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COVER IMAGE

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'Jumping over the threshold' (*dehalyullaṅghanāsana*) from the film entitled,
Hṛ̥ṭhābhyaśapaddhati: A Precursor of Modern Yoga.

Yoga practitioner: Ruth Westoby.

Film Director: Jacqueline Hargreaves.





EDITORIAL: Jumping over the Threshold

Elizabeth De Michelis and Jacqueline Hargreaves

Senior Editor and Production Editor

Dear Readers,

It is a great pleasure to write this short note of introduction to the 2019 volume of the *Journal of Yoga Studies* (JoYS). In this volume we publish two items: a long article providing a stimulating, informative, and substantial contribution to academic research on Yoga, and the first of what we hope will be a long series of insightful book reviews. Suggestions about works to review which fall within the scope of our journal are always welcome.

The field of Yoga studies continues to flourish with specialist Masters-level degree programmes now available in Korea, Italy, UK, USA, and Germany, and in recent years universities across Europe have launched intensive ‘Yoga Studies Summer School’ programmes to complement such degrees. We feel very pleased to showcase academic excellence in this burgeoning research discipline. The growth of notable membership to our Advisory and Editorial Boards is also reassuring.

As in the case of volume one, the two pieces published herein are indicative of the standards of contributions that we seek. We received many submissions throughout the year but, unfortunately, they were not suitable for publication for various reasons. In this context it may be worth pointing out that, as stated in our [presentation page](#), “JoYS does not accept submissions of natural sciences, medical or experimental psychology articles, but would welcome review or analytical articles written by specialists in these fields with the specific aim of reporting relevant findings to non-specialist academic

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readers.” This is not to say that the types of submissions listed at the beginning of the quotation would not be interesting and worthwhile – it’s simply that we do not have the suitable expertise and contacts to evaluate, review, and process them as required. Such limitations apart, we are always grateful to receive new article proposals, as they tell us something about what is going on in our field and sometimes give us a chance to interact in fruitful ways with colleagues and students near and far.

We would also like to say a few words about this volume’s cover and how it links with Birch and Singleton’s article on the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. The photograph reproduced is in fact a still from a film, which aims to re-enact the extraordinary postural practice of this eighteenth-century text, and features its Sanskrit recitation along with an English translation (see <http://hathabhyasapaddhati.org>). This unique film was conceived and directed by one of us (Jacqueline Hargreaves) in collaboration with the Hatha Yoga Project, SOAS (<http://hyp.soas.ac.uk>). Such a pioneering project could be described as an experiment in ‘embodied philology’ – an innovative way in which philological research can make an impact on the wider community by way of interdisciplinary collaborations that aim to bring to life, via film and other mediums, the unique content of premodern Sanskrit manuscripts. The re-enactment required the invaluable support of passionate and adept practitioners in both India and the UK. The *āsana* masterfully demonstrated on the cover is called ‘jumping over the threshold’ (*dehalyullaṅghanāsana*). It is indicative of the skill and physical strength required to perform some of the dynamic premodern *āsanas* of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. Segments of this film will be a central feature of the forthcoming exhibition entitled *Embodied Liberation: The Textual, Ethnographical and Historical Research of the Hatha Yoga Project*, which will take place at the Brunei Gallery in London from 16th January to 21st March 2020.

As 2019 draws to a close and we get ready to jump over this ‘calendar threshold,’ we look forward to sharing more exciting Yoga research with our readers in the coming year. In the meantime, we wish you every academic success for 2020!

Elizabeth De Michelis and Jacqueline Hargreaves on behalf of the JoYS Editorial Team:

Jason Birch

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THE YOGA OF THE *HATHĀBHYĀSAPADDHATI*: HATHAYOGA ON THE CUSP OF MODERNITY

Jason Birch and Mark Singleton

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Abstract

The *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* is a Sanskrit text on the practice of Hatha yoga, probably composed in the eighteenth century in Maharashtra. This article discusses, among other things, the dating, authorship, sectarian affiliation, and unique features of the text, its relationship to other yoga texts, and its significance for the history of modern yoga. The most remarkable feature of this text is its section on *āsana* (yogic posture), which contains six groups of postures, many of which are unusual or unique among yoga texts. Another unique feature of this section is that the postures appear to be arranged into sequences intended to be practised in order. A manuscript of the text exists in the Mysore Palace; this (possibly along with other texts) was the basis for the illustrated *āsana* descriptions in Mysore's famous book, the *Śrītattvanidhi*. As we discuss, it is highly likely that the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* was known to the most influential teacher of 'modern postural yoga,' T. Krishnamacharya, and therefore has a special significance for certain schools of transnational yoga.

KEYWORDS

Yoga, Āsana, Body Culture, Hatha, *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, Hatha yoga, India, Krishnamacharya, Mysore, Modern Postural Yoga, *Śrītattvanidhi*, Saṅkhyāratnamālā, Vyāyāma, Vyāyāmadīpike

1. Introduction

The *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* is a Sanskrit text on the practice of Haṭhayoga that was most probably composed in the eighteenth century. It contains descriptions of more techniques than the fifteenth-century *Haṭhapradīpikā* and imparts many details on the practice of Haṭhayoga that are not found in other texts. In particular, its section on āsana (yogic posture) outlines the most extensive and sophisticated practice of complex postures of all the premodern works on yoga available to us.¹ Composed in a crude register of Sanskrit and preserved in a notebook that was probably intended for personal use, the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* appears to have been created by and circulated among practitioners. Perhaps owing to its extraordinary section on āsana, this work found its way into the royal court of the Mysore Palace in the early nineteenth century, where its content on postures was absorbed by Mysore's famous book, the *Śrītattvanidhi*. In the twentieth century, T. Krishnamacharya, whose teachings have greatly influenced modern and global forms of yoga, probably had access to a manuscript of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* in the Mysore Palace archives and used the work to inspire and sanction his innovations in postural practice.

This article will discuss the manuscript sources of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* and provide a summary of its content. It will also attempt to answer the most basic questions of authorship, provenance, and time of composition, and examine the complex relationships of this text to other works composed in Mysore in the mid-nineteenth century. Since access to other important primary sources has been declined by the Mysore Oriental Research Institute and the Palace archives, many of our concluding observations about its history in Mysore remain speculative. Nonetheless, we hope that this article will reveal the historical importance of this text and stimulate further research on the unanswered questions that remain. The structure of this article is as follows:

¹ In this article, the word 'premodern' is used to refer to any system of yoga that predates the nineteenth century. Some historians refer to the seventeenth and eighteenth century of India's history as the early modern period. However, this does not seem to be a necessary distinction in the history of yoga, because works on yoga do not reveal the influence of modernity on yoga until the nineteenth century.

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2. The Manuscripts

2.1 Catalogue Information and References in Secondary Sources

The *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* is largely absent in secondary literature on yoga. The *Descriptive Catalogue of Yoga Manuscripts* by the Kaivalyadhamma Research Department (2005) and a forthcoming volume of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* by the University of Madras do not report a work by this name.² As far as we are aware, the first secondary source to mention the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* is the *Encyclopaedia of Traditional Āsanas* (Gharote et al. 2006, lxvii), which includes the ‘kapāla-kuraṇṭaka-haṭhābhyaśa-paddhati’ in its bibliography. Although this encyclopaedia presents its information ahistorically insofar as it does not distinguish modern from premodern material, the references to each entry indicate that the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* was the source for many of its unique āsanas. Nevertheless, this encyclopaedia does not translate or reveal much of the content of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*.

A possible reason for the general absence of references to the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* in modern scholarship (with the exception of Birch 2018 [2013]) is that a manuscript of it has not been readily available to scholars. Two manuscripts are known to exist. One, which is held at the Bhārata-Itihāsa-Samśodhaka-Maṇḍala in Pune, has been catalogued under the incorrect title of *Āsanabandhāḥ*.³ This title appears to be an invention of the catalogue’s editor, because it is not found on the front or back covers of the manuscript nor in the work itself. The absence of a colophon may be the reason for the editor’s use of a contrived title. The second manuscript is held in the private collection of Pramoda Devi Wadiyar at the Mysore Palace. This collection has been inaccessible to both local and international scholars for over twenty years and remains so.

2.2 The Pune Manuscript

A notable feature of the Pune manuscript is its unusual paper. Each sheet has been dyed red or green, and the shades of colouring seem to vary from one sheet to another. The paper has an uneven texture and blemishes, which suggest it was made by hand. In fact, in places where the paper is thin, the indentations left by the papermaker’s mould are discernible. More importantly, the scribe has copied the text untidily onto the paper in portrait profile (i.e., vertical layout). As can be seen in Figure 1, each sheet has been

² We wish to thank Professor Siniruddha Dash for sending us in advance the entry on *haṭha* in the forthcoming work of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*.

³ See Khare 1960, 33. Accession no. 29, 2171.

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Figure 1: Front and back of a single sheet from the Pune manuscript of the *Hathābhīyāsapaddhati*. Ms. no. 46/440: folio 2 recto and folio 2 verso.



folded in half to form a notepad of sorts. These material features resemble some Marathi notebooks, called *badas*, which were used privately to record songs and mundane information (Novetzke 2008, 104-105).⁴ Given the unusual paper and layout of the text, particularly the section on *āsana* (see section 8.3), it appears as though someone crudely scribed the text for their own purposes, as though recording notes on scrap paper.⁵

The Pune manuscript is written in Devanagari script. There are many scribal errors and omissions, which are likely to have been introduced in the course of the text's transmission.⁶ As seen in folio 2 verso (Figure 1), the format of the writing changes for the section on *āsana*. The text describing each *āsana* is written in small blocks, which are positioned side by side. Some folios have two blocks of text, as in folio 2 verso, whereas others have four blocks, one in each quadrant. The gaps beneath each block might have been intended for line drawings which, for some unknown reason, were never added.

2.3 The Mysore Manuscript

This manuscript was consulted, and in part photographed, at the Mysore Palace by Norman Sjoman in 1985.⁷ We have had access only to these photographs, which are of the second half of the section on *āsana* (i.e., postures no. 53-114) and half a folio of text following this section. Therefore, we have not been able to verify whether this manuscript and its text are complete. The text is written in Kannada script and each description of an *āsana* is accompanied by an illustration in the Mysore style of art that is similar to, but in fact more detailed and complete than, the corresponding

⁴ We wish to thank Camillo Formigatti at the Bodleian Library for his very helpful comments on this manuscript and pointing out its similarities to Marathi notebooks (*bada*). Also, Christian Novetzke (p.c. 12th-13th November 2019) was kind enough to examine this manuscript and send us his very helpful comments, which included the following: "I think this may be materially a *bada* but not used as one in a way that is familiar to me from the didactic kirtan tradition. However, the intersection of form with what I've studied is intriguing to me given the connections between yoga, indeed Hatha yoga, and the Marathi bhakti traditions that surround the Varkaris (Jnandev and Namdev in particular), the Mahanubhavs, and the Ramdasis. I wonder if this isn't some kind of material record of this interlacing?"

⁵ The significant difference between the Pune manuscript and a *bada* is that the former is not stitched at the top and was copied as bifolia (i.e., the folio has been folded in half to produce four pages of writing). The paper is so thin that it probably could not be stitched.

⁶ The extent of these scribal errors can be seen to some degree in the passages quoted in this article and the number of emendations required. Comparing the text of the Pune manuscript with that of the Mysore manuscript indicates that both descend from a hyparchetype that had some of these omissions and errors (see section 6).

⁷ We are very grateful to Norman Sjoman for sharing his unpublished photographs of this manuscript and Jacqueline Hargreaves who helped identify and digitise the manuscript in Calgary.



Figure 2: Mysore Palace manuscript of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, folio 2 recto and folio 2 verso. Photograph by Norman Sjoman (1985).

illustrations of āsanas in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (see section 9). As seen in Figure 2, the folios appear to have been cut in half and bound together to form a codex.

Each āsana of the Mysore manuscript has at least three different numbers. The first (52-112) is placed at the end of each description; the second (53-114) is in red ink at the top right corner of each illustration; and third is in the left and right margins. Also, some folios are numbered, which constitutes a fourth set of numbers. The first set corresponds exactly to the numbering of the Pune manuscript, until the scribe of the Mysore manuscript repeats numbers 86 and 87. The second set enumerates the illustrations in ascending order up to 114, which is two more than the number of āsanas in the Pune manuscript. In fact, the last posture called *sukhāsana* is not in the text of the Pune manuscript and its description is identical to that of the *Śrītattvanidhi* (āsana no. 75). Therefore, *sukhāsana* may have been added to the Mysore manuscript before it was incorporated into the *Śrītattvanidhi*. Although we have not had access to the folios containing āsanas no. 1-52, it seems likely that another posture, which may also be in

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the *Śrītattvanidhi*, was added before *āsana* no. 53.⁸ The third set of numbers has been written in the left and right margins by a different hand in larger numerals than those of the first two sets. The third set corresponds to the number of each *āsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*, the order of which is different to that of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* (see section 6). Given their position, these numbers were probably added after the manuscript was scribed, perhaps, by a person who was involved in compiling the chapter on *āsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*.

The Pune and Mysore manuscripts have different scribal errors and some significant divergences in their readings, but are similar enough to indicate that both descend from a hyparchetype of the text. Examples of their differences include *chatrāsana* and *vimānāsana* in the Pune manuscript, which are called *cakrāsana* and *vimalāsana* respectively in the Mysore manuscript. As mentioned above, the Mysore manuscript may have two *āsanas* that are not in the Pune manuscript, which indicates that the content of the former was redacted in ways not seen in the latter. In nearly all cases, errors in the readings of the Mysore manuscript are replicated in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. However, there are a few instances where the redactor of the *Śrītattvanidhi* has corrected poor readings and conjectured the names of missing postures in the Pune and Mysore manuscripts.⁹ Therefore, the compilers of the *Śrītattvanidhi* attempted to fix some of the textual problems that had occurred earlier in the transmission of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*.

⁸ It is possible that *kuṭṭanatrayāsana*, which is *āsana* no. 120 in the *Śrītattvanidhi*, is the extra *āsana* in the folios of the Mysore *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* which we have not seen. It appears that a marginal note on folio 11v of the Pune manuscript (*dohkuṭṭanam* || *ūrukukutṭanam* || *pārvakukutṭanam* || *ityādīni kuṭṭanāni muṣṭinā bāhunā pārṣṇinā bhityā bhūminā kartavyāni*) was incorporated into the *Śrītattvanidhi* (and possibly the Mysore *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*) as an *āsana*. Cf. *Śrītattvanidhi* 120: *kuhanatrayāsanam* || *dūḥkuhanam* | *urah kuhaṇam* | *pārvakuhānam* | *ityādīni kuhanāni muṣṭinā* | *bāhunā pārṣṇinā* || *bhityā bhūmyā kartavyāni* || The term *kuhaṇa* appears to be a corruption. The syntax of the description of this *āsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* is different to that of the other *āsanas*, which suggests that it first appeared in the transmission of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* as a marginal note and later became a description of *kuṭṭanatrayāsana*.

⁹ For example, *bhūmīm tyajya* in the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* (*āsana* no. 73) was changed to *bhūmīm tyaktvā* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (*āsana* no. 83), and *ālingāsanam* in the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* (*āsana* no. 83) was changed to *ālingānāsanam* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (*āsana* no. 96). Also, the compiler of the *Śrītattvanidhi* conjectured names for several postures which are unnamed in the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*. For example, *āsana* nos. 55, 74, and 95, which are unnamed in the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*, have the names *pādamastakasamyojāsana*, *preikhāsana*, and *daṇḍāsana* respectively in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (*āsana* no. 115, 118, and 65).

3. Name of the Text and its Author

The opening lines of the first folio of the Pune manuscript refer to the work by the term *haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*, as seen in the following passage:

For those afflicted by the pain of transmigration, those excessively attached to sense objects, those obsessed with women, those fallen from caste, and [even] those who perform the most egregious actions, for their sake, this is a guidebook on the practice of Haṭhayoga (*haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*) composed by Kapālakuraṇṭaka. The topics in it and the techniques of the practice have been written down [here].¹⁰

One can confidently emend the codex's reading of *-paddhatar* to *-paddhatiḥ*. It is possible that the author is simply referring to the work as a 'manual on the practice of Haṭhayoga,' rather than the name of the text. However, seeing that a name of the text is absent on the front and back covers of this manuscript and there are no colophons, the compound *haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* is the best indication of the text's name. Be this as it may, the name of the author or the person to which these teachings were attributed is clearly stated as Kapālakuraṇṭaka.

The designation of the work as a *paddhati* suggests it is a compendium that was compiled to facilitate the practice of Haṭhayoga.¹¹ However, according to our research, it does not cite or borrow material from texts on Haṭhayoga. The only indication of it being a compilation is the two verses on *yama* and *niyama*, which were borrowed without attribution from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*.¹²

As far as we are aware, the author's name Kapālakuraṇṭaka is not mentioned in any other work on yoga. Nonetheless, it appears that Kapālakuraṇṭaka was a *siddha* (i.e., one who had mastered yoga), because this name is included in the opening salutations of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*.¹³ Interestingly, the name Koranṭaka is in the lineages of *siddhas* at the beginning of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (1.6), Cāṅgavaṭeśvara's *Tattvasāra* (872)

¹⁰ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 1v, ll. 3-5 (*saṃsāratāpataptātānām atyantaviśayasaktānām straiṇānām jātibhraṣṭānām atiśāhasakarmakartṛṇām tatkṛte iyanī kapālakuraṇṭakakṛtahāṭhābhyaśapaddhatiḥ || tadgatapadārthāḥ sādhanakarmāṇi ca likhyante || -taptānām] corr. : -taptānām Codex. -saktānām] corr. : saktānām Codex. -bhraṣṭānām] corr. : bhraṣṭānām Codex. kartṛṇām] emend. : kartṛṇām Codex. tatkṛte] emend. : tatkate Codex. paddhatiḥ] emend. : paddhatar Codex. tadgata-] conj. Goodall : gata- Codex. likhyante] conj. : likhyate Codex).*

¹¹ On the meaning of *paddhati*, see Sanderson 2013, 20.

¹² *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 11.19.33-34. See footnote 41.

¹³ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 1v, l. 2 (*śrīkapālakuraṇṭakāya namah*).

and the *Rasahṛdayatantra* (1.7.8).¹⁴ Also, the name Koranṭa, which is probably a variant spelling of Koranṭa, occurs in a list of *siddhas* in the alchemical compendium called the *Ānandakanda* (1.3.49).¹⁵ It is possible, but far from certain, that the names Koranṭaka and Koranṭa are related to Kapālakurāṇṭaka.

4. The Integrity of the Work

The text appears to be incomplete. This is suggested by the absence of a final colophon and the fact that the text finishes after a description of *viparītakaraṇī*, which is the last (i.e., tenth) *mudrā* in a section entitled the ten *mudrās* (*daśamudrā*). There is no concluding statement or, as one might expect at the end of a work on Hṛdayoga, a discussion on meditative absorption, often referred to as *rājayoga* or *saṃādhi*.

In light of the fact that the text appears to be incomplete, it is possible that the comment in the opening lines (i.e., ‘the topics in [the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*] and the techniques of the practice have been written down’) was meant to convey that the text in our possession is a condensed version of a longer work.

5. Evidence for Sectarian Affiliation and Region

The author’s sectarian affiliation is not stated or made explicit by the inclusion of passages on a particular pantheon, ritual, or doctrinal system of a sect. Nevertheless, there is internal evidence that suggests the author was Vaiṣṇava. In the section on the *śatkarma* (i.e., the six cleansing practices), the yogin is instructed to repeat the Vāsudeva *mantra* in order to remove obstacles (*vighna*). Also, this *mantra* should be repeated when bathing, before eating and sleeping, and mentally at the time of

¹⁴ The critical edition of the *Hathapradīpikā* (1998, 3. n. 20.1) gives the following variants to this name: *pauranṭhakah*, *kauranṭhakah*, *kauranṭakah*, *ghoranṭakah*, and *puranṭakah*. As far as we are aware, none of these words have been used for the name of a *siddha*. We wish to thank Amol Bankar for the reference in the *Tattvasāra*.

¹⁵ It should also be noted that a Goranṭaka is mentioned as the name of a disciple of Gorakṣa in the *Navanāṭhacaritra* (Jones 2017, 197–8, 200), which is a 1400 CE Telugu text.

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excreting. In the same passage, there is a reference to twenty-four names which begin with Keśava, which is a name of Viṣṇu.¹⁶

The author's familiarity with Vaiṣṇava sources is suggested by the citation of two verses on the *yamas* and *niyamas* from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, as noted above. The commentary on the *niyama* of purification (*śauca*) prescribes singing the names of the lord for purity of speech, which is suggestive of Vaiṣṇava practice.¹⁷ The same section prescribes worship of the lord (*bhagavatpūjā*) according to Vaiṣṇava Tantras for ascetics, Brahmins only in name, and women.¹⁸ Also, in the section on the *śatkarma*, the practice of *trāṭaka* includes gazing at Vaiṣṇava idols for increasing one's lifespan.¹⁹

The *Hṝthābhyaśapaddhati* may have been composed in Maharashtra or, at the very least, it was composed by someone who knew the local language of that area. This is suggested by a statement in the section on *vajrolimudrā*, in which the author refers to a type of reed called *haritaśara* in Sanskrit, and states that the vernacular term in Maharashtra and other places for this reed is *lavālā*.²⁰ This term is defined as *Cyperus*

¹⁶ *Hṝthābhyaśapaddhati* f. 23r ll. 10-14 (vighnaparihārārthaṁ vāsudevamantraṁ jape || snānādinā śuddhe sati ekāgrabuddhyā om̄ namo bhagavate vāsudevāyeti jape || bhojanānantaram ṣoḍakararahitam jape || nindrādau vāsudevavāsudeveti jape || malatyāgādikāle vāsudeveti manasā jape || abhyāsasarikhyā keśavādicaturviṁśatināmabhiḥ kriyate || malatyāgādikāle] emend. : malatyādikāle Codex. kriyate] diagnostic conj. : kuryāt Codex). The mantra of the keśavādicaturviṁśatināma is given in a Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣad, the *Tripādvibhūtimahānārāyanopaniṣat* (āūṁ keśavāya namaḥ | āūṁ nārāyaṇāya namaḥ | āūṁ mādhavāya namaḥ | āūṁ govindāya namaḥ | āūṁ viṣṇave namaḥ | āūṁ madhusūdanāya namaḥ | āūṁ trivikramāya namaḥ | āūṁ vāmanāya namaḥ | āūṁ śridharāya namaḥ | āūṁ hṝsikeśāya namaḥ | āūṁ padmanābhāya namaḥ | āūṁ dāmodarāya namaḥ | āūṁ saṅkarasāṇāya namaḥ | āūṁ vāsudevāya namaḥ | āūṁ pradyumnaṇāya namaḥ | āūṁ aniruddhāya namaḥ | āūṁ puruṣottamāya namaḥ | āūṁ adhokṣajāya namaḥ | āūṁ narasiṁhāya namaḥ | āūṁ acyutāya namaḥ | āūṁ janārdanāya namaḥ | āūṁ upendrāya namaḥ | āūṁ haraye namaḥ | āūṁ śrikṛṣṇāya namaḥ).

