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Introduction

Scholarly uses of the term '*haṭhayoga*' are in some respects constructs used to identify systems of predominantly physical yoga practices such as postures (*āsana*), breath retentions (*kumbhaka*) and yogic seals (*mudrā*) leading to certain psycho-physical results, such as special powers (*siddhi*), physical immortality or liberation from the cycle of samsaric existence (*mukti*, *mokṣa*, *kaivalya*, etc.). None of these practice categories (nor their results) are exclusive to *haṭhayoga*, and many of the practices formative of *haṭha* from the eleventh century onwards had already been in existence for many centuries. Moreover, some of the texts identified by recent scholarship as being constitutive of the early *haṭha* corpus do not refer to their yoga as *haṭha*, and the same is true for later (Brahmanical) assimilations of *haṭha* systems, such as the eighteenth-century Yoga Upaniṣads (see Bouy 1994). Furthermore, taxonomies of yoga types which include *haṭha* that occur in some texts are collapsed and simplified in others, or ignored altogether in favour of the general term 'yoga', and practices not originally considered to be part of *haṭha* are later introduced and synthesised into it. To complicate matters further the meaning of the term *haṭha* – and hence the *sādhana* (pratice) of those who do it – may change, sometimes considerably, according to the context in which it is undertaken. Three examples striking in their differences would be tantric sexual ritual in Vajrayāna Buddhism, renouncer traditions of Hinduism, and modern, globalised yoga, all of which may call their yoga *haṭha*. Finally *haṭha* texts may comprise not only physical techniques but also methods of concentration, meditation and *samādhi,* challenging any straightforward definition of *haṭha* as 'physical yoga'. For example, the c. thirteenth-century *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* integrates the auxiliaries of *pratyāhāra* (withdrawal of the senses) and *dhāraṇā* (meditation) into its discussion of *haṭhayoga*.

Nevertheless, insofar as *haṭha* does exist as a common (if polyvalent) emic term within texts and among practitioners, it points to several key developmental phases in yoga's history, which continue to inform the way that yoga is practised and thought about today both within the traditional yoga-practising lineages of India, and in modern, global contexts. It therefore provides an essential frame for understanding the development of yoga as a whole over the past millennium. For the purposes of this chapter, then, 'early *haṭhayoga*' denotes innovative methods of predominantly physical practice (which may or may not self-identify as *haṭha*), beginning in about the eleventh century CE and continuing up to and including the composition of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* in c. 1450.[2] The *Haṭhapradīpikā* quickly became a popular and influential text, as attested by the large numbers of its manuscripts, and by the assimilation of its verses into later compendia and compilations. The centuries following its composition saw an increasing assimilation of its techniques into mainstream religious practice in India (Birch 2018). As demonstrated by Bouy

(1994) and Mallinson (2014), the *Haṭhapradīpikā* is itself in large measure a compilation of verses from earlier texts, and it is these (Sanskrit) texts that can be said to form the basis for a corpus of 'early *haṭha*'. This corpus has been central to new scholarly understandings of *haṭha*'s history, and it is this history that informs the current chapter.[3]

Textual criticism and *haṭhayoga*

Key to these understandings is the method of philological textual criticism, which draws on multiple manuscript witnesses of a particular text to create, through careful comparison and editorial judgement, a 'critical edition'.[4] Such editions seek to avoid the reproduction of anomalous elements such as scribal errors in any one particular manuscript and to arrive at the best possible reading of the text. Textual criticism is the basis of the contemporary discipline of Indology, which emerged out of the study of the (Greek and Roman) Classics.[5] Textual criticism of yoga, without regard for other historical sources such as iconography and ethnography, has its limitations. For example, *haṭha* practices that appear for the first time in a particular text may have been well known and practised for a long time previously, passed down orally, and only incorporated into texts at a much later stage. Individually, they do not, therefore, provide more than a sometimes narrow window onto the broader yogic culture of the period. Moreover, it is often difficult to accurately date the texts themselves, and therefore to make conclusive statements about *haṭha*'s chronological development history.

