

**PLURALISM IN YOGA: TRANSFORMATION AND ITS
ENGAGEMENT WITH BIOMEDICINE**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

RAMANAND.R



**CENTRE OF SOCIAL MEDICINE AND COMMUNITY HEALTH
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY,
NEW DELHI-110067.
2021**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The beginning of the journey.

Atheism— is what influenced me when I was very young. It was an idea I was indoctrinated by my late grandfather, who lived his life as an Atheist, socialist and rationalist. Beyond his solid ideological bias, my grandfather was a scholar in Sanskrit and a learned man in *Āyurveda*. Despite his reservations against the ontology of *Āyurveda*, he used to impart his knowledge on it when I was very young, indeed a paradoxical mix of ideas! My interactions with him instilled a strong sense of curiosity in me to seek out the roots of Indian philosophy, and this research arises from this enduring curiosity. It was always a matter of interest to me to see the inner dialectics of Indian philosophy—the interactionism of materialism and idealism.

At the very young age of sixteen, a tangential swing occurred to me. I was initiated to *Koula* tradition— a ‘school of thought’ in *Tantra*. My master was a well-versed scholar in philosophy and the ceremonial aspects of Hindu and Buddhist *Tantra*. This journey with him opened my world to the rich and diverse philosophy of *Tantra* that has an approach to life and living distinctive from the popular or, for that matter, dominant *Vedic* outlook. I could find the soteriology of *Tantra* quite intellectually engaging and challenging. My readings and discussions with adepts in *Tantra* revealed an underlying influence of *Tantra* in almost every philosophical tradition and practice of the subcontinent. I realised inquiring into the depths of Indian knowledge tradition as my passion, and I was fortunate to pursue my passion in academics. I could ponder on the idea of pluralism in Indian knowledge traditions through my MPhil dissertation and this PhD thesis under the guidance of Prof. Rama V Baru. I am indebted to my PhD supervisor for guiding me on the right track to complete this public health research

without losing myself in the vast ocean of Philosophy—an inevitable possibility I would have fallen into. I am also thankful to the Oxford University Center for Hindu Studies for conducting a course on the history of Yoga. I attended the course tutored by Prof. Daniel Simpson. I got this opportunity when I was almost winding up my thesis writing. It helped me rethink and reshape some of the concepts I have used in the study. I have given considerable space to discuss the nuances of the philosophical traditions in Yoga and its history. Which I find necessary to establish the epistemological and ontological foundation of Yoga philosophy.

As a research scholar in public health, I was dealing with the idea of Pluralism in *Āyurveda* for my MPhil, where I could see the nuances of the tradition and the inherent pluralism. The research focused on the pluralism aspect of *Āyurveda*; also, it studied the issues in integrating *Āyurveda* into biomedicine. The study was a forerunner to my current research topic, where I looked at the pluralism in Yoga and its transformation and engagements with biomedicine. During my MPhil, the guidance I got was a pathfinder to carry this research forward. The previous and present studies together make a single research work dealing with the nuances, inner dialectics, and appalling trends of streamlining pluralistic traditions into a monolithic philosophy and practice.

I would like to extend my gratitude to Prof. V. Sujatha, professor at Centre for the Study of Social Systems, Prof. Ritu Priya, professor at the Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, Prof. Rajib Das Gupta, Prof. Ramila Bhist, Dr Sunita Reddy, Dr Vikas Bajpai, Dr Prachin, of Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health. I thank all the staff members of the CSMCH office for aiding me with the necessary help in the journey.

I am grateful to Prof. James Mallinson, professor at SOAS, University of London, a scholar on Yoga and a living Yogi, for granting me time to interact and discuss the significant aspects of my study. Dr Manu V Devadevan helped me to connect with Prof. Mallinson. Dr. Naren Rao, Dr. Hemant Bhargava of NIMHANS for providing data from their integrated

Centre for Yoga, people from different Yoga schools and traditions who generously interacted with me.

Let me pronounce my love as gratitude to my parents Ramadas and Arundhathi, my partner Dona and our newborn daughter Sanghamitra Rakshita. *Yogacārya* Unniraman Master, *Avadhūta* Prashobji, Dr. Sreenath Karayatt, Gayathri, Sachin (for checking the diacritics in the study), Sunil Raman, Vipin, Nithya, Vishnu, Jayasurya, Saritha Jayasurya, Mohanlal who were guiding lights and inspiration to complete this work.

Date- 20-12-21

Ramanand R

Place- New Delhi



Dedicated to My Tāra and Bāla



CENTRE FOR SOCIAL MEDICINE AND COMMUNITY HEALTH
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI – 110067

Date: 20.12.2021

Declaration

The thesis entitled “**Pluralism in Yoga: Transformation and its Engagement with Biomedicine**” is submitted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University. This thesis has not been submitted previously for any other degree of this or any other University and is my original work.

Ramanand R

We recommend this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Ph.D.

Rama.V.Barua

Signature of Supervisor

Date: 20/12/21

Rajib Dasgupta

Signature of Dean/Chairperson

Date: 20/12/21

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	2
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES.....	9
INTRODUCTION.....	10
MAJOR THEMES.....	13
METHODOLOGY	14
Research Questions	15
Objectives of the study	15
Major objectives.....	15
Specific objectives	15
Research design:.....	16
Referencing style:.....	17
Limitations and further scope of research	17
YOGA TRADITION IN INDIA: FROM INDUS VALLEY TO PATAÑJALI.....	18
INTRODUCTION.....	18
1. YOGA AND ITS ARCHAIC ROOTS.....	20
2. ŚRĀMANISM.....	25
2.1.1. <i>Lokāyatas</i>	31
2.1.2. Gymnosophists.....	33
2.1.3. Jains.....	35
2.1.4. <i>Ājīvikas</i>	38
2.1.5. Buddhists.....	39
3. ASCETICISM, GNOSTICISM, AND MYSTICISM IN YOGA.....	41
4. THE BEGINNING OF <i>SĀMKHYA</i> PHILOSOPHY	49
5. THE YOGA' <i>SĀMKHYA</i> DUO.....	53
PLURAL YOGA: TRADITIONS, AND PHILOSOPHIES.....	55
1. ARCHAIC YOGA TRADITION.....	56
1.1. The Path of Abstinence	59
1.1.1. Ājīvika Yoga tradition	60
1.1.2. Jain Yoga tradition.....	64
1.1.3. Buddhist Yoga tradition.....	70
1.1.3.1. Early Buddhism: Path of Abstinence and Yoga.....	71
1.2. The Path of Indulgence	76
1.2.1. Tāntric Yoga Tradition	77
1.2.1.1. Śākta Yoga tradition.....	81
1.2.1.2. Śaiva Yoga tradition.....	85
1.2.1.3. <i>Vaiṣṇava- Sahajīya</i> Yoga.....	91
1.2.1.4. Later Buddhism: Path of Indulgence and Yoga	95
1.2.1.5. <i>Yogācāra</i> Buddhism.....	96
1.2.1.6. <i>Vajrayāna</i> Buddhism.....	98
1.3. The Syncretic Yoga tradition	101
1.3.1. <i>Nāth</i> Sampradāya and Hathayoga.....	102
1.3.2. <i>Mantra</i> yoga.....	109
1.3.3. <i>Laya</i> yoga.....	110
1.3.4. <i>Siddha</i> Yoga tradition	111
1.3.5. <i>Vāsiyoga</i> tradition	113
1.3.6. <i>Siddhasamājam</i> tradition of North Malabar Kerala.....	114
1.3.7. Sūfi Yoga	119
2. VEDIC YOGA.....	125
2.1. <i>Upaniṣadic</i> Yoga.....	129
2.2. Epic and classical <i>Sāmkhya</i> and Yoga	135
TRANSFORMING DOMAINS OF YOGA.....	141
1. YOGA: TRANSFORMATION FROM HETERODOX PRAXIS TO AN ORTHODOX PHILOSOPHY	143
1.1. Yoga's entry into the Vedic fold	148

1.2.	<i>Vedāntising</i> Yoga.....	155
1.2.1.	The Epistemological and Ontological reductionism in <i>Vedāntising</i> Yoga.....	161
2.	VEDĀNTISED YOGA OF PRE-MODERN TIMES	166
2.1.	Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Vivekananda.....	166
2.1.1.	A short biographical sketch of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa.....	167
2.1.2.	Inroads of Neo-Vedantism to Ramakrishna and Vivekananda: Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Devendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen.....	170
2.2.	Swami Vivekananda a short biographical sketch.....	178
2.2.1.	East meets West – Easternising West or Westernising East?.....	181
2.2.2.	Vivekananda’s commentary on Pātañjala Yogasūtras.....	183
2.3.	Yoga after Vivekananda.....	187
2.3.1.	Integral Yoga Model.....	190
	MODERN YOGA: BETWEEN ‘NATION’, ‘BODY’ AND BIOMEDICINE	194
1.	YOGA ‘NATIONALISM’	195
1.1.	Transoceanic transmission of Yoga.....	201
1.2.	Yoga Body and Asana Age.....	205
2.	‘SCIENTIFIC’ YOGA	208
2.1.	Life sketches of Paramahansa Madhavadasji , Swami Yogendra and Swami.....	209
	Kuvalayananda.....	209
2.1.1.	Manibhai Haribhai Desai aka Swami Yogendra.....	210
2.1.2.	Jagnath Ganesh Gune aka Swami Kuvalayananda.....	216
3.	BIOMEDICALISED YOGA	221
3.1.	Medicine and Yoga.....	222
3.1.1.	Medicine- A short history of paradigm shifts.....	223
3.1.1.1.	Ancient Medicine—The Magico-religious Paradigm.....	224
3.1.1.2.	The Hippocratean Paradigm and Miasma theory.....	224
	Galen.....	226
	Andreas Vesalius : Birth of Modern Anatomy.....	227
	William Harvey: Circulation of blood and shift in experimental Physiology.....	228
3.1.1.3.	Microscope and Germ Theory- A New Paradigm.....	229
	Robert Koch- Germ theory and Cartesian-Newtonian Paradigm.....	230
3.1.1.4.	Germ theory versus the black box epidemiology.....	233
3.1.1.5.	Biomedicine in search of a new paradigm.....	235
4.	Biomedicine between reductionism and holism- A tryst with traditional medicine.....	238
4.1.	Integrating Yoga into Biomedicine.....	240
4.1.1.	Yoga in Psychiatry.....	242
4.1.1.1.	Review of literature Yoga in Psychiatry.....	247
	Depression.....	247
	Schizophrenia.....	248
5.	Ontological and Epistemological difference - Cartesian versus <i>Sāṃkhya</i> -Yoga.....	249
	dialectics.....	249
5.1.	Body and mind dichotomy in Yoga and Biomedicine.....	250
5.2.	Health and Illness in Yoga and Biomedicine.....	252
6.	Yoga and biomedicine- the Nosological dilemma.....	256
7.	Methodological and Logistical concerns – RCT and EBM.....	259
8.	Yoga and Biomedicine- The epistemological triad and the interplay of.....	266
	knowledge and power.....	266
	CONCLUSION	268
	REFERENCES	282
	ANNEXURE I.....	310
	CHRONOLOGY OF YOGA TRADITION IN INDIA.....	310
	ANNEXURE II.....	312
	INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANT(S) FROM DIFFERENT SCHOOLS/ STREAMS/TRADITIONS OF YOGA.....	312
	ANNEXURE III.....	313
	INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANT(S) (CLINICIANS) FROM THE SELECTED DEPARTMENTS OF NIMHANS WHICH ADMINISTER YOGA AS PART OF THEIR TREATMENT PROTOCOL.....	313
	ANNEXURE IV.....	314
	INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANT(S) PRACTITIONERS OF SCHOOL/ STREAM/ TRADITION OF YOGA WHICH ASSOCIATE WITH THE SELECTED DEPARTMENTS OF NIMHANS WHICH ADMINISTER YOGA AS PART OF THEIR TREATMENT PROTOCOL.....	314

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Conceptual schema	12
Figure 2: The Śrāmaṇic Spectrum	30
Figure 3: Cosmologies of different Philosophical traditions according to Prasthānabheda	146
Figure 4: The cosmological schema of <i>Sāmkhya</i> -Yoga	162
Figure 5: The cosmological schema of Advaita Vedānta	164
Figure 6: Features of transnational Yoga in Rṣikesh	202
Figure 7: Relationships among life stressors and affective disturbances	245
Figure 8: The evolution of blind trial procedure in RCT	260
Figure 9: Integrating Biomedicine and Yoga the web of Issues	265
Figure 10 : Yoga and Biomedicine - The epistemological triad	267
Table 1: Eras and Paradigms in Medicine	234

I

INTRODUCTION

In 1971, the forerunner of a new-age Yoga studio in America, Sat Jivan Singh Khalsa, told Huffington Post, "people confused Yoga and Yoghurt". They were both brand new, and nobody knew what either of them were (Gregoire, 2013, para. 1).

'From that age of obscurity till now, Yoga has scaled heights' (Ramanand, 2020, p.31).

It has now become a synonym for health. After the declaration of International Yoga day by United Nations¹, 'the insistence of Yoga in the parlance and memory of common people knew no bounds, as it superseded the academic, spiritual and health interests of Indologists, Spiritualists and Lifestyle enthusiasts' (Ramanand, 2020, p.31). Yoga has become India's most famous cultural export². Yoga has reshaped it from traditional philosophy and practice to a mass culture phenomenon; moreover, it is now complimentary to biomedicine. In recent years, Yoga has been floated as a public health intervention by the Government.

The transformation of Yoga from an esoteric philosophy to its current form is an exciting topic. Yoga has been alienated from its fundamental soteriological position to a wellbeing regime. A Yoga teacher well expresses the present-day idea of Yoga in popular parlance. He told the researcher, "*I have been taking Yoga classes for the last fifty years, till this date, not a single person approached me to learn yoga to get Mokṣa—Liberation; all they want is health*"³.

Yoga's shapeshift to a wellness regime from a soteriological philosophy and practice has a historical trajectory. Starting from its ancient origin from the fertility cult of Indus valley civilisation to the present form of medical Yoga, it has faced a lot of transformation. Some of these transformations deformed the philosophical orientation of Yoga informed by the

¹ On 2014 December 11th, the United Nations declared June 21st of every year to be celebrated as International Yoga Day.

² 'In the United States, Yoga has become a commodity. Statistics show that about 16 million Americans practise Yoga every year' (White, 2011,p.2).

³ Captured from a casual conversation with *Yogācarya* P. Unnirāman, founder chairman Patañjali Yoga centre Calicut Kerala.

pluralistic traditions from which it has originated. The thesis discusses the pluralism in Yoga in terms of its diverse philosophical, spiritual, and religious moorings.

The significant turn in the history of Yoga is its *Vedāntisation*, that has an early phase started during the times of epic *Mahābhārata*, through early *Vedāntins* and a later stage of neo-*Vedāntisation* in the pre-modern and modern era, through ‘*Rājayogins*’⁴. The diverse philosophical and religious moorings of Yoga is often discredited after the transformation of Yoga—vedāntists streamlined Yoga to *Vedānta* philosophy⁵. This study identifies *Vedāntisation* as reductionism in Yoga and discusses the epistemological and ontological reductionism in *Vedāntising* Yoga.

Vedānta for neo-*Vedāntins* was a rational and 'scientific' philosophy. They believed it has an intrinsic value to present before a 'rational' western audience. Sanitising Yoga from its ancient mystical and magical tradition was hence seen as an important mission. Alter observes their method as an 'antimystical'⁶ approach.

The ideas of physical fitness applied medical research, and pragmatic populism propagated by *Rājayogins* influenced the history of Yoga in the future. The emergence of postural Yoga as a physical fitness regime and its populism helped somatic-nationalistic ideologies use it as its strong instrumentality. The applied medical research in Yoga opened its pathways to enter biomedicine and scientise it. The biographical and autobiographical sketches from the lives of key players who transformed Yoga from its pluralistic tradition to the present ‘scientific’ form of Yoga is discussed in the study.

The rationale of Yoga to enter biomedicine is discussed in the study as well as the engagements with biomedicine are also discussed in detail. The necessity of biomedicine to

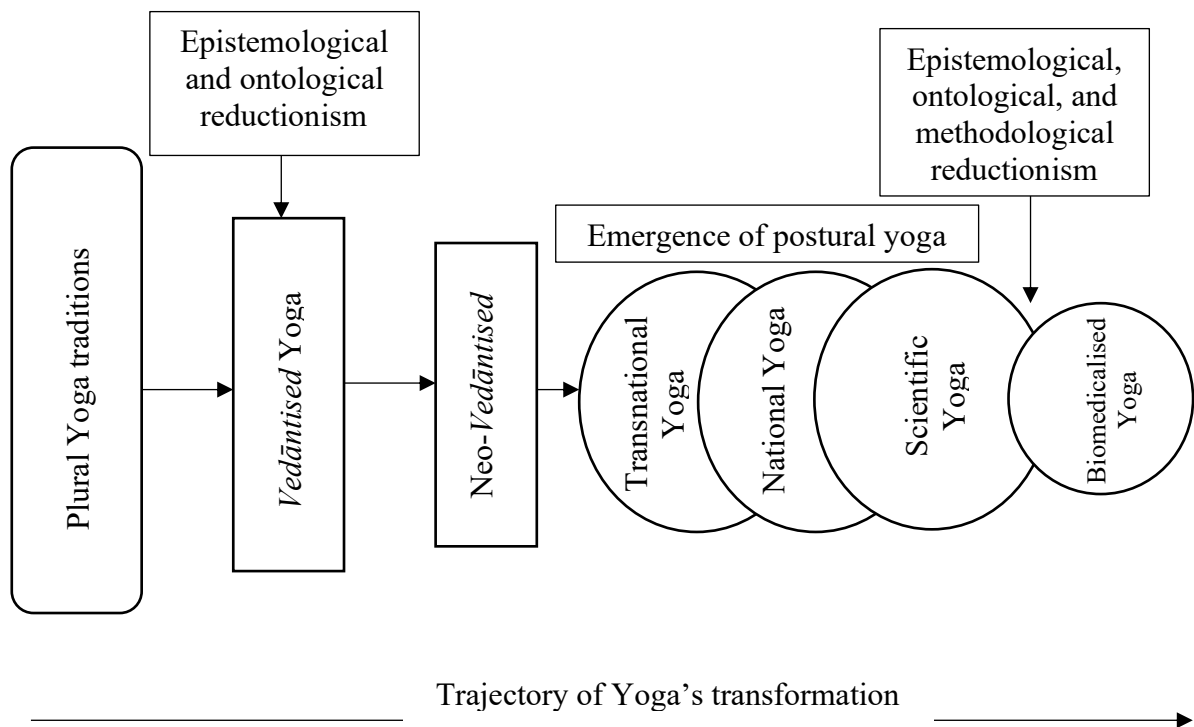
⁴ Chapter III, Transforming domains of Yoga, is discussing the role of *Rājayogins* in transforming Yoga.

⁵ 'A *Vedāntised Sāṃkhya* in its superstructure has come increasingly under *Vedāntic* influence so that the entire yogic process is seen as a preparation for the pure mentalism of the *Vedānta*: the sensory world is illusory, pleasure is a cause of bondage to illusion, and the mind is the means to escape' (Mcevilley, 1981, p.58)

⁶ He says, 'The approach that the "antimystics" took to the body was in terms of physical fitness, applied medical research, and pragmatic populism rather than arcane philosophy and spiritualism' (Alter, 2009, p.8).

incorporate Yoga into it is looked at from the angle of paradigm shifts in biomedicine. The rise of non-communicable diseases and biomedicine’s dilemma in dealing with multiple aetiology of the disease and the need for an integrated approach is discussed. Despite the need for integration with holistic 'sciences', the hegemony of biomedicine is discussed in the study. The imposition of Randomised Control Trial and standards of Evidence-Based Medicine to standardise Yoga and check the efficacy is addressed from the angle of the three levels— Epistemological, Ontological and Methodological reductionism in medicalising Yoga. Thereby the study aims at discussing asymmetrical pluralism in Medicine.

Figure 1: Conceptual schema



Despite the epistemological, ontological and methodological issues of reconciling Yoga with biomedicine, the biomedical practitioners who are willing to break the disciplinary boundaries of Medicine are moving forward with the idea of initiating dialogues with different medical systems and trying the possibilities.

It is also noteworthy that there has been an increasing trend in 'Evidence-based Yoga research' in recent years. Recent years witnessed Union Government initiatives to push Yoga as a complete health regimen. The funding for Yoga based research has increased in recent years. The change in funding status also informs the increased interest in Yoga research.

II

Major themes

This research titled Pluralism in Yoga: Transformation and its engagements with biomedicine have three major themes; Pluralism, Reductionism and Transformation. The thesis is trying to map the plural traditions and philosophies of Yoga from its archaic origin in the first two chapters of the study. The following two chapters discuss the transformation of Yoga from its philosophical anchorages to new domains.

The third chapter mainly focuses on the transformation of Yoga from a plural tradition to a monistic *Vedāntic* tradition and its further transformation from *Vedāntic* to Neo-*Vedāntic* tradition. The first section of the third chapter examines the epistemological and ontological reductionism in Yoga philosophy after it was *Vedāntised*. The second section deals with neo-*Vedāntisation* in Yoga.

The fourth chapter discusses the transformation of Yoga into 'Medical Yoga', and the chapter discusses epistemological, ontological, and methodological reductionism that happened to Yoga when it was medicalised. There are many other sub-themes in the study that interlays with the above said major theme.

III Methodology

The definition of major themes is given below.

1. **Pluralism:** The concept of pluralism is defined as the existence of multiple philosophies, traditions, and practices in Yoga in contrast to the monistic—*Vedāntic* understanding of Yoga.
2. **Reductionism:** Reductionism is the process of reducing one system of knowledge, tradition, practice or phenomenon into some other theory or phenomenon, for example; reducing mathematical theory into logic, reducing biological entities such as cells and tissues to physico-chemical entities such as atoms and molecules(Ney, 2015), in this study the concept of reductionism is used to explain the idea of reducing Yogic ideas to monistic ideas and later medical concepts. Three types of reductionism are studied in this study, they are.
 - 2.1. **Epistemological:** Epistemological reductionism is 'the idea that the knowledge about one knowledge domain can be reduced to another body of knowledge' (Payne, 2011)
 - 2.2. **Ontological:** 'Ontological reductionism assumes reality consists of a minimum number of entities or materials. This position is usually metaphysical and frequently the basis of monism, which claims that all events, objects, and properties may be reduced to one primary medium or substance' (Kricheldorf, 2016, p.63)
 - 2.3. **Methodological:** Methodological reductionism is defined as the idea that complex systems or phenomena can be understood by the analysis of their simpler components (Payne, 2011; Kricheldorf, 2016)
3. **Transformation:** The concept is used to define the transformation of Yoga from its Pluralistic tradition to a monistic tradition and its later transformation into a biomedical model—Medical Yoga.

3.1. *Vedāntisation*: *Vedāntisation* is the process of interpreting a knowledge tradition or practice in terms of the *Vedāntic* worldview.

3.2. *Biomedicalisation*: Biomedicalisation means "the increasingly complex, multi-sited, multidirectional processes of medicalisation that today are being reconstituted through the emergent social forms and practices of highly and increasingly technoscientific biomedicine (Conrad, 2007, p.14).

Research Questions

1. The philosophical and historical process of homogenising multiple Yogas to a single system Yoga and its implications on the pluralism of tradition.
2. The reductionism in Yoga and its role in biomedicalisation of Yoga.
3. The Challenges in integrating biomedicine with Yoga

Objectives of the study

Major objectives

1. To understand the Pluralistic theories and practices in Yoga and its trajectory from pluralism to monism.
2. To understand the epistemological, ontological, and methodological reductionism in Yoga due to its transformation
3. To understand the engagement of Yoga with biomedicine

Specific objectives

1. To understand the philosophical difference of different Yogas and Yogic traditions.
2. To mark the existence of plural yoga's in contrast to monistic Yoga.
3. To understand the role of early *Advaitic* philosophers in redefining Yoga as a monistic Philosophy.
4. To understand the role of neo-*vedāntins* in redefining Yoga.
5. To understand the role of monistic Yoga in building a somatic-nationalistic outlook.

6. To understand the key players in building nation body concept on par with the yogic body.
7. To understand the factors and key players in the transnational export of Yoga.
8. To understand the characteristics and key players in re-inventing Yoga regarding applied medical research and treatment.
9. To critically examine the challenges in integrating Yoga with biomedicine.

Research design:

The research has employed a review of published articles and primary texts and an in-depth qualitative descriptive design to examine the reductionism in modern-day Yoga and its engagement with biomedicine, focusing on mental health. The first section of the research deals with the philosophical and historical aspects of Yoga, emphasising the Pluralism of Yoga. This section used secondary resources such as books, articles and journals on Yoga and its philosophy and history. Primary sources such as Autobiographies, original texts on Yoga written in Sanskrit—selected chapters from *Mahābhārata*, *Yogasūtra*, *Sāmkhyakārika*, *Yogavivarana* of *Sankarācarya*, *Gorakṣāśataka*, *Gorakṣāpaddhati*, *Matsyendranāthasamhita*, *Koulajñānanirṇaya*, *Mahārthamañjari*, *Śivaśataka*, *Gheraṇḍasamhita*, *Śivasūtra*, *Vijñānabhairavatantra*, *Haṭhapradīpika*, *Bhagavadgīta*, certain *Yoga Upaniṣads* and texts written in vernacular languages, data collected through interviews from key informants from various yoga traditions are also included, along with as a case to present the inherent pluralism existing in pluralistic tradition field data collected from *Siddhasamājam* Kayenna, Calicut, Kerala is also used as a primary data.

The second section of this research deals with the transformation of Yoga and its engagements with Biomedicine. This section used secondary resources such as books, journals, case studies and medical reports. Primary data collected through key informant interviews with clinicians and schools of Yoga engaging with it is used. The primary data on biomedicalisation

in Yoga, particularly on the application of Yoga in Psychiatry key informant interviews, were taken from, Integrated centre for Yoga in, National Institute of Mental Health and Neurosciences (NIMHANS) Bengaluru.

Referencing style: Harvard referencing style (Cite them right 10th edition-Harvard using Mendeley referencing manager)

Transliteration: The Sanskrit words in the study are transliterated using the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST)

Limitations and further scope of research

There are certain limitations with the topic, primarily the uncertainties about the history of Yoga; there are multiple arguments and theories regarding the origin of Yoga. Scholars have differences of opinion about its origin. To map all the different views is not possible because of the limited scope of the study. This study is fundamentally anchored in the archaic origin of Yoga theory, although it tried to include diverse opinions on it. Another significant impediment is the lack of expertise in Sanskrit and other vernacular languages. A scholar who does not have expertise in Sanskrit will find it difficult to read original texts and their commentaries; translated works will not capture the nuances of the philosophy. Scholar has a working knowledge in Sanskrit that was helpful for this study. The limited duration to complete extensive research like this is a difficulty faced during the study. It requires considerable time and effort to understand the diverse philosophical concepts and technical terms in pluralistic traditions.

The gender dimensions in Yoga, class dimensions in Yoga, Yoga's entry into public health scenario, the interplay between different Yoga schools and traditions, Yoga education in India, the role of the market in Yoga, the advent of new-age Yoga, Yoga propagated by modern gurus of Yoga and its alienation from its philosophical foundations are some of the areas with the scope of future research.

I

YOGA TRADITION IN INDIA: FROM INDUS VALLEY TO PATAÑJALI

'There is no wisdom like Sāmkhya, no power like Yoga'⁷

Mahābhārata, Śantiparvam

Introduction

Indian culture is an accretion of a large number of cultural materials produced from cultural and philosophical activities of thousands of years. The internal dialectics between different ethnic and cultural communities contributed to the composite nature of Indian culture. The complexity of Indian culture makes it a confounding space for scholars who tried to engage with it. Along with the inherent complexity, the methodological and conceptual orientations of the scholars ranging from history, philosophy, linguistics, anthropology, and sociology who approached the subject have interpretations that are varied depending on their disciplinary position.

The Orientalist understanding of Indian culture was primarily from an anthropological viewpoint. The orientalist scholars, including Max Muller, believed that the purpose of studying ancient Indian texts was to discern the early development of the human mind (Pandey G C, 1978). This assumption that has governed eighteenth century western thought confused culture with civilisation. A disregard for the inner life of the 'spiritual individual' is evident in

⁷ This quote is taken from the *Śantiparvam* of Epic *Mahābhārata* (Ganguli, 1896); it is interesting to see *Mahābhārata* acknowledging, *Sāmkhya* philosophy (epic *Sāmkhya*, as the classical *Sāmkhya* was not formulated by then) that is principally a *Nāstik* (non-conformist to the supremacy of Vedas) philosophy as the highest knowledge and the exposition of *Sāmkhya* philosophy, that is Yoga, as the most enormous power. The chapter *Śantiparvam* is set in the background of the aftermath of the treacherous *Kurukṣetra* war; this chapter discusses the lofty principles of life with an emphasis on the ascetic tradition. The chapter name signifies the importance of peace (*Śanti*) and projecting yoga as a means to attain the ultimate peace in life (salvation). The emphasis on ascetic traditions, *Sāmkhya* and Yoga makes this chapter an interesting one as we can observe an underlying apathy towards the orthodoxy and ritualistic life that makes a person desirous for material benefits and push her to greed, possessiveness and selfishness, although the respect to Vedas, Vedic gods and rituals are not entirely dismayed in the chapter. Hence it can be seen as an attempt to usurp the soteriological ideas of Śrāmanic asceticism that was alien to Brāhmin orthodoxy in the initial times.

this thought. Thereby it confused the pursuit of happiness as an eternal hunt for pleasures, quest for knowledge as the desire for power over nature. All of them originated from the original instincts of human beings. Nevertheless, the pursuit of understanding human beings was not merely limited to power and security aspects of human social life; instead, it transcended the collective goals and tried to grapple with the concepts of immortality, infinity, void and transcendence (Pandey G C, 1978).