¹⁷ *Hṝthābhyaśapaddhati* f. 2r, ll. 8-9 (bhagavannāmasaṇkīrtanena vākśuddhiḥ [...] śaucam). Also, this text prescribes singing the names of god for enduring the pain of inserting a probe into the urethra (see below). On the importance of *nāmasaṇkīrtana* in Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism, see Valpey 2011, 312-328. A range of citations on *nāmasaṇkīrtana* in Vaiṣṇava works are found in the eleventh chapter of the sixteenth-century *Haribhaktivilāsa* (e.g., 11.345, 362-363, 370, 428, 439, 443-444, 507).

¹⁸ *Hṝthābhyaśapaddhati* f. 2r, ll. 11-12 (yatīnāṁ brahmabandhuṣtryādīnāṁ vaiṣṇavatantrādibhagavatpūjāṅgahomāḥ homaḥ).

¹⁹ *Hṝthābhyaśapaddhati* f. 24v, l. 7 (āyurvrddhyarthaṁ vaiṣṇavādimūrtinirīkṣaṇam [...] | vaiṣṇavādi-] emend. : veṣṇavādi- Codex. -nirīkṣaṇam] emend. : -nirīkṣaṇam Codex). On the significance of *ādi* in *vaiṣṇavādi*, see section 7.

²⁰ *Hṝthābhyaśapaddhati* f. 26r, ll. 2-3: 'Similar to the *jāti* sprout, the *haritaśara* by name is known in Maharashtra, etc., as *lavālā*' (jātyaikurasadrśo haritaśaraḥ nāma lavālā iti mahārāṣṭrādau prasiddhah || jāty] emend. : jānty Codex. -drśo] emend. : -drṣa Codex).

rotundus in a Marathi dictionary.²¹ This reference to Maharashtra is circumstantial evidence for the region in which the text was composed. Nonetheless, it is very rare for a premodern work on yoga to contain such a geographical reference.

6. Date of Composition

The *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* contains descriptions of one hundred and twelve āsanas, the majority of which are not found in other yoga texts. The exceptions are a small group of well-known āsanas, such as *siddhāsana*, *kukkuṭāsana*, *matsyendrāsana*, *dhanurāsana*, and so on, that were taught in nearly all of the Hāthayoga texts composed after the fifteen-century *Hathapradīpikā*.²²

The descriptions of each āsana in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* correspond word-for-word with those in a chapter of the seventh book, called the *Śaivanidhi*, of the *Śrītattvanidhi*.²³ This work was commissioned by the Mahārāja of Mysore, Mummadī Krishnarāja Wodeyar III (Martin-Dubost 1997: 238), who was born in 1794, ascended to the throne in 1799, ruled with full administrative powers between 1810 and 1831 (after which he was removed by the British), and died in 1868.²⁴ The *Śaivanidhi* of the *Śrītattvanidhi* was probably composed after the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* was completed in 1849 and before the Mahārāja's death in 1868.²⁵ A comparison between the āsanas of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* and the *Śrītattvanidhi* reveals that the latter was the borrower, because the Mahārāja rearranged the order of the postures. The original order of the postures is preserved in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* because the description of an āsana will often begin by mentioning the name of the previous one. For example, the description of plough posture (*lāngalāsana*) begins by mentioning the name of the previous posture

²¹ Molesworth (1857, 417) defines *lavālā* (also *lavhā*) as a “rush-like grass. It grows to the height of four feet, and is commonly found on the mud banks of *moḍhe* and of salt creeks. Used for thatching, and mats &c. are made of it. Set down by some botanists as *Cyperus rotundus*.” *Moḍhe* may refer to a location in Maharashtra. The only place of that name that we have been able to locate is in Chhattisgarh.

²² For more information on the proliferation of āsana in yoga texts composed after the *Hathapradīpikā*, see Birch 2018 [2013].

²³ There is one exception: the ninety-second āsana of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, called ‘the pigeon in the sky pose’ (*ākāśakapotāsana*), is not found in the *Śrītattvanidhi*.

²⁴ See Ikegame 2013, vi; 10. The dates that the Mahārāja of Mysore ruled (i.e., 1799 to 1868) are attested by the annals of the Mysore Palace (Iyer & Nanjundayya 1935, 49).

²⁵ For details on the date of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*, see section 10.

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called *narakāsana*.²⁶ Unlike in the *Śrītattvanidhi*, *narakāsana* is placed directly before *lāngalāsana* in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*:

Having fixed the nape of the neck on the ground, [the yogin] should lift up both feet. This is *narakāsana* (14). Having remained in *narakāsana*, he should place the top of the feet on the ground in the vicinity of the nose, join both hands, let them hang and plough the ground with the neck. This is *lāngalāsana* (15).

grīvākanṭhenā bhūmīm viṣṭabhyā pādāgradvayam ūrdhvam unnayet [||]
narakāsanāṁ bhavati ||14|| narakāsane sthitvā nāsikapradeśe bhūmau
pādapṛṣṭhe sthāpya hastadvayaṁ saṁmīlya lambikuryād grīvāpradeśena
bhūmīm karṣayet [||] lāngalāsanāṁ bhavet ||15||

In the *Śrītattvanidhi*, *narakāsana* is the eighth posture and *lāngalāsana* the seventeenth. It seems that the Mahārāja rearranged the order of the āsanas with a view to foregrounding eighty āsanas (see section 9). Also, the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s introduction to its section on āsana states that its source was a *yogaśāstra*,²⁷ which indicates that its collection of āsanas was borrowed from a yoga text, such as the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*.

Although the *terminus ad quem* of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* is the *Śrītattvanidhi* (i.e., mid-nineteenth century), it is likely that the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* was composed in the eighteenth century. If one compares the Pune and Mysore manuscripts with the *Śrītattvanidhi*, it is apparent that all three have some identical textual lacunae and incorrect readings.²⁸ These shared textual defects reveal that these witnesses descend

²⁶ *Narakāsana* appears to be named after a realm of hell in which miscreants were hung upside down and tortured (Birch, forthcoming 2020).

²⁷ *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999, plate 1): “[These] eighty yoga postures, by the measure of scriptures on yoga, should be known. Now, the shapes of the eighty postures are written down in the manner of a yoga scripture.” (*yogaśanāṁ yogaśāstramātraṁ jñeyam aśītidhā || atha aśītyāsanasvarūpāṇi yogaśāstrarityā likhyante*).

²⁸ The textual descriptions of both witnesses are missing the names of the āsanas numbered 47, 48, 55, 66, and 74. In the text of the *Śrītattvanidhi*, the names of these postures are missing, but it would seem that the illustrators added the names *nyubjāsana*, *garbhāsana*, *pādamastakasamīyogaśana*, *hrjjānusamīyogaśana*, and *preikhāsana*. The names *nyubjāsana*, *pādamastakasamīyogaśana*, and *hrjjānusamīyogaśana* are unconvincing conjectures because the names of the other āsanas in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* are based on those of animals, sages, objects, etc. The name *preikhāsana* is also unconvincing because this is the name of another āsana in this collection (i.e., *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* 73 and *Śrītattvanidhi* 94). The name *garbhāsana* has been given to a posture that was probably called *paścimatānāsana* (the posture following it is *ardhapāścimatānāsana*). The incorrect readings shared by the available manuscript of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* and the *Śrītattvanidhi* include *skandhayo* (instead of *skandhavay*), *pāṛṣṇi* (*pāṛṣṇī*), *ūruṇi* (*ūruṇī*), *jānu* (*jānum*), *skandhaḥ* (*skandham*), *jānu* (*jānum*), *tanmadhyā* (*tanmadhye*), and *bhrāmanām* (*bhrāmanām*). There are also fifteen other instances where both texts have incorrect, albeit different, readings.



from the same hyparchetype. The fact that this hyparchetype is significantly flawed suggests that a number of intermediary witnesses separate it from the archetype of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. Some of the defects were emended unconvincingly in the *Śrītattvanidhi*,²⁹ which reveals that the Mahārāja and his court did not have access to the archetype. Therefore, it seems reasonable to allow a period of time, at least fifty to a hundred years, for the transmission of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* to have produced the hyparchetype known to the Mahārāja in the mid-nineteenth century.³⁰

Although the *terminus a quo* of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* remains unknown, the text is unlikely to predate the eighteenth century because, as far as we are aware, it has not been cited in any compendium or work on yoga composed before that time.

7. The Intended Audience and Trans-Sectarian Nature of the Text

The opening lines of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* (translated in section 3) outline, in a very general way, the intended audience of the text. A broad range of people are mentioned, beginning with the most inclusive category of persons in need of liberation, that is, all those afflicted by transmigration. Then, more specific groups are identified, such as those obsessed by women³¹ and those fallen from caste. The last of these groups appears to refer to the people who might be the farthest from liberation, namely, those who do extremely egregious actions (*atisāhasakarma*).³²

It should be noted that the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* does not define its audience according to caste or sectarian affiliation, and it does not mention elsewhere limits to its inclusivity. Although the author may have had a preference for Vaiṣṇava mantras and singing the names of god as noted above, his mention of Vaiṣṇava Tantras and idols is qualified with ‘etc.’ (i.e., *vaiṣṇavādi*), which suggests that scriptures and idols of other

²⁹ These unconvincing emendations are discussed in the previous footnote.

³⁰ If the text was popular, it might have been copied many times in the space of a few years. However, it seems this work was never popular because it is not quoted in compendiums on yoga and its manuscripts are exceedingly rare.

³¹ The dictionary (Moneir-Williams s.v.) defines *straiṇa* as feminine or subject to or ruled by women. In these senses, it could refer to men who are feminine or obsessed with women. The term is defined in the *Vācaspatyam* as *strīsamūha* (i.e., womenfolk) and glossed as such by Bhāskarakanṭha in his commentary on *Mokṣopāya* 4.7.3. However, the fact that *straiṇa* is used in the plural in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* seems to suggest that *straiṇa* was not intended as an abstract noun. We wish to thank Christopher Minkowski for bringing this gloss to our attention.

³² Our translation of *sāhasakarma* as ‘egregious actions’ is consistent with the meaning of *sāhasa* in the *sāhasaprakaraṇa* (p. 74) of the *Vyavahāramālā*. For a discussion of this compound in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, see Birch 2018 [2013], 130 n. 73.

religions could be used. In fact, the author defines belief (*āstikya*) as confidence in the scriptures of Matsyendra and Gorakṣa, two Śaiva *siddhas*.³³ Like other texts of Haṭhayoga, the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* does not stipulate that initiation (*dikṣā*) is necessary in order to practise this type of yoga.

8. Unique Features of the Text

This section will focus mainly on the content of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* that is unattested in other texts of Haṭhayoga.

8.1 The Yogi's Hut

The fifteenth-century *Haṭhapradīpikā* and some related works describe a hut, which is usually large enough for only one person and has fairly generic features, such as a small door and surfaces smeared with cow dung.³⁴ However, the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* provides unusual details on measurements and material for a series of huts (*māthikā*), each of which is prescribed for certain techniques of Haṭhayoga. For the practice of the haṭhayogic *mudrās*, the hut should be covered in ashes and measure four forearm lengths (*hasta*) high and wide.³⁵ If one assumes that the average forearm length is eighteen inches,³⁶ such a hut would be high enough (i.e., 1.82 metres) for most people to stand in. Presumably of the same dimensions, a hut should be made of reddish soil for the practice of *āsana*³⁷ and plaster (*sudhā*) for the practice of the *śatkarma* (*basti*, etc.). For sleeping, it should have a skin (*carma*), such as that of a tiger, and for the practice of *vajrolimudrā*, a cotton cloth.³⁸ For the practice of the dynamic *āsanas*, such as ‘the pose leading to heaven’ (*svargāsana*), a hut much larger than the one mentioned above is required. Its dimensions are three bow-lengths high (i.e., 5.48 metres) and one bow-

³³ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 2r. l.1 (*matsyendragorakṣakākikāpālikādīnāṁ śāstreṣu viśvāsaḥ āstikyam*).

³⁴ Descriptions of huts occur in the *Dattātreayogaśāstra* (54-57), the *Yogayājñavalkya* (5.6-8), and the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (1.12-13), which stipulates that the hut should be a bow length (*dhanus*) in dimension (on this measurement, see footnotes 36 and 39).

³⁵ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 1v, ll. 6-7 (*caturhastapramāṇam ūrdhvam tiryak || bhasmamāthikā mudrābhyaśārtham*).

³⁶ The Monier Williams dictionary notes that a *hasta* is 24 finger-breadths (*aṅgula*) or ‘about 18 inches.’

³⁷ This is probably referring to seated *āsana* only, as a larger hut is stipulated for other *āsanas* (see below).

³⁸ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 1v, ll. 6-9 (*māthikālakṣaṇam [||] caturhastapramāṇam ūrdhvam tiryak || bhasmamāthikā mudrābhyaśārtham || āraktamṛttikāmāthikā āsanābhyaśārtham || sudhāmāthikā bastyādyabhyāsārtham || vyāghrādicarmamāthikā śayanārtham || tūlavastrādimāthikā vajrolyar�am || bastyādyabhyāsārtham] conj. : bastyāthabhyāsārtham Codex).*



length wide (1.82 metres).³⁹ The mention of *svargāsana* is significant here, because this posture requires the yogin to climb up a vertical rope.⁴⁰ Therefore, it appears that the extraordinarily high ceiling of this hut was required for performing the rope postures (*rajvāsana*), ten of which are taught in the text. One might wonder how such a substantial structure was built, where it was located (i.e., within or outside of populated areas), whether it was used by more than one yogin, and whether a yogin who practised all the auxiliaries of Haṭhayoga was expected to have a cluster of different huts.

8.2 Yama and Niyama

The *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* prescribes twenty-five *yamas* and *niyamas*, the names of which are introduced by a verse borrowed from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*.⁴¹ A commentary in prose follows these verses and explains each behavioural guideline. It is unlikely that this commentary was borrowed from an exegetical work on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* because it appears to have been written specifically for Haṭhayogins.⁴² One of its definitions mentions Haṭhayoga,⁴³ another alludes to a technique specific to Haṭhayoga,⁴⁴ and five

³⁹ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 1v, ll. 9-10 (*tridhanuṣyordhvam ekadhanuṣyatiryak svargādi[-]āsanārthaṁ*). A bow-length (*dhanuṣya*) is said to be four *hastas*.

⁴⁰ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* 98, f. 20r: ‘Having adopted *padmāsana*, the yogin should hold the rope with both hands and climb up it. This is the ‘āsana leading to heaven.’ (*padmāsanāṁ kṛtvā hastābhyaṁ rajjuṁ dhṛtvā ārohet [] svargāsanāṁ bhavati*).

⁴¹ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 1v, ll. 11-15 (*ahiṁsā hi satyam asteyam asaṅgo hrīr asaṅcaya āstikyaṁ brahmacaryam ca maunaṁ sthairyam kṣamābhayam | śaucam̄ japas tapo homaḥ śraddhātithyam madarcanaṁ tīrthātanam̄ parārthehā tuṣṭir ācāryasevanam | hi satyam] emend. : hityam Codex. hrīr] emend. : hīr Codex. asamcaya] corr. : asamcayaḥ Codex. āstikyaṁ] corr. : astikyaṁ Codex).*

⁴² We would like to thank Kenneth Valpey for searching through several commentaries on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (including some unpublished ones) for similarities with this section of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*.

⁴³ Note that this observation is based on an emendation to the text. *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*, f. 2r ll. 13-14: ‘Hospitality (ātithya) is kindness towards those who have practised the methods of one’s own path, such as Hathayoga.’ (*svamārgahāṭhādiuktyabhyastānāṁ satkārah ātithyam || svamārgahāṭhādiuktyabhyastānāṁ] emend. : svamārgahāṭyubhyastānāṁ Codex.*

⁴⁴ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 2r, ll. 9-10: ‘Celibacy (brahmacarya) is the conservation of [every] drop of semen through the penis and drawing in sexual fluids, etc.’ (*upasthadvārvīryabindor apatanam̄ raja[-]ādyākarṣanam̄ ca brahmacaryam || upasthadvārvīryabindor] Goodall : upasthadvārvīryam̄ bindor Codex*). This alludes to vajrolimudrā.

others are directed towards those who practise yoga.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the scriptures of Gorakṣanātha, who is considered the founder of Haṭhayoga, are mentioned.⁴⁶ In light of this, it is worth noting that the term *tapas* is reinterpreted as the performance of one's religious obligations (*svadharma*), which indicates that the author was more interested in associating Haṭhayoga with religious practice in general, rather than extreme asceticism, such as sitting amidst five fires.

8.3 Āsana

The statement introducing the section on *āsana* declares that the aim of the postures is to enable the yogin to do the *śatkarma*.⁴⁷ The same point is made at the end of this section, with the additional comment that the *āsanas* make the body firm.⁴⁸ The preliminary role of *śatkarma* in healing excess phlegm and fat before one begins the practice of yoga, as stipulated in the *Hathapradīpikā*,⁴⁹ appears to have been redefined in the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*.

One of the striking features of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*'s teachings on *āsana* is the six headings that divide the postures into groups:

⁴⁵ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* ff. 1v-2r: 'Non-attachment (*asariṇa*) is [defined as] indifference towards people who do not practise yoga' (*abhyāsapratiyogijanānām asnehah asariṇah*); 'shame (*hriḥ*) is compunction for the absence of religious activity, which destroys one's practice [of yoga]' (*abhyāsanāśake dharmābhave lajā hriḥ || dharmābhave*] diagnostic conj. Goodall : *dharma*++ Codex); 'not accumulating (*asañcaya*) is the absence of collecting goods that are different to those needed for the practice [of yoga]' (*abhyāsopayogivastvanyavastusangrahābhāvah asañcayaḥ || -vastvanyavastu-*] diagnostic conj. Niradbaran Mandal (2016, 21) : -*vasta*+*vastu*- Codex); 'roaming to sacred places (*tīrthātana*) is traveling from place to place in order to see people who are accomplished in the practice' (*abhyāsa-siddhānām darśanārthaṁ deśe deśe paryātanam tīrthātanaṁ || tīrthātanaṁ*] conj. : *tīrthātana* Codex); 'and striving to help others (*parārthehā*) is the effort aimed at helping a student's practice [of yoga] succeed' (*śisyābhyaśa-siddhyarthaṁ yatnah parārthehā*).

⁴⁶ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 2r, ll. 1-2: 'Belief (*āstikya*) is confidence in the scriptures of Matsyendra, Gorakṣa, Kāki, Kāpālika and others' (*matsyendragorakṣakākīkāpālikādīnām śāstreṣu viśvāsaḥ āstikyam*). It is not clear who Kāki and Kāpālika might be, or whether *kākīkāpālika* was the intended name. In fact, it seems somewhat likely that *kākīkāpālika* is a corruption of *khaṇḍakāpālika*, who is mentioned in some manuscripts of the *Hathapradīpikā* (1.8).

⁴⁷ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 2v ll. 1-2: 'Now, the postures are explained for procuring the capacity [to do] the *śatkarma*' (*atha śatkarmayogyatāpratipādanāyāsanāni likhyante*).

⁴⁸ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 23r, l. 1: 'When the practice of *āsanas* has brought about firmness of the body, the yogin should do the *śatkarma*' (*āsanābhyaśena śāriradārḍhye sati śatkarmāṇi kuryāt*).

⁴⁹ *Hathapradīpikā* 2.21: 'One with excess fat or phlegm should first practise the *śatkarma*. However, another person should not do them when the humours are balanced' (*medaśleśmādhikāḥ pūrvam śatkarmāṇi samācāret | anyas tu nācāret tāni dosāṇām samabhāvataḥ*).

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Group	Sanskrit	Verse No.
Supine	<i>uttāna</i>	1–22
Prone	<i>nyubja</i>	23–47
Stationary	<i>sthāna</i>	48–74
Standing	<i>utthāna</i>	75–93
Postures with Ropes	<i>raju</i>	94–103
Postures which pierce the Sun and Moon	<i>sūryacandrabhedana</i>	104–112

Although each group is not referred to as a sequence (*krama*) in the section on *āsana*, the text stipulates that the postures should be performed in sequence.⁵⁰ Furthermore, in many instances,⁵¹ the description of an *āsana* begins by stating that the yogin must be positioned in the previous posture. This is seen in the example cited above, in which the description of *lāngalāsana* begins with ‘having remained in *narakāsana*’ (*narakāsane sthitvā [...]*). In practice, the instructions on *lāngalāsana* rely on the fact that the yogin is initially positioned in *narakāsana*. In other words, the author describes the transition between *āsanas* and thus the sequential nature of the practice. This contrasts with descriptions of *āsanas* in other yoga texts, which describe each posture as though it were unconnected to others.⁵²

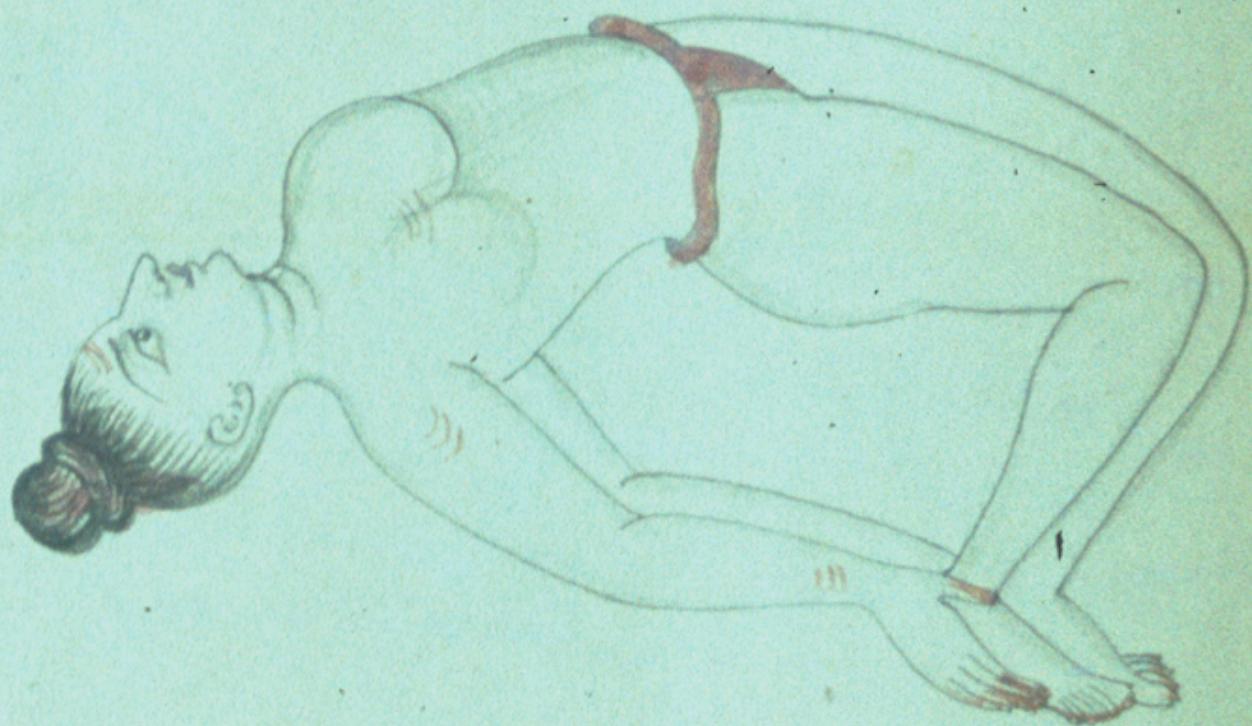
One might hypothesise that the author of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* grouped similar postures together in order to make each description more succinct. An example of this is seen in *Hathapradīpikā* 1.26, which stipulates that the initial position for accomplishing *uttānakūrmāsana* is *kukkutāsana*. In this case and others like it, the initial position is similar in form to the final one, which enables the author to keep the description of *uttānakūrmāsana* succinct. However, in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, there are instances where two postures of different shapes are linked together. For example, the reed posture (*vetrāsana*), in which the spine is deeply extended, is followed by the ball posture (*kandukāsana*), in which the spine is flexed, as described below:

⁵⁰ In the section on the *śatkarma* (f. 23r. l. 4), there is a reference to performing the postures in sequence: “then, †[...]† one should do the *āsanas* according to the sequence beginning with the bull’s leg [posture]” (*tataḥ †tad eva saṅkhayā† vṛṣapādādikrameṇa āsanāni kuryāt*). *Vṛṣapādakṣepāsana* is the first posture taught in the section on *āsana*.