That said, textual criticism remains the best single methodological tool we have for reconstructing yoga's past, especially in combination with art historical sources (e.g. Diamond 2013), archaeology and iconography (e.g. Powell 2018) and early travellers' accounts (such as Tavernier's 1925/1676 account of his travels in India), as well as ethnographies of 'traditional' contemporary practitioners of *haṭhayoga* (e.g. Bevilacqua 2017). What is more, manuscripts are not isolated events but rather intertexual complexes through which continuity, conflict and innovation in yoga traditions can be discerned – such as in the already mentioned borrowing of verses from earlier texts, the importation and assimilation of practices from one religious tradition into another,[6] and criticisms by one lineage of the practices and practitioners of another (see Mallinson and Singleton 2017: 39–45). This enables a detailed and progressively more nuanced picture of yoga's historical development to emerge.

Precursors of *haṭhayoga*

The non-technical, general meaning of the word *haṭha* is 'forceful' or 'violent', and the compound '*haṭhayoga*' therefore connotes a yoga that is accomplished by forceful methods. Although the authors of *haṭha* texts themselves do not prescribe forceful practices (and, indeed, commonly advise against them, Birch 2011), it is possible for scholars to trace some of the practices of *haṭhayoga* back to ancient ascetic austerities known as *tapas* (lit. 'heat'). Within the Vedic tradition, such austerities are usually intended to develop power, and thereby to force a boon from a god. Many examples of this can be found in stories from the epic and purāṇic literature. In extra-Vedic renouncer traditions dating from the second half of the first millennium BCE – such as the various groups of renunciant ascetics in the 'Magadha' region of northern India known collectively as Śramaṇas[7] – *tapas* practices function to still the fluctuations of the mind or to erase accumulated karma (Bronkhorst 2007; see also Mallinson and Singleton 2017: xiii–xv). Not yet referred to as yoga (itself at this time much more closely associated with meditation practice, or *dhyānayoga*), these techniques (which include *prāṇāyāma* (breath control) methods

and practices which foreshadow *haṭhayoga* techniques like *khecarīmudrā*) found their way into later *haṭha* practice as yoga, albeit often adapted and repurposed from the original contexts. Indeed, key practices of *haṭha* such as *āsana* and *prāṇāyāma* are often still referred to as *tapas* in much later yogic contexts (Mallinson and Singleton 2017: 92–94, 129–130), and even today in yoga-practising ascetic lineages in India, *haṭha* is explicitly considered to be a practice of *tapas* (Bevilacqua 2017). Raising and maintaining *bindu* remains an important rationale for *haṭha* practice, both in texts and in contemporary Indian asceticism.

Haṭhayoga has close historical ties with Vajrayāna Buddhism. The term *haṭhayoga* first occurs in the fourth-century CE *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, but is not defined there. It occurs in multiple Vajrayāna texts between the eighth and the twelfth centuries, where it is predominantly associated with restoration and/or restraint of semen (*vīrya, bodhicitta*) especially during sexual ritual, and is considered a practice of last resort (Mallinson forthcoming). Puṇḍarīka's eleventh-century commentary on the *Kālacakratantra*, the *Vimalaprabhā*, defines *haṭha* as the restraint of semen and raising the breath up the central channel, two features which will continue to be constitutive of *haṭhayoga* in later, non-Buddhist contexts (Birch 2011: 536). However, the sexual ritual constitutive of *haṭhayoga* in Vajrayāna contexts is absent in these later works.

