, sound, himself nor another. The yogin immersed in *samādhi* is not aware of hot and cold, suffering and happiness nor pride and disgrace. The yogin immersed in *samādhi* is not consumed by time, troubled by [the fruits of] action nor afflicted by disease. The yogin immersed in *samādhi* is not pierced by any weapon, cannot be killed by anyone nor controlled by mantras and magical devices. The knowers of the reality [revealed by *samādhi*] know it to be without beginning or end and devoid of support, multiplicity, foundation, illness and form. The knowers of Brahman know it to be unmoving, untainted, eternal, without action and free of qualities. It is the great void, consciousness and bliss. Like milk poured into milk, ghee in ghee and fire in fire, the yogin immersed in *samādhi* becomes absorbed in that.⁷

⁵ *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* 94–6 (*prāṇāyāmadviṣaṭkena pratyāhāraḥ prakīrtitaḥ | pratyāhāradviṣaṭkena jāyate dhāraṇā śubhā ||94|| dhāraṇādvādaśa proktaṃ dhyānaṃ dhyānaviśāradaiḥ | dhyānadvādaśakenaiva samādhir abhidhīyate ||95|| yat samādhiphalaṃ jyotir anantaṃ viśvatomukham | tasmīn dr̥ṣṭe kriyā karma yātāyātāṃ nivartate ||96|| 95b -viśāradaiḥ] Nowotny Ed.: -viśāradēḥ Codex. 95c -daśakenaiva] emend.: -daśakoneva Codex).*

⁶ *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* 161 (*dhāraṇā pañcanāḍī syād dhyānaṃ vai ṣaṣṭīnāḍīkam | dinadvādaśakena syāt samādhīḥ prāṇasaṃyamāt ||*).

⁷ *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* 162–64, 166–72 (*ambusaindhavayoḥ sāmyaṃ yathā bhavati yogataḥ | tathātmanasor aikyaṃ samādhīḥ so 'bhidhīyate ||162|| yadā saṃkṣīyate prāṇo mānasaṃ ca viliyate |*

1.2. The *Candrāvalokana*

The *Candrāvalokana*, which probably dates to the fourteenth century,⁸ is a short dialogue between Śiva and Matsyendranātha. The name of the text, which literally means ‘looking at the moon’, may be connected to esoteric explanations of the days of the new moon (*amāvāsyā*), lunar fortnight (*pratīpat*), and full moon (*ṣaurṇamāsī*), as well as the practice of impeding the downward flow of nectar from the moon in the head. The *Candrāvalokana* does not refer to its yoga by the name Haṭha- or Rājayoga. However, it teaches techniques, such as *śāmbhavī mudrā*, with terminology and concepts that are characteristic of these yogas. The overall aim of the text is gnosis of Brahman, which is achieved by dissolving mind and breath and stopping the outward flow of nectar from the moon.

The first half of the *Candrāvalokana* focuses on achieving dissolution (*laya*) of the mind and breath by fixing the gaze (*dr̥ṣṭi*). The importance of dissolution for attaining gnosis and liberation is stated as follows:

How can gnosis exist in the mind when the mind does not die because the breath is alive? [When his] mind and breath dissolve, that man becomes liberated. There is no other way whatsoever.⁹

The second half of the work, which was redacted as part of the *Yogakuṇḍalyupaniṣat* (Bouy 1994: 41, 101), aims at stopping the flow of nectar from the moon by

tadā samarasatvaṃ ca samādhiḥ so 'bhidhiyate ||163|| *yat samatvaṃ dvayor atra jīvātmaparamātmanoḥ | samastanaṣaṅkalpaṃ samādhiḥ so 'bhidhiyate* ||164|| *na gandhaṃ na rasaṃ rūpaṃ na ca sparsaṃ na nisvanam | nātmānam na paraṃ vetti yogi yuktaḥ samādhinā* ||166|| *nābhijānāti śiṣoṣaṃ na duḥkhaṃ na sukhaṃ tathā | na mānaṃ nāpamānaṃ ca yogi yuktaḥ samādhinā* ||167|| *khādyate na ca kālena bādhyate na ca karmanā | piḍyate na ca rogeṇa yogi yuktaḥ samādhinā* ||168|| *abhedyah sarvaśāstrāṇāṃ avadyah sarvadehinām | agrāhyo mantrayantrāṇāṃ yogi yuktaḥ samādhinā* ||169|| *nirādyantaṃ nirālambaṃ niṣprapañcaṃ nirāśrayam | nirāmayaṃ nirākāraṃ tattvaṃ tattvaviduḥ viduḥ* ||170|| *nīścalaṃ nirmalaṃ nityaṃ niḥkriyaṃ nirguṇaṃ mahat | vyoma vijñānam ānandaṃ brahma brahmaviduḥ viduḥ* ||171|| *dugdhe kṣīraṃ ghr̥te sarpiḥ agnau vahnir ivāpitaḥ | tanmayatvaṃ vrajaty eva yogi yuktaḥ samādhinā* ||172|| 162a *ambusaindhavayoh*] emend.: *am+saidhavayoh* Codex. 164c. *-saṅkalpaṃ*] emend.: *-saṅkalpaḥ* Codex. 166c *nisvanam*] emend.: *nisvaram* Codex. 168a *khādyate*] Nowotny Ed.: *piḍyate* Codex. 169a *śāstrāṇāṃ*] corr.: *śāstrāṇāṃ* Codex. 169c *mantrayantrāṇāṃ*] Nowotny Ed.: *mantratantrāṇāṃ* Codex).

⁸ The *Candrāvalokana*'s *terminus ad quem* is the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (Bouy 1994: 14; Mallinson 2014: 244–5) and its *terminus ad quo* is probably the *Amanaska* (2.10 = *Candrāvalokana* 1) or the *Anubhavanivedanastotra* (1–2 = *Candrāvalokana* 2–3). The latter is attributed to Abhinavagupta by tradition. If the author of the *Anubhavanivedanastotra* were Abhinavagupta, then the *Candrāvalokana* would have been written after the tenth century. However, the *Anubhavanivedanastotra* may be more recent. Its attribution to Abhinavagupta is doubtful because it contains terminology not found in Abhinavagupta's other works, such as *śāmbhavī mudrā*, which is called *parabhairavamudrā* in his *Mālinīśloka-vārttika* and *bhairavamudrā* by his student Kṣemarāja (Birch 2014: 408, 425).

⁹ *Candrāvalokana* 7 (*jñānaṃ kuto manasi jīvati †devi† tāvat prāṇe 'pi jīvati mano mriyate na yāvat | prāṇo mano dvayam idaṃ vilayaṃ prayāti mokṣaṃ sa gacchati naro na kathaṃ cid anyaḥ* ||7|| 7a *jñānaṃ kuto*] 4345 : *jñāto* 75278 (*unmetr.*). *devi*] 75278, 4344 : *kī+ṣṭi* 4345. *tāvat*] conj. *yāvat* 4344, 4354, 75278. *prāṇe 'pi*] 75,278, 4344 : *prāṇo 'pi* 4345). Regarding the crux *devi/kī+ṣṭi*, the reading of *devi* is not possible because the *Candrāvalokana* is a dialogue between two males (i.e. Matsyendranātha and Śiva).

moving the breath and *śakti* into the central channel and raising both upwards. Also, this involves a process of moving the breath into the six *cakras* and fixing it in the uppermost one (i.e. *ājñā*).

The *Candrāvalokana* seems to be entirely centred on liberation and does not mention a single *siddhi*. Although the teachings aim at transcending mind and death,¹⁰ the final words of Śiva suggest that Matsyendra, who is liberated by Śiva's favour after having heard the teachings, must return to the world:

[Śiva says,] 'son, go to the earth. You will save the three worlds.'¹¹

1.3. The *Yogatārāvalī*

The *Yogatārāvalī* ('a string of stars on yoga') is the shortest known Sanskrit text on Haṭha- and Rājayoga at only twenty-nine verses. Although nearly all the printed editions attribute this work to Śaṅkarācārya, most of the manuscript colophons consulted for this study do not support this.¹² The pattern of second-syllable rhyming and alliteration of the first syllable of a verse's quadrant (*pāda*) within that quadrant, which is unusual in Sanskrit works but more common in the poetry of South Indian vernacular languages, such as Tamil, strongly suggests this work was composed in South India.¹³ In the version of the text in printed editions, there are a few passing references to Vedāntic concepts, such as the four states of the Self referred to in Gauḍapāda's *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣatkārikā*. However a few manuscripts, which may preserve a shorter, and perhaps older, version of the

¹⁰ *Candrāvalokana* 38cd: 'Yogins go to immortality, which is the same as the oneness [achieved] through *samādhi*' (*samādhinaikena samam amṛtaṃ yānti yoginaḥ*).

¹¹ *Candrāvalokana* 45cd (*gaccha putra pṛthivyāṃ tvam trailokyam coddhariṣyasi*).

¹² A descriptive catalogue of yoga manuscripts (Kaivalyadhama 2005: 232–9) reports seven manuscripts which attribute authorship to Govindabhagavatpūjyapāda, two to Nandiśvara, fourteen to Śaṅkarācārya, and one to Sadāśiva. I have consulted most of these manuscripts and this catalogue is unreliable in regard to reporting authorship. For example, Ms No. 240–3748 Anandāśramasamsthā; Ms No. 75278 Adyar Research Library; Ms No. 6722 Sarasvatī Mahal Library Thanjavur; Ms No. 7970 Oriental Institute, MSU Baroda; Ms No. P5682/3 Mysore Oriental Research Institute; Ms No. 18/2 Sringeri Sharada Peetham; and Ms No. SD5051, D4357–9 GOML do not attribute the authorship to anyone. I have not consulted all the manuscripts in the above catalogue but I can confirm that Ms No. D4357 GOML and SR1873 GOML attributes authorship to Govindabhagavatpūjyapāda; Ms No. SR2126 GOML to Nandiśvara; and Ms No. 6-4-399 Prajñāpāṭhaśāla, Wai and Ms No. SR7043 GOML to Śaṅkarācārya. Ms No. SR6529 GOML has the title *Yogatārāvalīstotra*, which is attributed to Śaṅkarācārya, but this text is a different redaction of the *Yogatārāvalī*. Also, Ms No. 72330 of the Adyar Research Library is a commentary on the *Yogatārāvalī* by the name of the *Rājatarala*, which was not composed by Śaṅkarācārya. This work was composed (sometime after the eighteenth-century *Maṅḍalabrāhmaṇopaniṣat*) by Rāmasvāmipaṇḍita, who is described as a worshipper of Śaṅkarācārya's feet (*śrīśaṅkarācāryapādakīmkara*). In my view, the text was probably attributed to Śaṅkarācārya sometime after it was composed because three old palm-leaf manuscripts, which have been among the most valuable witnesses for reconstructing the text and one of which is held at the Sringeri Sharada Peetham, do not mention Śaṅkarācārya. In fact, one of these (PUL, Ms. No. 412) attributes the work to Gorakṣanātha.

¹³ I would like to thank Dominic Goodall for pointing this out at a reading workshop, organized by the Haṭha Yoga Project and the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, January 2018.

text, do not have the verses with vedāntic concepts, suggesting that some material, including the last verse translated below, was added at a later time.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the text is largely free from doctrine and sectarian markers that might identify it with a particular religion or place. The date of composition was sometime after the *Amanaska* and before the *Haṭṭhapradīpikā* (Birch 2015: 5–8).

The *Yogatārāvalī* teaches a system of yoga in which Haṭṭhayoga is the chief means to Rājayoga.¹⁵ The physical practice of Haṭṭhayoga is the application of the three locks (*bandha*) during deliberate breath retentions. This induces a spontaneous breath retention called *kevalakumbhaka*, which in turn produces Rājayoga. The *Yogatārāvalī*'s author made use of a similar array of synonyms for Rājayoga, such as *amanaska*, *manonmanī*, and *yoganidrā*, as is found in both the *Amanaska*'s second chapter and the *Haṭṭhapradīpikā*. A nod to the former is suggested by the use of *amanaskamudrā* in referring to the technique more commonly known in this literature as *śāmbhavī mudrā*. Unlike other Haṭṭha- and Rājayoga texts, the *Yogatārāvalī* concludes with a somewhat poetic description of the yogin abiding in the complete stillness of *samādhi*:

Oh! When the sun of the supreme self is shining and the darkness of all ignorance is disappearing, wise men, though their sight is untainted, see nothing whatsoever of the multiplicity of the world. In caves on the peak of Śrīśaila [mountain], when will I experience *samādhi*'s culmination in which dissolution of the mind is such that vines cover my body and birds build a nest in my ear?¹⁶

Liberation is not mentioned explicitly in the *Yogatārāvalī*. The following verse, which may have been added later to the text,¹⁷ further suggests that the yogin is liberated-in-life:

Let this mind [of mine] wander into thoughtless *samādhi* or into the plump breasts of [women] whose eyes are [as alluring as those of] the spotted black

¹⁴ These manuscripts are Ms No. 75278, Adyar Research Library, Ms No. 240–3748, Ānandāśramasamsthā and Ms. No. 412, Panjab University Library Lahore, which omit verses 22, 26, and 29 of the Vārāṅṅseya Saṃskṛta Saṃsthāna edition. These verses are included in other editions and manuscripts but their numbering may differ.

¹⁵ Two important manuscripts (i.e. Ms No. P5682/3 Mysore Oriental Research Institute; Ms No. 18/2 Sringeri Sharada Peetham) insert headings and colophons which indicate that verses 2–5 concern Layayoga and 6–13, Haṭṭhayoga. Although this is plausible, the *Yogatārāvalī* does not refer to Layayoga. If one ignores these headings, it is possible that verses 2–5 are describing the fusion of the mind with the resonance (*nādānusandhāna*) which is achieved by the practice of *kumbhakas*, explained by verses 6–13, in which there is a reference to Haṭṭhayoga.

¹⁶ *Yogatārāvalī* 27–8 (*prakāśamāne paramātmabhānau naśyaty avidyātimire samaste | aho budhā nirmaladr̥ṣṭayo 'pi kiñ cin na paśyanti jagatprapañcam || siddhiṃ tathāvidhamanovilayāṃ samādheḥ śrīśailaśṛṅgakuhaṛeṣu kadopalapsye | gātram yathā mama latāḥ pariveṣṭayanti karṇe yathā viracayanti khagāś ca nīdam*).