⁵¹ In the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, these are *āsanas* no. 12, 15, 17–18, 26, 28–31, 33–34, 40, 44, 56, 58, 74, and 92.

⁵² For example, the description of *dhanurāsana* in *Hathapradīpikā* 1.27 begins with the instruction, ‘Having held the big toes with both hands, one should stretch like a bow as far as the ears.’ The initial position is not mentioned. The case of *kukkutāsana* (*Hathapradīpikā* 1.26), mentioned below, is a rare exception.

Figure 3: Vetrāsana and Kandukāsana (*Hathābhyaśapaddhati Āsana* no. 17 and 18) as illustrated in the *Śrītattvanidhi Āsana* no. 9 and 6. (Sjoman 1996, detail from plates 2 (inverted) and 1, respectively.)





Having remained in sofa posture (*paryāṅkāśana*), [the yogin] should join the hands and feet. This is *vetrāśana*. Having remained in *vetrāśana*, he should pull apart his hands and feet and take them upwards. He should [then] press the ground with his spine. This is *kandukāśana*.⁵³

The illustrations of these two poses in the *Śrītattvanidhi* show the significant change in the yogin's position (Figure 3).

The author's efforts to describe sequences of *āsanas* can also be inferred by the headings of supine, prone, stationary, standing, and so forth, which appear to group the postures. These headings do not characterise the shape of the *āsanas*, because postures of different shapes and movements are brought together under each heading. Instead, the heading appears to refer to a reoccurring position. For example, in the prone group, a prone position links six of the twenty-five *āsanas*, each of the six beginning with 'having lain pronely' (*nyubjaśayanam kṛtvā*).⁵⁴ These twenty-five postures include inversions, arm balances, push-ups, and tumbles. Therefore, the notions of 'prone' appears to refer to the way the *āsanas* are performed in sequence, rather than to groups of similarly shaped postures.

It is also worth noting that the sequential nature of the *Hṛ̥thābhyaśapaddhati*'s descriptions of *āsanas* aids the reader in understanding them. In many cases, the terse description of an *āsana* can only be understood by considering the one that precedes it. For example, the description of the garland pose (*mālāśana*) is perplexing when it is read by itself, because it simply says that the yogin should place his bodyweight on the hands, knees on the shoulders, and heels on the chest.⁵⁵ One might think that this has to be done from a squatting position. However, when squatting, the spine is flexed and this makes it impossible to place the feet on the chest when the knees are above the shoulders. If one considers the parasol pose (*chatrāśana*), which is the posture that precedes *mālāśana* in the *Hṛ̥thābhyaśapaddhati*, the yogin is in an extreme back-bend with his feet placed on the back of the head and his bodyweight entirely on the hands.

⁵³ *Hṛ̥thābhyaśapaddhati* f. 6r (*paryāṅkāśane sthitvā hastapādau saṃmīlayet* |||) *vetrāśanam bhavati* ||17|| *vetrāśane sthitvā hastapādān niṣkrṣya[-]m[-]jūrdhvam nayet pr̥ṣṭhavamṣena bhūmiṇ poṭayet* |||) *kandukāśanam bhavati* ||18|| 17 saṃmīlayet] Codex : samīlya Śrītattvanidhi. 18 niṣkrṣya] Śrītattvanidhi : niṣkrṣya Codex. pr̥ṣṭhavamṣena] Śrītattvanidhi : pr̥āṣṭhavamṣena Codex. poṭayet] conj. Mallinson : poṭhayet Codex : moṭhayet Śrītattvanidhi).

⁵⁴ The supine *āsanas* referred to here are *Hṛ̥thābhyaśapaddhati* no. 1-6, 8-11, 16, 21-22, and the prone *āsanas* are *Hṛ̥thābhyaśapaddhati* no. 23-25, 41, 46-47.

⁵⁵ *Hṛ̥thābhyaśapaddhati* f. 12v: 'Having supported oneself on the ground with the hands, one should place the knees on the shoulders, the heels on the chest and remain thus. This is the Garland pose' (*hastābhyaṁ avanīm avaṣṭabhyā skandhator jānunī samsthāpya pārṣṇī urasi nidhāya tiṣṭhet* |||) *mālāśanam bhavati* ||57|| *skandhator*] emend. : *skandhaya* Codex, Śrītattvanidhi. *jānunī*] Śrītattvanidhi : *jānunī* Codex. *pārṣṇī* emend. : *pārṣṇī* Codex, Śrītattvanidhi).



Figure 4: *Chatrásana* and *Mälásana*
(*Hathābh्यासपद्धति Āsana* no. 56 and
57) as illustrated in the *Śrītattvanidhi*
Āsana no. 35 and 44. (Sjoman 1996,
detail from plates 6 and 8.)

With the spine deeply extended, it is possible for him to bring the feet forward beyond the head, place the knees on the shoulders and finally the feet on the chest, thus accomplishing *mālāsana*, as seen in Figure 4.⁵⁶

Other unique features of the *āsanas* in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* include *āsanas* which require repetitive movement, the use of rope, and a wall (Birch 2018 [2013], 134-36).

8.4 *Ṣaṭkarma*

The *ṣaṭkarma* of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* are *bhrāmaṇakriyā*, *ādhāraśuddhikriyā*, *nauli*, *dhauti*, *gajakaraṇī*, *netī*, *manthanapraveśa*, *kapālabhāti* and *trāṭaka*. The first two and the seventh are not mentioned by the *Hathapradīpikā*, which is the earliest known work to include the *ṣaṭkarma*. The aim of *bhrāmaṇakriyā* and *ādhāraśuddhikriyā* is to clean the rectum (*ādhārakambu*). The first is similar to *cakrikarma* in the *Hatharatnāvalī* (1.29-32) and the second to *basti* in the *Hathapradīpikā* (2.26-28). According to the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, *bhrāmaṇakriyā* is said to cleanse the rectum in upwards of three months,⁵⁷ and *ādhāraśuddhikriyā* is called *gaṇeśakriyā* among religious heretics and ascetics.⁵⁸

Before the practice of *nauli*, the yogin is advised to clench repeatedly the sphincter muscles (*kambu*)⁵⁹ like the anus of a horse.⁶⁰ Although this somewhat resembles the technique of *asvinīmudrā* in the *Gheraṇḍasamhitā* (3.82-83), the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* is unique in prescribing it as a preliminary practice for *nauli*. The practice of *manthanapraveśa*, ‘churning and inserting,’ requires the use of curved probes (*śalāka*) made of various substances, which are inserted into the nose, ears, and eyes in order to clean them.⁶¹

Trāṭaka is described in greater detail than in other yoga texts. Various gazing points are

⁵⁶ We wish to thank Jacqueline Hargreaves for her assistance in understanding this particular sequence of postures.

⁵⁷ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f.23r, ll. 3-5 (dine dine bhrāmaṇam dvisahasrasaṅkhyāṁ trisahasrasaṅkhyāṁ kuryāt [...] || māsatrayād ūrdhvam ādhārakambuśuddhaṇ bhavati || dine dine] emend. : dine di Codex).

⁵⁸ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f.23r, ll. 15-16 (iyam ādhāraśuddhikriyā gaṇeśakriyeti pākhaṇḍatāpasādau prasiddhā). James Mallinson's guru taught him this technique by the name *gaṇeśakriyā* (p.c. 25th November 2019).

⁵⁹ The Monier Williams dictionary defines *kambu* as conch or shell. We are assuming that in this context it means the anal sphincter muscles.

⁶⁰ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 23v, ll. 7-8 (naulisiddhyartham aśvādhārakambuvad vāraṇ vāraṇ kambum ākuñcayet || vāraṇ vāraṇ] conj. : vāraṇ Codex).

⁶¹ A similar practice is mentioned in the *Khecarīvidyā*. See Mallinson 2007, 27, 207 n. 250.

stipulated for specific purposes and benefits. The yogin is supposed to gaze at the face of a woman with the intention of renouncing sense objects. Gazing at the moon quietens the eyes, gazing at space purifies, gazing at a shadow in the moonlight during the hot season, as well as Vaiṣṇava and other idols, prolongs life, and gazing at other objects is for realising their falseness.⁶² It also seems that gazing at gems can bring about the ability to see whether they are fake or genuine.⁶³

Various wholesome foods (*pathya*), which are said to have been taken from a physician's book (*vaidyagrantha*), are prescribed in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*.⁶⁴ It also contains the following advice on diet, which seems consistent with the theme of cultivating indifference (*vairāgya*) that is a feature of the section on *vajrolimudrā* (see section 8.6):

Eating should be done very quickly. The taste of foods, etc., and their imperfections should not be noticed. One should eat food as though it were medicine.⁶⁵

8.5 Prāṇāyāma

The *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* teaches eight breath retentions (*kumbhaka*), which are to be performed after the practice of the *ṣaṭkarma* and for accomplishing the ten *mudrās*.⁶⁶ The eight are *sūryabhedana*, *ujjāyi*, *sītkāra*, *sītalī*, *bhastrikā*, *bhrāmari*, *mūrcchā*, and *kevalakumbhaka*. On the whole, their descriptions are consistent with the *kumbhakas* of

⁶² *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 24v, ll. 5-8 (strīmukham tu viśayatyāgabuddhyā nirkṣet || candrasya nirkṣaṇam netraśāntyartham ākāśanirikṣaṇam amalaprāptaye uṣne candrikāyām chāyānirikṣaṇam āyurvṛddhyartham vaiśnavādimūrtinirikṣaṇam itaraviśayanirikṣaṇam mithyātvapratyayārtham || nirkṣet] emend. : nirkṣet Codex. nirkṣaṇam] emend. : nirkṣaṇam Codex. amalaprāptaye] emend. : atmalaprāptaye Codex. -nirkṣaṇam] emend. : -nirkṣaṇam Codex. vaiśnavādī] emend. : veṣṇavādī Codex. -nirkṣaṇam] emend. : -nirkṣaṇam Codex. -nirkṣaṇam] emend. : -nirkṣaṇa- Codex).

⁶³ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 24v, ll. 8-9: 'Success at trāṭaka occurs when one can ascertain [the authenticity] of gems, etc., seeing [them] in regard to their fakeness and genuineness' (ratnādiparikṣā duṣṭapadārthe parikṣā suṣṭhupadārthe parikṣā bhavati iti trāṭakasiddhiḥ || ratnādiparikṣā] emend. : ratnādiparikṣā Codex. parikṣā] emend. : parikṣā Codex. parikṣā] emend. : parikṣā Codex. trāṭaka-] emend. : śrāṭaka Codex.)

⁶⁴ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 23r, l. 7 ([...] ityādini vaidyagranthe prasiddhāni pathyāni).

⁶⁵ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 23r ll. 8-9 (bhakṣaṇam tu atitvarayā kartavyam [|] annādīnām rucir na grāhyā vaigunyaṁ ca na grāhyam [|] auṣadhvad annām bhuñjīta || annādīnām] emend. : ānnādīnām Codex. auṣadhvad] emend. : auṣadhvand Codex).

⁶⁶ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 24v, ll. 10-11 (karmaṣaṭkābhyaśānantaram daśamudrāsiddhaye aṣṭavidhakumbhakān kuryāt).

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the *Hathapradīpikā*.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* teaches a unique method called ‘moving all the winds’ (*sarvavāyucalana*) as a preliminary practice to the eight kumbhakas:⁶⁸

Having inhaled and inserted the jaw in the pit of the throat, one should do a *kumbhaka*. In the *kumbhaka*, [the yogin should] take up the two regions of the abdomen, [which are] above the buttocks and below the two bones called the ribs [that are] below the stomach. He should hold the air in the abdomen by contracting the pelvic floor (*ādhāra*); take the air into the chest by contracting the throat; perform *paścimatānāsana* and belch. Then, he should exhale. By practising thus, he becomes capable of doing the eight *kumbhakas*.⁶⁹

The above passage appears to be describing the application of the three locks (*bandha*), which are taught in the section on *mudrās*. Although the *bandhas* are not named in this section, it seems that the abdomen, throat, and pelvic floor are manipulated in the same way as *uddiyāna-*, *jālandhara-*, and *mūlabandha*, in order to move the breath from the abdomen to the chest. One can infer that this is done in a seated posture, before the yogin adopts *paścimatānāsana*.⁷⁰ Some kind of forced internal movement of the breath ensues, followed by the exhalation.

⁶⁷ The obvious exception is the exclusion of *plāvinī* and the inclusion of *kevala*, which is not considered to be one of the eight *kumbhakas* in the *Hathapradīpikā*, but is the result of practising the eight. Other peculiarities include *sītkāra* being done when one is about to yawn and *mūrcchā* appears to involve the manipulation of semen (*bindu*), but the description of *mūrcchā* is unclear because the relevant text has been corrupted. *Mūrcchā* usually means ‘swooning’ or ‘fainting.’

⁶⁸ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 24v, ll. 13-14 (*aṣṭavidhikumbhakasiddhaye sarvavāyucalābhyaśaḥ kāryaḥ || -cālanābhyaśaḥ kāryaḥ] diagnostic conj. : -cā+anāvirbhāvakaṛyāḥ* Codex. This conjecture is based on the reference to *sarvavāyucalana*[-]abhyāse on f. 25r l. 4).

⁶⁹ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 24v, l. 14 - 25r, l. 3 (*pūrakam kṛtvā tadanantaram hanum kaṇṭhakūpe niveśya kumbhakaḥ kartavyaḥ [||] kuṇḍhakāntē kukṣeḥ adhaḥ vaṇkrisamjñāsthīni tadaḥaḥ sphicopari udarapradeśau tau ūrdhvāṇi nītvā ādhārakuṇcanena udare vāyūṇi gṛhitvā kaṇṭhasaṅkocanenaiva hrdaye vāyūm āniya paścimatānam āsanam kṛtvā udgāraṇam kuryāt || paścād recayet || evam abhyāsena aṣṭakumbhakayogyatā bhavati || hanum kaṇṭha-] emend. : hanukaṭha- Codex. kukṣeḥ] emend. : kukṣaḥ Codex. vankrismajñāsthīni] conj. Barois : kankrasamjñāsthīni Codex. sphicopari] diagnostic conj. : sphicasamjñakau Codex. ūrdhvāṇi] emend. : ūrdhva Codex. nītvā] corr. : nitvā Codex. ādhārakuṇcanena] emend. : ādhārāṇi kucanena Codex).*

⁷⁰ This posture is described at *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* 48, f. 11r: ‘Having extended the legs like a stick, the yogin should hold the big toes with the hands, fix the forehead on the knees, and remain thus. This is paścimatānāsana’ (*daṇḍavad bhūmau caraṇau prasārya hastābhyaṁ aṅguṣṭhau dhṛtvā jānūpari lalāṭam vinyasya tiṣṭhet || paścimatānāsanam bhavati |||48|| daṇḍavad] Codex : daṇḍad Śrītattvanidhi. caraṇau] Codex : caraṇau Śrītattvanidhi. jānūpari] Śrītattvanidhi : jānūpari Codex. paścimatānāsanam bhavati] conj. : omitted in Codex, Śrītattvanidhi).*

8.6 Mudrā

The ten mudrās taught in the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* are named śakticālana, vajroli, mahāmudrā, mahābandha, mahāvedha, mūlabandha, uddiyāṇa, jālandhara, khecarī, and viparītakaraṇī. The *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*'s teachings on these mudrās are largely consistent with those of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. The exceptions are śakticālana, which has been simplified,⁷¹ and khecarī and vajroli insofar as both are described in greater detail. In fact, the account of vajrolimudrā is the most extraordinary of its kind in any premodern yoga text.⁷²

According to the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*, the practice of khecarīmudrā should begin when the nose, ears, and eyes have been cleaned with probes.⁷³ Over a dozen different blades (śastra) are enumerated for cutting the fraenum, such as the 'sun blade' (*sūryaśastra*) made from the black pepper shrub, the 'moon blade' (*candraśastra*) from rock salt, Dhanvantari's blade from yellow myrobalan, Rudra's blade in the form of a spike (*śūla*), Gaṇapati's blade in the form of a hatchet (*paraśu*), and so on.⁷⁴ Also, finger nails (*nakha*) and hair (*roma*) can be used for this purpose.⁷⁵ Making the blade and cutting the fraenum are explained, as well as the techniques of stretching (*ākarsaṇa*), moving (*cālana*), milking (*dohana*), and reverse rubbing of the tongue (*viparītagharṣaṇa*). When

⁷¹ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 25v, ll. 6-9: 'When the channels are purified because of the [practice of] the āsanas, the śatkarmas, and the eight kumbhakas, [the yogin] should draw in the breath by way of the downward moving vitality (*apāna*), take it as far as Brahma's aperture (at the top of the head), do a kumbhaka, and exhale by way of *apāna*. If the whole practice is done in this way, everything is accomplished. This is śakticālana' (āsanasatkarmāṣṭakumbhakaiḥ nādīnāṁ śuddhatve sati apānenā vāyum ākṛṣya brahmarandhraparyantam nitvā kumbhayitvā apānenā virecanam kartavyam [] evam abhyāsaparyantam kṛtam cet sarvam sidhyati iti śakticālānam || -karmāṣṭa-] emend. : -kamāṣṭa- Codex. apānenā corr. : āpānenā Codex. ākṛṣya conj. : āṣya Codex. apānenā corr. : āpānenā Codex. virecanam corr. : viracanam Codex).

⁷² For a comprehensive overview of premodern teachings on vajroli, see Mallinson 2018.

⁷³ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 29r, ll. 6-7 (śalākābhiḥ nāsikākarṇanetrarandhrāṇī saṃśodhya khecaryārambhaḥ kāryaḥ || khecaryārambhaḥ] emend. : khecaryāraṇī Codex).

⁷⁴ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 29r, ll. 7-11 (tannāśārthaṇī tacchedanārthaṇī śastrāṇī kuryāt || kṛṣṇamarīcēḥ śastrāṇī śūryaśastram || saindhavasya candraśastram || haritakyāḥ dhanvantariśastram || śūlākāraṇī rudraśastram || paraśvākāraṇī gaṇapatiśastram || hīrakasya indraśastram || elāyā brahmaśastram || dhanvantari-] emend. : dhanvari- Codex. paraśvākāraṇī] emend. : paraśvākāraṇī Codex). A manuscript of the *Khecarīvidyā* (W1 in Mallinson 2007, 44) lists sixteen different names of blades for cutting the fraenum and some of them are the same as those in the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*.

⁷⁵ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* f. 29r, ll. 14-15 (nakhakṛntanam nakhaśastram || romakṛntanam romaśastram).

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the tongue has been inserted in the nasopharyngeal cavity, a breathing practice, which begins with *śakticālana*, is performed.⁷⁶

The section on *vajrolimudrā* begins with a definition of *vajroli* as ‘having drawn air through the opening of the penis, one should take it up to the cranial aperture (*brahmarandhra*).’⁷⁷ Various preparatory practices are given for this *mudrā*, beginning with the insertion of stalks of distinct vine plants and probes made of various substances into the urethra as deep as ten finger-breadths for up to three hours, which causes the yogin acute discomfort, disorientation, and a sharp pain in the bladder. The yogin is advised to sing the names of god to endure this.⁷⁸ He then inserts a stalk as deep as twenty-four finger breadths into the urethra. This causes further acute pain, burning fever, and fear of death. He is helped by attendants (*samrakṣaka*) and the text prescribes several remedies for the fever, such as lying on a bed of purified ashes,⁷⁹ taking a herbal brew,⁸⁰ and embracing a woman, so long as he does not get aroused.⁸¹

‘Churning the hole’ (*chidramanthana*) refers to inserting a probe into the urethra and moving it around. Then, a hollow tube (*nalikā*) is inserted. Much detail is given about

⁷⁶ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 30r, ll. 1-5: ‘Having rubbed the tongue with the tip of the thumb, it should be placed in the cavity [above the uvula]. [When] the breath has reached as far as the throat because of [practices,] such as *śakticālana*, he should take it through the cavity into the aperture between the eyebrows and fix it [there]. However, he should exhale the breath through the anus, when it has turned [downwards]. [Then,] he should take it in again’ (*aṅguṣṭhāgreṇa gharṣitā kuhare jihvā sthāpayitavyā || śakticālanādinā kanṭhaparyantah vāyur āgato [']sti sa vāyum kuhamārgenā bhrūrandhre nayet sthāpayet punah viparītaṁ vāyum gudena recayet || punah grhṇiyāt || gharṣitā] emend. : *gharṣita* Codex. *sthāpayitavyā*] emend. : *sthāpitavyā* Codex. *viparītaṁ*] emend. : *viparītaṁ* Codex. *vāyum*] emend. : *vāyuḥ* Codex. *gudena*] emend. : *gudana* Codex).*

⁷⁷ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 25v, ll. 9-10 (atha *vajroliḥ* || meḍhradvārena vāyum ākṛṣya brahmarandhraparyantam nayet [|] *vajroliḥ bhavati*.

⁷⁸ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 25v, l. 12 - 26r, l.1 (*daśāngulaparyantam praviṣṭāyām chidre ghaṭikāmuhūrtayāmārdhyāyāmaparyantam paryāyena dine dine samrakṣayet [|] linganādyām ativedanā bhavati [|] vāraṇ vāraṇ bhramanām bhavati [|] bastipradeśe śūlo bhavati [|] sa bhagavatśāmkirtanādinā saheta [|] sa] emend. : *sah* Codex).*

⁷⁹ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 26r, ll. 6-9 (*pūrvavad vedanātiśayo bhavati [|] ānakhaśikhāparyantam atisantāpajvaro bhavati || sādhakasya marādibhayam utpadyate || sādhakasamrakṣakaiḥ dhīraṁ dhartavyaḥ [|] jvaranivrttaye vastraśodhitabhasmaśayyāyām śayet [|] -santāpa-] emend. : -*santāpa-* Codex. *marādibhayam*] emend. : *maradibhayam* Codex. *dhīraṁ*] conj. : *dhīradhartavyaḥ* Codex. *vastra-*] emend. : *nastrā-* Codex).*

⁸⁰ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 26r, ll. 9-12: ‘Having steeped washed rice in water, one should put one *karṣa* of sandalwood and three *palas* of candied sugar in one *prastha* of this water. One should drink three handfuls. In the middle of the day one should drink it two or three times. One will urinate frequently’ (*dhautataṇḍulagāḍham udakaṇ kṛtvā prasthamātrodake candanām karṣamātraṇi kṣiptvā palatrayamitām khaṇḍaśarkarām kṣiptvā culukatrayaṁ pibet || divasamadhye dvitrivāraṇi pibet || vāraṇ vāraṇ mūtrayet || -taṇḍula-*] corr. : -*tandula-* Codex. *karṣa*] emend. : *karṣa* Codex. -*mitām*] emend. : -*mitā* Codex. *vāraṇ vāraṇ*] emend. : *vāraṇ* Codex).