Models of the yogic body deriving from the tantric traditions (mainly Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist, beginning with the fifth-century *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*), and originally tantric practices that manipulate or control that body, became central to many systems of *haṭha*. Although not exclusive to tantric systems, such models of the yogic body are key to understanding how (and on what) *haṭha* practices are intended to work. Tantric yoga often contains complex and multisensory 'visualisations' of a ritualised, divinised body conceived as a microcosmic analogue of the macrocosmic universe or godhead, and typically consists of a network of channels (*nāḍī*) along which move winds (*vāyu*) or vital essences, and various locations (*ādhāra*s, *marman*s, *cakra*s, etc.) through which the consciousness of the yogi ascends. Yogic bodies are constructed in response to the doctrine of the particular tradition, and are thus enormously varied and often highly complex (Mallinson and Singleton 2017: chapter 5). The physiology of the yogic body in early *haṭha* tends to be much simpler.[8]

One of the most influential tantric models of the yogic body was the six-*cakra* system of the c. tenth-century *Kubjikāmatatantra* of the 'western transmission' of the Kaula cult of the goddess Kubjikā, in which variant forms of Kubjikā and her consort were visualised at various locations (called *cakra*s, or 'wheels') along the spine. Thus, *cakra*s were originally non-physical loci for meditative practice, rather than the a priori physical entities they became in some later *haṭha* texts.[9] The *Kubjikāmata*'s six-*cakra* model (sometimes, with the inclusion of *sahasrāra* at the crown, counted as seven) later became more widely accepted in yoga compendia that incorporated *haṭhayoga* after the seventeenth century. It is also the best known *cakra* system in modern, global yoga. Also occurring for the first time in the *Kubjikāmatatantra* is the coiled serpent goddess Kuṇḍalinī (there, a manifestation of Kubjikā), who resides at the base of the spine and is made to rise up the central channel through yogic practice. Raising Kuṇḍalinī becomes one of the central aims of yoga practices in early *haṭha* texts that derive from tantric sources, as well as in later syntheses such as the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

Referring to a '*bindu* model', and a 'Kuṇḍalinī model' of *haṭhayoga*, Mallinson (2011a) discerns two distinct currents in *haṭha*'s development. Certain texts (such as the eleventh-century *Amṛtasiddhi* and the thirteenth-century *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*) present *haṭha* practices as raising and preserving *bindu*, while others (such as the c. thirteenth-century *Gorakṣaśataka*) describe practices that raise Kuṇḍalinī. In subsequent texts, certain practices are even said to work sometimes on *bindu* and sometimes on Kuṇḍalinī, pointing to the synthetic character of later *haṭhayoga*. In the fifteenth-century *Haṭhapradīpikā*, for example, *khecarīmudrā* (described below) is taught twice,

first as a method for controlling *bindu* and then as a way to raise Kuṇḍalinī, thus preserving the divergent sources of *haṭhayoga* within the text, but also creating a measure of internal dissonance.

Early *haṭha*'s textual corpus

We turn now to a brief consideration of the contents of some of the texts of the early *haṭha* corpus.[10] The earliest text in the *haṭha* corpus as identified by Mallinson (forthcoming) is the Vajrayāna *Amṛtasiddhi*, which does not name its practices *haṭha* but which teaches three physical techniques (*mudrā*) that become central to later non-Buddhist *haṭhayoga*: *mahāmudrā*, *mahābandha*, and *mahāvedha*. The function of these practices, as in the *Vimalaprabhā*, is the retention of semen and the forcing of the breath into the central channel. The text also teaches a four-level sequence of practice – beginning (*ārambha*), action (*ghaṭa*), accumulation (*paricaya*), completion (*niṣpatti*) – which is reproduced in subsequent *haṭha* texts such as the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*; and four levels of aspirant, the first three of which are first found in the c. 450 CE *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*: mild (*mṛdu*), middling (*madhya*), excellent (*adhimātra*) and highly excellent (*adhimātratara*). Finally, the *Amṛtasiddhi* teaches for the first time that the control of semen (*bindu*), breath and mind are all interlinked, such that by controlling one of them, one controls them all. This becomes a key notion in subsequent non-Buddhist *haṭhayoga*. In later manuscripts of the *Amṛtasiddhi* it is clear that the explicitly Buddhist elements in the text have been overwritten with Śaiva references, in a process of trans-sectarian appropriation.[11] Verses from the *Amṛtasiddhi* appear in several subsequent texts of the early *haṭha* corpus, including the *Gorakṣaśataka*, *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*, *Amaraughaprabodha*, *Gorakṣayogaśāstra*, *Śivasaṃhitā* and the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, demonstrating elements of continuity from early Vajrayāna into fully-fledged *haṭhayoga*.

