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COVER IMAGE

Śiva as Mṛtyuñjaya, the Conquerer of Death.
Bangladesh or India (West Bengal), Pala period, 12th century. Schist; 99.1 x 47 cm.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Florence and Herbert Irving,
in memory of Alice Boney, 1991 (1991.421).

"This is an extremely rare representation of Śiva as Mṛtyuñjaya, the destroyer of death and disease. He is shown deep in meditation in yogic form, as indicated by his interlocked legs and resting hands. The *Uttarakāmikā*, a ritual and iconographic text (*āgama*), dictates that he should be represented in a tranquil state with three eyes, six arms, and matted dreadlocks (*jaṭāmukuṭa*) adorned with the crescent moon. He displays a rosary and a water vessel, and his two missing hands would have held his trident (*triśūla*) and a skull bowl (*kapāla*), completing the ritually required iconography. A chain garland hangs below his legs (the text speaks of a garland of skulls). He is flanked by female attendants bearing fly-whisks and the hybrid bird-humans *kinnara* and *kinnarī*, who provide music about his head. Celestial garland bearers hover above. His throne is a lotus pedestal with a *makara*-finial throne back. His devotee the bull kneels at lower left; the donor figure, at lower right." (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, www.TheMetMuseum.org)

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EDITORIAL: *Mṛtyuñjaya*, the Conqueror of Death, in the year of Covid-19.

Elizabeth De Michelis and Jacqueline Hargreaves
Senior Editor and Production Editor

Dear Readers,

We are delighted to present the third volume of the *Journal of Yoga Studies* (JoYS).

This year's cover image, a representation of Śiva as *mṛtyuñjaya*, the conqueror of death, seems especially apt for 2020.[1] The many epidemic episodes[2] of SARS-CoV-2 we have experienced, and are still witnessing worldwide, have powerfully brought to the fore the themes of illness, death, and therapeutics. Also, the extensive and academically significant article we are pleased to publish in this volume is concerned with a yoga text that contains several references to Śiva, even though its ideological leanings seem ultimately to be more non-denominationally yogic than devotional (see JoYS, vol. 3: 30 and *passim*). Furthermore, this article has been written in the context of the AyurYog project (ayuryog.org), a research effort that includes work on many medical and health-related themes. Hence, the threefold relevance of our cover.

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[1] This form of Śiva is often invoked for healing and liberation. For example, Gilles Tarabout points out while discussing the *Praśnamārggam* (*sic*) that: "[...] the panacea for any type of disease is the performance of the Mṛtyuñjaya *hōmam* (XIII. 36–39), offerings into a ritual fire accompanied by the repetition of the Mṛtyuñjaya *mantra* ..." (See Tarabout, G. 2012: 314–15. "*Sin and Flaws in Kerala Temple Astrology.*" In *Sin and Sinners. Perspectives from Asian Religions*, Granoff, P. and Shinohara, K. Eds, 309–23. Leiden: Brill. Retrieved from: https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00870206. Accessed on: December 25, 2020.)

[2] That is, due to different viral mutations; for schematic representations see here. (Retrieved from: https://nextstrain.org/ncov/global. Accessed on: December 25, 2020.)

Being in our third year means a little stocktaking is in order, and it is also time to announce some changes at the administrative level. To start with the latter, we are pleased to announce that Matthew Clark will be stepping into the position of Senior Editor and Administration Manager following Elizabeth De Michelis' retirement from the post at the end of this year. She will remain part of JoYS in her new role as member of the Advisory Board, but obviously with substantially reduced responsibilities. The next two paragraphs, on stocktaking, are hers.

It is good to see that, three years on, JoYS remains outstanding in its yoga-related expertise: our management team, Advisory Board, and Editorial Board remain second to none in this context and, indeed, there is no journal that can compare with JoYS from this point of view—at least not in the languages to which the JoYS management team have access. I am, however, aware of some limits vis-à-vis what we were hoping to achieve to start with (see my Editorial in volume 1), especially so in relation to publishing research authored by non-anglophone scholars and to showcasing a wide range of methodological approaches. Regarding the latter, it would be good to receive original submissions (including review articles) offering critical discussions of methodological approaches in relation to yoga studies: for example, with regard to problems of working with texts, or which translation techniques and models of historical reconstruction may be most apt, how may material artefacts be used as evidence, how may the interpretative grids of social sciences be best applied to yoga studies, and so forth. Given that yoga studies is a relatively novel field in its own right, it can certainly benefit from theoretical approaches and expertise that have been developed for the study of other fields, but it would also gain greatly from *ad hoc* discussions of how its specific research problems may be faced and resolved.

As for publishing yoga-related research authored by non-anglophone scholars, while there is quite a lot of work being done in various parts of the world, in term of the submissions received by JoYS, we have often been faced with problems of English language and style. Now, JoYS upholds very high standards not only of research content but also of overall quality of writing and, as many readers will know, having a good command of English does not guarantee proficiency in writing academic English. Thus, the research content of a submission may be excellent, good, or at least promising, but the written form and style of the article may not be up to standard. Still, all the editors have been tackling these problems to the best of their abilities including, at times, doing a sizeable amount of work to improve the submissions—but such extra work is not always possible or justifiable, and unfortunately because of this non-anglophone authors may find themselves at some disadvantage. A possible solution would be for such work to be published in their authors' native language at first. Then the articles

that match JoYS' standards—already improved and 'stabilised,' as it were, by a first round of peer reviews in their original language—could be selected for translation and potential publication in JoYS. Personally, I would love to see more articles on the localised adaptations of modern yoga worldwide, along the lines of the article by Philip Deslippe, which we published in volume 1. In any case, I am very proud of the elegant and solidly researched articles we have published so far. All of JoYS' collaborators, reviewers, and advisors have done a sterling job. Not only do we keep receiving excellent feedback on the quality and presentation of JoYS' articles and book reviews, but I am convinced that our volumes will serve as reference material for years to come.

Turning now to a review of what has recently happened in the field of yoga studies, we are pleased to report that academic enthusiasm for the subject has been growing despite the current pandemic. Although two large ERC-funded projects have come to an end—one on the history of *haṭhayoga* (the Hatha Yoga Project, hyp.soas.ac.uk) and the other on yoga and Āyurveda or Indian medicine (the AyurYog project, ayuryog.org)—the fruits of these research projects are already coming to fruition, with one publication appearing in volume 2 of JoYS, another publication in the current volume, several forthcoming contributions due to be published as a special issue in the next JoYS volume, and many critical editions due to appear in 2021. Following current trends and needs, the AyurYog project quickly adapted their final conference to a virtual format entitled *Untangling Traditions* (ayuryog.org/content/untangling-traditions). This innovative programme included a series of interviews with team members, discussions with key researchers in the field, and the multi-faceted reconstruction of premodern Indian alchemy, *rasaśāstra* (ayuryog.org/content/alchemy-reconstruction). The Hatha Yoga Project final contributions (apart from the publications still to come) were an online conference at which each team member presented their most notable research discoveries and, last but far from least, the rich *Embodied Liberation* exhibition at the London Brunei Gallery, gathering all of the project's threads together by showcasing artefacts, textual sources, anthropological materials, and explicative notes in ways both artistic and informative.

Institutional support for academic research on yoga will continue in 2021. The 'Light on Hatha Yoga' project, due to start in January 2021, is jointly funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG). The project will bring together top researchers based in Germany, India, and the UK. The aim of this three-year project is to produce a critical edition and English translation of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, which is arguably one of the most widely cited and influential premodern Sanskrit texts, placing a strong emphasis on the physical aspects of yoga. Research on yoga-based interventions in medical and

therapeutic contexts (an area not treated by JoYS) remains strong: an orientative overview of such trends may be found here (www.nccih.nih.gov/health/yoga-what-you-need-to-know). However, one would wish to see more interest (and investments) in yoga-related Humanities and Social Sciences research projects, not just in English-speaking countries, but across the globe.

While collaborative, international research projects on yoga and yoga-related topics may be relatively few, research on these subjects by individual scholars remains thankfully rich and productive. Some stimulating stocktaking and commenting will be found in the four book reviews included in this volume, but other enticing titles should also be noted, which we hope to review in future issues. A (not necessarily comprehensive) list of titles published in 2020 may run as follows: *Hindu Practice* (Flood, ed.); *Peace Love Yoga: The Politics of Global Spirituality* (Jain); *Routledge Handbook of Yoga and Meditation* (Newcombe and O'Brien-Kop, eds); *Inhaling Spirit: Harmonialism, Orientalism, and the Western Roots of Modern Yoga* (Foxen); *Post-Lineage Yoga: From Guru to #Metoo* (Wildcroft), and *White Utopias: The Religious Exoticism of Transformational Festivals* (Lucia).

May we follow the recently established fashion of pointedly wishing everyone the best of health for 2021 and beyond, as well as every success in all their academic endeavours.

Elizabeth De Michelis and Jacqueline Hargreaves.

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THE *DHARMAPUTRIKĀ SAṂHITĀ* PRELIMINARY NOTES ON AN EARLY TEXT ON *YOGA*

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Abstract

This essay aims to present the current state of research on the *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā*, an ancient text on *yoga* which describes, with an exceptional depth of detail and a high level of bodily technicality, internal yogic practices. The study of the *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā* was initiated as part of the ERC-funded AyurYog project, which was led by Dagmar Wujastyk (2015–2020), whose central aim was to examine the link between *yoga* and classical Indian medicine, two distinct fields of knowledge in the Sanskrit tradition. Not only does chapter Ten (called *yogacikitsā*) of the *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā* describe "therapy in the context of *yoga* practice," but it also appears to integrate within its discourse the practice's physical and mental effects on the body at each stage of the *yoga* process, thus reflecting an empirical knowledge of physiology. This essay introduces the dating, authorship, textual history, and reception of the text. It provides preliminary research on parallel passages in other works, and proposes that the *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā* is a textual testimony of ancient *yoga* practices referred to as the "*yoga* of Hiraṇyagarbha." On the basis of the critical edition, which is yet to be published, it offers the reader an annotated and detailed summary of the work's content, along with various discussions of important questions raised by broader considerations on the history of ancient *yoga*.

KEYWORDS

Ancient *yoga*, Indian classical medicine, *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā*, breathing practices, practice of OṂ.

1. Introduction

This essay is the first academic study of the *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā* (DhPS), which is generally (and henceforth in this paper) referred to as the *Dharmaputrikā*.[1] The *Dharmaputrikā* is an early work on *yoga*[2] that has been transmitted to us as part of the "Śivadharma corpus," a collection of eight texts preserved in several eleventh- and twelfth-century Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts.[3] Typically the last text in this collection,[4] it comprises about 350 *śloka*s organised into sixteen chapters. In contrast to the teachings on *yoga* found in Tantric and Purāṇic texts, that are always positioned as a subdivision of a larger textual ensemble, the *Dharmaputrikā* is a closed text which does not presuppose or claim dependence on or connexion to any wider authoritative text. It deals exclusively with a psycho-physiological method of exiting the body through respiratory techniques and disciplines of renouncing desires in order to achieve three goals: supernatural powers, the ability to move from one's own body into another, and liberation. Internal practices are described with an exceptional depth of detail and a high level of bodily technicality which presupposes a longstanding tradition of experimentation and systematization.

The first part of this essay consists of preliminary notes on the authorship, dating, and reception of the *Dharmaputrikā*. In the second part, a detailed summary of this hitherto unknown text is given for the first time. The structure being complex, a synoptic table of the contents of the sixteen chapters is annexed. This presentation introduces material that will be further elaborated in the critical edition and annotated translation currently being prepared.[5] At this stage, four Nepalese manuscripts have been consulted, as well as an apograph preserved at the Wellcome Library and the Nepalese

[1] On the meaning of "*Dharmaputrikā*," see note 29.

[2] I use italics for the Sanskrit word *yoga* in order to clearly distinguish it from "yoga" as the term is employed and understood nowadays.

[3] These are: the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the *Śivadharmottara*, the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, the *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, the *Śivopaniṣad*, and the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*.

[4] A list of the Nepalese multiple-text manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus is given in De Simini 2016a (Appendix I). The *Dharmaputrikā* is replaced by a text called *Lalitavistara* in a single, multiple-text manuscript dated from the eleventh century (on the *Lalitavistara*, see De Simini and Mirnig, 2017).

[5] The critical edition of the *Dharmaputrikā* is currently being carried out in collaboration with Philipp A. Maas and Anil Kumar Acharya (forthcoming 2022).

edition of the "Śivadharma corpus" by Yogin Naraharinātha in 1998.[6] As for the manuscripts consulted so far, the general arrangement of the *Dharmaputrikā* into sixteen chapters is consistent among the witnesses consulted for this article and the textual variants are limited. The textual parallels mentioned in this introduction and the detailed summary result from preliminary research and do not claim to be exhaustive. They will be systematically presented in the prolegomena to the critical edition of the text.

The *Dharmaputrikā* is an instructional *yoga* manual devoid of scholasticism and philosophical speculation. Its teachings consist of a body of interdependent and progressive practices methodically distributed into its sixteen chapters:

Chapter One: "Section on the instrumental principles," *sādhanaprakaraṇam* (74 *ślokas*)

Chapter Two: "Section on postures," *āsanaprakaraṇam* (17 *ślokas*)

Chapter Three: "Section on the succession of fixations," *dhāraṇāvaṃśaprakaraṇam* (11 *ślokas*)

Chapter Four: "Section on the path of meditation," *dhyānamārgaprakaraṇam* (88 *ślokas*)

Chapter Five: "Subtle obstacles," *sūkṣmāntarāyaḥ* (5 *ślokas*)

Chapter Six: "Very subtle obstacles," *mahāsūkṣmāntarāyaḥ* (28 *ślokas*)

Chapter Seven: "Obstacles through negligence," *pramādajāntarāyaḥ* (8 *ślokas*)

Chapter Eight: "Obstacles such as intuitive knowledge, etc.," *prātibhādyantarāyaḥ* (6 *ślokas*)

Chapter Nine: "Conquest," *jayaḥ* (19 *ślokas*)

Chapter Ten: "Medical treatment," *cikitsā* (24 *ślokas*)

Chapter Eleven: "Transient signs," *calaliṅgaḥ* (10 *ślokas*)

Chapter Twelve: "Lasting signs," *dhruvaliṅgaḥ* (4 *ślokas*)

Chapter Thirteen: "Means of increasing," *vṛddhyupāyaḥ* (6 *ślokas*)

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[6] Manuscripts: MS.SL.57, Paris, Collège de France (Collection Sylvain Lévi) (*circa* eleventh century). National Archives, Kathmandu, 65843, palm-leaf, NS 290 (*circa* 1170). University Library, Cambridge, MS Add.1645, palm-leaf, dated 259 Nepāla (1139 CE). National Archives, Kathmandu, 65922, 803 (*circa* 1682–83).
Apograph: Paper manuscript, apograph of a Nepalese multiple-text manuscript. The manuscript copies in the Durbar Library of Kathmandu were made by Bauddhasevita Vajrācārya in the years 1912 and 1913 (Dominik Wujastyk, personal communication). Description of the apograph is given in Dominik Wujastyk 1985, vol. 1.
Edition: Yogin Naraharinātha (ed.). *Śivadharma Paśupatinam Śivadharmamahāśāstram Paśupatināthadarśanam*. Kathmandu 1998 (*saṃvat* 2055).

Chapter Fourteen: "Loss," *vināśaḥ* (3 *ślokas*)

Chapter Fifteen: "Recovery," *pratyānayanam* (12 *ślokas*)

Chapter Sixteen: "Means of success," *siddhyupāyaḥ* (27 *ślokas*)

The first four chapters are collectively referred to as *yogaprakaraṇam*, "Section on *yoga*." They successively describe eight instrumental principles (*sādhanaprakaraṇam*), the formation of eight postures (*āsanaprakaraṇam*), the succession of the twenty-eight joints that form a vertical axis in the body and beyond (*dhāraṇāvaṃśaprakaraṇam*), and the path of meditation (*dhyānamārgaprakaraṇam*), that is, the internal process implemented with a view to obtaining one of the three fruits of *yoga* (i.e., yogic powers, the ability to move from one's own body into another, and liberation). Obstacles arising from the implementation of *yoga* are discussed in chapters Five to Eight. Their treatment is then detailed in a systematic way in chapters Nine and Ten. Chapters Eleven and Twelve respectively describe the transitional signs (*calaliṅga*) and lasting signs (*dhruvaliṅga*) of impending success. Chapter Thirteen explains the method of intensification of the *yoga* practice (*vṛddhyupāya*). Chapters Fourteen and Fifteen respectively explain the causes of the loss (*vināśa*) of the *yoga* completion level achieved, and the means to restore (*pratyānayana*) this completion level once it has been lost. Chapter Sixteen details the means of success (*siddhyupāya*), namely moral dispositions and cognitions preliminary to the practice of *yoga*, and the final withdrawal process of *manas* alone (*kevalam*).

The practical and didactic nature of this exposition of *yoga* is evident through its formal features and organization: the sixteen chapters correspond exactly to the sixteen "means of accomplishment" (*sādhanopāya*) accounting for all the teachings (they are enumerated at the beginning of chapter One); the chapters are long or very short depending on the subject matter;[7] the first chapter consists of clear definitions organized by subject; there is significant use of classification by numbering, etc., aiming to improve memorization of the teachings. Methodical and relevant internal references, indications of the order of succession of practices and their priority, as well as details on combined practices give access to an understanding of the temporality of the practice (simultaneous, successive, or repeated sequences) and to the difference between prescriptions and definitions and their prioritization. These organizational markers suggest the possibility of an in-depth understanding of the practice.

[7] The longest chapter comprises 88 *ślokas* (DhPS 4: *dhyānamārgaprakaraṇam*), the shortest of which is only 3 *ślokas* (DhPS 14: *vināśaḥ*). A *yoga* text with the same disparity between chapters in terms of length is the *Amṛtasiddhi*. See Mallinson and Szántó, 2019.

The *Dharmaputrikā* does not give a general definition of *yoga* as in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*, such as: *yogaḥ samādhiḥ* (*Bhāṣya ad Yogasūtra* 1.1) or *yogaś cittavṛttinirodhaḥ* (*Yogasūtra* 1.2). The first significant occurrence of the word *yoga* is found in the compound *yogaprakaraṇam*, "Section on *yoga*," which designates the first four chapters of the text (*sādhanaprakaraṇam*, *āsanaprakaraṇam*, *dhāraṇāvaṃśaprakaraṇam*, *dhyānamārgaprakaraṇam*). This suggests that the first four chapters deal specifically with the process of *yoga*, while the subsequent chapters are more concerned with complementary practices, such as remedies to the obstacles, signs of success, annihilation and restoration, and intensification. Based on the topics addressed in these four chapters, one understands that *yoga* is the result of a combination of convergent actions preceded by preparatory practices. The definition of the fixation (*dhāraṇā*) situates *yoga* last in the series *prāṇāyāma*, *dhāraṇā*, *yojanā*, *yoga*, depending on the length of the breath retention (see detailed summary § 1.1.4 and the related note), which means *yoga* is the highest level to result from actions subjected to the increasing duration of breath retention.

Yoga leads to supernatural powers, or the ability to move from one's own body into another, or liberation, all three of which involve abandoning the existing body (see § 4.4). The going-out from the body is explicit in the description of the "upwards exhalation" (*udrecanī*), a breathing exercise aimed at reaching a position beyond the "material" body, and the description of the "ascent up to dissolution" (*pralayotkrānti*), corresponding to the process of dying (*kāla*) (see detailed summary § 4.3.4 and 4.3.5). But *yoga* here never strictly designates union with the divine: this is evident when the term *yoga* is used to describe the transfer of the soul to another body, for example (see § 4.4.2). Rather, *yoga* has the meaning of "conjunction," which does not preclude the existence of the immersion of the individual soul (*bindu*, *jīva*, *ātman*) into a supreme principle. From a certain point of view, *yoga* can be seen as a "Sterbetechnik."[8]

The physical and mental effects of the *yoga* practice are taken into account at each stage of the *yoga* process, reflecting an empirical knowledge of physiology. Not only is knowledge of the theory of classical medicine evident in the use of medical terminology (technical names of diseases, mention of the three humours and their location in the body, reference to a *vaidyaśāstra*, etc.) but, most importantly, several passages demonstrate the existence of medical practices specifically adapted to *yogins*.[9] This

[8] See Schreiner, 1988.

[9] Chapter Ten, named "Medical treatment" (*cikitsā*), demonstrates knowledge of classical medicine (see detailed summary). See also Barois (forthcoming 2021): "The Medical Practices of *yogins* in early Medieval India: The testimony of the *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā*." *History of Science in South Asia*, hssa-journal.org.

makes the *Dharmaputrikā* an early testimony to the concern of the *yogin*s with medical knowledge and the integration of both prophylactic and therapeutic treatments during the *yoga* process.

An in-depth discussion of the theological elements discernible in the purely practical *yoga* teachings of the *Dharmaputrikā* goes beyond the scope of the present article. Nevertheless, it is possible to introduce a few preliminary notes questioning its Śaiva nature.

Throughout the text, mentions of "Śiva" are rare and occur in a definite context of use: in the subdivision dealing with the six ancillaries (*ṣaḍaṅga*), the definition of *dhyāna* indicates that Śiva is the one to be meditated upon (*dhyeya*) (chapter One, see detailed summary § 1.1.2); in the subdivision on the "three methods of conjunction" (*trividho yogaḥ*), Sadāśiva is mentioned as the first of a series emanating from the fiery power (*tejas*) of Paramātman (chapter One, see detailed summary § 1.6); in chapter Four (*dhyānamārgaprakaraṇam*), the drop (*bindu*), defined as the individual soul (*jīva*, *ātman*) and the god (*deva*), is made up of five entities to be meditated on (*pañcadhyeya*), namely Prakṛti, Puruṣa, Prabhu, Vidyā, and Śiva: in this context, Śiva is the twenty-eighth *tattva* (see detailed summary § 4.1, and note 111); finally, in chapter Sixteen, in the context of an archery metaphor illustrating the ultimate internal practice, Śiva is defined as the target, also equated with the *bindu* (see detailed summary § 4.3.5, note 131, and chapter Sixteen).

Mentions of specific *mantra*s are also rare, scantily detailed, and do not explicitly show Śaiva features. First, in chapter Nine, in the context of the conquest of the very subtle obstacle (that is, fear at the time of death), two procedures involving respectively a ten-syllable *mantra* for conquering death (*mṛtyuñjaya*) and a *mantra* with eighty-one words (*ekāśītipada*) (without the term *vyomavyāpin* being mentioned) are briefly explained (see detailed summary § 9.2 and notes 145 and 146). Secondly, in chapter Sixteen, HAṂSA as well as an uncertain allusion to *aṅgamantra*s and *brahmamantra*s occur in an obscure verse (see detailed summary and note 165). Apart from these two allusive passages, only the syllable OṂ is mentioned. To my knowledge, there is no other *yoga* text that so precisely explains a technique of breath elongation (*prāṇāyāma*) and fixation (*dhāraṇā*) simultaneously with the practice of OṂ. However, no identification of the syllable OṂ with Śiva nor any homologisation of its constituent letters is indicated, as is generally the case in Śaiva texts.[10]

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[10] As is the case, for example, in *Śivadharmottara* 10 (W 121[r]): *japed dhyāyec ca satatam o*[*ṃ*]*kāra*[*ṃ*] *śivarūpiṇam* | *vācyavācakabhāvena mātrātrayavibhāgataḥ* |.

In the *Dharmaputrikā*, the only principles which relate specifically to Śaiva theology are a set of three *tattva*s (*tritattva*, *tattvatraya*), namely *ātmatattva*, *vidyātattva*, and *śivatattva*. These three *tattva*s are briefly detailed in the context of the definition of the fifth discipline, "perception of principles" (*tattvadarśana*), in chapter One (see detailed summary § 1.3 and note 88). These appear to be a key theologem, since they are mentioned at the beginning of the text as prerequisite knowledge.[11] However, the theological implications of these archaic Śaiva principles are not elaborated: the three *tattva*s are never homologized with "tranches of the universe," and no initiation, *a fortiori* involving purification of the three *tattva*s, is mentioned.

Besides these rare Śaiva elements, mentions of Brahman as conceived of in the Upaniṣads are found throughout the text. The term *paramātman* occurs twice in the context of the three methods of conjunction (*trividho yogaḥ*) (DhPS 1.58 and 1.60, see detailed summary § 1.6), and once in the context of the subtle obstacles, in chapter Nine, where a definition of the supreme self (*paramātman*) as distinct from the empirical self (*ātman*) is given (see § 9.1). Liberation (*mokṣa*) is clearly described as the attainment of the supreme Brahman (*param brahma*) (DhPS 4.88, see detailed summary § 4.4.3), a mention which is found in the same context in chapter Sixteen. Further, being constantly absorbed in Brahman (*brahmapara*) is prescribed in chapter Eight, dealing with "Obstacles such as intuitive knowledge, etc." (*prātibhādyantarāya*) (see detailed summary). It therefore appears that the *Dharmaputrikā* teaches a method for merging the individual self with the supreme self, where the Śaiva features are non-structural and sparsely integrated into a broader conception in which the supreme is conceived as Brahman. The single occurrence of the term *iṣṭadeva*, at the beginning of chapter Two, may indicate that the choice of personal deity is left to the *yogin*.[12] Could the *Dharmaputrikā* bear witness to psycho-physiological *yoga* techniques based on the ancient soteriological pattern of the individual soul merging with Brahman which were, as technical teachings, not immediately concerned with the sectarian (Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava) orientations?

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[11] *Dharmaputrikā* 1.8–9: *tasmād evaṃ viditvādau tritattvañ ca yathākramam* | *dānaśīlādibhiś cittaṃ śodhayitvā viśeṣataḥ* | *tato yogaḥ prayoktavyas tyaktasaṅgena yoginā* | *vītarāgeṇa śāntena śucinā śuddhacetasā* | - Goodall (2016: 93) notes that these three *tattva*s may be very old and specifies that this "originally independent *tattvakrama* [...] appears in the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* (2.6c–7b), homologized with the three principal sounds of the *praṇava*, but it makes no appearance in the *Niśvāsa*-corpus until the Guhyasūtra." These three *tattva*s, considered as the "encompassing *tattva*" in later Saiddhāntika texts, "appear without a clear account of how they are conceived in a number of early sources." (Goodall, 2016: *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* vol. 3, 59, "*tattvatraya.*")

[12] *Dharmaputrikā* 2.2: *iṣṭadevaṃ namaskṛtyopādhyāyaṃ caiva yatnataḥ* | *āsthāya prāṅmukho bhūtvā śucir yogī viśeṣataḥ* |

The authorship of the Dharmaputrikā

At the beginning and at the end of the *Dharmaputrikā* a speaker informs us, in the first person singular, about its origin and authorship. At the beginning, following two introductory verses, the speaker indicates what I assume to be a mythical transmission of the *Dharmaputrikā* (DhPS 1.1):

> *śāstrasyādipraṇetāram sanakaṃ munipuṅgavam |*
> *namaskṛtya pravakṣyāmi saṃhitāṃ dharmaputrikām |*
>
> After having paid homage to the eminent sage Sanaka, who was the first promulgator of the doctrine, I will teach the *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā*.

This succinct opening differs from the dialogical device of the narrative framework characteristic of Āgamic and Purāṇic literature which systematically ascribes the texts to a divine origin, Śiva, Viṣṇu, or Brahmā. The formulation is straightforward, and the use of the rare compound *ādipraṇetṛ* suggests a personal language as opposed to the epic formulaic style.