⁸¹ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 26r, ll. 12-13: ‘For quelling fever, he should embrace a woman. If his penis is aroused, he should not embrace her’ (*jvaraśāntyartham striyam āliṅgayet || liṅgasphuraṇe sati nāliṅgayet*).

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the length and substances out of which the tube can be made. The yogin moves air in and out of the tube thousands of times by contracting the lower abdominal muscles.⁸² It is supposed to give the yogin the strength of a lizard, which enables him to take air up into the bladder until it puffs out like a pigeon's throat.⁸³ Also, the *nalikā* can be used to draw herbal concoctions into the body. Recipes of several concoctions are given. One cures boils (*visphoṭa*)⁸⁴ and the others strengthen or cleanse the urethra (*antarnāḍī*).⁸⁵ However, the main aims of drawing air through the tube are to quell the yogin's carnal desires and to prevent the loss of semen.

Many extraordinary details are provided in the description of the practice of *vajroli* itself. The yogin begins by simulating the movements of sex with his hips, moving them in space until he is close to ejaculation. Then, he inserts the *nalikā*, and draws air into

⁸² *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 26v, ll. 4-6 (*nalikām liṅgachidrena bastau praveṣya bastim ākuñcyā bāhyavāyum grhniyāt tyajet [||] evān vāraṇ vāraṇ sahasradvisahasratrisahasram abhyāsaṇ kūryāt || nalikām] emend. : *nalikā* Codex. *praveṣya*] emend. : *praviṣya* Codex. *bastim*] emend. : *mastim* Codex. -vāyum] emend. : *vāyan* Codex. *vāraṇ vāraṇ*] corr. : *vāraṇ vāraṇ* Codex). We have understood the term *basti* in this passage to mean the lower abdomen.*

⁸³ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 26v, ll. 7-8: 'The strength of a lizard arises. Having brought about the strength of a lizard, he should take [air] up into the bladder. It [puffs out] like the throat of a pigeon' (*saraṭakabalaṇ bhavati || saraṭakabalaṇ kṛtvā bastipradeśam ūrdhvam ānayet [||] pārāvatakanṭhan bhavati || ānayet*] emend. : *ācayet* Codex).

⁸⁴ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 26r, ll. 10-16: 'The yogin should draw water in through the tube. Having ground up a thorny leaf (i.e., *Flacourtie sapida*) and having put some turmeric in it, he should add fresh ghee and a dash of salt. Having filtered it through a cloth, he should heat a small amount of this water and suck it through the tube. The boils will ripen. Then, having taken some bark of the neem tree, ground it with water, filtered it through cloth, he should let it sit for up to a day. It becomes concentrated and very smelly. It should [then] be drawn through the tube. The boils are drained' (*nalikāy udakagrahaṇaṇ kūryāt || kaṇṭapatraṇ peṣayitvā tanmadhye kiṇ cit haridrāṇ kṣiptvā sadyah[-]gogṛhtam leśamāṭraṇ saindhavaṇ kṣipet [||] vastreṇa saṁśodhya tajjalām alpam uṣṇikṛtya nalikayā grāhyam [||] visphoṭāḥ pakvāḥ bhavanti || picumandasya ataḥ tvacām āṇīya udakasahitaṇ peṣayitvā vastreṇa saṁśodhya ekadina paryantaṇ sthāpayet [||] sarasaṇ atigandhir bhavati [||] nalikayā grāhyāḥ [||] visphoṭāḥ virecanām prāpnuvanti [||] saindhavaṇ] emend. : *saidhavaṇ* Codex. *uṣṇikṛtya*] emend. : *uṣṇikṛtya* Codex. *grāhyam*] emend. : *grāhya* Codex. *tvacām*] corr. : *tvacām* Codex. -paryantaṇ] corr. : -paryanta Codex).*

⁸⁵ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 27r, ll. 1-5: 'The decoction of *lākṣā* (see below) should be drawn in [through the tube]. By taking it] the urethra is cleansed. Having ground the leaves of the *medinī* plant, put some catechu in it. Having filtered it through cloth and drawn it in [through the tube], the urethra becomes firm. Having made a decoction of *tsennāṭ* and *Terminalia chebula* (chebulic myrobalan), [the yogin] should draw it in. It expels impurities from the urethra' (*lākṣākāṣāyaḥ grāhyāḥ [||] antarnāḍīḥ śuddhā bhavati || medinīpatrāṇi peṣayitvā tanmadhye kiṇ cit khadiraṇ kṣiptvā vastreṇa saṁśodhya grīhiṭvā antarnāḍī dṛḍhā bhavati || tsōnamukhiḥ haritakikāṣāyaṇ kṛtvā grhṇiyāt [||] antarnāḍyāḥ malaniṣkāṣānaṇ bhavati || medinī] emend. : *medinī* Codex. *cit*] emend. : *ci* Codex. *antarnāḍī*] emend. : *artanāḍī* Codex. *haritaki*] emend. : *haritaki* Codex. *grhṇiyāt antarnāḍyāḥ*] corr. : *grhṇiyāt atanāḍyāḥ* Codex. *malaniṣkāṣānaṇ*] emend. : *malaniṣkāṣānaṇ* Codex. *bhavati*] emend. : *bhava* Codex). The term *lākṣā* is defined by the Monier Williams dictionary as 'obtained from the cochineal or a similar insect as well as from the resin of a particular tree.' In Hindi, *lākṣā* means lac, shellac, or the lac insect; *lākṣātaru/lākṣāvṛkṣa* is the flame of the forest tree (*Butea frondosa*), *parṇa* in Sanskrit, which has strong associations with the *soma* concoction; *lākṣāprasādāna* is the *lodha* tree (*Symplocos racemosa*). Thanks to Matthew Clark for this observation. The term *sonāmukhi* may be Hindi for the senna plant. Matthew Clark has suggested it may be related to *sonāmakkhi* (Hindi), meaning pyrites.*

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the bladder to prevent the loss of semen.⁸⁶ Further on, he is instructed to think of the beautiful qualities of a woman, before looking, standing near, touching, embracing, and having sex with a real one.⁸⁷ The yogin progresses through these stages so long as he is not aroused, in which case he must stop and insert the *nalikā*. He develops the capacity to stop the downward flow of semen with an exercise of repeatedly stopping and releasing the flow of urine and faeces when excreting.⁸⁸ He then has consensual sex with a wild and lustful woman, progressing to the point where he can have sex with

⁸⁶ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 27r, ll. 5-10: ‘Having supported [himself] on both knees, having crossed both arms on the chest, [the yogin] should move the region of the hips as though at the time of sex, going up to the point just before ejaculation. This is the [practice] of sex in space. Having repeatedly drawn in air, he should extract the tube. This is the [practice of] taking out the tube. After practising with the tube, he should draw in air with a probe. By these techniques, the body becomes very thin. (jānubhyām avanīm avaṣṭabhya bāhū paraspāraṇ hṛdaye baddhvā kaṭipradeṣam ratīsamayavād vīryacalanaṁ maryādikṛtya cālayet [||] ākāśamaithunaṁ bhavati [||] vāyum gr̄hitvā gr̄hitvā nalikāṁ niṣkāsayet || nalikāniṣkāsanam bhavati || nalikā[-]abhyāsānantaram śalākayā vāyur gr̄ahyāḥ || etair abhyāsair atikṛśam śarīram bhavati || vīryacalanaṁ maryādikṛtya] emend. : vīryacalanaṁ maryādi krya Codex. vāyur] emend. : vāyu Codex).

⁸⁷ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 27r, l. 12 – 27v, l. 3: ‘[The yogin] should himself recite a description of the beautiful qualities of women, that has been composed by a sensual poet. This is the [practice] of describing the beautiful qualities of women. When [reciting] this description does not stimulate him, he should look at a woman. When he [can do this and] remain cool, he should stand near a woman. Then, when that has no effect, he should touch her hand, etc. Then, when that becomes futile, he should embrace her. Then, when that has no effect, he should hug her so that heat arises excessively. When embracing has no effect, he should touch [her body,] including her breasts. When that has no effect, he should penetrate her. This is the [practice] of looking at a woman, etc.’ (viṣayāsaktakavinā kṛtam strīguṇavarṇanām svataḥ mukhena kartavyam || strīguṇavarṇanām bhavati || varṇane nistekas jātē strīvalokanām bhavati || tac chītīle strīsaṁipe sthātavyam || tat tucche jātē hastādisparśaḥ kartavyah || tad vitathībhūte ālinganām kāryam || tad vitathe jātē gāḍhaṁ gharma yathā bhavati tathā āśleṣaḥ kāryaḥ [||] āśleṣe vyarthe sati ākroḍasthāne sparśaḥ kāryaḥ || tadvyarthibhūte praveṣaḥ kāryaḥ || strīvalokanādi[-]abhyāsaḥ || strīvalokanām] emend. : strīvalokanām Codex. tacchītīle] emend. : tachitile Codex. tat tucche] emend. : tatuchi Codex. tadvitathe jātē] emend. : dvitathījātē Codex. gharma] emend. : gharmau Codex. āśleṣaḥ] emend. : āśleṣaḥ Codex. kāryaḥ] emend. : kāryaḥ Codex. āśleṣe] emend. : āśleṣe Codex. tadvyarthibhūte emend. : tavyarthibhūte Codex).

⁸⁸ *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* f. 27v, ll. 10-13: ‘Drawing up of semen is [now] taught. At the time of defecation, [the yogin] should stop defecating and emit urine. At the time of urination, he should stop urinating and defecate. [In this manner,] he should release his urine little by little and his faeces little by little’ (ürdhvaṁ bindor ākarṣaṇam kathyate || hadanasamaye hadanaṁ nirudhya mūrotsargaḥ kāryaḥ || mūtraṇasamaye mūtraṇam nirudhya hadet || kiṁ cit kiṁ cin mūtraṇtyajet || kiṁ cit kiṁ cid gūtham tyajet || bindor] emend. : bindur Codex. kiñcitat kiñcid] emend. : kiñcid] emend. : kicit Codex).

sixteen women a day without losing his semen.⁸⁹ If this overexertion causes an imbalance in his system, he is advised to drink urine through his nostrils.⁹⁰ If he does lose some semen during sex, he is instructed to rub it into his body along with the perspiration.⁹¹ On the whole, the main aim of the practice is to cultivate complete detachment (*vairāgya*) towards women and steadfast celibacy by retaining semen (and not, it seems, in regard to abstaining from sex).⁹²

9. The *Śrītattvanidhi* in Relation to the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*

As noted above, it is certain that the *Śrītattvanidhi* was composed sometime between 1810 and 1868, and most probably after 1850. It is a textual and pictorial compendium of divine iconography and iconometry illustrated with 1,888 painted miniatures and 458 drawings. It contains technical instructions for artists on painting gods, goddesses, and mythological figures,⁹³ and is divided into nine *nidhis* ('treasures') entitled 1) *Śaktinidhi*, 2) *Viṣṇunidhi*, 3) *Śivanidhi*, 4) *Brahmanidhi*, 5) *Grahanidhi*, 6) *Vaiṣṇavanidhi*, 7) *Śaivanidhi*, 8) *Āgamanidhi*, and 9) *Kautukanidhi*. As mentioned, it is in the seventh *nidhi*, the *Śaivanidhi*, that we find descriptions of *āsanas* identical to those of the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*. We

⁸⁹ *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* f. 28r, ll. 1-9: 'Then, he should have sex with a lustful woman. He should not lose his semen. He should draw back semen that is moving out. If it does not go upwards by drawing it [thus], then he should insert the tube and draw in air. Then, he should have sex with a lustful, excited, and beautiful woman and lead his semen upwards. He should avoid a woman without sexual desire and choose one who has it. In regard to sex with women, he should never do it by force. When the practice has become steady, he should have sex with sixteen women every day. By practising thus, his semen is raised and he draws in sexual fluids. He becomes indifferent towards women and his celibacy becomes steadfast' (tadā sa kāmastriyā saha ratīn kūryāt [] bindum na pātayet || patantam bindum ākarṣayet [] ākarṣanena yadi nordhvān gachet tadā nalikān praveśyā vāyūn grhṇīyāt || punāh sakāmayā unmattayā surūpayā striyā saha ratīn kuryāt bindum ūrdhvam ānayet || gamatādānī striyan tyaktvā samadānī grhṇīyāt || striṣu rativisaye balātkāraṇam na kuryāt || evam abhyāse dṛḍhe jāte śoḍaśastrībhīḥ saha ratīn kuryād divase divase || evam abhyāsenā ūrdhvabindur bhavati || raja[-]ākarṣanam ca bhavati || strīvisaye vairāgyam bhavati || dṛḍhabrahmacaryam bhavati || patantam] emend. : patantam Codex. ākarṣanena] emend. : akarṣanena Codex. grhṇīyāt] corr. : grhṇīyāt Codex. surūpayā striyā saha] emend. : surūpā stri Codex. dṛḍhe] corr. : draḍhe Codex. -bindur] corr. : -bindum Codex).

⁹⁰ *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* f. 28r, ll. 9-10: 'In order to quell an imbalance caused by [this] practice, he should drink urine through a nostril. He becomes free of all diseases' (abhyāsakṛtavaiśamyanivṛttaye amarīn nāsārandhrenā pibet || sarvārogyam bhavati || pibet] emend. : bet Codex).

⁹¹ *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* f. 28r, ll. 11-12: 'During the practice, semen should never be lost. If it is lost, [the yogin] should rub it into his body along with the sweat' (abhyāsamadhye bindupātas tu naiva kāryah [] yadi pāto gharmena saha ainge marditavyah || kāryah] emend. : kāryam Codex. pāto] conj. : jāte Codex. ainge] emend. : age Codex).

⁹² See footnote 89.

⁹³ Sjoman (1999, 41) notes that 'The manuscript is a compilation of *dhyānaślokas*, meditation verses, probably compiled from the Purāṇas, describing the iconographic details of deities that are worshipped or meditated upon. In addition, it contains sections on games, animals, music, ragas, yoga and so on.'



have consulted two versions of the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s *Śaivanidhi*: a photographed copy of the illustrated manuscript from the Mysore Palace reproduced in Sjoman 1996, and a transcript of a manuscript held at the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, made by the Institute's staff in the 1970s. We were not permitted to consult the original manuscripts of either copy. There are significant differences between the introductions of the Palace *Śrītattvanidhi* and the transcript of the ORI manuscript, some of which will be noted below. Two independent reports confirm that a third manuscript of the *Śrītattvanidhi* was stolen from the Palace's collection and sold to a private art collector in the United States.⁹⁴

Sjoman notes the 'curious' divisions of the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s *āsana* descriptions and the 'confusions in the text', such as *āsanas* being referred to anaphorically before they are described and illustrated (1996, 57). Pointing out the terse, mnemonic character of earlier textual *āsana* descriptions, he also notes that 'there appear to be even greater defects in the text here that would lead one to assume that the scribe might not be familiar with the *asana* practices' (1999, 58). Based on the manuscript(s) of the *Śrītattvanidhi* alone, or indeed the presumption that the *āsana* section in the *Śrītattvanidhi* represents an original, unique text, it would be impossible to account fully for these 'defects' and 'confusions'. However, they can be convincingly accounted for by one of two hypotheses:

1. The *Śrītattvanidhi* is a redaction of the *āsanas* in the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*, plus other *āsanas* from one or more unknown sources. The descriptions of the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*'s *āsanas* remain largely unchanged in the *Śrītattvanidhi*, but the process of redaction significantly changes the order of the postures.
2. This work of reordering (and subsequent 'confusion') occurred during the composition of an earlier, intermediate source text, which provided an exemplar for the *Śrītattvanidhi*.

Given the existence of a manuscript of the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* in the Mysore Palace archives, the first hypothesis is more likely. Nonetheless, the rationale for the reordering of the postures of the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* remains a mystery, especially because the *Śrītattvanidhi* does not arrange its *āsanas* as groups and sequences in the way that the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* does. Given that we know of no other lists of premodern *āsanas* that are sequential, this is perhaps not overly surprising. It may be

⁹⁴ These sources wish to remain anonymous. Apparently, it was reported at the time in the local newspapers of Bangalore.

that the sequential nature of the original was of little importance to the compiler of the *āsana* section in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (or intermediate source text) or indeed, as Sjoman surmises, that the scribe was simply not familiar with the *āsana* practices as described in the source text.⁹⁵

Another possibility we have considered to account for the rearrangement of the *āsanas* in the *Śrītattvanidhi* is that the original folios of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* (or another, similar source text) somehow got jumbled by the artist or scribe, and copied out in their new, and thereafter non-sequential, order. However, as we shall see, it is clear that the compiler of the *Śrītattvanidhi* (or possibly an intermediate source text) in fact made a conscious, deliberate rearrangement of the source text's *āsanas*, which was probably based on either a text (or texts) other than the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* or, perhaps, on his own prior knowledge of yoga, or that of close informants. It is unlikely that the reordering evident in the *Śrītattvanidhi* is either accidental or a result of a compiler's ignorance of *āsana* practice.

In the introduction to the ORI transcript of the *Śrītattvanidhi*, the first eighty *āsanas* of the *Śrītattvanidhi* are said to be 'principal' (*mukhya*), because they are 'appropriate for yoga' (*yogayoga*). Those after eighty are said to be 'additional' or 'secondary' (*adhika*).⁹⁶ The *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* has only one hundred and twelve postures while the *Śrītattvanidhi* has one hundred and twenty-two postures. Seven postures in the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s 'principal' *āsana* list (*Śrītattvanidhi* 64, 75-80) are common, seated poses that, unlike many of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*'s postures, are well attested and appear in

⁹⁵ However, it is also clear at times that the artist(s) of the *Śrītattvanidhi* had more information on (what he believed to be) the execution of the pose than is revealed by the Sanskrit description. In many instances, the artist(s) added small details to the postures that are not mentioned in the descriptions of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, such as the hands pointing forward in *mayūrāsana* (39), the hands placed beside the head on the ground in headstand (*kapālāsana* 45), the upward position of the head in *śāśasana* (28), and so on. However, perhaps, the most striking example is *viratāsana* (20) in which, according to the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, the yogin is supposed to lift his torso up and down while sitting on the heels. This repetitive movement is almost impossible to do by oneself. The artist(s) of the *Śrītattvanidhi* depicted a second person, who is not mentioned in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, assisting the yogin by holding his knees down, which would enable the yogin to perform the prescribed movement. We wish to thank Jacqueline Hargreaves for bringing this to our attention.

⁹⁶ *Śrītattvanidhi* (ORI transcript, pp. 227-229): '[...] the others are *vīrāsana*, *padmāsana* and *siddhāsana*. [These] *āsanas*, which number eighty and are suitable for yoga, are principal. After that, *vṛṣapādakṣepāsana*, [...] and the other is *kuṭṭanatrāyāsana*. [These] forty-two *āsanas*, taught thus in this text, are additional. For, all of the *yogāsanas* have been arranged in a grid of pairs' [...] anyad *vīrāsanam* *padmāsanam* *siddhāsanam* tv iti | *mukhyāny* *asītisaṅkhyāni* *yogayogaśānāni* hi || atah *param* cāpi *vṛṣapādakṣepāsanam* tathā | [...] || *trikuṭīnāsanam* cānyād ity evam *adhikāny* api || *pradarśitāny* *āsanāni* dvicatvārinśād atra vai | *yogāsanāni* *sarvāni* dvandvarāśimītāni hi). We have assumed that *trikuṭīnāsanam* is an incorrect spelling of *trikuṭīnāsanam*.

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many premodern yoga texts.⁹⁷ These postures do not appear in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, and have either been 1) added to the *Śrītattvanidhi* from a different yoga text, or 2) added to an exemplar from which the *Śrītattvanidhi* was more or less exactly copied. If the first proposition is true, the addition of these particular postures strongly suggests that the reordering of the original text's postures was a conscious and intentional choice by the redactor of the *Śrītattvanidhi*, who perhaps knew of another yoga text (or texts) in which these *yogāsanas* were given primacy and who thought it important to include them. The introduction to the *Śrītattvanidhi* from the Mysore Palace declares that these eighty 'principal' postures are all found in scripture on yoga (*yogaśāstra*).⁹⁸ As we demonstrate in the next section, it is probable that this choice has a precedent in an intermediary text known to the compiler of the *Śrītattvanidhi* and identified in a related work called the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* as the *Hathayogapradīpikā*.

Regardless of whether hypothesis one or two (stated above) is the case, we know that seventy-three of the eighty 'principal' āsanas of the *Śrītattvanidhi* were originally extracted from the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*,⁹⁹ and the 'additional' āsanas placed together at the end without significant reordering.¹⁰⁰ As we shall see, the numbers corresponding to the ordering of the postures in the *Śrītattvanidhi* have been written in the left and right margins of the Mysore *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* (see section 2.3, above, and section 11, below), which supports the case that it was the compiler of the *Śrītattvanidhi* who did the work of extraction and reordering of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, rather than the compiler of an earlier text that became the exemplar for the *Śrītattvanidhi*. Furthermore, by identifying which of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*'s āsanas correspond to the 'additional' āsanas of the *Śrītattvanidhi*, as shown in Table 1, we can see clearly how the compiler of the *Śrītattvanidhi* has constructed his text. The substantially successive order of the secondary āsanas proves that the source text is in roughly the same order

⁹⁷ These postures are: 64. *yogāsana*, 75. *sukhāsana*, 76. *siṁhāsana*, 77. *bhadrāsana*, 78. *vīrāsana*, 79. *padmāsana*, and 80. *siddhāsana*. *Padmāsana* is in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, but it is part of the description of *uttānakūrmāsana* (19) and is not a separate pose. The *Śrītattvanidhi*'s seated postures 75-80 are listed in *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* 1.46 and described in Śaṅkara's commentary, the *Pātañjalayogaśutrabhāṣyavivaraṇa*. In *Hathapradīpikā* 1.34, *siddhāsana*, *padmāsana*, *siṁhāsana*, and *bhadrāsana* are said to be the best four āsanas. Apart from *padmāsana*, descriptions of these postures may vary from one text to another. The other postures in the *Śrītattvanidhi* which are not in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* are: 120. *kutṭanatrayāsana*, 121. *yogapañchāsana*, and 122. *añjalikāsana*. For a discussion of *kutṭanatrayāsana*, see footnote 8.

⁹⁸ *Śrītattvanidhi* (Sjoman 1999, plate 1) (*yogāsanam yogāśtramatram jñeyam aśtidhā*).

⁹⁹ The names of the postures included among the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s principal āsanas can be seen in Table 2.

¹⁰⁰ It is noteworthy that the Palace *Śrītattvanidhi* omits the 'additional' āsanas from the list in its introduction, while the list in the introduction to the transcript of the ORI manuscript includes them.

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as the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* (which would not be obvious simply from the fact that the *āsana* descriptions are the same in both texts).