Human social life and individual spiritual life are intertwined realities that include standards, morals, values, ideals, ethics, beliefs, and principles. Individuals' lives are shaped by the social, economic, political, philosophical, and spiritual conditions where they live. Although intertwined there is a distinction between the stream of 'Individual spiritual life' and 'Human social life'. Both these streams are diametrically antagonistic in their attitudes. The conflict between the two streams are discernable in the long history of Indian culture. The two streams were named *Pravṛtti* dharma and *Nivṛtti* dharma. The former is concerned with the world as its pursuit, and the latter is concerned with getting away or liberating from the world flux—*Nivṛtti*. The latter is viewed as an antithesis of the former. Some scholars maintain that both these streams were part of Vedic religion, i.e. Vedas have both knowledge/ascetic and ritualistic side called *Jñāna/Upāsana Kāṇḍa* and *Karma Kāṇḍa*, respectively. At the same time, another set of scholars argue that the *Nivṛtti* stream was reformist and related to the 'non-Aryan' tradition disassociated from the Vedic religion. Thus, they seemed like staunch rivals.

White (2006), quoting several scholars such as Asko Parpola, Frits Staal, Bernard Sergent, argues that the Vedas were not solely created as a pure Aryan affair untouched by the ambient culture of the subcontinent (White, 2006, p.28); instead, it too influenced the Indus Valley culture where the ideas of worldly life—*Pravṛtti*, and liberation from the world flux—*Nivṛtti* arose.

The history of Yoga is intertwined between the *Pravṛtti* and *Nivṛtti* streams anchored in the culture of the Indus Valley. The trajectory of Yoga from its ancient roots, its engagement with *Pravṛtti dharma* and *Nivṛtti dharma* and its later adaptation to the synthesis⁸ of *Pravṛtti* and *Nivṛtti* is significant in understanding its history. This chapter focuses on the historical trajectory of Yoga from Indus valley to Patañjali, with an emphasis on the *Śrāmaṇic* tradition. It analyses the role of *Śrāmaṇic* religions in forming the substrate of Indian philosophy and discusses the history and development of *Śrāmaṇic* traditions. The pluralism in *Śrāmaṇic* traditions is discussed to show the vibrancy of its spectrum, from which Yoga originated. and is enjoyed by all these plural traditions as their floating possession (Chattopadhyaya, 1964).

Selected chapters from *Mahābhārata* and texts such as *Pātañjala Yogasūtra*, *Haṭhayoga Pradīpika*, *Gorakṣāśataka* are reviewed and this is supplemented with an expert interview with Prof. Sir. James Mallinson as primary sources in this chapter. Along with it, data from books, journals and articles on the history of yoga are used as secondary sources.

1. Yoga and its Archaic Roots

Time and the god of destruction are signified by the same word ‘*Kala*’ in India. In reality, time is the manipulator and destroyer of everything that it has created. When it comes to the study of ancient India and its antediluvian traditions, this is the most significant impediment faced by any historian. Time has devoured the source materials that can serve as a silhouette in explaining the historical development of ancient traditions. The dearth of source materials hitherto did not stop the spirit of inquiry by those seeking the roots of ancient traditions in India. The unearthed archaeological remnants of India's historical past were carefully put together to read out a possible history that can serve as an outline of the historical

⁸ The blend of *Pravṛtti* and *Nivṛtti* streams that happened in the later period is visible in the *Yogasūtras* of Patañjali. The mentions of *Pravṛtti-sāmarthya* (expertise in worldly matters) would lead to *abhyudaya*, and the *Nivṛtti-sāmarthya* (expertise in soteriological matters) to *siddhi* in the *Yogasūtra* is an example of a synthesis of *Pravṛtti* and *Nivṛtti* (Daniel, 2012), this chapter in the coming sections discusses Yoga's journey and its interactions with *Pravṛtti* and *Nivṛtti*—Vedic and *Śrāmaṇic* streams.

development of the age-old traditions. The challenge in tracing the roots of Yoga in ancient India is surpassed to an extent using the available excavated archaeological materials such as seals and fragmented sculptures. The archaeological materials from the Indus Valley sheds light on the ancient history of Yoga. It has helped in understanding the pre-historic roots of Yoga that shaped the philosophy and later development of Yoga as a *Darśana*⁹.

Historians grappled with different models of the early history of Yoga that ranges from pre-historic hypotheses, Scientific hypotheses, Mesopotamian/ Sumerian import of Yoga to India etc. The pre-historic model of Yoga suggests a pre-Vedic/ pre-Aryan origin of Yoga. The scientific hypothesis, in contrast, suggests the Aryan production of Yoga as a well thought out philosophy that developed linearly from *Vedas* to *Upaniṣads* and later Vedic traditions (Mcevilley, 1981)¹⁰.

The early Indologists such as Monnier Williams, J.W. Hauer and Heesterman supported this linear theory endorsed by Hindu scholars such as Barua and Radhakrishnan. This was because it resonates with the traditional Hindu outlook on Vedas as the supreme seat of all spiritual knowledge (Fitzpatrick, 1994). This model rejects the primitivist model for its vagueness and less specificity. With time, many valuable source materials were lost. Along with that the incompetence in decrypting the Indus valley script proved to be a hurdle to trace the roots of Yoga in the Indus Valley civilisation (Fitzpatrick, 1994; McEvelley, 2016).

Despite all the challenges, Indologists and orientalist were keen to trace the origin of Yoga from the Indus valley civilisation. John Marshall was the pioneer, and he was followed by E.Mackay, Vats and Wheeler (Eliade, 1958). The foremost cue to inquire about the archaic

⁹The term '*darśana*' etymologically derived from the root word '*Dṛs*' means to see. Here the word *darśana* is used to signify a school of thought or system of philosophy that is a part of six orthodox (tolerated by Brāhminism) schools of Hindu philosophy, which is *Sāṃkhya*, *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Yoga*, *Uttara Mīmāṃsa* and *Pūrva Mīmāṃsa*.

¹⁰ In support of this view, A B Keith in 1921 writes '...a development and rationalization of asceticism, *Tapas*, which is acclaimed in the Veda as all-powerful, and it stands clearly in close relation with the metaphysics of both the *Upaniṣads* and the early *Sāṃkhya*' (as cited in Fitzpatrick, 1994, p.2).

origin of Yoga was the proto-Śiva seal unearthed from Harappa. This seal points towards a pre-Vedic period yogic tradition as it was depicting a sitting yogic posture (Dhyansky, 2017).

Eliade writes:

John Marshall describes the seal as follows The god, who is three-faced, is seated on a low Indian throne in a typical attitude of Yoga, with legs bent double beneath him, heel to heel, and toes turned downwards... over his breast is a triangular pectoral or perhaps a series of necklaces and torques....the phallus (*Ūrdhwameḍhra*¹¹) [is] seemingly exposed. (Mircea Eliade, 1958, p.355)

The description of Marshall contains the cue to connect the sitting posture of the ‘proto-Śiva’ seal to the Yogic culture. Around this description, a number of scholarly writings on the Indus valley seal with the yogic culture started appearing.

The connection between yoga and the Indus Valley was first broached by the Indian scholar Ramaprasad Chanda, who proposed that the sculpted figure that Marshall would identify as a priest had its eyes "neither wide open nor totally shut," as the Jaina Ādipurāna recommends for meditation, with its gaze fixed on the tip of its nose, as recommended in the Bhagavad Gita and standard elsewhere in yogic literature. Chanda proposed a lineage for yoga that the elements of pre-Vedic cults in Yoga is very much visible from the Āsanās practised today. Begins with the Indus Valley and continues through the Yatis of the Rg Veda and the Vratyas of Atharva Veda XV to historical yogic movements (Mcevilley, 1981,p.45)

The ‘proto-Śiva’ seal excavated from Indus Valley site belongs to the later phase of Indus valley civilisation that dates back to third millennium BC. Despite the controversies, the tricephalic seal is representing Śiva or Vedic god Agni or a bull-man or the mother goddess of Indus valley; there is agreement among the historians that the seal represents is a yogic posture. The sitting posture of the ‘proto-Śiva’ seal is identified as *Padmāsana*¹², *Kūrmāsana*¹³ also,

¹¹ The use of the term *Ūrdhwameḍhra* here is significant to note, *Ūrdhwameḍhra* goes along with the word *Ūrdhvamanthin* or *Ūrdhvaretas* (A yogic capacity to hold semen and take it up through spinal column to brain hence chastity is maintained) *Sayaṅācarya* the commentator on Vedas renders *Ūrdhvamanthin* as *Ūrdhvaretas* (Ghurye, 1952). *Ūrdhwameḍhra* is a Yogic technic by which Yogi can make his penis erect and tumescent without having any sexual feelings (Chattopadhyaya, 1964). Contrary, Mircea Eliade observes the *Ūrdhwameḍhra* that appears to be phallus in the seal is, in reality, the end of the waistband (Mircea Eliade, 1958, p.355).

¹² Lotus posture

¹³ Tortoise posture

*Mūlabandhāsana*¹⁴, *Bhadrāsana*¹⁵, *Dhyāna-Yoga*¹⁶, *Gorakṣāsana*¹⁷ posture by different scholars (Srinivasan, 1976; Mcevilley, 1981; Dhyansky, 2017). Marshall argued that the allegiance of the seal to the yogic culture was not merely because of the squatting yogic posture (asana), but the ‘Proto-Śiva’ figure was portrayed in a meditative position. The practice of contemplative techniques in sitting yogic posture was thus traced back to the Indus valley tradition.

The importance of the particular asana that was depicted in the Indus valley seal was well discussed and debated. Interestingly it was found that the root lock asana depicted in the seal is presumed to have existed in India from Indus valley to modern-day Yoga practice (Mcevilley, 1981, p.51).

The scholarly engagements with the root lock āsana sheds light on the use of root lock āsana in the later ascetic traditions. Chronologically the Jain texts *Akarāṅga sūtra* and *Kalpa sūtras* are the two significant works in which the root lock posture is represented. The *Kalpa sūtra* gives an account of the severe practice of *Mahāvīra* with an emphasis on the squatting position that is *Mūlabandhāsana* as the sitting meditative posture of *Mahāvīra* .

The *Kalpa* sutra reads as (as cited in Mcevilley, 1981, p. 51)

During the thirteenth year, in the second month of the summer ... on the northern bank of the river Rigupalika, in the field of a householder Samagra, in a northeastern direction from an old temple, not far from a Sal tree, in a squatting position with joined heels, exposing himself to the heat of the sun, after fasting two and a half days without drinking water, being engaged in deep meditation, he reached the highest knowledge and intuition, called kevala, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete and full.

However, Buddhists texts do not show respect to the revered root lock Asana in Jain stras, the practice of *Mūlabandhāsana* else called as *Utkadāsana*, and other severe Yogic techniques were regarded as ‘false austerities’ by Buddha. Although Buddha himself had

¹⁴ Root lock posture

¹⁵ Blessed posture

¹⁶ Meditation posture

¹⁷ The *Bhadrāsana* was called as *Gorakṣāsana* by Yogis

undertaken such practices during his initial days of practice! The Buddhists canons identify the practice of *Utkadāsana* with *Ājīvikas*¹⁸ (Mcevilley, 1981, p.52).

The practice of these *Āsanas* and contemplative techniques in Ancient India was successfully preserved and carefully observed by ascetic practitioners that include *Ājīvikas*, *Jains*, *Buddhists*, *Nāths* and later *Sūfi*'s.

The Indus valley origin of Yoga and its further journey talks about a broader picture of the history of Yoga, where we find the roots of Yogic practice and philosophy deeply ingrained in the *Śrāmaṇic* philosophies that serve as the substrate of Indian culture. It is essential to understand the philosophy of *Śrāmaṇic* traditions to understand the deep-rooted philosophy of *Yoga*. The philosophy of Yoga is intertwined with the world view and soteriology of *Śrāmaṇic* traditions.

¹⁸ *Ājīvikas* were a group of Ascetic monks led by *Makkhali Gosāla* who was a contemporary of *Mahāvīra* .

2. Śrāmanism¹⁹

Śramaṇas²⁰ were the ascetic moving wanderers of north-eastern India who were regarded as *Gymnosophists* (naked Philosophers) by the Greeks (Madsen, 2013, p.162). Through the ancient literature, we see the references of Śramaṇas as a group of ascetic wanderers who rebelled against the cosmogony of Vedas and Brāhmaṇic ritualistic polytheism. The references of *Yatis* and *Munis* seen in *R̥gveda* gives a picture of the appearance of *Munis* and *Yatis* as wearing yellow or toiled clothes or naked (*Vātarāsana*²¹) and keeping long hair. These *Vātarāsana* sages were also regarded as Śramaṇas or *Ūrdhvamanthins*²² in *Taittirīya Āraṇyakas*²³ (Ghurye, 1952, p.163).

Mahābhārata, Buddhist canon *Dhammapada*, Jain texts, ancient Sanskrit grammar texts, writings of foreign scholars such as Megasthenes also have mentioned about Śramaṇas and *Brāhmaṇas* in their works²⁴. The grammarian *Patañjali* in 2nd BC in his seminal work on Sanskrit grammar *Vyākaraṇa- Mahābhāṣya* uses the expression *Śramaṇa-Brāhmaṇam* as a

¹⁹ There is a dearth of literature on Śrāmanism and its philosophies; it was challenging for the researcher to collect data and organise it in a congruent format to present a more or less possible history of Śrāmanism. The tendency to monopolise the term Śramaṇa by Buddhist and Jains was a problem to study about other Śrāmaṇic religions. For example, there are very fewer data about *Ājīvikas* (a prominent Śramaṇa religion). When A L Basham wrote a book on *Ājīvika* tradition, he regarded *Ājīvikism* as a vanished religion in India. So is the case of Lokāyatas, there is little writing available on Lokāyatas. The apathy and disregard for *Lokāyatas* by Brahmins, Buddhists and Jains destroyed Lokāyata and other Śrāmaṇic doctrines available. The character of *Jivasiddhi Kṣapaṇaka*, depicted in the *Mudrarākṣasa*, might be taken as typical of an *Ājīvika* as he stood in the eyes of his opponents—the Jains, the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇists, that is, as the hypocrite who made his outward symbol of asceticism a means of livelihood (Barua, 1926, p.186). Interestingly historians discern the history of other Śrāmaṇic sects from the writings of their rivals.

²⁰ Etymologically Śramaṇa derives from ‘Śrama’ or ‘ama’ or ‘Śama’. Literally ‘Śramaṇa’ means who believe in the dignity of strive (śrama), equality (sama) and peace (śama) (Jain, 2017, p.53).

²¹ The expression ‘*Vātarāsana*’ is taken by modern scholars to mean naked, ‘one having only the wind or air for his waist-girdle’ (Ghurye, 1952, p.162).

²² *Ūrdhvamanthins*, or *Ūrdhvaretas* is a yogic ability possessed by *Yogins* to channelise the semen through the spinal column to the brain by their body mortification techniques.

²³ A later Vedic text

²⁴ The Buddhist texts—*Dhammapada*, *Suttanipada*, *Vāsettasutta*, *Vasala-sutta*, Jain records—*Uttarajjhayana-sutta*, Brahmanical records—Vedic sources such as, *Keśi sūkta* of *R̥gveda*, *Taittirīya āraṇyaka*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads*, Post Vedic sources such as, epic *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, *Kautilya’s Arthaśāstra*, *Manusmṛti*, grammatical texts by *Pāṇini*, *Patañjali*, commentaries on these texts, foreign sources such as testimony of Megasthenes are some of the literary works which are talking about the rivalry between Śramaṇa and Brāhmaṇa traditions (Laddu S.D, 1992).

neuter singular collective noun, by way of an example of 'Dvanda' compound which connotes 'eternal hostility'²⁵ (Laddu, 1992, p.719).

Śramaṇas, the proto materialists did not believe in the authority of Vedas or in the existence of god as the creator of the world. This characteristic feature of *Śramaṇa* tradition became a critical point in describing it as a *Nāstik*²⁶ Tradition. The word *Nāstik* is used to denote nihilistic or atheistic philosophy. Patañjali identifies three distinct traditions in philosophy as *Āstik*, *Nāstik*, and *Daistik*. 'Those who believe that exists', 'Those who believe that does not exist', 'Those who believe that is fated' (Nicholson, 2012b) are the respective meanings attributed to these streams. Contrary to the popular understanding of *Nāstik* as atheistic and *Āstik* as theistic philosophies, it was the concept of *Karma* that created the distinction between *Nāstik*, *Āstik* and *Daistik* philosophies. The *Śramaṇas* who wandered as naked ascetics did not submit to the Vedic religious rituals and practices. They believed in the law of *Karma* that governs the universe and the suffering of every being is intertwined with the cycle of *Karma*. The *Śrāmaṇic* idea of *Karma* influenced anti-*Vedic* school of thoughts, and interestingly it later got adapted to the *Vedic* lore. The later *Vedic* works such as *Upaniṣads* have a strong bearing on the *Karma* theory and cycle of life and death theory of *Śrāmaṇic* thought. Although, the early Vedic ideas did not subscribe to the *Karma* theory, it believed that the happiness and prosperity of the beings are godsend. In order to get a good life, one should appease the *Devas*²⁷ through rituals and offerings. The early Vedic society believed that the mutual bond between devas and humans should be maintained through rituals and periodic offerings. Thereby the fate of humans was solely placed on the kind of relationship they

²⁵ Ghurye (1952) argues after Buddha, Buddhism monopolised the term *Śramaṇa*, hence in the later writings the compound expression *Śramaṇa-Brāhmaṇa* became an expression used to denote to opposing religious ideas.

²⁶ The word *Nāstik(a)* has been differently interpreted. According to the grammarian Paṇini Sūtra it is explained as one who does not accept *Paraloka* or life after death. According to *Nyāyakoṣa*, a *Nāstik(a)* is a person who does not accept the existence of *Iṣvara*. Manu has said that he who derides the authority of the Vedas is a *Nāstika-nāstika Vedanindakaḥ* (Patil, 2003, Chatopadhyaya, 1989) Radhakrishnan and Moore also observes (1957, p.350) 'The *Astika* or *Nāstika* character of a system does not depend on its positive or negative conclusions regarding the nature of the supreme spirit but the acceptance or non-acceptance of the authority of the Vedas'.

²⁷ Gods

maintain with Gods. They did not believe that the world was a locus of suffering (Fritzgerald, 2012,p.45). The *Śramaṇas* believed and propagated that what humans receive in their life is not the gift or curse of any god. Therefore, they do not have to keep any relationship with gods through the medium of rituals. It is the actions (*Karma*) of a person that determines his future (Pandey G C, 1978).

The replacement of gods with *Karma* was a revolutionary thought that marked the *Śramaṇa* movement as a historically distinct and rebellious tradition. It detangled individual human life from social life. Apart from desiring goods from gods, *Śrāmaṇic* thought emphasized the virtue of human beings. The desire for pleasure was disregarded, whereas the ultimate wantlessness was the guiding principle that was considered as the highest virtue in *Śrāmaṇic* thought. Transcending the moral and social personality of a person through abstinence was at the core of the philosophy. The path of *Nivṛtti* dharma was upheld in *Śrāmaṇic* thought. The goal itself in this thought was nothing less than attaining *Nirvāṇa*²⁸. To reach this goal, the *Śramaṇas* developed techniques of meditation. Though the *Śramaṇas* did not call their technique as Yoga, the Mahābhārata later mentions this technique as *Dhyānayoga* (James and Singleton, 2017, p.xiv) According to them cessation of *Kārmic* cycle is possible only through asceticism and gnosis. The technique of awakening oneself through the act of meditation is aiming at the irreversible destruction of one's egoistic self. Instincts and desires are restrained through this 'ontological suicide', and the egoistic self is dissolved by losing its habitual supports (Pandey G C, 1978; James and Singleton, 2017).

Throughout the history of India, we can see the two streams of *Nivṛtti* and *Pravṛtti* dharma. Through a slow process, that took several centuries, the two different world views intermingled, and the differing notions of highest good (gaining immortality²⁹ or the beatitude

²⁸ Liberation from the cycle of birth and death

²⁹ The concept of Immortality (*Amṛtatva*) is a very important idea in *Śrāmaṇic* traditions as well.

of union with brahman, on the one hand, and escape or absolute freedom, on the other) came ultimately to be regarded as more or less synonymous' (Fitzgerald, 2012, p.45). It was now a difficult task to make a binary classification of *Pravṛtti* and *Nivṛtti* dharma. Instead it was *Pravṛtti-Nivṛtti* Dharma and *Nivṛtti-Pravṛtti* Dharma. The *Śramaṇas* who belonged to the *Nivṛtti* stream settled with the Vedic orthodoxy and in turn the *Śrāmaṇic* soteriological³⁰ values were imbibed later into Vedic thought and reached its zenith during the *Upaniṣadic*³¹ Period.

2.1. *Śrāmaṇic* religions

'In India, there is no such thing as armchair philosophy; philosophy is not only a way of thought but also a way of life in the country. It is not born out of curiosity, nor is it a mere intellectual game, every philosophy here is a religion, and every religion has a philosophy' (Jaidev Singh, 1963), so is *Śrāmaṇism*. *Śrāmaṇic* philosophies gave birth to pluralistic *Śrāmaṇic* religious ideas that range from *Lokāyatas* to Buddhists. The broad spectrum of *Śrāmaṇic* religions shows their philosophical inclination. Each of the *Śramaṇa* sects tried to unravel the mysteries of life, living and death according to their philosophical understanding about the world. A L Basham identifies different heretic groups that existed during the period of Buddha, often regarded as the rival masters of Buddha, from a classical source on *Śrāmaṇism* that is the *Pāli* Buddhist canon *Sammanaphala sutta* in *Digga Nikaya*. The list of masters provided in the text shows the internal differences among the *Śrāmaṇic* sects regarding their understanding about life and living. Basham (1951, p.11) summarizes the narrative framework of *Sammanaphala sutta* as follows.

While Buddha, accompanied by 1250 Bhikkus, was staying at Rajagaha, the then Magadhan capital, King Ajtasattu felt in need of spiritual guidance. One after another six of his ministers came forward, each suggesting one of the six heretical teachers as a person capable of resolving the king's doubts the name of six were-

1. Purāṇa Kassapa
2. Makkhali Gosala

³⁰ The doctrine of liberation

³¹ The tendency of Upaniṣads to ignore Vedic rituals and gods in favor of gnostic life, or reinterpret them esoterically and even reject them is the inherent *Śrāmaṇic* tendency of Upaniṣads.

3. Ajita Kesakambali
4. Pakkudha Kaccayana
5. Sanjaya Belathiputta, and
6. Nigantha Nattaputha³²

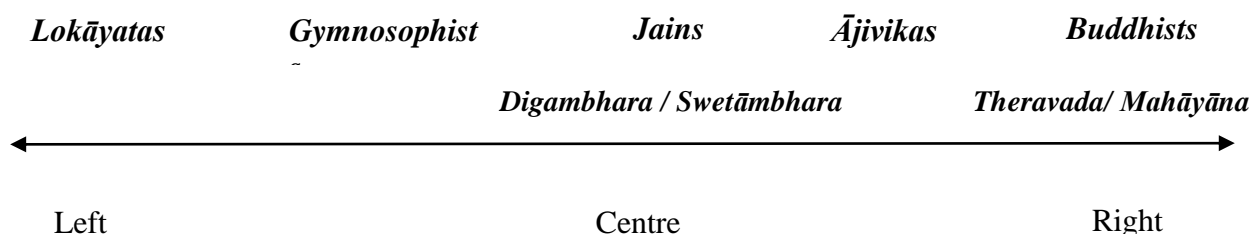
Each is described in the same stock terms; a formula applied elsewhere to the six heretics in *Pāli* canon.... Each is referred as the leader of an order (*gancariyo*), well known, famous, the founder of a sect (*titthakaro*), respected as a saint (*sadhu- sammato*) revered by many people, a homeless wanderer of long-standing (*cirapabbajito*) and advanced in years.

The king approached each of these heretic leaders for an answer to his problem. Nevertheless, he arrived at an answer as each of them gave him different solutions for his problem. The dejected king was then rightly advised by his physician *Jīvaka* to meet Buddha, in whom the king found his spiritual master. The existence of mutually contradicting theories among the *Śrāmaṇic* traditions have permeated into the Indian mind, and that has a lasting influence on the philosophies that originated later. The spectrum involved in the *Śrāmaṇic* traditions is difficult to understand, but it is essential to understand the philosophical inclination of *Śrāmaṇic* ideas to talk about their inherent pluralism. Paul LeValley (2000, p. 152) thinks the scale used in the political spectrum, the traditional left-right or liberal-conservative may provide a useful analogy in mapping the shades of difference between the *Śramaṇa* schools. According to him the liberal-minded *Lokāyatās* will be in the far left of the spectrum followed by gymnosophists, Jains would occupy the centre of the spectrum, *Śwetāmbara* sect inclined towards right and *Digambaras* to the left. The *Ājīvika* sect that had close contact with Jains comes next in the spectrum and Buddhists comes to the far right of it. For orthodox Brāhmanism, all these sects were far left from their standpoint. The relative position of each *Śrāmaṇic* sect marks their unique existence from another.

The illustrative representation of the *Srāmaṇic* spectrum according to the classification of LeValley, will help understand the philosophical position of these heterodox sects.

³² *Vardhamāna Mahāvīra*

Figure 2: The *Srāmaṇic* Spectrum



[Source: This figure is adapted from the Paul Levalley’s (2000) classification about *Śrāmaṇic* traditions. The Theravada and Mahāyāna sects from Buddhism is added to this figure by the researcher that is not in the actual classification by LeValley. In this spectrum, Mahāyāna Buddhism is an exception, that it took a theistic direction often condemned by scholars as a corruption of Buddhist intellectual tradition (Theravada) by Brahmin Tantric clerics]

These *Śrāmaṇic* sects with all their internal conflicts are united by their non-conformist³³ identity, apathy towards the Aryan caste system, the disbelief in heaven and hell³⁴. Moreover, their unique soteriological supposition that salvation is possible in one’s life if she/he is detached from all the puzzling pursuits of life and follow an ascetic living.

A short description of each of these *Śrāmaṇic* religions may provide an understanding of the diverging and converging ontologies and epistemologies of the different *Śrāmaṇic* sects across the spectrum.

³³ Non-Conformism to Vedic supremacy.

³⁴ Some of the *Srāmaṇic* streams later started believing in nether and upper worlds the best examples are Mahayanis from Buddhism and later Jains.

2.1.1. *Lokāyatas*

The *Lokāyata* philosophy is one among the oldest heterodox philosophy in the *Srāmaṇic* spectrum. *Lokāyata* as a philosophy is regarded as an early school of materialistic thought in India, pre-materialism or proto-materialism were the names assigned to *Lokāyata* philosophy by philosophers and historians. ‘The term *Lokāyata* is made up of two Sanskrit words, viz, *Loka* and *Ayata*, i.e. World view or Life view or View or the ‘View prevalent among people³⁵’ (Joshi, 1987, p.393). *Lokāyata* philosophy is also called as *Cārvāka*³⁶ philosophy. To trace the roots of this philosophy, the mention of *Lokāyata* philosophy is found from the Vedas to the epics; the Tamil epic *Maṇimekhalai* that also refers to the existence of *Lokāyata* philosophy (Bhattacharya, 2010).

The textual philosophical tradition of India generally follows the tendency of composing the base text of philosophy as aphorisms, that are named as ‘*sūtras*’. The maxims of Yoga compiled by Patañjali’s *Yogasūtras*, the non-dualistic *Vedānta* compiled by *Bādarāyaṇa* as ‘*Brahmasūtra*’, the *Nyāyasūtras* of *Gautama* are some citable examples of this tradition. Later these aphorisms are elucidated and commented by scholars and thereby the seeded concepts in the aphorisms are elaborated and a vast literature on the base philosophy is produced³⁷. Similarly, scholars on Indian philosophy consider ‘*Bṛhaspatīsūtra*’ (aphorisms by sage *Bṛhaspati*) as the base text of *Lokāyata* philosophy. Although the clues about the existence of extensive literature on *Lokāyata* philosophy are seen in the works of Non-dualistic *Vedānta* scholars, Jain and Buddhist scholars, the base text on and its commentaries are entirely lost.

³⁵ ‘*Lokeṣu āyatah Lokāyata*’, it was called *Lokāyata* because it was prevalent (*āyatah*) among people (*lokeṣu*). This etymology was accepted by scholars such as E.B Cowell In his translation of the medieval compendium of Indian Philosophy called *Sarva Darśana Samgraha* of *Mādhavācharya* and HP (Chattopadhyaya, 1959, p.1).

³⁶ Bhattacharya (2010, p. 531) assumes the name *Cārvāka* to denote *Lokāyata* philosophy was first employed by *Purandara* (a propounder of *Lokāyata* Philosophy).

³⁷ The commentaries of *Vijñānabhikṣhu* and *Vacaspati Miśra* on *Yogasūtras* of *Patañjali*, the commentary of *Adi Śankara* to *Brahmasūtra*, the *Nyāyamañjari* of *Jayantabhata* a commentary to *Nyāyasūtras*, *Sāmkhyakārika* by *Īśvarakṛṣṇa* to *Sāmkhya sūtra* of *Kapila* are the elaborations of base text.

Consequently, the epistemology and ontology of *Lokāyata* philosophy are reconstructed from the available clues from the other sourcebooks (often from rival traditions) mentioned above.