The earliest non-Buddhist texts to teach practices named *haṭhayoga* are the Śaiva *Amaraughaprabodha* and the Vaiṣṇava *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, twelfth and thirteenth century respectively. Both reproduce the four-fold practice schema and the three *mudrā*s of the *Amṛtasiddhi*. The *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* teaches three physical 'locks' or *bandha*s (*jālandhara*, *uḍḍiyāna* and *mūla*) two of which (*jālandhara* and *mūla*) are implicit already in the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s *mahābandha* but not individually explained. The *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* adds the inverted *mudrā viparītakaraṇī* ('reverse maker') and *khecarīmudrā*, in which the tongue is turned back and inserted into the nasopharyngeal cavity. Along with the method of seminal retention by urethral suction called *vajrolīmudrā* that occurs in all texts which call their methods *haṭha* (Mallinson forthcoming), these nine methods constitute the *haṭhayoga* taught in the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, which is attributed to the sage Kapila, and which functions to maintain *bindu*. The *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* attempts to adapt *haṭhayoga* for a Vaiṣṇava audience by synthesising these *mudrā*s with Yājñavalkya's *aṣṭāṅgayoga*, and this synthesis seems to constitute *haṭhayoga* in the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*.[12] Two early texts whose verses and practices get assimilated into the *Haṭhapradīpikā* synthesis but that don't call their yoga *haṭha* are the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* and *Gorakṣaśataka*. Both texts teach the three *bandha*s. In addition, the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* teaches *mahāmudrā*, *viparitakaraṇī mudrā* and a version of *khecarīmudrā* called *nabhomudrā*; and the *Gorakṣaśataka* teaches a practice called *śakticālanīmudrā* (on which see Mallinson 2011a).

The circa fifteenth-century, South Indian *Śivasaṃhitā* is a compendium of teachings on yoga, framed in the philosophy of the non-dual Śrīvidyā school of tantra. It teaches a system of six-plus-one *cakra*s identical in name and location to that of the *Kubjikāmatatantra*; a microcosmic model of the macrocosm within the yogin's body; the four stages of yoga of the *Amṛtasiddhi*; eleven *mudrā*s and – in a long final chapter on meditation and ultimate reality – a variety of other practices unusual in texts of the early *haṭha* corpus, including gazing at one's own shadow,

and the repetition of mantra. In its section on *mudrā,* the text presents a visualisation of the god Kāma located in the perineum that it calls *yonimudrā*. Although there is a physical element to the practice (a contraction of the perineum similar to *mūlabandha*, and a fixing of the mind there by means of inhalation), it is anomalous among *haṭha mudrā*s in that its practice is largely a visualisation.[13] Also unusual is that thereafter the text presents a *separate* group of ten *mudrā*s, all of which are familiar from the earlier, above-mentioned *haṭha* sources. Some of the *mudrā*s work on Kuṇḍalinī, who breaks through a series of knots (*granthi*) to rise up the central channel (*suṣumnā*), and some on *bindu*.