HAP	ŚTN (Secondary)	ŚTN (Principal)
1	81	
2-6		11, 16, 1, 3, 2
7	82	
8-9		10, 21
10	83	
11		4
12	84	
13-18		7, 8, 17, 5, 9, 6
19-20	85-86	
21-29		21, 20, 12, 14, 13, 15, 18, 24, 23
30	87	
31-36		25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 28
37-38	88-89	
39		32
40	111	
41-42		34, 40
43	90	
44-46		38, 31, 42
47-51	114, 113, 107-109	
52-53		33, 36
54-55	112, 115	
56-61		35, 44, 45, 37, 43, 47
62-64	91-92, 116	
65		48
66	117	



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HAP	ŚTN (Secondary)	ŚTN (Principal)
67-68		41, 50
69	93	
70-72		73, 46, 52
73-74	94, 118	
75-77		63, 51, 57
78	95	
79-81		22, 55, 62
82-86	106, 96-97, 110, 119	
87-89		69, 61, 56
90	98	
91		54
92		
93-95		39, 63, 65
96-98	99-101	
99-104		49, 71, 60, 72, 67, 66
105-106	102-103	
107-108		59, 68
109-110	104-105	
111-112		70, 74

Table 1: *Śrītattvanidhi*'s ordering and division of āśanas compared to the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*.

For example, the first of the non-principal āśanas in the *Śrītattvanidhi* is *vṛṣapādakṣepāsana* (81), which is the first āśana in the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*. *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* 2-6 are classed as 'principal' in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. The second non-principal āśana, *mārjārottānāsana* (82), is number 7 in the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*. *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* 8-9 correspond to 'principal' āśanas in the *Śrītattvanidhi*, and *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* 10 (*markaṭāsana*) is the third principal āśana in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (83). This pattern holds for *Śrītattvanidhi* postures 81-89. *Śrītattvanidhi* 90-105 follow the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*'s sequence (i.e., the numbers never run backwards), but they are

interspersed with other postures, not all of which exactly follow the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*'s order.

This gives us an insight into how the compiler of the *Śrītattvanidhi* used the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* as a 'donor' for his manuscript, extracting seventy-three postures from it, adding seven from elsewhere, and designating them as 'principal,' but substantially reordering them according to either another *sāstra* or his own lights (and therein losing the sequential nature of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*). In contrast to this considered process of reordering, he seems to have mechanically extracted the remainder from this text and placed them at the end as 'additional āsanas,' thus (perhaps unwittingly) preserving the order of some poses as they appear in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*.

10. The *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* and the *Hathayogapradīpikā*

The *Śrītattvanidhi*'s notion that there are eighty 'principal' postures is reflected in another text called the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*, which was completed in Mysore on Thursday, 29th March, 1849 CE, according to a note in the descriptive catalogue of the Mysore Oriental Research Institute.¹⁰¹ The *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* is a lexicon whose lists are arranged numerically according to the total number of items that they contain. For example, the auxiliaries (*aṅga*) of *asṭāngayoga* are listed under the number 8. The *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* is reportedly cited in the *Grahanidhi*, which is the fifth *nidhi* of the *Śrītattvanidhi*. This would mean that it predates the seventh *nidhi* (i.e., the *Śaivanidhi*), in which the āsanas appear.¹⁰² If this is true, the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* is therefore not derived from the *Śrītattvanidhi*.¹⁰³

In the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*'s manuscript, the first forty-four āsana names are listed in two columns on folio 356b, while the remainder are on folio 357a. Thirty of the āsanas on folio 357a are listed in two columns and the last six in one. This unusual layout is

¹⁰¹ Column 14 of *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* by Malleddevaru et al. (1987, 462-63) states *saumya*, *caitra*, *śu* 5 *guruvāra*, which can be understood as 'Thursday, on the 5th lunar day, in the bright half of the month *caitra* in the year, *saumya* [in the 60 years' cycle of Jupiter]'. As far as we know, only one copy of this work was made, so we assume this date refers to the date of its composition. It is likely that the last *nidhi* of at least one of the *Śrītattvanidhis* has similar information, but we have not been permitted to view the original work by those institutions which hold them.

¹⁰² This information has been provided by the Mysore Oriental Research Institute, but we have not been able to verify this ourselves by viewing the manuscript.

¹⁰³ Furthermore, in instances where the text of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* has omitted the name of a posture, the artist of the *Śrītattvanidhi* has supplied a name in red ink. If the compiler of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* had copied from the *Śrītattvanidhi*, one would expect these supplied names also to occur there, which they do not.

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reproduced below in Table 2. The postures in the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*'s manuscript are not numbered. However, we have added in square brackets the corresponding *āsana* numbers in the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* and the *Śrītattvanidhi*.

Folio 356b, Columns 1 & 2					
<i>yogāsanagalu hṛthayogapradipikāyām</i>					
<i>parighāsanam</i>	[HAP 2]	[ŚTN 11]	<i>dhvajāsanam</i>	[HAP 13]	[ŚTN 7]
<i>paraśvadhāsanam</i>	[HAP 3]	[ŚTN 6]	<i>vṛkāsanam</i>	[HAP 8]	[ŚTN 10]
<i>anantāsanam</i>	[HAP 4]	[ŚTN 1]	<i>naukāsanam</i>	[HAP 11]	[ŚTN 4]
<i>aṅkuśāsanam</i>	[HAP 5]	[ŚTN 3]	<i>vakrāsanam</i> (<i>cakrāsana</i>)	[HAP 56 - called <i>chatrāsana</i>]	[ŚTN 35]
<i>uttānāsanam</i>	[HAP 6]	[ŚTN 2]	<i>matsyāsanam</i>	[HAP 105]	[ŚTN 14]
<i>trikūṭāsanam</i>	[HAP 9]	[ŚTN 21]	<i>gajāsanam</i>	[HAP 25]	[ŚTN 13]
<i>narakāsanam</i>	[HAP 14]	[ŚTN 8]	<i>rkṣāsanam</i>	[HAP 27]	[ŚTN 18]
<i>laṅgalāsanam</i>	[HAP 86]	[ŚTN 17]	<i>rathāsanam</i>	[HAP 29]	[ŚTN 23]
<i>paryāṅkāsanam</i>	[HAP 16]	[ŚTN 5]	<i>śāśāsanam</i>	[HAP 28]	[ŚTN 24]
<i>kandukāsanam</i>	[HAP 18]	[ŚTN 6]	<i>ajāsanam</i>	[HAP 31]	[ŚTN 25]
<i>dṛṣadāsanam</i>	[HAP 21]	[ŚTN 19]	<i>kākāsanam</i>	[HAP 33]	[ŚTN 27]
<i>luṇthanāsanam</i>	[HAP 22]	[ŚTN 20]	<i>bakāsanam</i>	[HAP 35]	[ŚTN 30]
<i>saraṭāsanam</i>	[HAP 23]	[ŚTN 12]	<i>khaḍgāsanam</i>	[HAP 41]	[ŚTN 34]
<i>tarakṣvāsanam</i>	[HAP 26]	[ŚTN 15]	<i>śūlāsanam</i>	[HAP 42]	[ŚTN 40]
<i>caṭakāsanam</i>	[HAP 32]	[ŚTN 26]	<i>śyenāsanam</i>	[HAP 44]	[ŚTN 38]
<i>tittiryāsanam</i>	[HAP 34]	[ŚTN 29]	<i>sarpāsanam</i>	[HAP 46]	[ŚTN 42]
<i>bhāradvājāsanam</i>	[HAP 36]	[ŚTN 28]	<i>cakrāsanam</i>	[HAP 90 ?]	[ŚTN 35]
<i>mayūrāsanam</i>	[HAP 39]	[ŚTN 32]	<i>mālāsanam</i>	[HAP 57]	[ŚTN 44]
<i>kapālāsanam</i>	[HAP 45]	[ŚTN 31]	<i>haṁsāsanam</i>	[HAP 58]	[ŚTN 45]
<i>baddhapadmāsanam</i>	[HAP 52]	[ŚTN 33]	<i>pāśāsanam</i>	[HAP 61]	[ŚTN 47]
<i>kukkuṭāsanam</i>	[HAP 53]	[ŚTN 36]	<i>grahāsanam</i>	[HAP 68]	[ŚTN 50]
<i>vānarāsanam</i>	[HAP 59]	[ŚTN 37]	<i>kubjāsanam</i>	[HAP 72]	[ŚTN 52]

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Folio 357a, Columns 1 & 2					
<i>parvatāsanam</i>	[HAP 60]	[ŚTN 43]	<i>śaṅkvāsanam</i>	[HAP 79]	[ŚTN 22]
<i>pādukāsanam</i>	[HAP 67]	[ŚTN 41]	<i>dhruvāsanam</i>	[HAP 89]	[ŚTN 56]
<i>dviśīrṣāsanam</i>	[HAP 71]	[ŚTN 46]	<i>uṣṭrāsanam</i>	[HAP 91]	[ŚTN 54]
<i>utpiḍāsanam</i>	[HAP 75]	[ŚTN 53]	<i>danḍāsanam</i>	[HAP 95 – unnamed]	[ŚTN 65]
<i>vimalāsanam</i>	[HAP 76 – called <i>vimānāsana</i>]	[ŚTN 51]	<i>sukāsanam</i>	[HAP 100]	[ŚTN 71]
<i>kapotāsanam</i>	[HAP 77]	[ŚTN 57]	<i>krauñicāsanam</i>	[HAP 103]	[ŚTN 67]
<i>tāṇḍavāsanam</i>	[HAP 80]	[HAP 80] [ŚTN 55]	<i>vrntāsanam</i>	[HAP 102]	[ŚTN 72]
<i>hariṇāsanam</i>	[HAP 87]	[HAP 87] [ŚTN 69]	<i>vajrāsanam</i>	[HAP 108]	[ŚTN 68]
<i>musalāsanam</i>	[HAP 88]	[ŚTN 61]	<i>śavāsanam</i>	[HAP 111]	[ŚTN 70]
<i>garudāsanam</i>	[HAP 93]	[ŚTN 39]	<i>yogāsanam</i>	[HAP -]	[ŚTN 64]
<i>paroṣṇyāsanam</i>	[HAP 94]	[ŚTN 63]	<i>padmāsanam</i>	[HAP -]	[ŚTN 79]
<i>varāhāsanam</i>	[HAP 104]	[ŚTN 66]	<i>sukhāsanam</i>	[HAP -]	[ŚTN 75]
<i>svastikāsanam</i>	[HAP 107]	[ŚTN 59]	<i>simhāsanam</i>	[HAP -]	[ŚTN 76]
<i>dhanurāsanam</i>	[HAP 51 – unnamed]	[ŚTN 109]	<i>bhadrāsanam</i>	[HAP -]	[ŚTN 77]
<i>siddhāsanam</i>	[HAP -]	[ŚTN 80]	<i>vīrāsanam</i>	[HAP -]	[ŚTN 78]
<i>aśvasādhanāsanam</i>	[HAP 70]	[ŚTN 73]			
<i>ucchīrṣakāsana</i>	[HAP 65]	[ŚTN 48]			
<i>ūrṇanābhyāsanam</i>	[HAP 99]	[ŚTN 49]			
<i>tṛṇajalūkāsanam</i>	[HAP 101]	[ŚTN 60]			
<i>uttānāsanam</i>	[HAP 112]	[ŚTN 74]			
<i>trivikramāsanam</i>	[HAP 81]	[ŚTN 62]			

Table 2: *Saṅkyāratnamālā*'s *āsana* list on folios 356b and 357a compared with the Pune *Haṭhābhyāsapaddhati* (HAP) and the *Śrītattvanidhi* (ŚTN).



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Under the number 80 in the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*, there is a list of eighty āśanas. Why the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* should consider the āśanas to be eighty in number, instead of the more common eighty-four, is not entirely clear. However, it cites the *Hathayogapradīpikā* as the source for this list.¹⁰⁴ If a text by the name ‘*Hathayogapradīpikā*’ was indeed the source of this group of eighty postures, then its section on āśana must have been substantially different to the fifteenth-century *Hathapradīpikā*, sometimes erroneously referred to as the *Hathayogapradīpikā*,¹⁰⁵ which contains only fifteen āśanas. As seen in Table 2, the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*’s list includes the common seated postures that are in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (64, 75-80), with the exception of *padmāsana* (*Śrītattvanidhi* 79). These postures are not in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. Their inclusion in the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* may indicate, then, that the *Hathayogapradīpikā*’s section on āśanas is at least a partial redaction of the postures in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* in so far as seventy-three of its eighty postures have the same names as those in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, many of which are unique among *yogaśāstras*. It may be 1) that the *Hathayogapradīpikā* had only eighty āśanas (as opposed to the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*’s one hundred and twelve); 2) that the *Hathayogapradīpikā* foregrounded eighty of a larger collection; or 3) that the compiler of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* extracted seventy-four postures from the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* and added six seated postures from another source. The last proposition is only possible if the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*’s claim that its eighty postures all come from the *Hathayogapradīpikā* is not true.¹⁰⁶ Whichever of these three possibilities is in fact the case, and at whichever stage the work of redaction took place, the important point is that the ultimate principal source of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*’s āśanas, with the

¹⁰⁴ *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*, f. 356b (80 yogāśanagalu haṭhayogapradīpikāyām).

¹⁰⁵ Three of the four colophons of the *Jyotsnā* (a nineteenth-century commentary on the fifteenth-century *Hathapradīpikā*) refer to the root text as the *Hathayogapradīpikā* (Aiyangar 1972, 72, 121, 181, 185). Also, there are many catalogue entries under the name *Hathayogapradīpikā*, which may reflect the colophons of the manuscripts being reported (Kaivalyadham Research Department 2005, 531-543). In modern English print publications, the title *Hatha Yoga Pradīpikā* probably occurs for the first time with C.R.S. Ayangar’s translation for the Theosophical Society of 1893. Panacham Sinh’s translation for the Sacred Books edition of 1915 continues this trend, as do many later print publications, with the exception of Kaivalyadham’s 1970 critical edition. Subsequently, this title becomes standard in popular yoga instruction, including in perhaps the most influential of modern postural yoga manuals, B.K.S. Iyengar’s *Light on Yoga* (1966).

¹⁰⁶ It is possible that the compiler of the *Hathayogapradīpikā* intended eighty-four āśanas but only included eighty in a list, which is not an uncommon problem with lists in Sanskrit works. Another simple, if rather unsatisfying, explanation of why there are eighty āśanas in the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* is that the idiosyncratic number system of the dictionary meant that the entry 84 was already taken (by the 84 siddhas) and that therefore another position had to be found for the āśanas. If such simple pragmatism is the explanation, it would strengthen the argument that it was the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*’s compiler who made the redaction of the eighty postures from a text (i.e., the *Hathayogapradīpikā*) that is similar or identical to the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*.

exception of seven seated postures, can be shown to be the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* (as we shall show in more detail below).

It is likely that a manuscript of the *Hathayogapradīpikā* still exists in the Mysore Palace archives, because Sjoman (1999, 57) states that he viewed a work by this name which is ‘a compilation of yoga texts in an illustrated manuscript in the Palace Library,¹⁰⁷ [and which] contains the one hundred and twenty-one āsanas found in the *Śrītattvanidhi* as well as others.’ He states, ‘It is not possible to determine whether [the *Hathayogapradīpikā*] is earlier or later than the *Śrītattvanidhi* (1999, 63 n. 23).’¹⁰⁸ However, given that the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* definitely predates the *Śrītattvanidhi*, and that its source is the *Hathayogapradīpikā*, we can in fact be certain that the *Hathayogapradīpikā* predates the *Śrītattvanidhi*. Sjoman’s assertion also lends support to the view that the *Hathayogapradīpikā* contains more than eighty postures.

As shown in Table 2, all of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*’s āsanas occur in the *Śrītattvanidhi* and seventy-three of these are in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. Furthermore, almost all of the *Śrītattvanidhi*’s ‘principal’ āsanas correspond to the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*’s list of eighty, which is explicitly attributed to the *Hathayogapradīpikā*.¹⁰⁹ If this attribution is true, then it is more probable that the *Śrītattvanidhi*’s compiler knew and drew from a yoga text, such as the *Hathayogapradīpikā*, rather than a dictionary (*kośa*), like the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*, because the *Śrītattvanidhi*’s principal āsanas are said to derive from scripture on yoga (*yogaśāstra*).¹¹⁰ Whether one reads the columns of *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*’s list horizontally or vertically, the order of its āsanas does not correspond to that of the principal postures in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. The significance of this difference is uncertain because there is nothing to suggest that the compilers of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* or *Śrītattvanidhi* intended to record a particular sequence of the postures. Nonetheless, it does suggest that each list was created by different compilers. We will now discuss why these different compilers are likely to have used the same source text, namely the *Hathayogapradīpikā*.

¹⁰⁷ This is the Sarasvati Bhandar Library, which Sjoman refers to as ‘the private library of His Late Highness Sri Jayachamrajendra Wodeyar’ (1996, 40).

¹⁰⁸ However, since it was written in the Kannada script, Sjoman was unable to read the manuscript, but was told that its name was the *Hathayogapradīpikā*. He did not make any copies or reproductions of it (p.c. 5th December, 2017).

¹⁰⁹ Posture 71 of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*, *dhanurāsana*, corresponds to posture 109 of the *Śrītattvanidhi*, and is the only one of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*’s list of eighty postures that is relegated to the non-primary, ‘additional’ group by the *Śrītattvanidhi*.

¹¹⁰ See footnote 98 for the reference in the *Śrītattvanidhi*.



As we can see from Table 2, with the exception of only one posture, *śārīkvāsana* (*Śrītattvanidhi* 22; *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* 11), the first thirty-seven of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*'s āsanas in columns 1 and 2 on folio 356b are the same (albeit in a different order) as the first thirty-eight of the *Śrītattvanidhi*. In fact, only four āsanas on the next folio (i.e., 357a) of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* figure among the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s first forty-four postures.¹¹¹ These correspondences suggest that the compilers of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* and *Śrītattvanidhi* used the same source text. However, it could not have solely been the *Hṛathābhyaśapaddhati* because this work does not include the seated postures (e.g., *siddhāsana*, *vīrāsana*, *bhadrāsana*, etc.) that are common to the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* and *Śrītattvanidhi*. Therefore, it seems most likely that the eighty principal postures of the *Śrītattvanidhi* and those of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* were taken from the same source, which was identified by the latter as the *Hṛathayogapradīpikā*.

To summarise our analysis so far, we can conclude that there were two different compilers for the *Śrītattvanidhi* and the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*, that they both used the same source (i.e., the *Hṛathayogapradīpikā*) but for some reason arranged the āsanas in a different order. Furthermore, given 1) the direct textual correspondence between the āsana descriptions of the *Śrītattvanidhi* and the *Hṛathābhyaśapaddhati*, 2) the explicit, declared borrowing of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* from the *Hṛathayogapradīpikā*, 3) the fact that the eighty postures of the *Hṛathayogapradīpikā* are (with noted exceptions) drawn from a text similar to the *Hṛathābhyaśapaddhati*, and 4) the *Śrītattvanidhi* compiler's evident familiarity with the declared source text of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* (i.e., the *Hṛathayogapradīpikā*), it may well be that the *Hṛathayogapradīpikā*'s section on āsana is in fact similar to the *Hṛathābhyaśapaddhati*'s; has seven more seated āsanas than the *Hṛathābhyaśapaddhati*; is the source of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*'s selection of eighty-āsanas; and is one of the source texts, if not the exemplar, for the *Śrītattvanidhi*.

11. The Mysore *Hṛathābhyaśapaddhati* and the *Śrītattvanidhi*

Important in building our understanding of the relationship between the *Hṛathābhyaśapaddhati*, *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*, and *Śrītattvanidhi* has been the recent discovery of an illustrated manuscript of the *Hṛathābhyaśapaddhati* in the Mysore Palace archives, described in section 2.3. The discovery of this manuscript enables us to postulate with a high degree of probability that the redactor of the *Śrītattvanidhi* used the *Hṛathābhyaśapaddhati* as a source text. As noted in section 2.3, each āsana in the Mysore

¹¹¹ These four postures are *śārīkvāsana* (*Śrītattvanidhi* 22; *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* 46), *garuḍāsana* (*Śrītattvanidhi* 39; *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* 63), *pādukāsana* (*Śrītattvanidhi* 41; *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* 47), and *parvatāsana* (*Śrītattvanidhi* 43; *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* 45).

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manuscript has at least three different sets of numbers. The first set of numbers corresponds exactly with the numbering of the Pune manuscript, until the scribe of the Mysore manuscript repeats numbers 86 and 87.

The second set enumerates the illustrations in ascending order up to 114, which is two more than the number of *āsanas* in the Pune manuscript. In fact, the last posture called *sukhāsana* is not in the text of the Pune manuscript and its description is identical to that of the *Śrītattvanidhi* (*āsana* no. 75). Therefore, *sukhāsana* may have been added to the Mysore *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* manuscript before it was incorporated into the *Śrītattvanidhi*.¹¹² Although we have not had access to the folios containing *āsanas* no. 1-52, it seems likely that another posture, which may also be in the *Śrītattvanidhi*, was added before *āsana* no. 53 (see footnote 8).

The third set of numbers in the Mysore *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* has been written in the left and right margins by a different hand in larger numerals than those of the first two sets. The third set corresponds to the number of each *āsana* in the *Śrītattvanidhi*, the order of which, as noted, is different to that of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. Given their position, these numbers were probably added after the manuscript was scribed, perhaps by a person who was involved in compiling the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s chapter on *āsana*. Up to this point, we have been unable to say with any certainty whether the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s redaction of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*'s *āsanas* into 'primary' and 'additional' occurred at the time of the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s composition or at the time of the composition of an exemplar from which the *Śrītattvanidhi* copied, and which we are proposing is the *Hathayogapradīpikā* (because this is the stated source of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*, and the *Śrītattvanidhi* clearly follows the same source). The existence of these marginal numbers suggests, however, that this work of redaction occurred during the composition of the *Śrītattvanidhi*. This does not, unfortunately, conclusively resolve the conundrum of the identity of the *Hathayogapradīpikā* and *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, since the marginal numbers may reflect the order of the already redacted *Hathayogapradīpikā*, with the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* serving as a secondary reference for the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s compiler. Also, it may have been the case that the *Hathayogapradīpikā* had only eighty postures and the compiler of the *Śrītattvanidhi* used the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* to add another forty-two. While these last two possibilities seem

¹¹² It is also possible that *sukhāsana* already appears in the unknown hyperarchetype from which the Mysore manuscript is copied. However, this is unlikely because the number of the descriptions of the *āsanas* in the Mysore manuscript (i.e., the first set noted above) ends at 112. Also, given that the *Śrītattvanidhi* has 122 *āsanas* and one of the additional *āsanas* in the Mysore manuscript has the same name and description as that in the *Śrītattvanidhi* (viz. *sukhāsana*), it seems more likely that two *āsanas* were added to the Mysore manuscript from a source also used for the *Śrītattvanidhi*, rather than *sukhāsana* being omitted from the Pune manuscript.



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less likely, they should be kept in mind until more information on these manuscripts is brought to light.