¹⁷ See footnote 15.

deer. Let it do ceaseless repetition of a mantra or likewise small talk. The merits and faults produced by thought do not touch me, the all-pervading [self].¹⁸

The culmination of the *Yogatārāvalī*'s teachings is complete transcendence of the world and mind. The outcome is not orientated towards attaining power (*siddhi*) in the world. The reference to an 'all-pervading' self (*vibhu*), which is untouched by thought, merit, and so on, merely reflects the vedāntic undertones of this version of the text. It is possible that the original work finished with the yogin enveloped by creepers in a cave and left open the question of whether he emerged to act in the world.

1.4. The *Amanaska* (Second Chapter)

The *Amanaska* ('the no-mind state') consists of two chapters, which were probably composed separately in different centuries and combined sometime before the eighteenth century.¹⁹ The second chapter, which is the older of the two and teaches a system of Rājayoga, predates the twelfth-century Jain scholar Hemacandra (Birch 2014: n. 21). The available printed editions present a redaction of the text that was probably made in South India sometime after the fifteenth century. There is considerable manuscript evidence for a shorter redaction which predates the South Indian one and was prevalent in North India and, more recently, Nepal (Birch 2013).

The second chapter of the shorter redaction begins with Vāmadeva asking Śiva to teach him the advanced yoga that should follow the preliminary one he has learned. Śiva replies that the advanced yoga is called Rājayoga,²⁰ and it is made clear early in this chapter that the main technique of Rājayoga, namely *śāmbhavi*

¹⁸ *Yogatārāvalī* 29 (*vicaratu matir eṣā nirvikalpe samādhau kucakalaśayuge vā kṛṣṇasāreṣaṅgānām | caratu jāpam ajasraṃ jalpam alpam samaṃ vā matikṛtaguṇadoṣā mām vibhuṃ na sprśanti*).

¹⁹ The earliest dated manuscript known to me that has both chapters and the name *Amanaska* is at the Sanskrit University Library (Sarasvati Bhavana), Varanasi (Ms No. 30111). It is dated *saṃvat* 1778 *sare śmin vaiśākhamaśe kṛṣṇapakṣe saptamyāṃ bhṛḡuvāre*, which is 18.4.1721 CE. The earliest text to quote verses from both chapters with attribution to the *Amanaska* is the *Goraḷasiddhāntasaṅgraha*, which may date to the nineteenth century (Birch 2013: 165–6). The *terminus ad quem* of the *Amanaska*'s first chapter is Śivānandasarasvatī's *Yogacintāmaṇi*, which was composed in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (Birch 2014: 403).

²⁰ *Amanaska* 1–3ab: 'Vāmadeva said, "O Lord, chief god of gods, [you] who are beautiful because of [your] supreme bliss, I have obtained the extensive preliminary yoga by your favour. Tell [me] about that other [yoga] which was mentioned by your lordship." Śiva replied, "The preliminary [yoga] is furnished with external *mudrās* and [thus] it is regarded as an external yoga. [Whereas] the other [yoga] is richly endowed with an internal *mudrā* [and] for that reason, it alone is the internal yoga. The [internal yoga] is called Rājayoga. O chief of sages"' (*vāmadeva uvāca | bhagavan devadeveśa paramānandasundara | tvatprasādān mayā labdhaḥ pūrvayogaḥ savistarah | aparaṃ kiṃ tad ākhyāhi bhavatā yad udīritam ||1|| īśvara uvāca | bahirmudrānvitam pūrvam bahiryogaṃ ca tan matam | antarmudrāḍhyam aparam antaryogaṃ tad eva hi ||2|| rājayogaḥ sa kathitaḥ sa eva munipuṅgava*).

mudrā, bestows liberation-in-life.²¹ The simple assumption behind the practice of this *mudrā* is that liberation arises when both the mind and breath disappear. The following verse succinctly states this:

Therefore, having abandoned all sense objects because of meditation on an aspectless self, the breath disappears, then the mind and, because of the disappearance of that, liberation arises. O adepts, having realised this, first and foremost make an effort to accomplish the no-mind state, which is natural, pure, aspectless and unchanging.²²

Liberation is contrasted with transmigration (*saṃsāra*) in the same terms. The former arises when the mind is still and the latter when the mind is moving.²³ The text pursues this idea to its logical conclusion, that being that the yogin in *samādhi* is liberated:²⁴

[The Rājayogin] who always remains as though asleep in the state of waking and is free from breathing in and out, is certainly liberated.²⁵

The *Amanaska* does not teach yogic suicide (*utkrānti*) nor does it mention a transformative process after the no-mind state has been attained.²⁶ The question of whether the yogin engages with the world after liberation is answered towards the end of the text:

For one who is thus [well absorbed²⁷], meritorious and unmeritorious actions are completely destroyed. When those actions are being performed by such a sage, they do not taint him at all. The wise person in whom the bliss of the

²¹ *Amanaska* 2.15: '[Just as Arjuna's] fist [aimed his bow] upwards [at the *yantra*], [yet] his gaze was [on Rādhā's reflection in a bowl of oil] below; his piercing [of the target] was above, [yet] his head was [tilted] down, [just so the yogin practises *śāmbhavī mudrā*.] He will become liberated-in-life by [this] method of [gazing down at] Rādhā and [aiming upwards at the] *yantra*' (*ūrdhvamuṣṭīr adhodṛṣṭīr ūrdhvedhas tv adhaḥśīrāḥ | rādhāyantravidhānena jīvanmukto bhaviṣyati*).

²² *Amanaska* 2.41 (*tasmāt tyaktvā sakalaviṣayān niṣkalādhyātmayogād vayor nāśas tadanu manasas tadvināśac ca mokṣaḥ | sañcintyaivaṃ sahajam amalāṃ niṣkalaṃ nirvikāram prāptuṃ yatnaṃ kuruta kuśalāḥ pūrvam evāmanaskam*).

²³ *Amanaska* 2.92 (*citte calati saṃsāro 'cale mokṣaḥ prajāyate | tasmāc cittam sthīrikuryād audāsīnyaparāyaṇaḥ*). Cf. *Devikālot tara* 10 and *Śivayogaratna* 3 (*citte calati saṃsāro niṣcale mokṣa eva tu | tasmāc cittam sthīram kuryāt prajñayā parayā budhaḥ*).

²⁴ For these qualifications of the no-mind state, see *Amanaska* 2.41, 77, 110.

²⁵ *Amanaska* 2.59, 60cd, 62 (*sadā jāgradvasthāyāṃ suptavad yo 'vatiṣṭhate | niśvāsochvāsahīmaś ca niṣcītaṃ mukta eva saḥ*).

²⁶ This contrasts with the first chapter of the *Amanaska* (probably composed in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century). The end of the first chapter states that the yogin spends twenty-four years in *samādhi*, at which time he remains absorbed in the Śakti element, sees the entire world as a pearl in his hand, and truly knows the essential nature of his own body (1.82–3). The teachings of the first chapter are prompted by Vāmadeva asking Śiva for a means to liberation-in-life (*jīvanmukti*).

²⁷ The previous two verses (2.98–9) describe the highest stage of yoga called 'well-absorbed' (*susliṣṭa*).

natural [no-mind state] has emerged, who is naturally devoted to constant practice and who has completely freed himself of all volition, relinquishes action.²⁸

The liberated yogin, as conceived by the *Amanaska*, remains free of intention (*sañkalpa*) and action, because of his constant practice of yoga (*sadābhyāsa*). Thus, even if he were to do something, he remains free of karmic effects (*karmatyāga*). The text's emphasis on a liberation free from action and cognition, with the exception of bliss (2.97–8, 100), is further reinforced by the theme of detachment (*audāsīnya*), which is prescribed for the practice (2.52, 54) and continues in the no-mind state (2.80).

1.5. The *Goraḥṣaṣataka*

The yoga of the *Goraḥṣaṣataka* aims at liberation from the world (*bhavamukti*) through gnostic realizations about the body and universe, which occur after the attainment of *samādhi* by the conquest of the breath (*marujjaya*) and the raising of *kuṇḍalini*.²⁹ The breath is conquered by adopting a moderate diet (*mitāhāra*), a yogic posture (*āsana*), and moving *kuṇḍalini* (*śakticāla*) (11). The text does not refer to Hatha- or Rājayoga, but it is the earliest known text to teach four of the *Hathapradīpikā*'s eight breath retentions (*kumbhaka*).³⁰ The *Goraḥṣaṣataka*'s description of *samādhi* is very brief. It simply says:

Now, I shall teach the best method for *samādhi* (*samādhikrama*), which is death-destroying and a means to [transcendental] happiness. It always brings about the bliss of Brahman.³¹

The 'best method' referred to here is stimulating *sarasvatī* (i.e. *kuṇḍalini*) by manipulating the tongue with a cloth (*sarasvaticālana*) and performing the *kumbhakas* with the three internal locks (*bandha*) (51ab). The *kumbhakas* are supposed to move the breath into the central channel (63ab) and raise *kuṇḍalini* (75).

The connection between *samādhi* and liberation is not stated explicitly in the *Goraḥṣaṣataka*. However, one might infer from the following description of the

²⁸ *Amanaska* 2.99–100 (*evaṃbhūtasya karmāṇi puṇyāpūṇyāni saṃkṣayam | prayānti naiva limpanti kriyamāṇāni sādhanā || utpannasahajānandaḥ sadābhyāsarataḥ svayam | sarvasaṅkalpasamtyaktaḥ sa vidvān karma samtyajet*).

²⁹ The *Goraḥṣaṣataka* being discussed here has 101 verses. It is different to another yoga text of the same name, which has nearly 200 verses that are similar to those of the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*. See Bouy 1994: 40–1.

³⁰ These *kumbhakas* are called *sūryā*, *ujjāyī*, *śitalī*, and *bhastrī*.

³¹ *Goraḥṣaṣataka* 63cd–64ab (*athedānīm pravakṣyāmi samādhikramam uttamam | mṛtyughnam sukhadopāyaṃ brahmānandakaram sadā*).

liberated yogin that he is in a state of *samādhi*, because it is similar to accounts of *samādhi* in other yoga texts of this corpus:

He is indeed liberated whose mind is at rest because of yoga, not awake, asleep or in any other [state] and does not cease or arise. One whose breath does not flow in or out; does not move in the left or right [nostril] and does not go up or down, is undoubtedly liberated. There are two causes of the mind: a past impression (*vāsanā*) and the breath. When one of the two disappears, then both also disappear. Therefore, conquer the breath first. Thus, a man who is bound is liberated and is freed from old age and so on.³²

The *Gorakṣaśataka* does not use the term *jīvanmukti*. However, its last twelve verses, which have been poorly preserved by the two available manuscripts, appear to describe seven levels of liberating gnosis, without mentioning any *siddhis*. The conclusion does not suggest that the yogin casts off his body, but remains alive in a gnostic state.

1.6. The *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and the *Yogayājñavalkya*

The *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and the *Yogayājñavalkya* can be discussed together, because the former was the source of much of the latter's content. In fact, the *Yogayājñavalkya* borrows over 250 of its verses from the first four chapters of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* (2005: 28) and simply adds some additional passages. Both works teach a very similar type of *aṣṭāṅgayoga* that derives from earlier Vaiṣṇava works, in particular the *Vimānārcanākālpa* (Mallinson 2014: 227–8), a Vaikhanāsa work that may date to the ninth century (Colas 2003: 158). Also, the yoga of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and the *Yogayājñavalkya* is similar in content and style to that of the *Sūtasamhitā*³³ and some Pāñcarātrika texts, such as the *Ahīrbudhnyasaṃhitā*. Sometime between the thirteenth and fifteenth century, it appears that this *aṣṭāṅgayoga* was combined with the ten *mudrās* of Kapila to form a system of Haṭhayoga, as evinced in the *Dattātreyaयोगशास्त्र* (29). However, neither the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* nor the *Yogayājñavalkya* refer to their yoga as Haṭha- or Rājayoga.

The current version of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* has eight chapters. The first four appear to have been either the earliest layer of the current text, to which the

³² *Gorakṣaśataka* 7–10 (*cittaṃ prasuptaṃ yogena jāgrat suptaṃ na cānyathā | nāstam eti na codeti yasyāsau mukta eva hi ||7|| praveṣe nirgame vāme dakṣiṇe cordhvaṃ apy adhaḥ | na yasya vāyur vahati sa mukto nātra saṃśayaḥ ||8|| hetudvayaṃ ca cittasya vāsanā ca samīraṇaḥ | taylor vīnaṣṭa ekasmiṃś tad dvāv api vīnaśyataḥ ||9|| tasmād ādau samīrasya vijayaṃ kuru samyutaḥ | yas tv evaṃ puruṣo mukto bhaven mukto jarādibhiḥ ||10||*). Cf. *Mokṣopāya* 5.92.48 (*dve bīje rāma cittasya prāṇaspanandanāvāsane | ekasmiṃś ca taylor naṣṭe kṣīpraṃ dve api naśyataḥ*).

³³ See chapters 12–20 of the *jñānayogakhaṇḍa* in the *Sūtasamhitā*.

other chapters were added at a later time, or a different work with which the other chapters were combined to create the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*.³⁴ The first four chapters appear to have been composed by Vaiṣṇava Smārta Brahmins, whereas the other chapters may derive from Śaiva sources.³⁵

The *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* (1.24–31) and the *Yogayājñavalkya* (1.24–44) present *aṣṭāṅgayoga* as an auxiliary to internal gnostic daily rites (*nityakarma*). Following the injunctions of the Vedas, both texts enjoin the performance of daily rites for attaining liberation, but divide them into external and internal rites. The internal rite is a contemplative practice that should be accompanied by knowledge (*jñāna*), which is later defined as *aṣṭāṅgayoga*:

The internal [rite] is a practice according to [Vedic] rule [done] with only the intellect on the self [...]. O learned Brahmin, since even gnostics desirous of liberation do rites, you also should perform these rites with knowledge. [...]

Know that [this] knowledge is essentially yoga and yoga is located in oneself.

This yoga is endowed with eight auxiliaries and it is said to be a religion for all.³⁶

The *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and the *Yogayājñavalkya* claim that liberation-in-life (*jīvanmukti*) can be achieved by the practice of yoga.³⁷ *Samādhi* is discussed at length because the system of *aṣṭāṅgayoga* culminates in it. However, in the section on meditation (*dhyāna*), an interesting distinction between liberation-in-life and permanent liberation is suggested:

After a year [of visualizing nectar in meditation], one is without doubt liberated while living. One liberated-in-life never incurs suffering at any place. What

³⁴ The fact that the main topic of the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*'s first four chapters is a Vaiṣṇava version of *aṣṭāṅgayoga* and that the fourth chapter concludes with verses proclaiming the merits of reading the text indicates that these chapters were written as a unit. The remaining chapters introduce new topics, namely, knowing the time of death (*nāśakāla*), overcoming death by means of *samādhi*, seeing auspicious and inauspicious results and the time of death at equinoctial and solstitial points (*ayana*), and signs (*cihna*) of death.