In Epic and Purāṇic literature, Sanaka mostly appears as the first of the four mind-born sons of Brahmā (*sanakādi*) without being individualized. These mind-born sons are collectively described as *yogin*s devoid of passion (*vītarāga*) and selfishness (*vimatsara*).[13] The mention of the name "Sanaka" and the other mind-born sons of Brahmā is used for the purpose of conveying the image of the *yogin* par excellence. But the transmission of a specific *yoga* teaching is not formally attributed to Sanaka in the early Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava texts that I was able to consult, nor in the literature of Haṭhayoga. To my knowledge, there is no other case than the *Dharmaputrikā* where Sanaka is the "first promulgator" of a specific *yoga* text.

In the concluding passage of the *Dharmaputrikā*, the speaker speaks again in the first person singular. He confirms the fact that Sanaka is the author of the treatise and identifies himself as the son of Dharmaśīla and the compiler of the text (DhPS 16.25–26):

> *ālokyātyantagūḍhārthaṃ śāstraṃ sanakanirmitam |*
> *vastumātraṃ samādāya dharmaśīlasya sūnunā |*
> *sukhāvabodhā bālānāṃ granthitā saṃhitā mayā |*

[13] These mentions are common in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. Vijñānabhikṣu also describes the four mind-born sons of Brahmā as possessing a passionless mind in his *Yogavārttika ad Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 1.37: *vītarāgaṃ yat sanakādīnāṃ cittaṃ* [...] | (*Pātañjalayogadarśanam*, 1971: 104). It should be noted, however, that there is an instance where Sanaka, not included in the list of other mind-born sons but cited alone, is described as the best among *yogin*s (*sanako yoginām varaḥ*) in *Viṣṇudharmāḥ* 38.69 (Grünendahl, 1983: 199).

nirūpya dātum arhanti doṣān tyaktvā manīṣiṇaḥ |

> The *saṃhitā* easily intelligible to novices was composed by me, son of Dharmaśīla, after considering the treatise composed by Sanaka, the meaning of which is highly secret, [and] after having grasped the substance [of it]. Having examined [this *saṃhitā*] and having freed themselves from their faults, the wise men are worthy of passing [it] down.

The speaker, who calls himself son of Dharmaśīla, specifies that the *Dharmaputrikā*, which he characterizes as a "collection" (*saṃhitā*), is a version abridged by him for educational purposes (the word *bāla*, which qualifies the recipients of the abridged version, means "young boy," "ignorant person," or "beginner") of a *śāstra* originally promulgated by Sanaka. This statement is congruent with the opening passage, where the *Dharmaputrikā* is also qualified as a *śāstra*, which seems to denote a specific text rather than a domain of knowledge.[14] The designation as *saṃhitā* at second instance presupposes a reconfiguration of the text. It seems that the composition of the *Dharmaputrikā*, clearly expressed through the past participle *granthita*, inaugurated a transmission for the sake of a group of novices. The intervention of the son of Dharmaśīla is also evident in two prose passages which seem to belong to the original text: one introducing the four sections of *yoga* (*yogaprakaraṇam*) in *Dharmaputrikā* 1.10, the other introducing the four kinds of obstacle at the beginning of chapter Five (see the detailed summary and the synoptic table).

The name "Dharmaśīla" is naturally intriguing. Very few men by the name of Dharmaśīla have come down to posterity, and mythological or legendary characters by the name of Dharmaśīla are rare. In the *Mahābhārata*, *dharmaśīla* is a recurrent epithet of Yudhiṣṭhira, just like *dharmaputra*, another epithet which recalls his filiation. In *Kathāsaritsāgara* IX.51, a secondary character named Dharmaśīla, son of a king of the Vidyādharas, Alaṅkāraśīla, undertakes from an early age an asceticism for Śiva. However, we can reasonably assume that in the *Dharmaputrikā* the mention of Dharmaśīla is not a mythological or legendary reference, because of the use of the first person singular of the speaker and the absence of descriptive elements with laudatory content.

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[14] This makes the *Dharmaputrikā* a *yogaśāstra*. Whether *śāstra* refers in this case to a text or a domain of knowledge remains an open question. The denomination of *śāstra* also applies to the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Viṣṇudharmāḥ* (see Grünendahl, 1983: 66).

In the course of preliminary research, my attention was drawn to a "historical" character named Dharmaśīla appearing several times in lists of foreign physicians in the Tibetan tradition.[15] A certain Darmaśila designated as a doctor and translator from Nepal (*bal po*) is mentioned in a passage devoted to "The Royal Dynastic Period" in the *Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu*, a Tibetan compendium of knowledge by Don dam smra ba'i seng ge (late fifteenth century):

> "[...] During the reign of Khri sde gtsug rtan ʔag-tsom, the two (physicians), the Nepalese physician Darmaśila and the Greek physician Rtsanpa the *ho-shang*, translated many medical treatises."[16]

Based on the Old Tibetan Annals, king Khri lde srong btsan Mes ag tshoms (704–*circa* 754) would have reigned from the year 712.[17]

As pointed out by Frances Garrett (2007), the Tibetan physician Brang ti (fourteenth century) also mentions a list of nine foreign physicians who came to Tibet, but during the reign of the king Khri srong lde btsan (r. 756–97). Among the names included in this list is a certain "Dha la shi la," sometimes understood as "Dānaśīla," physician and translator from Nepal. In the *Zur mkhar blo gros rgyal po* (16th c.), which contains the same list, the name is spelled slightly differently, as "Dharmā shi la." A list of names and regions identical to that of Brang ti is also found in Jaya Paṇḍita's seventeenth-century *Thob yig*.[18]

This information is of interest insofar as the *Dharmaputrikā* was transmitted to us via a Nepalese manuscript tradition, contains technical terms which indicate a familiarity with Buddhism (see below), and its *yoga* teachings attest to a strong knowledge of classical medicine. If the hypothesis of a transmission of the *Dharmaputrikā* by the son of a certain Dharmaśīla who would have travelled to Tibet in the middle of the eighth

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[15] My sincere thanks to Alexander Schiller, who guided me in Tibetan sources and verified the original text of the *Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu* from the Delhi edition of 1969, and to Michael Torsten Wieser-Much, who brought the article by Christopher I. Beckwith (1979) to my attention.

[16] The *Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu* is not translated. I quote here the translation of this passage by Christopher I. Beckwith (1979: 311, note 38).

[17] Dotson, 2009: 143.

[18] This information is based on Garrett, 2007: 369–71 and note 5. On Blo gros rgyal po explaining that it was during the time of king Khri lde srong btsan (r.756–97) that "nine doctors arrived from India, Kashmir, China, Tazig, Drugu, Dolpo, and Nepal," see Garrett (2007: 374–77). On the difficult question of this list of foreign physicians in Tibet, see Dan Martin (2011: 133–135 and Appendix E). See also Dan Martin (2017), who gives information on the textual sources of this list, adding an old source: "An old medical history by a Zhijé school follower named Nyedowa, dating to somewhere around 1300." Retrieved from: https://tibeto-logic.blogspot.com/2017/. Accessed on: December 12, 2019.

century were to be confirmed, this would constitute valuable information on the early history of the transmission of the *Dharmaputrikā* and the formation of the Śivadharma corpus. However, in the current state of research, there is no fact to formally identify the compiler or author of the *Dharmaputrikā* as being the son of a translator of medical texts in the reign of king Khri lde gtsug btsan Mes ag tshoms (712–*circa* 754) or king Khri srong lde btsan (756–97).

The Dharmaputrikā and the Śivadharma corpus[19]

Little is known about the dating and socio-religious milieu from which the texts pertaining to the Śivadharma corpus originate. Sanderson (2012) considers it to be an early body of Śaiva literature meant for the laity, in contrast to initiatory Śaivism.[20] Discussions are currently in progress regarding the individual dating of the texts and the period of time over which the entire corpus developed. So far, the studies have focused on the first two texts, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara*, which are considered to be the earliest texts of the corpus.

The *terminus ante quem* for both the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* is the eighth century, a date established by Goodall (2011) on the basis of a paleographic evaluation of a fragmentary manuscript.[21] Regarding the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, Hazra (1985) had proposed dating it between 200 and 500 CE;[22] we now know that this text cannot be earlier than the fourth century based on iconographic arguments;[23] Bisschop (2018) recently proposed an *ante quem* date of 630 CE, on the basis of a quotation in the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*.[24] Regarding the *Śivadharmottara*, Hazra had estimated a date of composition between 700 and 800 CE;[25] however, Goodall has suggested that the *Śivadharmottara* might be situated at least a century earlier.[26] To briefly summarise, the

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[19] In the present article, quotations from the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara* are based on the apograph of the Wellcome Library.

[20] Sanderson, 2012. (Handout 5, 22 February: 10–14.)

[21] Goodall, 2011: 232, note 33.

[22] Hazra, 1985: 296.

[23] See Sanderson, 2012 (Handout 5, 22 February: 12, note 19). Sanderson summarises the arguments on the *terminus a quo* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* based on the fact that the cult and image of Vināyaka (mentioned in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*) are only attested from the fourth century CE. These arguments were developed by Törzsök (2004: 19) and taken up by Bisschop (2010: 244).

[24] Bisschop, 2018: 14–15.

[25] Hazra, 1983: 206.

[26] Goodall, 2011: 232, note 33.

date of composition of the *Śivadharmottara* cannot be much later than that of *Śivadharmaśāstra*, and the two texts were probably composed over a fairly short period, around the beginning of the seventh century.

So far, there is a consensus among scholars on the formation of the corpus, which would be the result of a somehow linear production, from the two supposedly older texts, the *Sivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, whose popularity would have instigated the writing of the others.[27] This view logically led to considering the *Dharmaputrikā*, the last text of the corpus, as a "late Śaiva yoga text."[28] The problem is that all texts pertaining to the Śivadharma corpus certainly meet this linear conception of the formation of the corpus, except the *Dharmaputrikā*, which cannot be read as being elaborated from them. Therefore, the name "*Dharmaputrikā*" can refer neither to the *Śivadharmaśāstra* nor the *Śivadharmottara* as its source of derivation.[29] Indeed, the differences between the *Dharmaputrikā* and these two texts are formally and substantively numerous. Here are some significant examples:

Both the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* are in the form of a dialogue between sages, which itself relates to an original dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī. This is the typical scheme of Purāṇic and Āgamic literature, the dialogical form legitimizing and elucidating the *paramparā*. In contrast, the *Dharmaputrikā* is not in the form of a dialogue but, as aforementioned, is simply introduced by a "human" author who assigns the original diffusion of the text to Sanaka.

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[27] "The *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* enjoyed great popularity in Nepal, where they kindled the growth of a whole collection of analogous Śaiva works, probably on account of the success enjoyed by Śaivism from the seventh century onward in this region. These works are transmitted together in a large number of multiple-text manuscripts, among which are some very early and well preserved specimens. This circumstance has induced scholars to speak of a 'Śivadharma corpus' [...]" (De Simini, 2016b: 63).

[28] See Kafle, 2015: 271. *The New Catalogus Catalogorum* (NCC) vol. IX (1977) also argued in favour of a late date: "*Dharmaputrikā* - On yoga in 16 chs. of philosophical and tāntric nature; prob. composed in 1069 A.D. in the reign of Śaṅkara Deva. Nepal I. p. 92. pref. p. xlviii. Rep. Hpr.1895–1900, p. 6." It is the date of the copy of the manuscript (as for the Sanskrit text of the colophon which quotes Śaṅkaradeva, see Petech, 1984: 46).

[29] The title "*Dharmaputrikā*" does not betray any Śaiva affiliation, in contrast to the titles of the other texts in the Śivadharma corpus. For now, there is no satisfactory explanation for "*dharmaputrikā*," which is the title attributed to this text so far. It echoes *dharmaputra*, "son of Dharma," the name by which king Yudhiṣṭhira is designated in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Viṣṇudharmāḥ*, etc. But there is no reference to Yudhiṣṭhira in the text. Rather, I think we should consider "*dharmaputrikā saṃhitā*" to be the complete title. Most probably it could refer to the author of the text, presenting himself as "the son of Dharmaśīla," meaning "the *saṃhitā* derived from, that is, composed by, the son of Dharma[śīla]." In this case, *dharmaputrikā* would be an adjective whose suffix *-ika* denotes belonging or derivation, without the expected initial *vṛddhi* (*-pautra* / *-pautrika*). If we accept this hypothesis, "*dharmaputrikā saṃhitā*" would remarkably point to the human origin of the text.

Another difference is that the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* teach a *śivadharma* in line with the social Brahmanical organization into four classes. In these texts, *varṇa* is used to designate the four classes.[30] In contrast, the *Dharmaputrikā* mentions neither the *brāhmaṇa*s nor the *kṣatriya*s or the *vaiśya*s, and only once the *śūdra*s (DhPS 16.12), and the term *varṇa* is never used to mean "class." Furthermore, the teachings of the *Dharmaputrikā* are opened to a wide range of people, including women and foreigners (*mleccha*), and accessible to all castes and stages of life. This is explicitly stated in chapter Sixteen (see detailed summary).

The most striking distinctive feature of the *Dharmaputrikā* is that no external worship of any Brahmanical deity is mentioned, and, in particular, no mention of a cult of the Liṅga, while, as regards the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara*, "the main pillar of this worldly religion is the worship of Śiva in his aniconic representation of the Liṅga."[31] There is also no hint of any devotional expression towards Śiva or any other deity, or even to a master. In particular, the absence of a five- or six-syllable *mantra* (*pañcākṣara* or *ṣaḍakṣara*) should be noted. In fact, no sectarian emphasis can really be argued, which seems to indicate an absence of socio-religious tensions, in contrast to the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, which are replete with the name of Śiva used as an iconic vehicle for spreading the Śaiva religion. Singularly, and to say it another way, the Śaiva components in the *Dharmaputrikā* do not play any functional role in the accomplishment of *yoga*.

The fact that the *Dharmaputrikā* is invariably the last text of the Śivadharma corpus and is replaced in one multiple-text manuscript dated from the eleventh century with the *Lalitavistara* raises the question of whether it belongs to the "Śivadharma corpus" proper. Rather, it seems that we are at the limit here of the heuristic value of the idea of a "Śivadharma corpus," since two parallels make it possible to connect the *Dharmaputrikā* with the *Śivadharmottara* and suggest with reasonable certainty that the *Dharmaputrikā* predates the *Śivadharmottara* and most probably the *Śivadharmaśāstra*.

Śivadharmottara: A parallel to Dharmaputrikā 1.17–18

In the "Section on instrumental principles" (*sādhanaprakaraṇa*) of the *Dharmaputrikā*, in the subdivision dedicated to the six ancillaries (*ṣaḍaṅga*), *dhyāna* is defined as follows

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[30] See for example *Śivadharmaśāstra* 11.1–2 (W 52[r]): *nandikeśvara uvāca | sarveṣām eva varṇānāṃ śivāśramaniṣevi[ṇ]ām | śivadharmaḥ śivenokto dharmakāmārthamuktaye | brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyo vaiśyaḥ strī śūdro vā gṛhaśramī* [Levi ms (33v) = *śivāśramī*] | *vānaprastho gṛhastho vā ya[ś] cānyo vā gṛhāśramī |*.

[31] De Simini, 2016b: 50.

(DhPS 1.17–18):

> *ko dhyeyaḥ kas tv asau dhyātā kiṃ dhyānaṃ kiṃ prayojanam |*
> *catvāry etāni yo vetti sa yogī yogya ucyate |*
> *dhyeyaḥ śivo dhyātṛ mano dhyānam ekāgracittatā |*
> *duḥkhahānir guṇaiśvaryaṃ svātantryaṃ ca prayojanam |*
>
> What is the object of meditation? Who is the meditator? What is meditation? What is the purpose? Whoever knows these four [things] is called a *yogin* qualified for *yoga*. The object of meditation is Śiva; the meditator is *manas*; meditation is the fact that the mind is [focused] on a single [object]; the purpose is the cessation of suffering, the mastery of qualities, and freedom.

These four components are also found in the *Śivadharmottara* 10, a chapter dedicated to *yoga*. *Śivadharmottara* 10 (W 119^{r} – 119^{v})[32] reads:

> *dhyātā dhyānaṃ tathā dhyeyaṃ yac ca dhyānaprayojanam |*
> *etac catuṣṭayaṃ jñātvā yogaṃ yuñjīta yogavit |*
> *jñānavairāgyasampannaḥ śraddadhānaḥ kṣamānvitaḥ |*
> *śivabhaktaḥ sadotsāhī dhyātetthaṃ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ |*
> *dhyai cintāyāṃ smṛto dhātuḥ śivacintā muhur muhuḥ |*
> *jñānena pariśuddhena jñānaṃ dhyānam ataḥ param |*
> *sakalaḥ sa tu tattvajñaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarvadaḥ prabhuḥ |*
> *nānārūpavikalpena dhyeyaḥ siddhyartham īśvaraḥ |*
> *vimuktipratyayaḥ pūrvam aiśvaryaṃ cāṇimādikam |*
> *ity etad dvividhaṃ jñeyaṃ śivadhyānaprayojanam |*
>
> The meditator, meditation, the object of meditation, and the purpose of meditation: having learnt these four [principles], the knower of *yoga* should practice *yoga*. A devotee of Śiva, ever persistent, endowed with knowledge and detachment, fervent and submissive: such a man (*puruṣa*) is termed meditator. The verbal root *dhyai-* refers to thought. The constant thought of Śiva [produces] knowledge, with perfectly pure

[32] These verses of the *Śivadharmottara* were borrowed by the author of the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* and tailored to its teachings (see VāSa 2.29.164cd–169ab). Dated from the eleventh century at the latest, the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā*, which has been transmitted as a *saṃhitā* of the *Śivapurāṇa*, is the oldest and most systematic textual testimony of the reception of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara* in South India. In particular, its chapter Twenty-nine on *yoga* borrows many verses from chapter Ten of the *Śivadharmottara*. On the relationship of the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* with the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara*, see Barois (PhD Thesis, 2012, vol. 1: 139–40).

> knowledge then meditation [is produced]. To ensure success, the object to be meditated upon is Īśvara through different mental conceptions: having parts, knowing reality, omniscient, all-bestowing, and powerful. First, experience of liberation, [second] sovereignty [which consists of] atomicity, etc., these should be known as the twofold purpose of the meditation on Śiva.

The *Dharmaputrikā* explains *dhyāna* by brief but clear definitions of its four components, *dhyātṛ*, *dhyāna*, *dhyeya*, and *prayojana*, in the first subdivision of the first chapter, dedicated to the six ancillaries (*ṣaḍaṅga*) (see detailed summary § 1.1.2). This explanation of *dhyāna* takes place after the explanation of withdrawal (*pratyāhāra*) and before that of breath elongation (*prāṇāyāma*). In the *Śivadharmottara*, these same four components, *dhyātṛ*, *dhyāna*, *dhyeya*, and *prayojana*, are defined in a more expanded way, centred on injunctions relating to devotion to Śiva and elements of Śaiva theology. Unlike the *Dharmaputrikā*, the definitions of these four components are not included in a systematic teaching. Rather, they show a Śaiva phraseology characteristic of the *Śivadharmottara* (but also the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the other texts of the corpus). In the *Śivadharmottara*, the meditator is the devotee of Śiva (*śivabhakta*). In the *Dharmaputrikā*, the meditator (*dhyātṛ*) is *manas*, which corresponds perfectly to its function throughout the *yoga* process expounded in the text. The conciseness of the definitions as well as the mention of *manas* as meditator are distinctive features indicative of the practicalities of teaching. This would argue in favour of the earliest attestation of these four components in the *Dharmaputrikā*. However, a similar definition of *dhyāna* as divided into components formed from the verbal root *dhyai* certainly was a widespread model at an early date, as different formulations on the same pattern are also found in the *Viṣṇudharmāḥ*, the *Sarvajñānottaratantra* (*Yogapāda*), and the *Liṅgapurāṇa*.[33]

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[33] *Viṣṇudharmāḥ* 100.62ab: *dhyeyaṃ brahma pumān dhyātā upāyo dhyānasaṃjñitaḥ* | (Grünendahl 1989, Part 3: 140); *Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.28.5–6: *pure śete puraṃ dehaṃ tasmāt puruṣa ucyate* | *yājyaṃ yajñena yajate yajamānas tu sa smṛtaḥ* | *dhyeyo maheśvaro dhyānaṃ cintanaṃ nirvṛtiḥ phalam* | *pradhānapuruṣeśānaṃ yāthātathyaṃ prapadyate* | (Shastri 1980: 28). *Sarvajñānottaratantra* (*Yogapāda*): *yo dhyātā yac ca taddhyānaṃ tad vai dhyānaprayojanam* | *sarvāṇy etāni yo vetti sa yogaṃ yoktum arhati* | *ātmā dhyātā mano dhyānaṃ dhyeyaḥ sūkṣmo maheśvaraḥ* | *yat*[*paraṃ*] *paramaiśvaryam etad dhyānaprayojanam* | (Vaidyanathan 1993, Part II: 3–4). The definition of the *Sarvajñānottaratantra* (*Yogapāda*) seems closer to that of the *Dharmaputrikā* than to that of the *Śivadharmottara*; however, the passage appears corrupt (for the first hemistich, Vasudeva [2004: 431, note 177] proposes the following conjecture, based on the commentary of *Aghoraśiva*: *yo dhyātā yac ca taddhyānaṃ taddhyeyaṃ ca prayojanam* |). Rather unusually the *Śivadharmottara*, which is not an erudite text, defines meditation as follows: *dhyai cintāyāṃ smṛto dhātuḥ, dhyai cintāyāṃ* being the traditional gloss of the root *dhyai* in the *Dhātupāṭha*. The *Śivadharmottara* felt the need to add "*dhātu*." Perhaps it borrowed this part of the definition from *Kauṇḍinya ad Pāśupatasūtra* 5.24: *dhyai cintāyām* | *dhyānaṃ cintanam ity arthaḥ* | *uktaṃ hi* | *dhyai cintālakṣaṇaṃ dhyānaṃ brahma cauṃkāralakṣaṇam* | *dhīyate līyate vāpi tasmād dhyānam iti*

While it is also worth considering that the *Śivadharmottara*'s quadripartite definition was borrowed from the *Dharmaputrikā* on the basis of another significant parallel with the *Dharmaputrikā* (see below), a third independent source cannot be excluded.

Śivadharmottara: A parallel to Dharmaputrikā 1.37cd–38ab

Verse 1.37cd–38ab of the *Dharmaputrikā* gives a list of six disciplines (*ṣaṭsādhana*):

> *utsāho niścayo dhairyaṃ santoṣas tattvadarśanam |*
> *kratūnāṃ copasaṃhāraḥ ṣaṭsādhanam iti smṛtam |*
>
> Perseverance, resolution, constancy, satisfaction, perception of principles, and cessation of sacrificial rites, these are the six disciplines.

A variant of this verse is also found in *Śivadharmottara* 10 (W 122[r]):

> *utsāhān niścayād dhairyāt santoṣāt tattvadarśanāt |*
> *muner janapadatyāgād ṣaḍbhir yogaḥ prasiddhyati |*
>
> *Yoga* is accomplished by means of [these] six: through perseverance, resolution, constancy, satisfaction, perception of principles, and abandonment of inhabited places by the sage.

While in the *Dharmaputrikā* the list of the six disciplines (DhPS 1.37cd–38ab) is followed by the precise explanation of each discipline separately (see detailed summary § 1.3) and the topic itself is announced as one of the eight subdivisions at the beginning of chapter One, the parallel verse in the *Śivadharmottara* lacks any contextual link. The rewriting of the second hemistiche is probable, replacing *ṣaṭsādhanam* with *ṣaḍbhir yogaḥ*, as the six disciplines are absent from the *Śivadharmottara*, and replacing *kratūnāṃ copasaṃhāraḥ* with *janapadatyāgād*, the "abandonment of inhabited places" referring here to the practice of perambulation, while in the *Dharmaputrikā kratūnāṃ copasaṃhāraḥ* means ceasing to perform the Vedic rites (see the detailed summary, § 1.3).[34]

Given the lack of context of the above parallel passages in the *Śivadharmottara*, I suggest that the *Dharmaputrikā* is the source, implying its *terminus ad quem* is the seventh

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smṛtam | muhūrtārdhaṃ muhūrtaṃ vā prāṇāyāmāntare 'pi vā | dhyeyaṃ cintayamānas tu pāpaṃ kṣapayate naraḥ | īta ityājñāyāṃ niyoge ca | oṃkāra eva dhyeyo nānya ity arthaḥ | āha oṃkāro dhyeyaḥ | (Shastri, 1940: 125). More probably this type of definition was simply scholarly knowledge popularized and adapted according to context.

[34] On this parallel, see also below "Reception of the *Dharmaputrikā* teaching in the Haṭhayoga tradition," p. 32.

century, which is the estimated date of composition of the *Śivadharmottara*. Since the *Śivadharmaśāstra* was supposedly composed shortly before the *Śivadharmottara*, it is very likely that the *Dharmaputrikā* precedes both the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*. This would make the *Dharmaputrikā* the earliest surviving practical manual on *yoga*.

A two-stage elaboration of the *Dharmaputrikā*, as suggested by the introductory and concluding verses of the text, namely, an original treatise (*śāstra*) disseminated by Sanaka, then a collection (*saṃhitā*) composed by the son of Dharmaśīla, suggests the writing down of a teaching that had presumably been transmitted orally, the content of which is certainly old.

In the current state of research, it is not possible to know whether the *Śivadharmottara* borrows directly from the *saṃhitā* as it has been transmitted to us by the Nepalese manuscript tradition, or from an oral teaching of the *yoga* techniques as expounded in the *Dharmaputrikā*. Given the decontextualized nature of the parallels and, more generally, the low level of specialization of the *yoga* practices described in the *Śivadharmottara*, it is in any case evident that the author(s) of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* were not engaged in the practice of *yoga* as expounded in the *Dharmaputrikā*. In the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, as in the *Śivadharmottara*, *śivayogin*s hold a central position, as mentioned by De Simini: "[...] the best human recipients are those who are identified with Śiva and whose cult is thus equivalent to his own, that is the Śaiva *yogin*s (*śivayogin*); this is noted several times in the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and becomes a central issue in the *Śivadharmottara*."[35] This is precisely the point: the specific use of the term *śivayogin* aims to convey an identification with Śiva.[36] The discourse on *yoga* in the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* is situated vis-à-vis yogic practices from an external perspective, essentially concerned with including *yogin*s in the framework of Śaiva theology. In contrast, the *Dharmaputrikā*, a practical manual of *yoga*, never mentions *śivayogin*s, but only *yogin*s. The comparison between the *Dharmaputrikā* and the other texts of the Śivadharma corpus, in particular the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, emphasises the discrepancy between, on the one hand, practical teachings and, on the other, an all-inclusive (but not universal) sectarian discourse correlated to kingship, using *yoga* practices as an instrument for Śaiva propaganda. Within a broader scope, it seems that in place of ancient *yoga* techniques that were difficult to implement and constraining, early sectarian movements proposed a more direct and easy method of *yoga* to achieve liberation through Śiva or Viṣṇu. This turn is

[35] De Simini, 2016b: 59.