The *Lokāyata* ontology can be stated as follows.

The whole of the material world, including the human body, is made of four basic elements, namely, earth, air, fire, and water; there can be no consciousness without the living body; the spirit has no extracorporeal existence and, far from being imperishable, it perishes with the death of the body. As a natural corollary to this ontological position, all religious acts, worship of the gods, paying obeisance to Brāhmin priests, performance of post-mortem rites, etc. are considered absolutely futile (Bhattacharya, 2010, p. 532).

The *Lokāyata* epistemology revolves around the concept of logical reasoning, empiricism, direct observation, and skepticism. The faculty of perception is regarded as high rather than inferences, makes them among the early empiricists. *Lokāyatas* had utmost disregard towards religious scriptures and rituals as they argued the concepts such as belief in heaven and hell, sacrifices and divine blessings from it are not observable and empirically verifiable. The ontology of *Lokāyata* supports its epistemology. Chattopadhyaya (1959) identifies that it is the *Dehavāda* doctrine that informs the materialism of *Lokāyata* and Tantrism and *Śrāmaṇism* also follows the *Dehavāda* doctrine³⁸. Henceforth, the importance of the body and its relationship with self was very well discussed in *Śrāmaṇism*. The early foundations of Yoga can be traced from the doctrine of *Dehavāda* of these *Śrāmaṇic* schools of thought.

³⁸ It maintains the body as a miniature of the cosmos or in other words, the Body, i.e. the Microcosm is equal to Macrocosm. The *Dehavāda* doctrine that originated from the arcane asceticism of Indus valley is an essential feature of all the *Śrāmaṇic* sects

2.1.2. Gymnosophists³⁹

The wandering ascetics of India who lived by the virtue of their purity of thought and action were regarded as gymnosophists by Greeks. Literally, the term gymnosophists mean 'Naked philosophers'. Furthermore, 'it was a Greek way of giving meaning to a social group which they quite rightly found similar to their own philosophers' (Madsen, 2013,p.162). The existence of gymnosophists in ancient India was not marginal since it finds mention in the writings of Megasthenes. Arguably the presence of similar philosophers like Indian Gymnosophists in ancient Chinese, Egyptian and Greek cultures are also discernible from the writings of ancient historians. The military mission of Alexander to India and his interactions with the gymnosophists of India became a popular subject of epics of the western world. From the writings of Pseudo-Kallisthenes⁴⁰ it appears Greeks were fond of engaging with gymnosophists, the third book of Pseudo-Kallisthenes writes about the meeting of Alexander with Brāhmins and Gymnosophists, it also details a story where Aristotle was asking Alexander to get him an Indian Gymnosophist! (emphasis added, Vassiliades, 2000)

Apart from Pseudo-Kallisthenes, Plutarch, Arrian, Aristoboulos, Pliny, Aristoxenos, Strabo and others have written about gymnosophists. An account given by Arrian about the rendezvous between Alexander and gymnosophists gives a clear picture of the worldview of the gymnosophist.

Arrian writes (as cited in Vassiliades, 2000, p.45)

At the sight of him (Alexander) and his army, they did nothing else but stamp with their feelings on the earth, upon which they were stepping. When he (Alexander) asked them through interpreters about the meaning of their action, they replied, 'O King Alexander, each Man possesses as much of the earth as this upon which we have stepped, but you

³⁹ The dearth of literature on Śramaṇa tradition amplifies when it comes to the case of gymnosophists the available data on them are the writings of Greek scholars of that time. There are plenty of distorted representations, misrepresentations in these writings. Although from the available literature, it is possible to mark out an outline of gymnosophist worldview on par with Śrāmanic world view.

⁴⁰ Kallisthenes was a distant nephew and disciple of Aristotle who accompanied Alexander to India who codified the Mythico-historical saga of Alexander in India known as '*Bios Alexandrou tou Makedonos kai Praxes*'. Pseudo- Kallethenes was an unknown Alexandrian who probably lived somewhere between the first and third centuries AD. Pseudo- Kallethenes have written some books which have accounts of Alexander's meeting with gymnosophists (Vassiliades, 2000, p.45)

being only a man like the rest of us, except in being meddlesome and relentless, are roaming over so great part of the earth far from your own land troubled both yourself and others. Moreover, yet you also will soon die, and possess only as much of the earth as is sufficient for thy body to be buried in.

This account sketched by Arrian clearly states the worldview of gymnosophists that was revolving around ascetic values rather than the possession of material wealth⁴¹. The meeting of Alexander with the gymnosophists is the first record of its kind that was the meeting of the ‘Spiritual east’ with the ‘Material west’. Megasthenes and Arrian write about another incident where *Daṇḍanāmis* (the oldest and most renowned ascetic of then) refuses to meet Alexander and replies to him:

Know this, however that what Alexander offers me and the gifts he promises are all things to be utterly useless; but the things which I prize and find of real use and worth, are these leaves which are my house these blooming plants which supply me with dainty food, and the water which is my drink (Vassiliades, 2000,p.47).

The cultural differences of both about life, living and death were well illustrated in these meetings. The all-powerful emperor meeting naked wandering ascetics for answers to his existential queries is an important episode in history.

Gymnosophists occupy a very prominent space in the entire *Śrāmaṇic* spectrum. Regarding their religious orientation, many scholars including ancient Greek scholar Megasthenes⁴² identified gymnosophists with Buddhists. Gymnosophists followed the fundamental four-point logic that was followed by *Mahāyāna* Buddhists. This was the point where many historians took a wrong turn regarding labeling the religious orientation of Gymnosophists as Buddhists. Nevertheless, scholars have engaged with the fundamental four-point logic of gymnosophists in detail and found the existence of this logic in almost all the religions in the *Śrāmaṇic* spectrum. This was nothing else than skepticism which was a

⁴¹. The *Śrāmaṇic* value of non-possession is reflected in this account of Arrian. Interestingly, the same *Śrāmaṇic* values of non-possession are reflected in the *Śāntiparvam* of Mahābharata that follows the treacherous war episode.

⁴² "Among the Indians are also those hylobioi [philosophers] also who follow the precepts of Boutta (Buddha) whom they honour as a god on account of his extraordinary sanctity" Megasthenes had written about Gymnosophists as following Buddhism (Madsen, 2013).

primary feature of *Śrāmaṇic* religions (Levalley, 2000). The next feature of gymnosophists is 'nudity'. Most scholars assumed gymnosophists as *Digambhara* Jains, as nudity was a shared feature. Nonetheless, the early gymnosophists with whom the Greeks interacted were not atheistic Jain *Digambharas*. They were engaged in soteriological and metaphysical speculations and not non-violent⁴³ actions like the Jains. Lately, Scholars have observed that early Gymnosophists could have been the predecessors of ascetic *Nāgas*. Moreover, it is yet to find what the Gymnosophists identified themselves with. In many pursuits, Gymnosophists are near to *Lokāyatas* as they did not believe in reincarnation and on other pursuits they are nearer to the Jains since their four-pointed logic is well represented in Jain philosophy and expanded to *Anekantavada* (Levalley, 2000). Thereby Gymnosophists find a space right in between *Digambhara* Jains and *Lokāyatas* in the *Śrāmaṇic* spectrum.

Although there is much divergence from other *Śrāmaṇic* religions, Gymnosophists also believed in asceticism and gnosis as a way to liberation. The gymnosophist's ideas about death and a disciplinary preparation for death later got entry to Brahmin lifestyle. This is what Megasthenes referred to as a 'death cult' (Madsen, 2013, p.163).

2.1.3. Jains

The name Jainism has emerged from the word *Jina*⁴⁴ means the conqueror. Jainism is one of the oldest living *Śrāmaṇic* religion in the world along with Buddhism. The remaining *Śrāmaṇic* religions in the spectrum have vanished. The Jain religion is believed to be a pre-Vedic religion as the first three *Tīrthamkaras*, i.e. *Rṣabhanātha*, *Ajinātha* and *Ariṣṭanemi* get a mention in Yajurveda. 'The twenty-fourth Tīrthankara *Vardhamāna Mahāvīra* systematized

⁴³ An account of Gymnosophists instigating Sabbas to revolt against Alexander was recorded by Plutarch (Vassiliades, 2000). This account shows Gymnosophists did not believe in Ahimsa as Jains did.

⁴⁴ *Jina*, or *Jitha* is used to denote conqueror, here the specific meaning is 'one who conquered his/her desires, wishes and senses '*Jitendriya*'. The concept *Mūlabandhāsana* to hold semen inside, and other austerities to conquer the sexual desire and complete abstinence from sex observed by wandering ascetics are seen in Jains monks also. The allegiance to the Yogic ideas of Indus Valley period makes Jainism an interesting one.

the doctrine of these three *Tīrthankaras*⁴⁵ (Radhakrishnan,1957,p.250). Like any other *Śrāmaṇic* religion Jainism was staunchly against the supremacy of Vedas and hence considered to be a *Nāstik* sect according to the classification of *Patañjali*. Jainism gives importance to logic and reason as the scheme of the universe. Even though Jainism is not principally atheistic as *Lokāyatas* are, the concept of god and the creation of the universe is different from the dogmatic religious understanding.

Jainism does not recognize that any God or gods created the universe. The universe is beginningless and endless. The universe is constituted of six substances viz. soul, matter, time, space, the principle of motion and, and the principle of stationariness. The soul, matter, time, space, principle of motion and, the principle of stationariness. Soul is characterized by consciousness, while the matter is not (Patil, 2003).

Jainism is identified as the leading heterodox sect in Indian philosophy because of its total rejection of the Vedas, the ‘bloody sacrifices’ and the fundamental caste hierarchy of Brāhmin orthodox religion. Along with these deviations Jainism strongly upheld asceticism as the only noble way of life and rejected ritualism.

Arguably the legacy of Jainism starts from the river valley culture of Indus river. Scholars such as P C Roy Chaudhary, P R Deshmukh have argued that the naked figurines excavated from Indus valley sites, that were later attributed to Śiva, were in fact of the Jain *Tīrthankaras* (Arun Kumar, 2009).

Prof. Ram Prasad Chanda, who supervised Indus Valley excavations, states in his article Mohen-jo-Daro (Sindh, five thousand years ago) in Modern Review August 1932." Not only the seated deities on some of the Indus seals are in a Yoga posture and bear witness to the prevalence of Yoga in the Indus Valley in that remote age, but the standing deities on the seals also show *Kayotsarga* (abandonment of the body, a standing or sitting posture of meditation) of Yoga. The *Kayotsarga* posture is peculiarly Jain. It is a posture not of sitting but of standing, In the *Adi Puraṇa* Book XVIII, *Kayotsarga* posture is described in connection with the penance of Rṣabha or Vraṣabha (Arun Kumar, 2009, p. 20-21).

⁴⁵ ‘According to the belief of the orthodox Jains, the Jaina religion is eternal, and it has been revealed again and again in every one of the endless succeeding periods of the world by innumerable *Tīrthankaras*’(Dasgupta, 1922a).

The first *Tīrthankara Ṛṣabhadeva* is respected in *Skandapurāṇa* as the incarnation of Viṣṇu who took birth to establish the order of *Vātarāsana munis* (Patil, 2003, p.28). Debatably, the *Śrāmaṇic* ascetic order starts with *Vātarāsanas*. The description of *Vātarāsanas* seen in *Ṛgveda* as *Maladhāri*⁴⁶ Moreover, *Piṅgalavarṇa*⁴⁷ refers to keeping a silent vow as stated in *Prāṇāyāma* to attain godhood is in conformity with the practices of Jain monks. Some of the other sects in the *Śrāmaṇic* spectrum also have these features that indisputably connects them to the ancient order of ascetics that have always existed outside the pale of Vedic social order. Although one among the *Śrāmaṇic* sects' Jainism was not in good relations with other sects in the spectrum. Jain scriptures have ridiculed *Lokāyatas*, *Ājīvikas* and Buddhists. Vice versa, the Buddhist text *Samanaphalasutta* mentions Jains as a rival sect. *Nigantha Nattaputta* mentioned in *Sammanphalsutta* as the leader of one heretic among the six heretics whom king *Ajātaśatru* approaches for resolving his existential problem was one other than *Vardhamāna Mahāvīra* (Basham, 1951; Patil, 2003). The Buddhist contempt for Jain ideas are seen in this text⁴⁸. The rivalry between these *Śrāmaṇic* sects shows the heterogeneity among them even though they belong to the same ascetic value system. Like the external polarities in the *Srāmanic* spectrum, there are inevitable internal contradictions in these sects'. Both Jainism and Buddhism serve as a perfect example of this. *Digambara* (Naked) sect in Jainism, who resemble the gymnosophists, do not agree with the canonical texts of *Śvetāmbaras* (White cloth wearers). *Digambaras* have separate literary history and different practices from *Swethambharas*. Scholars agree that their history is much older than *Śvetāmbaras*; hence *Digambaras* claim

⁴⁶Unclean. Jain monks preach utmost ahimsa; hence, they keep indifference to bathing as it will cause harm to tiny living beings (microbes) living on the surface of the body. This practice is even followed now among *digambara* sect of Jains.

⁴⁷ Yellow-coloured. As a feature of soiled *Vātarāsana* yellow colour is mentioned in scriptures, it may be denoting the ochre (soiled) cloth they used to wear or filth on the skin. In all ways, it means an austere lifestyle followed by the sect.

⁴⁸ The derision of Buddhists to Jain leader Mahāvīra even reached the peak of it by ridiculing his teachings as nothing but bathing ritual! (LeValley, 2000)

they were the actual preservers of the practices of Jainism⁴⁹. Though with striking differences, both of them agree with the basic tenets of Jainism. The practice of specific yogic techniques is pertinent to Jain religion, that will be discussed in detail in the coming chapter.

2.1.4. *Ājīvikas*

The *Ājīvikas* are an extinct religion in the *Śrāmaṇic* spectrum. Like *Lokāyatas* and Gymnosophists, the details about them are picked out from the writings of their rival sects. Along with the other *Śrāmaṇic* sects, *Ājīvikas* also contribute to the ideas that are the antithesis to the Vedic outlook. *Ājīvikas* form a distinct sect in the *Śrāmaṇic* spectrum as their relationship with other sects were not cordial. Buddhism and Jainism condemns *Ājīvika* practices and regards them as their principal rival⁵⁰.

Jain and Buddhist texts regard Makkhali Gosāla as the founder⁵¹ of *Ājīvika* sect though it is argued that the antiquity of *Ājīvika* sect predates the legacy of Gosala. The name *Makkhali* in *Gosāla's* name shows that it was obtained from an older sect called as *Maskarin*⁵² a sect that was believed to be an orthodox Śaiva sect⁵³ (Prakash, 1946). *Makkhali Gosāla* could have been a follower and leader of an older ascetic order, if not its founder. However, there are a little shred of evidence in history to establish the beginning of *Ājīvika* sect before Gosāla.

Though Gosāla and Mahāvīra had utmost contempt to each other's doctrines, 'in its insistence and on nakedness and denial of all comforts, in the general mode of life it prescribes, the system of Gosala is hardly different from that of Mahāvīra' (Prakash, 1946, p.53). *Ājīvikas*

⁴⁹ Nath tradition believes that two sons of Ādinātha (Matsyendranāth) called as Pārśvanātha and Neminātha were the founders of Dighambara and Śvetāmbara sects in Jainism (Mircea Eliade, 1958). This account draws a historical connection of Nath to Jainism; also it is notable at some places Gorakhnāth followers behave exactly like Jain monks.

⁵⁰ It seems probable that the name was not initially taken up by the followers of the heresiarch Gosāla themselves but was from the beginning a nickname given to them by their opponents and meant to denote them as practising ascetic rules only as a means of gaining livelihood (Ajiv) (Prakash, 1946, p.50)

⁵¹ Jain text Bagavati Sutra states that Gosala founded his order of monks at Sravasti before sixteen years of death (Mcevilley, 1981)

⁵² Ascetics who carry bamboo staff in their hands also called as *ekadandin*.

rejected the Vedic ideas of sacrificial polytheism, Varna system and personified natural forces. *Ājīvikas* preached extreme asceticism and penance as a higher lifestyle. *Ājīvikas* believed in determinism and hence preached fatalistic ideas. They believed that '*Niyati*' (fate) could not be changed. According to the fatalistic belief, they developed a superstructure of a cosmology that was later incorporated into an early version of the atomic theory (Basham, 1951, p.3). Along with this, *Ājīvikas* believed in the attainment of magical superpowers. They believed that the attainment of magical powers is possible through austere 'yogic' practices. Thus, *Utkadāsana* gets connected to *Ājīvika* tradition.

Both Buddha and *Mahāvīra* followed this ancient system of ascetic order only to part ways from the latter in future. '*Ājīvikism*, in short, was part of the more ancient yogic stream from which Buddha and Mahāvīra were breaking away, which may go clear back to the Indus Valley' (Mcevilley, 1981, p.54). The 'sexo-yogic' practices that were prevalent in *Ājīvikism* are later seen in the *Nāth*⁵⁴ tradition. *Nāth* tradition is an essential chapter in the history of postural yoga as seen in the beginning of Hatha-Yogic practices. It is quite intriguing to look into the roots of *Nāth* tradition extending back to *Ājīvikas* and thereby to Indus valley civilisation.

2.1.5. Buddhists

Buddhism has a prominent space among the *Śrāmaṇic* religions. Apart from other *Śrāmaṇic* sects' Buddhism is the most popular and a living tradition. Like other *Śrāmaṇic* religions, it also shares the values and ideas of the *Śrāmaṇic* world view. The asceticism seen in *Śrāmaṇic* lifestyle is prevalent among all the Buddhist sects, although there are ritualistic differences. As a *Śrāmaṇic* religion, Buddhism tries to connect with the prehistoric roots of asceticism. Arguably the identification of Buddha as the bull of *Śākyas* and its parallels with

⁵⁴ *Nāth* is a vernacular usage of Sanskrit word *Nātha*. *Nātha* is an ascetic order started with *Matsyendranāth* as the human guru in the tradition. The history of Yoga is very much connected with the history of *Nāth* tradition. Coming chapter dealing with different traditions of yoga will discuss *Nāth* Yoga and philosophy more elaborately.

Indus bull seal and *Paśupati* seal, is an attempt to claim an ancient past (Coomaraswamy, 1927; Mcevilley, 1981).

The continuity of Indus valley religious ideas is traceable in the Buddhist religious doctrines. The Buddhist canon *Digga Nikaya* and *Majjhima Nikaya* talk about the penance and austerities Buddha went through before attaining enlightenment under the Bodhi tree. These accounts suggest that at the beginning of his monastic life Buddha was initiated into extreme meditative practices observed by his contemporaries—*Makkhali Gosāla* and *Mahāvīra*. Buddha later in his life ridiculed body mortification practices and held the ‘*Majjhima Panth*⁵⁵’ as the path to truth. Buddha preached his followers to follow the middle path without moving to ascetic extreme or overindulgence in worldly affairs.

In the above diagram of *Śrāmaṇic* spectrum Buddhism falls next to *Ājīvikas* and according to LeValley, it is in the right of the spectrum. The position of Buddhism in the *Śrāmaṇic* spectrum in the right of the spectrum is justified by the abstinence of it from severe asceticism followed by the other sects in the spectrum. Nevertheless, seeing the internal diversity of Buddhism, we can see that the *Theravāda* tradition which is an atheistic tradition is very close to the *Ājīvikas*. The *Mahāyāna* tradition is a theistic tradition which considers Buddha as god and Bodhisattvas as incarnations are closer to the *āstik* traditions in India. Regardless of differences from other sects, Buddhism is deeply reliant on contemplative techniques if not on physical austerities⁵⁶.

All the *Śrāmaṇic* schools of thought discussed here keep asceticism as their way of life. Along with asceticism, the soteriological ideas of these ideas revolve around gnosis. Hence Gnosticism is a vital aspect of *Śrāmaṇic* religions that is accompanied with Mysticism. The

⁵⁵ The middle way

⁵⁶ *Vajrayāna* Buddhists are into physical mortifications, a detailed discussion on Buddhist yogas and its philosophies are discussed in the coming chapter. The short description given here is meant to introduce Buddhism as a *Śrāmaṇic* ascetic sect so as the following discussions can be followed in the light of this understanding.

ideas of Asceticism, Gnosticism, and Mysticism in *Śrāmaṇic* religions have become the foundation of Yoga in later times.

3. Asceticism, Gnosticism, and Mysticism in Yoga

*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*⁵⁷ declares that Prajāpati created the world by heating himself to an extreme degree through asceticism, and therefore he was the product of asceticism (Mircea Eliade, 1958, p.106). The mention of pre-Vedic tradition of asceticism is even seen in the Vedic literature. This confirms the importance of the influence of Asceticism in ancient Indian culture. As discussed earlier, the history of asceticism can be traced back to the Indus valley period based on the available clues from the Indus Valley seals. Later, the *Śrāmaṇic* and *Brāhmaṇic* accounts speak about the existence of *Munis*, *Yatis*, *Vātarāsanas*, *Vratyas*, *Vaikhānasas*, *Valakhilyas*, *Ūrdhvamanthins* in great detail. Vedic scholars including *Sayaṇa* maintained that the asceticism is nothing else but the observance of the fourth āśram that is *Vānaprastha*⁵⁸. Asceticism, by its definition is a 'complex of a number of traits whose main content lies in some bodily mortification, and mental and physical withdrawal' (Ghurye, 1952, p. 162).

The foundational aspects of Yoga revolve around the fundamentals of the ascetic lifestyle. The concept of control that is present in the entire yogic literature has its beginning in the ascetic lifestyle. The first element among the eight-limbs⁵⁹ of classical yoga tradition of

⁵⁷ *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* belongs to *Shakala Shakha* of the *R̥gveda*. This work is ascribed to *Mahidasa Aitareya* and dated variously from 1000 BCE to 500 BCE. It is divided into eight *Panchikas*, and each of the *Panchika* is divided into eight *adhyayas*. It as a whole consists of forty *adhyayas* (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 2019).

⁵⁸ This argument can be viewed as an early tendency to appropriate ascetic lifestyle to Vedic fold by attributing *Āśrama dharma* (*Brahmacarya*, *Gārhashtya*, *Vānaprastha*, *Sannyāsa*) to it. The ascetics who were regarded in different names were *Śramaṇas* who were always in non-conformity to Vedas. The Upanishadic references of *Śramaṇas* as *Parivrājakas* (wanderers) and *Tapas* (Recluses) can be a later addition to the Vedic lore. Nonetheless, Ghurye (1952), finds name *Śramaṇa* is conspicuous by its absence in the *Āśrama* theory of Upaniṣads. Though Ghurye is very precise about the omission of the word *Śramaṇa* from *Āśrama* theory, he further goes criticising D.R. Bhandarkar for his failure of identifying *Śramaṇas* as a non-*Brāhmaṇist*, non-Vedic sect of recluses. Ghurye finds the mention of *Śramaṇa* in many Vedic texts and argues there were Vedic recluses. Nevertheless, it is logically arguable considering the antiquity of *Śrāmaṇic* lifestyle that it was appropriated to Vedic lifestyle and given an *āśrama* status (as the *āśrama* theory was developed in the Upaniṣadic period only).

⁵⁹ *Yama*, *Niyama*, *Āsana*, *Pratyāhāra*, *Prāṇāyama*, *Dhyānam*, *Dhāraṇa* and *Samādhi* are the eight-limbic system of classical yoga system of Patañjali *Sūtra* (*Yogasutra* 2.29 in Poonjar, 2010 p.149). Whereas in other yogic

Patañjali, *Yama*—control⁶⁰. The concept of control has a larger dimension in *Śrāmaṇic* cultures. It includes abstinence from all worldly pleasures and keeping the ascetic vow intact. Physical austerities and celibacy were inseparable from the *Yama* observed by *Śrāmaṇic* monks⁶¹. *Ahimsa* is a fundamental aspect of Jainism and Buddhism. Jains go to the extent of covering their mouth with a strip of cloth to avoid killing tiny organisms. Apart from the *Vajrayāna* (Tantric Buddhism) *Ahimsa* is observed among Buddhists. *Asteya* and *Brahmacarya* are seen in almost all *Śrāmaṇic* religions. The mentions of *Ūrdhwretas* and *Ūrdhvamanthins* to denote *Śrāmaṇas* are the example of the vow of celibacy observed by the monks. Furthermore, the body mortification practices such as *Mūlabandhāsana* are to keep the semen inside for proper observance of ascetic celibacy and attaining greater ecstasy⁶². The ascetic lifestyle in *Śrāmaṇism* has two paradoxical dimensions. The life of an individual as an ascetic is different when he/she is inducted to an ascetic order.

Rules and regulations come in almost automatically when more than two individuals group together. Some habitation becomes a necessity. Three is a company, and complete withdrawal comes to an end. Monastic life leads to an endeavour in one kind of social organization, peculiarly fitted for the ascetic life. Monastic life is thus a paradoxical social phenomenon. It is an essay in social organization for those who negate and renounce both social as well as individual life (Ghurye, 1952,p.162).

The concept of *Niyama* is of rules and regulations, *Śauca*, *Santoṣa*, *Tapa*, *Svādhyāya* and *Īśvarapraṇidhāna* are the *Niyamas* according to Pātañjala yoga tradition, *Svātmārāmas Haṭhayogapradīpika*⁶³ mentions five more *Niyamas*, such as *Dānam* (charity)

systems there are differences in the number of limbs in Yoga. Here, the eight limbs of Yoga in *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali is taken to explain the allegiance of Yoga philosophy to the ascetic traditions.

⁶⁰ Etymologically the word *Yama* is derived from the root word *Yam* or *Yat* means control from which the word *Yati* is also derived (Ghurye, 1952,p.165).

⁶¹ Later, according to *Pātañjala* yoga tradition *Ahimsa* (non-violence), *Satya* (truth), *Āsteya* (non-possession) and *Brahmacarya* (celibacy) constitutes *Yama*⁶¹ (Poonjaar, 2010, p.151).

⁶² Ecstasy is the product of mysticism, mysticism and its connection with yoga is discussed in this chapter.

⁶³ *Tapah santosha āstikyam dānamīśvarapūjanam*

*siddhāntavākyaśravaṇam hrīmatī cha tapo hutam
niyamā daśa samproktā yogaśāstraviśāradaih*

The ten *niyamas* mentioned by those proficient in the knowledge of yoga are: *Tapa*, patience, belief in God, charity, adoration of God, hearing discourses on the principles of religion, modesty, intellect, *Tapa* and *Yajña* (*Svātmārāma*, 2002, p. 24-25)

Siddhāntavakyaśravanam (listening to spiritual discourses), *Yajña* (sacrifice) *Hri* (modesty) *Mati* (reflective intellect) (Swatmarama, 2002). Seeing all these rules and regulations apart from controlling ascetic individual life *Niyamas* regulate ascetic social life also. It is a paradoxical adjustment to keep the individual ascetic life and ascetic social life in synchronization.

Among the eight limbs of yoga in the *Pātañjala* tradition, *Yama*, *Niyama*, *Āsana*, *Pratyāhāra* and *Prāṇāyāma* are the external limbs—*Bahiraṅga*. Through the physical practice of these exercises, the yogi attains the mental stability to pursue the higher limbs of Yoga oft-quoted as the internal limbs that are *Dhyāna*, *Dhāraṇa* and *Samādhi*. While looking at the ascetic tradition, the excessive use of āsanās is seen. The chapter in its beginning discussed the concepts of *Mūlabandhāsana*, *Utkadāsana* and *Siddhāsana* and its connections with the Śrāmaṇic asceticism. The practice of these āsanās is essentially for keeping the semen inside, if not abstinence from sex⁶⁴.

The system of yogic ideas and methods with which these asanas are involved is consistently associated throughout their long later history with the occult physiology. Specifically, the function of these asanas is, by pressing the heels against the perineum, to drive the sperm-marrow-soul fluid up the spinal channel (Mcevilley, 2002, p.76)

The āsana is combined with *Prāṇāyāma*, the breath control⁶⁵ technique. *Pātañjala Yogasūtra* states one should endeavor *Prāṇāyāma* only when he has mastery over āsana

⁶⁴ The accounts of sexual indulgences for mystical experiences are given in many Hatha yogic texts, hence the asanas are not always meant to keep celibacy (without sexual intercourse) in many Haṭha yogic traditions but were meant to keep the semen inside (even during intercourse). Even in Patañjali's Yogasūtra, the act of celibacy is meant to keep the semen inside, the sutra in Sadhanapada (Sutra 2.38) mentions about the merit of celibacy in that manner. '*Brahmacarya prathishṭayam Vīrya labha*' (Poonjaar, 2010). *Goraḥṣāṣataka* an important Haṭhayogic text also talks about the importance of keeping semen inside.

'*Yavad bindhu sthitho dehe twanmruthyubhayam kutah, Yāvad nabhomudra tāvad bindur nagacchati*' (While the Bindu remains in the body, there is no fear of death. As long as the Khecari mudra is continued, so long as the bindu does not go down) (Briggs, 1997)

⁶⁵ To translate Prāṇāyama as breath control is a reductionist view of looking at the entire practice of Prāṇāyama more than controlling the breath it is manipulating or even the cessation of its ordinary course and using breath as a tool to tame the mind.