³⁵ The Vaiṣṇava background of this *aṣṭāṅgayoga* is revealed by references to Viṣṇu (e.g. *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* 1.11–1.12 *Yogayājñavalkya* 1.12–1.13, 12.45–12.46), visualization practices on Viṣṇu (e.g. *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* 4.27–4.38, *Yogayājñavalkya* 9.13–9.23), etc., as well as the Vaiṣṇava textual sources from which it is adapted (mentioned above). The Smārta element is the Vedic framing of the teachings in the first chapter of both works, references on caste and position in life (*varṇāśrama*) (e.g. *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* 1.20–1.25, *Yogayājñavalkya* 1.21–1.25), the importance of performing Vedic rites with gnosis (see below), etc. The Śaiva orientation of the sixth chapter is indicated by the mention of Rudra and the recitation of the *tryambaka* verse in various methods for conquering death. I would like to thank Lubomír Ondračka for bringing this Śaiva influence in the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* to my attention.

³⁶ *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* 1.23cd, 27, 1.31 (*ābhyantaram tu buddhyaiva vidhyānuṣṭhānam ātmani || yataḥ karmaiva kurvanti jñānino 'pi mumukṣavaḥ | tatas tvam api vipreन्द्रa jñānenācara karma tat || [...]*) *jñānaṃ yogātmakaṃ viddhi yogaś cātmani tiṣṭhati | sa yogo 'ṣṭāṅgasamyuktāḥ sarvadharmāḥ sa ucyate ||* 123d *vidhy-*] mss. ra, la, śa, *buddhy-* ed). Cf. *Yogayājñavalkya* 1.39 and 1.44.

³⁷ The term *jīvanmukta* is mentioned at *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* 4.14d and 4.47a and *Yogayājñavalkya* 9.41a.

more [can be said] of one permanently liberated (*nityamukta*)? For this reason, liberation [proper] is difficult to obtain. Therefore, O learned Brahmin, for attaining liberation follow my teaching and do daily rites, which are void of rewards, in conjunction with knowledge (i.e., *aṣṭāṅgayoga*).³⁸

This statement implies that liberation-in-life was not thought to be permanent in this tradition. The notion of two types of liberation is somewhat similar to attempts by some Vedāntin philosophers to distinguish between liberation-in-life and liberation at death, the latter of which is sometimes said to be more complete because all karma is exhausted.³⁹ In the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and the *Yogayājñavalkya*, the concept of a permanent liberation implies that the yogin must continue to perform daily rites or, in this case, yoga, even when liberated-in-life. The twofold liberation, as well as the defining of yoga as a form of daily ritual, appears to have been contrived to defend Brahmin householders from accusations that they were transgressing the Vedas by not doing daily rites when engaged in the practice of yoga and inactive states of meditation. In the following passage, the *Yogayājñavalkya* addresses this point more explicitly than the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*:

Gārgi asked, “O lord, how can a man engaged in yoga perform his vedic rites regularly or at the junctures of the day? What is the expiation for one not doing them?” [...] Yājñavalkya replied, “O Gārgi, for a man engaged in yoga, the rites that should be done at the junctures of the day or at night have been accomplished by his yoga [practice]. When his own [internal] fire of the *agnihotra* rite is ignited by breath retentions, what expiation is needed by [such a yogin,] who is offering rites as taught by vedic injunction with his purified mind as the oblation, O child? Then, indeed, he is one who has performed his rites. When separation (*viyoga*) of the individual self with the supreme self is experienced, knowers of Brahman should regularly perform rites as taught by vedic injunction. At the time of separation, the yogin who abandons his rites, thinking ‘it is only suffering,’ his resting place is hell. Since people cannot abandon their rites entirely, yogins should always perform their vedic rites until death. O Gārgi, do not be one who has transgressed. Perform your vedic rites.”⁴⁰

³⁸ *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* 4.46cd–48 (*vatsarān mukta eva syāj jīvaṇṇ eva na saṃśayaḥ || jīvaṇṇmuktasya na kvāpi duḥkhāvāptiḥ kadācana | kiṃ punar nityamuktasya tasmān muktir hi durlabhā || tasmāt tvam api vipreṇḍra muktaye kuru madvacaḥ | jñānena saha karmāni phalaśūnyāni nityaśaḥ*). Cf. *Yogayājñavalkya* 9.41.

³⁹ For example, *Sāṅkhyaprapaścānabhāṣya* 1.1 (of Vijñānabhikṣu): “The respective difference is that, in the state of liberation-in-life, latent states of suffering called seeds are burnt except for the consequences of [currently] activated karma (*prārabdhakarma*), whereas in bodiless liberation it is [all] destroyed along with the mind’ (*jīvaṇṇmuktidaśāyāṃ ca prārabdhakarmaphalātīrīktānāṃ duḥkhānāṃ anāgatāvasthānāṃ bijākhyānāṃ dāho, vidēhakaivalye tu cittena saha vināśa ity avāntaraviśeṣaḥ*).

⁴⁰ *Yogayājñavalkya* 11.2 11.4–11.9 (*gārgy uvāca | yogayukto naraḥ svāmin sandhyayor vāthavā sādā | vaidhaṃ karma kathaṃ kuryān niṣkṛtīḥ kā tv akurvataḥ || yājñavalkya uvāca | yogayuktamanuṣyasya sandhyayor vāthavā niśi | yat kartavyaṃ varārohe yogena khalu tat kṛtam || ātmāgnihotravahnau tu*

1.7. The *Amṛtasiddhi*

The *Amṛtasiddhi* does not call its system of yoga Haṭha- or Rājayoga. Nonetheless, it is the earliest known textual source on three physical *mudrās*, namely *mahāmudrā*, *mahābandha*, and *mahāvedha*, which became important techniques in nearly all medieval systems of Haṭhayoga. The *Amṛtasiddhi* also contains detailed descriptions of certain theoretical notions, such as a store of semen in the head being slowly consumed by the fire of the abdomen and the interdependence of semen, mind, and breath, that are mentioned in many subsequent yoga texts (Mallinson 2016a: 6). However, much of its detailed and somewhat eccentric hybrid doctrine, which appears to have been intended for esoteric Buddhists who had rejected deity yoga (Szántó 2016), is absent in Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts. The *Amṛtasiddhi* contains chapters on *samādhi* and *jīvanmukti*, the latter term being extremely rare in Buddhist works,⁴¹ despite it occurring in Śaiva and vedāntic works of the same era.⁴²

The chapter on *samādhi* immediately follows a chapter on the mastery of the breath (*vāyusiddhi*), in which the breath becomes still when the sound of a drum (*mardala*) arises in the central channel (25.2). This causes *samādhi*, which is described as follows:

[When] that breath is full of perfection and motionless in the central channel, then the mind becomes full of bliss and uniform like the sky. When the mind is full of bliss and is free from external afflictions, sufferings of the world are extinguished and *samādhi* then arises.⁴³

According to the next chapter, the attainment of *samādhi* perfects the mind:

When the mind is refined by *samādhi* and full of natural bliss, then it is perfected and destroys all suffering and fear.⁴⁴

prāṇāyāmair vivardhite | viśuddhacittahaviṣā vidhyuktaṃ karma juhvataḥ || niṣkṛtis tasya kiṃ bāle kṛtakṛtyas tadā khalu | viyoge sati samprāpte jīvātmaparamātmanoḥ || vidhyuktaṃ karma kartavyaṃ brahmavidbhiḥ ca nityaśaḥ | viyogakāle yogī ca duḥkham ity eva yas tyajet || karmāṇi tasya nilayaḥ nirayaḥ parikirtitaḥ | na dehināṃ yataḥ śakyaṃ tyaktum karmāṇy aśeṣataḥ || tasmād ā maraṇād vaidhaṃ kartavyaṃ yogibhiḥ sadā | tvaṃ caiva mātyayā gārgi vaidhaṃ karma samācara).

⁴¹ I am aware of references to *jīvanmukti* (or *-mukta*) in only two works relevant to Buddhism. The first is the *Vādarasāvalī* of Vindhyavāsī and the second is the Śrīmitra inscription (1183–92 CE). I wish to thank Péter-Dániel Szántó for informing me of these references. Schaeffer (2002: 521–2) notes the peculiarities of the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s psychophysical realization (i.e. *jīvanmukti*) and says that the *Amṛtasiddhi* is the 'only work transmitted to Tibet that I yet know of which develops this characteristically un-Buddhist notion of liberation.'

⁴² For references to *jīvanmukti* in such works, see L. Bansat-Boudon (2013), O.S. Saraogi (2010), W. Slaje (2000a), etc.

⁴³ *Amṛtasiddhi* 26.1–2 (*yo* [']*sau siddhimayo vāyur madhyamāpadaniścalaḥ || tadānandamayaṃ cittam ekarūpaṃ nabhaśsamam || yadānandamayaṃ cittam bāhyakleśavivarjitam || bhavaduḥkhāni saṃhṛtya samādhir jāyate tadā || iti samādhivekaḥ*).

⁴⁴ *Amṛtasiddhi* 27.1 (*yadāsamādhisaṃpannaṃ sahaśānandasambhūṛtam | cittam eva tadā siddhaṃ sarvaduḥkhabhayāpaham || iti siddhacittavivekaḥ*).

The *Amṛtasiddhi*'s chapter on liberation-in-life begins with the piercing of Rudra's knot (*granthi*), which moves the breath to Śiva's throne located between the eyebrows (30.1ab).⁴⁵ The yogin's body, speech, and mind are perfected, culminating in the attainment of the great *siddhi* that bestows the reward of liberation-in-life (30.3), as well as various other *siddhis*. The liberated yogin is said to be all-knowing (*sarvajña*), all-seeing (*sarvadarśin*), and so on, as well as having all eight lordly powers (*sarvaiśvaryaguṇopeta*). In other words, this liberated state is characterized by the power to know and do anything, including helping others achieve liberation.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, the chapter concludes by saying the following:

Wandering through the cycle of *samsāra*, which is the cage of the three worlds, the yogin, having easily broken [this cycle], becomes powerful and full of bliss. In this way, perfected yogins play on mountain peaks and in caves for hundreds, thousands and [even] hundreds of thousands of years. Indifferent to knowledge of the external world and devoted to *samādhi*, these yogins, who see with gnosis, remain in a place free of people. They live thus and are seen doing what has to be done. These yogins, who are perfected in the form of victors (*jina*), should be known as liberated-in-life.⁴⁷

The *Amṛtasiddhi*'s conception of the liberated yogin melds the idea of an all-powerful being, who enjoys the world, with the transcendent notion of a yogin who is indifferent to the world and devoted to *samādhi* and a secluded life. A subsequent verse states that the liberated yogin should use his power to make his body invisible.⁴⁸ Such a view of the body, which was also adopted by the author of the *Yogabīja*, appears to be the logical outcome of achieving embodied immortality and complete transcendence over materiality. The notion of invisible *siddhas* in caves and on mountain peaks is an early precursor of more recent myths of ancient *sādhus* living in the Himalayas, who allegedly reveal themselves to only genuine seekers.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Amṛtasiddhi* 30.1ab (*rudragranthim tadā bhittvā pavanaḥ śarvapiṭhagaḥ | śarva-] emend.: sarva- Ed.*). Cf. *Haṭhāpradīpikā* 4.76. The *Jyotsnā* (4.76) locates *śarvapiṭha* between the eyebrows ([...]
śarvasyeśvarasya piṭham sthānam bhrūmadhyam [...]).

⁴⁶ *Amṛtasiddhi* 31.10a: 'Content, he helps people cross over' (*saṃtuṣṭas tārayel lokān*).

⁴⁷ *Amṛtasiddhi* 31.11–14 (*bhraman sāṃsārikaṃ cakram bhuvanatrayaparījaram || tad bhittvā helayā yogi yāty ānandamayo vibhuḥ | evaṃ varśasahasrāṇi lakṣāṇi ca śatāni ca | parvatāgre guhāyām ca kriḍānti siddhayoginaḥ || viraktā bhāyaviḥṅāne raktāḥ samādhimadhyataḥ | tiṣṭhanti vijāne sthāne yogino jñānacakṣuṣaḥ || evambhūtās ca tiṣṭhanti dṛśyante kāryasāliṇaḥ | jīvanmuktās ca te jñeyā ye siddhā jīnarūpiṇaḥ || iti jīvanmuktīlakṣaṇavivekaḥ*).

⁴⁸ *Amṛtasiddhi* 34.3: 'The holder of yoga, who has been perfected thus by *samādhi* and delighted by the three blisses, should make his body invisible by his power' (*evaṃ samādhisampanna ānandatrayananditāḥ | śarīragopanaṃ kuryād aiśvareyaṇa ca yogadhṛk*).

⁴⁹ For example, *Autobiography of a Yogi* by Paramahansa Yogananda (1946), *Living with the Himalayan Masters* by Swami Rama and Swami Ajaya (1978), etc. This myth is also found in theosophical works, such as *The Masters and the Path* by C.W. Leadbeater (1925), and it appears to have inspired the formation of the esoteric sub-branch of the Theosophical Society called 'The Himalayan School of Adepts' in the 1880s.

1.8. The *Amarauḡhaprabodha*

Recently discovered manuscript evidence has revealed that there are two recensions of the *Amarauḡhaprabodha* (Birch 2019). Kalyani Mallik's (1954) published edition of the *Amarauḡhaprabodha*, which was based on one manuscript (1954: 34), presents a long recension of seventy-five verses. Two unpublished manuscripts preserve a shorter one of forty-six verses.⁵⁰ The short recension is the older of the two and may be one of the earliest works, probably predating the *Dattātreya-yogaśāstra*, to teach the combination of Haṭha- and Rājayoga (Birch 2019: 26). In fact, both recensions have a system of four yogas: Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha-, and Rājayoga. They are defined succinctly in the following shared verse:

Laya is taught as that [yoga] which is a constant flow of mental activity [on the deity⁵¹] and Haṭha is that [yoga] which is accomplished by the breath and internal resonance. Mantrayoga is that [practice] which controls the mantra-body [of a deity]. Rājayoga is that [state] which is free of mental activity.⁵²

Rājayoga is the goal of the first three yogas (see below). It is also described as beyond the state of duality,⁵³ an abode of awakening and full of eternal bliss.⁵⁴ Rājayoga is clearly the main concern of the *Amarauḡhaprabodha*, because the term *amarauḡha* is said to be a synonym of Rājayoga.⁵⁵ *Amarauḡha* is also redolent of the *divyaugha*, a divine stream of teachings mentioned in earlier Kaula scriptures.⁵⁶ The claim encoded in the term *amarauḡha*, that it transmits the highest teachings emanating from Śiva, may have been intended to conceal the fact that its system of Haṭhayoga was largely derived from the yoga of a Vajrayāna tradition, which was recorded in the *Amṛtasiddhi*.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Manuscripts 1448 (GOML) and 70,528 (Adyar) preserve the short recension of the *Amarauḡhaprabodha* and four other manuscripts, namely 4340 (GOML), 75,278 (Adyar), 7970 (Baroda), and 179a (Tirupati), the long one. For further details, see Birch 2019.