[36] The term *śivayogin* also occurs in the *Skandapurāṇa*, in the context of the *pāśupatayoga* exposition.

closely linked to the cult of images, which was Liṅga worship in the case of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara*.[37]

Some preliminary remarks on other parallels to the Dharmaputrikā

The textual parallels identified at this first stage of study and indicated in footnotes in the detailed summary (below) are from texts all of which predate the seventh century: the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, the *Bhagavadgītā*, and probably the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad*, as well as two early Purāṇas, that is, the *Vāyupurāṇa* and the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*. In addition to these, sections on *yoga* in the *Mahābhārata* (in particular the *Mokṣadharmaparvan*), the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (in particular the *Uttarasūtra* and the *Nayasūtra*), and the *Skandapurāṇa* (in particular chapters One hundred and eighty-one and One hundred and eighty-two) present some shared terminology or commonalities relating to the *yoga* process, but with different wording and without ever presenting a level of technicality and consistency similar to the *Dharmaputrikā*. The precise relationships of these texts with the *Dharmaputrikā* are difficult to disentangle, because the parallels do not exceed one or two verses and the texts concerned have multiple layers and intertextual links that have yet to be studied. For example, the parallel verses identified in chapter Ten of the *Dharmaputrikā* (see detailed summary, note 150) belong to a longer passage parallel to the *Vāyupurāṇa*, the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, and *Śivadharmottara* 10;[38] the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* borrows from the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, both texts containing an archery metaphor which is used in the *Dharmaputrikā* as a didactic tool to illustrate practice (see detail summary § 4.3.5, note 131);[39] furthermore, there might be indirect intertextual links between the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* and the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Nayasūtra*, since

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[37] See, for example, chapter Ninety-nine of the *Viṣṇudharmāḥ*, which distinguishes between two kinds of *yoga*: "The para form is directed towards the highest brahman, named Viṣṇu. Due to the subtleness of brahman and to the fickleness of the mind, brahman can only be grasped after constant efforts through many existences. The enormous difficulties of this form of yoga can be avoided by choosing the apara form, which is directed towards a visual image of Viṣṇu" (Grünendahl, 1989: 24–5).

[38] These three passages demonstrate a close relationship between *yoga* and medicine at an early date.

[39] Another significant example is that *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 6.18 borrows from *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* 3.3. *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* 3.3: *yadā paśyaḥ paśyate rukmavarṇaṃ kartāram īśaṃ puruṣaṃ brahmayonim | tadā vidvān puṇyapāpe vidhūya nirañjanaḥ paramaṃ sāmyam upaiti |* 3 |
Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad 6.18: *tathā tatprayogakalpaḥ - prāṇāyāmaḥ pratyāhāro dhyānaṃ dhāraṇā tarkaḥ samādhiḥ ṣaḍaṅgā ity ucyate yogaḥ | anena yadā paśyan paśyati rukmavarṇaṃ kartāram īśaṃ puruṣaṃ brahmayoniṃ tadā vidvān puṇyapāpe vihāya pare'vyaye sarvam ekīkaroti* |, "The technique is the six-membered yoga, viz. breath control, withdrawal of the senses, concentration, retention, consideration, complete fastening. When, seeing through yoga one sees the golden-colored doer, the sovereign puruṣa who springs from Brahman, then, being enlightened, relinquishing good and evil acts, one unifies everything in the supreme and imperishable" (text and translation by van Buitenen, 1962: 111–12 and 142).

the four metaphors that open chapter One of the *Nayasūtra* share some similarities with metaphors in the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad*.[40]

On first examination, it seems unlikely that the *Vāyupurāṇa* and the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* are direct sources from which the *Dharmaputrikā* would have drawn. Rather, these close parallels may attest to the existence of a diffused practice of *yoga* as a shared knowledge on soteriological bodily techniques around the fifth-sixth centuries.

Among the textual divisions of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, the *Uttarasūtra* (seventh century) and the *Nayasūtra* (seventh century) deal in part with *yoga*. A preliminary observation shows some similarities between the *yoga* expounded in these texts and the *Dharmaputrikā*. As in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Uttarasūtra* 5.37, the *Dharmaputrikā* mentions only two channels (*suṣumnā* and *iḍā*), and there is no mention of a central channel.[41] As is the case in the *Niśvāsastattvasaṃhitā*, there is no occurrence of the term *dvādaśānta* in the *Dharmaputrikā*.[42] Furthermore, the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā, Nayasūtra* 4.128–129 mentions the names of three subsidiary bodily winds, *nāga*, *dhanañjaya*, and *kūrma*, in a passage on the breaths which seems to relate to the same context of practice as in the *Dharmaputrikā*, the passage mentioning the five subsidiary bodily winds in action during the process of dying (see detailed summary, § 4.3.5). These similarities with the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* pertain exclusively to *yoga* techniques (in particular, the conquest of the bodily winds), and not to specific Śaiva categories. Based on the publication of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, the "earliest surviving Śaiva tantra," the idea has been proposed that the standardization of technical terminology, such as the three phases of *prāṇāyāma*, *recaka*, *pūraka*, and *kumbhaka* (absent from the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*), should be credited to the early Tantric texts.[43] Rather, technical terms like *recaka*, *pūraka*, etc. relating to physiological functions may connote a specialized language issuing from ascetic or medical circles. The language of classical medicine is based on such a terminology derived from action verbs designating bodily actions or processes

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[40] As example, *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Nayasūtra* 1.9 (*ayaspiṇḍo yathā dhmātaśchidyamānastu khaṇḍaśaḥ | na ca chinattyasau vahnis tadvajjīvo na cchidyate |*) is close to *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 3.3 (*atha yathāgnināyaḥpiṇḍo vābhibhūtaḥ kartṛbhir hanyamāno nānātvam upaity evaṃ vāva khalv asau bhūtātmāntaḥ puruṣeṇābhibhūto guṇair hanyamāno nānātvam upaiti |*), where the parallel use of the rare compound *ayaḥpiṇḍa* is to be noted. In the *Nayasūtra* the compared is *jīva*, in the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* the compared is *bhūtātman*. This would mark indirect textual links only, since *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 3.3 is a late passage introduced by the mention: *athānyatrāpy uktam |*

[41] In the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Uttarasūtra* 5.37, the mention of *suṣumnā* and *iḍā* is in the context of the homologisation of breathing movements with planetary movements. See Goodall, 2015: 33–34 and 397.

[42] See Goodall, 2015: 34.

[43] According to Goodall (2015: 490), the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Nayasūtra* 4.111 would be among the earliest attestations of *recaka*, *pūraka*, and *kumbhaka* used to describe the *prāṇāyāma*.

(for example *recana*), while Tantric texts, characterized by their invention of hierarchical ontologies, are not particularly acquainted with this lexical field. If we compare the technical (non-theistic) *yoga* elements of the *Dharmaputrikā* with the expositions on *yoga* transmitted by the Tantric tradition, Śaiva in particular, it should be noted that the latter show a remarkable lack of interest in the knowledge and techniques of the body, from either a functional, therapeutic, or prophylactic point of view. It is as if the Tantric textual traditions had retained only the basic structure of a *yoga* practice, leaving aside knowledge on the internal process not immediately serving their purpose, which would also explain the unsatisfactory and fragmented nature of Tantric *yoga* in general.

The *Skandapurāṇa* also contains chapters expounding an ancient *śaivayoga* called *pāśupatayoga* (chapters One hundred and seventy-four to One hundred and eighty-two, not critically edited to date), which would be worth examining in comparison with the teachings of the *Dharmaputrikā*. In these chapters, which nevertheless seem to consist of composite material, Brahman is mentioned several times, the role of *manas* is prominent, as well as the practice of OṂ. In particular, chapter One hundred and eighty-one describes an ascent which involves the five subsidiary bodily winds (each cited by name), and may constitute an ancient testimony of a technique similar to that described in the *Dharmaputrikā* under the name "ascent up to dissolution" (*pralayotkrānti*) (see detailed summary, § 4.3.5).

The teachings on *yoga* in *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 6.18–31 notably echo those of the *Dharmaputrikā*. Besides particular shared features such as the archery metaphor (*Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 6.24) or the mention of a "fourth" ultimate place or channel (*Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 6.19), the general definition of *yoga* in the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* agrees very closely with the *yoga* practice described in the *Dharmaputrikā*: the exclusive use of OṂ in the course of practice, the combined functioning of the bodily winds and *manas*, the withdrawal of the senses, which is its ultimate phase.[44] This section of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* also specifies the ancillaries of a *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* (*Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 6.18) which correspond, in a different order, to those of the *Dharmaputrikā* as well as the technical name *suṣumnā* (*Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 6.21). As stated by van Buitenen (1962: 13), the sixth and seventh *prapāṭhaka* of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* "appear to be full of inconsistencies and desultory portions, which have been described

[44] *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 6.25:

evaṃ prāṇam athoṃkāraṃ yasmāt sarvam anekadhā |
yunakti yuñjate vāpi tasmād yoga iti smṛtaḥ |
ekatvaṃ prāṇamanasor indriyāṇāṃ tathaiva ca |
sarvabhāvaparityāgo yoga ity abhidhīyate |

as appendices, accretions, and, in part at least, interpolations." Although it has not yet been definitely proven, it is not unlikely that the *Dharmaputrikā*, or a teaching representative of its *yoga*, is a source of the sixth *prapāṭhaka* of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad*.

A coherent practical text such as the *Dharmaputrikā*, which testifies to the antiquity of respiratory techniques, is likely to open new perspectives with regard to the early history of *yoga*. The most recent discussions on the date of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* consider that the late passages are of Tantric origin. This was asserted by Somadeva Vasudeva (2004) and restated by James Mallinson (2014).[45] But it is not patently apparent that the sixth *prapāṭhaka* of the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* is a Tantric text. Even if *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* is mentioned at an early date almost exclusively in Tantric texts, I would be cautious about systematically linking it to Tantric contexts, and thereby concluding that the mention of a *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* in the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* proves its debt to Tantricism. Indeed, the *Dharmaputrikā* does not characterize its *yoga* as a *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*: rather, the six ancillaries are simply and solely presented as the first of the eight groups of instrumental principles described in chapter One (an important detail concerning their function during the yogic process is also given in chapter Thirteen). Similarly, the *Vivaraṇa ad Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.29 relativises the classification into eight or six ancillaries (on the links between the *Dharmaputrikā* and the *Pātañjalayogaśāstravivaraṇa*, see below p. 27). In contrast, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* explicitly mentions a "*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*"[46] and the *Nayasūtra* is "aware of an existing *ṣaḍaṅgayoga,*"[47] both mentions referring to a *yoga* system external to the main subject and the purposive discourse of these texts. So, rather than attributing the source of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* directly to the Tantric tradition, I would rather suggest that it was the Tantric tradition that systematized the mention of *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* as a typology of *yoga*.

> "Since the yogin fastens the prāṇa and OṂ and all in many different ways, therefore this technique is called 'Fastening.' The union of prāṇa, manas and senses, and the relinquishment of all objects is called yoga." (Sanskrit text and translation: van Buitenen, 1962: 113 and 144).

I propose this provisional translation of *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 6.25:

> "Since [*manas*] joins with *prāṇa* and OṂ in this way, or even [the senses] join with the diversity of the phenomenal world, it is called 'conjunction.' The union of *manas* and *prāṇa*, as well as the renouncing of all objects of the senses, this is called 'conjunction.'"

[45] Vasudeva (2004: 376, note 18): "The *Maitrāyaṇīyopaniṣad* is often referred to as the most ancient witness to the existence of Ṣaḍaṅgayoga. There is however no compelling reason to believe that this section of the text predates either the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* or the earliest Śaiva sources consulted." Mallinson considers *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 6.18–31 "to be late 'Tantric' additions" (see Mallinson, 2014: 170).

[46] De Simini, 2016b: 51.

[47] Goodall, 2015: 74.

In the *Mahābhārata*, besides some parallels of minor importance,[48] some teachings in the *Mokṣadharmaparvan* seem close to those expounded in the *Dharmaputrikā*, but without strict textual parallels. It is as if the teachings described in the *Dharmaputrikā* were a later systematic formulation of *yoga* practices disseminated orally in various circles and present in a diffuse way in the *Mahābhārata*. Similarities may also be found in other sections of the *Mahābhārata* in the context of the narrative of the death of the *yogin*, which would pave the way to evaluating the presence of technical teachings of *yoga* in narratives.[49]

The important issue of the influence of Buddhism goes far beyond the scope of this essay. The point should, however, be made that there is no strictly Buddhist philosophical or theological elaboration in the *Dharmaputrikā*, but only the presence of a limited Buddhist terminology adapted to the *yoga* context, the most significant example being the use of "resolution" (*cittotpāda*) (see detailed summary 1.3), suggesting a proximity to the Mahāyāna Buddhism milieu. Also notable is the absence of social criteria for access to the *yoga* practice and its results (see chapter Sixteen).[50] Pending further research, it should also be considered that chapter Four, *dhyānamārga-prakaraṇam*, shows similarities in terms of practice with the teachings of the *Guhyasamājottaratantra* 143–154, as well as with the commentaries to these verses in the Kālacakra tradition.[51]

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[48] For example, *Dharmaputrikā* 5.3cd: *ṛṣayaḥ pitaro devā muhyante 'tra sukhepsavaḥ* | ≈ *Mahābhārata* 14.36.32cd: *ṛṣayo munayo devā muhyanty atra sukhepsavaḥ* |.

[49] This seminal question was raised by Peter Schreiner (1988: 14–15): "Entscheidend für die Beurteilung der episodischen Ausgestaltungen des Motivs vom 'Tod des Yogin' ist, ob die Verbindung von Yoga und Tod nur als erzählerisches Klischee einzustufen ist, oder ob ein systematischer, theoretischer Zusammenhang belegt werden kann und ob die religionsgeschichtliche Einordnung plausibel gemacht werden kann. Mit anderen Worten: Läßt sich das Motiv auch in anderen, z.B. lehrhaften Kontexten nachweisen und läßt es sich in Beziehung setzen zu einer denkbaren Abfolge von Vorstellungen und Lehren, die man aus anderen Texten und Perioden kennt? Auf zwei Aspekte wäre demnach zu achten, auf die ausdrückliche Erwähnung des Todes des Yogin, und auf terminologische Zusammenhänge mit Beschreibungen eines als Yoga bezeichneten oder zu Yoga führenden Weges."

[50] The class criterion was absent in certain branches of the pre-Śaṅkarian Vedānta, as shown in the section on the Vedānta in the *Madhyamakahṛdaya* of Bhavya (6th c.) and his autocommentary, *Tarkajvālā*. This was pointed out by Hajime Nakamura (1983: 214–15): "[...] on the question of practice, the Vedānta school which Bhavya reports had endeavoured to destroy the concept of class distinctions firmly maintained by the orthodox Brahmins. It was held that if one were to know the ātman, no matter who he might be, he could obtain the state of liberation."

[51] See Sferra, 2000: 130–36.

The Dharmaputrikā and the Pātañjalayogaśāstravivaraṇa

The *Pātañjalayogaśāstravivaraṇa* is a commentary of primary importance for the interpretation of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*.[52] It is therefore an important discovery that verses of the *Dharmaputrikā* are cited in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstravivaraṇa*. In the detailed summary (below), I indicate two significant parallels:

Firstly, the three methods of *yoga* (*trividho yogaḥ*) discussed in the *Dharmaputrikā* are also mentioned in the *Vivaraṇa ad Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 1.40 (see detailed summary, § 1.6 and note 98). This is all the more remarkable since, to my knowledge, such a description of this procedure is not found in any other *yoga* text.

Secondly, a quotation in the *Vivaraṇa ad Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.29, which has not so far been identified, can undoubtedly be attributed to the *Dharmaputrikā* (DhPS 16.2–3, see detailed summary, chapter Sixteen, note 161).

An exhaustive presentation of the links between the *Dharmaputrikā* and the *Vivaraṇa* largely exceeds the scope of this essay.[53] As a very first step, the preliminary elements presented here demonstrate that the author of the *Vivaraṇa* knew a *yoga* system similar to that expounded in the *Dharmaputrikā*.

How is the *Dharmaputrikā* referred to in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstravivaraṇa*? The name "*Dharmaputrikā*" is not mentioned, and the quotation in the *Vivaraṇa ad Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.29 is introduced by the general phrase: "Therefore it is said elsewhere" (*yad anyatrocyate*). However, a passage in the *Vivaraṇa ad Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 3.39 is very close to *Dharmaputrikā* 4.36–37 and could possibly give an indication as to how the *yoga* system of the *Dharmaputrikā* was referred to. *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 3.39 explains the physiological functions of the five breaths and defines *prāṇa* as the main breath (*eṣāṃ pradhānaḥ prāṇaḥ*). In its gloss, the *Vivaraṇa ad Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 3.39 (Śāstrī and Śāstrī, 1952: 294) reads:

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[52] As noted by Philipp A. Maas (2013: 75): "[...] the *Vivaraṇa* is an important source of knowledge for Yoga philosophy. [...] It explains difficult passages of the PYŚ on which Vācaspati's *Tattvavaiśāradī* remains silent and reflects important philosophical debates between Sāṅkhya-Yoga on the one hand, and Buddhist and orthodox Hindu schools of thought on the other. The role of the *Vivaraṇa* for the interpretation of the PYŚ may be compared to that of the *Yuktidīpikā* (Wezler - Motegi 1998) for understanding the philosophy of the Sāṅkhya Kārikās."

[53] A study would not consist solely in identifying parallels, but also in examining the structure of the practical teachings of the *Dharmaputrikā* as compared to the textual organization of this commentary to the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*.

> *eteṣāṃ pradhānaḥ prāṇaḥ | tajjayāc ca sarveṣām apānādīnāṃ tu jayo bhavati | teṣāṃ tu jayopāyo vistareṇa hairaṇyagarbhe vyākhyātaḥ | iha tu manojayānujitatvāt teṣāṃ jayopāyo na pṛthag abhihitaḥ |*
>
> *Prāṇa* is the principal of these [bodily winds]. From the conquest of [*prāṇa*] follows the conquest of all the other [winds] beginning with *apāna*. The means of conquering these [bodily winds] was explained in detail in [the treatise] of Hiraṇyagarbha. But here, since [*prāṇa*] is conquered as a result of conquering the mind, the means of conquering [each bodily wind] separately is not mentioned.

Here, the author of the *Vivaraṇa* clarifies that *prāṇa* is the principal bodily wind, and that victory over that wind induces victory over all the other winds, *apāna*, etc., which is exactly consistent with *Dharmaputrikā* 4.36–37. In the concluding verses of the passage on the conquest of the five bodily winds (*pañcajaya*) (see detailed summary, § 4.2), *Dharmaputrikā* 4.36–37 reads:

> *teṣāṃ madhye pradhānasya nirdoṣasya viśeṣataḥ |*
> *prāṇasyaiva jayābhyāsaṃ praśaṃsanti manīṣiṇaḥ |*
> *yadā tu prāṇam evaikaṃ yogī samyag vijeṣyati |*
> *tadā sarve jitā eva bhavanty ete 'pi vāyavaḥ |*
>
> The sages praise the practice of the conquest of the mere *prāṇa*, the principal and particularly defectless amongst these [bodily winds]. When the *yogin* has conquered even only *praṇa* thoroughly, all the bodily winds are conquered.

Further, the *Vivaraṇa ad Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 3.39 indicates that the means of conquering (*jayopāya*) the bodily winds were explained in detail in a supposed treatise coming from Hiraṇyagarbha. This raises the question of whether this designation refers to the teachings of the *Dharmaputrikā*, as there is no other surviving *yoga* text expounding such an elaborate description of the conquest of the five bodily winds.[54] The indication in the *Vivaraṇa* that the means of conquering each bodily wind separately is not mentioned, since *prāṇa* is conquered as a result of conquering the mind, coincides intimately with the concluding verse on the five conquests in the *Dharmaputrikā*, which states that the method of separately conquering the bodily winds applies in the context

[54] The *Nayasūtra* contains a few verses that deal with the conquest of the bodily winds in the exclusive context of exiting from the body (*Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Nayasūtra* 4.131–136), which are far from reaching the level of detail given in the *Dharmaputrikā*.

of the five actions (*pañcakarman*) (see detailed summary, § 4.2), in contrast to the conjunction related solely to mind described in chapter Sixteen, which corresponds to what is called "*manojaya*" in the *Vivaraṇa*. The fact that the original diffusion of the *Dharmaputrikā* is assigned to Sanaka is also in favour of this hypothesis, as Hiraṇyagarbha is another name for Brahmā, and Sanaka is one of his mind-born sons.[55]

Another important point arising from the fact that the *Dharmaputrikā* is cited by the *Vivaraṇa* is that it is likely to contribute to the discussion on the authorship of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstravivaraṇa*. The latter is attributed to Śaṅkara, but there are still ongoing debates to determine whether he is the celebrated eighth-century philosopher, author of the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, or a later author. An article in preparation explores the thesis that Śaṅkara, the author of the *Vivaraṇa*, is the same as the one who composed the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* and the commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*, based on the textual parallels with the *Dharmaputrikā* in all three of these commentaries.[56]

Finally, the very presence of teachings of the *Dharmaputrikā* in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra-vivaraṇa*, while still to be fully evaluated, also raises the question of the nature of the link between the *Dharmaputrikā* and the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* itself. While the *Dharmaputrikā* teaches how to practice, and its economy is typical of a practical manual, the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* is considered to be "the foundational work of Yoga philosophy."[57] However, both are organic texts presenting a comprehensive *yoga* system and are in agreement as regards the structural aspects of the practice, such as the repetition of the syllable OṂ or the dissociation between repeated practice (*abhyāsa*) and detachment (*vairāgya*), which correspond to two phases of the *yoga* method in the *Dharmaputrikā*.[58]

An important contribution of the *Dharmaputrikā* to the knowledge of ancient *yoga* practice is the insight it provides into the temporal phases and places of internal processes in the body, formulated in a more obscure and laconic way in other texts, and in particular the detailed explanation of a system of respiratory practices for soteriological purposes, of which we have otherwise only incomplete accounts. If links between the practical teachings of the *Dharmaputrikā* and the philosophical Yoga

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[55] In this hypothesis, *hairaṇyagarbha* should be interpreted as "son of Hiraṇyagarbha" and would refer directly to Sanaka. An article in progress explores this hypothesis. It re-examines the references, in different sources, to *hiraṇyagarbha* and *hairaṇyagarbha* in relation to a particular *yoga* school, as compared to the *yoga* of the *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā*. Some of these sources are mentioned by Kane (1930–72, vol. 2: 1390–91).

[56] See Barois (forthcoming): "Śaṅkara the Yogin and the *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā*."

[57] Maas, 2013: 57.

[58] Maas (2014: 69, note 13): "Laut *Pātañjala-Yogaśāstra* 1.12,2 sind die beiden Mittel zum Erreichen des Heilsziels des Yoga die Begierdelosigkeit (*vairāgya*) und Übung (*abhyāsa*)."

according to Patañjali were to be confirmed, this would make the teachings of the *Dharmaputrikā* a fulcrum for the understanding of the philosophical exposition of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*. So far, relevant publications dealing with the reconstruction of the *yoga* practice according to the *Pātañjalaśāstra* (that is, examination of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* in terms of temporality, order, and hierarchy of practice, by relying on internal references, that goes beyond the textual organization into four books), are very few; of these *Strukturen yogischer Meditation* by Oberhammer (1977) and *Der Yogi und sein Heilsweg im Yoga des Patanjali* by Maas (2014) are well worth consulting.

To summarize, the *Dharmaputrikā* is a practical *yoga* teaching addressed to *yogin*s in a language that is clear, concise, and concrete. It has a different purpose than the other texts of the Śivadharma corpus, which are oriented towards the wide dissemination of the "religion of Śiva" in line with the social conceptions of Brahmanism. My hypothesis is that the *Dharmaputrikā* bears the testimony of an ancient *yoga* as a psycho-physiological method freed from doctrinal backgrounds, whether Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava. Combining breathing techniques and disciplines of renouncing desires within a Sāṃkhya metaphysical framework as can be found in the *Mahābhārata*, this method of great difficulty is necessarily the result of practices perfected by generations of *yogin*s over a long period of time. This teaching would have been systematised and then transmitted by "the son of Dharmaśīla," probably to a community of *yogin*s close to the Śaiva milieu which produced the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara*. It is not unlikely that the *śivayogin*s held in so high esteem in these two texts were precisely practising *yoga* as taught in the *Dharmaputrikā*. This *yoga* teaching was also known to the author of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstravivaraṇa*. It may be particularly fruitful to further investigate the possibility that this *yoga* is a testimony of the so-called Hairaṇyagarbhayoga.

Reception of the Dharmaputrikā in the Haṭhayoga tradition

The *Dharmaputrikā* precedes by some time the flourishing of Haṭhayoga literature, and a reuse of its teachings in the numerous Haṭhayoga texts which are characterized by intense intertextuality might have been expected. But this is not the case. Just as the *Dharmaputrikā* does not seem to have been taken into account or even known as a text by later Śaiva schools, the Haṭhayoga literature of the first part of the second millennium seems unaware of its existence.

According to the current state of knowledge, the *Dharmaputrikā* was not mentioned by name before the beginning of the sixteenth century. The earliest citation occurs in a text named the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, which was composed by a certain Godāvaramiśra, royal

preceptor (*rājaguru*) to Pratāparudradeva (1497–1539).[59] In his *Yogacintāmaṇi*, Godāvaramiśra quotes verses from chapter Three of the *Dharmaputrikā*, which is devoted to postures, and he clearly attributes these verses to the *Dharmaputrikā*. He cites the description of the postures named *mṛgasvastika*,[60] *ardhacandra*, *añjalika*, *daṇḍa*, and *pīṭha*. These same verses, in the same order, are also quoted in the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Śivānandasarasvatī, a text that can be dated between the early sixteenth century to early seventeenth century and is modelled on the work of Godāvaramiśra. Śivānandasarasvatī also attributes this passage to the *Dharmaputrikā* (*viśeṣalakṣaṇaṃ tu dharmaputrikāyām*).[61] In the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Śivānandasarasvatī, verses quoted from the *Dharmaputrikā* are grouped together, which is not the case in the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvaramiśra. Neither Godāvaramiśra nor Śivānandasarasvatī quote the verses according to the order given in chapter Three of the *Dharmaputrikā*. They both chose specific postures (*viśeṣa*), omitting the *padma*, *sthala*, and *sarvatobhadra* postures. Finally, this same list of postures is also cited in another text dated to the seventeenth century, the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* of Nārāyaṇatīrtha.[62] Again, the verses cited do not follow the order given in chapter Three of the *Dharmaputrikā*. Nārāyaṇatīrtha cites the postures *daṇḍa*, *mṛgasvastika*, *ardhacandra*, *añjalika*, and *pīṭha*. In the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, the presentation of the postures borrowed from the *Dharmaputrikā* seems less systematic than in the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Śivānandasarasvatī. The descriptions of the postures are not grouped, as the posture called *daṇḍa* is separated from the others, and Nārāyaṇatīrtha does not mention the source of these postures, which seems to argue in favour of a borrowing by the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* from one of the two existing *Yogacintāmaṇi*, rather than directly from the *Dharmaputrikā*.

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[59] It is thanks to Jason Birch (personal communication) that I became aware of the mention of the *Dharmaputrikā* in the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvaramiśva and of the close links of this text with the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Śivānandasarasvatī. For more information on the textual history and the dating of these two texts, see Birch and Singleton: *The Wish-Fulfilling Gem of Yoga. The Āsana of the Yogacintāmaṇi*. (Forthcoming 2021). The date of Pratāparudradeva is according to Gode (1953: 475).

[60] This posture is simply called *svastika* in the *Dharmaputrikā*. In the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvaramiśra, the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Śivānandasarasvatī (1927: 153), and the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* of Nārāyaṇatīrtha (2000: 111), this posture is called *mṛgasvastika*, the hands being in the *mṛgaśīrṣa* position, to differentiate it from the posture simply named *svastika* described in other texts. This differentiation does not exist in the *Dharmaputrikā*.