The Pune and Mysore manuscripts have different scribal errors and enough significant divergences in their readings to indicate that both descend from slightly different hyparchetypes of the text. For example, *chatrāsana* and *vimānāsana* in the Pune manuscript are called *cakrāsana* and *vimalāsana* respectively in the Mysore manuscript. As mentioned above, the Mysore manuscript may have two *āsanas* which are not in the Pune manuscript, which indicates that the content of the former was redacted in ways not seen in the latter. In nearly all cases, errors in the readings of the Mysore manuscript are replicated in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. However, there are a few instances where the redactor of the *Śrītattvanidhi* has corrected poor readings and conjectured the names of missing postures in the Pune and Mysore manuscripts.¹¹³ This reveals that the compilers of the *Śrītattvanidhi* attempted to fix some of the textual problems that had occurred earlier in the transmission of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*. Therefore, the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s compiler appears to have taken a more proactive, editorial role in compiling the chapter on *āsana*, which may support the argument that he was not simply copying from an exemplar.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the Mysore *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* manuscript was the source, or more precisely one of the direct sources, for the *Śrītattvanidhi*. Lending further support to this is the likelihood that the artistically sophisticated illustrations of the Mysore *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* provided a model for the very similar illustrations of the *Śrītattvanidhi*. If, as we concluded in section 10, the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* had at least seven seated *āsanas* that are not in the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*, then the *Śrītattvanidhi* was probably created by supplementing the contents of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* with material from the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*, and deferring to the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* for foregrounding the group of eighty principal *āsanas*.

If the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*'s section on *āsana* was substantially similar to the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*'s, one might ask whether the *Hathayogapradīpikā* was in fact the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*, with the additional content in the *Saṅkyāratnamālā*'s list being borrowed surreptitiously from elsewhere? If this were so, then one would have to assume one of the following: 1) the Mysore manuscript of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* has a colophon or an additional statement that names the work as the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*; or 2) the Mysore manuscript was wrongly labelled and catalogued in the archive (as also happens to be the case with the Pune *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* manuscript), under the title

¹¹³ See footnotes 9 and 28.

Hṛthayogapradīpikā. The second possibility seems less likely in this instance because the redactors of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* and *Śrītattvanidhi* were clearly familiar with the content of the sources they were using. Moreover, if the Mysore *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* was in fact the *Hṛthayogapradīpikā* cited in the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*, then the compiler of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*'s attribution is not entirely true because at least seven of its āsanas were derived from elsewhere.

As a conclusion to sections 9, 10, and 11, let us summarise our observations on the role of the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* in compiling the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* and *Śrītattvanidhi*, and its likely relation to the *Hṛthayogapradīpikā*. Firstly, the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* identifies its source as the *Hṛthayogapradīpikā*. Seventy-three of the āsana names in the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* correspond to the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*, and the order of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*'s āsanas appears to have been derived from a source text that was similar to the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*. Therefore, both the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*'s list and the *Hṛthayogapradīpikā*'s section on āsana are substantially similar to the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*. Nonetheless, if the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*'s attribution is true, the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* and *Hṛthayogapradīpikā* have at least seven additional seated postures, which indicates that the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* was not the only source used for the *Hṛthayogapradīpikā*.

Secondly, the *Śrītattvanidhi* states that its eighty primary āsanas are drawn from a *yogaśāstra*. This primary group is almost exactly the same (though not in the same order) as the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*'s list. Therefore, the śāstra to which the *Śrītattvanidhi* refers can reasonably be identified as the *Hṛthayogapradīpikā*. The order of the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s primary and additional āsanas shows clear traces of redaction from the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*. Furthermore, the marginal numbering in the Mysore *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* suggests that the compiler of the *Śrītattvanidhi* worked with the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*.

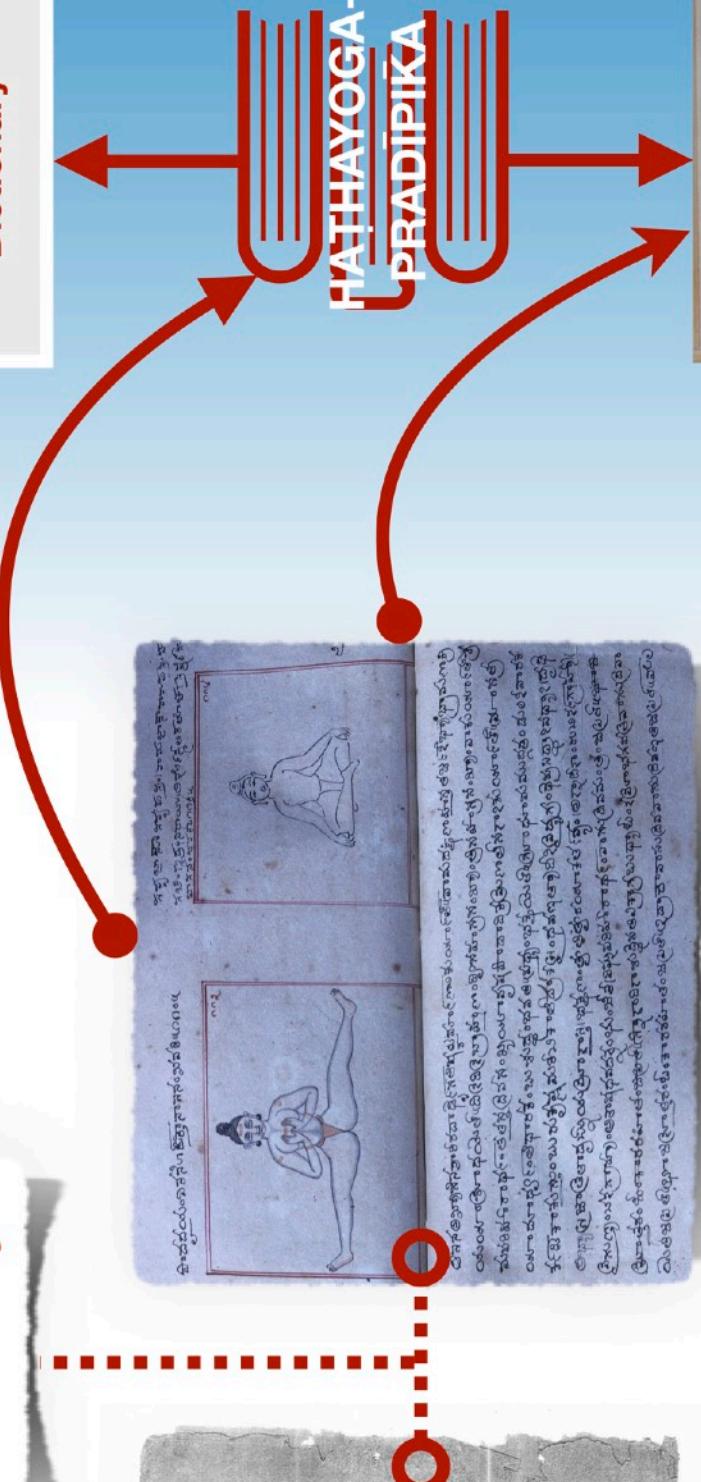
Finally, our research suggests that the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*'s section on āsana was the main source for the *Śrītattvanidhi* and *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*. If the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*'s claim to derive all eighty of its postures from the *Hṛthayogapradīpikā* is true, then the names of postures that are unique to the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* entered the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā* via the *Hṛthayogapradīpikā*. The *Hṛthayogapradīpikā* may be the source of the *Saṅkhyāratnamālā*'s and *Śrītattvanidhi*'s seated āsanas, which are not in the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*, and it may be responsible for the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s foregrounding of eighty āsanas. Therefore, the chapter on āsana in the *Śrītattvanidhi* is the result of combining the content of the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* with another text which might be called the *Hṛthayogapradīpikā*.

SAṄKHYĀ-
RATNAMĀLĀ

(1849)

Number 80 in the Dictionary

ARCHETYPE
18th century



HATHĀBHŪYĀSAPADDHATI

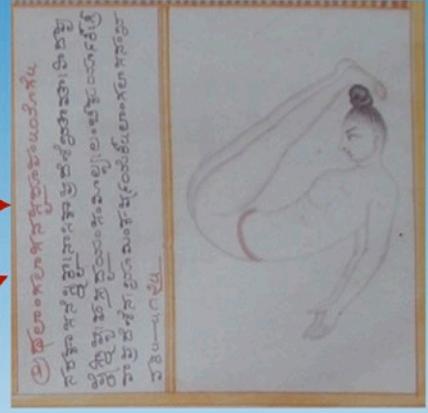
Pune Ms.

early 19th century

HATHĀBHŪYĀSAPADDHATI

Mysore Ms.

early 19th century



ŚRĪTATTVANIDHI
circa 1850 - 1868

Figure 5: Relationship between the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, Śrītattvanidhi and Sankhyārathnamālā. Image by Jacqueline Hargreaves (2018).

The above observations are depicted in Figure 5.

Until we are able to consult the Mysore *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* in its entirety, and the other illustrated sources we know to exist in the Mysore Palace archives, our concluding observations remain provisional.

In section 13.1, we present one further piece of evidence for the existence of a secondary source from which the *Śrītattvanidhi* is redacted and which may support our above observations on the *Hathayogapradīpikā*.

12. The Vyāyāmadīpike

The *Vyāyāmadīpike*, *Elements of Gymnastic Exercises, Indian System* (hereafter *Vyāyāmadīpike*), written in Mysore by S.R. Bharadwaj and published in 1896, is a Kannada-language manual of physical education aiming at a ‘revival of the Indian gymnastics’ among school children (1896 [English preface], 1). The author proposes that the eighty-four exercises ‘may be found to be superior to the modern or western method’ because they require no apparatus.¹¹⁴ The eighty-four exercises are divided into sections which include running, walking, hopping, and jumping exercises; types of staff (*danda*) postures; standing exercises for the legs; sitting exercises; exercises (called *livi*) which help to build the body and make it flexible and stable; further jumping exercises; and exercises for the joints and blood circulation. Although Bharadwaj states that he draws on Indian, English, and American authorities (1896, 2), the text may help us to discern some elements of older traditions of wrestling, gymnastics, and exercise that comprise his ‘revival.’ Sjoman identifies the *Vyāyāmadīpike* as a record of ‘the Mysore Palace Gymnastics Tradition’ insofar as Bharadwaj’s teacher, Veeranna, was likely also the teacher of the Mahārāja Nalvadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar from 1892 to 1901 (1996, 53). Sjoman’s analysis of the text focusses on similarities between the *Vyāyāmadīpike* and the *āsanas* taught in the Krishnamacharya tradition (on which see section 13.2), as represented in B.K.S. Iyengar’s 1966 publication *Light on Yoga*. However, several of the *Vyāyāmadīpike*’s exercises are also similar to some of the more unusual *āsanas* in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* that do not feature in the Krishnamacharya systems, which may point to a synthesis of gymnastics and yoga postures that predates the twentieth-century postural yoga revival.

¹¹⁴ As noted by Singleton (2010, 85–86), the purported superiority of apparatus-free gymnastics exercises (such as those of P.H. Ling) over equipment-based systems (such as that of Archibald Maclarens) is a rhetorical trope widely found in physical culture writing of this period, particularly in India, and is echoed in later modern yoga manuals (for example, Iyengar 1966, 10).



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For example, the *Vyāyāmadīpike*'s 'rolling on the wall' exercise (1896, 35-36, no. 20), in which the student leans forward from a standing position and touches his chest against the wall, is very similar to the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*'s 'embracing [the wall] posture' (*ālirīganāsana*),¹¹⁵ with the difference that in the *Vyāyāmadīpike* the chest is rolled from left to right. The *Vyāyāmadīpike*'s *kiluputa*, or 'low jump' exercise (1896, 44, no. 30), in which the student jumps up and touches the heels to the buttocks is the same as the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*'s 'deer posture' (*hariṇāsana*).¹¹⁶ Other postures, such as the jumping exercises known as *meluputa* are suggestive of, if not identical to, the other jumping exercises of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*'s standing sequence. The *Vyāyāmadīpike*'s 'second *gardam*' (1896, 55, no. 43) in which the student stands on his hands and touches his nose to the ground is similar to the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*'s 'hawk posture' (*śyenāsana*).¹¹⁷ The *Vyāyāmadīpike* also teaches *mayūrāsana* (1896, 56, no. 44) and notes that this is the name of the posture in yoga texts (*yogaśāstra*). It is the only exercise that corresponds in name and form to an *āsana* from the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*,¹¹⁸ and the only one explicitly associated with yoga, which should perhaps not be overly surprising given the prominence of *mayūrāsana* in many premodern yoga texts.

The appearance of these exercises in a gymnastics manual of the late nineteenth century from Mysore may indicate either that Bharadwaj (or his teacher Veeranna) was familiar with the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* or, more likely, that the *āsanas* and exercises common to both were part of a wider tradition of yoga that included conditioning exercises of a 'gymnastic' nature.¹¹⁹ If this is the case, yoga's association with exercise (*vyāyāma*) was well established by the time of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*'s composition. And, as we shall see, the Mysore Palace yoga teacher of the 1930s, T. Krishnamacharya, inherited and developed this tradition, probably with direct reference to both the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* and the *Vyāyāmadīpike*.

¹¹⁵ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* 83; *Śrītattvanidhi* 96.

¹¹⁶ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* 87; *Śrītattvanidhi* 69.

¹¹⁷ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* 44; *Śrītattvanidhi* 38. The main difference is that the second *gardam* is done against a wall, whereas *śyenāsana* is done from free-standing handstand.

¹¹⁸ *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* 39; *Śrītattvanidhi* 32.

¹¹⁹ We propose this with the caveat that the terms 'gymnastics' and 'conditioning exercises' are anachronistic and may not reflect any comparable and distinct categories within Indian traditions. The *Vyāyāmadīpike*'s use of these terms reflects the modern, western vocabulary of physical culture.

13. The *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*'s Place in the Modern History of Haṭhayoga

13.1 T. Krishnamacharya

The *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* may have a particular significance in the history of transnational yoga in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries insofar as it is one of the sources of the *āsana* section of the *Śrītattvanidhi*, a text which itself appears as one of twenty-seven source texts of the 1934 book *Yoga Makaranda* by the famed yoga teacher T. Krishnamacharya (?1888-1989).¹²⁰ As we shall see, there may also be reasons to suppose that Krishnamacharya was familiar with the Mysore manuscript of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* examined above, as well as the other sources associated with the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*, such as the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*.

Krishnamacharya's students have been highly influential in shaping the development of contemporary postural yoga practices around the world. During the 1930s and 1940s, Krishnamacharya was employed by the Mahārāja of Mysore to teach yoga classes for the youth of the royal family, as well as evening classes for the general public at the Jaganmohan Palace. It was during this period of Krishnamacharya's long teaching career that he developed a method of linking postures into groups of dynamic sequences. This dynamic sequencing is also evident in the early work of his student and brother-in-law B.K.S. Iyengar (1918-2014, founder of Iyengar Yoga),¹²¹ and especially in the groups of sequences taught by his student K. Pattabhi Jois (1915-2009) which have come to be known as Ashtanga Yoga, or Ashtanga Vinyasa Yoga. These systems and their offshoots have been second to none in providing a contemporary, global vocabulary for postural yoga orthopraxis (Singleton 2010).

As well as the evident familiarity of Krishnamacharya with the *Śrītattvanidhi*, we know of the existence of an album of *āsana* drawings in the possession of Krishnamacharya's family which are strikingly similar to the illustrations in the Mysore *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* and the *Śrītattvanidhi*.¹²² Krishnamacharya's grandson Kausthub Desikachar (2005, 65) states that the drawings were done by the daughter of Krishnamacharya's guru, Rammohan Brahmachari, with whom, according to his own

¹²⁰ Srivatsa Ramaswami, a senior student of Krishnamacharya, states that Krishnamacharya was in fact born in 1892 (Ramaswami c.1978).

¹²¹ An example of dynamic sequencing in Iyengar's teaching can be seen between 12:57 and 14:28 in Iyengar's short film *Samādhi* (available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ki9qos7dWTg>). Accessed: March, 2017.

¹²² Some of these drawings can be seen in the film *Cent ans de béatitude* available here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X_Hi4c8gpZ4. Accessed: March, 2017. Others are reproduced in Desikachar (2005).

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account, Krishnamacharya studied for seven and a half years in a cave near Muktiksetra (also known as Muktināth) in Nepal, possibly between about 1914 and 1922.¹²³ Some images from this album appear in K. Desikachar's 2005 book on Krishnamacharya, *The Yoga of the Yogi*, as well as in the 1989 film *Cent ans de béatitudes*, made on the occasion of Krishnamacharya's one-hundredth birthday (see footnote 122).

Given the close similarity of the drawings in Krishnamacharya's album to the illustrations in the Mysore *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* and the Mysore *Śrītattvanidhi*, it seems impossible that they could have been made by Rammohan's daughter in Nepal, or for that matter by anyone who did not have access to the Mysore Palace archives. Sjoman suggests that Rammohan Brahmachari may in fact have lived in an ashram on the banks of the Gandaki river in Northern Karnataka, rather than near the river of the same name in Nepal as is suggested in Krishnamacharya's biographies (1996, 66),¹²⁴ in which case it is not inconceivable that Rammohan Brahmachari himself (and/or his daughter) may have copied the drawings from the Palace *Śrītattvanidhi*. It is also possible that Krishnamacharya (and/or perhaps his own daughter), whom we know had access to the Palace *Śrītattvanidhi*, copied the drawings and later attributed them—like so much else—to his time with his guru.

However, as Jacqueline Hargreaves (forthcoming 2020) argues in her comparative study of these drawings with the Mysore *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* and the *Śrītattvanidhi*, it is more likely that this album represents an artist's preliminary sketches based on the Mysore *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, for use in the preparation of the *Śrītattvanidhi*. She also notes that Krishnamacharya's album contains āsanas that are not found in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* or the *Śrītattvanidhi*, and surmises that there may be another, additional source that can account for the extra drawings in the Krishnamacharya album, as well as for the extra drawings in the *Śrītattvanidhi* that do not feature in the Mysore *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. Although this is speculative, it may support the hypothesis that an additional illustrated source, perhaps called the *Hathayogapradīpikā* (or perhaps a different source altogether), was used to compile the *Śrītattvanidhi*.

¹²³ David Gordon White has called into doubt this chronology, as well as other important aspects of Krishnamacharya's sanctioned biographies (White 2014, chapter 12).

¹²⁴ Sjoman cites from the original preface to Krishnamacharya's *Yoga Makaranda* (1934) which refers to 'Sjt Ramamohan Brahmachi Guru Maharaj of Mukta Narayan Ksetra (Banks of the Gandaki)' (1996, 61). Senior Ashtanga Yoga teacher Eddie Stern reports that K. Pattabhi Jois told him Krishnamacharya's apprenticeship with Rammohan Brahmachari took place in the forests outside of Benares. (Comment on the blogpost "Yoga Korunta - unearthing an Ashtanga legend" in *James Russell Yoga*, 2015). Retrieved from: http://jamesrussellyoga.co.uk/blog-james-russell_files/Yoga%20Korunta%20-%20unearthing%20an%20Ashtanga%20legend.html. Accessed: December, 2019.

13.2 The 'Yoga Kurunta'

Another suggestive link between Krishnamacharya's postural yoga systems and the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* is the apparently lost text known as the *Yogakurunta* or *Yogakuranti*, frequently mentioned by Krishnamacharya, as well as by his student K. Pattabhi Jois, as an important source for their teaching (see Singleton 2010, 184–186). In Krishnamacharya's book, *Yogāsanagalu* ('Yoga Postures,' 1941), which contains postural sequences similar to modern Ashtanga (Vinyasa) Yoga, a *Yogakuranti* is in fact named as the fourth of six sources, which also include (1) the *Patañjalayogaśūtra*, (2) the *Hathayogapradīpikā*, (3) the *Rājayogaratnākara*, (5) *Upaniṣads* related to yoga, and (6) things learned from his guru(s) and own experience (*guropadeśa mattu svānubhāva*). It is noteworthy that in the *Yogāsanagalu* the *Śrītattvanidhi* is no longer listed as a source, as it was in the *Yogamakaranda* of 1934.¹²⁵ Among these six sources, it is only the fourth, the *Yogakuranti* itself, and the sixth (things learned from his guru(s) and his own experience) that can provide a credible source for the teachings on *āsana* included in the book.¹²⁶ None of the others works are convincing sources for the postural component of Krishnamacharya's book.¹²⁷ Therefore, the *Yogakuranti* takes on a unique importance as the only potentially significant textual source for the *āsana* groupings in Krishnamacharya's book.

The name 'Kurunta' or 'Kuranti' is, of course, suggestive of the author of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, Kapālakurantaka. One of Krishnamacharya's late students, A.G. Mohan, implies that Krishnamacharya told him the *Yogakuranti* was authored by the Korantaka mentioned in *Hathapradīpikā* 1.6.¹²⁸ Similarly, as Jason Birch has speculated

¹²⁵ We might speculate that in the interim between the two books Krishnamacharya had recognised that the text he refers to as the 'Yoga Kuranti' was in fact the source of the *Śrītattvanidhi*'s rearranged *āsana* section, and therefore no longer felt it necessary to acknowledge the *Śrītattvanidhi*. If we are to take seriously the proposition that such a text was the inspiration for the postural sequences that Krishnamacharya was developing during the 1930s and 40s, it would make sense that this was a text such as the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* in which the sequence-like structure is intact, rather than the *Śrītattvanidhi* itself, in which no such sequences are discernible.

¹²⁶ Krishnamacharya may have known a chapter (no. 24) describing complex *āsanas* in the *Rudrayāmala Uttaratantra*. This would only be possible if the *Rudrayāmala* cited by Krishnamacharya in his *Yogamakaranda* is the same work as the *Rudrayāmala Uttaratantra* (1999), which may or may not be the case.

¹²⁷ We have already noted the ambiguity of the title '*Hathayogapradīpikā*' in the context of Mysore yoga traditions, insofar as it may refer either to the fifteenth century *Hathapradīpikā* or to an illustrated manuscript similar to or identical with the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* in the Mysore Palace archives. However, when Krishnamacharya refers to and quotes from the *Hathayogapradīpikā* in the *Yogāsanagalu* (as indeed elsewhere in his work), it is clear that he intends the *Hathapradīpikā*. Therefore, we can discount this text as the primary source for the *āsanas* he presents.

¹²⁸ '[Krishnamacharya] mentioned the Yoga Kuranta [sic] on occasion during my studies. The Yoga Kuranta was apparently authored by the yogi named Korantaka, who is mentioned in the Hatha Yoga Pradipika' (Mohan 2010, 45).



(Birch 2018 [2013], 141–142), it is possible that the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* could be the *Yoga Kurunta*—or a truncated version of it—cited by Krishnamacharya and Pattabhi Jois.¹²⁹ More recently, in response to the 2016 Kaivalyadhama edition of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, others (such as the scholar of yoga Manmath Gharote) have expressed similar views.¹³⁰ In order to gauge the validity of such a view, it would be necessary to consider the degree of correspondence between the āsana sequences taught by Krishnamacharya in Mysore in the 1930s and subsequently by Pattabhi Jois (said to derive from the *Yoga Kurunta*) with the postural sequences of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. First, however, let us review what we know of the *Yoga Kurunta*.