⁵¹ In other yoga texts, Layayoga is defined as the dissolution of mental activity (e.g. *Dattātreya-yogaśāstra* 15, *Yogabīja* 150cd–151ab, etc.). However, the section on Layayoga in the *Amarauḡhaprabodha* (19–20) describes it as the meditation practice of visualizing Śiva.

⁵² *Amarauḡhaprabodha* 3 (*yaś cittasantatagatiḥ sa layaḥ pradiṣṭo yaś ca prabhañjananinādakṛto haṭhaḥ saḥ | yo mantramūrtivaśagaḥ sa tu mantrayogo yaś cittavṛttirahitaḥ sa tu rājayogaḥ*).

⁵³ *Amarauḡhaprabodha* 2cd (*caturtho rājayogaś ca dvidhābhāvavivarjitaḥ*).

⁵⁴ *Amarauḡhaprabodha* 6cd literally says, 'Even after the various practices of yogins, the breath does not go into the base [of the torso] without the respected Rājayoga, which is an abode of awakening and full of eternal bliss' (*ādihāre pavano na yāti vividhād abhyāsato yogināṃ nityānandamayāt prabodhanilayāc chrirājayogād rte*).

⁵⁵ *Amarauḡhaprabodha* 17ab: 'For, this unique *amarauḡha* alone is called Rājayoga' (*eka evāmarauḡho hi rājayogābhīdhānakah*).

⁵⁶ I am grateful to Somadeva Vasudeva for pointing this out to me. For more information on *divyaugha*, see the *Tāntrikābhīdhānakāśa* vol. 3 (2013: 168).

⁵⁷ The *Amarauḡhaprabodha*'s section on Haṭhayoga borrows several verses on its main techniques from the *Amṛtasiddhi* (Mallinson 2016a: 113).

In the *Amarauḡhaprabodha*, Rājayoga is described as uniting the mind with a flute-like sound. In the short redaction, the main section on Rājayoga is at the end of the text:

When the mind has become one [with the flute-like sound], then it is called Rājayoga. [The yogin] becomes a creator and destroyer [of the universe] and an equal to the god of yogins. [In Rājayoga] there is no resonance, no bondage, no consciousness nor even unconsciousness [and so] there is no subsequent practice whatsoever. [This state] is called Rājayoga. [For the Rājayogin,] that into which the universe is easily dissolved is called [Śiva's] *liṅga*. The power of consciousness, which is difficult to understand because of its unfathomable form, has the radiance of the three worlds. Gnosis is that which removes all obstacles of wealth, sense objects and world interaction. [And] mind is that which playfully destroys the veil of unlimited time.⁵⁸

The short recension adds only two verses to the above passage, one of which claims that the four yogas were taught by the honourable Gorakṣanātha, who is always abiding in *samādhi* (*amarauḡha*), for the sole attainment of Rājayoga.⁵⁹ Although liberation is not mentioned explicitly, the final impression is that of a liberated yogin continuing to live in Rājayoga with the power of Śiva. His immortality is affirmed by earlier references in the text (10, 14, 24, 32, etc.), so it is clear that liberation-in-life was intended. In fact, immortality is implied by the term *amarauḡha*, which can mean the 'tradition of immortals (*amara*)'.

1.9. The *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*

The *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* teaches the same system of four yogas as the *Amarauḡhaprabodha* (i.e. Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha-, and Rājayoga), the last of which is said to be the best (10).⁶⁰ The *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*'s Laya- and Haṭhayoga bring together a much larger repertoire of techniques than those of the *Amṛtasiddhi* and the *Amarauḡhaprabodha*. Its Rājayoga is said to arise as a result of practising the other yogas:

⁵⁸ *Amarauḡhaprabodha* 44–6 (*ekībhūtaṃ tadā cittaṃ rājayogābhidhānakam | sṛṣṭiṣaṃhāarakartāsau yogeśvarasamo bhavet ||44|| na nādo na ca bandhaś ca na cittaṃ nāpy acetanam | nābhāsam uttaram kiñ cit rājayogo nigadyate ||45|| liṅgaṃ yatra carācaram sukhavaśāt tal liṅgam uty ucye sā cicchaktir acintyarūpagahanā lokatrayodbhāsini | taj jñānaṃ yad aśeṣavastuṣayavyāpāravārāpahaṃ tac cittaṃ yad asimakālapaṭalapradhvaṃsanaṃ helayā ||46||*). I would like to thank Dominic Goodall, Diwakar Acharya, and Gavin Flood for their comments on these verses.

⁵⁹ *Amarauḡhaprabodha* 47 (*śrīmadgorakṣanāthena sadāmarauḡhavartinā || layamantrahaṭhāḥ proktā rājayogāya kevalam*).

⁶⁰ See section 2.

With all these [techniques of Mantra, Laya, and Haṭha], one should practice [yoga] at the appropriate time. Then, Rājayoga arises and certainly not otherwise. Success does not arise through mere theory, but by practice alone. Having obtained the supreme [state of] Rājayoga, which subjugates all beings, [the yogin] can do anything or nothing, acting as he desires.⁶¹

The liberation offered by the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* is clearly liberation-in-life (*jīvanmukti*), which is mentioned in a passage on the practice of a formless meditation that leads to *samādhi*:

Within only twelve days [of practising formless meditation], one can achieve *samādhi*. Having stopped the breath, the wise person is surely liberated-in-life. *Samādhi* is the state of sameness of the individual self with the supreme self.⁶²

Unlike other works in this corpus, the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* describes the choice that arises for the liberated yogin at some point in *samādhi*:

If [the yogin] has the desire to cast off his body and if he does so naturally, he dissolves into the supreme Brahman, having abandoned [all] action, good and bad. And if his own body is dear to him and he desires not to cast it off, he can wander in all the worlds, endowed with the *siddhis* beginning with minimisation. Having become a god whenever he desires it, he could also live in heaven. Or he may instantly become either a man or a spirit by his own wish. He may become a creature, by his wish, a lion, tiger, elephant or horse. Thus, by his will, the wise yogin lives as a great god.⁶³

While seeming to acknowledge the dichotomy of a disembodied and embodied liberation, the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* attempts to reconcile the two by presenting them as a choice. Embodied liberation is framed as a transformation into an all-powerful, shape-shifting god, who presumably remains free from the consequences of his actions. This theistic liberation, so to speak, overshadows a suspicion the author has towards *siddhis* in the case of one who is not liberated. The following comment is made earlier in the text after a passage describing the *siddhis* attained by the practice of *prāṇāyāma*:

⁶¹ *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* 159cd–161 (*etaiḥ sarvais tu kathitair abhyaset kālakālataḥ || tato bhaved rājayogo nāntarā bhavati dhruvam | na dīnmātreṇa siddhiḥ syād abhyāsenaiva jāyate || rājayogavaram prāpya sarvasattvavaśamkaram | sarvaṃ kuryān na vā kuryād yathāruciviceṣṭitam*).

⁶² *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* 125–126ab (*dīnadvādaśakenaiva samādhiṃ samavāpnuyāt | vāyuṃ nirudhya medhāvī jīvanmukto bhaved dhruvam ||125|| samādhiḥ samatāvasthā jīvātmaparamātmanoh*).

⁶³ *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* 127–130ab (*yadi syād deham utsraṣṭum icchā ced utsrjet svayam | atha cen no samutsraṣṭum svaśarīraṃ yadi priyam || sarvalokeṣu vicared aṇimādiḡuṇānvitah | kadā cit svecchayā devo bhūtvā svaṛge 'pi samcaret || manuṣyo vāpi yakṣo vā svecchayā hi kṣaṇād bhavet | śimho vyāghro gajo vāśvāḥ icchayā jantutām vrajat || yatheṣṭam evaṃ varteta yogī vidvān maheśvaraḥ*).

These [*siddhis*] are obstacles to the great accomplishment [of liberation]. The wise [yogin] should not delight in them, and he should never show his power to anyone. He should behave among people as a dumb, stupid or deaf person, in order to keep his power secret.⁶⁴

1.10. The *Yogabīja*

The *Yogabīja* is a dialogue between Śiva (*īśvara*) and Devī that teaches Rājayoga as the culmination of the same fourfold system of yoga as the *Amaraughaprabodha* and the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*. The printed editions present a late recension of the work that predates the *Yogacintāmaṇi* (seventeenth century) and has nearly thirty additional verses, including the well-known definition of *haṭha* as the union of the sun and moon, which are not in an earlier recension.⁶⁵ The following discussion is based on passages in the earlier recension, which has not been published but is preserved by two manuscripts.⁶⁶

Unlike other Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts, the *Yogabīja* argues that both gnosis and yoga are needed for liberation. Devī plays the role of the contentious inquisitor and asks at one point whether yoga is necessary at all for liberation:

Because of ignorance alone, there is transmigration and because of knowledge alone, one is freed. Therefore, tell me clearly what can be accomplished by yoga in this regard?⁶⁷

Three main reasons underlie Śiva's argument against the notion that gnosis alone can liberate. Firstly the nature of gnosis can be known at first but there is no accomplishment (*sādhana*) when gnosis alone arises,⁶⁸ because the individual

⁶⁴ *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* 101–103ab (*ete viḥnā mahāsiddher na ramet teṣu buddhimān | na darśayec ca kasmai cit svasāmarthyam hi sarvadā || kadā cid darśayet prītyā bhaktiyuktāya vā punaḥ | yathā mūrkhō yathā mūḍhō yathā badhira eva vā || tathā varteta lokeṣu svasāmarthyasya guptaye*).

⁶⁵ The additional verses are 1–3ab, 65–6, 92, 94, 99–125, 148cd–149ab, 150ac, and 187 of the Gorakhnath Mandir Edition. Many of these verses are found in the *Goraḥṣaṣataka*, the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, and the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Two of them are unique to this recension of the *Yogabīja* and the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, so it remains a possibility that the former predates the latter. However, it also seems more likely that these extra verses were borrowed by Svātmārāma from a different work, which is currently unknown.

⁶⁶ These manuscripts are: *Yogabīja*, Ms No. SB29917 (P.S. 49941, Ā. 8772), Saraswati Bhawan Library, Varanasi and *Yogabīja*, Ms No. 72341, Adyar Library and Research Centre, Chennai. The former is in a Nepalese type of Devanagari and the latter is in Telugu script.

⁶⁷ *Yogabīja* 18 (*ajñānād eva saṃsāro jñānād eva vimucyate | yogenātra tu kiṃ kāryam me prasannagīrā vada || yogenātra] 29917: yogenaiḥ 72341*).

⁶⁸ *Yogabīja* 19 (*satyam etat tvayoktam te kathayāmi sureśvari | jñānasvarūpam evādaḥ jñeyam jñāne na sādhanam*).

(*jīva*) cannot be freed from faults (*doṣa*) by gnosis (19–21)⁶⁹ in spite of knowing the aspected and aspectless nature of the self, the gnostic living in the world continues to be influenced by past impressions (*vāsanā*) and cannot be liberated without yoga (22–29). Finally, gnostics whose bodies have not been cooked by the fire of yoga are subject to suffering, disease, and death (30–41), and only yogins conquer the body and death (42–54). In explaining the last reason, liberation-in-life is raised for the first time in the text as follows:

O moon-faced Goddess, you ask what death is for the [yogin]. He does not die again because of the power of yoga. He has already died. [Therefore,] how could death arise for one who has died? Where there is death for all [mortals], there he lives happily. However, where the deluded live, there he is always dead. There is nothing he ought to do and he is not stained by what he has done. He is always liberated-in-life, always resides in himself and free from all faults. [All] others, [namely] ascetics and gnostics, are always conquered by the body. How are they equal to yogins? They are lumps of flesh with defective bodies.⁷⁰

In the *Yogabīja*, the liberated yogin has the freedom to know everything and act at will, because of the attainment of *siddhis*:

[The yogin] becomes omniscient, can change shape at will and move as quickly as the wind. He plays in the three worlds and all the *siddhis* arise [for him]. A great yogin, he undoubtedly becomes a god, the creator of all, autonomous, may take all forms [at once], and is liberated-in-life.⁷¹

In keeping with the view that the yogin does not die, bodiless liberation (*videha-mukti*) is rejected explicitly. In fact, the author explains that the gross elements of the body are burnt up by the fire of yoga, which makes the body like ether (*ākāśa*)

⁶⁹ *Yogabīja* 21 (*asau doṣair vimuktaḥ kiṃ kāmakrodhabhayādibhiḥ | sarvadoṣair vṛto jīvo jñāne tu mucyate katham || vimuktaḥ kiṃ | 72341 : vinirmuktaḥ 29917. jñāne tu mucyate katham | conj.: jñāne tan mucyate katham 72341 : jñāne to mucyate katham 29917*).

⁷⁰ *Yogabīja* 51–4 (*maraṇam tasya kiṃ devi prcchasīndusamānane | nāsau maraṇam āpnoti punar yogabalena tu || puraiva mṛta evāsau mṛtasya maraṇam kutaḥ | maraṇam yatra sarveṣāṃ tatra jīvaty asau sukhi || yatra jīvanti mūḍhās tu tatrāsau mriyate sadā | kartavyam tu na tasyāsti kṛtena na vilipyate ||58|| jīvanmuktaḥ sadā svasthaḥ sarvadoṣavivarjitaḥ || viraktā jñāninaś cānye dehana vijitāḥ sadā | te katham yogibhis tulyā māṃsapiṇḍāḥ kudehinaḥ || punar yogabalena | 29917: yena yogabhavena 72341. atra jīvaty asau sukhi | 29917 : tatrāsau jīvate sukhi 72341. mūḍhās | 29917 : mukhās 72341. tu | 29917 : te 72341. mriyate sadā | Ed.: mriyate sadau 29917: mriyate sadā 72341. tu na | 29917 : na tu 72341. kṛtena na | 72341 : kṛtenaiva 29917. vilipyate | 29917 : vilavyate 72341. svasthaḥ | 29917 : -svacchaḥ 72341. -piṇḍāḥ kudehinaḥ | 29917 : -piḍā hi dehinaḥ 72341*).