[61] See *Yogacintāmaṇi* (1927: 153). According to the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrta and Prakrta Manuscripts in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1928: 1081–83), Śivānandasarasvatī is a pupil of Rāmacandra Sadānandasarasvatī who lived in the early seventeenth century. For a presentation of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* and its author, see Birch, 2013: 403 and 421, note 7, as well as Birch, 2018: 110 ff.

[62] See *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* (2000: 109–11). I warmly thank Jason Birch for pointing out to me this list of postures in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. On these two texts, the *Yogacintāmaṇi* and the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, and on the proliferation of *āsana*s in the second part of the second millennium, see Birch, 2018. On the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* in particular, see Ko Endo, 1993.

The most striking encounter of the *Dharmaputrikā* with the history of the Haṭhayoga literature is that its chapter Ten, "Medical treatment" (*cikitsā*), was added to the four regular lessons (*upadeśa*) of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* in some late manuscripts of this text. This fifth chapter named *auṣadhakathanam* or *auṣadhaprayogaḥ* according to the colophons was adopted in the edition of Swami Digambaraji and Raghunathashastri Kokaje (1970, 1998) on the basis of two manuscripts, one of which is dated 1706.[63] It appears that the adjunction of a fifth lesson to the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* coincides with a resurgence of manuscripts of the *Dharmaputrikā* alone, independent of the Śivadharma corpus.[64] Among these manuscripts, those whose date is given (after the Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloging Project) postdate the estimated date of the *Yogacintāmaṇi* by Godāvaramiśra. Pending further research, it may be assumed that the rediscovery of the *Dharmaputrikā* by Godāvaramiśra in the early sixteenth century and the late addition to the *Haṭhapradīpikā* of an entire chapter of the *Dharmaputrikā* are closely linked to this resurgence of manuscripts. This false and late attribution to the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, probably a direct consequence of the rediscovery of the *Dharmaputrikā* in the sixteenth century, will need to be further examined in the framework of the critical edition of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* and the history of its reception.

Another fact that may contribute to the history of *Haṭhapradīpikā* is the presence of a verse parallel to the *Dharmaputrikā* and the *Śivadharmottara* in the first lesson of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. *Haṭhapradīpikā* 1.16 reads:

> *utsāhāt sāhasād dhairyāt tattvajñānāc ca niścayāt |*
> *janasaṅgaparityāgāt ṣaḍbhir yogaḥ prasidhyati |*

As mentioned above, *Dharmaputrikā* 1.37cd–38ab gives a list of six disciplines (*utsāho niścayo dhairyaṃ santoṣas tattvadarśanam | kratūnāṃ copasaṃhāraḥ ṣaṭsādhanam iti smṛtam |*), which are then defined one by one, that is to say, this verse is contextualized, which is not the case for the parallel verse of *Śivadharmottara* 10 (W 122[r]) (*utsāhān*

[63] *Haṭhapradīpikā*, Digambaraji and Kokaje edition (1998: xxiv). The two manuscripts in question are: No. 2402 of the Pune University Library (undated) and a manuscript preserved in the Sārvajanik Vācanālaya, Nāsik (dated *śaka* 1628).

[64] Manuscripts of the *Dharmaputrikā* dated from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Kathmandu, National Archives, MS 65922 (NAK access number 9/537; NGMPP C107/7) dated to NS 803 (*circa* 1683 CE); Kathmandu, National Archives, MS 19068 (NGMPP E622/3) dated to NS 807 (*circa* 1687 CE); Kathmandu, National Archives, MS 19069 (NGMPP E723/17) dated to NS 815 (*circa* 1695 CE); Kathmandu, National Archives, MS 19074 (NAK access number 5/5364; NGMPP A299/9) dated to NS 845 (*circa* 1725 CE); Kathmandu, National Archives, MS 93317 (NGMPP E2069/2) dated to NS 863 (*circa* 1743 CE). These are the manuscripts dated after the Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project, but several other manuscripts of the Kathmandu, National Archives, undated so far, were probably also copied in about the same period.

niścayād dhairyāt santoṣāt tattvadarśanāt | muner janapadatyāgād ṣaḍbhir yogaḥ prasiddhyati |). *Haṭhapradīpikā* 1.16 being very similar to *Śivadharmottara* 10 (W 122r), it is almost certain that it borrows directly or indirectly from the *Śivadharmottara*, widely disseminated in South India, rather than from the *Dharmaputrikā*, these elements standing as hypotheses given that the history of the diffusion of the *Śivadharmottara* in South India is complicated. *Haṭhapradīpikā* 1.16 appears to be more contextualized, as it follows on from a list of six negative behaviours (*atyāhāraḥ prayāsaś ca prajalpo niyamāgrahaḥ | janasaṅgaś ca laulyaṃ ca ṣaḍbhir yogo vinaśyati |*). In the absence of a critical edition, it is difficult to say more about this particular verse, except that it opens the way to further research on the links between the *Haṭhapradīpikā* and the Śivadharma corpus.

2. Detailed Summary of the *Dharmaputrikā*

The detailed summary presented here is the result of research preliminary to the ongoing critical edition, and the textual parallels indicated do not claim to be exhaustive.

Chapter One: "Section on the instrumental principles," sādhanaprakaraṇam (74 ślokas)

Following two propitiatory stanzas,[65] chapter One introduces the *Dharmaputrikā* by stating that the success (*siddhi*) of the conjunction (*yoga*) depends on the understanding of sixteen means of accomplishment (*sādhanopāya*),[66] which are then enumerated

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[65] *vande devaṃ purāṇaṃ śivam amaraguruṃ bhūtalasthena mūrdhnā nityaṃ śāntaṃ susūkṣmaṃ tribhuvananamitaṃ sarvasattvaikanātham | niḥsaṅgaṃ nirvikāraṃ prajananamaraṇakleśadoṣair vimuktaṃ yogābhyāsaikavedyaṃ triguṇavirahitaṃ naprasajyasvarūpam | nirvyāpāraṃ susūkṣmaṃ kṣitijaladahanākāśavātair vimuktaṃ pratyakṣādipramāṇaiḥ kṛtibhir aviditaṃ hetudṛṣṭāntaśūnyam | rūpādīnām abhāvād avayavavikalād indriyair aprameyaṃ pratyātmajñānagamyaṃ paṭubhir api girā niṣprapañcasvabhāvam |* The metre is *sragdharā*. This long Sanskrit syllabic metre was in use from the fourth century CE and was a particular favourite metre of Buddhists (Mitra 1989: 217 and 231). The only Śaiva label would be the word *śiva*, which can, however, merely be an adjective qualifying *deva*. It is thus doubtful that these two propitiatory stanzas were dedicated to Śiva. The OṂ NAMAḤ ŚIVĀYA that precedes these stanzas in all manuscripts was probably added at the time of the formation of the Nepalese corpus. The phraseology and terms such as *pratyātmajñāna* and *niṣprapañcasvabhāva* point to early Mahāyāna Buddhism. This description could equally apply to the neutral Brahman.

[66] The *Dharmaputrikā* has three different acceptations of *sādhana*: 1) *sādhanopāya*, "means of accomplishment" refers to all the sixteen means leading to the accomplishment of *yoga*, as is clearly stated at the beginning: "Now, we will explain the specific denomination and the definition of the sixteen means of accomplishment" (*atha sādhanopāyānāṃ ṣoḍaśānāṃ nāmanirdeśalakṣaṇaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ |* DhPS 1.10ab), as well as at the end of the text: "Thus have been taught the sixteen means which lead to the accomplishment of the conjunction" (*ity ete ṣoḍaśa proktā upāyā yogasādhanāḥ |* DhPS 16.24ab). 2) The second acceptation of *sādhana* serves to specifically name the

(1.4–10). As aforementioned, these sixteen means of accomplishment correspond exactly to the sixteen chapters of the *Dharmaputrikā*, serving thus as a table of contents.

Then, the "Section on instrumental principles" (*sādhanaprakaraṇam*) proper begins, by listing the eight instrumental principles: 1) six ancillaries (*ṣaḍaṅga*); 2) six means (*ṣaḍupāya*); 3) six disciplines (*ṣaṭsādhana*); 4) four rules (*caturyama*); 5) two kinds of conjunction (*dvirūpo yogaḥ*); 6) three methods of conjunction (*trividho yogaḥ*); 7) ten impediments (*daśopasarga*); 8) eight qualities related to lordship (*aṣṭaiśvaryaguṇa*).[67] These eight instrumental principles are then described in detail.

1.1. The six ancillaries (*ṣaḍaṅga*) (1.13–29ab). These are: withdrawal (*pratyāhāra*), meditation (*dhyāna*), breath elongation (*prāṇāyāma*), fixation (*dhāraṇā*), discrimination (*tarka*), and *samādhi*.[68]

1.1.1. Withdrawal (*pratyāhāra*) is the retraction of the sense organs/faculties (*indriya*) from their objects by means of the mind (*citta*). The sense organs/faculties—the ears (*karṇa*), tongue (*jihvā*), skin (*tvagindriya*), nose (*ghrāṇa*), mind (*manas*), and eyes (*nayana*)—respectively withdraw from the sound (*śabda*), taste (*rasa*), the tangible (*spraṣṭavya*), smell (*gandha*), ideation (*dharma*),[69] and the visible (*draṣṭavya*). The *yogin* must then "form a ball" and join this "ball" to the place (*vastu*) to be meditated on.[70]

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first chapter, *sādhanaprakaraṇam*, "Section on the instrumental principles," which has eight subdivisions. According to *Dharmaputrikā* 2.1, these eight *sādhana*s aim at purifying the mind and the body before practising conjunction (*aṣṭabhiḥ sādhanair ebhiś cittaṃ kāyaṃ ca yatnataḥ | śodhayitvā tato yogī yogābhyāsaṃ samācaret* |). 3) In this first section, named *sādhanaprakaraṇam*, a third differentiated acceptation of *sādhana* occurs as a subdivision named *ṣaṭsādhana* (DhPS 1.37cd–46ab, see below), rendered here as the "six disciplines."

[67] The translation of *aṣṭaiśvaryaguṇa* as the "eight qualities related to lordship" is based on indications found in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Śivadharmottara*, and early Purāṇic literature, that the eight yogic powers were conceived as qualities achieved by reaching eight levels governed by eight lords (*īśvara*). In other places, the text has also *guṇaiśvarya*, used in the singular, simply rendered as "mastery of qualities." See Barois (forthcoming), "On a list of sixty-four *guṇa*s in Purāṇic literature."

[68] These six ancillaries are in the same order as in many *Śaivasiddhānta* texts and the Buddhist *Guhyasamājatantra*, though the latter has *anusmṛti* in place of *tarka* (see Vasudeva, 2004: 378–79).

[69] This is a Buddhist conception of *manas* as being encompassed in *citta* and having *dharma* (in the singular), "mental conception, idea," as its object.

[70] To form a ball (*vartulīkṛ-*) means to aggregate internal bodily elements. The same image is also described in the context of the "operative channel" (*kāryanāḍī*) (see below § 4.3.2), where it is clearly about gathering all the bodily winds into the heart. This image—"to form a ball"—is also found with a different wording in the *Guhyasamājottara* 147 (*piṇḍarūpa*) and 154 (*piṇḍayoga*) (see Sferra, 2000).

1.1.2. Meditation (*dhyāna*) is briefly defined as having four components:[71] 1) Śiva is the one to be meditated upon (*dheya*); 2) the mind (*manas*) is the meditator (*dhyātṛ*); 3) meditation (*dhyāna*) is the thought focused on a single object (*ekāgracittatā*); 4) the purpose (*prayojana*) is cessation of suffering (*duḥkhahāni*), mastery of the qualities (*guṇaiśvarya*), and freedom (*svātantrya*).[72]

1.1.3. Breath elongation (*prāṇāyāma*) has four phases: inhalation (*pūraka*), retention (*kumbhaka*), exhalation (*recaka*), and a "quiescent" breath (*praśānta*). Definitions of the first three phases correspond to what is commonly found in *yoga* texts, with the additional indication that inhalation is carried out down to the base of the big toe. The phase named *praśānta* is defined as the moment when the body is empty of breath.[73]

1.1.4. Fixation (*dhāraṇā*) is defined as the penultimate phase of a series of temporal units of breath described as follows: a *choṭi* corresponds to the time needed to circle the knee (with the hand) three times; twelve *choṭi*s make a *mātrā*; a breath (*prāṇa*)[74] lasting twelve *mātrā*s is called a breath elongation (*prāṇāyāma*); twelve breath elongations make a fixation (*dhāraṇā*); twelve fixations make a mental concentration (*yojanā*);[75] twelve mental concentrations allow the conjunction (*yoga*) to be effected forthwith.[76] The text concludes: these are the temporal measures of fixation (*dhāranāvelāparimāṇa*).

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[71] On a textual parallel in the *Śivadharmottara*, see Introduction, p. 17 ff.

[72] Nowhere in the *Dharmaputrikā* is the notion of *svātantrya* explained or even mentioned again. I suggest there is a correspondence of this triple goal with the three fruits (*phalatraya*) described at the end of the Section on the path of meditation, *dhyānamārgaprakaraṇam* (see § 4.4).

[73] On *supraśānta*/*praśānta* in early Śaiva and Buddhist Tantric works, see the overview by Goodall (2015: 491–493). A fourth phase is also mentioned in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.51 without it being given a technical name. In the *Dharmaputrikā*, the short definition of the fourth phase as located in an "empty body" (DhPS 1.22: *tucchadehe kṣaṇaṃ sthānaṃ praśāntaḥ so 'bhidhīyate* |) and the occurrence of *tucchadeha* and *praśānta* in the context of the conquest of *vyāna* (DhPS 4.33: *tucchadehe praśāntena ruddhvā vāyor gatāgatim* | *na pūrayen na recayed evaṃ vyāno vijīyate* |) suggest that *praśānta* refers to a time when there is no breathing. If this interpretation is correct, it would echo the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.51, where the fourth is defined as the absence of movement (*gatyabhāva*) of the two bodily winds *prāṇa* and *apāna*, which the *Vivaraṇa ad Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.51 confirms.

[74] Presumably, a breath cycle comprises all four phases as defined above § 1.1.3.

[75] *yojana*/*yojanā* is a doublet of *yoga*, meaning "conjunction" as well as "mental concentration." In the *Dharmaputrikā*, the neuter form *yojana* is also found in the compound *dhāraṇāvaṃśayojana*, the "joining of the succession of the fixation points," which is the third action (*karman*) expounded in chapter Four (see below § 4.3.3). A close acceptation of *yojana* is found in *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 1.10: *kṣaraṃ pradhānam amṛtākṣaraṃ haraḥ kṣarātmānāv īśate deva ekaḥ* | *tasyābhidhyānād yojanāt tattvabhāvād bhūyaś cānte viśvamāyānivṛttiḥ* |. See also the use of *dhāraṇāyojana* in the late *Amṛtanāda Upaniṣad* (also named *Amṛtabindu Upaniṣad*), verse 23: *tālamātrā-viniṣkampo dhāraṇāyojanaṃ tathā* | *dvādaśamātro yogas tu kālato niyamaḥ smṛtaḥ* |.

[76] *Dharmaputrikā* 1.24–25:

mātrādvādaśabhiḥ prāṇaḥ prāṇāyāma iti smṛtaḥ |

1.1.5. Discrimination (*tarka*) is defined as "reflection upon the investigation of the meaning established by the canonical treatises in various ways, upon the mutual disagreement amongst traditional teachings, and the question as to what is admissible or inadmissible, this reflection being effectuated by means of one's own thought conforming to logical argument (*nyāyayukti*), in order to decide: 'this must be considered, this must not.'"[77]

1.1.6. *Samādhi* is defined as a state of equal consideration (*tulyatva*) for allies, neutrals, and enemies (*mitrodāsīnaśatru*),[78] and for wood, clay, or gold, as well as fondness (*sneha*) for all beings.[79]

1.2. The six means (*ṣaḍupāya*) (1.29cd–37ab). These are: knowledge (*jñāna*), silence (*mauna*), chastity (*brahmacarya*),[80] being badly clad (*durvāsa*), restraint of the sense organs (*indriyanigraha*), and seclusion (*aprādurbhāvana*). 1) By way of definition of knowledge, the text states that the Veda, secondary [vedic] knowledge (*upaveda*), and ancillary [Vedic] disciplines (*vedāṅga*) are worldly (*laukika*) knowledge, while the method based on the established doctrine of the principles (*tattvasiddhāntayoga*) is supramundane knowledge (*lokottara*);[81] 2) silence is explained by the fact that speaking implies saying false (*mithyā*) as well as slanderous, pointless, and crude words (*piśunasambhinna-pāruṣyavacana*); 3) chastity is explained by the fact that sexual

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prāṇāyāmair dvādaśabhir dhāraṇeti prakīrtitā |
dhāraṇābhir dvādaśabhir yojanā samudīritā |
yojanābhir dvādaśabhir yogasaṃjñā kṛtā purā |

Rather than a definition of *dhāraṇā*, this is a conception of *dhāraṇā* in terms of duration, in continuity with that of *prāṇāyāma*, "breath elongation." The *Śivadharmottara* 10.152 (W 124r, l. 2–3) has a similar temporal definition of *dhāraṇā* (*dhāraṇā dvādaśāyāmā dhyānaṃ dvādaśadhāraṇam* | *dhyānaṃ dvādaśakaṃ yāvan samādhir abhidhīyate* |) as does the *Vāyupurāṇa* 11.21cd–22ab (*tathā dvādaśamātras tu prāṇāyāmo vidhīyate* | *dhāraṇā dvādaśāyāmo yogo vai dhāraṇādvayam* |) and the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 39.35cd–36ab (*prāṇāyāmā daśa dvau ca dhāraṇā sābhidhīyate* | *dve dhāraṇe smṛte yoge yogibhis tattvadṛṣṭibhiḥ* |).

[77] *Dharmaputrikā* 1.26cd–28ab: *nānāprakārasiddhāntaniṣpannārthanirūpaṇe* | *āgamānyonyaviśliṣṭe heyopādeyasaṃśaye* | *ūhayitvā svacittena nyāyayuktyanusāriṇā* | *idaṃ grāhyam idaṃ neti chettuṃ tarko vidhīyate* |

[78] *mitrodāsīnaśatru* is a formulaic expression (see for example *Mahābhārata* 2.5.14*0063_01 or *Mānavadharmaśāstra* 7.177 and 7.180).

[79] This definition of *samādhi* finds echoes in *Bhagavadgītā* 6.8–9, 12.18, 14.24–25, and *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Nayasūtra* 4.56–57b (see Goodall, 2015: 477). In chapter Sixteen of the *Dharmaputrikā*, *samādhi* is one of the four means of success (*siddhyupāya*) alongside renunciation of desires (*saṅgatyāga*), steadiness of mind (*manaḥsthairya*), and determination of the real (*tattvanirṇaya*).

[80] In the *Dharmaputrikā*, *brahmacarya* refers strictly to abstinence from sexual activity. In *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.30, *brahmacarya* is one of the five rules (*yama*).

[81] On Vedic knowledge considered as an inferior knowledge, see *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* I.2 and 1.4. On the *tattvas*, see § 1.3 below.

relations with prohibited women (*agamyanārī*) and adultery obstruct the success of *yoga* or annihilate the level of success already attained; 4) being badly clad (*durvāsa*) is explained by the fact that beautiful clothes lead to desire (*rāga*), therefore an ochre (*kāṣāya*) or despicable (*kutsita*) garment should be preferred;[82] 5) by way of definition of the restraint of the sense organs, it is stated that the sense organs located in the body are perpetually oppressive enemies (*śatru*), which is why they should be defeated before performing the conjunction (*yoga*); 6) seclusion (*aprādurbhāvana*) is the fact that the implementation of the conjunction (*yogakriyā*) must not be effectuated in public.[83]

1.3. The six disciplines (*ṣaṭsādhana*) (1.37cd–46ab). These are perseverance (*utsāha*), resolution (*niścaya*), constancy (*dhairya*), satisfaction (*saṃtoṣa*), perception of principles (*tattvadarśana*), and cessation (*upasaṃhāra*) of sacrificial rites (*kratu*), described as follows:[84] 1) perseverance is faith in the repeated practice of conjunction (*yogābhyāsa*); 2) resolution consists in producing the thought (*cittotpāda*): "I will practise without fail;"[85] 3) constancy is an even mental disposition (*manovṛttitulyatā*) with respect to success or failure;[86] 4) satisfaction is gladness (*prīti*) whatever food and clothing is received;[87] then, 5) perception of principles[88] gives rise to a detailed description which mentions a group of three principles, *ātmatattva*, *vidyātattva*, and *śivatattva*, presented as

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[82] A similar use of *durvāsa*/*durvāsas* is found in *Mahābhārata* 12.292.8: *ekavāsāś ca durvāsāḥ śāyī nityam adhas tathā | maṇḍūkaśāyī ca tathā vīrāsanagatas tathā |*. *Kāṣāya* commonly designates the yellow or ochre colour of the monastic robes of the Buddhists (see Wijayaratna 1990: 32 ff.). *Naṭyaśāstra* 21.132ab describes the garment of the wandering ascetics, sages, and Buddhists as being ochre (*kāṣāya*) (*parivraṇmuniśākyānāṃ vāsaḥ kāṣāyam iṣyate |*). In Kauṇḍinya's *Bhāṣya ad Pāśupatasūtra* 1.6, a brown-red garment is a distinctive mark of the religious mendicant (*tathā bhikṣos tridaṇḍamuṇḍakamaṇḍalukāṣāyavāsojalapavitrasthalapavitrādi liṅgam |*).

[83] I suggest that the term *yogakriyā* refers specifically to the actions (*karman*) to be implemented for the final phase of *yoga*, which involves death.

[84] On a textual parallel to this list in the *Śivadharmottara* and the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, see Introduction, pp. 20 and 32.

[85] *cittotpāda* is a common technical Buddhist term meaning "production of intention, resolution." On the use of *cittotpāda* in early Mahāyāna Buddhism, see Sparham, 1987 and 1992.

[86] Compare *Dharmaputrikā* 1.39cd:

siddhyasiddhyor manovṛttitulyatā dhairyam ucyate |

with *Bhagavadgītā* 2.48:

yogasthaḥ kuru karmāṇi saṅgaṃ tyaktvā dhanaṃjaya |
siddhyasiddhyoḥ samo bhūtvā samatvaṃ yoga ucyate |

[87] In *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.32, *saṃtoṣa* is one of the five observances (*niyama*).

[88] On the discussion about the mention of *tattvadarśana* in the *Vivaraṇa* with regard to the question of the authorship of Śaṅkara, see Leggett (1992: 25) and Harimoto (2014: 234).

three aspects of knowledge,[89] then a list of twenty-five principles (*tattva*): the five elements (*bhūta*), the principle of individuation (*ahaṃkāra*), the subtle [principle] (*sūkṣma*), the Ātman, the great [principle] (*mahān*), the group of eleven sense organs (*indriya*), and the five subtle elements (*tanmātra*);[90] 6) cessation of sacrificial rites is explained by the fact that the rites (*dharma*) performed by Vedic sacrificers (*yājñika*) bring pleasure (*bhoga*), power (*aiśvarya*), and wealth (*dhana*), and that they do not liberate from the cycle of rebirths since they are devoted solely to paradise (*svarga*).[91]

1.4. The four rules (*caturyama*) (1.46cd–53). Four rules for the daily routine are then mentioned:[92] 1) the rule related to time (*velā*): the only reasons for interrupting the practice of *yoga* are excretion of urine and feces (*mūtraviṣṭhāsamutsarga*) and intake of food (*bhojana*);[93] 2) the rule related to sleep (*nidrā*): a *yogin* sleeps during the two median

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[89] The importance of these three principles as prerequisite knowledge is emphasized at the beginning of the text (DhPS 1.8). One might speculate that, since the *Dharmaputrikā* refers to a system with twenty-eight *tattva*s (see below § 4.1), the three *tattva*s could refer to those located beyond *puruṣa*, and therefore correspond to the last three entities among the five that constitute the *bindu*, namely Prabhu (which would be synonymous here with Ātman), Vidyā, and Śiva. This usage of *prabhu* meaning *ātman* occurs in *Bhagavadgītā* 5.14: *na kartṛtvaṃ na karmāṇi lokasya sṛjati prabhuḥ | na karmaphalasaṃyogaṃ svabhāvas tu pravartate |*, commented upon by Śaṅkara as follows: *na kartṛtvaṃ svataḥ kurv iti nāpi karmāṇi rathaghaṭaprāsādādīnīpsitatamāni lokasya sṛjaty utpādayati prabhur ātmā |*.

[90] This list of twenty-five principles presents some variations compared to that of classical Sāṃkhya (*Sāṃkhyakārikā*). It is close to certain Sāṃkhya configurations found in the *Mokṣadharmaparvan*. A very similar list is also found in the *Skandapurāṇa* 181.1.

[91] Compare *Dharmaputrikā* 1.44cd–46ab:

yājñikair vihitā dharmā bhogaiśvaryadhanāvahāḥ |
svargamātraparā dharmā na tu saṃsāramocakāḥ |
bhogaiśvaryaprasaktānāṃ yogasiddhir na jāyate |
tadā hi tasmād yajñānām upasaṃhāra iṣyate |

with *Bhagavadgītā* 2.43–44 (= MBh 6.24.43–44):

kāmātmānaḥ svargaparā janmakarmaphalapradām |
kriyāviśeṣabahulāṃ bhogaiśvaryagatiṃ prati |
bhogaiśvaryaprasaktānāṃ tayāpahṛtacetasām |
vyavasāyātmikā buddhiḥ samādhau na vidhīyate |

The first chapter of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* opens with a critique of the efficacy of the Vedic sacrifices, but with a view to propagating the "*śivadharma*": *agniṣṭomādayo yajñā bahuvittakṛyānvitāḥ | nātyanta phalabhūyiṣṭhā vahvāyāsasamanvitāḥ | na sakyante yataḥ kartum alpavitair dvijātibhiḥ | sukhopāyam atno brūhi sarvakāmārthasādhakam | hitāya sarvasatvānāṃ śivadharmaṃ sanātanam |* (*Śivadharmaśāstra* 1 [W 1^{v}]).

[92] Both the terms *yama* and *niyama* are used in this passage. These rules show a concern for the body and its natural needs. In this, they differ from the ethical rules (*yama*) and observances (*niyama*) in the *Pātañjalayoga-śāstra* 2.30 and 2.32.

[93] Similar prescriptions are found in the *Mahābhārata*, *Mokṣadharmaparvan* 294.9: *mūtrotsarge purīṣe ca bhojane ca narādhipa | trikālaṃ nābhiyuñjīta śeṣaṃ yuñjīta tatparaḥ |*.

periods (*yāma*), but not during the first and the fourth periods;[94] 3) the rule for food (*āhāra*): one must half fill his stomach (*udara*) with food, a quarter with water, the last quarter remaining empty;[95] 4) the rule for places (*sthāna*): this passage mentions the places that should be avoided: a pond, a tree dried by fire, an ant-hill, and a place infested with insects; and those appropriate for the conjunction: a lonely, calm place, at the foot of a tree, a place dedicated to gods, on the bank of a river, or in a house.