According to one of Krishnamacharya’s biographers, Krishnamacharya was advised by the famous Varanasi-based scholar Gaṅgānāth Jhā that in order ‘to master yoga’ he should travel ‘beyond Nepal’ to meet his future guru (Srivatsan 1997, 27):

In the Gurkha language there is a book called *Yoga Kurantam* [sic]. The book has practical information on yoga and health. If you go to Rāma Mohana Brahmācārī you can learn the complete meaning of the *Yoga Sūtra* of Patañjali. [...] The various stages of Patañjali’s *Yoga Sūtra* were dealt with in that book. Various kinds of yoga practices were also described with great clarity. Only with the help of the ‘*Yoga Kurantam* [sic]’ could he understand the inner meanings and science of the *Yoga Sūtra*.

During the seven-and-a-half years that Krishnamacharya purportedly spent with his guru, he was made to memorise the entire *Yoga Kurantam* in the original language (*ibid*).¹³¹ Several elements in this statement would suggest that the *Yogakuranti* should

¹²⁹ We might also consider the possibility that Krishnamacharya amended the full title of the text (*Kapālakurantakahathābhyaśapaddhati*) to distance it from the tantric associations of the name *Kapālakurunta* (*kapāla* meaning ‘skull’).

¹³⁰ Birch (2013): ‘It could be possible that the *Yogakurunta* is another name for the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* or the original work from which the incomplete manuscript of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* was extracted.’ In a personal communication to James Russell, Gharote writes: ‘It is possible to say that the text “Korunta” is actually “Kapala Kuaranta Hathabhyasa-Paddhati” because until now we have never came [sic] across any other text related to ‘Kurantaka’ term rather than this text. So unless and until we have any other evidences, we have to accept that “Korunta” is actually “Kapala Kuaranta Hathabhyasa-Paddhati”’ (Comment on the blogpost “Yoga Korunta – unearthing an Ashtanga legend” in *James Russell Yoga*, 2015). Retrieved from: http://jamesrussellyoga.co.uk/blog-james-russell_files/Yoga%20Korunta%20-%20unearthing%20an%20Ashtanga%20legend.html. Accessed: December, 2019.

¹³¹ Frederick Smith and Dominik Wujastyk have suggested that the word *kuruntam* (variously spelled *karunta*, *korunta*, *kuranta*, *gurunda*) is likely a Tamil (or other Dravidian) variant of the Sanskrit word *grantha* (which means “book”), rather than a Gurkhali term (see Singleton and Fraser 2013).



not be identified with the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. Firstly, the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* is written in Sanskrit and not Gurkhali. Secondly, the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* does not have the kind of practical instructions for modifying *āsana* and *prāṇayāma* for individual healing, sometimes using props, that Krishnamacharya's grandson Kausthub Desikachar has declared are in the *Yogakurāṇṭi* (2005, 60), and that are characteristic of Krishnamacharya's teaching (although health is arguably a concern in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*'s *ṣaṭkarma* section and in the references to some medicines in the *vajrolimudrā* section). Nor, beyond the use of ropes and a wall (see below) are props employed in the *āsana* section of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. That said, it is worth remembering that in the absence of a concluding section, as well as a colophon, to the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* we have to assume that the text is not complete, and that other sections may have existed, some of which may have treated these topics. However, this is very unlikely because the *āsana* section of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* is a complete, discrete unit in the text as we have it, and were such instruction to be found in the text, one would expect to find it there. Finally, the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* does not give any commentary on the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*, nor does it even mention it.

The 'Yoga Korunta' was said by Krishnamacharya's student K. Pattabhi Jois to be authored not by Koranṭaka but by the 'rishi [ṛṣi]' Vāmana, and to be the basis for the system that Jois popularised around the world under the name 'Ashtanga Yoga' (sometimes referred to as 'Ashtanga Vinyasa Yoga' with reference to the system's distinctive linking of breath and movement, known as '*vinyāsa*').¹³² As Jois's institute's website puts it:

Ashtanga Yoga is an ancient system of Yoga that was taught by Vamana Rishi in the *Yoga Korunta*. This text was imparted to Sri T. Krishnamacharya in the early 1900's by his Guru Rama Mohan Brahmachari, and was later passed down to Pattabhi Jois during the duration of [sic] his studies with Krishnamacharya, beginning in 1927.¹³³

We are not aware of any reference to Vāmana as the author of the *Yogakurāṇṭi* in Krishnamacharya's work, but it is nonetheless possible that Krishnamacharya (himself a

¹³² In Ashtanga Yoga teaching, the term *vinyāsa* is also colloquially used to refer to the dynamic series of movements that links one posture to the next (e.g., 'sequential movement that interlinks postures to form a continuous flow' (Maehle 2006, 294)), based on the movement of Ashtanga Yoga's two distinctive versions of *sūryanamaskāra*, with which the practice begins (see Singleton 2010, 182). Krishnamacharya claimed that the principle of *vinyāsa* originates in Patañjali: 'While practicing *yogābhyaśa*, the variations of inhalation and exhalations are known as *vinyāsa*. This is explained in *Pātañjalayogaśūtra* 2: 47-48' (*Yogāsanagalu*, 103). In later teachings of Krishnamacharya, the term *vinyāsa* is used in different ways.

¹³³ KPJAYI website. Retrieved from: <http://kpjayi.org/the-practice/>. Accessed: March 2017.



Śrīvaiṣṇava) told Pattabhi Jois that this was the case. The *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* clearly states that its author is Kapālakuruṇṭaka, and contains no reference to Vāmana, which may weaken the case that the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* is in fact a version of the *Yogakurāṇṭi* (notwithstanding that, as we have seen, at other times Krishnamacharya attributed the *Yogakurāṇṭi* to Koranṭaka). The statement suggests that Krishnamacharya knew the text by heart at the end of his apprenticeship with Rammohan Brahmachari and certainly by the time he began instructing Pattabhi Jois in Mysore around 1927, in which case the *Yogakurāṇṭi* could almost certainly not be identified with the source manuscript of the *Śrītattvanidhi* contained in the Mysore Palace archives (i.e., the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*). In an account by Eddie Stern, one of Pattabhi Jois's senior American students, Krishnamacharya—having already memorised the text during his apprenticeship with his guru—was told he could find the *Yogakurāṇṭi* in a library in Calcutta and spent some time there researching it between about 1924 and 1927 (Stern 2010: xvii). Therefore, it is possible that another text, which is comparable to the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, exists (or used to exist) in Calcutta. Again, however, the fact that the *Yogakurāṇṭi* does not appear in the extensive source list of Krishnamacharya's *Yoga Makaranda* of 1934 suggests that Krishnamacharya was not aware of a text of that name until later.

Stern (in Jois 2010, xiii) has also stated:

Korunta means “groups,” and the text was said to contain lists of many different groupings of asanas, as well as highly original teachings on vinyasa, drishti, bandhas, mudras, and philosophy [...] When Guruji [Pattabhi Jois] began his studies with Krishnamacharya in 1927, it was the methods from the Yoga Korunta that he was taught. Although the authenticity of the book would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to validate today, it is generally accepted that this is the source of ashtanga yoga as taught by Pattabhi Jois.

Stern's statement regarding the etymology of 'korunta' is interesting insofar as the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* is distinctive, if not unique, among premodern yoga texts in its grouping of *āsanas* (prone, supine, and so on). Furthermore, just as there are six *āsana* groups in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, there are six series in some taxonomies of Ashtanga Yoga.¹³⁴ It is therefore feasible that the arrangement of a text similar to the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* was at least an inspiration for the *āsana* groupings of Ashtanga Yoga, if not its source. However, making this less likely is the fact that the series of

¹³⁴ However, the 'original' Ashtanga Yoga syllabus as taught by Pattabhi Jois to his first American students in 1974 only had four series. (See <https://grimmlly2007.blogspot.com/p/asana-lists.html>. Accessed: March, 2017.) We therefore should not make too much of this correspondence.

Ashtanga Yoga do not at all match, or even approximate, the particular *āsana* groupings of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. Moreover, while the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* contains probable sequences of *āsanas*, the text does not mention the term *vinyāsa*, nor does it describe the kind of postural transitions or linked movement and breath that are associated with Krishnamacharya's concept of *vinyāsa*. Again, it may be that Krishnamacharya simply took initial or partial inspiration from it—in particular its use of positions that link postures—and, crucially, used it as a textual precedent to sanction his own, original *vinyāsa* method.¹³⁵ The *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* does indeed contain original teachings on *mudrā* (in particular *vajrolimudrā*), as well as instruction on *bandha*, though there is no systematic instruction on *dṛṣṭi* as a gaze-point within *āsanas*, nor is there any 'philosophy' per se. Again, this could possibly be accounted for by the incomplete nature of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*.

While K. Pattabhi Jois does not refer by name to the *Yogakurāṇṭi* in his book *Yoga Mala* (first published in Kannada in 1962 and in English translation in 1999), he does cite its purported author, Vāmana, on several occasions. In the first instance, with reference to *paścimatānāsana*, Vāmana—along with the authors of the *Hathapradīpikā* and the *Gheraṇḍasamhitā*—is said to state that when the union of *apānavāyu* and *prāṇavāyu* occurs the 'aspirant has nothing to fear from old age and death' (Jois 2010, 30). No direct quotation is given. However, the practice of *sarvavāyucālana*, unique to the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* and said to give the yogin the capacity to practise the eight *kumbhakas* (beginning with *sūryabhedana*), is performed in *paścimatānāsana*. The pelvic floor is contracted, and the air is moved into the chest by contracting the throat: that is to say, the *apāna* air is relocated to the site of *prāṇavāyu*. There is no statement in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* regarding fear of old age and death, but it is nonetheless striking that a similar procedure should be identified by Pattabhi Jois as deriving from the *Yogakurāṇṭi*. We might speculate that Krishnamacharya singled out this practice as deriving from the *Yogakurāṇṭi*, insofar as it was unique among the texts of yoga that he was familiar with, and conveyed it to Pattabhi Jois.

The second time that Vāmana is mentioned in Jois's book (Jois 2010, 94), it is said that Vāmana 'speaks of *Baddha Konasana* as the greatest of the *āsanas*':

Baddhakonasane tishtan gudamakunchayet buddha [sic] gudarognivritthi
[sic] syat satyam satyam bravimyaham ['The wise one should retract the

¹³⁵ Krishnamacharya's son, T.K.V. Desikachar, states: 'In the beginning of [Krishnamacharya's] teaching, around 1932, he evolved a list of postures leading towards a particular posture, and coming away from it' (Desikachar 1982, 33).



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anus while in Baddha Konasana as it wards off anal disease, this I declare is true’].

A posture by the name of *baddhakonāsana* does not occur in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* or the *Śrītattvanidhi*, nor is it found in any premodern yoga texts. However, the posture known as *baddhakonāsana* in the Krishnamacharya lineage and elsewhere today is probably quite old, and commonly referred to as *bhadrāsana*. If indeed Vāmana refers to *baddhakonāsana* as the greatest *āsana*, he may be referring to *bhadrāsana* (by the name *baddhakonāsana*). We have been unable to trace this verse.¹³⁶

In the third instance—which is well known and frequently cited in Ashtanga Yoga circles—Vāmana is said to insist on the importance of *vinyāsa* in the practice of *āsana*:

If the asanas and the Surya Namaskara are to be practiced, they must be done so in accordance with the prescribed vinyasa method only. As the sage Vamana says, “Vina vinyasa yogena asanadin na karayet [O yogi, do not do asana without vinyasa]” (Jois 2010, 30).¹³⁷

This (metrical) verse does not appear anywhere in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, nor (as noted) does the term *vinyāsa*. In fact, the term *vinyāsa* is yet to be found in any text in the sense in which it is understood in Ashtanga Yoga prior to Krishnamacharya.¹³⁸ Neither is there mention of *sūryanamaskāra* in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. It may well be the case that a comparable verse exists in a text of which we are unaware. If so, it has probably been reinterpreted to fit with Krishnamacharya’s and/or Jois’s reallocation of the term *vinyāsa* within their systems of postural yoga, a reinterpretation that is reflected in the English translation of Jois’s *Yoga Mālā*. The term *vinyāsa* (like its synonym *nyāsa*) usually refers, especially in tantric texts, to the installation of *mantras* into the body of the practitioner, often as a rite that is preliminary to further *sādhana*.¹³⁹ In this context, the verse would mean ‘one should not do *āsana* etc., (*āsanādīn*) without the installation of the mantras (*vinyāsayogena*)’. Note that, pace Jois’s translation, the verse does not refer exclusively to *āsana*, but to ‘*āsana* etc.,’ indicating that mantric

¹³⁶ In more standard transliteration this verse is written as follows: *baddhakonāsane tiṣṭhan gudam ākuñcayed budhah | gudaroganivṛttih syāt | satyan satyan bravīmy aham |*.

¹³⁷ In more standard transliteration this verse is written as follows: *vinā vinyāsa yogena āsanādīn na karayet*.

¹³⁸ See Mallinson and Singleton 2017, 482 n.26, and Birch and Hargreaves 2016.

¹³⁹ Note that ‘*nyāsayogena*’ is found in several premodern works. For example, *Brahmayāmala* 10.106 (*śadaṅganyāsayogena ekabijāditanī kramāt | namaskārāntasamyuktaṇī dūtiṇām ṣaṭkam uttamam*); *Jñānārṇavatantra* 14.141 and *Svacchandapaddhati* p. 76 (*anena nyāsayogena trilokyakṣobhako bhavet*); and *Niśvāsakārikā* (IFP transcript T150) 1797 (*praṇavanyāsayogena tritattvam kārayed budhah*).

vinyāsa should here be understood as prerequisite to (or perhaps a concomitant part of) a *sādhana* that begins with *āsana*. It seems clear that Krishnamacharya has borrowed a common term and reassigned it to describe a principle of his own syncretic *āsana* system, and that the verse attributed to Vāmana and cited by Pattabhi Jois (and subsequently his students) has been creatively construed to fit with the particularities of the *āsana* system that Jois learned from Krishnamacharya.

Krishnamacharya's *vinyāsa* method is most likely derived from wrestling exercises like those described in the 1896 Mysore gymnastics manual, the *Vyāyāmadīpikē*. As noted above, it is probable that Krishnamacharya was familiar with this book, or at least with the wrestling, gymnastics, and exercise traditions on which it is based. The book describes several variations of a dynamic transitional movement between positions known as *jhoku*, performed from standing or sitting, in which the weight of the body is borne on the hands as it moves from one position to the next. A *jhoku* (1896, 29–31; see Figure 6) is first described as a prone back-bend (similar to the posture known as *ūrdhvamukhaśvānāsana*, ‘upward facing dog pose,’ in Krishnamacharya systems). It also seems to indicate a transitional movement between a crouching position with the arms extended and the face down (similar to a bent-legged variation of the posture known as *adhomukhaśvānāsana*, ‘downward facing dog pose,’ in Krishnamacharya systems),¹⁴⁰ a plank position with bent elbows (similar to the position known as *caturaṅga dandāsana* in Krishnamacharya systems), and the same prone back-bend (i.e., *ūrdhvamukhaśvānāsana*). Similar positions (including the crouching *adhomukhaśvānāsana* as a prelude to the ‘jump forward’) are, as noted, the key postural components of a *vinyāsa* as it appears in Ashtanga Yoga.

A *jhoku* is also mentioned as a transition into and out of the position called ‘scissor *varase*’¹⁴¹ (1896, 56–57, no. 45; see Figure 7), which is similar to the posture called *aṣṭavakrāsana* in Krishnamacharya systems. The movement begins in the prone backbend earlier referred to as *jhoku* (i.e., *ūrdhvamukhaśvānāsana*); the student is then instructed to ‘take a *jhoku*’ (viz. move to a *caturaṅgadaṇḍāsana* position and a bent-legged *adhomukhaśvānāsana* position), before lifting the feet off the ground, throwing the legs forward, and assuming scissor *varase*. Thereafter, the student throws the legs back again. This movement is the same as the *vinyāsa* leading to and from *aṣṭavakrāsana*.

¹⁴⁰ The *adhomukhaśvānāsana* practised in Ashtanga Yoga is similar to *gajāsana* in the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* (no. 25), insofar as the *dṛṣti* is at the navel and the legs are straight. *Gajāsana* also involves a repetitive *dand*-like movement which is similar in some respects to both the *jhoku* of the *Vyāyāmadīpikē* and the *vinyāsa* of Ashtanga Yoga. This suggests that Krishnamacharya may have drawn on both versions.

¹⁴¹ ‘*Varase*’ is a common wrestling term used for the various ways in which a wrestler might take down an opponent (we thank Prithvi Chandra Shobhi for this information).

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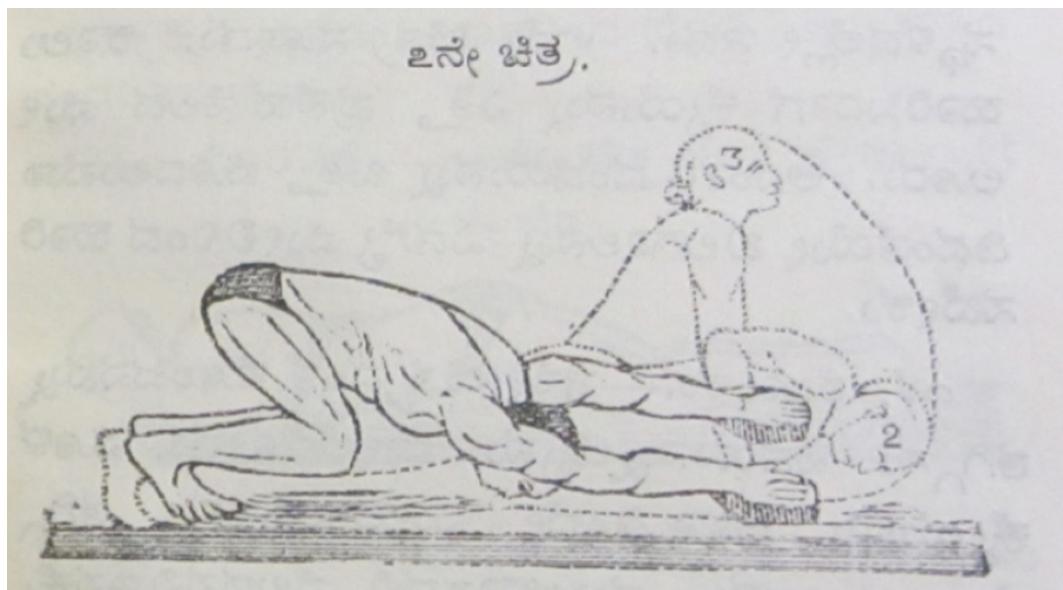


Figure 6: Ajhoku as depicted in the *Vyāyāmadīpikē* (Bharadwaj 1896, 31).

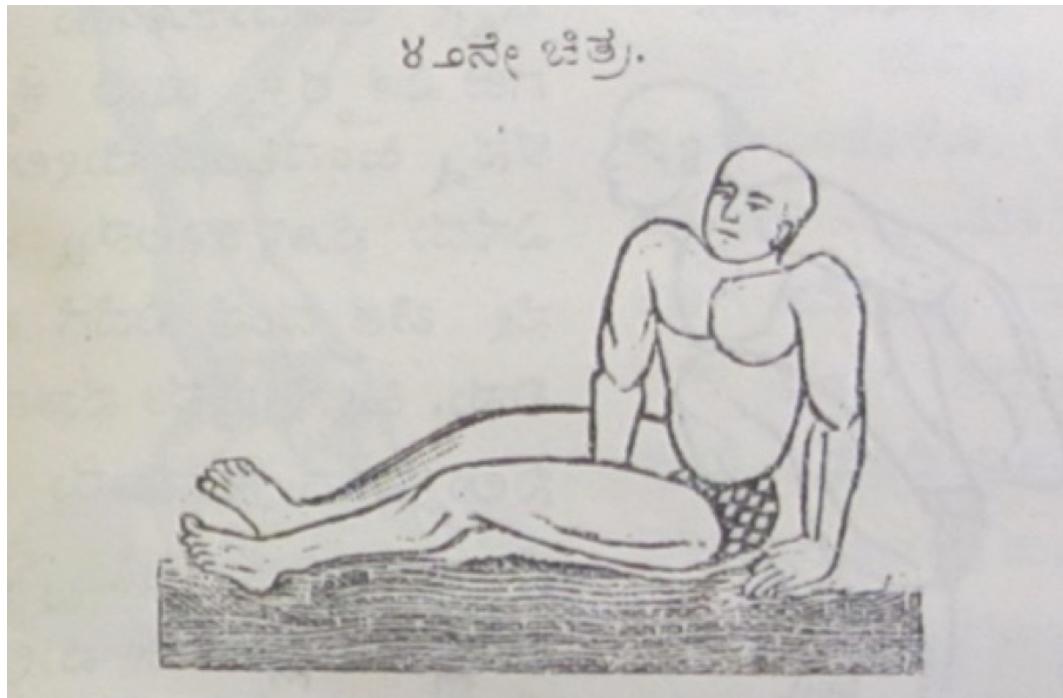


Figure 7: Scissor varase depicted in the *Vyāyāmadīpikē* (Bharadwaj 1896, 57).

in Ashtanga Vinyasa Yoga,¹⁴² and is reminiscent of the jumping into and out of postures that is the defining characteristic of *vinyāsa* in Ashtanga Yoga more generally.

Other exercises in the *Vyāyāmadīpike* present *jhoku* as a transitional movement from a standing position to a hand-balancing or hand-standing position, perhaps similar to the *vinyāsa* from standing—or ‘full *vinyāsa*’—of Ashtanga Vinyasa. The term *jhoku*, then, appears to indicate a dynamic transitional movement from standing or sitting in which the weight of the body is carried on the hands. As a final example, the *Vyāyāmadīpike*’s *jhula* exercise (1896, 61, no. 51), although it does not mention a *jhoku*, is identical to the posture known as *lolāsana* in some Krishnamacharya systems (e.g., Iyengar 1995, 116), in which the student sits in lotus posture (*padmāsana*), supports the weight of the body on the arms and swings the body backwards and forwards, before throwing the body backwards, or lifting up into a handstand, or into *mayūrāsana*. Once again, such movements are reminiscent of *vinyāsas* of Ashtanga Vinyasa.¹⁴³ It may be the case, then, that Krishnamacharya’s *vinyāsa* method is in fact derived from techniques from the wrestling traditions such as *jhoku* and *daṇḍ*, and perhaps directly from the text of the *Vyāyāmadīpike* (in combination with *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* itself).¹⁴⁴

13.3 Rope Postures and Modern Yoga

As we have seen, one unusual and noteworthy feature of the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* is the section on ropes (*rajjavāsana*), which contains ten postures. Ropes feature prominently in the teaching of Krishnamacharya’s student and brother-in-law B.K.S. Iyengar, who has had a perhaps unequalled influence on the way postural yoga is practised and understood globally today.¹⁴⁵ In her book of 1983, *Yoga: A Gem for Women*, Iyengar’s daughter Geeta describes seven rope postures, referring to the technique as ‘Yoga Kurunta,’ and translating *kurunta* as ‘puppet’ (the practitioner resembling a puppet on a string).¹⁴⁶ The use of this term to refer to rope poses is unusual, and is not, as far as we

¹⁴² An example of which can be seen here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nPHTZ7Hc7Hg> (at 32:10 to 33:13).

¹⁴³ See, for example, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aUgtMaAZzW0> (at 1:17:05) and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LTKnvzGsGEO> (at 34:10). Accessed: December, 2019.

¹⁴⁴ We are not the first to point out the correspondences between Krishnamacharya’s *vinyāsas* and this text: Norman Sjoman has noted that the exercises of the *Vyāyāmadīpike* ‘appear to be the primary foundation for Krishnamachariar’s *vinyāsa*-s’ (1999, 53).