⁷¹ *Yogabīja* 125, 127 (*sarvajño 'sau bhavet kāmariṇaḥ pavanavegavān | kṛḍate triṣu lokeṣu jāyante siddhayo 'khalāḥ ||...|| iśvaraḥ sarvakartā ca svatantra viśvarūpavān | jīvanmukto mahāyogī jāyate nātra saṃśayaḥ*). Manuscript 72341 is incomplete and ends at verse 123, so the readings for these verses and those below are based on manuscript 29917.

and it cannot be seen, even by the gods.⁷² Moreover, an ageless and immortal body is a salient characteristic of the liberated yogin:

One should view a man without *siddhis* as bound. For, one whose body is ageless and immortal, he alone is liberated-in-life. Dogs, cocks, insects and the like obtain only death. Are they liberated with the fall of the body, O goddess? If the breath does not go out, how can the body die? However, liberation which is caused by the death of the body is not considered to be liberation [by me].⁷³

The *Yogabīja* is the only early Haṭha- and Rājayoga text that includes discourse on the philosophical questions underlying the soteriology of these types of yoga. Devī's probing questions appear to encapsulate some of the objections to yoga that would have been raised by gnostics who believed that liberation could be achieved by gnosis alone. The nature of its discourse suggests that the text was composed at a time when Haṭha- and Rājayoga had become prominent enough to attract scrutiny from other traditions, in particular Advaitavedānta and those that embraced the *Mokṣopāya* and the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.

1.11. The *Khecarīvidyā*

The *Khecarīvidyā* is not among the earliest works in this corpus, because it was composed after the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*.⁷⁴ This Śaiva work calls itself a Tantra and focuses on the practice of *khecarīmudrā*, which is included among the ten *mudrās* of most works on Haṭhayoga.⁷⁵ Although the *Khecarīvidyā* contains a detailed account of the physical practice of *khecarīmudrā*, much of the text is devoted to explaining the metaphysics underlying the practice, which includes comprehensive descriptions of the various digits (*kalā*) at important places in the yogic body, the drinking of nectar (*amṛta*), and the raising of *kuṇḍalinī*. The detail of these metaphysics, which is the basis of visualization practices, as well as other related topics, such as the worship of the text, the *khecarī* mantra, yogic suicide, cheating death, and the worship of Śiva, are redolent of the subject matter of earlier Tantras. Much of this material was omitted by texts that teach Haṭha- and

⁷² *Yogabīja* 46–7ab (*mahābhūtāni tattvāni saṃhṛtāni krameṇa ca | saptadhātumayam deham dagdham yogāgninā śanaiḥ || devatābhir na lakṣyeta yogadeham mahābalaṃ | saṃhṛtāni krameṇa ca |* 29917 : *krameṇa saṃhṛtāni ca* 72341. *devataiś ca*] 29917: *devatābhir* 72341. *lakṣyeta*] 29917 : *lakṣita* 72341).

⁷³ *Yogabīja* 139–40 (*siddhibhiḥ parihinaṃ tu naraṃ baddham tu lakṣayet | ajarāmarapiṇḍo yo jīvanmuktaḥ sa eva hi || śvānakukkuṭākīṭādyā mṛtiṃ samprāpnuvanti vai | teṣāṃ kiṃ piṇḍapātena muktir bhavati sundari || na bahiḥ prāṇa āyāti piṇḍasya patanaṃ kutah | piṇḍapātena yā muktiḥ sā muktis na tu ganyate*).

⁷⁴ *Khecarīvidyā* (1.14cd) mentions the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*.

⁷⁵ For example, *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* 137, *Śivasamhitā* 4.51–9, *Haṭhpradīpikā* 3.32–54, etc.

Rājayoga and its inclusion in the *Khecarīvidyā* suggests that, like the *Amṛtasiddhi*, this Tantra was composed in an esoteric milieu.

The *Khecarīvidyā* mentions liberation-in-life twice. In both instances (2.7 and 2.14), the yogin becomes a Śiva, liberated-in-life by drinking the supreme nectar (*parāmṛta*) at the aperture of Brahmā. The drinking of nectar, which results from the practice of *khecarīmudrā*, brings about a large number of supernatural effects (*siddhi*). This indicates that the attainment of *siddhis* was of primary importance to the author. Furthermore, the notion of *samādhi* (*unmanī* and *laya*) is mentioned several times, but only in passing.⁷⁶ Within the broader context of the visualization practices and the emphasis on drinking nectar, *samādhi* is presented more like a supernatural effect (*siddhi*) than an auxiliary in a system of yoga. The absence of descriptions of the liberated yogin in a hypometabolic state further suggests that *samādhi* is incidental to the main transformative processes of raising *kuṇḍalinī* and drinking nectar. Like earlier Śaivasiddhānta traditions, the *Khecarīvidyā* (3.48–54ab) also teaches yogic suicide so that the yogin may cast off his body and become like Śiva. Therefore, the *siddhis* and the deification, as it were, of the liberated yogin characterize the soteriological aim of this work.

1.12. The *Śivasamhitā*

The *Śivasamhitā* twice calls itself a Tantra (4.7, 4.25). Its teachings are influenced by the Śrīvidyā of South India (Mallinson 2007b: ix–xiv), a tantric tradition which was reformed by Smārta Brahmins. It flourished in the major temples of Shringeri and Kanchipuram (Golovkova 2012: 817).

The first two chapters of the *Śivasamhitā* teach Śaiva doctrine (*jñāna*), which espouses the gnostic views of attaining *samādhi* by simply seeing the Self (1.63–4) and renouncing Vedic ritual in favour of knowledge (1.20–32). Chapters three and four teach the techniques of Haṭhayoga, without naming it as such and without referring to Rājayoga. *Samādhi* is mentioned in the third chapter. As stated in other Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts,⁷⁷ when the stage of perfection (*niṣpatti*) is attained, *samādhi* arises at will (3.76–7). Apart from mentioning that this results in the breath dissolving into the power of gnosis (*jñānaśakti*) (3.78), nothing more is said of *samādhi* in this chapter.

The last chapter, which may have been composed originally as a separate text (Birch 2018b: 107 n. 13), teaches a system of four yogas, Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha-, and Rājayoga, the last of which is said to be free from the state of duality (5.12). This fourfold system appears to provide only a superficial framework for the fifth chapter, because it is barely discernible in the chapter's overall structure. Indeed,

⁷⁶ *Khecarīvidyā* 2.67, 113 and 3.24, 52.

⁷⁷ For example, *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* 160–2, *Amaraughaprabodha* 36–44, *Hathapradīpikā* 4.70–80, etc.

this chapter mainly consists of instructions on various visualization techniques (5.29–5.207), most of which are based on the yogic body of *nāḍīs*, *cakras*, *kuṇḍalinī*, and so on. In a concluding verse (5.208), these meditations (*dhyāna*) are said to be Rājayoga, at which point *rājādhirājayoga*, ‘the yoga that is the supreme king of all Rājayogas’, is introduced. Through vedāntic reasoning (*vedāntayukti*), the yogin frees himself of mental activity and attains the ultimate, pure knowledge (*ekam amalaṃ jñāna*) (5.210–21), which results in the following:

While living in an unchanging body the yogin, who now dies frequently to the pleasures of the sense objects, certainly lives.⁷⁸

The emphasis on knowledge, visualization practices, and immortality in the *Śivasamhitā*’s fifth chapter appears to have been intended for householders, who might well have preferred its gnostic and *siddhi*-orientated practice to the ascetic stillness of Rājayoga in other works consulted for this study. Liberation-in-life is not mentioned in the first four chapters of the *Śivasamhitā*,⁷⁹ but it is indicated as the goal of *rājādhirājayoga* at the end of the fifth chapter:

Satisfied with acquiring things by chance and having abandoned his attachments within, the householder is liberated †from all bonds† by the methods of yoga.⁸⁰ By just repeating the mantras of the gods,⁸¹ householders can succeed.⁸² Therefore, of those engaged in the practice of yoga, the householder [should] persevere. Having remained in the house, full of sons, a wife and so on, while

⁷⁸ *Śivasamhitā* 5.223 (*sthite dehe jīvati yo adhunā mriyate bhṛṣam | indriyārthopabhogesu sa jīvati na saṃśayaḥ || 5.223 || 223a jīvati*] Ed.: *jīvati* V: *jīvati* XI. 223a–b *yo adhunā*] mss. II, III, XI–XIV: *yoḥ adhunā* V: *yo anśunā* IV: *yoḍhunā* VI, VIII: *ca yogaṃ na* Ed. 223b *mriyate*] mss. II–VI, XI–XIV: *mriyate* VII: *agriyate* VIII: *śriyate* Ed. 223c *indriyārthopabhogesu*] Ed.: *indriyārthāpabhogesu* III: *indriyārthāya bhogesu* IV, V, VII, VIII, XII–XIV. 223d *sa jīvati*] Ed. *sa jīvanti* III: *sañjīvati* IV. The first *pāda* is a rare form of the *bha-vipulā*. The reading *yo adhunā* (supported by nearly all the manuscripts) is unconventional but appears to be a case of frozen sandhi which sometimes occurs in Āgamic Sanskrit (Goodall 2015: 133). These variant readings have been taken from the apparatus in *Śiva Samhitā: A Critical Edition* (2009). The numerals I, XV, and XVI are past editions. The oldest Ms is XII, dated saṃvat 1805 (1749 CE).

⁷⁹ As far as I am aware, all editions (the exception being Mallinson 2007b) have in their third chapter the hemistich *jīvanmuktasya śāntasya bhaved dhīrasya yoginaḥ*, but it is absent in nearly all the manuscripts (i.e. II–IV, VII–XII) reported in the critical edition of the *Śivasamhitā* (2009: 131).

⁸⁰ Most manuscripts have *sakalāśeṣo muktaḥ* or something similar, but this does not make sense. In the conjecture *sakalāśeṣamuktaḥ*, the word *āśeṣa*, which literally means a ‘connection’ or ‘embrace’, has been understood as another term for mundane attachments.

⁸¹ The practice of mantras (*mantrasādhana*) is a significant part of the *Śivasamhitā*’s fifth chapter (5.232–5.252).

⁸² The occurrence of *īśvarāṇām* is unexpected here, but it is supported by the manuscripts (see footnote 83). I have understood it as qualifying *japena*. An alternative interpretation would be to understand *īśvara* in its more mundane sense of a ‘lord’ or ‘king’, and read it along with *grhasthānām* as qualifying *siddhiḥ*, in spite of the absence of a conjunctive particle such as *ca* (i.e. ‘householders and kings have success by repeating a mantra’). The problem with this reading is that *īśvara* is used elsewhere in the text to mean ‘god’, in particular Śiva, who is the main interlocutor in the dialogue.

abandoning attachments within and seeing a sign of success on the path of yoga, the householder may truly amuse [himself], having accomplished my teachings.⁸³

This conclusion reflects the *Śivasamhitā*'s strong emphasis on *siddhis*. The final statement that the liberated householder may amuse himself is redolent of Śaiva yogins of earlier traditions, who sought *siddhis* merely for their own entertainment (*krīḍā*). These yogins appear to have been inspired by a story of Śiva's descent into the world for his own enjoyment (*krīḍāvātāra*) (Vasudeva 2011: 288).

2. General Remarks on the Early History of Rājayoga

From a purely grammatical viewpoint, the term *rājayoga* can be understood in various ways. However, the survey of early Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts used by Svātmārāma for his *Haṭhapradīpikā* indicates that it was used as a *karmadhāraya* compound,⁸⁴ in the sense of the yoga that is the king of all yogas. The evidence for this is threefold. Firstly, the context is usually the four yogas, and Rājayoga is presented as the best (*uttama*) of the other three.⁸⁵ Secondly, the *Amanaska*, which is probably the earliest of these works, defines *rājayoga* as the king of all yogas.⁸⁶ Thirdly, the notion of 'king' or 'supreme' yoga is strongly implied by the fact that *rājayoga* is the goal of the other yogas and at the top of a hierarchy of other yogas.⁸⁷ Three texts of the corpus, namely the *Amarauḥaprabodha*, the

⁸³ *Śivasamhitā* 5.258–60 (*yadrcchālābhasantuṣṭaḥ santyaktāntarasaṅgakah | grhasthaḥ ṭsakalāśleṣamuktaḥ syād yogasādhanaiḥ* ||5.258|| *grhasthānām bhavet siddhir īśvarānām japena vai | yogakriyābhīyuktānām tasmāt samyatyate grhi* ||5.259|| *gehe sthitvā putradārādīpūrṇe saṅgam tyaktvā cāntare yogamārge | siddheḥ cihnam vikṣya paścād grhasthaḥ krīḍet sa vai me matam sādhayitvā* ||5.260|| 258b *santyaktāntarasaṅgakah*] Ed.: *santyaktāntarasaṅjñakah* IV, VII, XII: *saṅgam nyaktvāntarasaṅgakah* II: *santyaktāntaḥ saṅjñakah* III: *santyaktvāntarasaṅjñakah* VI: *santyaktvāntarasaṅjñakah* IX, X. 258c *grhasthaḥ sakalāśleṣa-*] conj. Dominic Goodall: *grhasthaḥ sakalāśeṣo* II, V, VIII, XII: *grhasthā sakalāśeṣo* III, IV: *grhasthaḥ sakalāśeṣo* VI, VII, IX, X, XIV: *grhasthaḥ sakalāśeṣo* XIII: *grhasthaś vāpy anāsaktaḥ* XVI: *grhasthaś cāpy anāsaktaḥ* Ed. 258d *muktaḥ syād*] II, III, V–X, XII XIII: *muktā syāt* IV: *sa mukto* Ed. *yogasādhanaiḥ*] Ed. *yogasādhanāt* I, XV, XVI: *yogasādhanē* V. 259b *īśvarānām japena*] I, XV, XVI: *īśvarānām janena* III–X, XIII, XIV: *īśvarānām janeta* XII: *īśvarārdhanena* Ed. 259c *kriyābhīyuktānām*] Ed.: *kriyābhīḥ yuktānām* XII. 260d *tasmāt samyatyate*] Ed.: *tasmāt samṃadyate* II: *tasmāt saṃsantata* XIII. 260a *gehe*] Ed. *grāhe* III: *grhe* IV: *he* XII: *gahe* XIV. *sthitvā*] corr.: *sthitā* Ed. *-pūrṇe*] Ed.: *pūrṇaḥ* I, XV, XVI: *-pūrṇaiḥ* II, XII: *pūrṇo* IV. 260b *cāntare*] Ed.: *cāntaram* VIII. *yogamārge*] Ed. *yogamārgam* II, III, VII. 260c *siddheḥ cihnam*] Ed. *siddheḥ cihna* II: *siddhe cihnam* XV, XVI. *vikṣya*] Ed. *vikṣa* IV. 260d. *grhasthaḥ*] Ed. *grhastha* VII). I wish to thank both Diwakar Acharya and Dominic Goodall for their comments on the above passages in the *Śivasamhitā*.