1.5. Two kinds of conjunction (*dvirūpo yogaḥ*) (1.54–56ab). This two-verse passage mentions two kinds (*dvirūpa*) of conjunction: one related only to mind (*mānasa*), that is, without breath restraint (*prāṇasaṃrodha*), consisting in meditating upon a supreme subtle (principle) (*paramaṃ sūkṣmam*); the other being a "simultaneous" (*yaugapadya*) conjunction, which results from simultaneously restraining the bodily winds with *manas*, and *manas* with breath elongations (*prāṇāyāma*), while continuing to meditate on a supreme subtle principle.[96]

1.6. Three methods of conjunction (*trividho yogaḥ*) (1.56cd–63ab).[97] Continuing this long "Section on the instrumental principles" (*sādhanaprakaraṇam*), and corresponding to the sixth topic, the conjunction is defined as being triple: contracted (*saṃkṣipta*), expanded (*viśāla*), and both contracted and expanded (*dvikaraṇī*).[98] Contraction consists in meditating upon the entire universe and imagining all its components as being condensed in the supreme Ātman (*paramātman*), so that the world becomes empty and

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[94] The night being generally divided into four periods of three hours, this would mean that the *yogin*'s sleep lasts six hours. Similar prescriptions are also found in the *Mahābhārata*, *Mokṣadharmaparvan* 232.23, 180.28, 232.13, 294.13, and 313.44–45.

[95] On a textual parallel with Śaṅkara *ad Bhagavadgītā* 6.16, see Barois (forthcoming): "Śaṅkara the Yogin and the *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā*." These food recommendations are also found in classical medicine: *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā, Sūtrasthāna* 8.46cd–47ab.

[96] See *Dharmaputrikā* 16.16–23, which describe the detailed procedure for the conjunction related solely to mind.

[97] I use the term "method" because *yogavidhi* qualifies the contracted (*saṃkṣipta*) procedure (DhPS 1.60ab) and *yogasya vidhir*, the *dvikaraṇī* procedure (DhPS 1.63ab). It should be noted that the compound *yogavidhi* occurs in *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 6.18.

[98] Compare *Dharmaputrikā* 1.56cd–57ab:

> *saṃkṣiptā prathamā jñeyā viśālā samanantaram* |
> *tato dvikaraṇī ceti trividho yoga ucyate* |

with the *Vivaraṇa ad Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 1.40 (Śāstrī and Śāstrī 1952: 97):

> *tatra saṃkṣiptā viśālā vikaraṇī ceti trayī dhāraṇā* | *tatrobhayakoṭisparśinī vikaraṇī* | *paramamahatvāntaspṛg viśālā* | *paramāṇvantaspṛk saṃkṣiptā* | *sā ca trayy apīha sūtropāttā* ||40||

The *Vivaraṇa* has *vikaraṇī*, while the *Dharmaputrikā* has *dvikaraṇī*. Furthermore, in the *Vivaraṇa* the feminine is explained by the fact that it is a question of three *dhāraṇās*. Nothing seems to imply this in the text of the *Dharmaputrikā* and I have provisionally assumed that it is a question of three aspects (*karaṇi*). On this issue, see Barois (forthcoming): "Śaṅkara the Yogin and the *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā*."

only the supreme imperishable (*paramākṣara*) remains. Expansion is the reverse process: from the fiery power (*tejas*) of Paramātman, an energy (*śakti*) emanates, followed by the series beginning with Sadāśiva, etc.[99] The third method consists in meditating upon both resorption and emission (*samhārasarga*) of the universe by degrees.

1.7. Ten impediments (1.63cd–64ab). Ten impediments (*upasarga*) are then enumerated: hunger (*kṣudh*), sleepiness (*nidrā*), idleness (*ālasya*), power (*aiśvarya*), pleasure (*bhoga*), fondness (*sneha*), wealth (*dhana*), fame (*yaśas*), rites (*dharma*), and knowledge (*vidyā*).[100]

1.8. Eight qualities related to lordship (1.64cd–74ab). In the last subdivision of the "Section on the instrumental principles," eight supernatural powers, named *aiśvaryaguṇa*, "qualities related to lordship," are characterized. These are: minuteness (*aṇiman*), defined as the power of being imperceptible to the eye; lightness (*laghiman*), the ability to move through the sky; acquisition (*prāpti*), the ability to obtain any desired material object, as from the wish-fulfilling jewel (*cintāmaṇi*); irresistible will (*prākāmya*), the ability to assume numerous ugly or charming bodies; majesty (*mahiman*), the power through which the *yogin* is honoured everywhere by gods, demons, and men; supremacy (*īśitva*), the power to command over all; subjugation (*vaśitva*), through which the *yogin* is served by all creatures, these being infatuated by his beauty; the power to convert [something into its opposite] at will (*yatrakāmāvasāyitā*), which consists in the ability to go where pleasure (*prīti*) is with the swiftness of thought and to cease it.[101]

Chapter Two: "Section on postures," āsanaprakaraṇam (17 ślokas)

The second subdivision of the *yogaprakaraṇam* provides us with one of the earliest systematic detailed descriptions of eight postures: the lotus posture (*padmāsana*), *svastika* posture (*svastikāsana*), throne posture (*pīṭhāsana*), mound posture (*sthalāsana*),

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[99] This is the only mention of Sadāśiva in the *Dharmaputrikā* (DhPS 1.61):

tasya tejasi nirjātāṃ śaktiṃ yogād vicintayet |
sadāśivādīn tān sarvān paripāṭyā carasthitān |

It should be noted that Sadāśiva is here conceived as being contained in the Paramātman.

[100] In *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 3.36–37, *upasarga* designates the six obstacles to *samādhi* which are also perfections with regard to the rising up (*vyutthāna*). In the *Dharmaputrikā*, these latter are named *antarāya* and described in chapter Eight: "Obstacles such as intuitive knowledge, etc.," *prātibhādyantarāyaḥ*.

[101] On the difficulty of interpretation of *yatrakāmāvasāyitā*, see Brunner (1977: 508, note 14) and Vācaspati Miśra *ad Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 3.45.

joined-hands posture (*añjalikāsana*), half-moon posture (*ardhacandrāsana*), staff posture (*daṇḍāsana*), and the all-auspicious posture (*sarvatobhadrāsana*).[102]

Chapter Three: "Section on the succession of fixations," dhāraṇāvaṃśaprakaraṇam (11 ślokas)

The third subdivision of the *yogaprakaraṇam* is termed *dhāraṇāvaṃśa*, *vaṃśa* expressing the metaphor of the body as a bamboo cane. This chapter enumerates a succession of twenty-eight joints (*parvan*) from the big toe to the world of Brahmā: 1) big toe (*aṅguṣṭha*); 2) foot (*pāda*); 3) heel (*pārṣṇi*); 4) ankle (*gulpha*); 5) shank (*jaṅghā*); 6) knee (*jānu*); 7) thigh (*ūru*); 8) anus (*pāyu*); 9) generative organ (*upastha*); 10) navel (*nābhi*); 11) heart (*manas*); 12) chest (*uras*); 13) throat (*kaṇṭha*); 14) tongue (*jihvā*); 15) nostril (*nāsikā*); 16) eye (*cakṣus*); 17) forehead (*lalāṭa*); 18) skull (*mūrdhan*); 19) top [of the head] (*upariṣṭāt*); 20) flame (*arci*); 21) beyond the body (*paradeha*);[103] 22) interior of the island (*dvīpāntara*);[104] 23) lower region (*pātāla*); 24) heaven on Earth (*bhūsvarga*); 25) heaven (*svarga*); 26) world of the Sun (*sūryaloka*); 27) world of the Moon (*somaloka*); 28) world of Brahmā (*brahmaloka*).[105]

This chapter concludes that one must meditate upon/visualise the Ātman, also named the individual soul (*jīva*) and the drop (*bindu*), on each of these twenty-eight joints, one by one, once the bodily winds (*prāṇa*) have been suppressed.[106]

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[102] A first translation of this chapter has been published online: ayuryog.org/blog/eight-yoga-postures-dharmaputrikā (accessed on: December 12, 2020). Although lists of eight postures are common in Śaiva literature, there is no exact correspondence to the eight postures of the *Dharmaputrikā* in other texts. The closest list is the one given by Kauṇḍinya *ad Pāśupatasūtra* 1.16: *tasmād upaspṛśya padmakasvastikopasthāñjalikārdhacandrapīṭhaka-daṇḍāyatasarvatobhadrādīnām* |. The *Sarvajñānottaratantra*, *Yogapāda*, has also a very similar list of seven postures: *padmakaṃ svastikaṃ vāpi upasthātyāñjaliṃ tathā* | *pīṭhārdham ardhacandraṃ vā sarvatobhadram eva vā* | (see Kafle, 2015: 270). The descriptions of the *svastika*, *ardhacandra*, *añjalika*, *daṇḍa*, and *pīṭha* postures are quoted in the late Haṭhayoga tradition: the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Godāvaramiśra, the *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Śivānandasarasvatī (1927: 153), and the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* of Nārāyaṇatīrtha (2000: 109–111) (see above, "Reception of the *Dharmaputrikā* teaching in the Haṭhayoga tradition," p. 30 ff.).

[103] *paradeha* could possibly be rendered as "another person's body," with reference to the level, on the vertical axis, corresponding to the entry into someone else's body (a corpse) (see below § 4.4.2, *parapuraṃjaya*).

[104] *dvīpāntara*, "interior of the island," probably corresponds to what is named *lokāntara*, "other world, distant world," in the context of the "ascent up to dissolution" (*pralayotkrānti*) (see § 4.3.5).

[105] The names of the regions beyond the body (*paradeha*, *dvīpāntara*, *pātāla*, *bhūsvarga*, *svarga*, *sūryaloka*, *somaloka*, and *brahmaloka*) are already found in older texts, the *Mahābhārata* and some Upaniṣads, and none of these names is specific to Śaivism.

[106] These two conclusive verses (DhPS 3.10–11: *aṣṭāviṃśati parvāṇi samyag jñātvā vicakṣaṇaḥ* | *teṣu parvasu sarveṣu ekaikasmin krameṇa tu* | *tatra sthitaṃ jīvabhūtam ātmānaṃ bindusaṃjñitaṃ* | *prāṇān yasmin nirudhyeta tatra binduṃ*

Chapter Four: "Section on the path of meditation," dhyānamārgaprakaraṇam (88 ślokas)

The fourth and last section on *yoga* (*yogaprakaraṇam*) consists of a long chapter devoted to the "path of meditation" with eighteen subdivisions: five objects of meditation (*pañcadhyeya*), five conquests (*pañcajaya*),[107] five actions (*pañcakarman*), and three fruits (*phalatraya*) of *yoga*.

4.1. The five objects of meditation (*pañcadhyeya*) (4.2–15). First, it is indicated that a lotus is to be meditated upon (= visualised), at the beginning of the process of the conjunction (*yogakrama*) as well as at the time of the practice of the conquest (*jayābhyāsa*).[108] This lotus in the heart (*hṛtpadma*) is then described, each of its parts being homologized with a virtuous disposition: its pericarp (*karṇika*) corresponds to resolution (*dhṛti*); its stalk (*nāla*) corresponds to non-violence (*ahiṃsā*); its filaments (*keśara*) correspond to *dharma*; its eight petals (*patra*) correspond to eight good kinds of conduct (*śīla*), i.e., not stealing, etc. (*asteyādi*, the detailed list is not mentioned).[109]

In the centre of this lotus is the supreme god (*paramo devaḥ*) named *bindu*, also known as *jīva*,[110] which comprises the five objects of meditation: Prakṛti, Puruṣa, Prabhu, Vidyā, and Śiva, placed inside one another in concentric circles.[111] Each of these aspects is

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vicintayet |) are key to the understanding of the yogic process.

[107] Some manuscripts examined have *pañcajapa*, which is undoubtedly wrong.

[108] In the context of the meditation on a lotus in the heart, again the correctness of *jayābhyāsa* is not in doubt (rather than *japābhyāsa*): this refers to the meditation on a lotus mentioned in the context of the conquest of the very subtle obstacle (*mahāsūkṣmāntarāya*), that is, imminence of death made evident through its portents.

[109] The concept of the heart lotus dates from the oldest Upaniṣads. In the *Dharmaputrikā*, the parts of the lotus are not homologized with *dharma*, *jñāna*, *vairāgya*, and *aiśvarya*, as in the *Śivadharmottara*. In terms of structure, the heart lotus in the *Dharmaputrikā* seems closer to that described in the *Niśvāsakārikā* (see Goodall, 2011: 233–38 and 240–42).

[110] In the context of the description of the *antarātman*, a similar metaphor of a drop (*bindu*) on a heart-lotus is found in the *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparvan* 180.23: *ātmānaṃ taṃ vijānīhi sarvalokahitātmakam | tasmin yaḥ saṃśrito dehe hy abbindur iva puṣkare* |. In the context of the description of the elementary soul, *bhūtātman*, a similar metaphor is found in *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 3.2: *athāsti tasyātmā bindur iva puṣkara iti* (van Buitenen, 1962: 102). In this passage of the Upaniṣad, it is specified that the *bindu* is subdivided into five *tanmātra* and/or gross elements (*bhūta*).

[111] In the Śaiva *Niśvāsakārikā*, the lotus in the heart is also surmounted by five concentric discs, but homologized with other entities, namely: Sun, Moon, Fire, Sadāśiva, and Śiva (see Goodall, 2011: 240–42). In the *Dharmaputrikā*, Sadāśiva is included in the *bindu*, that is to say, in the individuated form of Brahman that resides in the body. These five objects of meditation and the way they are arranged in concentric circles might be an archaic version of the system consisting of five *kalās* in the developed Śaivasiddhānta. The configuration of the *bindu* in the *Dharmaputrikā* could explain why there are only four *kalās* in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Nayasūtra* 3.72 ff., namely the four *kalās* plus Śiva, a structure which was then normalized with five *kalās* forming the *bindu* in the classical Śaivasiddhānta.

assigned a particular radiance and a rank in the series of *tattva*s: Prakṛti, the twenty-fourth principle, has the radiance of the sun (*sūrya*) and is placed above the pericarp; Puruṣa, the twenty-fifth principle, has the radiance of the moon (*candra*) and is placed in the middle of the orb of the sun; Prabhu, the twenty-sixth principle, has the radiance of the flame of the fire (*hutāśārci*, *vahnijvālā*) and is placed in the middle of the orb of the moon; Vidyā, the twenty-seventh principle, has the radiance of crystal (*sphāṭika*) and is placed in the middle of the orb of the fire; Śiva, the twenty-eighth principle, has the radiance of ether (*ambara*) and is placed in the middle of the orb of Vidyā.[112] This passage concludes with two important details that clarify the link between the *bindu* and the breath: *bindu* must be meditated upon at the precise place where the breath (*niśvāsa*) is held; the *jīva* (= *bindu*) goes to the place that is filled with the bodily winds (*prāṇa*).[113]

4.2. The five conquests (*pañcajaya*) (4.16–38). The five conquests refer to the conquest of the five bodily winds. They are named—*prāṇa*, *apāna*, *samāna*, *udāna*, and *vyāna*—[114] then the method to overcome them one by one is explained.

The conquest of *prāṇa* involves the entire body on its vertical axis. It consists in accomplishing all four phases of *prāṇāyāma* (see § 1.1.3.), followed by the fixations performed one after another along the succession of the twenty-eight joints from the big toe (see chapter Three). Unlike the conquest of *prāṇa*, the conquest of the other bodily winds is accomplished through partial breathing practices that involve particular parts of the body: the conquest of *apāna* consists of an inhalation (*pūraṇa*), then a fixation followed by the setting in motion of the wind *āpana*, which is situated in

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[112] The number of twenty-eight *tattva*s also corresponds to the number of the joints from the big toe to the world of Brahmā detailed in chapter Three (*dhāraṇāvaṃśaprakaraṇam*), but the correspondence is not explicitly formulated.

[113] This statement is consistent with *Dharmaputrikā* 3.10–11.

The Buddhist *Amṛtasiddhi* (eleventh century) appears to have a close conception of *bindu* as connected with breath. Compare *Dharmaputrikā* 4.15:

> *dhāryate yatra niśvāsas tatra binduṃ vicintayet* |
> *yo deśaḥ pūryate prāṇair jīvas taṃ yāti nānyathā* |

with *Amṛtasiddhi* 7.6:

> *vāyunā sādhyate bindur na cānyad bindusādhanam* |
> *yām avasthāṃ vrajed vāyur bindus tām eva gacchati* |

[114] They are listed without any explanation, even etymological, of their bodily functions, contrary to what is commonly found: the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Nayasūtra* 4.122–125 describes in detail the physiological function of the five winds, as does the *Mṛgendrāgama, Vidyāpāda* 22–27, which describes the functions of the five winds on the basis of etymological definitions; the *Vivaraṇa ad Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 3.93 also describes the functions of the five winds on the basis of etymological definitions; the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* 2.29.36–41ab describes the physiological function of the ten winds.

the lower part of the body, with *manas*; the conquest of *samāna* is to stop outward and downward breathing (*gatāgati*, in lieu of *prāṇa* and *apāna*) with a retention (*kumbhaka*), followed with a fixation in the heart; the conquest of *udāna* consists in holding the wind as before,[115] then moving the wind upwards with *manas*; the conquest of *vyāna* requires the stopping of outward and downward breathing with a quiescent breath (*praśānta*) in an empty body (*tucchadeha*) in such a way that there is no inhalation or exhalation.

Two distinct categories of signs (*lakṣaṇa*) that attest to the conquest of each bodily wind are indicated. These correspond to two distinct levels of the practice of the conjunction, namely moderate practice (*abhyāsa*) and intense practice (*atyabhyāsa*), each level having a distinct effect on the body: moderate practice improves health, intense practice causes diseases. For example, the first signs of the conquest of *apāna* is that no more humoral alteration (*doṣa*) is produced: the *yogin* does not suffer pain due to the restraint of flatus, urine, and excrement, and he even becomes capable of having control over his excretions. Then, once diseases such as fistula (*bhagaṃdara*), etc., are produced by intense practice (*atyabhyāsa*), this is the sign of victory over *apāna*. The description of the conquest of each of the other bodily winds follows the same pattern specifying the beneficial effects of moderate practice and the morbid effects of intense practice.[116]

The concluding passage on the conquest of the bodily winds teaches that the most important is the repeated exercise of the conquest of *prāṇa*, because all bodily winds are conquered by the mere conquest of *prāṇa*.[117] It is also specified that the five conquests have been expounded in order to differentiate between actions (*karmavibhāgārtham*), a reference to the five actions (*pañcakarman*, see below § 4.3), the implementation of which requires knowledge of the partial breathing practices in particular bodily parts.

4.3. The five actions (*pañcakarman*) (4.39–80). The technical term *pañcakarman* relates to specific breathing practices carried out after the bodily winds have been conquered. It is clearly specified that an action performed with an unconquered wind gives rise to diseases (*doṣa*). The five actions are: 1) the purification of the channels (*nāḍīśodhana*);

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[115] That is, as for the conquest of *apāna*.

[116] It seems that the moderate level of practice indicates which bodily wind is conquered according to positive symptoms of health improvement, and that the manifestation of diseases is the conquest itself. This apparently paradoxical description is explained by a two-step conception of the process of conjunction, the second step being an intensification of the practice at the signs of imminent success (this is described in chapter Thirteen, *vṛddhyupāyaḥ*, "Means of increasing") which implies abandonment of the body, without it being explicitly formulated.

[117] The primacy of *prāṇa* over the other bodily winds is also taught in *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā, Nayasūtra* 4.130: "It is *prāṇa* that he should conquer first; once *prāṇa* is conquered, the mind is conquered; once the mind is conquered the soul is calmed [...], [and] ultimate reality shines [before it]" (Goodall, 2015: 497–98).

2) the operative channel (*kāryanāḍī*); 3) the joining of the succession of fixations (*dharanavaṃśayojana*); 4) the upwards exhalation (*udrecanī*); 5) the ascent up to dissolution (*pralayotkrānti*).[118]

4.3.1. The purification of the channels (*nāḍīśodhana*).[119] Three different methods are described: 1) the use of the bodily wind *prāṇa* only; 2) the use of different bodily winds, depending on the part of the body concerned: *samāna* for the middle part of the body, *apāna* for the lower part (from the big toe upwards), and *udāna* for the upper part; 3) repeated practice of alternate breathing: blocking of the right nostril, inhalation through the left nostril, holding of the breath, and then exhalation through the right nostril (with the metaphor of breath movements as bellows).[120]

4.3.2. The second action, named "operative channel" (*kāryanāḍī*), appears to consist in a preparatory recognition or an initial implementation of the channel to serve for the effectuation of the next three actions (*karman*).[121] With an utterance of the syllable OṂ, it consists in forcibly (*haṭhād*)[122] dragging upwards the bodily winds (*prāṇa*) located in the lower parts of the body, gathering them in the heart, and then holding them here in the form of a ball.[123] Then, with another utterance of OṂ, it consists in raising the bodily winds up to the skull (*kapālānta*), holding them here for a while, drawing them

[118] These actions are to be understood as five stages of the ascent of the soul up to the going-out of the body and beyond, the key locations in the body being provided by the list of the successive fixations (*dhāraṇāvaṃśa*) given in chapter Three.

[119] The purification of the channels is succinctly explained in *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, *Nayasūtra* 4.110: *avasavyena pūreta savyenaiva tu recayet | nāḍīsaṃśodhanaṃ hy etan mokṣamārgapathasya tu |*. According to the *Dharmaputrikā*, the purification of the channels is a practice that is not strictly equated to the *prāṇāyāma* itself. Rather, it is a specific combination of breathing practices using the fourfold *prāṇāyāma* as a structural basis.

[120] A metaphor of the blacksmith's bellows is found as early as in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Mahāsaccaka Sutta*, of the Pāli Buddhist canon: "Just as when an extremely strong noise comes about when the bellows of a smith are blown, just so indeed, Aggivessana, there came about the extremely strong noise of winds which went out through the ears, when my breathing out and breathing in had been stopped both through the mouth and through the nose" (transl. Bronkhorst, 1993: 7). In a similar context as in the *Dharmaputrikā*, the metaphor of breath movements as bellows (*dṛvivat*) is also found in the *Śivadharmottara* to explain *pūraka* (ŚDhUt 10 [W 122^{r}]: *bāhyena vāyunā dehan dṛtivat pūrayet bhṛśam | tathāpūrṇaḥ santiṣṭheta pūraṇāt pūra[ṇa]kaḥ smṛtaḥ |*). This verse of the *Śivadharmottara* was borrowed by the *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* (VāSa 2.29.24: *bāhyena marutā dehaṃ dṛtivat paripūrayet | nāsāpuṭenāpareṇa pūraṇāt pūrakaṃ matam |*).

[121] *kāryanāḍī* is a *hapax legomenon* that probably refers to technical knowledge.

[122] In the context of the *pañcakarman*, the term *haṭha* occurs twice, in close connection with the dragging upwards winds "forcibly": first in the context of *kāryanāḍī*: *haṭhād ākarṣayet prāṇāṇ adhobhāge vyavasthitān* | DhPS 4.47cd; second in the context of *udrecanī*, where it is explained that the *yogin* must not forcibly perform this technique, so as to avoid causing pain or affliction (*kheda*): *bahuvāraṃ na kurvīta kramayogena bhedayet | haṭhasādhyaṃ na kartavyam akhedenaiva sādhayet* | DhPS 4.61.

[123] See above, note 70.

downwards by the same path, and placing them again in the heart. Then the *yogin* must exhale gently through both nostrils.

4.3.3. The "joining of the succession of fixations" (*dhāranāvaṃśayojana*) is an action using the entire vertical axis of the twenty-eight joints of the body detailed in chapter Three (*dhāraṇāvaṃśaprakaraṇam*). It consists in drawing upwards gradually, with the syllable OṂ, the bodily winds situated at each joint, beginning with the big toe, on the flow path of the channels (*nāḍīsaṃcāramārga*). After meditating upon each joint respectively and holding (presumably) the bodily winds in each joint successively, one must constrict all (winds) that are situated in the limbs (*śākhā*) and place them in the heart. In a second step and in the same manner, the *yogin* must draw upwards and then hold the bodily winds in the chest, the throat, the tongue, the nostrils, the eyes, the forehead, and the skull successively, and then move them downwards again. Once the bodily winds are established in the heart, the *yogin* must exhale gently. By the daily practice of these exercises, the channel becomes fit for action (*kāryakṣama*).

4.3.4. The fourth action, "upwards exhalation" (*udrecanī*), is said to be secret. Channels that have not been mentioned before are named for the first time: *iḍā*, which is linked to the left nostril, *suṣumnā*,[124] presumedly linked to the right nostril, and a channel or place simply called "the fourth," *turyā*, at the centre of the eyebrows.[125] It is stated that the breath that has gone out of the two channels (*iḍā* and *suṣumnā*) is called the "bond to life" (*bhavabandhana*), and that the going-out through the "fourth" brings about the fruits of *yoga*. Then the practice is described: the upwards exhalation consists in closing the nine bodily apertures with *manas* and entering into the "fourth" by uttering a long sound (OṂ). The *yogin* must practise two or three times a day, until he has established the path of *yoga* in his head (*svamastaka*). He must not practise many times nor forcibly (*haṭhāt*) pierce, but rather follow the progressive way, so that no pain will occur. Once the *yogin* has reached the "fourth," he again draws the breath downwards and holds it in the heart. Then, issuing out by the same path, he must reach little by little the top of the head (*upariṣṭāt*) and the tip of smoke rising from the flame (*arcidhūmaśikhā*).[126]

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[124] This schema differs from the basic model of *suṣumnā* as the central channel, with *iḍā* on the left side and *piṅgalā* on the right side. In the same way as the *Dharmaputrikā,* the *Niśvasatattvasaṃhitā, Uttarasūtra* 5.37 mentions only these two channels, *suṣumnā* and *iḍā* (see Goodall, 2015: 33 and 397).

[125] See *Maitrāyaṇīya* 6.19: *... turyākhye dhārayet prāṇam ity* |, "[...] he must maintain his *prāṇa* in that which is called *turyā*" (see van Buitenen, 1962: 142).

[126] The flame (*arci*), a location beyond the body on the axis of the *dhāraṇāvaṃśa*, seems to correspond, in terms of practice, to the fire of conjunction (*yogāgni*) which appears at the time of the increasing of the practice in chapter Thirteen.

4.3.5. The fifth and last action, named "ascent up to dissolution" (*pralayotkrānti*), is the stage which corresponds to the abandonment of the body.[127] After constant repetition of the fourth action (*udrecanī*) and given that death is expected, the examination of the foreshadowings of death (*ariṣṭa*) in one's own body is carried out.[128] When a foreshadowing of death is perceived, the abandonment of one's body is undertaken. First, the five bodily winds called *nāga*, *kṛkara*, *kūrma*, *devadatta*, and *dhanañjaya* are altered:[129] a strong breath in is the sign of the alteration, or more particularly degradation, of *nāga*; following the piercing of the vital points (*marman*), the leaving of the bodily winds (*prāṇa*) from all joints one by one indicates the alteration of *kṛkara*; once all the bodily winds in the limbs are gathered in the heart, their progression upwards is the sign of the alteration of *kūrma*; a rale in the throat while the body is immobile indicates the alteration of *devadatta*; finally, when *dhanañjaya* is altered, the individual soul (*jīva*) attains the other world (*lokāntara*) after it has abandoned the body.

From there, the individual soul yoked to its virtuous and non-virtuous fruits reaches the eight joints from *paradeha* to *brahmaloka*.[130] An archery metaphor is then used to illustrate the method:[131] the *yogin* must be determined to join the target that shines in the middle. In the same way as a bowman aims at the target with his sight (*dṛṣṭi*), the *yogin* trains to meditate upon *paradeha*, etc. with his mind (*citta*, *manas*). Then he does the same while uttering a long sound followed by uninterrupted resonance (= OṂ). Once he has reached the target with only one utterance, he simultaneously sets in motion the (vital) breaths. In the same way that a bowman who has mastered the target (*jitalakṣya*) kills with only one arrow, he who has mastered *yoga* (*jitayoga*) must exert

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[127] The translation of *utkrānti* as "yogic suicide" should be reconsidered, since the term "suicide" means exactly the opposite of what is at stake in ancient *yoga*: it is not a matter of killing oneself (*suicide*, from the Latin *sui* "of oneself," formed after *homicide*), on the contrary, it is about preserving one's own self, which is the individual proper. The ascent (*utkrānti*) that allows for the leaving of one's own body is a technical method of control over one's own life that has a positive connotation.