¹⁴⁵ Examples of rope work in Iyengar yoga can be seen in Iyengar’s short film of 1977, *Samādhi*, available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ki9qos7dWTg> (at 10:24–11:00). Accessed: December, 2019.

¹⁴⁶ See also Birch 2018 [2013], 134 for a discussion of this reference.



know, used in this sense in the writings of Krishnamacharya and his other students, nor elsewhere prior to Geeta Iyengar.

The appearance of ropes in yoga texts is not unprecedented, but it only begins to appear in yoga texts of the seventeenth to eighteenth-century (Birch 2018 [2013], 134). Prior to that, ropes were probably used in the practice of some types of *tapas*, such as the ‘bat penance’ (*valgulivrata*).¹⁴⁷ However, as far as we know, the description of rope āśanas in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* is the most extensive in any text before the modern period, and therefore the identification of rope practices as ‘Yoga Kuruṇṭa’ is intriguing. An image of Krishnamacharya’s *yogaśālā* at the Jaganmohan Palace from around 1933 (reproduced in Sjoman 1999, 110) shows the presence of ropes hanging from the ceiling (as well as dumbbells, a chest expander, a rowing machine, and mirror), indicating that Krishnamacharya employed them as part of his yoga practice and teaching, and/or inherited them from a former occupant. One might reasonably speculate that Krishnamacharya told the young Iyengar that the rope poses came from the text that Krishnamacharya called the *Yoga Kuruṇṭa*, but that the young Iyengar understood the name to refer to the technique itself, and passed this usage on to his daughter. However, none of the standard rope postures in Iyengar Yoga correspond to any of the rope poses in the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. Therefore, the strongest argument we can make in this regard is that the rope poses in a text similar to the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* may have initially inspired and sanctioned Krishnamacharya’s use of ropes, providing a textual precedent for his own innovations.

13.4 The Relationship of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* to Ashtanga Vinyasa Yoga

The preceding examination puts us in a better position to reflect on the likelihood that the text that Krishnamacharya refers to as the *Yogakurāṇṭi* is related to the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*, and whether it can in any way be considered the source or blueprint for the postural sequences of Krishnamacharya and Pattabhi Jois. The strongest argument in favour of such an identification is that the *Yogakurāṇṭi* is said to describe groupings or sequences of postures, some of which require the use of rope, as does the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. As noted, however, aside from the fact that both the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* and the modern sequences based on the *Yogakurāṇṭi* teach distinct groupings of sequential poses, the way the groups are categorised is not comparable, and this weakens the argument substantially. That said, however, a nine-fold taxonomy of yoga postures that appears in a work attributed to Krishnamacharya called ‘Salutation to the Teacher’ does have some overlaps with the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*’s

¹⁴⁷ See Diamond et al. (2013, 207) and the cover of Mallinson and Singleton 2017 for art historical examples.

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groupings, and includes standing, sitting, supine, and prone.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, a subdivision of postures sometimes seen in Iyengar Yoga, which also includes standing, sitting, supine, and prone, probably reflects Krishnamacharya's scheme.¹⁴⁹ These groupings may, then, represent a taxonomy inspired and sanctioned by a text like the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* that was known to Krishnamacharya, but with his own significant additions.

The dynamic nature of Ashtanga (Vinyasa) Yoga is also reflected in the dynamic nature of many of the postures of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*. However, it is clear from a comparison of poses that the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* cannot really be considered a direct source for the sequences of Krishnamacharya's *Yogāsanagalu* nor for the series of contemporary Ashtanga Vinyasa Yoga as taught by Pattabhi Jois. Neither the *Śrītattvanidhi* nor the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* (nor any known premodern yoga text for that matter) teach the forms known in Ashtanga Yoga as *sūryanamaskāra A* and *B*, with which the Ashtanga practice begins. Furthermore, the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*'s nomenclature is, for the most part, distinct from Krishnamacharya's. Only eight of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*'s one hundred and twelve postures are identical in name and form to postures in Krishnamacharya-derived systems. Five of those are, moreover, *āsanas* commonly found in other yoga texts.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the remaining three postures in which name and form are identical are much more unusual, suggesting that Krishnamacharya may have drawn on them in the formulation of his *āsana* system.¹⁵¹

In addition, at least forty-one more of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*'s poses are either the same as or closely related to postures taught in Krishnamacharya-derived yoga. Some of them are distinctive poses that we do not find elsewhere, and that are also characteristic of Ashtanga Yoga. Of particular note are *vetrāsana* (*Hathābhyaśapaddhati* 17), an advanced posture which corresponds to the 'catching the ankles' phase of the

¹⁴⁸ The full list that appears on p.3 reads: '1. Standing, 2. Sitting, 3. Lying down (face upward) (face downward), 4. Sideways, 5. Topsy-turvy or head down, 6. Turning, 7. Jumping, 8. Pumping, 9. Weighting etc.' The list is repeated on p.4 with examples of postures within each category. We would like to thank Anthony Grim Hall for making this document available through his website <https://grimmlly2007.blogspot.in/>. Accessed: March, 2017. A pdf can be downloaded here: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B7JXC_g3qGlWemJSRVhtLXFISVU/view. Accessed: March, 2017.

¹⁴⁹ The subdivisions as laid out in Mehta et al. (1990, 12) are: Standing, Sitting, Twists, Supine and Prone, Inverted, Balancings, Backbends, Jumpings, Relaxation. See also De Michelis 2004, 234 n. 40.

¹⁵⁰ These are *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* 39. *mayūrāsana*, 52. *baddhapadmāsana*, 53. *kukkuṭāsana*, 105. *matsyendrāsana*, 111. *śavāsana*.

¹⁵¹ These include a one-handed version of *mayūrāsana* (40. *parigumayurāsana*); a one-handed version of *kukkuṭāsana* (54. *parigukkuṭāsana*); and a squatting twist (61. *pāśāsana*).



standing backbend in the finishing sequence of Ashtanga Yoga,¹⁵² and to *tiriang* [sic] *mukhottānāsana* in Iyengar Yoga;¹⁵³ *luthanāsana* (*Hathābhyaśapaddhati* 22) which involves a backwards roll movement comparable to the distinctive, backwards-rolling *cakrāsana* movement of Ashtanga Yoga;¹⁵⁴ *bhāradvajāsana* (*Hathābhyaśapaddhati* 36) in which the practitioner lifts from a seated *padmāsana* into a handstand, tentatively comparable to a transitional move sometimes added after *suptavajrāsana* in the Ashtanga Yoga intermediate series; the (repeated) movement in *kukkuṭoddānāsana* (*Hathābhyaśapaddhati* 37), similar to the (unrepeated) lifting movement from *utkaṭāsana* in Ashtanga Yoga (the pose is not named and is usually accompanied by the simple instruction ‘up’);¹⁵⁵ *śūlāsana* (*Hathābhyaśapaddhati* 42) which corresponds to *śāyanāsana*, the sixth pose of the current ‘Advanced B’ series of Ashtanga Yoga;¹⁵⁶ and *preinkhāsana* (*Hathābhyaśapaddhati* 73), in which the body swings between the supporting hands (with legs straight), reminiscent of the characteristic ‘jump back’ and ‘jump through’ movements of Ashtanga Yoga.¹⁵⁷ These poses are sufficiently distinctive and unique among yoga texts to suggest that Krishnamacharya may have derived them from the *Śrītattvanidhi* and/or its source text(s). It is also striking that the final posture of the *Śrītattvanidhi*, *yogapāṭṭāsana*, is also the last of the (third and final) ‘proficient’ group of postures in Krishnamacharya’s *Yogāsanagalu*.

In conclusion, it seems reasonable to suppose that the *Śrītattvanidhi* and a source text (almost certainly the Mysore *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* and, perhaps, the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*) provided some inspiration for Krishnamacharya’s experiments with the sequential ordering of yoga postures in the 1930s. If the Mysore *Haṭhabhyāsapaddhati* proves to be identical or closely similar to the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* in the Palace archives, it may be that Krishnamacharya chose the name ‘Yoga Kurunta/Kuranṭi’ (perhaps suggested by the text’s author) to disambiguate it from the *Haṭhapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma, which by that time was also commonly referred to as the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* (including by Krishnamacharya himself). It also seems likely, given the distinctive, unusual nature of

¹⁵² An example of which can be seen here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5jekZ6XiKAQ> (3:00 to 3:20). Accessed: December, 2019. We are unaware of a specific name for this position used within Ashtanga Yoga.

¹⁵³ See plate 586 in Iyengar 1995, 419. The usual spelling of *tiriang*, meaning slanted, oblique, or crosswise, is *tiryaka*, *tiryaga*, or *tiryāñc*.

¹⁵⁴ An example of which can be seen here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aUgtMaAZzW0> (at 57:56). Accessed: December, 2019.

¹⁵⁵ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aUgtMaAZzW0> (at 28:06). Accessed: December, 2019.

¹⁵⁶ An example of which can be seen here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nPHTZ7Hc7Hg> (at 1:00:50). Accessed: December, 2019.

¹⁵⁷ See, for example, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ErAhlKSct6g> (at 1:00:51). Accessed: December, 2019.

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some of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*'s postures, that Krishnamacharya drew from one or both of these texts for some of the āsanas in his system, and that the prominence given to dynamic āsanas in these premodern works sanctioned some of Krishnamacharya's own experiments with dynamic āsana practice by giving them textual authority.

Nonetheless—as Krishnamacharya himself seems to acknowledge in his list of sources in the *Yogāsanagalū*—it is also probable that he brought a significant portion of his own experience to bear on these formulations, as well as inspiration from other sources, notably the *Vyāyāmadipike*. Moreover, it is clear that a text similar to the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* cannot have been the sole basis for the sequences taught by Krishnamacharya in Mysore in the 1930s and 1940s (at least as they are partially recorded in his books from that period), nor for the sequences which stem from them (with degrees of variation), taught today as Ashtanga Yoga. Nor can it be the case, if we are to believe the various statements made about it by Krishnamacharya, his family, and his students, that the *Yoga Koruṇṭa* is Krishnamacharya's name for a text that is identical or nearly identical to the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati*.

Krishnamacharya was a complex figure who embodied, in many respects, the encounter of tradition with (colonial) modernity.¹⁵⁸ As noted by Ikegame (2013), the political and social structures, education systems, and physical culture practices in Mysore at the time were deeply influenced (and indeed closely controlled) by the colonial powers,¹⁵⁹ and Krishnamacharya himself, a traditionally trained Brahmin, was also part of this modern, western-oriented milieu, even enjoying playing polo with the British.¹⁶⁰ The yoga he taught in Mysore, while rooted in the Indian yoga traditions, was composite, syncretic and constantly evolving. His son T.K.V Desikachar notes that he 'developed' and 'discovered' new postures¹⁶¹ and techniques (such as *vinyāsa*)¹⁶² throughout his

¹⁵⁸ Something that is not apparent in the more hagiographic accounts of his life, e.g., Srivatsan 1997; Desikachar 2005.

¹⁵⁹ A similar point is made by Sjoman (1999, 52).

¹⁶⁰ This information comes from a source close to Krishnamacharya who will remain anonymous here, but the veracity of whose account cannot reasonably be doubted.

¹⁶¹ As T.K.V. Desikachar states in 1982 with regard to āsanas, "He continues to discover new postures, in fact I am unable to keep track of his new discoveries" (32). Claude Maréchal similarly declares, "A large number of postures, notably most of the standing postures, no doubt come to us directly from Prof. Krishnamacharya, who developed them in response to the needs of the modern age" (1989, 47, author trans.). See Singleton and Fraser (2013, 128).

¹⁶² 'In the beginning of [Krishnamacharya's] teaching, around 1932, he evolved a list of postures leading towards a particular posture, and coming away from it' (Desikachar 1982, 33).

teaching career. Innovation in practice was also sometimes encouraged in his students.¹⁶³

We also know that one of the core principles of his teaching was the adaptation of the practice to meet the needs of the student (taking into consideration time, place, age, constitution, etc.). Also characteristic of him is the attribution of apparent innovation to purportedly ancient texts, such as the *Yoga Rahasya*, said to be by the medieval sage Nāthamuni, but almost certainly composed by Krishnamacharya himself.¹⁶⁴ If the *Yogakuruṇti* was originally a text nearly identical to the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* and known to Krishnamacharya (either through the Mysore Palace archives or elsewhere), the contents that he attributed to that text may have changed as his teaching developed. Therefore, statements by Krishnamacharya and his students about the contents of the *Yogakuruṇti* may not be the best method for assessing whether it could be a text comparable to the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*.

14. Conclusion

The *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* was composed at a time when the literature on Hathayoga was changing significantly. The early texts on Hathayoga (i.e., twelfth to fifteenth century) were short, pithy works that taught relatively few techniques and provided only basic practical details. However, after the *Hṛthapradīpikā* was composed in the fifteenth century, larger works on Hathayoga were compiled that expounded on theory and praxis (Birch, forthcoming 2020). Some of these were more scholarly, such as the *Hṛtharatnāvalī* (seventeenth century), and others, like the *Hṛthayogasamhitā* (seventeenth century) and the *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati*, were more praxis-orientated. The *Hṛthābhyaśapaddhati* represents one of the culminations of this period of Hathayoga's flourishing insofar as it contains extensive instruction on practice, in particular, of the *yama-niyamas*, complex āsanas, and two mudrās, *khecarī*, and *vajroli*, as well as some previously undocumented practical details on the *śatkarma*, diet, and *prāṇāyāma*. In this

¹⁶³ An early student of Krishnamacharya in Mysore, T.R.S. Sharma, states: "Krishnamacharya believed in a kind of innovating. He believed in innovation. There was nothing like a set, fixed kind of postures. He always thought of innovations, variations. And he also thought of the constitution of the student. So he would not insist that everyone has to follow the same regimen, the same series of āsanas. Only thing is, he was very particular about *sūryanamaskār*. You start your yoga with *sūryanamaskār*. And after that, the world is free. You are free to sort of innovate on the postures" (From an interview with Andrew Eppler in the 2018 film *Mysore Yoga Traditions, An Intimate Glimpse Into the Origins of Modern Yoga*, at 16:15).

¹⁶⁴ A grep search of an e-text of Krishnamacharya's *Yoga Rahasya* reveals that (except where they are cited) very few verses have been tacitly borrowed from other texts, suggesting that the text is to a large degree Krishnamacharya's own composition.

sense, it is a true *paddhati*. Nevertheless, like the early texts of Haṭhayoga, this *paddhati* does not discuss doctrine or metaphysics, which suggests that it was intended as a trans-sectarian manual for those wanting to practise Haṭhayoga.

In many respects, the discovery of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* raises more questions about the history of yoga than it answers. How widespread in India was this particular system of yoga? Did it circulate among ascetics and householder practitioners as a practice notebook? And was this how it arrived in Mysore, where the Mahārāja of Mysore commissioned his best artists to produce an illustrated manuscript based on it for the royal court? Do its unprecedented details indicate that this system of yoga was a somewhat innovative development in the history of Haṭhayoga? Or does the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* provide a glimpse of a proliferation in physical yoga practices and techniques that, like Indian martial arts and wrestling, were rarely recorded in Sanskrit literature? Were the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati*'s dynamic āśanas a yogic adaptation of some military training methods which were part of the culture of the *akhāḍā*, training centres which appear to have been widespread throughout South Asia before India was demilitarized by the British (O'Hanlon 2007)? And should we understand the opening lines of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* as introducing a yoga that was suitable for all people, or do its strenuous āśanas and extreme exercises for maintaining celibacy make it the preserve of ascetics or life-long celibate Brahmins?

The text also represents a bridge between premodern and modern, transnational practices of yoga, in that the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* (and the *Śrītattvanidhi*, which drew upon it) informed the influential postural teachings of T. Krishnamacharya. These texts may have served as inspiration and śāstric precedent for Krishnamacharya's innovative postural sequences, and are probably the only *textual* sources among those that he lists in his books of the period that can credibly be considered a source for the āśanas he taught to Mysore students like Pattabhi Jois and B.K.S. Iyengar. The *Śrītattvanidhi* was composed during a period of significant British involvement in the social and political life of Mysore; and after the death of Mahārāja Krishnaraja Wodeyar III in 1869 this involvement only intensified, modernising many aspects of court life (Ikegame 2013, 57ff), including the physical practice of yoga. It is very likely that the evolution of Krishnamacharya's āśana sequences during the 1930s also reflects elements of that modernisation (Singleton 2010). But the redaction of the postures of the *Haṭhābhyaśapaddhati* into the *Śrītattvanidhi*, and the assimilation of those same postures in the books and teachings of Krishnamacharya point to an ongoing process of innovation and adaptation similar to the way contemporary teachers of yoga adapt certain teachings of Krishnamacharya for a global audience. If the sources at the



disposal of the author of the *Hathābhyaśapaddhati* could be brought to light, an analysis of them might reveal an interesting prehistory to its remarkable postural practice.

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Abbreviations

Barois	Christèle Barois
Goodall	Dominic Goodall
HAP	<i>Hathābhyaśapaddhati</i>
HYP	<i>Hathayogapradīpikā</i>
SRM	<i>Saṅkhyāratnamālā</i>
ŚTN	Śrītattvanidhi

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BOOK REVIEW

Yoga in Britain: Stretching Spirituality and Educating Yogis. Suzanne Newcombe. 2019. Sheffield, Bristol: Equinox. 309 pages.

Yoga in Britain is the long-awaited monograph by Suzanne Newcombe, an American academic based in the United Kingdom (Open University and Inform, King's College London).¹ Known as a prolific scholar in the fields of yoga studies and contemporary religion, Newcombe currently studies the relations between yoga and āyurveda as part of the AyurYog research project (ayuryog.org). *Yoga in Britain*, the fruit of a long-lasting inquiry, reflects her interest in the transformation of religiosity and spirituality in the twentieth century, seen through the lens of yoga practice as it was introduced to and developed in Great Britain.

Newcombe's book is a continuation of the foundational studies on modern yoga by Elizabeth De Michelis² and Mark Singleton.³ While these two authors focused mainly on the colonial period and the British influence on yoga in India, Newcombe discusses the transformation of yoga in Britain, after India achieved independence. Although the narrative sweeps across the entire twentieth century, her most in-depth analysis covers the period between 1945 and 1980. Despite the book title's reference to 'Britain,' the work focuses mostly on what was going on in England, or more precisely in large English cities such as London, Birmingham, and Manchester. The discussion of the role of national television, popular music, and printed media in the popularisation of yoga offers a window into how an understanding and practice of yoga might have been shaped in different parts of the country.

Each of the book's chapters focuses on a different medium through which yoga was presented to the British public. The first chapter (*The Literary Elite: Booksellers and Publishers*), summarising the reception of yoga in the first half of the twentieth century,

¹ Inform is an organisation providing research-based information on new and minority religions.

² De Michelis, E. 2004. *A History of Modern Yoga: Patañjali and Western Esotericism*. London: Continuum.

³ Singleton, M. 2010. *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



introduces the publishing houses and bookshops that offered yoga- and esotericism-related literature. The three following chapters (*The Self-taught Yogis, Adult Education and the Wheel of Yoga; Charismatic Gurus in Adult Education; Middle-Class Women Join Evening Classes*) discuss the phenomenon of state-supported evening adult education in post-war Britain and explain its role in the legitimisation, popularisation, and standardisation of yoga practice, mainly among middle-class, middle-aged practitioners. Chapter Five (*Yoga in Popular Music and the 'Counter-culture'*) examines the relationship between the public appeal of pop-music and the introduction of yoga, meditation, and other Indian tropes into youth culture. *Yoga on the Telly* (Chapter Six) explains the role television played in encouraging individuals to attempt the practice of yoga. *Yoga as Therapy* (Chapter Seven) highlights how the long-standing claims of yoga's therapeutic efficacy were interpreted and presented to British practitioners. The final chapter (*Diversity of Practice and Practitioners*) discusses the different soteriological interpretations of yoga practice emerging amidst late twentieth-century tensions between secularisation and the individual search for spirituality.

Being primarily a sociologist of religions, Newcombe takes up the subject matter from a historico-sociological perspective. While rich in historical information (concerning, *inter alia*, the formation of the British Wheel of Yoga, the rise to fame of B.K.S. Iyengar, and the founding of the British branch of ISKCON), her book goes beyond just reporting names and events in chronological order. Each chapter, and each particular yoga-popularising medium described, are a pretext to depict particular social phenomena characteristic of post-war Britain. The author illustrates how yoga became inscribed into existing British social practices and crucial social issues, thus emerging as a local, context-specific phenomenon.

The overarching themes of the book are education and its different means, as well as the privatisation of religion and spirituality. Yoga and its practice serve as a lens through which these phenomena may be observed with acuity. The introduction of yoga classes into adult education programmes is depicted as part of a long-lasting tradition of autodidactic study that operated – supported by a socialist stance – since the late nineteenth century, and ended with Margaret Thatcher's neoliberal reforms. Interestingly, even the application of yoga as an element of wellness culture, now often associated with liberal and consumerist attitudes, is positioned within a socialist discourse. Newcombe explains how in post-war Britain well-being was seen as a social responsibility, a way of not over-burdening others with one's health issues through taking better care of oneself. While this may not tally with the motivation of self-seeking contemporary practitioners set on personal growth, it does seem to have been the key motivation offered to British housewives attending yoga classes in the 1960s.

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One of the important topics that Newcombe examines is that of “institutionalisation of charisma” in modern yoga milieus, exemplified by the lineage of B.K.S. Iyengar (Chapter Three). While the British Wheel of Yoga insisted on treating yoga as comprehensively as possible, seeking to offer an unbiased presentation through shunning identification with any single lineage, other emerging yoga organisations were founded on the charismatic personalities of particular gurus. B.K.S. Iyengar managed to use his charisma to transform what was his subjective experience into an orthoprax system transmitted throughout Britain (and eventually across the world) via course syllabi and teacher certificates. In other words, he managed to standardise and professionalise a role that was originally an expression of vocation rather than a trained profession. Until today, the most successful Iyengar Yoga teachers remain those able to use their charisma to legitimise this system. Realising this may make it easier to relativise and deconstruct the position of the teacher in contemporary yoga milieus, the emotional dynamics between the teacher and their students, and the role of charisma in reinforcing or transforming those practices within these groups that may be ill-grounded, disadvantageous, or even abusive.

Apart from the aforementioned points, a great value of Newcombe’s work lies in its showing which transformations of yoga in Britain are distinctly British, i.e. influenced by the peculiarities of British society. While some events described in the book – such as the rise to prominence of B.K.S. Iyengar – are relevant to the global history of modern yoga, others – like the role of adult education in promoting yoga, the scepticism and reluctance of the British Wheel of Yoga to support particular lineages or gurus, or the specific understanding of tending to one’s well-being as a social responsibility – seem quite local.

Because yoga was exported out of India largely, though nowhere near exclusively, by English speakers, and because it is easy, especially from an anglophone point of view, to see this language as the contemporary *lingua franca* of modern yoga, it may be tempting to conclude that Anglo-American interpretations were key to the shaping of international receptions of yoga. However, just as Newcombe’s book shows us to what extent yoga in Britain was adapted to suit local circumstances, future studies of other localised adaptations may reveal significant differences and variations in other reception histories.

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