(Āsanajaya). Though Patañjali has not mentioned any *āsana*⁶⁶, the *Haṭhayoga* tradition that has a strong bearing on pre-Vedic *Śrāmaṇic* tradition talks about *siddhāsana* Svātmārāma (2002, p.37) in *Haṭhapradīpika* talks about the importance of achieving success in *Siddhāsana* against other forms of postures, it states only through the practice of *Kevala Kumbhaka* in *Siddhāsana* one can calm his vital (*prāṇa*) air. According to yogic literature, the uncontrollable mind can only be tamed through breath control, as it sees human emotions and the modulations of breath directly proportional to each other. Hence, *Prāṇāyāma* is a technique employed to graduate the yogi to higher levels of Yoga. *Prāṇa* mentioned in the yogic lore is not precisely breath, but the vitality of breath. *Prāṇa* is the vital force that rises through the *Suṣmna* so the crown⁶⁷. *Asana* and *Prāṇāyāma* combined helps a yogi to attain the ‘*Ūrdhvarethahood*’ that helps him/her to reflect on the inner world of knowledge called as *Pratyāhāra* in Yoga. The arresting of semen is an essential aspect in esoteric Buddhist yoga, by combining *Pratyāhāra*, *dhyāna*, *prāṇāyāma*, *anusmṛti* and *samādhi* yogi can arrest semen in his body. The semen is reverentially called as *Bodhicitta*. The esoteric Buddhist yoga details the process as.

The flow of *Bodhicitta* is to be arrested through some process of Haṭha-yoga called *mudra*, *bandha*, and *āsana* and the *Prāṇāyāma* and it is held that through the proper practise of these processes the flow of *Bodhicitta* can be controlled by the Yogin under all circumstances. Now after the *Bodhicitta* is produced and its downward flow arrested, the *Bodhicitta* must march upward to reach the final stage in the *Usnisa-kamala*⁶⁸ (Halbfass and Dasgupta, 2006, p.188).

The asceticism of *Śrāmaṇic* sects was defined by their gnosis about the concept of liberation from the torments of life. The soteriological ideas of *Śrāmaṇic* religions are more or less similar. The observances of physical austerities and ascetic vows were constructed on the gnostic-soteriological formulations about life and liberation. According to these traditions,

⁶⁶ Yoga sūtra only mentions about what is meant by *Āsana*. It did not give any description of particular *āsanas*. *Yogasūtra* defines *Āsanas* as ‘the stable and comfortable pose’ ‘*Sthirasukhamāsanam*’ (Poonjaar, 2010).

⁶⁷ ‘The goal of yoga is to cause the *Prāṇa*, or spirit energy, to rise through that channel to the crown of the head’ (Mcevilley, 2002, p.69).

⁶⁸ The *Usnisa-Kamala* in esoteric Buddhism is coterminous with the *Sahasradalapaḍma* (Crown chakra) used in *Haṭhayoga*.

Gnosis is a way to liberation, and asceticism is a means to gnosis. Through asceticism, one will gain the gnosis to liberate one from his/her fundamental bondage of turbulent life. According to the ascetic tradition, knowledge about the self is the first step to liberation. Through gnosis, one recognizes that all human sufferings are the products of his/her psycho-mental flux. Patañjali in his pivotal volume on Yoga presupposes the meaning of yoga is to curb the fluctuations of this psycho-mental flux⁶⁹.

The Gnosticism in ascetic traditions attained a philosophical status by the advent of *Sāṃkhya*, the blend of Asceticism, Gnosticism and Mysticism are seen in the *Sāṃkhya* -Yoga duo. That marked an epoch in the cultural history of India.

While discussing the eight limbs of Yoga, it is interesting to find the place of the internal limbs⁷⁰ of Yoga is in the third chapter of *Yogasūtras* named as *Vibhūtipāda*. *Vibhūtipāda* talks about the mystical experiences of a yogi during the practice of Yoga. According to Pātañjalayoga, the combination of the three internal limbs of yoga is called as *Samyama*⁷¹, with the practice of *Samyama* yogi attains the real knowledge⁷².

It is not the possession of the truth that is the superior edge of the Indian sage; it is the liberation, the conquest of absolute freedom... to free oneself is equivalent to forcing another plane of existence, to appropriating another mode of being transcending the human condition. This is as much to say that, for India, not only is metaphysical knowledge translated into terms of rupture and death ("breaking" the condition, one "dies" to all that was human). It also necessarily implies a consequence of a mystical nature: rebirth to a non-conditioned mode of being. Moreover, this is liberation, absolute freedom' (Mircea Eliade, 1958, p.49)

The internal limbs of Yoga are included in *Vibhūtipāda* for of its relationship with the mystical experiences, whereas the external limbs of yoga are not linked with Mystical experiences. The yogic powers attained by the yogi are considered to be the signal of success in Yoga.

⁶⁹ *Yoga chitta vṛtti Nirodha /1.1/Yogasūtra* (Poonjar, 2010)

⁷⁰ *Trayamantarāṅgam pūrvebhya* (Poonjaar, 2010)

⁷¹ *Trayamekatra samyama* (Poonjaar, 2010)

⁷² *Ibid*

Yoga's ability to bestow supernatural powers upon its practitioners has always been central to its textual descriptions. Yogic powers run the gamut of human fantasies. They include flight, long-distance hearing and sight, omniscience, the ability to become infinitely small, large, light-heavy, or invisible, the ability to locate buried treasure, mastery of alchemy, and control over other people. One frequently mentioned power is simply the ability to do whatever one wants (James and Singleton, 2017, p.359).

The roots of the idea of Yogic powers can be discerned from the pre-Vedic *Śrāmaṇic* ascetic traditions and shamanic ideas. The accounts of *Śrāmaṇic* monks attaining magical powers through severe asceticism are seen in Jain and Buddhist accounts. *Mahāvīra* is said to have attained magical powers by practicing specific body mortification techniques, and *Makkhali Gosāla* also acquired these magical skills by following these practices as *Mahāvīra* did. *Bagavatisūtra* gives an account of *Gosāla's* attainment of the Siddhi (yogic power) (A.L. Basham, 1951; Basham, 1951; Mcevilley, 1981). The text says

After his experiences with the sesame plant⁷³ and with *Vesiyayana*⁷⁴ *Gosāla* seems to have determined to acquire magic power and superhuman insight equal to those of *Mahāvīra*. He, therefore, practiced penance in the manner which *Mahāvīra* had laid down, seated facing the sun in the vicinity of a lake with his hands raised above his head⁷⁵ and eating only one handful of beans every three days. Thus at the end of six months, he acquired magical power (cited in Basham, 1951, p.50)

Jain and Buddhist sources talk about the magical powers shown by *Gosāla*, in a rather repulsive tone⁷⁶. Regardless of the contempt by contemporary ascetic traditions, it was the attainment of magical powers that upgraded *Gosāla* as the leader of the sect. Along with the

⁷³, The story of sesame plant is a gripping account given in *Bagavatisūtra* regarding the separation of *Mahāvīra* and *Makkhali Gosāla* (*Gosāla* spent his six years of ascetic life with *Mahāvīra*). The Jain account says that the split between them happened due to the failure of *Gosāla* in understanding the higher magical ability and intuitive ability of *Mahāvīra*. Contrary to this account, Basham (1951) finds this story as Jain propaganda using a popular *Ājīvika* Parable of Sesame plant. However, this story becomes essential as it is talking about the significance of magical powers among the ascetic monk.

⁷⁴ *Vesiyayana* was a rival monk contemporary to *Mahāvīra* and *Gosāla*. The encounter of *Gosāla* with *Vesiyayana* is the following event after the sesame plant episode. *Gosāla*, while questioning the nature of *Vesiyayana's* penance, was attacked by the later with his magical powers attained through asceticism. The Jain text *Bagavatisūtra* hails *Mahāvīra* for rescuing his fellow companion *Gosāla* from the wrath of *Vesiyayana* (Basham, 1951, p.49). The story of *Gosāla's* separation from *Mahāvīra* gives an insight about the importance of Siddhis to maintain the hierarchy among the ascetic monks and the penance observed for that points to the ancient yogic practices to attain the magical powers.

⁷⁵ Similar to *Vṛkṣāsana* (Tree pose) in postural yoga.

⁷⁶ The magical performances were part of his (*Gosāla's*) stock in trade, and it appears that he was capable either honestly or by fraud, of producing psychic phenomena' (Basham, 1951, p.51).

accounts of *Gosāla*, the accounts of miracles performed by Mahāvīra , Buddha, later *Nāth* yogis, Sufis are found in yogic literature.

Although Buddha rejected the display of magical powers in public, Buddhist texts give many accounts of Buddha's show of magical power, such as flying, getting invisible, making others invisible, being present in two places at a time and so on. The Buddhist text *Kevaddha Sutta* speaks about the magical powers attained through ascetic observances (Carol, 2015; James and Singleton, 2017). The reliance on magical powers and seeing it as the prowess of an ascetic is more or less visible in most of the *Śrāmaṇic* sects if not all.

As the compiler of Yogic wisdom that predated his age, Patañjali presented the ways and means to attain the yogic powers in his seminal volume, the 'Aphorisms of Yoga'. The mystical experiences find a place in the third chapter as a prelude to the last chapter on Liberation. Patañjali named these powers as the *Vibhūtis* of the yogi. The mystical ecstasy of the yogi through the practice of Yoga is justified in the *Yogasūtras*. Weber observes 'among the many varieties of techniques for inducing apathetic ecstasy; one stands out by the fact that it was championed by the orthodox philosophic schools of Yoga. Yoga signifies exertion, asceticism, and represents the rationalization of ecstatic practice (of ancient sorcerers)'(Weber, 1920, p.163). The pre-eminence given to mystical experiences in *Patañjali's Yogasūtra* is seen differently by various scholars, 'Surendranāth Dasgupta remarks the supernatural attainments are discordant with *Patañjali's* rational approach and his philosophical objectives'(Feuerstein, 1996, p.101). Though they are conflicting the ideals of Yogic philosophy he agrees the attainment of Yogic powers will make one stay in the path of Yoga and it will 'strengthen the faith or belief of Yogi(n) in the process of yoga as a path to salvation (main goal or ideal of yogi)...divested from the ideal, they have no value! (emphasis added) (Dasgupta, 1924, p.156). Feuerstein (1996) questions this tendency of contemporary interpreters to project Patañjalias as a staunch rationalist who probably succumbed to the magical trend in Yoga,

betraying its Shamanistic origins. Feuerstein further goes on to ascertain that the magical powers mentioned in Yoga are integral to the Yogic concept of liberation as the progress in oneself means progress in others. Citing several scholars such as P.V. Kane, J.W Hauer M. Eliade, C. Pensa, Feuerstein is establishing the concept of magical powers is integral to yoga⁷⁷.

It can be logically argued that the soteriological ideas of Śrāmaṇic-ascetic tradition are reflected in the desire for acquiring yogic powers. The fourfold pattern in which the yogi points perform magical powers to this fact. The four features of miraculous acts are

- (1) it hopefully suggests that humans are neither limited by the material world nor bound by past events that fix the future.
- (2) by providing new and unexpected evidence, it confirms a transcendent reality.
- (3) it serves a pedagogical purpose by revealing truths about a religious tradition and inspiring adherence to those teachings.
- (4) it may serve a political purpose to render symbolic expression to a group's aspirations for freedom (Carol, 2015, p.172).

All the above-mentioned features corresponded with the Śrāmaṇic-ascetic lifestyle, philosophy, and tradition. Besides, it can be argued that 'mysticism as a consciously cultivated way of life is known in India as Yoga (Werner, 1994, p.34).

The rationalization of asceticism, Gnosticism, and Mysticism in the old schools of thought is seen in the *Sāmkhya* school of thought. *Sāmkhya* Metaphysics is re-rendered in the *Yogasūtra* of Patanjali. Arguably, the *Sāmkhya* -yoga duo re-handled the already existing ascetic philosophies in a methodical design.

⁷⁷ The Monistic- *Vedāntic* reinterpretation of Yoga tried to underplay the shamanistic elements of magic and Śrāmaṇic asceticism in Yoga philosophy that will be discussed in the coming chapters.

4. The beginning of *Sāmkhya* Philosophy

Sage Kapila is considered as the founder of *Sāmkhya* philosophy, so *Sāmkhya* is otherwise called as '*Kapilasyatantra*' (Tantra of Kapila). Chattopadhyaya (1959) observes the principal philosophy of *Lokāyatas* and *Sāmkhya* as identical. Nevertheless, the origin of *Sāmkhya* philosophy can be traced back to *Lokāyatas* and beyond. Rather than attributing the authorship of *Sāmkhya* philosophy to *Kapila*, it is logical to call him as a compiler of *Sāmkhyan* ideas that were in existence. Garbe argues that '*Sāmkhya kārika*' was the earliest source on *Sāmkhya*. It was attributed to a certain *Īśvarakṛṣṇa* who could have belonged to 500 AD, whereas *Kapila's*⁷⁸ *Sāmkhya sūtra* was dated around 1400 AD. There are mentions of *Sāmkhya* and Yoga as an eternal philosophy and ultimate power in the *Mahābhāratha*. This could have composed in an earlier period to *Sāmkhya sūtras*.

Furthermore, *Caraka*, who lived in AD 78, mentions *Sāmkhya*, but, quite distinct from *Īśvarakṛṣṇa's* *Sāmkhya* philosophy. Considering the *Kārika* of *Īśvarakṛṣṇa* Dasgupta says

The fact that *Caraka* did not refer to the *Sāmkhya* as described by *Īśvarakṛṣṇa* and referred to in other parts of *Mahābhārata* is a definite proof that *Īśvarakṛṣṇa's* *Sāmkhya* is a later modification... Wasselief says quoting Tibetan sources that *Vindhyāvāsin* altered the *Sāmkhya* according to his own views. *Takakusu* thinks that *Vindhyāvāsin* was a title of *Īśvarakṛṣṇa* (cited in Chattopadhyaya, 1964, p.107)

Considering the above-mentioned facts, the legacy of *Sāmkhya* philosophy can be traced to a distant past. Subsequently, it is logical to argue that *Kapila* was a compiler of *Sāmkhyan* ideas (like *Patañjali* to Yoga), that existed before his times.

The *Sāmkhyan* metaphysics is based on the concepts of two ontic-ultimates that is *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*. The dualism of soul and matter is not a novel concept introduced by the *Sāmkhya* philosophy that observed that 'dualistic distinction of body and soul is very old, is the base of shamanism, wide-spread in Asia, America etc., amongst people of very primitive

⁷⁸ The *Sāmkhyasūtra* was not referred to by any writer until it was commented upon by *Aniruddha* (Dasgupta, 1922, p.222)

and early societies' (Ruben, 2018, p.176). Apart from the concept of Soul as the Universal spirit, the concept of *Prakṛti* is seen in the agricultural cultures and in shamanistic cults that antedated any organized religion. In tracing the genealogy of asceticism in India, anthropologists have discussed its evolution from the shamanistic cults⁷⁹. The shamanic techniques of singing, mumbling and dancing were followed by *Ājīvikas* in the earlier times and later by the *Nāth* yogis and Sufis. The Jain and Buddhist critique of *Ājīvika* tradition for indulging in ecstatic singing and dancing is seen in their literature. Nevertheless, the shamanistic idea of acquiring higher powers through physical austerities are visible in Buddhist and Jain traditions. Anthropologists argue that the reliance on magical power, and the attainment of it to liberation is fundamentally a shamanistic pursuit of ecstasy. Madsen (2013, p.170) writes

An ascetic overrides the inputs from the senses and the mind – the signals of hunger, thirst, lust, fear, desire, fatigue, heat/coldness, anger, sadness, and pain. The ascetic wants to turn his back on the desires and attachments of this world by disciplining body and mind. Ascetic discourses typically claim that during this process of pain and self-mortification, the ascetic becomes purified and strengthens his will. This practice leads to freedom or other metaphysical benefits. This is what we might call the meaning of asceticism– ‘the signified’... In very general terms, it seems that ascetic practices of painful self-denial lead to Altered States of Consciousness (ASC). Various cultures and ascetic discourses then ascribed a different meaning to such mental and physical efforts and to the ASC accompanying the painful efforts.

The shamanistic ideas about ecstasy, transmigration⁸⁰ of soul and liberation voiced through *Śrāmaṇic* ascetic traditions gets a systematic rendering in *Sāmkhyān* philosophy. The ideas about three-fold stress (*Dukhatraya*) a ‘*Puruṣa*’/soul goes through with the interaction with *Prakṛti* is seen in old ascetic traditions. The three-fold stress that afflicts human life is

⁷⁹ A detailed discussion on the Indus valley roots of Shamanism is given in the Prologue of the theses.

⁸⁰ The idea of transmigration of the soul (Subtle body) is seen in *Sāmkhyān* Philosophy. *Sāmkhyā* Kārika says ‘sūkṣma mātāpitṛjah saha prabhutais tridha viśeṣah syuh sukṣmas teṣām niyatah mātāpitṛjah nivartante’ (*Īśvarakṛṣṇa*, 1960, p.44) (Subtle (sūkṣma śarīra), born of mother and father, and elemental are the three specific types; of these, the subtle are permanent, [whereas those] born of mother and father are corruptible) (Burley, 2007, p.170). The theory of transmigration must have been developed from older animist theories very spread widespread among primitive people (Basham, 1951).

categorized as *Adhyathmika*, *Adhibouthika* and *Adidaivika*. Any stress related to body or mind is considered as *Adhyātmika dukkha* (Larson, James, 1969; Burley, 2007). The stress and suffering one gets from others are *Adhibhautika dukkha*. The suffering due to natural calamities such as flood, drought, lightning are examples of *Adhidaivika dukkha*. The ascetic traditions such as *Ājīvikism*, Jainism and Buddhism dealt with these sufferings in their way. For *Ājīvikas*, considering the incompetence of human beings to tackle the occurrences of *Adhidaivika dukkha*, became fatalists, and the principle of fate (*Niyati*) became their fundamental principle. Basham argues that the reason for *Ājīvika* fatalism is the encounter with the natural calamities during the time of Gosāla.

On the other hand, scholars have translated *Niyati* as the basic principle of nature called as *Svabhāva* (Basham, 1951). Later *Sāmkhyān* philosophy upholds the *Svabhāva* theory as a prime principle in their metaphysics. Even the parables and examples of *Ājīvikas* as seen in Jain sources that talk about *Niyati* are later seen in the *Sāmkhyān* texts to elucidate the concept of *Svabhāva/Satkāryavāda* in *Sāmkhyān* metaphysics.

The liberation from this three-fold plight through asceticism and gnosis is fundamental to all the *Śrāmaṇic* traditions. *Sāmkhyā*, as a successor to these ascetic traditions, also follows that. Although *Sāmkhyā* acknowledges mystic powers⁸¹, it places knowledge (gnosis)⁸² above all other pursuits to liberation. Thereby it can be argued that a gnostic soteriology is the basis of *Sāmkhyā* philosophy. Considering the nature of *Sāmkhyā* philosophy, it is mostly dependent

⁸¹ *uhaḥ śabdo 'dhyāyānām duḥkhaviḥatas trayāḥ suhṛtprāptiḥ dānam ca siddhayo 'stau siddheḥ purvonkusas trividhaḥ* (Burley, 2007, p.165, p.174)

The eight perfections are proper reasoning, oral instruction, study, removal of the three kinds of suffering, friendly discussion and generosity. The previous threefold division (i.e., ignorance, incapacity, and complacency) hinders the perfections (Larson, James, 1969, p.271). The eight perfections here mentioned are referring to eight magical powers an adept acquires through practice (Iswarakrishna, 1960), whereas *Sāmkhyā* underplays the need of magical powers and places gnosis on top of it.

⁸² *dr̥stam anumānam āptavacanam ca sarvapramajasiddhatvāt trividham pramajam istam prameyasiddhiḥ pramānād dhi'* (Burley, 2007, p.165)

The attainment of true knowledge is based on determining the means of correct knowledge. The accepted means of correct knowledge are three because (these three) comprehend all means of correct knowledge. These three means (are as follows :) a. Perception, b. Inference c. Reliable authority (Larson, James, 1969, p.256). *Sāmkhyā* considers knowledge as the only way to liberation

on pre-Vedic ideas of Ascetic traditions and even inimical to the Vedic thoughts (Chattopadhyaya, 1959).

Zimmer observes

The fundamental ideas of *Sāmkhya* and Yoga, therefore, must be immensely old. Moreover, yet they do not appear in any of the orthodox Indian texts until comparatively late—specifically, in the younger stratifications of the Upanishads and in the Bhagavad Gita’... ‘*Sāmkhya* and Yoga represented a later psychological sophistication of the principles preserved in Jainism, and prepared the ground for the forceful, anti-Brahman statement of the Buddha’ (Zimmer, 1952; Chattopadhyaya, 1959).

With all the original heterodox ideas⁸³, paradoxically, later *Sāmkhya* was accepted to the Vedic lore in later times and given the status of an orthodox philosophy among the other six orthodox philosophies. The Vedic and *Vedāntic* appropriation of *Śrāmaṇic* ideas and values is very evident in the cultural history of India, *Sāmkhya* and Yoga were not immune from it⁸⁴.

Garbe observes

That the *Sāmkhya* philosophy appears in later times among the orthodox systems, is not to be wondered at; the fact proves that this system, on account of its sober lucidness, has stood its ground against *Vedāntic* supernaturalism and that consequently, the Brāhmaṇas have adopted it, owing to their great ability of appropriating all intellectual elements of importance. The last nominal acknowledgement of the Veda and of the prerogatives of the Brāhmaṇas was surely sufficient for a system passing as orthodox; and if the Buddhists had not refused to acknowledge the authority of the Vedas and of the Brāhmaṇas, they might, without any essential alteration of their doctrines have become a Brahmanical sect, and Buddha a risi, like his predecessor Kapila (cited in Chattopadhyaya, 1959, p.381)

⁸³ *Sāmkhya* and Yoga are mentioned in *Mahābhārata* as a different philosophy from Vedas, *Sāmkhya* was considered as non-Vedic by Śankara and considered as a principle opponent (*Pradhanamalla*) to his philosophy of Advaita. (Satishchandra and Datta, 1948; Zimmer, 1952; Chattopadhyaya, 1959; *Īśvarakṛṣṇa*, 1960; Larson, James, 1969).

⁸⁴. The third chapter of this theses is dealing with the theistic-*Vedāntic* redaction of Yoga.

5. The Yoga⁸⁵- *Sāmkhya* duo

The debate on the age of the composition of Yogasūtras is not settled among scholars. Philip Maas convincingly argues that the Sutras were composed sometime between 325-425 AD, whereas Jacobi thinks it was composed after 450 AD. However, Dasgupta and some other scholars believe it was composed much earlier (Chattopadhyaya, 1964; Mallinson and Singleton, 2017). Regardless of the period of compilation of Yogasūtras, Yoga and *Sāmkhya* are considered as the oldest philosophical twins in India⁸⁶. The philosophy and metaphysics of *Sāmkhya* is used in Yoga, the name *Patañjala-Sāmkhya* for Yoga justifies this.

As in the case of *Kapila*, *Patañjali*⁸⁷ is not the founder of Yoga but a compiler of the Yogasūtras. While presenting the text, Patañjali acknowledges that the teaching of Yoga already existed. The first sūtra in Yogasūtra that is '*Atha yogānuśasanam*' (Poonjaar, 2010) proclaims this. The 'aphorisms of Yoga' is a text compiled from existing yogic ideas from pre-historic times. Along with Patañjali the commentators of Patañjali, *Vijñānabhikṣu* and *Vacaspatimiśra* agree that Patañjali was the editor of Yoga, not the founder (Dasgupta, 1922a; Chattopadhyaya, 1964).

Considering the ancient origins of Yoga and its allegiance with the shamanic mystical, ecstatic culture and *Śrāmaṇic* ascetic traditions it can be argued that Patañjali systematically combined all the mystical and ascetic values with *Sāmkhyān* metaphysics, before handing down it to his successors. The Yogasūtra of Patañjali is a systematic text arranged in an inclusive way to incorporate all the ascetic and mystic traditions that existed so far. The first two chapters of Yogasūtra discuss the preparations for yogic ecstasy and liberation in the third

⁸⁵ Classical yoga of Patañjali.

⁸⁶ The references of *Sāmkhya* and Yoga are seen in epic *Mahābhārata*, historically it is argued Classical Yoga and Classical *Sāmkhya* was not present during the time of epics hence scholars argue it is epic *Sāmkhya* gets a mention in *Mahābhārata*. This argument opens a scope for thinking about the mention of Yoga in the text, if it was not classical Yoga then which form of Yoga gets mentioned in Mahābhārata?

⁸⁷ A certain Patañjali of that time, there is ongoing confusion regarding the identity of Patañjali. Scholars find it difficult to differentiate Patañjali, the editor of Yogasutra from the author of Mahābhāṣya and Pātañjalatantra. Some scholars even argue that Patañjali is a designation and not the name of an Individual.

and fourth chapters, respectively. ‘An archaic method of shamanistic cults of accumulating semi-divinity (siddhis) is seen in the *Vibhūtipāda*, and when combined with *Sāmkhya* , Yoga shows an axial method of accumulating knowledge (gnosis) (Madsen, 2013). Henceforth Yoga is the confluence of asceticism, gnosis and Mysticism. Although from a diverse and anti-Vedic background, Yoga like *Sāmkhya* was taken to the Vedic fold and given the status of an orthodox philosophy that agrees to the authority of Yogas. The composition of *Yogasūtras* itself is seen as an attempt to appropriate the *Śrāmaṇic* traditions to the Brāhmin tradition is persuasively argued (James and Singleton, 2017, p.xvii)⁸⁸.

⁸⁸ The process of appropriation is discussed in the light of *Vedāntic* redaction and re-interpretation of Yoga is in the third chapter of the theses.

PLURAL YOGA: TRADITIONS, AND PHILOSOPHIES

*'Yoga is like an ancient river with countless rapids,
eddies, loops, tributaries,
and backwaters, extending over a vast,
colourful terrain of many different habitats' (Ernst 2005, p.22)*

This chapter is dealing with the pluralism in Yoga. Yoga from different traditions and its philosophical under moorings are discussed elaborately. This chapter is a prolongation to the previous chapter that discussed the historical trajectory of yoga from its archaic roots to classical times. The chapter discusses the philosophical features of the traditions of Yoga from the mystical and ascetic societies. Corresponding to the first chapter, this chapter also serves as a prelude to the coming chapter that discusses the monistic interpretation of pluralist Yoga and its transformation.

Primary sources: *Bhagavadgītā, Śivasamhitā, Haṭhayogapradīpikā, Gorakṣāśataka, Gheraṇḍasamhitā, Mātśyendrasamhita, Yogabīja, Siddha Sidhantapaddhati, Pātañjalayōgasūtra, Sāmkhya kārika*, selected chapters from *Mahābhārata* , and data from field Siddha samajam Kayenna and Vadakara collected using interview tool

Secondary sources:. Books, articles, journals and magazines related to the topic.

1. Archaic Yoga tradition

The previous chapter has discussed the history of Yoga from the ancient roots of the Indus Valley civilisation. Apart from looking at history, it is essential to look at the philosophical background from which proto-Yoga oft-quoted as Ur-Yoga originated and developed. The religious and philosophical ideas of Indus valley culture have to be judiciously considered to understand the pre-history of Yoga.

Scholarly engagements with the religious ideas of the Indus valley have proved that it revolved around the broader ideas of fertility cult and agricultural magic of pre-Vedic societies.

Asko Parpola notes

Excavation in the Neolithic villages of Baluchistan, such as Mehrgarh, has brought to light not only evidence for the cultivation of crops and the rearing of animals for food but also what appear to be religious images: terracotta figurines of human females and bulls as the principal cultic artefacts. They suggest that the earliest village religion involved prayers for the fertility of plants, animals, and people. The female figurines are thought to represent the goddess Earth, the progenitor of plants from seeds sown into her womb and the nurturer of worshippers, like a mother who gives birth to children and takes care of them. The bull figurines relate to animal husbandry. They represent the thundering and pouring sky, which is conceived in many archaic religions as a roaring bull, a powerful male god whose semen fertilizes his spouse, the Earth (Parpola, 2016, p.513)⁸⁹.

The fertility cult existed in Indus Valley, and nearby regions were broadly influenced by the shamanistic cultures that existed in the Tibetan plateau and Central Asian regions. Shamanist religions work on the principle of sympathetic magic (Frazer, 1935), where an action instead of a prayer to change an undesirable situation or generate a favourable one is appreciated most⁹⁰(Chattopadhyaya, 1964).

⁸⁹ Parpola (2016) argues the Proto-Yoga seals of Indus Valley is evolved from or adapted from the motifs of shamanistic Elamite (pre-Iranian civilisation) cultures.

⁹⁰ Frazer observes in his *Magic and Religion*

Whenever sympathetic magic occurs in its pure unadulterated form, it assumes that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency. The magician does not doubt that the same causes will always produce the same effects, which the performance of the proper ceremony, accompanied by the appropriate spell, will inevitably be attended by the desired result.. he supplicates no higher power: he sues the favour of no fickle and wayward being: he abases himself before no awful deity. Yet his power, great as he believes it to be, is by no means arbitrary and unlimited” (as cited in Chattopadhyaya, 1964, p.37)

Like any other fertility cult, the religion of Indus valley was also based on the ideas of sympathetic magic. Contrary to the understanding about fertility cult as a form of sympathetic magic that is guided by a linear-causal understanding of nature, Indus valley religion ‘signify a circular interweaving of aims, including renewal of world-lease, connection of above and below, cohesion of social units, and abundance of life in general, including the crops’⁹¹ (McEvelley, 2016, p.44). These features of the Indus Valley religion were later reflected in *Śrāmaṇic* ascetic cultures and the later religions.