[128] This is an implicit reference to chapter Six (see below).

[129] To my knowledge, this is one of the earliest references to the role of the five winds in the biological process of death. For this passage, I propose *vikurvate* to have a passive sense, and consider that it is the bodily winds that are altered. Goodall (2015: 497), quoting these verses of the *Dharmaputrikā* (DhPS 4.68–73) in his commentary *ad Nayasūtra* 4.129, understands them differently, namely that the winds alter the body, on the basis of the variant *vikārakaḥ* in the Nepalese edition (1998).

[130] That is to say, the eight located beyond the flame (*arci*) and named in ascending order: *paradeha*, *dvīpāntara*, *pātāla*, *bhūsvarga*, *svarga*, *sūryaloka*, *somaloka*, *brahmaloka*. See chapter Three (*dhāraṇāvaṃśaprakaraṇam*).

[131] This metaphor is further elaborated in chapter Sixteen of the *Dharmaputrikā* (see below), in a context that also corresponds to a level beyond the body, specifically related to liberation (*mokṣa*). A similar archery metaphor is also found in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* 2.2.3–6, and more importantly in the *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* 6.24, whose formulation is closer to that of the *Dharmaputrikā*. I recently presented this material at the conference "Paths to

himself with only one sound. Having thus abandoned his body, he obtains the fruit of *yoga*.

4.4. The three fruits of the conjunction (*yogaphalatraya*) are then described (4.81–88): 1) mastery of qualities (*guṇaiśvarya*); 2) conquest of another body (*parapuraṃjaya*); 3) liberation (*mokṣa*).[132]

4.4.1. The eight qualities related to lordship (*aṣṭaiśvaryaguṇa*) have already been characterized (see § 1.8). This passage is intended as an explanation of the method for mastering qualities (*guṇaiśvarya*): after the *yogin* has meditated with *manas* on the quality that he desires among the eight (i.e., *aṇiman*, etc.), he must abandon his body in order to unite with this quality, and then be reborn, it being understood that he now possesses the chosen quality.[133]

4.4.2. *Parapuraṃjaya* is the "conquest of another citadel," that is, of another body. A *yogin* afflicted with old age who wishes to abandon his body must search for a corpse provided with all its limbs, born in a good lineage, and handsome; he must meditate upon this corpse with *manas* and proceed with the aforementioned conjunction (*yoga*). It is pointed out that this fruit makes it possible to avoid childhood and the suffering due to the stay in the womb.[134]

4.4.3. Liberation (*mokṣa*) is called the spotless fruit (*nairañjanaṃ phalam*) and described as the attainment of the supreme Brahman, qualified as imperishable (*avyaya*) and the end of all suffering (*sarvaduḥkhānta*). It occurs when the *yogin* abandons his body while the mind has no support (*nirāśraya*), and relies solely on knowledge (*jñānamātrāvalambin*).[135]

Liberation in the Hindu and Sikh Traditions," organized by C. Pecchia, M. Rastelli, and V. Eltschinger, at the Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia, Austrian Academy of Sciences (November 28–29, 2019), under the title: "*Mārga* in the *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā*: From the Path of the Bodily Winds to the Archery Metaphor."

[132] They are ranked from one to three, which seems to correlate with successive levels in the series of fixations (*dhāraṇāvaṃśa*, see chapter Three).

[133] To my knowledge, there is no other text that explains this method of acquiring yogic powers. The statement *dehaṃ parityajet* probably means that the *yogin* dies.

[134] On the suffering condition of the foetus in the Hindu tradition, see Barois (2021).

[135] On the method of attaining liberation, see chapter Sixteen.

Chapter Five: "Subtle obstacles," sūkṣmāntarāyaḥ (5 ślokas)

At first, the four kinds of obstacles (*antarāya*, *vighna*) arising while the *yogin* is performing the conjunction are mentioned by name: subtle obstacles (*sūkṣmāntarāya*), very subtle obstacles (*mahāsūkṣmāntarāya*), obstacles through negligence (*pramāda-jāntarāya*), obstacles such as intuitive knowledge, etc. (*prātibhādyantarāya*), with the important specification that there are two ways to treat them: conquest (over the bodily winds) (*jaya*) and medical treatment (*cikitsā*). Then, the subtle obstacles are listed: friendship (*mitra*), wealth (*lakṣmī*), property (*dhana*), women (*kāntā*), and teacher-disciple relationships (*śiṣyopādhyāyabāndhava*). They are defined as fetters due to emotional attachment (*snehapāśa*), enjoyment of worldly objects (*viṣayāsvāda*), and the desire to be happy (*sukhepsu*). Also named as subtle feelings (*sūkṣmabhāva*), they cause distraction (*vyākṣepakāraka*) of the mind and become obstacles to success (*siddhi*).[136]

Chapter Six: "Very subtle obstacles," mahāsūkṣmāntarāyaḥ (28 ślokas)

This chapter introduces the very subtle obstacles, that is, the bodily and mental phenomena heralding imminent death. At first, it is indicated that one should not be afraid or abandon practice at the approach of death, but rather undertake quickly that which has to be done (a reference to the five actions described above, see § 4.3).[137] Then, two kinds of foreshadowing of death (*ariṣṭa*) are described: 1) external (*bāhya*): the time left to live is inferred from visual hallucination, dreams, or symptoms of bodily disintegration (teeth falling out, black tongue);[138] 2) internal (*adhyātmika*): the time remaining to live is inferred from the number of days during which a slowness/weakness (*māndya*) takes place in one channel (*suṣumnā* or *iḍā*).[139] This chapter concludes that the *yogin* undertakes the remedy (*pratikāra*) for the foreshadowings of death he has perceived.

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[136] The question of the distractions (*vyākṣepa)* of mind is also addressed in chapter Sixteen of the *Dharmaputrikā*. The *Śivadharmottara* 10 (W 124[r]) conveys a laconic Śaiva version of the same idea: *evaṃ dhyānasamāyuktaḥ svadehaṃ yaḥ parityajet | kulasvajanamitrāṇi samuddhṛtya śivo bhavet |*.

[137] Fear of death is one of the five afflictions (*kleśa*) in *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.3.

[138] Numerous parallels to these verses on the *ariṣṭa*s are found in the *Vāyupurāṇa* 19, the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 43 and the *Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.91.

[139] I know of only one parallel passage to these *ādhyātmika* foreshadowings of death in the *Yogaśāstra* of Hemacandra (twelfth century). Its chapter Five is essentially devoted to various processes of divination, including a category of foreshadowings of death also called *adhyātmaka*, "internal", ascertained according to "the movement of the breath in the arteries" (see Qvarnström, 2012: 184–197).

Chapter Seven: "Obstacles through negligence," pramādajāntarāyaḥ (8 ślokas)

Obstacles through negligence are defined as obstacles that arise in the course of the conquest of the five bodily winds, when they are drawn upwards following the succession of fixations (*dhāraṇā*), in order to spring out of the upper orifice. At the time of the *yoga* process, relying on an unconquered place in the body through carelessness causes diseases. The names of the diseases thus produced are given: abdominal swelling (*vātagulma*), retention of feces (*udāvarta*), shortness of breath (*ūrdhvaśvāsa*), vomiting (*chardi*), diarrhoea (*atīsāra*), confusion (*moha*), exhaustion (*klama*), fainting (*mūrchā*), dizziness (*bhrama*), violent headache (*śiraḥśūla*), heart palpitations (*hṛllāsa*), hiccups (*hikkikā*), yawning (*jṛmbhikā*), piercing pain in the heart, the side, and the back (*hṛtpārśvapṛṣṭhaśūla*), wind blood disease, generally rendered as gout or rheumatism (*vātarakta*), eye disease (*timira*), swelling (*śvayathu*), skin disease (*kuṣṭha*), and fever (*jvara*).

Chapter Eight: "Obstacles such as intuitive knowledge, etc.," prātibhādyantarāyaḥ (6 ślokas)

The term *pratibhādi* refers to a list of six obstacles (*antarāya*) that affect the *yogin* who has accomplished conjunction (*prāptayoga*). The first three obstacles are: intuitive knowledge (*prātibha*), supernatural hearing (*śrāvaṇa*), and supernatural visual perception (*ādarśa*). The other three are supernatural touch, smell, and taste (*sparśagandharasa*) relating to earth (*pārthiva*), intermediate space (*antarīkṣaga*), and heaven (*divya*).[140] He who abandons the power (*śakti*) which proceeds from these obstacles and, being absorbed in Brahman (*brahmapara*), is yoked, he is released from them.[141]

Chapter Nine: "Conquest," jayaḥ (19 ślokas)

The chapter named *jaya* explains how to overcome the subtle and very subtle obstacles which have been detailed in chapter Five and Six, respectively.

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[140] This tripartition goes back to early Vedic texts (see *Ṛgveda* 6.22.8, 7.104.2, and 10.53.5).

[141] The category of obstacles named *prātibhādi* concerns a level beyond the body at the time of the fifth and last action, "ascent up to dissolution" (*pralayotkrānti*). The last verse of chapter Ten prescribes an intensification of the practice when these obstacles appear (see below). That is to say that, at this very advanced stage of the *yoga* process, no specific remedy for this category of obstacles is indicated, rather an intensification of the practice, which is explained further in chapter Thirteen.

The first verse states that an ignorant person (*ajñānin*) practicing conjunction sees sins or diseases (*doṣa*) developing, therefore it is only after having devoted oneself to knowledge (*jñānapara*) that one proceeds to the conjunction.

9.1. Conquest of the subtle obstacles (9.2–11) entails the abandonment of worldy attachment (*āsakti*). It proceeds from an inquiry into the origin and nature of the body, conceived as an aggregate (*piṇḍa*) produced from desire (*saṃkalpa*) due to the maturation of the previous acts (*pūrvakarmavipāka*). The body is called an aggregate of six sheaths (*ṣaṭkauśikaṃ piṇḍam*),[142] namely marrow, bones, nerves, flesh (or muscle), and blood, enclosed in skin, and described as filled with saliva, mucus, brain, feces, urine, full of ill-smelling worms, identical with ordures in burial places, etc.[143] It is impure, transient, affected by birth, death, old age, and various diseases (*roga*). It is afflicted by cold and heat (*śītoṣṇa*), hunger and thirst (*kṣutpipāsa*), etc. That which is external to this aggregate of six sheaths is called *ātman*. The passage concludes that whoever conceives of the body in this way conquers the subtle obstacles, and that the one who is free from worldly attachment (*niḥsaṅga*), deprived of sins or diseases (*doṣa*), and exempt from the manifold mental conceptions (*vikalpa*) is called *paramātman*.

9.2. Then, the remedial procedure (*pratīkāra*) to the very subtle obstacle (9.12–19), namely great fear (*mahābhaya*) due to the imminence of death, is explained: the *yogin* meditates upon god, that is, the *bindu* (*bindudeva*) located in the middle of the lotus of the heart, and then visualizes above an uninterrupted flow of nectar (*sudhādhārā*) moving down into the region of the uvula (*ghaṇṭikā*). Through this juice of nectar (*amṛtarasa*), contentment of the self (*ātmatṛpti*) is produced.[144] Two different procedures involving the use of *mantra*s are then described: 1) The recitation of the ten-syllable *mantra* that conquers death (*mṛtyuñjaya*) accompanied with the three-syllable *mantra* that has NETRA as the seed-syllable (*netrabīja*);[145] 2) the combination (*sampuṭa*) of

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[142] The conception of the body as an aggregate of six sheaths is common, as noted by Meulenbeld (1999–2002, vol. IIB: 45, note 335): "P.V. Sharma [...] points to the term *ṣaṭkośa* as being of Buddhist origin (74; *garbhāvakrānti* 10: some consider the body to be *ṣaṭkośa*); this term is, however, also current in, for example, Sāṃkhya philosophical (see E. Frauwallner, 1953: 364) and Tantric works (see D. Heiligers-Seelen, 1994: 66)."

[143] This description aiming at producing disgust for the body recalls the Buddhist meditation on the impure (*aśubhabhāvanā*) and the meditation on the body (*kāyagatā sati*). Kritzer (2014) discusses this in the context of the *Garbhāvakrāntisūtra*, then in an article devoted to meditation on the impure: *"Aśubhabhāvanā* in *Vibhāṣā* and *Śrāvakabhūmi"* (2017).

[144] It seems that *tṛpti* is conceived as the opposite of fear.

[145] Pending further research, it should be noted that in the *Netratantra,* OṂ JUṂ SAḤ is the *mantra* NETRA, also called *mṛtyuñjaya*, "dont les trois syllabes sont souvent (mais pas ici) mises en correspondance avec les trois yeux que le Mantra totalise" (Brunner, 1974: 132). In the *Dharmaputrikā,* no specific Śaiva feature appears.

eighty-one words (*ekāśītipada*) with nine *tattvas* (*navatattva*), which are not specified.[146] Then, the intake of an elixir (*rasāyanopayoga*), the gift (*dāna*) of one's own possessions, and the performance of one hundred thousand oblations (*lakṣahoma*) with tender leaves of the mango tree and *dūrvā* grass, etc. (*āmrapallavadūrvādi*)[147] are prescribed. By means of this procedure, the *yogin* is no longer prey to fear or joy (*prīti*) and intensifies his practice of the conjunction (*yogābhyāsa*).[148]

Chapter Ten: "Medical treatment," cikitsā (24 ślokas)[149]

In response to chapter Seven on obstacles through negligence (*pramādajāntarāyaḥ*), chapter Ten explains how to overcome the humoral alteration (*doṣa*) induced when the wind is sent on the wrong path and a knot (*granthi*) occurs. At first, the respective locations of the three humours in the body are indicated as follows: wind (*vāta*) occupies the region from the sole of the foot up to the navel, bile (*pitta*) occupies the region from the navel up to the heart, phlegm (*śleṣman*) occupies the upper part of the body, a distribution consistent with classical medicine (*Carakasaṃhitā* 1.20.8; *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.21.6). Then diseases that are produced when the wind is blocked in the receptacle of bile (*pittakoṣṭha* = from the navel to the heart region) are named, and the treatment indicated: rubbing with oil (*tailābhyaṅga*), bathing with hot water, and eating food prepared with milk (*pāyasa*) and accompanied by clarified butter. The text specifies that the conjunction (*yoga*) should be undertaken at the end of digestion. The part of the treatment specifically dedicated to yogic practices is then described. In each place of the body where an illness causes suffering, a meditation with the mind (*manas*) upon the wind situated at the place of suffering is prescribed, followed by repetitive inhalations (*pūraka*) and exhalations (*recaka*).[150] A procedure that follows the same

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[146] The *mantra* in eighty-one words (*ekāśītipada*) is called *vyomavyāpin* in the Śaiva tradition, but this term does not occur in the *Dharmaputrikā*. Goodall & Isaacson (2016: 6, note 15) indicate that "the earliest known Śaiva *mālāmantra* is the *vyomavyāpimantra*." With regard to the *navatattvas*, a few details are provided in the *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* (2013: vol. 3, 52), with reference to the *Niśvasatatttvasaṃhitā, Uttarasūtra* 1.4–14 (see Goodall 2015: 339–441), but in the *Dharmaputrikā*, there is no mention of *navātman* as in the *Uttarasūtra*. See also *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā, Nayasūtra* 1.15–28 (Goodall, 2015: 405–6).

[147] This is the only mention of ritual practices in the *Dharmaputrikā*.

[148] On the intensification, see chapter Thirteen named "Means of increasing" (*vṛddhyupāyaḥ*).

[149] This chapter on medical treatment was borrowed in its entirety from the *Dharmaputrikā* and attributed to the *Haṭhapradīpikā* in some late manuscripts of this text. See Introduction, p. 32.

[150] Compare *Dharmaputrikā* 10.9:

yasmin yasmin samuddeśe rujā bādhā pravartate |
tasmin deśe sthitaṃ vāyuṃ manasā paricintayet |

with *Vāyupurāṇa* 11.46cd–47ab (Caturvedī & Simha, 1995):

general pattern but differs in detail (i.e., different breathing practices involving *kumbhaka* or a complete *prāṇāyāma*) is prescribed for cases where the wind is blocked in the region of phlegm (*kaphakoṣṭha*) as well as for other diseases (not related to a humoral region in an obvious way). A large number of the diseases treated in this chapter correspond to those mentioned in the list given in chapter Seven.[151] This chapter also refers to authoritative medical knowledge (*vaidyaśāstra*). It concludes that the *yogin* must intensify his *yoga* practice (*yogābhyāsa*) when the obstacles named *prātibhādi* appear.

Chapter Eleven: "Transient signs," calaliṅgaḥ (10 ślokas)

This chapter marks a new explanatory step for the practice of the conjunction, after the four kinds of obstacle have been overcome by both methods of conquest (*jaya*) and/or medical treatment (*cikitsā*) (these topics are addressed in chapters Five to Ten).

At this level, an activity (*pravṛtti*) indicating the advent of success (*siddhi*) occurs in the body. The *yogin* feels a spontaneous and unprecedented sensation (*sparśa*), such as a crawling sensation (*pipīlikāgati*, literally "ants walking"),[152] the tongue salivating and other sensations similar to those caused by poison, fire, or thorns (*viṣāgnikaṇṭaka*). He must acknowledge this activity as being the fire of conjunction (*yogāgni*), which causes the destruction of his sins (*pāpa*) and thus heralds the success of conjunction. Transient signs (*calaliṅga*) of success consisting in the extrasensory (*amānuṣa*) perception of sounds, tastes, senses of touch, forms, and smells are then detailed.

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yasmin yasmin rajo deśe tasmin yukto vinirdiśet |
yogotpannasya vighnasya idaṃ kuryāc cikitsitam |
and *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 39.57cd–58ab (Banerjea, 1862):
yasmin yasmin rujā dehe tasmiṃs tadupakāriṇīm |
dhārayed dhāraṇām uṣṇe śītāṃ śīte ca dāhinīm |
These verses are issued from two parallel passages on medical treatment (*cikitsā*) in the context of *yoga* in the *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, these passages being in both texts difficult to grasp. To these must be added a parallel in the *Śivadharmottara* 10 (W 122^{v}):
yasmin yasmin bhaved deśe yogināṃ vyādhisambhavaḥ |
tattadaṅgaṃ dhiyā vyāpya dhārayet tatra dhāraṇām |

[151] These diseases also correspond in part to those mentioned in the case of intense practice, that is, the critical moment from life to death, within the context of the conquest of the five bodily winds (*pañcajaya*) (see § 4.2).

[152] Mention of a crawling sensation is also found in a *yoga* context in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 42.6 and the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā, Nayasūtra* 4.19.

Chapter Twelve: "Lasting signs," dhruvaliṅgaḥ (4 ślokas)

In pursuance of the foregoing, this short chapter names the lasting signs (*dhruvaliṅga*) of success: freedom from disease (*ārogya*), bodily agility (*laghudehatva*), smoothness of skin (*tvaksnigdha*), shiny complexion (*śubhavarṇatā*), charming speech (*manojñābhāṣitā*), wisdom (*prajñā*), etc.[153]

Chapter Thirteen: "Means of increasing," vṛddhyupāyaḥ (6 ślokas)

This chapter describes briefly how the *yogin* who has perceived only a little of the fire of conjunction (*yogāgni*) must then intensify this fire of conjunction through constant repeated practice (*abhyāsa*). This intensification is illustrated by an extended metaphor in four verses: 1) just as smoke attests to the production of fire by friction, a sensation (*sparśa*) testifies to the production of the fire of conjunction (this topic being covered in chapter Eleven); 2) in the same way as a flickering fire is produced by friction, the fire of conjunction is fanned through exertion (*yatna*); 3) just as a flaming fire is intensified by the combustibles (*indhana*) that are grass and wood, the fire of conjunction is intensified by the combustibles that are the six ancillaries, etc.;[154] 4) a flaming fire destroys the combustibles gradually in the same way as the fire of conjunction, blazing up, burns former sins (*pāpa*). The chapter concludes that obtaining the fruit of conjunction stems from the destruction of sins in this way.

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[153] These phenomena occurring when conjunction is imminent echo the description in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 2.11–13:

> *nīhāradhūmārkānalānilānāṃ khadyotavidyutsphaṭikāśaśīnām |*
> *etāni rūpāṇi puraḥsarāṇi brahmaṇy abhivyaktikarāṇi yoge |*
> *pṛthvyaptejo'nilakhe samutthite pañcātmake yogaguṇe pravṛtte |*
> *na tasya rogo na jarā na mṛtyuḥ prāptasya yogāgnimayaṃ śarīram |*
> *laghutvam ārogyam alolupatvaṃ varṇaprasādaḥ svarasauṣṭhavaṃ ca |*
> *gandhaḥ śubho mūtrapurīṣam alpaṃ yogapravṛttiṃ prathamāṃ vadanti |*

[154] This passage documents the yogic practice with regard to the role of the six ancillaries, etc. (*ṣaḍaṅgādi*), which are characterized in chapter One. The *Dharmaputrikā* clearly distinguishes a level of repetitive practice (*abhyāsa*) which involves both the breath and *manas*, and a level which only involves *manas* (on this level without support, *nirāśraya*, see § 4.4.3 and chapter Sixteen) and is the ultimate level leading to liberation. This distinction between two levels of practice is summarized in the definition of the two kinds of conjunction (DhPS 1.54–56ab, see § 1.5). It appears that the six ancillaries are practices related to the first level of practice (involving both the breath and *manas*). These details, accessible thanks to the precise descriptions and internal coherence of the *Dharmaputrikā,* give access to new elements of understanding. For example, in light of the *Dharmaputrikā,* it seems to me that it would now be possible to understand *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā, Nayasūtra* 4.24: *ṣaḍaṅgadhyānavarjitam* to mean "without [the level of] meditation based on the six ancillaries," rather than "which is beyond six-limbed *yoga*," to qualify a visualization practice called *nirālamba* (see Goodall, 2015: 471).

Chapter Fourteen: "Loss," vināśaḥ (3 ślokas)

Three behaviours that cause the loss of this level are indicated: the prattling with others (due to extreme joy), the abandonment of yogic practice (due to the fact that the *yogin* thinks he has obtained success), and the slandering of the master (*guru*).

Chapter Fifteen: "Recovery," pratyānayanam (12 ślokas)

Chapter Fifteen describes three means (*upāya*) to restore an activity (*pravṛtti*)[155] which had appeared or even increased, and which have been destroyed, presumably because of one of the three behaviours described in the preceding chapter. The issue is to recover the level previously attained and to complete the process of conjunction in its terminal stage. The appropriate places to operate this restoration are mentioned (the bank of a river, a forest, a secret place, an empty house, and a silent, solitary, peaceful place). Then the three means are described:

1) After devoting himself to the means of success (*siddhyupāya*),[156] the *yogin* must focus his mind (*manas*) on the big toe and then slowly restrain the bodily winds (*prāṇa*) until the sensation (*sparśa*) (which indicates activity) disappears. This involves impelling this sensation upwards while uttering the sound (= OṂ). 2) Or, the tip of the tongue being placed on the two rows of teeth, the *yogin* must do a breath elongation (*prāṇāyāma*) until the sensation (*sparśa*) (which indicates activity) disappears. Since the feeling of the fire of conjunction (*yogāgni*) always occurs through the tip of the tongue, this involves rapidly impelling this sensation upwards, as before. 3) Or, the *yogin* must focus his mind at the centre of his palate (*tālu*), and restrain the breath. Once the activity (*pravṛtti*) is produced, he must draw this sensation upwards again, as before.

The chapter concludes with a few verses that summarize the process: The *yogin* must focus his mind (*manas*) anywhere in the body where activities were previously produced and then restrain the bodily winds (*prāṇa*). There is no purification of the sins (*pāpaśodhana*) equivalent to the breath elongation, which is why the knower of the conjunction performs the conjunction (*yuñjīta yogavit*) after he has engaged in breath elongation. The *yogin* whose self is purified through breath elongation (*prāṇāyāma-viśuddhātman*) is freed from all sins. He sees in the (individual) self (*ātman*) the immaculate light of the (supreme) self (*ātmajyotis*). Or, after he has drawn upward

[155] The activity (*pravṛtti*) indicating the advent of success and the sensation (*sparśa*) which attests to it are detailed in chapter Eleven.

[156] On the means of success (*siddhyupāya*), see chapter Sixteen.

(*manas*) alone (*kevalam*) to the level of the skull as a result of conjunction (*yoga*), he sees the (individual) self fastened to the (supreme) self as a pearl threaded on a string.[157]

Chapter Sixteen: "Means of success," siddhyupāyaḥ (27 ślokas)

The last chapter of the *Dharmaputrikā* deals with different topics successively. At the beginning, it is stated that one can proceed to actions (*karman*, see § 4.3.) only when one knows the means of success (*siddhyupāya*).[158] Then the rules concerning the seated and standing postures[159] as well as bodily arrangements and upper-body postures[160] are defined as causes of distraction (*vyākṣepajanaka*), the sole cause of success (*siddhihetu*) being: renunciation of desire (*saṅgatyāga*), steadiness of mind (*manaḥsthairya*), *samādhi*, and the determination of the real (*tattvanirṇaya*).[161] This topic is elaborated on in a few verses.

Then a metaphor explaining practice is explained: the target is Śiva, the bow is the body, the string is the sound (*nāda* = OṂ), the arrow is the mind, and the *yogin* must define what must be pierced/penetrated by means of the intellect (*buddhi*).[162] It is only

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[157] This ancient metaphor (*Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* 1.18.8; *Śāṅkhāyanāraṇyaka* 11.8.2 and 12.7.3) is also found in *Mahābhārata* 12.199 in a similar context:

> *yadā te pañcabhiḥ pañca vimuktā manasā saha |*
> *atha tad drakṣyase brahma maṇau sūtram ivārpitam |*

[158] The metaphor for the imminence of success (DhPS 16.1): *hastatale siddhir vartate,* "success stands on his palms," is also found in *Vīṇāśikhatantra* 333 (Goudriaan, 1985: 83).

[159] *sthānāsana* has several occurrences in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*. Olivelle notes *ad Mānavadharmaśāstra* 6.22: "*spend the day standing and the night seated*: surprisingly, no commentator or translator has understood the correct meaning of the technical expression *sthānāsanābhyāṃ viharet*. It refers to a religious observance during which the person has to remain standing during the day (without sitting down) and seated during the night (without lying down)." This technical term is also used in the context of the definition of *tapas* in the *Bhāṣya ad Yogasūtra* 2.32.

[160] *saṃsthāna* occurs with the meaning of bodily arrangement in the *Tattvavaiśāradī ad Yogasūtra* 2.46. *karaṇa* carries the meaning of "upper-body posture," as Kafle (2015: 270 and note 766) specifies.

[161] Compare *Dharmaputrikā* 16.2–3:

> *sthānāsanavidhānāni saṃsthānakaraṇāni ca |*
> *vyākṣepajanakāḥ sarve na hy ete siddhihetavaḥ |*
> *saṅgatyāgo manaḥsthairyaṃ samādhis tattvanirṇayaḥ |*
> *siddhihetur bhavanty ete śeṣā vyākṣepakārakāḥ |*

with the *Vivaraṇa ad Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 2.29 (Śāstrī and Śāstrī, 1952: 212):

> *yad anyatrocyate — sthānāsanavidhānāni yogasya vidhayo'pi vā | vyākṣepajanakāḥ sarve na te yogasya hetavaḥ | sarvadoṣaparityāgaḥ samādhiś ceti taddvayam | nirṇaya[yāt] yogahetuḥ syād bhavati vānyan na vā [bhavatv anyan na vā bhavet] |*

Thus, this quotation in the *Vivaraṇa*, hitherto unidentified, is from the *Dharmaputrikā*.