The locus classicus of *haṭhayoga*, the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, is a highly derivative and synthetic compendium of practices incorporating verses from the sources mentioned above and others. It is the first text to teach *haṭha* as a primary, exclusive practice: that is to say earlier texts had either not called their yoga *haṭha* or had presented it as one among other systems. It defines *haṭha* as consisting of posture (*āsana*), various breath retentions (*kumbhaka*s, i.e. *prāṇāyāma*), 'divine procedures' (i.e. *mudrā*) and concentration on the inner sound (*nādānusamdhāna*) (1.56). Not included in this definition of *haṭha,* but also included as preliminary physical cleansing methods are the 'six actions' (*ṣaṭkarma*) for those with an excess of fat or mucus in the body.[14] They appear under the rubric of *haṭha* for the first time in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (2.20–38), and thereafter become a characteristic component of *haṭha* practice, with new practices being added to their number in later texts such as the seventeenth-century *Haṭharatnāvalī*. Since the *Haṭhapradīpikā* is largely a compilation, it may be that the *ṣaṭkarma*s are borrowed from an earlier, unknown yoga text.

The *Haṭhapradīpikā* describes fifteen postures, eight of which are not simple seated postures; this (slim) majority of non-seated and complex postures therefore represents a departure from earlier yoga traditions in which *āsana*s are intended exclusively as stable and comfortable meditation positions. All the *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s verses on *āsana* are borrowed from other texts, but its presentation of a group of *āsana*s in which the majority are non-seated is a significant moment in the historical development of *āsana* for purposes other than meditation (e.g. for manipulating the fluids and winds of the yogic body, or as remedies for disease; see Birch 2018; Mallinson and Singleton 2017: chapter 3).[15] The *Haṭhapradīpikā* teaches eight *praṇāyāma*s, (four of which are drawn directly from the *Gorakṣaśataka*) which come to constitute a relatively stable set of 'classical' *prāṇāyāma*s.[16] It presents a group of ten *mudrā*s (3.6),[17] but adds a description of *yonimudrā*, bringing the total to eleven. As in other *haṭhayoga* texts, *Mahāvedha* is presented as a necessary complement to *mahāmudrā* and *mahābandha,* in which the yogi assumes the three *bandha*s and then strikes his buttocks on the ground in order to force the air into the central channel (3.25–30). As in its descriptions of *āsana*s, the *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s *mudrā*s are said to confer mundane health benefits alongside the main aim of raising Kuṇḍalinī. Mahāmudrā, for example, is said to cure consumption, leprosy, constipation, enlargement of the glands and indigestion (3.17). These therapeutic applications are also mentioned in earlier works such as the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa.* The concentration on the inner sound (*nādānusandhāna*), in which the yogi blocks off the sense organs and hears increasingly subtle sounds, is praised (1.43) as the best of the practices of dissolution (*laya*) which, as we shall see, is considered by the text to be a synonym of *samādhi*. It enables one to cheat death and attain liberation.

Goals of *haṭhayoga*

Broadly speaking, as in other forms of yoga, the ultimate goal of *haṭha* may be the accumulation of supernatural powers (*siddhi*) and/or liberation from the cycle of death and rebirth (*mokṣa*, *mukti*, *kaivalya*, etc.), the mechanism and prerequisite for both of which is *samādhi* (see below). *Siddhi*s

such as making oneself microscopically small or cosmically large, clairvoyance and flight have always been a feature of yoga, whether framed as coveted states that emulate divine cosmic play, or as inevitable but undesirable impediments to liberation.[18] Such powers figure prominently in popular legends and folktales of yogis (White 2009), but are also ubiquitous in premodern yoga texts. Almost one quarter of the sutras of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*, for example, consider the topic of special powers and how to attain them. Among all traditions, special powers are perhaps most positively regarded in tantra. To the extent that *haṭha* texts – such as the *Khecarīvidyā* and the *Śivasaṃhitā* – share in this tantric heritage, it is not surprising to find the attainment of *siddhi*s foregrounded in them. However, tantric *siddhi*s with malefic purposes such as entering the body of another do not generally feature in the early *haṭha* corpus, and *siddhi*s are viewed in some texts (such as the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* and the *Yogabīja*) as a distraction from the main goal.