⁸⁴ A type of compound in which both nouns are in an appositional relationship.

⁸⁵ For example, *Dattātreyaयोगśāstra* 9cd–10ab: 'Mantra-, Laya and Haṭhayoga [are the first three yogas]. Rājayoga is the fourth and it is the best of yogas' (*mantrayogo layaś caiva hathayogas tathaiva ca* || *rājayogaś caturthaḥ syād yogānām uttamas tu saḥ*).

⁸⁶ *Amanaska* 3cd (*rājatvāt sarvayogānām rājayoga iti smṛtaḥ*).

⁸⁷ For example, *Amarauḥaprabodha* 74cd (*layamantrahatthāḥ proktāḥ rājayogāya kevalam*) and *Yogabīja* 143cd (*mantra haṭho layo rājā yoge 'ntarbhūmikāḥ kramāt*). This is also true for the *Amanaska*, which teaches only Rājayoga. The beginning of its second chapter mentions a preliminary yoga (*pūrvayoga*), which is not described.

Dattātreyayogaśāstra, and the *Yogabīja*, establish a fourfold hierarchy in which Rājayoga is the principal one, and the goal of the subordinate yogas. This is also true for the twofold systems of the *Amanaska*, the *Yogatārāvalī*, and the *Haṭhāpradīpikā*. The *Śivasanḥitā* is an interesting exception insofar as it includes the standard fourfold hierarchy and makes Rājayoga subordinate to *rājādhirājayoga*. The attempt to supplant Rājayoga with a higher Rājayoga (namely *adhirājayoga*) suggests that competitive extension was at play among traditions, which vied with one another to teach the ‘best yoga’. This might explain the ongoing use of the term *rājayoga* with this meaning, which can be construed in many yoga texts composed after the fifteenth century (Birch 2014: 411–14).

As the above survey of texts demonstrates, the notion of Rājayoga as ‘king-yoga’ also derives from its soteriological status, for it is the only type of yoga that can bring about liberation. In this context, the meaning of *rājayoga* becomes synonymous with *samādhi*. The second definition of *rājayoga* in the *Amanaska* identifies it as the yoga that enables the yogin to attain the supreme self (*paramātman*), which is the king (*rājan*) of all beings, as stated in the *Bṛhadāranyakopaniṣat* (Birch 2014: 406–7). A subsequent verse in the same text (2.32) indicates clearly that *rājayoga* denotes the state in which one’s mind is absent (*vigataniḥśamanorājayoga*). Therefore, one might infer that the second definition in the *Amanaska* posits *rājayoga*, in the sense of *samādhi*, as the means to liberation. Other works in this early corpus define *rājayoga* as ‘free of mental activity’,⁸⁸ a non-dual state,⁸⁹ oneness of mind,⁹⁰ and beyond the exertion of concentration and meditation.⁹¹ All of these texts either state or imply that it arises when the activity of breath and mind ceases.⁹² Therefore, *rājayoga* can be understood as both the goal of other yogas and the means to liberation.

The earliest use of the term *rājayoga* to designate the ‘best yoga’ may have originated in the north-west of India. This is suggested firstly by the fact that Hemacandra, who lived in Gujarat in the twelfth century, borrowed many verses on *samādhi* from the *Amanaska*, which calls its yoga *rājayoga*. Hemacandra did not incorporate the term *rājayoga* into his *Yogaśāstra*, perhaps because his work is structured according to auxiliaries (*aṅga*), rather than a hierarchy of different yogas. Nonetheless, he borrowed a sufficient number of verses from the *Amanaska* to indicate that this type of yoga was prominent enough in Gujarat to be known by a Jain scholar in the court of king Siddharāja Jayasiṃha (1093–1142 CE). Secondly, Kashmiri exegetes of the tenth century onwards describe the main

⁸⁸ *Amarauḥaprabodha* 4 (translated in section 1).

⁸⁹ *Amarauḥaprabodha* 3cd (*caturtho rājayogaśca dvidhābhavavivarjitaḥ*); *Yogatārāvalī* 16, which states that there is no subject–object experience (see Birch 2015: 4); *Śivasanḥitā* 5.12.

⁹⁰ *Amarauḥaprabodha* 53ab (*ekibhūtaṃ tadā cittam rājayogābhīdhānakam*); *Śivasanḥitā* 5.154ab.

⁹¹ *Yogatārāvalī* 14cd (*na dhāraṇādhyānapariśramo vā samedhamāne sati rājayoge*).

⁹² Evidence for this is given in section 1. The *Yogabīja* implies this because Rājayoga is the culmination of a sequence, where it follows Haṭhayoga, in which the breath is held in the central channel, and Layayoga, the dissolution of the mind.

technique of the *Amanaska* (i.e. *śāmbhavī mudrā*) in almost identical words and call it *bhairavamudrā* (Birch 2014: 408 n. 30), further suggesting that this type of yoga arose in the north-west of India.

The combining of Rājayoga with Haṭhayoga into a complementary system, which is not evident in the *Amanaska*, appears to have occurred a century or so later in the *Amaraughaprabodha* and the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*. The former refers to Siddhabuddha and borrowed material from the *Amṛtasiddhi*, which suggests the text was composed in Kadri, Mangalore (Mallinson 2019: 23–4), probably in the twelfth century (Birch 2019: 23–4). The latter was known in Rajasthan by the fourteenth century, because some of its verses were reproduced in the *Śārngadharaṣṭakārikā*.⁹³ The combining of Haṭha- and Rājayoga dissolved tensions between effortful and effortless methods of yoga for achieving *samādhi*, which were articulated in the *Amanaska* (Birch 2011: 542–7). In particular, the fourfold system of yoga validated both effortful and effortless methods by allocating each yoga to different types of student, and the twofold system of the *Yogatārāvalī* integrated Haṭha- and Rājayoga as the method and goal respectively.

Although the term *rājayoga* may be construed as ‘yoga for kings’, it is difficult to see how this type of yoga was ever intended for kings in the literal sense. The *siddhi*-orientated liberation of some of the early Rājayoga works might have appealed to kings, but the requisite practice of a stonelike state of *samādhi* seems impractical for people with state or institutional responsibilities. Furthermore, the texts advocating the Haṭha-Rāja method do not mention kings and do not contain explicit metaphorical play on the word ‘king’. Even in the context of liberation, the yogin is portrayed as a god living in the world, rather than a king.⁹⁴

3. Rājayoga and Liberation-in-Life

From the above survey of Sanskrit yoga texts, the following three general observations on Rājayoga and its associated conception of liberation can be made. Firstly, each text teaches a system of yoga which has liberation as its main goal. Secondly, Rājayoga, which is synonymous with *samādhi*, is the culmination of practice and a necessary cause for liberation.⁹⁵ Thirdly, liberation can be achieved within one lifetime and the yogin continues to live after liberation is accomplished. Although these texts promise liberation-in-life (*jīvanmukti*) by means of *samādhi*, two differing conceptions of the liberated yogin emerged and were integrated to varying degrees.

⁹³ On the provenance of the *Śārngadharaṣṭakārikā*, see Sternbach 1974: 17.

⁹⁴ In fact, I am aware of only two vedāntic works which define *rājayoga* as ‘yoga for kings’ and both probably date to the eighteenth century (Birch 2014: 412). The *Vivekadarpaṇa* strongly implies it (see below).

⁹⁵ As noted in section 1, the *Khecarīvidyā* is an exception in this case.

On the one hand, liberation-in-life is identified with *samādhi*, insofar as the yogin in *samādhi* is liberated and the liberated yogin must continue to practise it. The texts that most clearly represent this view are the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*, the *Candrāvalokana*, the *Yogatārāvalī*, the *Amanaska*, and the *Goraḥṣaśataka*. These works tend to emphasize the transcendent and blissful experience of *samādhi* and, although *siddhis* may arise from the practice, the role of *siddhis* in defining liberation is less significant. In this respect, the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* and the *Yogayājñavalkya* are similar to these texts and, by identifying yoga with the daily rites (*nityakarma*) enjoined by the Vedas, the logical outcome of both works is the ongoing need to practise yoga, even for one who is liberated-in-life.

On the other hand, liberation-in-life is described as the outcome of a transformative process that takes place in *samādhi*. In other words, the liberated yogin emerges from *samādhi* as an all-powerful god who can know and do anything in the world. The texts most clearly supporting this view are the *Sīvasaṃhitā*, the *Khecarīvidyā*, the *Yogabīja*, the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, and the *Amaraughaprabodha*. The liberated yogin is said to attain all the *siddhis* which, in the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, includes the power to be inactive. The *Amṛtasiddhi* appears to sit halfway between these texts and those that emphasize transcendence, because its liberation is very much orientated towards the attainment of *siddhis*, yet the liberated yogin remains in *samādhi*, secluded from the world.

Although the paradigm of transcendence and power can be used to identify the differing roles of *siddhis* and the practice of yoga after liberation in these texts, it does not provide a reason for why an author emphasized one rather than the other. One might speculate that divergent views on the rigidity of karma were at play. Although all of the texts in question accept that the practice of yoga can destroy a yogin's past karma, some advocate the need for ongoing practice after liberation, whereas others assume that the liberated yogin can act in the world and remain untouched by karma. The latter view relies on theistic notions of liberation that derive from earlier tantric traditions, in particular the Kaulism associated with Matsyendranātha, who was also one of the supposed founders of Haṭhayoga.⁹⁶ For example, the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, which is a text attributed to Matsyendranātha and may date to the tenth century,⁹⁷ directly connects liberation to the attainment of the no-mind state,⁹⁸ and describes the king of yogins (*yogirāt*) as a godlike figure who is active in the world after liberation:

⁹⁶ For example, Matsyendranātha is close to the beginning of a lineage of gurus in *Haṭhapradīpikā* 1.4ab.

⁹⁷ The *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* certainly predates the mid-eleventh century, which is the date of its earliest manuscript. For details on this, see Hatley 2007: 157–8 n. 77. Shaman Hatley has informed me that he suspects that the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* belongs to the tenth century and he is hopeful that his ongoing research on this text will confirm this (p.c. 24.1.2017).

⁹⁸ For example, *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 13.5: '[Now,] there is no mind, mental activity [nor] support, no meditation object [nor] concentration, O goddess. He whose mind has become no-mind, has liberation 'in this world†' (*na manaś cittam ālambaṃ na dhyeyaṃ dhāraṇaṃ priye | unmanan tu mano*

When one knows the self by the self, the self can take any form at will. The self is the supreme deity. He by whom this is known is the king of yogins. He is said to be Śiva. He is clearly liberated and may liberate another. O goddess, he is always very pure, like a lotus in the mud. Having adopted a mortal body, he sports in the world as a Śiva.⁹⁹

In describing the liberated yogin as an equal to Śiva (*śivatulya*) and one who can move and behave at will (*svacchandagatiṣṭita*) (5.24cd), the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* provides a doctrinal antecedent to the conception of liberation seen in texts such as the *Amarauḡhaprabodha*, the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, the *Yogabīja*, and the *Śivasamhitā*. In fact, the idea that the yogin can live as long as he wants and roam the world at will can be found in other Kaula scriptures.¹⁰⁰

There is also an example of a more recent Śaiva work which grafted a Kaula view of liberation onto the practice of the death-like state of *samādhi*, which is also described in similar terms in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (see below). The ninth chapter of the *Kulārṇavatāntra*, a Kaula text of the Upper Tradition (*ūrdhvaṃnāya*) that probably postdates the thirteenth century,¹⁰¹ borrows verses from both the

yasya tasya mokṣo †bhavaty iha† ||5|| 5a *manaś*] A48/13 : *manaḡ* Ed. 5a *ālambaḡ*] A48/13 : *ālabdhaḡ* Ed. 5b *dhyeyaḡ*] emend. Hatley: *dheyam* A48/13 : *peya* Ed. 5d *bhavaty iha*] conj. Hatley: *bhavantiha* A48/13 : *bhavantiha* Ed. I have cruxed the conjecture *bhavaty iha* simply to indicate that this crucial reading is a good one based on the evidence. Liberation at death (*mokṣaḡ* [...] *piṇḡapāte*) is mentioned in the final verse of this chapter. However, there the context is the practice of sequentially installing seed syllables (*nyāsakrama*) in the body.

⁹⁹ *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 17.36–8 (*ātmanam ātmanā jñātvā ātmā vai kāmarūpiṇaḡ* | *ātmanaś ca paro devo yena jñātaḡ sa yogirāt* ||36|| *sa śivaḡ procyate sāksāt sa mukto mocayet param* | *suviśuddhaḡ sadā devi pañkastham iva pañkajam* ||37|| *mānuṣyaḡ piṇḡam āśṛtya sa śivaḡ kṛḡdate bhuvī* | *itthambhūtaḡ parātmānaḡ yena jñātaḡ subhāmini*). I wish to thank Shaman Hatley for pointing out this passage to me and for sharing his provisional edition of these verses. The compound *kāmarūpiṇaḡ* has been understood as an *āśīa* form of the nominative singular, and 36c is a conjecture by Hatley (the codex has *ātmanaś cāparo devi*). Also, one should read *āśṛtya* as an orthographic variant of *āśṛitya* (Hatley p.c. 1.2.2017).