The fertility of the soil in archaic agricultural societies was not the only concern of the Indus Valley’s concept of early *Dehavāda*⁹² which is also intertwined with it. The fertility of the soil and the fertility of the Yogi is entangled in such a way. The semen virile is preserved and taken up, to get the ecstatic flowering (later translated as the *Samādhisukha* in different Yogic lore, to cite an example the *Binduvedhadīksha* detailed in *Kulaguhvara* Tantra (cited in Joo, 2010), when Yogi experiences the rise of *Kundalini*, he feels a fountain of *Bindu* (semen) is rushing up to the crown through his spinal cord), coterminous with agricultural blooming. Interestingly, the yogic seal representing the root lock posture is meant to preserve and guide the semen virile through the spinal column to the crown also has a peepal tree shown in it. The concept of semen virile, and fertility entangled with the peepal tree on the crown of the root lock posture seal, is arguably pointing towards this concept of early yogic ideas stemmed from the fertility cult of Indus valley. The reference of peepal tree in Buddhist sources as *Bodhivṛkṣa*⁹³, the *Sal* tree reference in *Kalpasūtra* of Jainism and the eternal peepal tree metaphor in *Bhagavadgītā* goes with the primordial concept of fertility in ancient societies. Reverence to the peepal tree as a symbol of fertility has a continuity in Indian culture. In ancient India, this tree was highly revered as a benefactor of humankind by blessing barren

⁹¹ The Idea of fertility cult is not solely dependent on concept of yield and crops, it has a larger cosmogony which deals with the concept of fertility as a larger theme in which agriculture and yield are a part.

⁹² The archaic concept on Body as the miniature of cosmos

⁹³ The reference of semen as *Bodhicitta* in Tantric Buddhist texts is also noteworthy.

women with sons. In those days, people were concerned more with the power of fertility for their protection, and this tree was supposed to possess such a power'(Maity, 1989, p.184).

Alongwith the idea of fertility, the Peepal tree is also revered as it is seen as eternal or immortal, 'from its branches, it has rope-like structures called boughs that fall towards the ground. Upon touching the ground, they enter the surface and over time solidify into branches with boughs hanging from them. In this way, feeding off the ground, the tree continues expanding as the younger branches replace the old ones, for this particular quality peepal tree, is considered eternal'(Khalid, 2015, p.47). The concept of immortality in Yoga and its relationship with the semen virile and its yogic cultivation through particular asanas is an archaic concept that has firm roots in the agricultural magic of Indus Valley.

The ancient agricultural magic and the fecundity concept have taken two different paths, the path of sexual indulgence and abstinence. The path of indulgence in Indus valley religion gave rise to sex rites and tantrism that had a profound influence in the later traditions of Yoga. The pre-Vedic shamanistic orgiastic rites performed on the agricultural land to increase the fertility of the soil and certain other sex rites belong to the early phase of Tantrism in India. The left-hand path of Tantra, the *Vāmācāra* had a leaning towards these archaic fertility rites. The *Yogācāra* school and *Vajrayāna* school of Buddhism has tremendously influenced the *Pātañjala* Yoga system (James and Singleton, 2017, p.xviii). These schools in Buddhism have unquestionable leanings towards the orgiastic rites of the pre-Vedic period.

On the other hand, the same fertility cult of the ancient culture had taken an altogether different route- the path of abstinence that gave rise to the idea of controlling the semen inside one's body through mortification techniques, technically called as āsanas. Throughout the history of Yoga, these two streams of indulgence and abstinence came into conflict, and at times combines to craft a syncretic identity to Yoga, as in the case of tantric Yoga practices.

1.1. The Path of Abstinence

The ascetic traditions that mark an epoch in the cultural history of India are anchored in the concept of abstinence, primarily sexual abstinence. The Śrāmaṇic religions mostly followed the concept with utmost religiosity, Ājīvikas, Jains and Buddhists excluding the Yogācāra, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna schools followed the abstinence principle in total⁹⁴.

The observation of sexual abstinence in Śrāmaṇic streams are moored in the concept of preservation of semen virile through body mortification techniques such as *Mūlabhandhāsana*. These ancient techniques and concept of semen virile are also seen in the medieval Haṭha yogic tantric practices, and Siddha alchemy and even in *Āyurveda*. The concept of Semen virile plays a vital role in intersecting the ontological fields of Tantric Siddha alchemy, Haṭha Yoga and Āyurveda.

As David white puts it:

It is here, at the level of the replenishment and maintenance of vital fluids, and most particularly the vital fluid that is semen, that the disciplines of Āyurveda and Haṭhayoga intersect: the same semen that the physician identifies with male virility and vitality is the sine qua non of yogic practice: semen is the raw material and fuel of every psychochemical transformation the Yogin, alchemist and tantric practitioner undergoes, transformations through which a new superhuman and immortal body is ‘conceived’ out of the husk of the mortal, conditioned, biological body (as cited in, Alter, 2018, p.132).

⁹⁴ *Lokāyatas* also belong to an early Śrāmaṇic religion. However, there is less knowledge about their rituals and observances although Chattopadhyaya (1959) argues, *Lokāyatas* were also ritualistic in their practice quoting from Buddhist sources such as *Vinayapitaka*, *Dīvyavadana* and *Sadharmma Puṇḍarīka*; nonetheless there is no explicit evidence to prove their inclination towards rituals though it is arguable about their leaning towards magical rites of archaic ages. Nevertheless, they were quite precautious about the Vedic theism. *Lokāyatas* did not believe in Soul, afterlife and rebirth, Karma, virtues or vices. *Lokāyatas* saw life as a means of enjoyment. The old idea of atomism and elements as the constituting blocks of body and life was seen in *Lokāyata* philosophy. The *Lokāyata* idea of cause and effect are independent and Karma has no role in person's destiny is later seen repeating in the Ājīvika *Niyati* belief as they argue no good can bring any progress or bad can doom a person it's only the *Niyati* that plays an important role. *Lokāyatas* are ancient materialists who did not believe in any rituals, although some scholars have observed that *Lokāyatas* had rituals and practices. Nevertheless, the literary evidence on that is not adequately preserved or documented, henceforth *Lokāyata* opinion on sexual abstinence is not clear. However, Mallinson (2013, p.5) quotes a section from *Dattātreya yogaśāstra* ‘Whether a Brāhmin, an ascetic, a Buddhist, a Jain, a Skull Bearer or a materialist, the wise one who is endowed with faith and constantly devoted to the practice of yoga will attain complete success. Success arises for one who is devoted to the practice; how can it arise for one who does not practice?’ here the mention of materialist is denoting Cārvākas, although Cārvākas did not believe in life after death or soul animating material body, they followed Yoga as a practice (Mallinson, 2013, p.5).

The concept of preservation of semen virile in ascetic traditions are quite different from the later tantric Siddha practices. The former was strict abstinence from sex to preserve semen inside the body and later it is indulging in sex and drawing the semen virile up through the central channel to the crown. The path of *Nivṛtti* seen in *Śrāmaṇic* religions is revolving around the concept of abstaining from all the puzzling pursuits of life. Sex is the first and foremost pursuit that has to be abstained. These ascetic streams also consider the preservation of semen inside one's body through observing stringent celibate vow is necessary for spiritual growth. Yoga as a discipline float as a common possession among these two streams, that is the path of abstinence and indulgence. Both these streams that used Yogic techniques such as breath control and postures to arrive at their own goal are regarded as the highest.

The understanding about self, the concept of God, and soteriological conceptions of these streams were very different from each other. There are some elements of cohesiveness, that is from their shared beginning with the culture of the Indus valley.

The *Śrāmaṇic* yogic traditions that follow the path of abstinence are discussed below.

1.1.1. Ājīvika Yoga tradition

Ājīvika religion and its place in the *Śrāmaṇic* spectrum has been discussed elaborately in the first chapter. Here the philosophical ideas of *Ājīvika* religion and their understanding about yoga is discussed. Though it may not be termed as 'Yoga' by *Ājīvikas*⁹⁵ the use of specific postures such as *Utkadasana* by *Ājīvikas* as part of their spiritual discipline is recorded in Buddhist and Jain sutras. The *Utkadāsana* posture is used in modern postural yoga. Hence it is apposite to understand the philosophical concepts of *Ājīvika* religion that informs their practice. The concepts of Self- soul and body, God and liberation are important to discuss in order to understand the rationale behind the practice of particular techniques.

⁹⁵ The *Śrāmaṇas* did not refer their system as 'yoga' until later, and the first mentions of dhyāna yoga (yoga by means of meditation) appear in the Brāhmanical Mahābhārata with explicit reference to practices associated with Buddhism and Jainism (James and Singleton, 2017, p.xiv).

a. Self- Soul and Body

Ājīvika religion as a *Śrāmaṇic* sect gave importance to asceticism over ritualistic religious life. The concept of self in *Ājīvika* belief is intertwined with the fundamental idea of the perplexed existence of the soul in the cycle of birth and death. *Ājīvikas* believe in the transmigration of the soul to lower or higher worlds. During the rebirth, the soul has to take many forms and also has to go through many conditions in different regions of the universe. The *Ājīvika* belief regarding transmigration of the soul is an extension of shamanistic and fertility cult beliefs that pre-dates the *Ājīvika* religion. Apart from the status of an individual soul as a puzzled being in the cosmos, it is not clear, whether *Ājīvikas* believed in the multitude of souls as Jains believe⁹⁶. The soul, according to their belief, have to go through multiple lives manifested in many forms and seven human lives to get *Nirvāṇa*.

Restraining the self to proceed to higher worlds and *Nirvāṇa* is an essential aspect in *Ājīvika* ascetic life. During the practice of ascetic vows and the final penance to reach *Nirvāṇa* they believe higher beings (gods) from upper worlds come and caress the yogi as a persuasion to stop the penance, if he falls into that, he will be failed in the process and has to further rotate in the cycle of birth and death. 'On the personal and everyday level of truth, this ordeal is the last test of the ascetic resolution. On the brink of death from thirst and starvation, he must resist the divine ministrants, and still maintain his stern self-control. Otherwise, his life of penance and asceticism will have been fruitless, and he will be reborn in one of the 4900 worlds of *Nāgas*' (Basham, 1951,p.258). Along with this concept of transmigration of soul, *Ājīvikas* believed that the soul has a complete form and distinct colour⁹⁷.

⁹⁶ The singleness of soul and its multitudinous is a matter of debate between different philosophical schools as in the case of *Ājīvika* and Jain school of thought. For example, the *Sāṃkhyan* tradition proposes multitudinous of Soul and singleness of *Prakṛti*. In contrast, some *Upaniṣadic* streams and later *Vedānta* maintains the singleness of soul.

⁹⁷ *Ājīvikas* believed the soul is 500 Yojanas (an ancient measurement of distance) in extent and in the colour of *Palai* fruit (a pan Indian sweet berry in yellow colour also called as Khirmi, the tree is popular for its longest living time). They also believe in the immortality of the soul and its indivisibility in any situation (the two important concepts discussed in *Bhagavadgītā* is the indivisibility and immortality of the soul). The metaphoric connection established between *Palai* fruit and soul may be pointing towards the concept of immortality. A Later Jain text

The *Ājīvika* belief about the self is as a perplexed being in the turbulence of life and death cycle. It believes that although the spiritual discipline of self can help an individual soul in *Nirvāṇa*, it is ultimately fated. *Niyati* is the vital thing that determines the future of the soul⁹⁸. Interestingly, *Ājīvikas* also believe that every soul, sooner or later will attain salvation regardless of their strict spiritual discipline.

The concept of Body in *Ājīvika* belief is a tool to starve and attain *nirvāṇa* without succumbing to the temptations of mighty super-beings⁹⁹. The concept of succumbing to external temptations and becoming ‘*Yogabhraṣṭa*’ is a common theme seen in later yogic lore. The *Ājīvika* concept of ‘Yoga’ hence is a stringent ascetic practice to attain *nirvāṇa*. However, like Jains, they did not believe in the Karmic reduction by observing specific postures and practices. This creates a paradoxical situation where there is a need to justify body mortification practices of *Ājīvikas*. The antithetical features seen in the *Ājīvika* tradition is an exciting phenomenon that points to an internal pluralism in the *Ājīvika* belief system. Though the principle of abstinence through ascetic practices led them, on the one hand, attainment of *nirvāṇa* goals was its fundamental motive, and on the other, it was magical powers. Liberation from the world and exhibition of magical powers in the world are contradistinctive ideas! That finds a space later in the *Yogasūtras* of Patañjali too.

named *Nīlakeśi* ridicules the *Ājīvika* concepts about the form and colour of soul, as Jains believed souls to be formless (Basham 1951).

⁹⁸ *Ājīvika* fatalism and the concept of self-restricted life is a paradoxical idea. The body mortification techniques attributed to *Ājīvikas* that later find a place in modern Yoga syllabus is a confusing phenomenon. The belief in the salvation of every soul also poses a pertinent question about the necessity of asceticism and body mortification techniques. However, the dearth of literature on *Ājīvika* religion keeps all these questions alive even today.

⁹⁹ One eats pure food for six months, for two months he approaches the bed of earth, for two months he approaches the bed of wood, for two months he approaches the bed of grass. On the last night of these six months completed in full extension, these two divine beings of mighty supernatural powers, known as Mighty lords, named *Purnabhadra* and *Mañibhadra*, appear near him. Then these two gods with cold and moist hands touch the members of his body. The one who succumbs to these two gods induces Karman with the serpent hood. If the one who does not succumb to these two gods within his own physical body a fire body originates he burns his physical body with his fire after has been burnt he attains perfection, he dies (Balcerowicz, 2016,p.93).

b. God

The concept of god in the *Ājīvika* religion is similar to the concept of god in other religions in the Śrāmaṇic spectrum. *Nāstik* orientation of *Ājīvikas* prevented them from believing in the Vedic Pantheon henceforth a strategic faith in a god or gods was unfamiliar to *Ājīvikas*. Contrarily, *Ājīvikas* believed in some higher beings that can help in meditation. *Okkhali*, *Punnabadha*, *Manibhadha*¹⁰⁰ are some of these gods gets a mention in *Ājīvika* religious lore. The Jain text *Nīlakeśi* written by *Samāya Divākara Vāmanamuni* talks about the god *Okkhali* as an *Ājīvika* god (Basham, 1951; Balcerowicz, 2016). Apart from believing in these higher beings from Upper worlds *Ājīvikas* as a *Śrāmaṇic* sect did not believe God as a creator, controller, or destroyer of the universe. The *Ājīvika* notion about these gods is nothing more than an effective medium for meditation, a mental entity to contemplate, helpful in the lower levels of *Ājīvikism*. However, later *Ājīvika* tradition confirmed the concept of *Brahma* (the embodied form of *Brahman*) and have mentioned that the abode of 'Bhamma' as the supreme abode¹⁰¹.

Though *Ājīvikas* did not negate the existence of these higher beings, it was a *Śrāmaṇic* stream with a steady outlook on asceticism and had a non-conformist attitude towards Vedic theism. It is indisputable that the *Ājīvika* concept of god was not a strategic faith in god.

¹⁰⁰ There are references of *Punnabhaddha* and *Manibhaddha* (*Purṇabhadra* and *Maṇibhadra* in Sanskrit) as the two gods in *Ājīvikism*. As *Ājīvikism* is a *Nāstik* (non-conforming to Vedas, not Atheistic) religion, the belief in Vedic gods was not seen in *Ājīvika* religion. In contrast, the *Punnabhaddha* and *Manibhaddha* were two local gods prevalent in the Gangetic plains. (Basham, 1951; Balcerowicz, 2016).

¹⁰¹ The addition of *Brahma* to *Ājīvika* pantheon can be a later development happened in the history. There are instances of shared deities worshipped in two different traditions (*Tāra* worshipped in Hinduism and Buddhism is an example), historically the chances of assimilation of different deities to ascetic traditions cannot be dismayed.

c. Liberation

The ideas about liberation in *Ājīvika* tradition is deciphered from the contemporary Jain and Buddhist texts. As discussed in the previous section, *Ājīvikas* believed in circuitousness of life and death and getting liberated from it, that is termed as *Maṇḍalamokṣa* in *Nīlakeśi* (Basham, 1951; Balcerowicz, 2016). The ascetic life is a tool to get out of this circle, whereas the play of *Niyati* is the ultimate deciding factor in the attainment of salvation. The concept of *Pravṛtti* dharma seen in Indian philosophy is talking about the circuit of life and death, and all the worldly activities will ultimately complicate the circuit, the *Nivṛtti* dharma, on the other hand, is dealing with the concept of relieving the soul from this recurring life-death exercise. The *Ājīvika* religion as a *Śrāmaṇic* religion is cautious about the circuit of life and death. It advocates the path of *Nivṛtti* as the noble pursuit, for that the stringent observation of abstinence is practised in the form of asceticism. However, *Nirvāṇa* is the fundamental concept on which the entire *Ājīvika* cosmology and metaphysics is revolving around.

1.1.2. Jain Yoga tradition

Jainism is an important ascetic tradition that originated in the pre-historic times that continues to exist in the present times. Scholars of Jain traditions argue that this pre-Buddhist origin has an ascetic stream that is as old as the river valley culture of Indus. The *Kayotsarga* (standing) postures and sitting postures of naked yogis in Indus valley are interpreted as early Jain monks, to be precise as *Ṛṣabhanātha* (the first Tīrthankara of Jainism). Apart from the sculptural clues from the river valley, there are canonical records in Jain tradition that validates the practice of postures. The *Akarāṅga*, *Sutrakraṅga*, *Ṛṣibhāsita*, *Bhagavatisūtras* and *Kalpasūtras* are some of the ancient Jain canonical texts talks about postures and meditative techniques (Jain, 2016; McEvelley, 2016). As a *Śrāmaṇic* stream, the practice of 'Yoga' in Jainism is revolving around its soteriological conceptions. However, the meaning of Yoga in Jainism from early Jain traditions to new has changed over time. The multiple meanings of

Yoga in Jainism offer a compelling case to understand the cultural transformation of Jainism over the period. In the ancient tradition of Jainism, the word Yoga is used to denote the process by which karma binds to the soul (*Jīva*) hence it was used as an antithesis to the modern understanding of Yoga as a spiritual discipline to rescue the soul from all the karmic bondages (Chapple, 2016). The Jain understanding about Self- Soul and body and their theology and soteriology have to be discussed to understand the meaning of Yoga in Jain tradition.

a. Self- Soul and Body

The Jain cosmology is one of the oldest thought that proposed the atomic structure of the world¹⁰². According to the Jains, an understanding of the universe consists of animate (*jīva*) and inanimate (*ajīva*) elements. The *Jīva* constitutes the conscious quotient, and *ajīva* is the non-consciousness. Jains being a *Nāstik* religion do not conform to the belief of God as the creator and controller of the universe. Therefore the *Jīva* and *Ajīva* are not created but everlasting truths distinct from each other. Jain concept of self is *Jīva* comprising of formless soul¹⁰³ and body with form. The soul and body are two distinct concepts where the former is trapped in the latter because of the *Karmic* impurities. This karmic matter regulates the embodiment of the soul and its birth and rebirth in the cycle of life and death. The binding of karmic matter to the soul is called as Yoga in the early renditions of Jain canons. The soul is ever trapped in this circuit unless it is freed using the three jewels (*Tri-ratnas*) such as Right faith, Right knowledge, and Right conduct. Jainism thereby binds the concept of devotion, gnosis and conduct as a means to *Nirvāṇa* (Radhakrishnan and Moore, 1957, p.250-251). The Jain concept of ‘soul’ is consciousness, the soul knows its relation with the outer objects through the process of *Jñāna* (gnosis), and this very *Jñāna* is the critical feature of soul¹⁰⁴,

¹⁰² ‘According to Jaina cosmology, the universe is a living organism, made animate throughout by life-monads which circulate through its limbs and spheres; and this organism will never die’ (Zimmer, 1952, p.227).

¹⁰³ Whereas Ājīvika religion from the same Śrāmaṇic spectrum believes the soul has a form and colour.

¹⁰⁴ *Anantajñāna* (gnosis) and *Antadarśana* (Perception) are the essential aspects of Soul (Dasgupta, 1922, p.207)

henceforth Jainism as a philosophical tradition, has chosen an asceto-gnostic position to understand the world around. The concept of body in Jainism is well summed up in the poem written by an eleventh-century Jain poet called Janna.

(As cited in Śivaprakash, 2018,p.70)

*However many dangers there are
For all of them, the body is the home
Whoever trusts this body cannot help
Searching for Madu fruit in the desert*

In Jainism, the pleasures of the body and even the body itself is seen as an obstacle in the path of spiritual progress. The initiation ceremonies of Jainism henceforth takes an agonising turn when it comes to the body. The hair of the initiate is pulled off one by one to feel the pain and bear the discomfort gradually¹⁰⁵. The references of tonsured monks in ancient literature is to the Jain and Buddhist monks¹⁰⁶. The Jain yogic *Kayotsarga* posture is also a technique administered to increase the discomfort of the body. There are references of severe body mortification processes in Jainism as *Kāyakleśa* (discomforting body)(Tater, no date). The *Kayotsarga* posture is a successive relinquishment of the body through four steps they are

1.*Gupti*- Its meaning is to protect the body from karmas. *Gupti* is the process of protecting the mind, speech, and body from all types of karmas. 2. *Samyama*- It is the self-control on the various activities of mind, speech, and body. At the time of fasting or in the persecution of significant vows, self-restraint is essential. 3. *Samvara*-The mind and other sense organs are responsible for many unwanted activities which produce bad karmas. To control such activities of these sense organs and mind the ascetic has to have strong will power. This very process of stopping the influx of karmas is known as *samvara*. 4.*Tyaga*- Every human being is very conscious about his body. He has much attachment to it. An Ascetic is not supposed to have any such attachment. He has to have such tolerance power to bear extreme hot and cold weather, to remain hungry/ Thirsty during fasting periods. This renunciation of body charm is known as body charm renunciation (*kāya mamatva tyāga*) (Tater, no date)

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Prof. H.S Śivaprakash, (author of ‘Everyday Yogi’, and ‘Guru-ten doors to ancient wisdom’, poet and playwright) dated on 10/09/19

¹⁰⁶. The apathy towards such practices is seen in *Vedāntic* literature of Ādi Śankara.

As an asceto-gnostic tradition Jainism upheld the asceticism and gnosis as supreme. *Tapo*¹⁰⁷-yoga (austerities, contemplation, and penance) is used as a method to detangle the body from the yoga (union) of the soul from karma. Yoga in Jainism is moreover an exercise to unshackle soul from the *karmic* body, through the combination of asceticism, meditation and severe penance. Henceforth it can be otherwise called as the process of untying from the 'ties of Karma' (called as yoga in the ancient treatise of Jainism) through Yoga (termed as a discipline to untie the body from the limited karmic body in later Jain treatises). The blending of these two antithetical concepts of Yoga in Jainism is an assimilative process happened in Jainism in the later periods. The *Yogadr̥ṣṭisamucaya* of Haribhadra¹⁰⁸ is a classic example of assimilation different Yogas to Jain Yoga. Haribhadra puts Yoga as an escape from the karmic bondage and a path to ultimate gnosis; he writes in *Yogadr̥ṣṭisamucaya* (as cited in Chapple, 2003, p.96).

It is said that at the time
when the clouds of destructive karma
are themselves destroyed by the wind of Yoga,
that is the escape.
Then the glory of singular knowledge is born

The Yoga in Jainism for ascetics is to liberate the karmic bonds that is sturdier compared to the Yoga of Jain householder¹⁰⁹. The ascetic life of a Jain monk has to follow the

¹⁰⁷ In ascetic religions, Tapas is defined as a severely disciplined self-mortification (Cort and Cort, 2019, p.721)

¹⁰⁸ Haribhadra was a Jain scholar-monk author of *Yogadr̥ṣṭisamucaya* who lived around 5-6th century CE, the period Haribhadra lived in India was during a time of great philosophical diversity. The aftermath of the post-Gupta, pre-Islamic era witnessed a proliferation of Puraṇas, the flowering of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava philosophy, early phases of the bhakti devotional movement in the south, the dawn of Tantra with a correlating emphasis on goddess worship, and the ongoing observance of the Vedic sacrificial system. Buddhism and Yoga were both strong presences within India. They offered the most direct competition to Jainism, in that all three systems share an emphasis on self-effort in the quest toward spiritual uplift and liberation (Chapple, 2003, p.1). Although the weaving of a syncretic identity to Jain Yoga is seen in Haribhadra's work, the vehement criticism on other practices such as Tantric yoga, and its variants are noteworthy, as it points to an irreconcilable pluralism within reconcilable pluralistic ideas of different traditions.

¹⁰⁹ The observance of the Jain limbs of Yoga for an ascetic Jain monk is called *Mahāvratā* (great vows), and for a householder, it is *Anuvratā* (Small vows). The former has to follow the strict laws of abstinence, and the latter is relaxed from following these rules strictly in its real sense.

vows of *Jñāna* (gnosis), *Sraddha* (unwavering attention) and *Carita* (right conduct), *Carita* contains *Brahmacarya* (Celibacy), *Ahimsa* (Non-Violence), *Sunrta* (*Satya*, Truth)

Āsteya (Non-possession) and *Aparigraha* (non-stealing)¹¹⁰(Dasgupta, 1922, p.199).

The Jain Yoga therefore is a code of discipline that has its firm roots in the principle of abstinence, though laxity is allowed, to the practice of householder Jains.

b. God

'If God created the world where was he before creation'? is the question one can find in Jain canons if tried to look for God in Jainism. Jainism as Śrāmaṇic religion did not believe in a 'god' who created the universe and controls it. Henceforth, Jainism is a non-creationist school of thought that also repels the idea of 'God' as an intelligent being behind all the creations. Jainism disregards the cause and effect theory proposed by other schools of thought such as *Nyāyikas*. Inferring the cause as '*Īśvara*' from the effect that is 'world' is not accepted in Jainism. Although Jainism is a *Nāstik* tradition, it believes in god not as a creator but as a perfected being (Radhakrishnan and Moore, 1957). According to Jain theology, any person who is capable of burning his/her Karma can become God¹¹¹. Instead of strategic faith in a personal god, Jainism opens this possibility to all the human beings irrespective of their status.

Arihants or *Tīrthankaras* are those who have burnt their Karma through observing the *Mahāvratas* (great vows) and attained the godhood. Jains believe in *Siddhas*¹¹² who has also attained the godhood by burning the Karmic residue, *Siddhas* are those who have attained the *Kevala-Jñāna* (ultimate gnosis) and upgraded their status to *Siddhas* after death. Jains pray to

¹¹⁰ These elements of Jain Yoga are seen repeating in PātañjalaYoga system also, and it directly points to the allegiance of PātañjalaYoga system to these age-old Śrāmaṇic ascetic stream.

¹¹¹ The concept of God in PātañjalaYoga system is also resonating with the Jain concept of God. The concept of God in PātañjalaYoga system is discussed in this chapter.

¹¹² *Siddhas* are the most perfected beings on top of *Arihants*, however, in Jain prayers, *Arihants* or *Tīrthankaras* are counted first followed by *Siddhas* because *Arihants* are the preachers who preach Jain philosophies to the world and they are the people who establish the order of Jain monks to carry on the missionary activities of the religion. Without *Arihants*, people will not know about Jain philosophy; for that matter *Arihants* are respected first. *Siddhas* are people who have attained *Kevala-Jñāna*, but they have not chosen to preach but remain silent, after death, they attain *Siddhahood* and are revered as gods, as they have wholly burnt their karmas whereas *Arihants* have not completely burnt their karmas(Shahe, no date).

all these perfected beings, however, none of these perfected beings has any control over anyone's life. Henceforth, the prayer to these beings is nothing more than paying obeisance. The burning of Karma or disentanglement of Karma from the soul is the primary objective of Yoga in Jainism. The detangled soul is regarded as a god, henceforth, Yoga in Jainism is nothing lesser than shaping a person into a God (Shahe, no date; Dasgupta, 1922b; Radhakrishnan and Moore, 1957).

c. Liberation

The *Śrāmaṇic* religions are featured with their soteriological ideas. Jainism, as a *Śrāmaṇic* religion, has also developed its understanding of liberation. The Jain soteriology is revolving around the idea of attaining freedom from suffering. The cessation of the life cycle is the primary motive of Jain ascetic life. The pure happiness enjoyed by the soul free from all the pain is called *Mokṣa* in Jainism. When Soul attains the state of *Mokṣa*, it attains ultimate knowledge and ultimate perception, that is not limited by the veils of *Samsāra*¹¹³. Jain canons talk about the infinite capacity inside a man to rescue him or herself from the bondage of karma. It names this infinite capacity as *Anantavīrya*¹¹⁴ (ultimate power) (Shahe, no date), he or she who does not have this power will have to succumb to the laws of Karma that bind one to *Samsāra*, thus pain.

As an asceto-Gnostic tradition, Jainism is placing the concept of *Kevala-Jñana* (Ultimate knowledge) as the supreme concept, the concept of *Mokṣa* is revolving around this gnostic concept of Jainism (Shahe, no date; Radhakrishnan and Moore, 1957). Unlike in many other religious traditions 'liberation' in Jainism is not a gift from some higher beings but a

¹¹³ World

¹¹⁴ It is interesting to see the name given to infinite power is *Anantavīrya*, not *Anantaśakti*. The use of the term *Vīrya* is very particular here, *Vīrya* is also used for Semen, and the Jain yoga and meditative practices are suggesting celibacy as an essential limb in Ascetic life. The preservation of Semen inside through observing Ascetic abstinence can be inferred from this.

conscious step taken by the person through strict discipline and practice that can be called as Jain Yoga.

1.1.3. Buddhist Yoga tradition¹¹⁵

Buddhism is not a religion but a miscellany of different religious ideas as seen in the case of Hinduism. In other words, Buddhism is a pluralistic accommodative space where different religious ideas, rituals and customs come together. Even during the early years of Buddhism, the tenets of different philosophies find a way to Buddhism. The pre-Buddhist ideas have influenced Buddhism; it is often argued that *Sāmkhya* and Yoga schools of thought have inspired Buddhism. It is now quite evident that the systematic rendering of *Sāmkhya* and Yoga philosophies happened during the post-Buddha time (Dasgupta, 1922, p.78).