Practices of *samādhi* in early *haṭhayoga* are often seen to lead the yogi to an insensible, non-cognisant, deathlike state, a process which is somewhat different to the increasingly refined cognitive levels of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* (which culminate in the *non-cognitive* state of *asaṃprajñātasamādhi*)[19], as well as to tantric schemata in which *samādhi* is an inferior stage to the apprehension of or merger with the supreme reality of the deity. The *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* (163–168), for example, considers *samādhi* to be a state of non-perception in which the yogi no longer has sensory experience, conceptual understanding or cognition of self or other. This non-cognitive wood- or stone-like trance state becomes a trope in later ethnographic writings in India, where the (*haṭha*) yogin is buried alive as a demonstration of his yogic achievement (Mallinson and Singleton 2017: 327, 342–345). In practice, however, interpretations of *samādhi* vary according to the sectarian and metaphysical affiliation of the text, and insofar as *haṭhayoga*'s heritage is itself various, and its practices shared across a broad range of religious groups, such variation is to be expected.[20] Also of particular note here is the concept of liberation-in-life (*jīvanmukti*), in which the yogin achieves the highest realisation while remaining in his body, and in some cases continues to live and act in the world. While not without ancient precursors, *jīvanmukti* was first celebrated and popularised by the eleventh-century *Mokṣopāya* (later known as the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*) and by the seventeenth century had become a topic of discussion in every school of Hinduism (Mumme 1996: 247). Its appearance and development therefore to some extent mirrors the development of *haṭhayoga*, and *jīvanmukti* is a central goal of *haṭha* texts (Mallinson and Singleton 2017: chapter 11; Birch forthcoming).

In the *Haṭhapradīpikā, samādhi* is defined as the union of self and mind (or, as in the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*, of individual self (*jīvātman*) and supreme self (*paramātman*)) that arises when *prāṇa* stops (i.e. the breath ceases) and the mind dissolves (4.5–7). *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.4 declares that *samādhi* is a synonym of the terms *laya* and *rājayoga* (among others).[21] The term *rājayoga,* sometimes presented (particularly in modern yoga) as the spiritual or mental counterpoint to physical *haṭhayoga*, itself only starts to appear with frequency in texts at the same time as *haṭhayoga*. The terms *rājayoga* and *haṭhayoga* appear together in texts such as the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, the *Amaraughaprabodha*, the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, the *Yogabīja* and the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (Birch 2011). The term is used in two distinct ways in these texts: as the final, and highest yoga in a four-fold scheme which also comprises *mantrayoga*, *layayoga* and *haṭhayoga*, and is characterised by the practice of *samādhi*; or as the non-dual, final state achieved through yoga practice (ibid.). Thus, like the term 'yoga' itself, *samādhi* and *rājayoga* are both ambivalent insofar as they can signify practices employed to achieve the final state of yoga, and that state itself. Thus the declaration in *Haṭhapradīpikā* 1.2 that *haṭhayoga* is being explained 'for the sake of *rājayoga* [*rājayogāya*]' should be understood to mean that *haṭha* is for the attainment of the *samādhi*-state of *rājayoga*.[22]

Haṭhayoga after the *Haṭhapradīpikā*

In the centuries following the composition of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, the methods of *haṭhayoga* enjoyed an increasing influence in mainstream, orthodox religious practice. In the middle of the second millennium CE, the Brahmanical scholar Śivānanda Saraswatī taught methods of *haṭhayoga* alongside those of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* in his *Yogacintāmaṇī*, evincing an early acceptance of *haṭha* in Hindu orthodoxy. As Bouy (1994) has demonstrated, in the centuries following the composition of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* a new corpus of Upaniṣads (which later became known as the Yoga Upaniṣads) borrowed wholesale from *haṭha* texts, and cemented the place of *haṭha* techniques in the orthodox religious mainstream. Birch (2018) argues that these centuries represent in some respects *haṭha*'s 'flourishing', with the composition of both larger praxis-oriented and compendious scholarly works which expand significantly on the usually terse descriptions of the early *haṭha* corpus, and also add many new techniques to those of the earlier texts.