¹⁰⁰ For example, the *Kulasāra* f.25v (*svēcchāyur bhavate yogī tadabhyāsān na saḡśayaḡ*) and (*na mṛtyor bhayaḡ etena jāyate †bhyāsayogataḡ* | *svēcchāyur jāyate yogī svadeheniśvaro bhavet*) and the *Kuladīpikā* (IFP transcript T1046a) p. 15 (*uttiṣṭhan mediniḡ tyaktvā divyadehaḡ prajāyate* | *paryate svēcchayā lokāḡś chidrāḡ paśyati mediniḡ* || *chidrāḡ*] emend. Vasudeva (p.c. 25.1.2017): *citrāḡ* Codex) and p. 72 (*bhramate svēcchayā lokāḡś chidrāḡ paśyati mediniḡ* | *bhramate*] emend. Vasudeva (p.c. 25.1.2017): *bhrūmate* Codex. *lokāḡś chidrāḡ*] emend. Vasudeva (p.c. 25.1.2017): *lokāchidrān* Codex. *paśyati*] emend.: *paśyanti* Codex). I wish to thank Somdev Vasudeva (p.c. 25.1.2017) for these references, as well as for pointing out to me that the idea that a yogin can live as long as he pleases is also found in the Śaivasiddhānta (e.g. *Mṛgendratāntra*'s *Yogapāda* 46: *jitapraṇayano dhatte svēcchayā deham ātmanaḡ* | *Nārāyaṇakaṇṡha comments: jitaḡ praṇayanākhyā praṇavṛtīr yena sa evamvidho yogī yāvadruci svēcchayā svadehaḡ dhārayati* [...]). Also, see *Mataṅgapārameśvaratantra* *Yogapāda* 7.34. Thanks to Lubomír Ondračka for this final reference.

¹⁰¹ For a discussion on the *Kulārṇavatāntra*, see Sanderson 2014: 78, wherein Alexis Sanderson states that it postdates the twelfth century. The *Kulārṇavatāntra* shares a verse with the *Vivekamārtaṇḡa* on the *Haṭhayogic Mudrās*; *Kulārṇavatāntra* 13.85 (*mahāmudrāḡ nabhomudrāḡ udḡḡyānaḡ jalandharam* | *mūlabandhaḡ ca yo veti sa guruḡ paramo mataḡ*) ~ *Vivekamārtaṇḡa* 40 (*mahāmudrāḡ nabhomudrāḡ udḡḡyānaḡ jalandharam* | *mūlabandhaḡ ca yo veti sa yogī muktibhājanam*). Also, there are other parallels between the *Kulārṇavatāntra* and the *Vivekamārtaṇḡa* noted in footnote 102.

Amanaska and the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*.¹⁰² The *Kulārṇavatantra* uses the same metaphors and language as the yoga texts in question to describe *samādhi*. For example, the following verse equates the death-like stillness of this *samādhi* to liberation-in-life:

[The yogin] whose sensory organs are inactive; whose mind and breath have dissolved into himself and who clearly remains [still] like a corpse, is said to be liberated-in-life.¹⁰³

The interesting difference between the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* and the *Kulārṇavatantra*'s chapter on yoga is that the *Kulārṇava*'s liberated kulayogin emerges from his death-like *samādhi* to interact with people, concealing his identity. For example:

Although liberated, the lord of the Kula plays like a child and behaves like an idiot. The wise kulayogin speaks like a madman, O goddess. The yogin lives in such a way that people laugh, shun and abuse him. They move far away when they see him. Wearing various outfits, the yogin wanders the world; sometimes [looking] cultured, sometimes wretched and sometimes like [the supernatural beings called] *bhūtas* or *piśācas*.¹⁰⁴

Such details of how the liberated yogin might behave are absent in the Haṭha- and Rājayoga works examined in this chapter. Their authors seem to have been unwilling to present the worldly adventures of the liberated yogin as fully as they were developed in Kaula traditions. Nonetheless, an early Marathi work (twelfth to thirteenth century) called the *Vivekadarpaṇa* is something of an exception here.¹⁰⁵ In its chapter on Rājayoga, a set of four yogas, namely Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha-, and Rājayoga, are defined. Redolent of the *Amanaska*'s point of view, the

Since the former does not teach these *mudrās* but the latter does, it is likely that the *Kulārṇavatantra* is the borrower. The *terminus ad quem* of the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* is the *Khecarividyā* (Mallinson 2007a: 4) or the *Śārngadharapaddhati* (Bouy 1994: 25), the latter of which can be dated to 1363 CE. Therefore, if we assign the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* to the twelfth or thirteenth century, the *Kulārṇavatantra*, in its published form, probably postdates the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

¹⁰² Cf. *Kulārṇavatantra* 9.13–15 (*na śṛṇoti na cāghrāti na spr̥ṣati na paśyati | na jānāti sukhaṃ duḥkhaṃ na saṅkalpayate manaḥ ||13|| na cāpi kiñ cij jānāti na ca budhyati kāṣṭhavat | evaṃ śive vilīnāmā samādhista ihocyate ||14|| yathā jale jalam kṣiptam kṣire kṣiram ghyte ghytam | aviśeṣo bhavet tadvaj jīvātmaparamātmanoh*) with *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* 162–72 (cited and translated above). Also, *Kulārṇavatantra* 9.10 and 9.11 = *Amanaska* 2.54cd–2.55ab and 2.59. Most of the *Kulārṇava*'s ninth chapter is quoted with attribution in the seventeenth-century *Yuktabhavadeva* (1.55–1.106), as a passage concerning the king of yogas (*yogarājam adhiṣṭya kulārṇave*).

¹⁰³ *Kulārṇavatantra* 9.12 (*niṣpandakaraṇagrāmaḥ svātmalīnāmanonilāḥ | ya āste mṛtavat sākṣāt jīvanmuktaḥ sa ucyate*).

¹⁰⁴ *Kulārṇavatantra* 9.72–4 (*mukto 'pi bālavat kṛīḍet kuleṣo jaḍavac caret | vaded unmattavad vidvān kulayogī mahesvarī ||72|| yathā hasati loko 'yam jugupsati ca kutsati | vilokya dūrato yāti tathā yogī pravartate ||73|| kva cic chiṣṭaḥ kva cid bhraṣṭaḥ kva cid bhūtapiśācavat | nānāveśadharo yogī vicarej jagatītale ||74|| 74c veṣa] corr.: veṣa Ed.).*

¹⁰⁵ Additional verses on the Rājayogin in the long recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* (71–3) are also relevant here. For a translation, see Birch 2019: 10–11.

first three are rejected as causes of suffering. However, the *Vivekadarpaṇa* defines Rājayoga in more gnostic terms as ‘stilling the fluctuations of the mind through one’s own knowledge’.¹⁰⁶ The Rājayogin is then likened to a king who rules his body and senses and, like the *Kulārṇavatantra*, can live in the world as a naked, solitary ascetic or a libertine, so to speak.¹⁰⁷

Finally, it should be noted that the acceptance of liberation-in-life in Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts is not exceptional in the history of yoga and Indian religions. Indeed, the authors of these yoga texts would have been aware of the teachings on liberation-in-life in some earlier works on yoga, such as the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ *Vivekadarpaṇa* 15.1: ‘Knowing the fluctuations of the mind to be impermanent, they become still through one’s own knowledge, that is Rājayoga’ (*citavrtī anitya jānaumi āpulenī jñānem nīśalā houṇi āsije to rājayauguḥ*).

¹⁰⁷ *Vivekadarpaṇa* 15.3 (*kavhaṇe yekyeṃ thāim nagnaḥ dīgāṃbaruḥ ānikye thāim dīvyāṃbaruḥ parimāla bahaluḥ yekyeṃ thāim tapovanaḥ tarutaḥ bimjanaratuḥ ānikī thāim vividha bhoga bhogī sahajaprāpta puraṃdharuḥ sarvatra pratībaṃdhuḥ baṃdhanārahītu houṇi āseḥ tyātem rājayaugī mhanijeh*). To understand this passage, I have relied on the German translation of Reinelt 2000: 240–1 (An irgendetem Ort [ist er] ein Nackter, einer, dessen Gewand die Himmelsrichtungen sind, an einem anderen Ort einer mit himmlischem Gewand [und mit] reichliche[n] Wohlgerüche[n]. An [irgend]einem Ort [ist] ein Wald für Askese, [dort ist er] am Fuß eines Baumes der Einsamkeit zugenat. An einem anderen Ort genießt er vielfältige Freuden, [die er] auf natürliche Weise erlangt [wie] Indra. [Auch wenn] überall behindert, lebt er ohne Bindung. Er wird ein glücklicher rājayogī genannt), which I have understood as, ‘In some place he is a naked person, one whose garments are the cardinal directions, in another place he is someone with a heavenly garment [and with] abundant fragrance. In some place [like] a forest for asceticism, [there he is] at the foot of a tree devoted to solitude. In another place he enjoys manifold pleasures, [which he] attains naturally [like] Indra. [Even though] handicapped everywhere, he lives without bond. He is called a happy rājayogī’. However, I suspect *dīgāṃbaruḥ* means ‘sky-clad’ and not ‘garments that are the cardinal directions’. I would like to thank Nils Jacob Liersch for his assistance with my translation of the German.

¹⁰⁸ Three sections of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* allude to liberation-in-life, although the term *jīvanmukti* is not used. The first occurs in the commentary (*bhāṣya*) to *sūtra* 1.16, in which the higher form of detachment (*vairāgya*) is said to be identical to liberation (*kaivalya*). The yogin who attains it is obviously alive because he realizes ‘what is to be attained has been attained, etc.’ (*Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 1.16: [...] *evam manyate—prāptam prāpanīyam* [...]). The second indication of liberation-in-life occurs in a passage on the sevenfold wisdom (*prajñā*) gained by the fourth type of yogin, who is described as one who has surpassed what ought to be done and whose sole goal is the dissolution of the mind. See a translation and discussion of *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 3.51 (*caturtho yas tv atikrāntabhāvanīyas tasya cittapratīsarṅga eko rṥthah | saptavidhāsyā prāntabhūmiprajñā*) in Maas 2014: 17. This passage concludes with the following statement, ‘When the Puruṣa experiences the sevenfold wisdom at its final stage (*prāntabhūmi*), it is called wise (*kuśala*). Also, when the [yogin’s] mind returns to its primordial state, Puruṣa is both wise and liberated, because it is beyond the Guṇas’ (*Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.27: *etām saptavidhām prāntabhūmiprajñām anupaśyan puruṣaḥ kuśala ity ākhyāyate | pratīprasave pi cittasya muktaḥ kuśala ity eva bhavati guṇātītatvād iti*). As the pronoun *tasya* in *sūtra* 2.27 indicates, this sevenfold wisdom arises for the yogin who can discern Puruṣa’s fundamental isolation (*pratyuditakhyāti*). As Puruṣa in the above passage, such a yogin is described elsewhere as *kuśala*, a term which implies that he is free from transmigration (on the meaning of *kuśala* in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*, see Maas 2014: 15 and Wezler 2001: 301 n. 52. Both Maas and Wezler conclude that *kuśala* and *mukta* are ‘equivalents’). The fact that liberation may arise either when the sevenfold wisdom is experienced or when the mind dissolves appears to reflect the two alternative explanations of liberation (*kaivalya*) in *sūtra* 4.34: ‘Liberation is the dissolution of the guṇas which are [now] void of purpose for the Puruṣa, or it is the power of consciousness (i.e., the Puruṣa) established in its own form’ (*Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 4.34: *puruṣārthāśūnyānām guṇānām pratīprasavaḥ kaivalyaṃ svarūpapratīṣṭhā vā citīśaktir iti*). Note that *vā* in this *sūtra* is glossed as *punaḥ* in the *bhāṣya*. The third indication of liberation-in-life occurs in the *bhāṣya* on *sūtra* 4.30, which exclaims that the yogin’s afflictions, such as ignorance, and accumulated karma end (*kleśakarmaṇivrtti*) when he has achieved the state of *samādhi* called ‘the cloud that rains virtue’ (*dharmamegha*). At this point, the wise yogin is freed (*vimukta*) while living: ‘When the afflictions and accumulated karma have ceased, the wise [yogin]

and the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, other traditions, such as Advaitavedānta¹¹⁰ and Rasaśāstra,¹¹¹ which flourished in the same time period as early Haṭha- and Rājayoga, envisage liberation-in-life in various ways.

4. Rājayoga and Liberation in the Haṭhapradīpikā

Having identified the shifting emphasis on transcendence and power in early Haṭha- and Rājayoga works, it is now possible to understand how Svātmārāma resolved the differences in his *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Although the title of his work suggests that it mainly concerns Haṭhayoga, Svātmārāma indicates clearly that Haṭhayoga is the means to Rājayoga and that the yogin cannot succeed at one without the other.¹¹² Moreover, the fourth and final chapter of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* is exclusively on Rājayoga.

The first three chapters of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* explain the principal techniques of Haṭhayoga, namely *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, and *mudrā*. There are passing references to liberation in the descriptions of some of these techniques, *siddhāsana* (1.37), *padmāsana* (1.51), *uḍḍiyānabandha* (3.60), *sahajoli* (3.94), *amaroli* (3.103), and *śakticālana* (3.105, 107). Although one might infer that these techniques were considered salvific because of their efficacy in inducing *samādhi*,¹¹³ the verses on these techniques that mention liberation do not indicate whether it is *siddhi*-orientated or otherwise.¹¹⁴

is liberated while he is still living' (*Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 4.30: *kleśakarmanivṛttau jīvanm eva vidvān vimukto bhavati*). Therefore, as was the case in early Buddhism, Patañjali thought that liberation-in-life was possible. For the contrary view, which gives subsequent commentaries equal weight to the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*'s *bhāṣya*, see T.S. Rukmani (1997). Note that Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* does not seem to doubt that the yogin is alive when liberated. His commentary on *sūtra* 1.25 (56.15) appears to assume that a perfected yogin (*siddhāyogin*), who is free from the afflictions, is alive: 'Īśvara is free from flaws (*kleśa*), and so on; because he has an unobstructed knowledge; like an accomplished yogin' (trans. Harimoto 2014: 106).

¹⁰⁹ See Slaje 2000a and 2000b.

¹¹⁰ See Potter 1998 and Fort 1998.

¹¹¹ The *Yogabija*'s rejection of bodiless liberation in favour of liberation-in-life is somewhat similar to Bhairava's discussion of liberation-in-life in the *Rasārṇava*: 'Liberation-in-life occurs when one whose body is ageless and immortal experiences their identity with Śiva, O great Goddess. It is difficult to obtain even for the gods. Liberation at death is a futile liberation. When the body dies, even an ass is freed. [...] Therefore, one should preserve the body with potions and elixirs' (*Rasārṇava* 1.8–1.9, 1.11ab: *ajarāmaradehasya śivatādātmyavedanam | jīvanmuktir mahādevi devānām api durlabhā ||8|| piṇḍapāte ca yo mokṣaḥ sa ca mokṣo nirarthakaḥ | piṇḍe tu pāte devi gardabho 'pi vimucyate ||9|| [...] tasmāt saṃrakṣayet piṇḍam rasais caiva rasāyanaiḥ*).