The first chapter has discussed different heretic sects co-existed with or pre-existed Buddhism, references of these heretic sects were given in the *Samanaphalasutta*. Consequently, the ideas of these heretic sects, although contradictory to Buddhism had an influence on Buddhism. Moreover, Radhakrishnan (1957, p.272) argues that 'the Buddha takes up some of the thoughts of the *Upaniṣads* and gives them a new orientation. The Buddha is not so much for formulating a new scheme of metaphysics and morals as it is in rediscovering an old norm and adapting it to the new conditions of thought and life'. The attempts to co-opt Buddhism from its *Śrāmaṇic* milieu to Brahmanical *Upaniṣadic* setting is seen in Radhakrishnan's writing. He argues that Buddha was not an original thinker but a reformer of ancient thoughts. Hence 'Buddhism was not a break from tradition but a reformed hermeneutic version of the same tradition from a different standpoint. Thus, in his interpretation, Buddhism

¹¹⁵ In this section, the fundamental principles of early Buddhism concerning later Theravada Buddhist tradition is discussed. *Teravāda* school followed the ascetic vow in their strict sense without succumbing to the tantric interpolations happened to Buddhism with time.

is parasitic on Brahmanism in need of reform, and possess no autonomy of its own outside this ambit' (Raghuramaraju, 2014, p.68)¹¹⁶.

The attempts to appropriate Buddhism into the Brāhmin fold were firmly rejected by many scholars and the foremost among them was Dr B R Ambedkar. The *Brahmam* (Ultimate supreme) as the fundamental reality and the world is a mere illusion is the foundational proposition of *Upaniṣads* to which Buddhism strongly disagrees. The epistemology of Buddhism and *Upaniṣads* are very different and irreconcilable also. Buddhism arises from the *Nāstik Śrāmaṇic* philosophical background as opposed to Vedic theism and ritualism. The cosmogony of Buddhism and *Upaniṣads* (*Vedānta*) are different, so is their concepts on Self, God although there are striking similarities in the concept of Liberation.

1.1.3.1. Early Buddhism: Path of Abstinence and Yoga

The early Buddhist philosophy and religion were revolving around the concept of abstinence. The release of semen was considered as a severe sin and reprimanded by Buddha. Monks were punished with canonical penance if they committed sexual intercourse(John, 2008). The sūtra from *Vinayapitaka*¹¹⁷ gives a fair understanding of early Buddhist stand on sexual abstinence.

It would be better...if your penis had entered the mouth of a terrifying and poisonous snake than a woman's vagina.... It would be better...if your penis had entered a charcoal pit, burning, blazing, aflame, than a woman's vagina.
Vinaya III.20–23, attributed to the Buddha (As cited in John, 2008, p.201)

The early Buddhist viewpoint on Sexual abstinence were taken forward by the *Teravāda* tradition that represented the old school of thought¹¹⁸. *Teravādins* restrain themselves from any sensual activities in order to keep their celibate vow intact. The release of semen is

¹¹⁶ Next chapter is discussing the trends to redefine and appropriate Śrāmaṇic ideas in terms of *Vedāntic* ideology with an emphasis on reinterpretation of Yoga by *Vedāntic* Scholars.

¹¹⁷ One among the three canonical texts of Buddhism, *Vinayapitaka* deals with the code of conduct of monks.

¹¹⁸ On the origin of the word *Teravāda*, the Buddhist text *Dīpavamsa* says that since *Theras* (elders) met at the first council and collected doctrines, it was known as the *Teravāda* (Dasgupta, 1922, p.83).

considered to be the loss of power, any sensual activities can lead to this undesirable condition to a monk¹¹⁹ .

The Theravāda tradition that claims to be the most orthodox institution in Buddhism is steadfast in observing the vows of celibacy. The nuns and monks should follow all the regulations prescribed in the *Vinayapitaka* and the most important among them all is the principle of abstinence. Indulgence in sexual activity by the monks or nun is an expulsionary offence in Buddhism¹²⁰. ‘The Buddha was committed to the ideal of monastic celibacy, which is declared to be essential for those who aspire to liberation’ (John, 2008, p.205). Henceforth, primarily the self-control is a crucial aspect in order to reach salvation. The early Buddhist meditative techniques and yogic practices were intended to bring this control to the self. Henceforth, Yoga was more of moral discipline in early Buddhism.

a. Self¹²¹- Soul and Body

The concept of self in Buddhism is a perplexing concept. The Buddhist philosophy proposes self and non-self with the same importance. The existential self who is responsible for the Karma and its result and the transcendental self is discussed in Buddhism. The self who is controlling the actions is compared to a charioteer who rides the chariot (body). Thereby the self is attributed to the highest value than the mind. The journey of the chariot and charioteer

¹¹⁹ Theravāda monks will generally avoid sitting on the same car seat as a woman, even if there is a man between them, and any physical contact with women is considered an infraction. They are forbidden from being alone in a room with a woman with the door closed’, and during their ordinations are instructed to remain as physically distant as possible in the presence of women and to keep their eyes on the ground (Olson, 2008, p.210)

¹²⁰ Buddha ordered that all monks or nuns residing in a particular area must meet every fortnight and recite a pledge. To make recitation easier, the regulations were condensed into a text entitled Individual Liberation (Pratimokṣa). The first of these regulations states that a monk “who has engaged in sexual intercourse with anyone, even a female animal, has committed an expulsionary (parajika) offense and is no longer a part of the monastic community” (John, 2008, p.203).

¹²¹ Translating the Buddhist concept of *Atta* (*atma* in Sanskrit) to ‘Self’ in English may not grasp the actual meaning of Self used in Buddhism, Rhys David had argued the use of *Atta* does not serve the purpose instead she uses the term Spirit for *Atta* taking *Atta* in Buddhism is coterminous with *Ātman* in Upaniṣads . Contrarily, Joaquin argues *Atta* in Buddhism also implies the personality and material existence of a person, citing different examples from *Dikayas* (Buddhist canons). Henceforth, he prefers to use Self for *Atta* as it has a more ‘marked philosophical connotation’ (Joaquin, 1980, p.8). The difficulty in translating a concept in one knowledge tradition and terming it into another language is not a linguistic barrier but a philosophical and epistemological dilemma.

is well detailed in *Samyutta Nikaya*, where the fundamental question is asked in a metaphorical way, and the answer is so profound that it gives the understanding about the concept of body and soul in early Buddhist thought. The riddle and reply are as follows

There is a wilderness called ‘infatuation’ resounding with companies of Apsaras, frequented by troops of demons, how will the journey be made through it?

The answer is as follows.

The way is called straight the direction is called free from fear,
the chariot is called the ‘uncreaking’ well fitted with the wheels of dhamma,
conscientiousness is its break, mindfulness its protective board,
I say dhamma is the charioteer, having as forerunner right view.
Who so ever possesses such a vehicle, be it a man or woman,
Such a one, with this vehicle, will reach the confines of nibbana¹²² (Joaquin, 1980, p.59)

The early Buddhist philosophy, like Jainism and *Ājīvikism* believed in the cycle of birth and death. The recurring journey through this cycle is due to the karmic bondages, Buddhism places the craving and ignorance of the self as the factors contributing to the karmic bondage. Unlike Jainism, Buddhism is not proposing a 'cosmic-soul' status to self. The Self is attached to the five *Skandas*. ‘The five *Skandas* are materiality or form (*Rupa*), sensations or feeling (*Vedana*) perception or discrimination (*Samjna*), Conditioning factors (*Samskara*) and consciousness (*Vijnana*). The totality of an individual such as physical, mental and emotional

¹²² The same allegory of Chariot is seen in *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* also.

The *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* presents a remarkable dialogue between Yama, the God of Death, and Naciketas, who seeks an understanding of the self's status after death. As preparation for this truth, Yama likens the individual to a chariot. In his account, the chariot itself is compared to the body, the charioteer to the intellect, the reins to the mind, the horses to the senses, and the road to the objects of the senses. He concludes: "the enjoyer is the self-endowed with body, sense and mind; thus say the wise." This conception of the self has implications for the behaviour of the truth-seeker: "But whoever is wise with the mind always applied, has the senses subdued like good horses of the charioteer.... [T]he man, whose charioteer is wise, the reins of whose mind are well applied, obtains the goal of the road, the highest place of Viṣṇu (Schiltz, 2006, p.451). These interlacing of ideas and concepts, words and examples in knowledge traditions is called as ‘homologies’ by Mircea Eliade (Connolly, 2007). *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* is argued to be written in post-early Buddhist era hence the influence of Buddhism is alleged to work by Buddhist scholars whereas on the other hand Indologists argue *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* as an early Upaniṣad that was written around 10th C. BC (Stephen, 2009). The anteriority or posteriority of a tradition cannot be argued as a reason for the adaption of ideas, as we can see striking corollaries of *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* allegory of Chariot in the work of Greek philosophers such as Socrates and Plato, Plato's ‘Phaedrus’ gives similar account of the chariot interestingly intend to share the same philosophy (Schiltz, 2006). However, the soteriological perception of Upaniṣads and Śrāmaṇic streams have commonalities (though the concept of Ultimate (God) varies drastically between these streams) suggests about a common substrate from which the soteriologically oriented (*Nivr̥tti*) traditions originated.

existence is defined by these five aggregates (Jr.Robert and Donald, 2014, p.215). Self is found among these aggregates, the early Buddhist text *Milindapanha* uses the analogy of a chariot to explain this concept as a chariot is composed of different parts, and these parts together make the chariot. When the chariot is disassembled to parts, the chariot disappears so is self when disassembled during death, the self also disappears (Pilla, 2015). The early school of Buddhism preached the attachment or wrong identification of self to these *Skandas*, as the cause of never-ending journey through the life cycle (*Samsāra*). Early Buddhism rejected the idea of an eternal soul that survives death and transmigrates from one lifetime to another, and it is the continuum of karmic action in consciousness that is transferred to another life, henceforth next life is causally related to the previous life and karmic memories. Buddhism argues 'the existence of a person is governed by different causes and conditions that create it, rendering life fundamentally beyond our attempts to control it¹²³, and this 'lack of selfhood' or non-self¹²⁴' (*anatta*) creates a sense of danger that catalyses the aspiration to seek *Nirvāṇa*' (Jr.Robert and Donald, 2014, p.216). Buddhism suggests the observance of five spiritual faculties to overcome the hindrances to *Nirvāṇa*. They are *Sraddha* (Faith), *Vīrya*¹²⁵ (Effort), *Smṛti* (Mindfulness), *Samādhi* (Meditation) and *Prajña* (Wisdom).

The concept of Self in early Buddhism is thus a philosophical exercise to find out the reality of 'self', for that Buddha does not depend on the austere body mortification techniques used by *Gosāla* or *Mahāvīra*, although the principles of asceticism are strictly observed.

b. God

Buddhism, as a *Śrāmaṇic* religion, is *Nāstik* in its religious orientation, the early Buddhist thought was Atheistic too. The belief in a personal god is thereby alien to at least

¹²³ The inability to control the future is very well discussed in *Ājīvīkism* as '*Niyati*', it will be an interesting approach to look into the 'homology' of *Ājīvika Niyati* and *Teravāda* Buddhism's concept of *Anatta* (non-self).

¹²⁴ Understood differently by other schools of thought in Buddhism.

¹²⁵ The reference of *Anantavīrya* in Jainism as a prerequisite to attain *Nirvāṇa* is an interesting correspondence with Buddhism.

early Buddhism¹²⁶. The schism within Buddhism occurred during the fourth Buddhist council that separated it into two prominent sects, the *Mahāyāna* (Greater Vehicle) and Teravāda (The school of the elders) often called as *Hīnayāna* (the lesser school) derogatively by *Mahāyānis*. The older school (Teravāda) that has its roots in *Sthāviravāda* of Buddhism that did not believe in God, though the *Mahāyāna* sect started worshipping Buddha and Bodhisattvas as God. It is argued that the *Mahāyāna* redaction of Buddhism is a tantric contamination of original Buddhist ideas. Later, especially after *Nāgarjuna's Madhyamika* philosophy was established, a philosophical enquiry to the existence of God was made. However, the result was an ambivalent position regarding the existence of God¹²⁷. Madhyamika philosophy is neither theistic nor atheistic in its orientation. The existence of God as a cosmic being that controls the universal activities is alien to Buddhist philosophy. Further, it does not even agree to the Jain theology that considers God as the supreme cosmic being (perfect being) detached from worldly activities.

c. Liberation

Śrāmaṇic religions are featured with their fascination with the concept of liberation from the cycle of life. Buddhism being a *Śrāmaṇic* religion, it is also preoccupied with the concept of liberation. Although early Buddhism did not agree to the concept of transmigration of the soul, but it confirmed with the idea of the cycle of birth and death and continuum of consciousness from one life to another. Henceforth, Buddhism considered the ending of the life cycle as an ultimate goal. *Nibanna* (*Pāli* version of *Nirvāṇa*) is the word used to denote liberation, Jains and *Ājīvikas* also use the term *Nirvāṇa* for liberation. The *Śrāmaṇic* concept of *Pravṛtti* as the cycle of life and *Nivṛtti* as liberation gets expressed in the Buddhist concept

¹²⁶ When someone asked Buddha about God, he kept silent (Cheng, 1976). This silence is later interpreted as an agnostic stand on God.

¹²⁷ God the true Madhyamika approach to the problem of the existence of god appears to be neither theistic nor atheistic. It is not the former since, Madhyamikas do not assert 'God exists', and it is not the latter since they do not assert 'God does not exist either'(Cheng, 1976, p.213).

of *Nirvāṇa*. The cessation of suffering (one among the four noble truths¹²⁸) through the eight-fold path¹²⁹ prescribed by Buddha is the way from *Samsāra* or *Pravṛtti* to *Nivṛtti* or *Nirvāṇa*. The eight-fold path represents the nature of Buddhist philosophy based on ascetic morality and meditative practices, if not of a severe kind. Gnosticism and ascetic morality intertwined with the concept of severe apathy towards sexual indulgences is visible in early Buddhist thought.

Interestingly, all these abstinence¹³⁰ vows followed by early Buddhist philosophy were challenged by the later Mahayāna, Yogācāra and Vajrayāna traditions. That is the beginning of the path of indulgence in Buddhism. The same fundamental concepts in Buddhism were explained in the light of the principle of Indulgence.

1.2. The Path of Indulgence

The path of Indulgence is the next stream of archaic Yogic tradition. Many obscure cults and religions informed by the magical rites of the shamanistic tradition and fecundity rituals of the Indus valley culture are the credos that fall under this stream. Unlike the path of abstinence, this stream is concerned with the world and worldly things. The attainment of *Mokṣa*, though remains as an essential goal; it is not attained through discarding the body and bodily pleasures. Corresponding to the path of abstinence, the concept of semen virile is essential in this stream

¹²⁸ The four noble truth preached by Buddha are:

1. The world is Suffering (*Dukkha*) (birth is suffering; ageing is suffering, sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief, and despair are suffering.)
2. The Cause of Suffering (*Samudaya*) Ignorance of the true nature of reality, and unending desire (*Rāga*)
3. There is Cessation for this Suffering (*Nirodha*)
The Eightfold path (*Mārga*) as the means to end the suffering (Oliver, Duncan, 2007; Jr.Robert and Donald, 2014)

¹²⁹ The eightfold path prescribed by Buddha are:

1. Right View
2. Right Intention
3. Right Speech
4. Right Conduct
5. Right Livelihood
6. Right Effort
7. Right Mindfulness
8. Right Meditation

¹³⁰ There are other religious streams also that have practised strict celibacy as their principle. The *Atimārgins* in Saivite tradition and the *Śankara Advaita Vedāntins* also followed celibate vow strictly.

too. However, the concept of semen virile is not discussed as '*Vīrya*' coterminous with spiritual prowess attained through celibacy but in the light of fertility principle. The element of these fertility principles and ideas have found a way even to Vedas. Max Weber (1920, p.137) observes 'the official ritual of the Vedas with all its hymns and formulae rest upon the sacrifice and prayer and not on typical orgiastic technique-dance emotionality, sexual or alcoholic intoxication, meat orgiasticism all of which were rather carefully eliminated! (emphasis added)'. Although the careful elimination of references of orgiastic rites from the archaic culture of sexual indulgence was done in Vedas, It could not keep the Vedas totally immune to the ideas of fertility rites. The *Samhitas*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and even in *Upaniṣads*, the ideas of fertility rites are existing implicitly. The *Atharvaveda* (supposed to be latest among the four Vedas) has enough mentions of orgiastic rites and rituals.

The previous section discussed the indifference to sex from the point of abstinence principle; the religions followed abstinence and celibacy were also discussed in detail. Here the path of Indulgence and the religions that followed it are going to be discussed in the light of their understanding about self-body and soul, and the concept of God and liberation.

1.2.1. Tāntric Yoga Tradition

Tantra is a diffuse term that signifies a wide range of beliefs and practices across varied traditions. David Gordon White, in his introduction to *Tantra in Practice*, broadly defines tantra as “that Asian body of beliefs and practices which, working from the principle that the universe we experience is nothing other than the concrete manifestation of the divine energy of the Godhead that creates and maintains that universe, seeks to ritually appropriate and channel that energy, within the human microcosm, in creative and emancipatory ways” Since there is no singular, well-defined way to channel divine energy within the human body, tantric ideas and ritual practices remain elusive and pervasive (as cited in Lorenzen and Muñoz, 2011, p.70).

The Tāntric¹³¹ tradition of India has a history that goes back to prehistoric times. The fertility ideas of the shamanistic societies and river valley agricultural rituals were the

¹³¹ The tradition of Tantra is as old as the ancient river valley culture of India, the remanence of Phallic worship and female genital worship is giving ample evidence to prove the antiquity of the tradition although there are claims, to prove the provenance of Tantras to Vedas that were written in the later age but most of the scholars agree on a common origin or parallel origin of Tantra with Vedas as one can find so many parallel practices in

primordial roots of Tantra. The tenets of *Dehavāda* doctrine that discussed the link between Microcosm (body) and Macrocosm (cosmos) are present in Tāntric doctrines. The Tāntric culture believed in the direct link between human fertility (especially female fertility) and natural fertility, that was followed by the belief that ‘by contagion or by imitation the one can influence the other. In Frazer’s terminology, the former would be contagious magic¹³² and latter homoeopathic magic¹³³’ (Chattopadhyaya, 1959, p. 289).

The Tāntric worship of male and female genitals called *Liṅga* (Phallus), and *Yoni* (Vagina) respectively is informed by the concept of *Dehavāda* and *Ūrvarata*¹³⁴ rituals. The worship of *Liṅgam* and *Yoni* was duly extended to the worship of semen and menstrual blood; both are referred to as *Bindu* in later Tantric texts. The *Vāmācāra*¹³⁵ Tantra is very particular about the worship of sexual fluids. Śiva the male principle is denoted by semen the white *Bindu* and *Śakti* the female principle is denoted with red Bindu. The fusing of these two *Bindu's* are considered to be auspicious in Tantra and called as ‘Yoga’ in the *Vāma* and *Kaula*¹³⁶ Tantras, interestingly according to these Tantras the word Yoga is said to be derived by combining Yoni and Liṅga, that is Yo(ni)+(Liṅ)ga¹³⁷. Tantra visualises the world as the product of this Yoga between the

both. However, the influence of Tāntric tradition is seen in the later religious traditions inside Hinduism and also in other traditions such as Jainism and Buddhism, this shows a pivotal role played by Tantras in shaping the ritualistic and philosophical core of Indian religions. The antinomian tradition of Tantra was later downgraded in India as an erotic cult especially after the Victorian colonization of India, 'Today Tantra survives mainly in the conservative (*Samaya*) moulds of the Śrī Vidya tradition of South India and the Buddhist tradition of Tibet, though both heritages also have their more radical practitioners who understandably prefer to stay out of the public limelight’(Feuerstein, 1998, p.x). However, the tradition of Tantra is very ancient, the systematic rendering of Tāntric ideas started around the middle of first millennium CE.

¹³² The marriage rituals followed by people in India has a lot of contagious magic involved in it, the offering of Beetle and nut, keeping of spikes, decorating the marriage venue with plantains are some of the representations of the idea of fertility, earlier societies believed by doing such rituals the fertility of the plants will get transferred to the couples.

¹³³ The ritualist copulation in the fields to increase yield was a common practice in ancient agricultural societies, remanence of such rituals are seen even today in the harvest dances performed along with the celebration of harvest festivals. Almost all the primitive agricultural societies all over the world have developed more or less similar rituals to Tantra.

¹³⁴ Natural fertility

¹³⁵ Left-hand path of Tantra. This variant of Tantra is believed to be the oldest Tantra and famous for its orgiastic and blood rites.

¹³⁶ The Kaula school is one of the most powerful *Śākta* schools of Tantra which occupies unique position among the left-handed *Śākta* tradition on account of its long history extending nearly to 1300 years (Matsyendranātha, 1994, p.3).

¹³⁷ Interview with Mr Harikumar Nair a senior scientist in ONGC and a practising Tantra-yoga expert.

cosmic man and feminine principles called as Śiva and Śakti, respectively. It sees this male and female principle everywhere and has devised techniques and practices to combine these principles. *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta explains ‘Just as, when joining, yoni and liṅga emit ambrosia, in the same way, out of the union of fire (*Prāṇa* - Outgoing breath) and moon (*Apāna*-incoming breath) flows ambrosia; there is no doubt about this (as cited in, Silburn, 1988, p.144). The ambrosia mentioned in the text is not semen, but the ultimate bliss one will get through ritualistic copulation.

The concept of *Vīryasamrakṣaṇa*¹³⁸ and making it travel through the spinal cord by means of a rigorous body mortification process is not seen in the path of Left-hand Tantras. Instead of *Ūrdhvaretas*, *Vāmācāra* and *Kaula* Tantras followed the concept of *Adhoretas*¹³⁹. The concept of preservation of semen is seen in the *Śrāmaṇic* ascetic schools, and the principle of abstinence was followed intact. Interestingly the same fertility concept of semen virile is employed in the path of indulgence for attaining the same goal that is liberation (*Mokṣa*).

The Tāntric tradition is not a monolith. As in the case of Śrāmaṇic spectrum, the Tantras are also having a gamut of traditions around it. If Paul LeValley style of marking Śrāmaṇic religions along the Śrāmaṇic spectrum is applicable to Tantras. The *Vāma* tantra being the most ingenious eroto-yogic Tantra is at the far left followed by the *Kaula* Tantras, and in the centre, *Mīśra* tantras can be placed, the far right end will be occupied by *Dakṣiṇa* Tantras that are more close to Vedic ideas. Along with there are *Samāya* and *Divya* redactions in Tantra that transgresses all the ritualistic realms including right and left ideas in Tantra. The vibrancy of this protean tradition thus makes the study of Tantras a challenging one. However, the history and philosophy of Yoga are incomplete without studying the philosophy and history of Tantra. Feuerstein in the Introduction of his 'Encyclopaedia of Yoga and Tantra' calls 'Yoga and Tantra

¹³⁸ Preservation of semen inside.

¹³⁹ Referring to a Yogin who can allow the flow of semen downwards that means sexual intercourse.

as sister traditions, and are undoubtedly the most two remarkable accomplishments of human ingenuity and unquestionably two of the fascinating creations of spiritual aspiration. They are India's mature answer to the universal question "Who am I?" (Feuerstein, 2011, p.xv).

The Tāntric tradition has sprouted from the same substrate of *Śrāmaṇic* religions; hence a striking similarity can be discerned from the philosophy of Tantra and *Śrāmaṇic* religions. The cosmology of Tantra is similar to that of *Śrāmaṇic* religions. Moreover, the *Śrāmaṇic* and Tantric philosophies permeated into the core of each other in rituals, concepts, and cosmologies. Tantra calls the realm of existence as *Samsāra* that means the cyclical existence of life, death, and rebirth. All the *Śrāmaṇic* religions in the spectrum agree to the concept of *Samsāra*. According to Tantras, the cosmos is a multi-layered¹⁴⁰ experience of the sentient being and the individual being is trapped in the *Samsāra*, and he/she is called as *Samsāri* (Rawson, 1978; Feuerstein, 1998a; McEvelley, 2002; Padoux, 2002; Flood, 2006; White, 2011). The relation between *Samsāra* (macrocosm) and *Samsāri* (Microcosm) is resonating with the *Dehavāda* concept (Chattopadhyaya, 1959). The concept of self in Tantra in relation to body and soul will explain the cosmology and the relation to it in a better light.

Tantras are innumerable in number so there is a multitude of redaction on Tantric ideas and concepts. Although it is agreed that ontologically these different branches conform to the larger cosmology of Tantra that evolved from the fertility concept of the archaic times. This section is discussing three major divisions in Hindu¹⁴¹ Tantra that has contributed to the growth and development of Yoga philosophy and practice, and the following section will deal with Non-Hindu Tāntric traditions.

¹⁴⁰. The visible world is just a part of multi-layered cosmos. Tantra talks about different realms of the world above and below the visible world.

¹⁴¹ Along with Hindu Tantras, there are Buddhist Tantras, Jain Tantras, Sūfi Islamic Tantras etcetera.

1.2.1.1. Śākta Yoga tradition

The worshippers of the cosmic feminine principle are generally regarded as the *Śāktas* or *Śāktites*, that is the worshipper of *Śakti*. *Śākta* school of Tantra is a very prominent school in Tantra that has permeated almost all the philosophies of the subcontinent. Among the *Śākta* school of Tantra, the *Vāmācāra* school is considered to be the most ingenious of all, the rituals of it involve necromantic rituals and orgiastic sex rites. The ritualistic copulation in the field to generate more yield, orgiastic fertility rites that are seen in shamanistic societies are seen in *Vāmācāra* Tantra (Chattopadhyaya, 1959). In a way, it can be argued that *Vāmācāra* Tantra is an offshoot of the shamanistic ecstatic cult. The mystical tradition of Yoga that is observing specific postures and practising *Vīryarakṣaṇa* and *Prāṇāyāma* to obtain mystical powers has a strong association with the mystical fantasies shared by the left-hand path of Tantra. More than gnosis, mysticism was given importance in these schools of Tantra. So, *Siddhi* and the accomplisher of *Siddhi* who is called as *Siddha* or *Yogi*, is revered much in these traditions. The third chapter of *Pātañjala* Yoga is devoted to the explanation of supernal *Siddhīs* and the means to attain it through the practice of Yoga. A close look on the chapter gives ample evidence for the reader to understand the provenance of the *Siddhīs* from the mystical schools (*Vāma* and *Kaula*) of Tantric tradition.

Among the *Śākta* Schools of Tantra, *Kaula* tradition propagated by *Matsyendranāth*¹⁴² is the most popular school of thought that has an overarching influence on the rituals and traditions of the subcontinent. *Kaula* school, although it is an offshoot of *Śākta* Tantrism has overridden other systems with its popularity and have even become the synonym of Tantra

¹⁴² It is believed that Matsyendranāth who is also called as *Mīnanatha*, and *Luipāda* by Vajrayāna Buddhists and *Macchamuni* by Tamil Siddha tradition propagated *Kaulism* in the *Kaliyuga* (the last epoch of time among the four epochs namely, *Satyayuga*, *Tretayuga*, *Dvaparayuga* and *Kaliyuga*). The spread of *Kaulism* by different masters in different epochs of time in different parts of the Indian subcontinent are discussed in *Tantrāloka* of *Abhinavagupta* the celebrated aesthetician and Tantra scholar of 10th century CE from Kashmir.

itself. The presence of Kaula school of thought is seen all over India ‘*Maheśvarānandanātha* in his *Mahārthamañjari* puts it this way.

Just as fragrance permeates in flowers, oil in sesame,
Soul in body, nectar in water, in the same way
Kula permeates in all Sastras'(as cited in Sensharma, 1994, p.3)

The spread and popularity of *Kaula* system of Tantra have a relevance to the development of *Haṭhayogic* school of thought, the concept of body in *Kaula* system is seen resonating in *Haṭhayogic* concept of body. Interestingly *Kaula* system can be called as the first systematic rendering of an embodied philosophy, where one of the meanings of *Kula*¹⁴³ Itself is Body (Singh, 1979), and *Kaula* becomes the worshiper of *Kula*.

a. Self- Body and Soul

The term 'Tantra' has many meanings that range from an esoteric spiritual discipline, a loom or warp (in weaving terms) a spiritual tradition or knowledge that expands the consciousness of the seeker. The word Tantra is etymologically derived from two root words ‘tan’ and ‘tra’ “the former meaning “propagate, elaborate on, expand on,” and the latter, “save, protect” (Wallis, 2013, p.42). Among the many meanings of Tantra, including the redeemer philosophy from the cycle of birth and death, the definition of Tantra as an embodied śāstra also finds an important position. According to this definition, the verbal root 'Tan' in Tantra is denoting Body (*Tanu*), hence the śāstra (philosophy or practice) that rescues (*tra*) the body is Tantra. From the path of abstinence that denied the body, Tantra takes a tangential shift towards accepting the body as a means to self-emancipation.

The ultimate tool in Tantra is the human body, both the outside and the inside, both the anatomical body of arms, hands, tongue, heart, genitals, and mind and the yogic anatomy of *cakras* and *nādis*. It is control of the body as a tool used to actuate processes that connect the practitioner with the universal power to reach his goals (Harper, Katherine and Brown, 2002, p.4).

¹⁴³ Kula is otherwise defined as an esoteric clan, and *Kaula* is a practitioner who enjoys the secret teachings and practices in the clan.