Haṭhayoga in contemporary ascetic culture

In contemporary ascetic culture in India, the goals of yoga practice have largely remained those of the historical tradition: the attainment of liberation, and *siddhi*s. Among ascetics, the term *haṭhayoga* is for the most part understood to connote the 'austerities' of *tapas*, or perhaps more precisely the strong intention and determination (*dṛdh saṅkalpa*) that leads to *tapas* (*tapasyā* in Hindi) rather than a separate system of yoga per se, and may not even involve any yoga practice at all (Bevilacqua 2017).[23] Thus *haṭhayoga* can include practices such as only eating fruit or drinking juice, staying in a particular position for long periods of time or strictly following the rules of the ascetic order. This understanding of *haṭhayoga* as effortful or painful practice (sometimes contrasted with 'easy' meditative practices) shows a continuity with the ancient traditions of austerity mentioned above, and the continuing association of yogis with *tapasvins*. The strong intention implicit in these understandings of *haṭhayoga* is seen to be necessary to achieve the difficult goal of liberation. In line with the thirteenth-century *Yogabīja*, contemporary ascetics also sometimes interpret the syllables of *haṭha* to mean the sun (*ha*) and moon (*tha*) of the (*haṭhayogic*) body, and *haṭhayoga* itself as effecting their union.[24] In far fewer cases, *haṭhayoga* is associated explicitly with *prāṇāyāma* practice, itself often considered to be a form of *tapas*. Contemporary ascetics may also identify *haṭhayoga* with the *kriyā*s (i.e. *ṣatkarma*s) that, as we have seen, appeared under the rubric of *haṭha* for the first time in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. For still others, the term signifies physical techniques such as *āsana*s for keeping the body healthy. Unlike in contemporary globalised yoga (see below), ascetics accord little importance to non-seated *āsana*s that are not used as seats for meditation practice.

Haṭhayoga in modern global yoga

The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century saw an explosion of interest in yoga outside of India, largely due to newly available translations of yoga texts and the influence of teachers from India such as Swami Vivekananda, whose influential 1896 book *Rājayoga* became in some respects the 'blueprint' for many subsequent modern formulations of yoga inside and outside of India, and presents teachings on yoga heavily influenced by western esoteric ideas (De Michelis 2004). Although the physical methods of *haṭha* were dismissed by Vivekananda (and the highly influential Theosophical Society) as inferior to the 'mental' *rājayoga*, by the 1920s and 1930s *haṭha* was beginning to gain prominence in the practical

lexicon of globalised modern yoga.[25] In the hands of innovators like Swami Kuvalayananda and Shri Yogendra, the methods of *haṭha* were assimilated into contemporary physical culture and subjected to scientific investigation, a trend which has continued up to the present (see Alter 2004; Singleton 2010). Other globally known teachers such as Swami Sivananda and his disciple Vishnudevananda, T. Krishnamacharya and his disciples B. K. S. Iyengar and Pattabhi Jois have foregrounded the *haṭhayogic āsana*s, which have become virtually synonymous in many places around the world with yoga practice as such. The practices of *haṭhayoga* have undergone significant adaptation over the past century as they have been assimilated into new, diverse cultural contexts, and as yoga's popularity outside of India has swelled enormously. As well as adaptation in practices, the goals of yoga have also often shifted, with the two most common aims of yoga in the Indian tradition – special powers and liberation – commonly being displaced by an emphasis on personal health and wellbeing.

Notes

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2 The text refers to itself as the *Haṭhapradīpikā* ('lamp of *haṭha*') rather than the common title *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* ('lamp of *haṭhayoga*'), by which it is known in some commentaries and in modern publications (see Birch and Singleton Forthcoming).