[162] This archery metaphor as a device for teaching how to perform the ascent beyond the body has already been mentioned at the end of the explanation on the five actions (*pañcakarman*) (see above § 4.3.5, and note 131).

with a mind (*citta* = *manas*, compared to an arrow) that has given up desire that the *yogin* obtains the fruit of conjunction. The metaphor continues by being integrated into a detailed explanation of the practice: the *yogin* performs an inhalation (*pūraka* = the hand) in order to fill his body (*deha* = the bow), then he scrutinizes the *bindu* (= the target) by means of the sight of the intellect (*buddhidṛṣṭi*), he raises upwards the *bindu* that stands in the body (*deha* = the bow) filled with sound (*nāda* = the string), and he shoots the mind (*manas* = the arrow) supported by breath (*prāṇa*) into the middle of the target.

The recipients of the teaching of the *Dharmaputrikā* are then named, attesting that the technique for the conjunction expounded here is accessible to all castes and stages of life: "Whether he is a householder, a *brahmacārin*, a hermit, or an ascetic, the one who has renounced all desires obtains liberation, even if he is engaged in his own activities (*svakarman*). [Liberation] is obtained by [those] who know the conjunction through actions (*karmayogajña*), [whether they are] women, *śūdra*s, householders, foreigners, low castes: in this case, birth is not a criterion."[163] Then, in continuity with the above-mentioned, it is stated that the conjunction can be conducted while continuing one's own activities: whether he stands, walks, sleeps, or eats or is even engaged in activity, the *karmayogin* does not miss the target with his mind (*citta*) only.[164] He must maintain

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[163] *Dharmaputrikā* 16.11–12:

gṛhastho brahmacārī vā vānaprastho 'thavā yatiḥ |
saṅgatyāgī labhen mokṣaṃ svakarmanirato 'pi san |
strībhiḥ śūdrair gṛhasthair vā mlecchair varṇādhamair api |
labhya[n]te karmayogajñair na jātis tatra kāraṇam |

The interpretation of this passage requires further research. As *labhyante* has no obvious subject here, I suggest reading *labhyate*, referring to *mokṣa* in the previous verse, pending the consultation of other manuscripts. It should also be noted that the list *gṛhastha brahmacārin*, *vānaprastha*, and *yati* corresponds to that of the *Baudhāyanagṛhyaparibhāṣāsūtra*. On this list, Lubin (2016: 600) comments: "The inclusion of *brahmacarya* suggests familiarity with Manu's system, and the fact that the fourth is called the *yati* probably means that this passage is no later than Manu; later Dharmaśāstras introduce the term *saṃnyāsin*."

[164] Compare *Dharmaputrikā* 16.13:

tiṣṭhan gacchan svapan bhuñjan karmaṇā vyāpṛto 'pi san |
cittenaikena yo lakṣyaṃ karmayogī na muñcati |

with *Śivadharmottara* 10 (W 120[r]) (≈ *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* 2.13.24):

gacchan tiṣṭhan svapan [m]agrann unmiṣan nimiṣann api |
śucir vāpy aśucir vāpi śivaṃ sarvatra cintayet |

and with *Viṣṇudharmāḥ* 2.74 (Grünendahl Pt. 1, 1983: 89):

gacchan tiṣṭhan svapan bhuñjaṃs tām evāgre ca pṛṣṭhataḥ |
upary adhas tathā pārśve cintayāntas tathātmanaḥ |

The term *karmayogin* does not appear in the *Śivadharmottara* and the *Viṣṇudharmāḥ*.
Could we possibly find a distant echo here of the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna-Sutta* DN 22.4 on the four postures (walking, standing, sitting, and lying down)?

his breaths with *manas*, as well as *manas* with breath elongations (*prāṇāyāma*), then he must meditate on the supreme Brahman.

Then an obscure and corrupted verse seems to relate to meditation on the supreme Brahman, and to refer to the placing or arrangement (*vinyāsa*) of the *aṅgamantra*s, and *brahmamantra*s, and to the *mantra* HAṂSA.[165]

Following this, it is stated that when the *yogin* is exhausted due to the practice of *prāṇāyāma*, he must undertake the conjunction related solely to mind (*kevalaṃ mānasaṃ yogam*).[166] He must do this with a *mantra*-repetition (*japa*) or a story (*kathā*)[167] related to it, so that the mind is not empty (*śūnya*). This passage describes in detail, without it being explicitly formulated, the method which leads to liberation (*mokṣa*).[168] Essentially it consists of withdrawing oneself from perception by purifying (*viśudh-*) the mind (*citta*), the key issue being to remove the cause (*hetu*) responsible for the cognitions related to pleasure and pain, etc. (*sukhaduḥkhādibuddhi*), so that there is no more mental representation for the isolated mind.[169]

In the concluding verses, it is recalled that this text was composed by Sanaka, with the supplementary information that it was written down by the son of Dharmaśīla.[170]

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[165] *Dharmaputrikā* 16.15: *dīrghāṇy aṅgāni vinyāsaṃ hrasvaṃ vaktraṃ tathaiva ca | haṃsa haṃseti yo varṇaṃ varjayet* [sic] *paramaṃ padam |* This interpretation is deduced from the fact that the *bījākṣara*s of the *aṅgamantra*s are always long, whereas the *bīja*s of the *brahmamantra*s are always short (see Brunner, 1963: xxxiv). However, this question requires further research, possibly with reference to close passages in *Niśvāsasaṃhitā*, *Uttarasūtra* 3.23, and *Sarvajñānottara* 2 (see Goodall, 2015: 371).

[166] See the definition of the two kinds of conjunction (*dvirūpo yogaḥ*) in chapter One (§ 1.5).

[167] As for the mention of *kathā* as an alternative to *japa*, Padoux (1987: 119) notices that the *Mokṣadharmaparvan* (MBh 12.189–193) "définit le *japa* comme la récitation d'un texte védique utile (*japet vai samhitām hitām*) – sans d'ailleurs préciser quel texte – et le pose par rapport au Sāṃkhya et au Yoga." Bühnemann (1988) devotes a few pages to *kathā* in the context of the *vratas,* where it is a question of listening and not of enunciating: "After the performance of the *pūjā* part of a *vrata* often a story connected with this *vrata* is read aloud. These stories narrate the revelation of the *vrata* by a seer or a deity, its first performance, results, and procedure. By listening to them the devotee takes part in the events of bygone times and induces the power which effected beneficial results formerly to do the same for him now." (Bühnemann, 1988: 196). See also *Śivasūtra* 3.27: *kathā japaḥ,* an essentialised version of what may have been a real alternative formerly.

[168] See the definition of liberation (*mokṣa*) at the end of chapter Four (§ 4.4.3).

[169] *Dharmaputrikā* 16:22cd: *nirāśrayasya cittasya vikalpo naiva vidyate |*.

[170] See Introduction, p. 12.

Synoptic Table of the Structure of the *Dharmaputrikā Saṃhitā*

The names of the sixteen "means of accomplishment" (*sādhanopāya*) are given in the second column. The first column indicates the structural groupings of chapters specified in the text. In the third column, some significant thematic sub-subdivisions of these chapters are mentioned.

Sixteen chapters corresponding to sixteen "means of accomplishment" (*sādhanopāya*)		
	Chapter One: "Section on the instrumental principles," *sādhanaprakaraṇam*	1. Six ancillaries (*ṣaḍaṅga*) - withdrawal (*pratyāhāra*) - meditation (*dhyāna*) - breath elongation (*prāṇāyāma*) - fixation (*dhāraṇā*) - discrimination (*tarka*) - *samādhi* 2. Six means (*ṣaḍupāya*) - knowledge (*jñāna*) - silence (*mauna*) - chastity (*brahmacarya*) - being badly clad (*durvāsas*) - restraint of the sense organs (*indriyanigraha*) - seclusion (*aprādurbhāva*) 3. Six disciplines (*ṣaṭsādhana*) - perseverance (*utsāha*) - resolution (*niścaya*) - constancy (*dhairya*) - satisfaction (*saṃtoṣa*) - perception of principles (*tattvadarśana*) - cessation (*upasaṃhāra*) of sacrificial rites (*kratu*) 4. Four rules (*caturyama*) - rule related to time (*velā*) - rule related to sleep (*nidrā*) - rule for food (*āhāra*) - rule for places (*sthāna*) 5. Two kinds of conjunction (*dvirūpo yogaḥ*) - conjunction related only to mind (*mānasa*) - simultaneous (*yaugapadya*) conjunction

Sixteen chapters corresponding to sixteen "means of accomplishment" (*sādhanopāya*)		
Chapter One to chapter Four corresponding to four "Sections on *yoga*" (*yogaprakaraṇam*)		6. Three methods of conjunction (*trividho yogaḥ*) - contracted (*saṃkṣiptā*) - expanded (*viśālā*) - both contracted and expanded (*dvikaraṇī*) 7. Ten impediments (*daśopasarga*) - hunger (*kṣudh*) - sleepiness (*nidrā*) - idleness (*ālasya*) - power (*aiśvarya*) - pleasure (*bhoga*) - fondness (*sneha*) - wealth (*dhana*) - fame (*yaśas*) - rites (*dharma*) - knowledge (*vidyā*) 8. Eight qualities related to lordship (*aṣṭaiśvaryaguṇa*) - minuteness (*aṇiman*) - lightness (*laghiman*) - acquisition (*prāpti*) - irresistible will (*prākāmya*) - majesty (*mahiman*) - supremacy (*īśitva*) - subjugation (*vaśitva*) - power to convert [a bad thing into its opposite] at will (*yatrakāmāvasāyitā*)
	Chapter Two: "Section on postures," *āsanaprakaraṇam*	- Lotus-posture (*padmāsana*) - Svastika-posture (*svastikāsana*) - Throne-posture (*pīṭhāsana*) - Mound-posture (*sthalāsana*) - Joined-hands-posture (*añjalikāsana*) - Half-moon-posture (*ardhacandrāsana*) - Staff-posture (*daṇḍāsana*) - All-auspicious-posture (*sarvatobhadrāsana*)

Sixteen chapters corresponding to sixteen "means of accomplishment" (*sādhanopāya*)		
	Chapter Three: "Section on the succession of fixations," *dhāraṇāvaṃśaprakaraṇam*	Twenty-eight joints (*parvan*): 1- big toe (*aṅguṣṭha*) 2- foot (*pāda*) 3- heel (*pārṣṇi*) 4- ankle (*gulpha*) 5- shank (*jaṅghā*) 6- knee (*jānu*) 7- thigh (*ūru*) 8- anus (*pāyu*) 9- generative organ (*upastha*) 10- navel (*nābhi*) 11- heart (*manas*) 12- chest (*uras*) 13- throat (*kaṇṭha*) 14- tongue (*jihvā*) 15- nostril (*nāsikā*) 16- eye (*cakṣus*) 17- forehead (*lalāṭa*) 18- skull (*mūrdhan*) 19- top [of the head] (*upariṣṭāt*) 20- flame (*arci*) 21- beyond the body (*paradeha*) 22- interior of the island (*dvīpāntara*) 23- lower region (*pātāla*) 24- heaven on Earth (*bhūsvarga*) 25- heaven (*svarga*) 26- world of the Sun (*sūryaloka*) 27- world of the Moon (*somaloka*) 28- world of Brahmā (*brahmaloka*)
	Chapter Four: "Section on the path of meditation," *dhyānamārgaprakaraṇam*	Five objects of meditation (*pañcadhyeya*) - Prakṛti - Puruṣa - Prabhu - Vidyā - Śiva Five conquests (*pañcajaya*) - conquest of *prāṇa* (*prāṇajaya*) - conquest of *apāna* (*apānajaya*)

Sixteen chapters corresponding to sixteen "means of accomplishment" (*sādhanopāya*)		
		- conquest of *samāna* (*samānajaya*) - conquest of *udāna* (*udānajaya*) - conquest of *vyāna* (*vyānajaya*) Five actions (*pañcakarma*) - purification of channels (*nāḍīśodhana*) - operative channel (*kāryanāḍī*) - joining of the succession of fixations (*dhāraṇāvaṃśayojana*) - upwards exhalation (*udrecanī*) - ascent up to the dissolution (*pralayotkrānti*) Three fruits of the conjunction (*yogaphalatraya*) - eight qualities related to lordship (*guṇaiśvarya*) - conquest of another body *parapuraṃjaya*) - liberation (*mokṣa*)
Chapter Five to chapter Eight expounding four kinds of obstacles	Chapter Five: "Subtle obstacles," *sūkṣmāntarāyaḥ*	- friendship (*mitra*) - wealth (*lakṣmī*) - property (*dhana*) - women (*kāntā*) - teacher-disciple relationships (*śiṣyopādhyāyabāndhu*)
	Chapter Six: "Very subtle obstacles," *mahāsūkṣmāntarāyaḥ*	- external foreshadowing of death (*bāhyāriṣṭa*) - internal foreshadowing of death (*ādhyātmikāriṣṭa*)
	Chapter Seven: "Obstacles through negligence," *pramādajāntarāyaḥ*	- abdominal swelling (*vātagulma*) - retention of feces (*udāvarta*) - shortness of breath (*ūrdhvaśvāsa*) - vomiting (*chardi*) - diarrhoea (*atīsāra*) - confusion (*moha*) - exhaustion (*klama*) - fainting (*mūrchā*) - dizziness (*bhrama*)

Sixteen chapters corresponding to sixteen "means of accomplishment" (*sādhanopāya*)		
		- violent headache (*śiraḥśūla*) - heart palpitations (*hṛllāsa*) - hiccups (*hikkikā*) - yawning (*jṛmbhikā*) - piercing pain in the heart, the side, and the back (*hṛtpārśvapṛṣṭhaśūla*) - gout, rheumatism (*vātarakta*) - eye disease (*timira*) - swelling (*śvayathu*) - skin disease (*kuṣṭha*) - fever (*jvara*)
	Chapter Eight: "Obstacles such as intuitive knowledge, etc.," *prātibhādyantarāyaḥ*	- intuitive knowledge (*prātibha*) - supernatural hearing (*śravaṇa*) - supernatural visual perception (*ādarśa*) - supernatural touch, smell, and taste (*sparśagandharasa*)
	Chapter Nine: "Conquest," *jayaḥ*	- conquest of the subtle obstacles (*sūkṣmāntarāyajaya*) - conquest of the very subtle obstacles (*mahāsūkṣmāntarāyajaya*)
	Chapter Ten: "Medical treatment," *cikitsā*	
	Chapter Eleven: "Transient signs," *calaliṅgaḥ*	
	Chapter Twelve: "Lasting signs," *dhruvaliṅgaḥ*	
	Chapter Thirteen: "Means of increasing," *vṛddhyupāyaḥ*	
	Chapter Fourteen: "Loss," *vināśaḥ*	
	Chapter Fifteen: "Recovery," *pratyānayanam*	
	Chapter Sixteen: "Means of success," *siddhyupāyaḥ*	

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Book Review

Selling Yoga: From Counterculture to Pop Culture. Andrea R. Jain. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. 240 pages.

Selling Yoga, Andrea Jain's influential monograph, is not a recent publication in the field of yoga studies. Having first been published six years ago, it has already been received by the academic community. Nonetheless, it still deserves thorough discussion, especially in light of expanding academic research on yoga.

Andrea Jain is an American scholar of religion and an Associate Professor of Religious Studies at the Indiana University School of Liberal Arts. Among her research interest she lists "religion under neoliberal capitalism," "the intersections of gender, sexuality, and religion," as well as "theories of religion" (andreajain.com). It is the first of these broad themes that determines her scope of research on modern yoga. Her study offers a particular hermeneutics of modern yoga, interpreting it in terms of free market economy.

Unlike some of the most influential yoga researchers, Jain is not an avid yoga practitioner, having attended all but one semester-long postural yoga class as a university student (ix). This positioning has a dual implication: on the one hand, it allows for an external, seemingly unbiased perspective on yoga and for interpreting it in etic terms. On the other hand, however, it renders the experience of being a part of a modern yoga milieu inaccessible—a fact that bears on the author's construal of the studied phenomenon. As I will argue later, Jain's yoga is somewhat reified—described in terms of a malleable object transformed by external influences, such as consumer culture, rather than a social phenomenon whose changing qualities emerge from the experiences and interactions of people—instructors and practitioners.

Selling Yoga is a thorough study, foregrounding the author's main argument against a comprehensive review of academic knowledge of yoga available at the time of the book's composition. It is also polemical in character, with the author arguing for her

case strongly and debating with other authors. This makes for gripping, intellectually engaging material that keeps the reader alert at all times, but also invites further polemic, thus perpetuating healthy academic debate.

The work is divided into six chapters. Chapter One (Premodern Yoga Systems) is a summary of the academic knowledge on yoga in its ancient and medieval forms. It offers a comprehensive, up-to-date view on yoga, underscoring its heterogeneity and trans-sectarian character. Chapter Two (From Counterculture to Counterculture) is a retelling of the history of modern yoga, interpreting it in relation to its countercultural character. Jain makes a distinction between "modern yoga from the neck up"—the transnational assimilation of what was seen as morally superior, ascetic, and meditational *rājayoga*—and "modern yoga from the neck down"—the adaptations of *haṭhayoga* focused on body practices and postulating a re-sacralisation of the body. Illustrating her argument with summary biographies of Americans Ida Craddock and Pierre Bernard, the author shows how the latter forms of yoga, impossible to reconcile with Protestant morality, were condemned and pushed to the fringe of modern American society.

In Chapter Three (Continuity with Consumer Culture) the book's main argument begins. The author claims that in late modernity yoga entered mainstream culture on mainstream culture's terms—by aligning itself with consumer norms and expectations. It is the ability of late modern gurus to adapt to the rules of the free market that made the popularisation of yoga possible. Chapter Four (Branding Yoga) attempts to reinforce this argument by interpreting the activities of prominent modern yoga instructors (from Swami Muktananda to B.K.S. Iyengar and John Friend) in marketing terms, such as branding or packaging.

The next two chapters serve to nuance the claims of the previous two. By interpreting modern yoga as a "body of religious practice" (Chapter Six), the author argues against simplistic interpretations of its commodification—mainly those of Jeremy Carrette and Richard King.[1] This section of the book is also the first where the author takes into consideration the actual experience of a yoga practitioner, breaking with the reifying narrative of the previous chapters. In Chapter Seven (Yogaphobia and Hindu Origins), Jain deconstructs two stances that justify criticism towards the popularisation of modern yoga: the Christian objection to the involvement in practices of non-Christian origin ("Christian yogaphobia") and the Hindu objection to what is seen as global appropriation of a Hindu tradition.

[1] Carrette, J., and King, R. 2005. *Selling Spirituality: The Silent Takeover of Religion*. New York: Routledge.

Selling Yoga is an excellently written book by a knowledgeable and critical author. However, I feel that its main argument needs closer consideration and a re-evaluation, especially in light of the newer research on modern yoga.

Perhaps the most central realisation about Jain's narrative is that the author does not in fact argue that modern yoga functions according to the mechanisms of consumer culture. Instead, she applies the metaphor of consumer culture to describe modern yoga. She uses a whole collection of terms borrowed from the marketing lingo, such as "entrepreneurial godmen" for influential spiritual gurus and "spiritual wares" for the soteriological proposals of those gurus; "yoga entrepreneurs" for professional yoga instructors; "yoga brands" for yoga schools, traditions, and lineages; "packaging" for legitimising these lineages and their practices by creating particular mythologies; "products" for the kinds of yoga they teach.

For the majority of yoga practitioners, the most familiar metaphor used to construe yoga is that of education—it is common to speak of yoga teachers and students, yoga classes, yoga manuals—and yoga is seen as knowledge that is being transmitted from one individual to another. Jain shifts the metaphorical domain from education to market: yoga is construed in terms of a product that is branded and packaged by entrepreneurs in order to be sold effectively to picky clients. Such a stance does have its merits: it challenges the predominant education metaphor, problematises it, and shows that it is not the only way to construe yoga. Thinking of yoga in terms of education has its fallacies. In the prototypical case (i.e., school education), teachers are adults invested with much authority and power. Students, on the other hand, are minors dependent on teachers as their temporary guardians. Given the current crisis in modern yoga milieus, caused by the recurring exposure of sexual and other abuses among yoga instructors, the ability to deconstruct this metaphor and reassess the actual power and authority of yoga instructors is very valuable. But simply shifting the metaphorical domain from education to the market is not a solution.

This is not to say that Jain's thesis is not at all valid. The most exhaustive expression of this thesis is that "[p]ostural yoga is a transnational product of yoga's encounter with global processes, particularly the rise and dominance of market capitalism, industrialization, globalization, and the consequent diffusion of consumer culture" (xv). This is a strong claim, with the noun "product" suggesting that market capitalism, industrialization, globalization, and consumer culture made postural yoga. And such construal is a gross simplification. That capitalism and consumer culture have influenced the transformations of postural yoga or that they were one of the factors effecting these transformations is undeniable. But by no means did they produce it.

Perhaps the most important characteristic of modern postural yoga—one that has been mostly taken for granted—is its professionalisation. For the founding fathers of the movement—T. Krishnamacharya or Bhishnu Ghosh—yoga was a profession, and so it is for contemporary yoga instructors. And as working individuals, these instructors are dependent on the economy model predominant in a given time and place. Suzanne Newcombe's recent work shows, for instance, that in post-war Britain postural yoga operated largely within a socialist context.[2] In 1960s England, yoga classes became a part of public evening adult education, offered by Local Education Authorities. These classes—organised and offered on a low-cost basis—operated effectively until the neoliberal reforms of Margaret Thatcher put an end to the funding. In the United States, the recent move of New York yoga instructors to unionise shows the necessity to protect the labour rights of these instructors against the consequences of economic liberalism. This, together with Jain's observations, suggests that yoga—just like any domain of professional activity—is responsive to local economic trends. Some instructors operating in liberal economies—such as the hot yoga tycoon Bikram Choudhury—might well deserve the name "yoga entrepreneur." However, applying this moniker to any professional yoga instructor who developed an organisational structure to support the transmission of their system of practice a misuse of the term.

One of the "entrepreneurs" discussed by Jain is B.K.S. Iyengar. Describing his activity in the global yoga milieu as "branding" might seem self-explanatory, especially since the very name Iyengar Yoga has been trademarked for the sake of protecting standards across the globe. However, Newcombe has shown that the very process that Jain describes in marketing terms may be interpreted very differently. Newcombe explains Iyengar's rise to prominence in the UK, the standardisation of his yoga practice, and the creating of a network of instructors as routinisation and institutionalisation of charisma. By providing a bureaucratic structure supporting the training and certification process, Iyengar turned his way of teaching yoga—a product of his personal charisma and experience—into a reproducible standard. Currently the global Iyengar Yoga organisation functions as a network of NGOs supported by member fees. After Iyengar's death, new standards have been negotiated between the representatives of the Ramamani Iyengar Memorial Yoga Institute in Pune and the local organisations. The international Iyengar Yoga organisation is a government-like structure rather than a business enterprise, and Iyengar Yoga itself is a standard rather than a brand. Or at least they may be interpreted along these lines in a construal very different from that offered in *Selling Yoga*.

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[2] Newcombe, S. 2019. *Yoga in Britain: Stretching Spirituality and Educating Yogis*. Sheffield, Bristol: Equinox.

Another point is that the marketing mechanisms that Jain associates with contemporary yoga milieus were already present in America in the early twentieth century. Philip Deslippe's recent study[3] has shown that the earliest yoga "gurus" in America—mostly itinerant Indians unable to leave the United States due to immigration policy—were quite competitive marketers. They advertised intensively, exploiting the stereotype of the Hindu possessed of mystical and magical powers, and using the medium of photography to uphold that stereotype. Sometimes they hid their true identities and professions, realising that "branding" themselves as yoga teachers would secure better income. They used the mystique of occult knowledge in order to lure customers into costly private classes. They fought competition, sometimes resorting to stealing intellectual property. At the same time, due to both competition and the peripatetic lifestyle of the gurus, student-customers would shift allegiances often, changing between one swami and another. Although the scale of the phenomenon might have been significantly smaller than now, yoga was already becoming part of something that would become consumer culture a few decades later.

Not only does the relationship between yoga professionals and yoga practitioners depend on local economies, it is also dependent on the degree of these practitioners' involvement. One of the characteristics of consumer culture that Jain identifies in modern postural yoga is the heretical imperative[4]—the necessity to make continuous choices on a highly heterogenous market. The multiplicity of competing "yoga brands" on the "yoga market" forces practitioners to choose a preferred brand. While this might be the case for casual practitioners or for beginners, who visit different yoga centres depending on their current interests or needs, more experienced practitioners tend to show allegiance to a particular lineage or system of practice in ways that go beyond being faithful to a brand. The cumulative efficacy of a coherent system of practice engaged in over time results in strong habits around which the practitioners' life is organised. The complex in-group social ties and the power dynamics between "yoga teachers" and their "students" lead to strong emotional involvement. These factors make shifting from one yoga method to another (or indeed foregoing any particular "method" altogether) very difficult. The recent media coverage of sexual and other abuses in modern postural yoga milieus shows how challenging it is for practitioners to part ways with their instructors, despite having experienced prolonged violence on

[3] Deslippe, P. 2018. "The Swami Circuit: Mapping the Terrain of Early American Yoga." *Journal of Yoga Studies* 1: 5-44.

[4] See Berger, P. 1979. *The Heretical Imperative: Contemporary Possibilities of Religious Affirmation.* New York: Doubleday.

their part. Contrary to Jain's suggestion,[5] changing a yoga system or lineage in not like changing a car or personal computer brand—a fact that cannot be appreciated unless the psychosocial aspects of modern yoga are factored in.

Another of Jain's arguments concerns the adaptability of "yoga products" and "yoga services" to the ever-changing consumer needs. Once again, this observation is true in some cases. Trends in yoga apparel and accessories change relatively fast (though the infamous "Iyengar shorts" might be an exemption from the rule), and in some centres ephemeral varieties of yoga classes might come and go. But some of the most prominent systems of modern postural yoga seem very resistant to change. Iyengar Yoga or the Ashtanga Yoga of K. Pattabhi Jois, for example, are known for rigorously protecting their respective methods of practice against unauthorised change, and authorised change is introduced only very reluctantly. The concepts of tradition or lineage resound strongly in these milieus and they are more relevant than adapting to the expectations of prospective practitioners. It is in fact the practitioner who has to adapt in numerous ways in order to fit in a given milieu and into a specific system of practice. Certain superficial concessions may be made—a class might be called "Yoga Ignite" instead of "Iyengar Yoga Introductory Course" to make it more catchy. The "Iyengar shorts" might be sewn from higher quality, more colourful materials. But the kinds of bodily and social practices that catchy names and floral prints embellish are quite impervious to change—a fact that can remain obscure unless these bodily and social practices are looked at carefully.

Not factoring in the psychosocial context is, I believe, the weak point of Jain's argument, and it is, once again, the outcome of a specific metaphorical construal. Concepts such as yoga, market, or consumer culture are not only reified in Jain's argument—they are in fact treated as autonomous agents. There are certain interactions between consumer culture and yoga that make the latter subject to the former; there are certain influences of the market, but how they work and why they are effective remains obscure. It is not that Jain disregards the human factor entirely—in defending modern postural yoga as a body of religious practice, she asserts the practitioners' spiritual engagement with this practice. This consideration, however, is divorced from the rest of the argument. The said spiritual involvement, the presence and engagement of actual people, is not acknowledged as a factor shaping, transforming, or "producing" modern postural yoga.