The Tantric concept of Body is intertwined with the concept of cosmos so that the cosmology of Tantra is on par with its concept of body. Tantra views the body as a structured receptacle of power and animated by that power and the somato-cosmic vision upon which the tantric practices are based (Padoux, 2002, p.20). The idea of the body as a receptacle of power is a pre-Tantric notion that has its roots in the archaic fertility rites.

Body as a reservoir of power and taming the spinal serpent

The Tāntric physiology locates many *Nādis* inside one's body, the *Prāṇa*¹⁴⁴ moves through all these channels and energises the body. These *Nādis* are not physical nerves but psychic nerves. Among the *Nādis* there is a central *Nādi* called as *Suṣumna* in Yogic lore. *Suṣumna* is the central meridian (spine¹⁴⁵) that is supported by *Iḍa* on the left and *Piṅgala* on the right of it. *Suṣumna* connects the brain, and the root of the spine called *Mūlādhāra* (root chakra). The *Mūlādhāra* is one among the seven chakras¹⁴⁶ of the body according to the Tāntric-Yogic tradition. The primordial power in human beings sleeps at this root chakra in the form of a serpent called as *Kuṇḍalini*¹⁴⁷(Joo, 2010). The term has etymologically evolved from the two words *Kuṇḍa*; means pit and *līna*; hiding. *Kuṇḍa* is the *Mūlādhāra* and *Kuṇḍalini* is the representation of cosmic feminine power hiding in this root chakra. The practice in Tantra that later permeated to *Haṭhayogic* practices are envisioned to tap the internal potency of a person through several techniques including *Prāṇāyāma*, *Asanas*, and ritualistic sexual intercourse (*Maiṭhuna*) are to agitate the dormant serpent lying asleep in the *Mūlādhāra* and ascend through *Suṣumna*, to become in Yoga (unification) with the Śiva who is sitting at

¹⁴⁴ In Yoga texts, *Prāṇa* is always translated as 'Vital air'. This seems a reductionist translation as *Prāṇa* in Yogic lore does not mean the air in any sense; it is the vital element that energises the body. To translate *Nādi* to nerves also has the same problem and even confuses the reader with the nervous system in the body, meridians seems a better translation of *Nādis*, the study is, therefore, using meridians for *Nādis*.

¹⁴⁵ Psychic spine.

¹⁴⁶ Different yogic traditions have given different numbers of Chakras in the body. However, most of them agree with the seven chakra concept and *Kuṇḍalini* concept.

¹⁴⁷ *Kuṇḍalini* is also called as *Kulakuṇḍalini*, according to some scholars including, *Lakṣmīdhara* and *Bhāskaraṛāya Makhi*, *Śakti* is termed as *Kula* and *Śiva* is *Akula* and *Śiva* is related to *Śakti* through *Kaulasambhandha* and *Kaula* is the equilibrium between *Śiva* and *Śakti* (Sensharma, 1994).

Sahasrāra chakra (Crown Chakra). The practice in Tantra thereby visualises the individual soul of a person is limited by the delusory world outside and bound by *Kuṇḍalini*. *Kuṇḍalini* the repository of power is revered as the giver and stopper of liberation. As a path of indulgence, the left-hand tantras view the ritualist copulation (*Maithuna*) is a replication of *Śiva-Śakti Samyoga*. The semen virile blending with the blood (Ovum) is considered as the process of *Śṛṣṭi* in lower plains analogous with the cosmic creation in higher realms (Harper, Katherine and Brown, 2002; McEvelley, 2002; Flood, 2006; Stephen, 2009; Mallinson, 2011b).

b. God and Liberation

The theological conception of *Kaula* and *Vāmatastra* is of a conjoined identity of masculine and feminine principles. Apart from a personal god concept, the left Tantra views this equilibrium as the supreme existence. The inseparability of these two principles is always emphasised in the left-hand Tantric tradition. The cosmic man is not detachable from the cosmic woman principle and vice versa. The concept of God in Tantra hence is an ontologically united, inseparable and interrelated principle of *Śiva* and *Śakti*. *Śiva* is residing in the abode of divine *Śakti* (*Kula*) that is the body. This body as the residence of *Śiva* is constructed of nine structures called as *Vyūhas*. They are 1. *Kālavayūha* (the structure of time), 2. *Kulavyūha* (structure of form), 3. *Nānavayūha* (structure of name), 4. *Jñānavayūha* (structure of illusory ideation that is *Vikalpa*), 5. *Cittavyūha* (structure comprising, *Ahamkāra*; ego *Citta*; intelligence, *Buddhi*; intellect, *Manas*; mind, *Mahat*; knowledge about the supreme principle) 6. *Nādvayūha* (consists of *Raga*; desire, *Iccha*; will, *Kriya*; activity) 7. *Binduvayūha* (consists of six chakras that are *Mūlādhāra*, *Svādhiṣṭāna*, *Maṇipūṛaka*, *Anāhata*, *Viśuddhi*, *Ājñā*), 8. *Kalāvayūha* (consists of fifty letters in the Alphabet- *Varṇa*) 9. *Jivavyūha* (consists of the individual soul who is the enjoyer of the world) (Tapasyānanda, 1987; Sensharma, 1994). The concept of god in Tantra is thereby a disagreement to the strategic faith in God as a celestial being, but a divine existence in ones on body entrapped by the above said *Vyūhas*.

Consequently, the concept of Yoga in Kaula Tantra (popularly the system is also named as *Kaulayoga*) is a set of practices that utilises the body (Kula) to attain the spiritual upliftment. The soteriology of Tantra is hence the dissolution of the nine *Vyūhas* coterminous with the layers of universe and understanding the true form of oneself. The dissolution of the body and dissolution of the universe (*pralaya*) are considered to be the same process¹⁴⁸.

1.2.1.2. Śaiva Yoga tradition

Śaivism is regarded as the oldest living religion on the planet. Arguably, the antiquity of *Śaivism* is as old as the Indus valley culture. The *Mūlabandha* seal discussed in this study as the archaeological evidence of ancient postural Yoga practice is purported to be the depiction of *Paśupati Śiva*. Regardless of the claims of Indus Valley origin, the antiquity of *Śaivism* is undebatable. As seen in the case of *Śrāmaṇic* religions, *Śaivism* is not a monolithic tradition. Alexis Sanderson defines *Śaivism* as

Several distinct but historically related systems¹⁴⁹ comprising theology, ritual observance, and yoga, which have been propagated in India as the teachings of the Hindu deity Śiva. A ‘Śaiva’ is one who practises such system. To understand the term to mean ‘a worshipper of Śiva’ or one whose deity is Śiva is less precise for a Śaiva may well be a worshipper not of Śiva but Goddess (Devi). Though she is commonly represented as the consort of Śiva and theologically, as that the god's inherent power Sakti, it is none the less the defining mark of certain forms of *Śaivism* that she is seen as transcending this marital and logical subordination (Sanderson, 1988, p.660)

Śaivism considers it has originated from Śiva himself; hence the tradition is called as ‘*Āgamic*¹⁵⁰’ tradition. The scriptural revelation of the Śaivāgamas is called Tantra. Tantras consider themselves as distinctive and potent sāstra to cut the bondage of human beings and

¹⁴⁸ There is a difference of opinion among the *Kaula* Tantra practitioners on these concepts that shows the internal pluralism of the tradition. The study used the concept of *Pūrvakaula* stream to detail about *Vyūhas*. Other than *Pūrvakaulas* there is another stream called as *Uttarakaula* who are more inclined towards the *Vāmācāra* stream of Tantra.

¹⁴⁹ *Śaivism* is a pan Indian religion. In India there different *Śaiva* schools of thought although sharing a common epistemology though there are differences in their metaphysics and practice. Tamil *Śaivism*, Veera *Śaivism* are some of the schools of thought that come under the gamut of *Śaivism*, Tamil *Śaivism* is generally regarded as *Siddhānta Saivism*, hence it is a dualistic philosophy, Veera *Śaivism* of Karnataka is a mono-dualistic philosophy and Kashmir *Śaivism* is non-dualistic philosophy. In this study, while discussing the Siddha Yoga lineage, Tamil *Śaivism* is discussed. In this section, Kashmir *Śaivism* is given importance.

¹⁵⁰ That has come from the divine (Śiva).

liberate them eternally from clutches of Karma. The never-ending cycle of birth and death are the product of Karma and Tantras believe the rituals, practices and even the philosophy of it has a robust soteriological orientation that can only liberate a person from this circuit. Tantras are therefore considered to be a *Nāstik* philosophy as it does not conform to the supremacy of Vedas.

As a tradition *Śaivism* is divided into two streams, The *Atimārga*; the outer path that is only accessible to ascetics and that is the path of abstinence. The *Atimārgis* do not worship Śakti and are steadfast to *Brahmacarya*. The *Pāśupata*¹⁵¹ and *Lākula*¹⁵² *darśana* in *Śaivism* are *Atimārga mata* (sect)¹⁵³ On the other hand, there is *Mantramārga*; the path of mantra that is accessible to both householders and ascetics. The *Atimārga* focusses on salvation alone. Hence it can be considered as a solely ascetic tradition whereas *Mantramārga* focusses both salvation and mystical powers; hence it is a mystic tradition (Sanderson, 1988). The *Atimārgi* Śaiva sects resembled the Śrāmaṇas in their world view, soteriology, and strict ascetic vows. Scholars of the ancient times including *Kālakacarya* (5th century CE, Jain scholar), *Varāhamihira* (6th century CE, Hindu astronomist and scholar) his commentator *Utpala* (10th century CE astronomist and scholar) categorised *Atimārgi Śaivas* as a *darśana* among the other

¹⁵¹ *Pāśupata* is an ascetic *Atimārgic darśana* in *Śaivism*, who are famous for their antinomian rituals and culture breaking attitude. *Pāśupatahood* is restricted to a brahmin male who has gone through all the orthodox rites; he has to take the vow called as *Pāśupatavrata* and start living as a *Pāśupata* by breaking all the brāhminical orthodox values imbibed from childhood. *Pāśupatas* can be compared with the early gymnosophists in Śrāmaṇic religion who were named as a death cult by Greek philosophers. *Pāśupatas* are a soteriological creed strictly apathetic to the pleasures of life, and they have to be categorized as following the path of abstinence. Along with *Sāmkhya* and *Yoga Mahābhārata* discusses *Pāśupata mata*.

¹⁵² *Lākula* is another *Atimārgic* sect that originated as an offshoot *Pāśupata* cult, along with *Lākulas* there are *Kālamukhas*, *Mausalas*, *Vaimalas*, *Kārukas* as other branches in *Pāśupata* cult. These different groups always stayed out of the world and its norms and values. Specific Kaśmīri Śaiva texts and *Niśvāsataṭvasamhita* gives an account of these sects. Severe asceticism and body mortification techniques are seen among them,

¹⁵³ The word sect used to denote a tradition may not cover the intricacies of the it, 'In a Christian context the concept of a 'sect' embodies three essential features: a specific doctrine (including a prescribed mode of worship), a priesthood, and a well- defined and exclusive laity. The structure of Hindu 'sects' is in general much more amorphous than that of Christian ones. In most cases, more emphasis is placed on doctrine and mode of worship than on organization (Lorenzen, 1972, p.xi). Hence the study will be using *Darśana* or *Mata* or monastic order interchangeably to denote a tradition.

Sramana darśanas including *Ājīvikas*, *Buddhists*, *Jains*, and *Cārvakas* (Lorenzen, 1972). Moreover, it is logical to call these groups as Śramaṇas in its more significant meaning.

The *Mantramārga* in Śaivism has taken the path of indulgence; it is observed that it developed as a later tradition compared to the *Atimārga* ascetic tradition. The liberationist Śaivas worships the ascetic Śiva, and *Mantramārgis* worships *Rudra* with his consorts showing its liberal attitude towards sex.

The cosmology of Śaivism, as expressed in the Kaśmīri Śaiva tradition, is more or less shared by all the Śaivite traditions. According to the non-dual tantric tradition of Kaśmīr Śaiva through his autonomous will Śiva 'creates' the universe, while using the word creation it can mislead to a notion that Śiva is the creator of the universe. To clarify the concept, Śaiva uses the term manifestation instead of creation. Śakti is the innate power of Śiva; it is the free will of Śiva, Śakti is pushing Śiva to manifest the world. The *Pratyabhijñā* school of thought in Kaśmīr Tantra uses the term reflection for creation; it defines Śiva as the radiant light (*Prakaśa*) that reflects on the cosmic mirror; Śakti (*Vimarśa*) and that reflection is Universe (*Nara*/beings) (Jaidev Singh, 1963; Singh, 1979, no date). The reflected universe comprises of thirty-six *tattvas* (principles); they are 1.Śiva (cosmic masculine), 2. Śakti (cosmic feminine), 3.SadāŚiva (Will), 4. Īśvara (Cognition), 5.Suddhavidya (Action), 6. Māya (Limiting power), 7. *Kāla* (time), 8.*Kalā* (action), 9.*Rāga* (desire), 10.*Vidya* (limited knowledge), 11. *Niyati* (fate), 12.*Prakṛti* (a limited reflection of the cosmic feminine), 13.*Buddhi* (Intellect), 14. *Manas* (Mind),15.*Ahamkāra* (ego), 16. *Sabda* (sound), 17.*Sparsā* (touch), 18.*Rūpa* (form), 19, *Rasa* (taste), 20.*Gandha* (Smell) 21. *Srotr* (ear) 22. *Chakṣu* (skin), 23.*Jihva* (tongue) 24. *Netra* (eye) 25.*Ghrāṇa* (nose), 26. *Vāk* (Speech)27. *Pāda* (foot- mobility) 28. *Pāṇi* (hand-grasping) 29. *Pāyu* (anus- excretion) 30. *Upastha* (genitals-procreation), 31. *Ākaśa* (space), 32.*Vāyu* (Air), 33.*Agni* (Fire), 34 *Jala* (Water), 35. *Bhūmi* (Earth), 36. *Puruṣa* (a limited reflection of the

supreme). The reflection of the universe happens in a triadic form of Śiva , Śakti and Nara (creation) is the matter of discussion in Śaiva Tantras (Joo, 2003).

According to the non-dual Śaiva philosophy, Śiva is reflected inverse so is Śakti. This inversion is the cause of the worldly experience of a being, and Śaiva Yoga ultimately guides to get out of the circuit of the world through certain Yogic practices¹⁵⁴, that will lead to the supreme gnosis called [self]-‘re’-cognition’ (*Pratyabhijñā*). The inverted existence of Śiva and Śakti can be understood from its concept of self, god and liberation. The Pratyabhijñā school uses ‘re’-cognition as it believes the Śaiva Yoga will only help to understand the true nature of self that was veiled by *Māya* (Jaidev Singh, 1963).

a. Self -Body and Soul

Śiva is inversely reflected as *Puruṣa*¹⁵⁵ (the limited being) on the other hand, the inverted reflection of Śakti becomes *Prakṛti*¹⁵⁶ (the limited reflection of the cosmic feminine) the *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* concept of Śaiva Tantra is also seen in the *Sāṃkhya* system. Also, some argue *Sāṃkhya* as a precursor of Tantras. The shared epistemic universe of *Sāṃkhya* and Tantras cannot be dismissed, although there are striking dissimilarities in their concepts. The individual soul; *Puruṣa* is defined as a limited soul by the act of *Māya* (the limiting power of Śiva) thereby *Puruṣa* identifies itself as a mere knower (*Pramāta*) of the universe (*Prameya*; knowledge). The *Māya* creates this division through its five veils called as *Kāla* (time), *Kalā* (action), *Rāga* (desire), *Vidya* (limited knowledge), *Niyati* (fate). Thereby the temporospatial limitation is created, and the individual soul feels like a mere *anu*; limited soul (Joo, 2003).

The *Puruṣa* is residing inside the *Prakṛti* ; body, henceforth the concept of Self in Tantra is of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* . Tantra sees the body as a tool to liberate the *Puruṣa* from the

¹⁵⁴ The yogic practices to achieve the ‘Śivahood’ is imparted through several Śaiva Tantras, *Vijñāna Bhairava Tantra* is a popular text among them.

¹⁵⁵ Individual soul, knower, not a gender/sexual identity.

¹⁵⁶ Nature, inanimate manifestation, body...

circlet of life and death. The act of Māya causes the division of body and soul, the Śaiva yogi through the act of Śaiva Yoga realises his/her soul is undetachable from the body and thereby universe, this gnosis (*Pratyabhijñā*) comes to the yogi with the unveiling of *Māya* and five veils. The parallel drawn between body and universe as seen in archaic *dehavāda* concept is seen here. In the initial stages Yogi understands the soul is not the *Sthūladeha* (Gross body consists of five elements) or *Sūkṣmadeha* (Subtle body; five molecules, ten senses; five motor and five; sensory organs and three internal organs; mind, intellect, ego) but as the supreme *Para* (Supreme). Through the practice of non-dual Śaiva Yoga, Yogi understands the body and universe that seems different is not different from the soul. However, a manifestation of it only, hence the non-dual gnosis happens to the Yogi.

***Kuṇḍalini*- the spinal serpent in Śaiva Yoga**

Unlike the Śākta tradition, *Kuṇḍalini* is more of a philosophical concept in Śaivism. The three and a half coiled serpent is resting at the *Mūlādhāra*. According to the Śaiva cosmology, the world is the reflection of the supreme, body (*Piṇḍāṇḍa*) is the miniature of the cosmos (*Brahmāṇḍa*), and according to this logic, the seat of supreme (*Sahasrāra*) is inversely reflected as *Mūlādhāra*. Śiva is inversely reflected as *Puruṣa* in *Mūlādhāra* and *Kuṇḍalini* is nothing but the symbolic representation of the limiting force of Śiva called as *Māya*. The three and half coils are defined in terms of *Pramātā*; Knower (Subject who perceives the world as an object) *Pramāṇa*; Knowing (the act of perceiving the object as a different reality) and *Prameya*; Knowledge (the object that is perceived by the knower), the half coil in *Kuṇḍalini* is the *Prama*; ultimate knowledge that does not differentiate Knower, Knowing, and Knowledge (Joo, 2010).

Śaiva Yoga is the act of combining these three aspects, and for that, it advises *Kuṇḍalini* yoga. The treatise on *Śaivayoga* named *Vijñāna Bhairava Tantra* prescribes different breathing techniques to invoke *Kuṇḍalini*, based on the concept of 'Centering' ones awareness. Along

with the breathing technique, Kuṇḍalini is invoked through certain sex rites. The ultimate union (*Maithuna* yoga) is an act of combining the subject and object, 'through the unification of two poles, friction maybe for the Yogin an opportunity to merge into the Whole, he/she enjoys cosmic Consciousness, body and universe being transfigured'... So, as an instrument of realization, the body takes on exceptional value, for once the energies have crossed the boundaries of the individual, they pervade the universe. As such, they are called divinities (Silburn, 1988, p.140, 143).

b. God and Liberation

Śaiva Tantra is a *Nāstik* tradition; it does not conform to the Vedic supremacy or Vedic pantheon. The belief in God is not a strategic faith in *Śaivism*, although there are some rituals religiously followed in some sects of *Śaivism*. Śiva is none other than a liberated being, the Puruṣa who gets the ultimate gnosis¹⁵⁷ that the self is unlimited and out of all the limitation of *Māya* is called as Śiva in *Śaivism*. Thereby a similarity in Saivite understanding about the concept of God and Jain concept of God can be drawn, whereas the Jain apathy towards the body is not seen in Tantra. Interestingly the concept of god in *Śaiva* Tantra is followed in the Yoga tradition of Patañjali but with a *Sāṃkhyan* understanding of the same.

Śaivism in its *Atimārgic* redaction recommends strict asceto-yogic practices including preservation of *Brahmacaryavrata*, *Smaśāna sadhanas* (necromantic practices) and the *Mantramārgic* tradition advises sexo-yogic practices and breathing techniques to reach at the 'Śivahood' that is salvation. Even in *Atimārga* or *Mantramārga* the principle of creative power is either preserved through *Brahmacaryavrata* or unleashed and re-channelized as Kuṇḍalini plays a vital role. When it comes to *Yogācāra* and *Vajrayāna* Buddhism the creation of *Bodhicitta* product (Semen) through Yogic mudras become a spiritual practice.

¹⁵⁷ Tantrāloka says.

As soon as the Yogin knows this supreme light— his Self— then he knows Bhairava, the universal cause, perfect light of Consciousness or supreme Subject. Such is the Knowledge of the ultimate Reality (as cited in Silburn, 1988, p.145).

1.2.1.3. *Vaiṣṇava- Sahajīya Yoga*

As seen in the case of *Śaivism*, *Vaiṣṇavism* is also a heterogenous tradition, there are different *Vaiṣṇava* sects that follows different philosophical schools that interpret the relationship between the *Jīvātma* (Individual soul) and *Paramātma* (God or Supreme soul), for example, the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* (qualified non-dualism) philosophy of Rāmanuja that professes the phenomenal world as an illusion (*Māya*) that cannot take individual soul to liberation is followed by *Śrīvaiṣṇava* sect, in this redaction the values of ascetic religion are seen but the negative separation of body from soul using stringent ascetic practices are omitted instead Rāmanuja professed '*Bhaktiyoga*' as a way to liberation¹⁵⁸. the *Puṣṭimārgi* sect follows the *Suddhādvaita* (dualism) as professed by *Vallabhācarya* that does not dismiss the world as an illusion (*Māya*), the *Gaudiya* sect founded by *Caitanya* professes the philosophy of *acintya bhedābheda* (the relationship between god and world is *acintya*- beyond comprehension of human intellect) along with these different sects there are sects in *Vaiṣṇavism* that follows the dualistic philosophy founded by *Madhva* (Gaur, Stefon and Doniger, 2018). Apart from all the dissimilarities almost all the sects in *Vaiṣṇavism* largely agrees with the concept of a god in the form of *Viṣṇu* and the incarnations of *Viṣṇu* as the divine act of god to protect the eternal values, being one with divine (*Viṣṇu*) through the act of *Bhaktiyoga* is the path to liberation according to *Vaiṣṇavites*.

The history of *Vaiṣṇavism* is shrouded in mystery, however seeing the medieval age (16th century CE) doctrines of *Vaiṣṇavism* that is *Sahajīya*¹⁵⁹ *Vaiṣṇavism*, one can assume its roots are from the '*Dehavāda*' doctrine of the ancient civilisation and the principle of

¹⁵⁸ There are schisms in *Viśiṣṭādvaita* philosophy also, the Sanskrit upholding school (the northern school- *Vadakalai* also known as Monkey school, because it preaches practitioner/bhakta [baby monkey] should hold [conscious practice-bhakti] its mother monkey [God] to get the grace) and tamil upholding school (the southern school- *Tenkalai* also known as Cat school, as it preaches practitioner/bhakta [kitten] should not worry to hold [to do practice] its mother cat [god] as she naturally carries the kitten on her back) are the two prominent groups that has difference of opinion in the concept of practices to achieve liberation. Apart from the differences, *Viśiṣṭādvaita* school of thought has a strong imprint in the intellectual tradition of India (Stefon, Doniger and Ray, 2015).

¹⁵⁹ *Sahajīya* is derived from the word *Sahaja* means that which is born or which originates with the birth or origination of any entity (Dasgupta, 1946, p.90).

indulgence is reflecting in the doctrine of *Sahajīya* Vaiṣṇavism. The *Sahajīya* Vaiṣṇavism is a later development in Vaiṣṇavism that has its origin in an esoteric yogic cult. The esoteric Yogic cult informed by the sex-rites and orgiastic rites had a strong influence on different religious traditions. As seen in the tradition of *Kaula -Śākta* and *Mantramārga Śaiva* traditions the path of indulgence in the form of eroto-yogic cult influenced religions that have started as ascetic religions such as Buddhism that has given rise to the *Sahajīya* Buddhism. The idea of indulgence has interacted with *Vaiṣṇavism* also to create *Sahajīya Vaiṣṇavism*¹⁶⁰.

As a Tantric tradition, the *Sahajīya* doctrine upholds the idea of male and female as the two ontological ultimates. These two principles exist in the same body and joining them through esoteric *Sādhana* (Yoga) is the state of *Sahaja*. In *Vaiṣṇava Sahajism*, this principle is represented by *Kṛṣṇa* and *Rādhā*; the same becomes *Prajña* and *Upāya* in Buddhism and *Śiva* and *Śakti* in *Śaktīte* and *Śaiva* traditions.

a. Self – Body and Soul

The *Sahajīya* philosophy gives foremost importance to the body in yogic practice; it conceives the body as the microcosm. The body, in its perfect form is the gate to *Sahaja*. The *Sahajīyas* believe that without body, liberation is not possible. The body is the seat of all divinities hence *Sahajīyas* even show apathy towards pilgrimage to holy sites, as they believe all the holy sites are inside ones on body, instead of realising the potential of body people are roaming around for blessings seems a futile act for *Sahajīyas*. The act of *Sahaja Sādhana* coterminous with *Tantric Maithuna*, involving male and female bodies to attain *Sahaja* is

¹⁶⁰ Dimock (1989) observes The roots of these *Sahajīya* sects lie well within the ancient tradition of the Tantras. Both Tāntrics and *Sahajīyas* believe that [hu]man is a microcosm, a miniature universe; both believe in unity as the guiding principle of this universe, that all duality, even that of the sexes, is falsehood and delusion and that cosmic unity is regained, or represented, by man and woman in sexual union. Both believe in certain types of mental and physical control as the means by which man can know his true nature and relate the human and the divine within himself; both believe that there should be no caste division among worshipers; both are humanistic and begin with the analysis of the nature of man, and see as the end of man the gaining of the "natural state," the *Sahaja*, the state of ultimate and blissful unity (Dimock, 1989, p.36).

essential in the tradition. It is believed that Chaitanya himself attained *Sahaja* through the yogic sex called *Sahaja sādhana*. After the communion with a female (*rādha*), as the product of this blissful union, the body becomes full of Rasa that is physiologically Semen. *Sahajīyas* share the tantric concept of the body with *Śaivas*, *Śāktites* and Buddhists, as in these traditions the body is the abode of divine meridians and plexus (six chakras¹⁶¹) symbolically called as lotuses. The semen or Rasa¹⁶² can be redirected towards the uppermost chakra (*Sahasrāra*) through yogic practices. The preservation of semen for Yogic joy is prescribed in *Sahajīya* doctrine; however, that is not achieved through abstaining from sex but indulging in it.

Sahajīya cogitate the ultimate love (*Aropa*) between *Rādha* and Krishna is the primordial principle of the universe that has an ontological relevance in terms of *Sahaja* (Dasgupta, 1946; Dimock, 1989).

¹⁶¹ There are the *Iḍa*, *Piṅgala*, and *Suṣumna* channels, and within the *Suṣumna* there are six lotuses. The lowest of these is the *Mūlādhāra*. Then come the *Svādhiṣṭhāna*, *Maṇipūra*, *Anāhata*, *Viśuddhi*, and *Ājñā*. These are also called the six cakras (Dimock, 1989, p.178)

¹⁶² Dimock (1989) in his book 'Place of Hidden Moon' finds a parallel between rasa and *KulaKuṇḍalini*, when Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa was talking about his *Kuṇḍalini* awakening experience.

b. God and Liberation

Vaiṣṇavites, as a religious sect is theistic in their outlook. They believe in Viṣṇu as the creator and protector of the Universe. Along with this, the belief in the incarnations of Viṣṇu is also fundamental to Vaiṣṇavism. Although the Vaiṣṇava *Sahajīyas* believe in Kṛṣṇa and his divinity, it does not seem to be a strategic faith in a personal god. Like the Śaiva, Śākta and Buddhist Tāntric religions *Sahajīyas* maintains *Kṛṣṇa* and *Rādhā* as two ontic principles. Philosophically *Rādhā* is the transfiguration of the infinite potency of love contained in the very nature of Kṛṣṇa (Dasgupta, 1946, p. 143). As the supreme principle, *Kṛṣṇa* owns three divine powers such as the power which he possesses by virtue of his ultimate nature called as *Svarūpa Śakti*, and the power of creation *Tatasthāśakti* (*Rādhā* is considered as the creative power of Kṛṣṇa, hence according to *Sahajīya* philosophy it is love that created the beings) and the power of creating the perplexing material world called as *Māya Śakti*.

The *Sahaja* yoga is ultimately the process of conjoining these two principles within a person and enjoy the divine bliss of Kṛṣṇa uniting with *Rādhā* that is liberation. *Sahajīyas* maintains *Rādhā* is separated from Kṛṣṇa for the self-realisation of Kṛṣṇa, the esoteric yoga including the erotic acts (physical love) between a male and female is ultimately regarded as the divine act of Kṛṣṇa and *Rādhā* in search for the absolute. Apart from the physical coitus, the internal process of combining the two winds (*Prāṇa* and *Apāna*) and two meridians that is *Iḍa* and *Piṅgala* are also seen in the *Sahaja* sādhana. The unification of *Iḍa* and *Piṅgala* through yogic act is the ultimate bliss, according to *Sahajīyas*.

The great *Sahajīya* poet *Candīdasa* writes about the internal process of liberation through the Yogic act.

Day and night I spend in yogic meditation,
I remain in the firmament, the air of my mind.
I drank nectar from the lotus-root,
and now I have gained the knowledge of Brahma.
O lovely Rādhā, you go far,
and seek to gain your Kṛṣṇa— this is in vain.

I have captured the wind of my mind
 in the joining of iḍa, piṅgala, and suṣumna.
 I have closed the tenth door,
 and now ascend along that yoga-path.
 I have cut the arrow of Kāma¹⁶³
 with the arrow of knowledge¹⁶⁴ (as cited in Dimock, 1989, p.67).