¹¹² The relationship between these yogas is stated explicitly at the beginning of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (1.1–3) and elsewhere (e.g. 2.76; for a translation, see Birch 2011: 546 n. 137).

¹¹³ For example, the connection between *samādhi* and liberation appears to be behind the claim that *siddhāsana* bestows liberation, because it supposedly induces *samādhi* (1.42–3), and *padmāsana* facilitates holding the breath, which should induce *kevalakumbhaka* and *samādhi* (2.72–5). Also, *śakticālana* is the practice of moving *kuṇḍalinī*, the raising of which is said elsewhere to induce *samādhi* (4.19–20).

¹¹⁴ These include *Haṭhapradīpikā* 3.60: 'When the *uḍḍiyāna* lock is firm, liberation becomes spontaneous' (*uḍḍiyāne ṛḍḍhe bandhe muktīḥ svābhāvīkī bhavet*). The 'spontaneous liberation' brought

At the beginning of the fourth chapter, Svātmārāma notes that Rājayoga is known by many names, including *samādhi*, *laya*, *tattva*, *amanaska*, and *jīvanmukti*, among others (4.3–4).¹¹⁵ He was willing to understand the various nomenclature for *samādhi* as referring to the same meditative state, in the same way that earlier texts, such as the *Amanaska*, the *Candrāvalokana*, and the *Yogatārāvalī*, had done implicitly. In particular, his equating of *jīvanmukti* with Rājayoga and *samādhi* signals his intention to represent the type of liberation espoused in texts, such as the *Amanaska* and the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*.

Svātmārāma's definitions of *samādhi* (4.5–7) are taken from the section of the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* that was quoted above.¹¹⁶ After this, fourth chapter has eight verses that mention liberation. Five of these verses identify *samādhi* with liberation and can be traced to texts consulted for this study. Three verses are from the *Amanaska*'s second chapter;¹¹⁷ one from the *Goraśasataka*¹¹⁸ and one from the *Candrāvalokana*.¹¹⁹ Of the remaining three untraced verses, one identifies liberation with the death-like state of Rājayoga. The context is the attainment of *samādhi* through the practice of fusing the mind with an internal resonance (*nādānusandhāna*). When the mind and breath dissolve, the sound disappears and the yogin enters *samādhi*, the no-mind state:

Because of fusing the mind with an internal resonance, [the yogin's] accumulations of sin are destroyed. When the mind and breath surely dissolve in the stainless [state, the yogin] no longer hears the sound of the conch or kettle drum. His body certainly becomes like a piece of wood because of the no-mind state (*unmanyāvasthā*). The yogin, who is [now] free from all states [of mind] and free from all thoughts, remains like a corpse. [However,] he is undoubtedly liberated. The yogin immersed in *samādhi* is not consumed by time, bound by the result of action nor controlled by anyone.¹²⁰

about by *udḍīyānabandha* may follow from the fact that this technique conquers death (3.59). Also, *Haṭhpradīpikā* 3.103cd: 'This yoga [of practising *vajroli*] generates merit and gives liberation even when one indulges in pleasure' (*ayaṃ punyākaro yogo bhoge bhukte 'pi muktidaḥ*). Cf. *Haṭhpradīpikā* 3.94 (*ayaṃ śubhākaro yogo bhogayukto 'pi muktidaḥ*). I would like to thank Lubomír Ondračka for his insights into the relation between liberation and *siddhāsana*, *padmāsana* and *udḍīyānabandha*.

¹¹⁵ For further discussion of the compilatory methods of Svātmārāma see Mallinson 2016b: 117–18.

¹¹⁶ *Haṭhpradīpikā* 4.5–6 = *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* 162–3, *Haṭhpradīpikā* 4.7 = *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* 164. Note that Svātmārāma omits the terms *saṃprajñāta* and *asaṃprajñāta* in his list of synonyms for Rājayoga. Also, Patañjali's definition of *samādhi* as *cittavṛttinirodha* does not occur, which indicates that the *Haṭhpradīpikā*'s teachings on Rājayoga were not influenced by the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*.

¹¹⁷ *Haṭhpradīpikā* 4.8, 4.25, 4.112 = *Amanaska* 2.5, 27, 59.

¹¹⁸ *Haṭhpradīpikā* 4.110 = *Goraśasataka* 7.

¹¹⁹ *Haṭhpradīpikā* 4.16 = *Candrāvalokana* 30.

¹²⁰ *Haṭhpradīpikā* 4.105–4.108 (*sadā nādānusandhānāt kṣiyante pāpasamçayāḥ | nirañjane vilyete niścitam cittamarutau || śaṅkhadundubhinādaṃ ca na śṛṇoti kadācana | kāṣṭhavaj jāyate deha unmanyāvasthayaḥ dhruvam || sarvāvasthāvinirmuktaḥ sarvacintāvivarjitaḥ | mṛtavat tiṣṭhate yogī sa mukto nātra saṃśayaḥ || khādyate na ca kālena bādhyate na ca karmaṇā | sādhyate na sa kenāpi yogī yuktaḥ samādhinā*).

This passage is followed by other verses on *samādhi* that describe the yogin as free from sensory experience, waking, sleeping, and so on. These other verses are also taken from the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*,¹²¹ the *Goraḥṣaśataka*,¹²² and the *Amanaska*.¹²³

Another important verse on liberation in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s fourth chapter suggests that Svātmārāma was aware that some traditions were not convinced that the attainment of *samādhi* was liberation. This verse (4.30) occurs in a passage on dissolution (*laya*) of the mind:

Whether [*samādhi*] is called liberation or not in other traditions, an exquisite bliss arises from the dissolution (*laya*) of the mind and breath.¹²⁴

The above verse reveals Svātmārāma's attempt to distance the *Haṭhapradīpikā* from any controversy over whether the state of *samādhi* could be called liberation. Perhaps he had in mind the *Yogabīja*'s view that yoga without gnosis was insufficient for liberation. Instead of arguing the point, Svātmārāma reminds the reader of the value of Rājayoga by pointing to the apparent consensus among these yogic traditions that *samādhi* generates bliss.¹²⁵

The last of the eight verses on liberation (4.78) comments on the tantric view, namely that the liberated yogin becomes a second Śiva. This view is introduced by Svātmārāma in a section on the four stages of yoga called *ārambha*, *ghaṭa*, *paricaya*, and *niṣpatti*, which he borrowed from the *Amarauḥḥaprabodha*. *Samādhi* occurs in the final stage called *niṣpatti*, which is explained as follows:

Then, [when *niṣpatti* is attained,] the mind becomes one and is called Rājayoga. The [yogin] becomes a creator and destroyer [of the world] and an equal to the god of yogins.¹²⁶

Immediately after the above verse, Svātmārāma adds the following untraced verses, which qualify this view of liberation:

Whether this might be liberation or not, there is certainly uninterrupted [transcendental] happiness in it. This happiness, which arises in *samādhi*, is attained

¹²¹ *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.109, 4.108, 4.113 = *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* 166, 168, 169.

¹²² *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.110 = *Goraḥṣaśataka* 7. ¹²³ *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.112 = *Amanaska* 2.59.

¹²⁴ *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.30 (so 'yam evāstu mokṣākhyo māstu vāpi matāntare | manahprāṇalaye kaś cid ānandaḥ sampravartate).

¹²⁵ Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts appear to be consistent in describing *samādhi* as a blissful state, e.g. *Amanaska* 2.20–1, 2.100, *Goraḥṣaśataka* 64, *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* 193, *Yogabīja* 151, *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.2, 4.30, etc.

¹²⁶ *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.77 (*ekībhūtaṃ tadā cittam rājayogābhīdhānakam | sṛṣṭisamhārakartāsau yogīśvarasamo bhavet*).

because of Rājayoga. Those ignorant of Rājayoga merely perform Haṭhayoga. I think these practitioners are denied the fruit of their efforts.¹²⁷

Although Svātmārāma was willing to accept the Śaiva ideal of a yogin becoming an equal to Śiva, he qualified it by acknowledging that the attainment of Śivahood may not be accepted as liberation by all. It is possible that the notion of Śivahood was too sectarian to be the final goal of a system of yoga that was intended for a wide audience.

On the weight of the evidence, it appears that Svātmārāma favoured transcendence over power, by identifying the state of Rājayoga with liberation. As demonstrated above, he borrowed a significant number of verses from the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*, the *Goraḥṣaśataka*, and the *Amanaska*, all of which support this viewpoint. More importantly, Svātmārāma placed most of these verses at the end of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s final chapter, which gives the impression that they represent his decisive view. Apart from a single hemistich of the *Amarauḥaprabodha*, which is qualified by the verse that follows it, he omitted verses from earlier works that present the liberated yogin as an all-powerful god living in the world. Moreover, descriptions of a liberation characterized by *siddhis* are not prominent in the final chapter of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

In grappling with the tensions between transcendence and power, Svātmārāma further simplified the notion of Rājayoga as liberation by eschewing the question of whether the liberated yogin continues to act in the world. In addition to leaving the Kaula view of the liberated yogin largely unrepresented, he omitted the relevant sections on action and rites in earlier yoga texts, such as the *Amanaska* and the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā*. Although the *Haṭhapradīpikā* implies that the liberated yogin remains suspended in the hypometabolic state of *samādhi*, its open-ended conclusion was probably an invitation for gurus of various traditions to supply their own views on the yogin's fate after liberation.

5. Concluding Remarks

It is likely that Haṭha- and Rājayoga arose independently as non-initiatory practices that were ancillary to various religions. By the twelfth or thirteenth century, Haṭha- and Rājayoga were combined to form a distinct system that synthesized tantric teachings of various traditions, including Buddhism. Among the salient features of this system were physical yoga techniques and the goals of a blissful, stonelike *samādhi* and liberation-in-life. Not being the preserve of any one tradition, the codification of the Haṭha-Rāja system produced trans-sectarian texts with minimal

¹²⁷ *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.78–9 (*astu vā māstu vā muktir atraivākhaṇḍitaṃ sukham | layodbhavam idaṃ saukhyam rājayogād avāpyate || rājayogam ajānantaḥ kevalam haṭhakarmināḥ | etān abhyāsino manye prayāsaphalavarjitān*).

philosophy or theology. It seems probable that this system became widespread in India because it had significant advantages over the praxis of more fully fledged ascetic and tantric traditions. For, on the one hand, unlike physical methods of *tapasyā*, such as sitting amid five fires, keeping the arms above the head and standing on one leg for twelve years, the Haṭha-Rāja method did not harm the body, claimed to produce results relatively quickly, and had a range of practical benefits, such as healing diseases and inducing mental calm. The fact that Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts do not integrate or even mention the methods of *tapasyā* suggests that their authors were unwilling to conflate the two.

On the other hand, Haṭha- and Rājayoga were simpler to understand and disseminate than Tantra's elaborate initiatory, doctrinal, and ritual systems, as well as the doctrines of Buddhism, Jainism, and Brahmanical philosophical schools (*darśana*), including Pātāñjalayoga. The relative simplicity of the Haṭha-Rāja method meant that it could be adapted for people of different religious beliefs. Its ancillary status ensured that it never became exclusive to one tradition. This produced a body of literature in which the same techniques are integrated with different systems of metaphysics and conceptions of liberation, which emphasize transcendence and power in varying degrees. This is seen clearly in the case of the *Amaraughaprabodha*, which adapted the three physical *mudrās* of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, a Vajrayāna work, for a Śaiva audience by overlaying the same physical practice with Śaiva metaphysics that included the raising of *kuṇḍalinī*, the attainment of Rājayoga, and the transformation of the yogin into a second Śiva (Birch 2019: 14–21). Through this process of adaptation, the Haṭha-Rāja method crossed sectarian boundaries and evolved for a wide audience, including householders, and varying social conditions.

At some point, probably after the fifteenth-century *Haṭhapradīpikā*, the older ascetic and tantric traditions responded to the success of Haṭha- and Rājayoga by reinterpreting and integrating the terminology and techniques of both yogas into their own doctrines. For example, ascetics reinterpreted the term *haṭhayoga* to mean the mental attitude required to succeed at *tapasyā*.¹²⁸ This meaning is absent in the yoga texts consulted for this chapter. Tantrikas incorporated techniques of Haṭha- and Rājayoga into their compendiums as preliminary practices.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ On this definition of the term *haṭhayoga* among ascetics, see Bevilacqua 2016. I am not aware of any textual evidence that indicates that this meaning of Haṭhayoga predates the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

¹²⁹ For example, the Śaiva ritual compilations, the *Puraścaraṇacandrikā* (late fifteenth century) and the *Puraścaraṇārṇava* (eighteenth century), incorporated Haṭhayogic *āsanas* and *prāṇāyāmas* as preliminary rites to mantra recitation. There are Haṭhayogic *āsanas* in the Vaiṣṇava compendium called the *Surīsarvasva* (I wish to thank Rembert Lutjeharms for this reference). Also, some tantric compendiums that date to after the fifteenth century quote Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts or tacitly borrow from them. Examples include the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī* (1820 CE) of Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra, the *Merutantra*, Caturbhujamiśra's *Mugdāhāvabodhīnī* (on the *Rasaḥṛdayatantra*), the *Praśnasamhitā*, etc. The *Vārāhitantra* cannibalized much of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

Brahmanical traditions responded by blending the teachings of Haṭha- and Rājayoga with Pātañjalayoga in large compendiums and by transforming many Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts into Upaniṣads.¹³⁰ The integration of Haṭha- and Rājayoga with the yogas of these more prominent traditions resulted in the demise of the Haṭha-Rāja method as a distinct system of practice. By the eighteenth century, Haṭhayoga techniques characterized the auxiliaries of *āsana* and *prāṇāyāma* in *aṣṭāṅgayoga*, and Rājayoga became little more than a label for the ‘best yoga’ of any tradition, regardless of whether *samādhi* was taught or not (Birch 2014: 412–16).

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¹³⁰ For example, the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvaramiśra (sixteenth century), the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Śivānandasarasvatī (seventeenth century), the *Yuktabhavadēva* (seventeenth century), the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā* (eighteenth century), the *Upāsanāsārasaṅgraha* (sixteenth century), the *Yogasārasaṅgraha* (sixteenth to eighteenth century), etc. For the redacting of early Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts into Upaniṣads, see Bouy 1994.

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