[5] "I would suggest, however, that surrender to a guru and his or her spiritual wares is not necessarily quantitatively or qualitatively different than surrender to a brand" (Jain, 2014: 93).

The blindness to the intricacies of the social relations within modern yoga milieus is illustrated strikingly by the author's statement that yoga is advertised as a means to better sex (110). To prove her point, Jain quotes Bikram Choudhury, who was recorded saying that a particular *āsana* is "good for sex. Cootchi, cootchi. You can make love for hours and have seven orgasms when you are 90" (ibidem). Any insight into the well documented behaviour of Choudhury (who has been accused of sexual abuse—including rape—by his students), as well as into the dynamics of guru-disciple relationships,[6] shows that commodifying and selling sexual prowess is not quite the issue in this case. By talking provocatively about sex, Choudhury does a few things. He transcends social norms and common expectations as to how a spiritual teacher should act—a behaviour quite standard even among premodern gurus, especially of tantric provenience. By alluding to a sphere of life that many practitioners might be ambivalent about he perplexes them, thus making them more susceptible to his influence. He also asserts his position as the dominant male in the group—the one who not only possesses unparalleled sexual capabilities but can also talk about them openly while walking among hundreds of students dressed in nothing but swimming shorts. Choudhury's talk of "cootchie cootchie" is not, or at least not primarily, about advertising yoga for better sex. It is about enacting his own authority over the group—the kind of authority that made it very difficult for his students to swap his "brand" of yoga for a different one despite his blatant, hurtful, and in fact criminal misconduct.

Jain's obliviousness to the foregoing issue might be explained by the fact that when *Selling Yoga* was being written, such abuses were not being discussed extensively. Although accusations against various yoga gurus—including Choudhury—had already been expressed, an open academic assessment of these kind of problems had not yet begun. However, now that this Pandora's box has been opened and new research is being produced, such misconstrual should be noted.

Finally, Jain's view on late modern yoga is incomplete, because she did not yet have access to relevant knowledge of its premodern varieties. According to Jain, "postural yoga is in part a product of consumer culture, hence the absence of anything that looks like it in the history of yoga prior to the twentieth century" (155). However, recent work by Jason Birch and Mark Singleton has revealed that late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-

[6] For an up-to-date discussion of the guru-disciple relationship as it pertains to the issue of sexual abuse in guru movements, see Lucia, A. 2018. "Guru Sex: Charisma, Proxemic Desire, and the Haptic Logics of the Guru-Disciple Relationship." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 86(4): 953-88.

century *haṭhayoga* had certain things in common with modern postural yoga.[7] One of these was the body enhancing character of yogic practices. The practices of a late eighteenth-century manuscript known as the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* were aimed at increasing practitioners' agility and strength. These practices were in all probability known to the twentieth-century teacher Tirumalai Krishnamacharya and they most likely influenced his system of yoga practice. According to Jain, however, the notion of body enhancement through fitness regimes is an element of consumer culture and it is through consumer culture that it became a part of yoga practice. Recent research indicates that it was a part of the construal of yoga at a much earlier stage.

Some of the points I made above hopefully show that today, six years after *Selling Yoga* was published, the arguments of the book should be reconsidered. Jain's theses are by no means wrong—there are simply too limited and too general. When Jain's book was being written, the amount of research done on modern yoga was fairly small and it was difficult to avoid generalisations. In 2020, there is much more contextualised, nuanced research in the field that has exposed the shortcomings of Jain's conclusions. Just by looking beyond the US the claim of the relation between yoga and consumer culture is weakened. Deeper research into the history of pre-modern yoga shows that modern postural yoga is more grounded in it than previously believed.

But the need to update our knowledge in relation to *Selling Yoga* is one matter. Another matter is the explanatory potential of the book. As I suggested before, describing yoga in marketing terms may make it easier to disarm the education metaphor that has been in use for centuries and that has been facilitating abuse. Other than that, however, does associating modern postural yoga with consumer culture explain anything? Does it truly account for its appeal and popularity? Is it in any way essential to its definition? Does the fact that in some parts of the world yoga is marketed just like yoghurt, laser printers, or kitchen sinks tell us more about yoga, or more about marketing strategies?

It is not "branding" or "packaging" that keeps practitioners invested in particular styles of postural yoga practice. There are intricate social relations involved, both between co-practitioners and between practitioners and instructors. And, most of all, there is the practice itself, offering rich experience—kinaesthetic, intellectual, and emotional. By means of long-lasting yoga practice people transform themselves—physically, socially, and mentally. If we remain blind to this experience and to these transformations, if we only see practitioners as simply being moved about by the pervasive forces of the

[7] See Birch, J. and Singleton, M. 2019. "The Yoga of the *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati*: Haṭhayoga on the Cusp of Modernity." *Journal of Yoga Studies* 2: 3-70.

mighty market, we will not find out much about the significance of yoga in the contemporary world. Because yoga is not a product—it is a protean, multifaceted social phenomenon. And it should be studied as such.

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Book Review

Yoga in Transformation: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. Edited by Karl Baier, Philipp A. Maas, and Karin Preisendanz. Vienna: Vienna University Press, 2018. 630 pages; 55 figures.

The *Yoga in Transformation* volume pulls together extended research papers from an eponymous conference held at the University of Vienna in 2013. Featuring sixteen peer-reviewed chapters from world-leading scholars, the volume is a valuable resource for academic yoga studies—probably more at graduate than undergraduate level, given its original research content. The collection is divided into two sections. The first, titled "Yoga in South Asia and Tibet," features mostly studies on texts, while the second, titled "Globalised Yoga," focuses on developments in the twentieth century and is more interdisciplinary, including textual research, anthropology, sociology, affect theory, and art history.

The collection opens with two highly topical studies on the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* by Wujastyk and Maas, respectively examining the Buddhist context of specific *sūtra*s in the text and the role of *āsana* in Pātañjala yoga. Both of these chapters are excellent, but beyond these more familiar "classical" contexts, the section moves on to research areas that are less known in yoga studies. For example, Maas and Verdon investigate the *Kitāb Pātanǧal*, a work by Perso-Muslim polymath Al-Bīrūnī. This eleventh-century Arabic text is a "free and creative" (329) translation or a "simplifed revision" (301) of the *Pātañjalayogśāstra*, rendered during the Golden Age of the Islamic world (289). It is characterised by formal innovations, including a dialogic frame between "Pātanǧal" and "the ascetic who roamed in the deserts and jungles" (287)—the latter a familiar figure in medieval Islamic religious literature. The work also reflects selective omission of certain passages and definitions (including definitions of yoga itself), and so the *Kitāb Pātanǧal* represents Patañjali's work for Muslim audiences who were not "acquainted with the Brahmanical culture of the time" (321). Maas and Verdon's chapter offers a

robust refutation of Pines and Gelbum's theory that Al-Bīrūnī based his rendering on an unknown commentary (rather than on the commentarial part of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* itself). It is also refreshing in considering Patañjali's work first and foremost as a *śāstra* (treatise) and situating it in the specific yet understudied context of early Muslim cultural reception. The chapter also includes a detailed discussion of the cosmography of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* and a sharp theoretical analysis of the translational strategies used by Al-Bīrūnī in order to "bridge cultural gaps" (325).

Rastelli's chapter provides a fascinating account of the yoga practices in the Pāñcarātra communities dedicated to ritual worship of Viṣṇu. Within a daily, fivefold ritual sequence, yoga occupies the fifth stage as a purificatory practice assigned to the last part of the day. Yoga begins at bedtime with theistic reflection as one falls asleep, and it is conducted in earnest by waking up in the middle of the night as part of a segmented sleep pattern (227–30). Midnight yogic practices include purification rites and meditation practices such as visualizing God, dissolution and recreation of the elementary constituents (*tattvas*), and mentally installing mantras in one's body. Sleep itself can be a yogic technique, and its effects are prolonged by rising around three hours before sunrise, at the time designated as the *brāhma muhūrta* (233–35). Addressing a later Vaiṣṇava setting, Kiehnle's chapter, "The Transformation of Yoga in Medieval Maharashtra," surveys the themes of yoga in Jñāndev's *Jñāneśvarī*, a thirteenth-to-fourteenth-century Marathi commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* presented as a collection of devotional songs. Kiehnle's study is an important reminder of the shifting contexts of key technical terms such as the Sāṃkhya dualist concept of *kaivalya* (isolation), which Jñāndev adjusts to the *advaita* (non-dual, or non-diverse) meanings of Nāth practice and philosophy (264). Another chapter of note is Baker's richly illustrated account of the development of Haṭhayoga-related yoga and somatic practices in Tibetan Buddhism, focused in particular on little-known applications within Dzogchen.

The collection also contains two major outputs, by Birch and Mallinson, of the Hatha Yoga Project funded by the European Research Council, which ran from 2015–2020 at SOAS and has contributed a great deal to redefining the current landscape of academic yoga studies. Birch's chapter, "The Proliferation of *Āsana*-s in Late-Medieval Yoga Texts" describes the extensive lists of *āsana*s that appear in *haṭhayoga* texts after the sixteenth century, concentrating on three hitherto unexamined manuscripts that contain numbers of postures exceeding the traditional figure of eighty-four. Together, these three manuscripts "corroborate the chronological increase in the number of *āsana*-s seen in published texts" (109) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Ujjain

manuscript of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, by the *śaiva advaitavedāntin* Śivānandasarasvatī, "demonstrates the willingness of yogis to combine yoga techniques from Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava traditions" (121). It also shares close parallels with the illustrated Persian manuscript the *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt*, which was a support for Birch in interpreting obscure descriptions of *āsana* in the *Yogacintāmaṇi*. The *Haṭhapradīpikā-Siddhāntamuktāvalī* is an extended version of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, which increases the standard count of fifteen *āsana*s to some ninety-five. The *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* is the first known text to describe repetitive sequences of postures, numbering one hundred and twelve, and may have formed the basis for some of the dynamic practices in the modern Krishnamacharya lineage. The chapter also contains many useful charts as well as three appendices: a diplomatic transcription of the *āsana* section in the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, a translation and transcription of the *Haṭhābyāsapaddhati*, and a chart that compares medieval and modern *āsana*s.

Mallinson's chapter ("Yoga and Sex: What is the Purpose of *Vajrolīmudrā*?") is not for the squeamish, describing the *haṭhayoga* technique of drawing liquids up into the urethra through an inserted pipe. The chapter includes not only textual and ethnographic data but also experiential insights and anatomical information (185). *Vajrolīmudrā* is first described in the *circa* twelfth-century *Amanaska*, and then named explicitly and further elaborated in the *circa* thirteenth-century *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* (187). These early accounts equate the *vajrolī* technique with *rājayoga* as a way to control semen (to stop it from "falling") and thereby to retain ascetic celibacy. *Vajrolīmudrā* has been a pivot in academic histories of yoga, since the term also appeared in tantric texts, thereby leading some scholars to assert that *haṭhayoga* emerged from the sexual rites of tantra. However, Mallinson argues that despite the "shared terminology" (197) between *haṭhayoga* and tantra "[w]ords such as *mudrā*, *vedha*, *bindu* and *āsana* have meanings in the Haṭha corpus quite different to those which they have in earlier tantric works" (197). Rather, he argues, *vajrolī* is a much older ascetic practice that was adopted by *haṭhayoga* authors from the eleventh century onwards for new householder audiences (196), and at different times the technique was also appropriated and refashioned by tantric traditions (198; 205). Appendix 2 contains editions and translations of two *circa* eighteenth-century sources discussing *vajrolīmudrā*: the *Bṛhatkhecarīprakāśa* and the *Vajroliyoga*.

The "Globalised Yoga" section of the book contains a range of varied contributions, which, if read together, build up a socially textured and theory-informed picture of twentieth-century developments. Not all contemporary cultural facets of "yoga in transformation" are covered here; however, the overall limitations in scope were

shaped by the structure of the 2013 conference rather than by some of the more recent theoretical advances in yoga studies. Thus, critical issues such as gender, race, and abuse are not addressed. Still, the topics in this section are wide-ranging, from late nineteenth-century Viennese Occultism (Baier), through epistemic conditions that structure a problematic concept of "global yoga" (Hauser), to Christian responses to yoga in the late twentieth century (Amaldass). To alight on a few other chapters in detail: Newcombe's study examines the public spaces of yoga (551) that throw up contested meanings and reflect wider discussions on religion, secularity, and post-secularity, and cultural appropriation. Public yoga spaces can include not only schools and studios but also stages that host yoga demonstrations and competitions. Drawing on the theories of Lefebvre and Knott, Newcombe identifies how different public locations for yoga reflect "cultural positions" informed by "ideological positions" (560–63) used to determine the "authenticity" of the practice. However, attempts to essentialise a "true" yoga are resisted by interrogating the specific and complex meanings operating in any one particular space. Ideologies of health are the focus of Alter's "Yoga, Nature Cure and 'Perfect' Health," which charts the incorporation of European techniques of Nature Cure into systems of yoga by figures such as Śivānanda, Gandhi, Kuvalayānanda and Yogendra. Alter shows how German Naturopath Kuhne's theory on disease and his dietary and hydrotherapeutic techniques were brought into conversation with Indian metaphysics and medicine. It is this conversation that contributed to the institutionalization of naturopathy in Indian healthcare, as evidenced by the coupling of yoga and naturopathy as a joint category in the current Indian Ministry of Ayurveda, Yoga & Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha, and Homeopathy (AYUSH).

The volume ends as it starts, with Pātañjala yoga. Bühnemann's "Nāga, Siddha and Sage: Visions of Patañjali as an Authority on Yoga" traces the development of Patañjali's iconography from the *c.*12th-century sculptures at the Naṭarāja Temple at Cidambaram in Tamil Nadu to installed figures in contemporary global yoga studios in the Kṛṣṇamācārya lineage. The chapter disentangles the knots (and confusions) in the mythic construction of Patañjali as an author on yoga, grammar, and Ayurveda. It also deconstructs the legend of Patañjali as a divine serpent (*nāga*) (581–82) and analyses his depictions as a two-armed and a four-armed figure. An unexpected and delightful feature of this chapter is its gallery of thirty-two colour images.

The editors of this volume and Vienna University Press are to be commended for making this an open-access publication at a time when high prices keep research books out of reach of individuals and a preserve of institutional libraries. The volume contains

a wealth of primary sources - not only translations and editions packed into essays, footnotes, and appendices but also colour images. What would have enhanced the utility of the book even further is a list of illustrations and an index for the printed hardback edition. Overall, the volume stands as a key companion to teaching and learning in the fast-changing and growing field of yoga studies.

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Book Review

Biography of a Yogi: Paramahansa Yogananda and the Origins of Modern Yoga. Anya P. Foxen. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. 238 pages.

First published in 1946, *Autobiography of a Yogi* by Paramahansa Yogananda has to date sold over four million copies. It is by far Yogananda's most popular book and has been translated into thirty-three languages. Aside from South Asian religio-philosophical texts, *Autobiography of a Yogi* is perhaps the most widely read publication on the life of a yogi of all time.

Yogananda (Mukunda Lal Ghosh, 1893–1952) was born in Gorakhpur, in the state of Uttar Pradesh. He was initiated into Kriya Yoga in 1907 in Calcutta, together with his best friend Manomohan Mazumdar (later known as Swami Satyananda). The two men were initiated by Swami Kebalananda, a disciple of Swami Lahiri Mahasaya of Banaras (who was also the guru of Yogananda's parents). In 1915 Yogananda received an initiation as a *saṃnyāsī* by Sri Yukteswar Giri, thus becoming Yogananda Giri. Yuktesvar's guru was Lahiri Mahasaya, whose guru was the semi-mythical Babaji; this was the lineage of teachers that transmitted Kriya Yoga.

Yogananda sailed from Calcutta to Boston in 1920 to attend as an Indian delegate the International Congress of Religious Liberals that was convening in Boston; there he delivered a lecture on "The Science of Religion." Yogananda taught his version of Kriya Yoga philosophy and practices in the USA from 1920 until his demise in 1952. He made a return trip, via several countries, to India (1935–1936), where he received a hero's welcome, in similar circumstances to those of Vivekananda, another Calcuttan who had returned triumphantly from the USA in 1897, a generation previously.

In 1920, shortly after arriving in the USA, Yogananda founded the Self Realization Fellowship (SRF), which established its administrative headquarters in the Los Angeles area in 1925. Since then, around 500 of the organization's centres have been established

worldwide. The Indian wing of the organization is known as the Yogoda Satsanga Society, a name also used for some of its operations in the USA. It was first established near Calcutta, then at Ranchi, in the state of Bihar, by Yogananda and his younger brother Bishnu Charan Ghosh. Bishnu later became the *āsana* teacher of Bikram Choudhuri, the founder of Bikram Yoga.

Yogananda taught Kriya Yoga as a four-stage sequence (134–5), which he referred to as a "science." It was primarily based on meditation but also incorporated modified Tantric *haṭhayoga* techniques, including the concept that there are six energetic centres (*cakra*s) arranged along the spine in the body, which have astrological correspondences. To his advanced disciples he taught *prāṇāyāma* and a limited number of basic *āsana*s (but not *padmāsana*); he also taught *mantra* recitation (particularly *haṃsa* and *oṃ*), visualizations, *khecarī mudrā* (which he taught to just a few people), and several modern stretching exercises that employ the systematic tension and release of various muscles. Yogananda referred to this package of practices as "Yogoda."

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Several other biographies of Yogananda have been published in the last few decades, notably by Sananda Lal Ghosh (1980), Brenda Lewis Rosser (1991), Lola Williamson, (2010), and Philip Goldberg (2018). Yogananda's life was also discussed within a series of biographies on Kriya Yoga gurus by both Swami Satyeswarananda Giri (1983; 1984; 1985; 1991; 1994) and Swami Satyananda (2004). However, Foxen's work is most welcome, as it examines Yonananda's life and works critically and in a broader historical and sociological context, making his legacy more readily discernable.

For an enthusiast for the "mystery and wonder" of India, *Autobiography of a Yogi* does not disappoint. As told in the *Autobiography*, Yogananda's life was a parade of miraculous events and reality-bending yogis, many of whom could perform superhuman feats, such as magically appearing and disappearing or producing objects out of thin air. The *Autobiography* also presents aspects of science and interpretations of religious experience that were *courant* at the time, which are blended into the divine metaphysics of Kriya Yoga. From his childhood onwards, Yogananda had a fascination with hypnotism and occult powers (96–8). For sceptics, of course, even just one miracle

opens the door to as many miracles as one could wish for. Foxen remarks (xii) that when she first read *Autobiography of a Yogi* she didn't finish it, as it seemed "kind of nutty."

Fortunately for us, Foxen not only returned to the *Autobiography* but also comprehensively plumbed its creation and the "real" life of its author, Yogananda. Foxen's *Biography* comprises an introduction, five chapters, and an epilogue. The first two chapters focus on the people and ideas that shaped the avant-garde understanding of yoga and religious experience in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Chapter 1 focuses on other influential yogis of the time, while Chapter 2 assesses the influence of the metaphysical ideas in Mesmerism, New Thought, Theosophy, and other popular theories. Chapter 3 examines the life of Yogananda from numerous sources, including the autobiography, alternative biographies, popular media, and community records. Chapter 4 analyses the teachings of Yogananda in the USA, observing how his teaching of "traditional" *haṭhayoga* was significantly adapted and "universalized" to suit a western audience. In Chapter 5, the writing of the *Autobiography* is unpacked. The book, which has undergone numerous and sometimes substantial revisions and additions during the course of its many published editions, was in fact written in collaboration with perhaps four editors. In the epilogue, the extraordinary life of Bikram Choudhury is related, including accounts of the allegations of abuse and the sex scandals that surround him to this day.

As is commonplace in the world of celebrity of whatever stripe, the life of Yogananda, when examined under a critical, "non-hagiographical" eye, has several minor scandals, though perhaps not as many as the *Autobiography* has miracles. Foxen details Yogananda's legal cases concerning his business arrangements, a few alleged sexual innuendos, and the significant *furore* that erupted (106–12) after a series of lectures he gave in Miami in February 1928. He was banned from speaking there again after 200 irate husbands petitioned the authorities, concerned that their wives had been negatively influenced by his teachings. Yogananda was accused of proposing that their wives pay $35 to attend private audiences with him to learn the secrets of his "mystic cult." Although material is provided on a few controversies surrounding Yogananda, it is proportionally a small part of the content of the study.

Biography of a Yogi is well written; it is engaging, carefully organized, and extensively researched. Overall, the book provides a balanced and interesting account of one of the world's most famous gurus, whose autobiography and transmission of Kriya Yoga to the

USA and elsewhere significantly shaped the understanding and practice of yoga in the twentieth century.

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Book Review

Roots of Yoga. Translated and edited with an introduction by James Mallinson and Mark Singleton. London: Penguin Books, 2017. Paperback. xl + 540 pages.

With *Roots of Yoga*, James Mallinson and Mark Singleton have made a monumental contribution to the historical study of yoga in South Asia. This rich sourcebook makes available to the English reader a selection of hundreds of key passages (some translated for the first time), culled from more than one hundred premodern works composed in Sanskrit and a dozen other languages. As leading scholars of yoga studies at SOAS and researchers in the Hatha Yoga Project,[1] Mallinson and Singleton are well positioned to undertake this ambitious survey of yoga's history in texts. The book is concerned primarily with the practical (as opposed to the doctrinal and philosophical) dimensions of premodern yoga, a focus that meshes with the translators' expertise in postural forms of *haṭhayoga* and their modern reception. Mallinson and Singleton's respective specializations in philology and cultural history complement one another, producing a holistic engagement with the texts not as isolated documents but as windows onto past worlds of practice and identity. *Roots of Yoga* is a valuable reference work for research and teaching, as many scholar-teachers (myself included) have discovered since its publication in 2017. Yet reading this dense book cover-to-cover brings its own rewards, revealing important arguments about yoga's diversity of practices and practitioners, ideological and religious malleability, and overall fluidity as a cultural form. *Roots of Yoga* is an indispensable resource for historians of South Asian religions, Indologists, and scholars of yoga studies; moreover, given its accessible style and publication by a trade publisher, the work should attract the interest of modern yoga practitioners and an educated general public.

In the introduction, Mallinson and Singleton lay out the rationale and aims of the work and give a historical overview of the major texts and religious movements involved. Noting yoga's growing popularity but criticizing its reduction to a narrow group of

[1] The Hatha Yoga Project, ERC research grant agreement number 616393. Retrieved from: hyp.soas.ac.uk.

canonical texts (e.g., the Upaniṣads, *Bhagavad Gītā*, and *Pātāñjalayogaśāstra*) and transregional postural systems, they view their work as addressing a lack of awareness about yoga's varied historical contexts in South Asia. By bringing lesser-known works (often produced by obscure groups detailing esoteric practices) into engagement with more celebrated texts, the translators aim to provide access to a wider range of textual material and thus present the history of yoga with more breadth and nuance. Having already collaborated with curators and art historians to produce a volume on yoga's visual history,[2] Mallinson and Singleton know well that texts do not tell the whole story. Yet they ardently defend their chosen materials and methods: "[T]exts remain a unique and dependable source of knowledge about yoga in particular moments in history…" (x) Absent from this introduction, however, is any substantive reflection on power and patronage in the production of such textual discourses, on the translators' own standpoint as Western scholars in relation to South Asian texts, and on their roles as public intellectuals in constructing yoga for a new generation of scholars and practitioners. Addressing these issues up front would have placed *Roots of Yoga* on firmer critical ground. The rest of the introduction highlights key features of the book's contents, including an overview of the vital yoga scholarship that underlies the book, the importance of recent advances in tantric studies for understanding yoga, and the significance of working in languages beyond Sanskrit (including Persian, Tibetan, and Arabic, as well as vernacular Indian languages like Tamil and Old Marathi).

The book is thematically arranged in eleven chapters, with each one treating a major aspect of yoga's multifarious history, from breath-control to posture to special powers. Each begins with an essay summarizing the theme at hand, an overview of the chapter contents (which seems redundant given that the same information is available in the translations), and the translated passages themselves, which are organised diachronically. This organization allows the reader to compare and contrast a given theme across texts from different regions and time periods, while at the same time making it possible to trace the genealogies of certain practices and worldviews. Thus, for instance, "Mantra" (Chapter Seven) reveals the breadth and diversity of chanting in yoga traditions while at the same time making plain the central importance of the *Veda*s in establishing the ideology of Indian sacred sound. "Yoga" (Chapter One), which provides definitions of the term *yoga*, interpretations of the concept from various perspectives (Brahmanical, Buddhist, tantric, haṭhayogic), and typologies of yoga systems (based on the "limbs," *aṅga*s, they share), is especially pivotal to the book's argumentation. Under the heading of "yoga as practice, yoga as goal," this chapter

[2] Diamond, D. et al. 2013. *Yoga: The Art of Transformation*. Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

shows that the construction of yoga has often entailed two divergent emphases: on practical methods and on soteriological outcomes. The chapter also previews an argument made throughout the work, namely, that practices associated with yoga are to a large extent portable—that is, separable from doctrine, sect, and ideology. Systems that differ in theological terms, for example, broadly agree in prescribing breath-control, posture, mantra, meditation, and allied practices. Such insights illuminate the final chapter of the work ("Liberation"), where Mallinson and Singleton rebut the syncretistic presentation of yoga as "many paths, one goal," pointing out that the differing conceptions of liberation (*nirvāṇa*, *mokṣa*, *jivānmukti*, and so on), when combined with the emerging uniformity and hegemony of postural yoga in the early modern period, suggest a counter-narrative "in which one path leads to many goals" (396).

The structure of the chapters is a boon to researchers. To understand competing systemizations of the subtle energy centers (*cakra*s, in "The Yogic Body," Chapter Five), for instance, or to get a handle on the heterogeneous concept of yogic seals (*mudrā*s, Chapter Six), one has only to turn to the relevant pages to find a summary of the topic, elegant translations of key passages, and copious annotations. (In terms of supporting documentation, *Roots of Yoga* includes a timeline of important texts, a pronunciation guide, endnotes, bibliographies of primary and secondary literature, a glossary, and a useful index.) The book's structure is similarly appealing for the classroom: Mallinson and Singleton's presentation of passages is invaluable for undergraduate courses, provided that the instructor can give supplementary guidance. I have learned this from experience: students in my history of yoga course at Brown University benefited from reading individual chapters from one week to the next, but sometimes despaired of being able to retain so many names, titles, and terms without additional context. A teaching guide to accompany *Roots of Yoga* would be a welcome ancillary publication.

While *Roots of Yoga* represents the hard work and perseverance of two highly accomplished scholars and translators, it also stands as a testament to yoga scholarship as a collaborative enterprise. The book had its genesis on social media, with the initial research crowd-funded with $50,000 of seed money.[3] More importantly, the book is the flowering of intellectual collaboration, as the frequent and generous acknowledgements of previous scholarship—ancient and modern, Indian and Western—make clear. In this respect, *Roots of Yoga* is a summation of many overlapping strands in humanity's long journey to understand itself and the cosmos through yoga. In the opening of her

[3] Kickstarter for 'The Roots of Yoga, A Sourcebook from the Indian Traditions.' Retrieved from: http://tinyurl.com/rootsofyoga.

seminal 2004 book on modern yoga, Elizabeth De Michelis asks: "What is this yoga?"[4] More than a decade on, *Roots of Yoga* offers up an extensive array of materials for exploring the historical dimensions of this question.

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[4] De Michelis, E. 2004. *A History of Modern Yoga: Patañjali and Western Esotericism.* London: Continuum.

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