3 I draw extensively on the ground-breaking research into the early *haṭha* corpus of James Mallinson, and also on Jason Birch's studies of post-fifteenth-century *haṭha*. To a lesser extent, this chapter includes my own research into the wider yoga traditions in Mallinson and Singleton 2017.

4 See Li, Chapter 26 in this volume.

5 On the history of textual criticism in Indology and European philology, see Witzel 2014.

6 Such, as we will see, is the case with the originally Vajrayāna Buddhist *Amṛtasiddhi*, which was later assimilated into a Śaiva context.

7 Bronkhorst 2007; see also Mallinson and Singleton 2017: xiii-xv.

8 Birch (2019) argues that the reason for this simplicity was that early *haṭhayoga* was shaped by its trans-sectarian status as an auxiliary practice for people of various religions. In modern yoga, the term 'subtle body' is often used to refer to these features of the yogic body. However, as a translation of the Sanskrit term *sūkṣmaśarīra*, 'subtle body' does not refer to the features of the yogic body as described in haṭhayogic texts, which may sometimes in fact be gross, physical phenomena. We have therefore chosen the term 'yogic body' to refer to those locations and passages of the body of the yogin through and upon which the methods of *haṭhayoga* work. For further discussion, see Mallinson and Singleton 2017, chapter 5.

9 In the seventeenth-century *Haṭharatnāvalī*, for example, certain *haṭhayogic* methods of cleansing the physical body are also said to purify the *cakras* (1.61).

10 For a more comprehensive treatment of the texts and their contents, see Mallinson forthcoming.

11 On which see the forthcoming critical edition of the *Amṛtasiddhi* by Mallinson and Szántó.

12 Because the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* adds more techniques and is more syncretic than the *Amaraughaprabodha* it is probable that the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* is the later text. I thank Jason Birch for this insight.

13 Birch (2018: 107, fn. 13) has argued that the first four chapters and the fifth chaper of the *Śivasaṃhitā* were probably different works, united at some time (perhaps, after the *Haṭhapradīpikā* but before the seventeenth century), which may help to explain these inconsistencies.

14 They are swallowing a long strip of cloth in order to cleanse the stomach (*dhauti*), enema (*basti*), nasal cleansing with thread or water (*neti*), staring until the eyes water (*trātaka*), rotating the abdominal muscles to stimulate digestion (*nauli*) and a form of vigorous breathing (*kapālabhāti*).

15 The complex or non-seated postures are *uttānakūrmaka*, *dhanurāsana*, *matsyendrāsana*, *paścimatānāsana*, *mayūrāsana*, *kūrmāsana* and *kukkuṭāsana*.

16 Relative, that is, to *āsanas*. They are, in order of their appearance in the text, *sūrya*, *śītalī*, *bhastrikā*, *ujjāyī*, *sītkārī*, *bhrāmarī*, *mūrcchā* and *plāvinī*.

17 The ten are: *mahāmudrā*, *mahābandha*, *mahāvedha*, *khecarī*, *uḍḍīyāna*, *mūlabandha*, *jālandhara*, *viparītakaraṇī*, *vajrolī* and *śakticālana*.
18 The *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* warns that accumulating (and demonstrating) special powers will attract unwanted disciples who will keep the yogi from his practice and turn him into an ordinary man (101–106).
19 Grinshpon (2002) argues that the liberation of the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* is equivalent to complete ontological death.
20 For a range of interpretations of *samādhi*'s meanings in yoga texts, see Mallinson and Singleton 2017: chapter 9.
21 The text also names the following terms as synonyms: *unmanī*, *manomanī*, *amaratva*, *tattva*, *śūnyāśunyā*, *paraṃ padam*.
22 On traditions which understand *rājayoga* to stand in opposition to *haṭhayoga* see Birch 2011.
23 Unless otherwise noted, the statements in this section are all drawn from Bevilacqua 2017.
24 This understanding of *haṭhayoga* first appears in textual sources in the *Yogabīja*.
25 Unless otherwise noted, the statements in this section are drawn from Singleton 2010.

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