1.2.1.4. Later Buddhism: Path of Indulgence and Yoga

Buddhism, as a *Śrāmaṇic* ascetic religion in its earlier days, followed the vow of celibacy very strictly. Conversely, Buddhism took a syntaxial bend towards the path of indulgence in the latter times. The *Mahāyāna*, *Yogācāra* and *Vajrayāna* Buddhism were very much located in the *Tāntric* tradition of indulgence, sex was accepted as a tool for enlightenment in these traditions.

The verses from the Vajrayāna text *Candamahārosana Tantra* gives an understanding about the stand of later Buddhism on sex contrasting the views of *Vinayapīṭaka* that represented the earlier position of Buddhism on sexual indulgence.

In a pleasant place where there are no distractions, in secret, you
 should take a woman who has desire....
 Then make your throbbing vajra (penis) enter
 the opening in the center of the lotus (vagina).
 Give 1,000 thrusts, 100,000, 10,000,000, 100,000,000
 in the three-petalled lotus....
 Insert your vajra and offer your mind with pleasure.
Candamahārosana Tantra VI.22–24 (as cited in John, 2008, p.201)

The *Kaula*, *Sākta* and *Mantramārga* Śaiva schools of thought dealt with indulgence principle. The five M's (five *Makaras*, such as *Matsya*; fish, *Māmsa*; meat, *Mudra*; flour, *Madya*; alcohol, *Maithuna*; sex) used in sādhana as articles of worship are seen using in the later versions of Buddhism. In the latter Buddhist lexicon, the *Mudra*¹⁶⁵ used in Sadhana has a different meaning from that of *Mudra* in the above-said traditions.

¹⁶³ Cutting the arrow of Kāma in a tradition of indulgence seems interesting as it can be a sign of reaction against the culture of over indulgence among the practitioners.

¹⁶⁴ The use of the term arrow of knowledge is suggesting a gnostic tradition, it is interesting to look at the internal pluralism within the Sexo-yogic *Sahajīya* Vaiṣṇavism from the point of the tradition of Tāntric mysticism and Yogic Gnosticism.

In Hindu tantras, it usually denotes parched grain, kidney beans, or any cereal believed to possess aphrodisiac qualities. In Buddhist tantric works, on the other hand, it usually refers to the female partner in the ritual. In Buddhist tantric yoga, the four stages in the production of bodhicitta are also called mudras. They are karma -mudra dharmamudra, maha- mudra, and Samaya- mudra (Lorenzen, 1972, p.3).

The understanding of Yoga in Buddhist traditions was thus informed by the t ntric concept of indulgence and sexual ecstasy. The robust influence of *Yog c ra* and Vajray na Buddhism is very evident in the later traditions of Yoga including the P ta jalaYoga system. From the point of the path of Indulgence tradition, it is relevant to look at these later Buddhist traditions to see the philosophical positions in relationship with their concept of self, god and soteriology.

1.2.1.5. *Yog c ra* Buddhism

Yog c ra school of Buddhism predates the *P ta jalaYogas tra*. The very name of it suggests its allegiance with the Yogic ideas and practices. Mallinson and Singleton (2017, p.xviii) remark 'the *Yog c ra* textual corpus was considerably more extensive than that of the P ta jalaYoga tradition, and it influenced the text of *P ta jalaYoga stra*'. They add that the importance of this tradition was primarily disregarded in Yoga scholarship. Nevertheless, the early history of Yoga in India cannot be complete if the history of *Yog c ra* Buddhism is excluded from it.

Yog c ra school is an offshoot of *Mah y na* Buddhism, it opposes the realism of *Terav da* tradition, and the provisional practical realism of *Madhyamika*¹⁶⁶ school in *Mah y na* tradition. *Yog c ra* tradition is also called as *Vij  navada* (doctrine of consciousness) tradition or *Vij  naptimatra* (consciousness only) school (Gloria and Stefon, 2011). The encyclopaedic compendium of *Yog c ra* philosophy called as *Yog c rabh mi-*

¹⁶⁶ A school of thought developed within Mah y na tradition by *Nag rjuna* in 2nd century CE. *Madhyamika* logic had a substantial impact on the latter Advaitic tradition of Ś nkara.

Śāstra is a mammoth text on Yoga. As a *Mahāyāna* system, *Yogācāra* school is not stringent on the idea of celibacy, although one cannot find a strong inclination towards the concept of sexual indulgence in *Yogācāra* school as in the case of Vajrayāna and *Sahajīya* traditions of Buddhism.

a. Self- Body and Soul

Yogācāra school is an idealistic school that give thrust to consciousness. According to the philosophy of *Yogācāra* consciousness only exists. The physical world is unreal and the creation of consciousness alone. It calls the soul as *Ālayavijñāna*, that means the storehouse of consciousness. All the physical and mental activities done by a person creates seeds of action (Karma) in this consciousness that will germinate in the favourable condition. As in the teaching of early *Sāṃkhya* philosophy, *Yogācāra* school considers the soul as a consciousness separate from the recurring karmic activities of *Prakṛti*. Differing from the *Sāṃkhyan* dualism of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* *Yogācāra* school just like Advaita Vedānta keeps the idea of monism, as it considers *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* as *Ālayavijñāna* only¹⁶⁷.

Yogācāra identifies mind as the reason for the separateness of ‘I’ from the universal consciousness. *Yogācāra* calls it as *Kliṣṭa-Manovijñāna*. The Pātañjala system of Yoga largely agrees with the idealism of *Yogācāra* as its second sutra says ‘*Yoga Cittaṽṛtti nirodhaḥ*’ yoga is nothing but ceasing the activities of mind and if the mind is stopped from creating more impressions of actions that are divided into *Kliṣṭa* (those actions that create pain and inertia) and *Akliṣṭa* (actions that create fineness and poises) the individual realises his/her true self.

As an idealistic school of thought, *Yogācāra* considers all that is external, including the body as a mental creation; hence it does not negate body as in the abstinence tradition nor give more importance to it.

¹⁶⁷ Arguably *Yogācāra* philosophy is keeping alliance with the Śaiva Tāntric understanding of consciousness and the expansion of consciousness, where *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* are the product of same cid (consciousness).

b. God and liberation

Yogācāra Buddhism does not agree to a personal god; however, it follows *Mahāyāna* theology; hence the deities of *Mahāyāna* tradition are respected in the *Yogācāra* tradition. The *Yogācāra* concept of liberation revolves around the concept of *Bodhi* (enlightenment), by separating from *Kleśa-manovijñāna* through meditation. The *Yogācāra* way of meditation is a kind of conscious disassociation with the Mind that creates a karmic cycle of suffering informed by previous physical or mental deeds (*Karma* and *Vāsana*¹⁶⁸) that adds to the life and death recurrence.

1.2.1.6. Vajrayāna Buddhism

Vajrayāna Buddhism is a Tantric rendition of Buddhism originated from *Mahāyāna* tradition, a later development. The schism in Buddhism after the death of Buddha resulted in the formation of two distinct traditions within Buddhism. The old school followed by the elders that are *Teravāda* tradition was a scholastically oriented form of tradition that was more into ascetic practices and revolved around the historical personage of *Śākyamuni Buddha*, and his teachings whereas the *Mahāyāna* tradition that flowed hand in hand with *Teravāda* believed Buddha as a divine entity with three bodies called as *Dharmma kāya* (primordial element, or the 'thatness' underlying all that exists), *Sambhoga Kāya* (the body of bliss, or the effulgent body in the form of *Bodhisatvas*) and *Nirmaṇa Kāya* (the body of transformation, or the historical personage of Buddha). Apart from the principle difference on the personage of Buddha, *Mahāyāna* tradition replaced the *Arhathood* of *Teravāda* tradition with *Bodhisatvahood*. Where the former was an individual strife for liberation and latter is a choice made by the *Bodhisatva* to continue in body and liberate other fellow beings from the clutches of *Karma*. *Mahāyāna* has thereby 'liberated Buddhism from the narrow walls of scholasticism

¹⁶⁸ In *Yogasūtras Patañjali* have given about the *Vāsanas* and *Samskāras* (impressions of previous karma) and the necessity of separating from them to enjoy the *Nirvikalpasamādhi*.

and raised it from selfish hankering of personal liberation to the sublimity of religion for suffering humanity' (Dasgupta, 1946, p.15). The *Mahāyāna* tradition was further developed and became more inclusive of pre-existing religious views, and included mantras and deities of it, and was called as *Mantrayāna*. The Mantrayāna tradition further developed into *Vajrayāna*, *Kālacakrayāna* and *Sahajayāna* by including the Tāntric values that predated Buddhism (Dasgupta, 1946). It is generally argued that *Asaṅga* who was believed to be the founder of Yogacāra Buddhism introduced Tāntricism to Buddhism, whereas some holds it was Nāgārjuna who was responsible for the Tāntricism of Buddhism; moreover, there is a scholarly opinion regarding the provenance of tantra and magical rituals in Buddhism goes back to Buddha himself (Gloria and Stefon, 2011). Although Buddha rejected superstitions of his age, he agreed to the siddhis that a yogi can possess through spiritual discipline. The *Vajrayāna* Path has a strong allegiance with the Tantric cult followed by *Śaivism* and *Saktism*.

Vajrayāna tradition is known as the way of the diamond (vajra; diamond, Yāna; way or vehicle). As a tradition, it has taken the path of indulgence over abstinence. The opening phrase of the *Hevajra Tantra* (a *Vajrayāna* text) states: "Thus have I heard at one time: The *Bhagavān* [Buddha] dwelt in the vagina (*Bhaga*) of the *Vajrayogini* who is the body, speech, and mind of all buddhas." (as cited in John, 2008, p. 214). The term vajra in *Vajrayāna* also means penis. The uses of sexual symbolism in *Vajrayāna* texts is argued to be the use of *sāndha-bhāṣa*¹⁶⁹, as it hides metaphysical and mystical meanings of the tradition.

The tradition of *Vajrayāna* thus developed sexo-yogic practices to experience the absolute within one's own body. The deities in *Vajrayāna* Buddhism are represented with a

¹⁶⁹ A technique used in Tāntric texts of giving double meaning to words. Words containing sexual meanings are used to hide a mystical meaning, in order to confuse the non-serious reader of the text. Burnouf translated *Sāndha-bhāṣa* as "Enigmatic language", Kern as "Mystery", and Max Muller as "Hidden sayings"... Hevajra Tantra calls *Sāndha-bhāṣa* the "great doctrine "of the Yogis... in tantric yoga tradition the use of *Sāndha-bhāṣa* is very important and integral part of Yogic Sādhana, by the use of mystical words the yogi should be able to awaken the semen virile in him, where the semen gets converted to thought by the use of thought awakening *Sāndha-bhāṣa* and thought can become the semen too; that is bodhicitta (Mircea Eliade, 1958, p.250).

female consort sitting on the lap of male deity engaged in ritual coitus called *Yuganādhā* (Dasgupta, 1946, p.12).

a. Self- body and soul

The concept of self in the t̄antric Buddhism resonates the Tantric idea of self-shared by the Śaivite and Śāktite Schools. Vajrayāna Buddhism places the body as an essential tool for liberation through the ritualistic sexual union with yoginis. In the earlier phases of T̄antric Buddhism due importance were given to other elements, maṇḍalas (graphical drawings) abhiṣeka (initiation ceremonies) mantra (ritualistic chanting) etcetera, however in later times the sexo-yogic practices began to be the most important practice to attain supreme bliss.

b. God and Liberation

Vajrayāna tradition is a theistic tradition that believes in deities and gods, however, as a t̄antric religion it is not seeking blessings from the higher souls for liberation, but individual effort to attain liberation through sexo-yogic practices is considered as supreme rather than offering prayer to the deities. The yogic ideas of controlling the vital winds in the body combined with semen retention through *Sahajouli* mudra and engaging ritualistic sex is a higher form of Yogic act (Mallinson, 2018) in Tantric Buddhism to achieve the supreme bliss, termed as Bodhicitta state. The *Mahāyāna* concept *Sūnyata* (vacuity) as the highest mental state is transformed to the imperishable *Vajra* in *Vajrayāna* through the combination of *Prajña* (Piṅgala/Prāṇa /Moon/Male) and *Upāya* (Iḍa/Apāna/Sun/Female). The *Bodhicitta* coterminous with semen is hence considered as the combination of semen and ovum through the sexo-yogic act. The suction of the Bodhicitta using the penis through the act of *Sahajauli* mudra and carry it up through the *Avadhūtika* (Suṣumna) is the way to supreme bliss in Vajrayāna tradition (Dasgupta, 1946). Later *Nāthism* has carried this esoteric idea forward.

Liberation (*Nirvāna*) in *Vajrayāna* tradition is the bliss enjoyed by the Yogi, and it is the *Bodhisatvahood* where the body of the Yogi transforms to *Sambhogakāya* (body of bliss), and he decides to carry on his divine task of helping others to reach liberation.

1.3. The Syncretic Yoga tradition

The archaic yoga tradition that arose from the Indus valley basin has taken two distinct and antithetical routes- the Path of abstinence and Path of Indulgence. Later as an amalgamation of both these traditions, a syncretic yoga tradition originated. Much of today's yoga belongs to the syncretic tradition. The syncretic tradition of yoga can be seen as a reaction against over-indulgence with sexo-yogic practice or an attempt to blend the ascetic values of abstinence tradition to it. The story of *Matsyendranāth* and *Gorakhnāth* gives an account of liberating the asceto-yogic tradition from the clutches of sexo-yogic practices of indulgence tradition. The tale has many different versions, but the popular version goes as per a Bengali poem named *Gorakṣa Vijaya*, *Gorakhnāth* gets to know his master *Matsyendranāth* was imprisoned in *Strīrājya* (country of women) of *Kadali*. *Matsyendranāth* was imprisoned by the charms of profanity of *Kadali* where he was doomed to die for of losing his yogic power. *Gorakhnāth* ascends to *Yamarājya* (hell) and asks *Yama* (the god of death) to show him the book of fate, after a proper deliberation and show of mystical powers by *Gorakh*, *Yama* was pleased and shows him the book of fate, *Gorakh* carefully examines it and was alarmed to see his master's name in the list of people who are going to die. *Gorakh* within no time strikes of the name and descends to *Kadali* in the form of a dancing girl and starts dancing in front of *Matsyendranāth* singing enigmatic songs (*Sāndha-bhāṣa*)¹⁷⁰, slowly *Matsyendranāth* gets into

¹⁷⁰ The Song of Gorakhnāth as cited in (Lorenzen and Muñoz, 2011, p.117) “Wake up, Matsyendra; Gorakh has arrived. Guru-ji, there is no need for the company of women; your body will succumb to Death. Woman is an obstacle to yoga. During the day, she appeals by means of ornaments, sensuous movements, and beautiful garments. At night she dries up the ocean of immortality through embraces and amorous encounters. The woman is a tigress. Just as a tree on a river bank is bound to fall, so man will perish on account of a woman's exertions. When the amṛt flows down from Mount Meru through *suṣumnā-nāḍī*, the body weakens, legs flicker, and old

his senses and remembers his true identity and realises the ‘way of flesh’ is the way of death. Being properly counselled by his disciple *Gorakh, Matsyendranāth* resumes the path of ‘Yoga’ and beats death and become immortal through stringent *Kāyasādhana* (body mortification)¹⁷¹

This tale throws two questions, was it intending to tell there was a strong reaction from the side of abstinent ascetic tradition against the mystical indulgence tradition? Or was it trying to tell there was an attempt to include the ascetic values with tantric indulgence tradition and craft a syncretic tradition of Yoga? The history and development of *Nāthism* and *Haṭhayoga* tradition opens to the possibility of answering the second question, that is the production of a syncretic Yoga culture.

1.3.1. *Nāth*¹⁷² *Sampradāya*¹⁷³ and *Haṭhayoga*

The *Nāth Sampradāya* today comprises an order of renunciate ascetics and a householder caste, both of which trace their lineages to a group of nine *Nāth* gurus headed by *Ādinātha* (“First *Nāth*”), who is identified with the god → *Śiva*. Next in most lists of nine *Nāths* comes *Matsyendranātha*, followed by *Gorakṣānātha* (*Gorakhnāth*), who is said to have founded the *Nāth* order of ascetics. The earliest references to the *Nāth* ascetic order as an organized entity date to the beginning of the 17th century, but its first historical gurus, *Matsyendranātha* and *Gorakṣānātha*, lived much earlier, probably in the 9th and 12th centuries, respectively (Mallinson, 2011, p.1)

Although the origin of *Nāthism* is attributed to *Gorakhnāth* by various sources, the actual history of *Nāthism* is not clear. McEvelley(2016, p.54) argues citing Barua¹⁷⁴, *Nāthism* has its origin in the early *Ājīvikism*, where he finds an interesting similarity in the names of *Gosāla* (cow pen) and *Gorakṣa* (cowherd), beyond the verbal similarity of these names, the ascetic nature of *Nāthism* leaves a scope for enquiry into its hoary past that could have been started in the asceto-yogic culture of the past. On the one hand, *Nāth* sampradaya adhered to

age takes over; then, the hair resembles a heron’s tail. You’ve forgotten the words of the Guru. There is no further truth. You are a ūrdhva-retas yogi, so your staying here is most unfit. Meditate on Alakh Nirāñjan!”

¹⁷¹ James Mallinson opined this story can be a biased story as it propagates stringent asceticism and condemn the ‘way of flesh’ as the ‘way of death’ whereas in *Nāth* tradition there are sexo-yogic practices with a combination of ascetic values (Interview with James Mallinson dated on 17 October 2019).

¹⁷² *Nāth* is a vernacular usage of the Sanskrit term *Nātha* denoting a grouping of yogic lineages (Mallinson, 2019, p.1)

¹⁷³ Tradition/Lineage of values passed down the lane among the practitioners of a cult.

¹⁷⁴ Barua argues that "in . . . *Nāthism* . . . one may trace the recrudescence and continuity of the doctrines of the *Ājīvikas*" (McEvelley, 2016, p.54)

the asceticism of *Śrāmaṇic* culture that followed stringent celibacy; on the other hand, it has imbibed the tantric sexo-yogic concepts and improvised it accordingly. ‘The *Nāths* also derived their inspiration from the *Vajrayāna* branch of Buddhism, although “they Hinduized the teachings of the Buddhist Tantras” The myths related to *Gorakh* and *Matsyendra*, as indicated above, highlight the contrary pull of celibacy and sexual pleasure caused by the “Hinduization” of Buddhist tantra’ (Lorenzen and Muñoz, 2011).

As a blend of abstinence and indulgence tradition, *Nāth* tradition shows a syncretic identity that has crafted a body-oriented Yoga system called as *Haṭhayoga* informed by the philosophy of Tantrism. *Haṭhayoga* and *Nāth* yoga are seen interchangeably used in many secondary pieces of literature. When other traditions are seen to employ the practices or terminology of *Haṭhayoga*, they are said to be borrowing from the *Nāths* (Mallinson, 2011, p.1)¹⁷⁵.

The *Nāth* soteriology, their concept of self -body and soul, are resonating the syncretic nature of *Haṭhayoga*. The ascetic values and sexo-yogic values get prominence in the tradition. A statement seen in *Gorakṣāśataka* explains their position.

We drink the dripping liquid called bindu, “the drop”, not wine;
we eat the rejection of the objects of the five senses, not meat;
we do not embrace a sweetheart [but] the Suṣumna nādī, her
body curved like kuśa grass; if we have intercourse. it
takes place in a mind dissolved in the void, not in a vagina (as cited in Mallinson,
2013, p. 4)

A steady departure from the indulgence path is seen here although the sexo-yogic understanding of the body is seen non- negotiable in the *Haṭhayogic* tradition.

a. Cosmology of Nāthism

¹⁷⁵ The quoted sentence is taken from the lecture delivered at Oxford university conference on Śākta Traditions in September 2011. It is cited here with the prior permission of the speaker Sir. James Mallinson.

Nāth tradition has a strong allegiance with the wandering ascetics (*Sramaṇa*) of ancient times, the stringent ascetic lifestyle and their self-presentation resembles that of Gymnosophists and Jain monks. Interestingly there are some accounts that even draws an active line of association between *Nāths* and Jains¹⁷⁶. On the one hand, in many ways, *Nāthism* is associated with *Ājīvikism*, *Jainism* and later *Buddhism* on the other it has largely drawn its philosophical standpoints from the Śaiva-Śākta tantric traditions henceforth the cosmology of *Nāthism* is largely dependent on the Śaiva and Śākta cosmology. This can be cited as a reason for mentioning *Nāths* as a Śaivite monastic order in India.

The *Nāth* tradition's teachings were imparted through the means of oral transmission from *Guru* to *Śiṣya*. Whereas the texts such as *Siddhasidhāntapaddhati*, *Gorakṣāśataka*, *Śiva samhita*, *Vivekamārtānda*, also have elaborated on the philosophy of *Nāthism*. As a tradition-oriented in practical aspects of Yoga, *Nāth* sampradāya values experiential knowledge to theoretical knowledge, thereby sensory experience, mental propositions and intellectual exercises are not taken as a means to derive at the truth according to *Gorakhnāth*. The ultimate truth can only be deciphered by a Yogi in the true state of *Samādhi* (Banerjea, 1962; Briggs, 1997; Mallinson, 2011a).

As seen in the Śaiva Tāntric tradition, *Nāth* tradition also sees ultimate reality as the communion of Śiva and Śakti called Parā-Samvit, the ultimate reality is the cosmic oneness where nothing can exist outside that. The ultimate reality manifests its true nature in front of Yogi, who has attained the blissful state of consciousness. Yogi using the faculty of his Yogic consciousness understands the ultimate reality as a state without any beginning or end, time or space, name or form. The ultimate reality is pure existence, consciousness and pure-bliss, that is Sat-Chid-Ānanda. As seen in the Śaiva metaphysics world is the creative manifestation of

¹⁷⁶ Dasgupta in his book 'Obscure religious cults as a background of Bengali Literature' cites A Nāth legend that records the two sons of the first Nāth-guru, *Matsyendranāth*, were the founders of the two surviving branches of Jainism, the *Svetāmbara* and *Digambara* (McEvelley, 2016, p. 54)

the supreme reality; hence it is not unreal as discussed in the *Advaita Vedāntic* philosophy. The creative power of Śiva to manifest as the world is distinguished as Śakti and they are inseparable from each other just like fire and its heat. Śiva and Śakti in their eternal union are the *Parāsamvit*, where Śiva is reflected on his own Śakti and manifests as World. The ultimate reality thus constitutes two distinct natures of transcendent *Parāsamvit* and immanent world. The *Nāth* tradition believes in the gradual unfoldment Śiva's Śakti, and it relies on the logic this a conscious act by the supreme consciousness. The gradual unfolding of Śakti theory in *Nāth* philosophy is an advancement over the pre-existing *Sāṃkhya* theory of *Satkāryavāda* (Cause and effect theory).

Nāthism calls these two existences of the ultimate reality are as *Akula* and *Kula* respectively. In reality, the dualism seen in the manifestation of *Parāsamvit* as *Akula* and *Kula* is not present in the higher realm where *Akula* and *Kula* are one, *Akula* embraces *Kula*, and *Kula* yearns to join with *Akula*. That is the essence of all phenomenal dualities, where the immanent one strives to join with the transcendent and non-dual spirit (Banerjea, 1962). That constitutes the meaning and purpose of *Nāthayoga*.

b. Self- Body and Soul

The concept of Self in *Nāth* tradition is not different from that of *Śaiva* and *Śāktite* traditions. *Nāth* tradition also sees self as the limited expression of Śiva , that is *Puruṣa* inside the limited expression of Śakti that is *Prakṛti* . The body of the universe, the body of individuals and all the tangible expressions, are the expressions of Śakti (Kula) whereas the non-dual spirit residing in them are Śiva. Henceforth, *Nāth* tradition agrees with the metaphysics of *Śaiva* and *Śākta* tantras.

However, when it comes to the body, the tradition has given much importance to it and goes on detailing the subtle anatomy and constitution of the body on which *Haṭhayoga* works.

The universe is visualised as the cosmic body of Śiva , and it is called as *Maha-Sākara-Pinda*¹⁷⁷ (Banerjea, 1962, p.100), henceforth Yogi's see and worship the universe as 'His' body. There are subtle principles (tattvas), elements (pañca bhūtas: five elements, many realms of existences (Bhuvanas: worlds), different cosmic manifestations of the Ultimate as different deities (Aṣṭa mūrti: Eight forms of Śiva) that constitute the cosmic body of Śiva and it is the whole also called as *Samaṣṭi-piṇḍa*. In the same way, the individual body called *Vyaṣṭi-Piṇḍa* is originated replicating the union of Śiva and Śakti, through the union of male and female. The individual body is nothing but a replica of the cosmic body. The aim of a yogi is to accomplish the knowledge that his/her body is non-distinguishable from the cosmic body. The postural and contemplative techniques are developed with this motif.

Nāth tradition keeps a multi-layered understanding of the body; it classifies the body into seven layers. The first layer is the gross material body, the mental apparatus, the five-fold *Kula* body, the five-fold individual body, the five-fold perceptible determinant causal body, the meridial body and the vital air body. Each of these layers is sub-divided into multiple layers and detailed. *Nāth* tradition says, A yogi who does not understand the potentialities of ones on body cannot be called as Yogi, he or she is just a namesake Yogi (Briggs, 1997).

Understanding body in terms of six plus one chakras¹⁷⁸ (six vital points such as *Mūlādhāra*, *Svādhiṣṭhāna*, *Maṇipūraka*, *Anāhata*, *Viśuddhi*, *Ājñā* and the seventh one the *Sahasrāra*) sixteen *Ādhāras* (props), three lakh *Nāḍis* (meridians) and five voids (*Vyoma*¹⁷⁹),

¹⁷⁷ In Siddha Siddhānta Paddhati Gorakhnāth traces the origin of Maha-Sakara-Pinda (cosmic body of Śiva) 'Ādyān Mahākāśo, Mahākāśan Mahāvāyuh, Mahāvāyor Mahātejo, Mahātejaso Mahāsalilām Mahāsalilān Mahāpṛthvī' From Ādya-Piṇḍa evolves Mahā-Ākāśa (Great Ether), from Mahā- Ākāśa evolves Mahā- Vāyu (Great Air), from Mahā Vāyu Mahā-Tejas (Great Fire), from Mahā-Tejas Mahā-Salila (Great Water), from Mahā- Salila Mahā-pṛthvī (Great Earth) evolves (as cited in (Banerjea, 1962, p.101).

¹⁷⁸ There are other *Hathayogic* texts such as Siddha-Siddhānta paddhati that talks about nine cakras in the body, Yogi's says it is anyhow a futile exercise to argue on the number of chakras as it is experiential in nature, one yogi will have a different experience from another according to the level of Yogic sādhana. However, the differences in these concepts show the pluralism of understanding about the body inside a tradition.

are pivotal in *Haṭhayogic* system. Gorakṣāśataka says a yogi who does not know anything about these things cannot attain perfection in Yoga (Briggs, 1997).

Gorakṣāśataka mentions about more than eighty-four thousand body postures (āsanas) that can be practised by a Yogi to get the know-how about the subtle anatomy of body, to an extended list it says, innumerable asanas are corresponding to the number of species in the world, among the multitude of these postures *Gorakṣāśataka* picks *Siddhāsana* as the most perfected posture and *Kamalāsana* as the second most perfect Āsana. The posture of *Siddhāsana*, according to *Gorakṣāśataka*, resembles the *Mūlabandhāsana* practised by *Śrāmaṇic* ascetics. The instruction to maintain the posture goes as.

The Yogi should press the heel of the left foot against the perineum and right foot firmly just about the male organ, keeping the body fixedly erect, immovable; the senses under control, and with motionless gaze should look at the spot between the eyebrows. This posture (*Siddhasana*) which is the opener of the door of release, is called the perfect posture *Siddhāsana*. (Briggs, 1997, p .286)

This particular posture of *Siddhāsana* as seen in the *Mūlabandhāsana* is particularly designed for semen retention, called as *Bindudhāraṇa* in *Haṭhayoga*. The preservation of semen inside the body thorough yogic techniques such as *Siddhāsana* and *Kamalāsana* is seen as a technique that will graduate a person from lower *Haṭhayoga* to superior *Rājayoga*¹⁸⁰. Along with the semen holding Āsanas, the usage of certain mudras in *Haṭhayoga*¹⁸¹ by the *Haṭhayogis* is a compelling case to look upon. Among different mudras, it is *Vajrolī*¹⁸² mudra

¹⁷⁹ The Buddhist connection of *Haṭhayogic* tradition is very evident from its conceptualisation of body, the five voids seem to be an idea taken from the *Pañca Śūnyata* of early Buddhism, regardless to say the Nāth tradition and ancient asecto-yogic tradition that includes *Ājīvikism*, Jainism and Buddhism have a common substratum.

¹⁸⁰ The meaning of *Rājayoga* in earlier traditions is quite different from the modern understanding of *Rājayoga*. The study is discussing this aspect in detail in the coming chapter.

¹⁸¹ The name *Haṭhayoga* itself signifies, Sun and moon, according to the yogic concept of body sun is the upper horizon that is *Sahasrāra* Cakra where nectar (amṛta) is produced, and it falls to the lower cakra (moon) and gets emitted as semen. Sun and moon also signify two vital airs, Prāṇa and Apāna, and two nāḍis such as Piṅgala and Iḍa and ultimately the concept of Śiva and Śakti respectively. The *Haṭhayogi* hence through practices, tries to unite these two principles within him.

¹⁸² *Amaroli*, and *Sahajoli* (told to be practised by *Sahajīyas*) are the variants of *Vajrōli* with the same purpose of *Bindudhāraṇa* (in females the corresponding practice is *Rajōdhāraṇa* of keeping the ovum inside), collected from an informal interaction with BN Subramanian (an author, and a practising Tāntric) on 12 November 2019.

that has got prominence as it is a technique enables the Yogi to suck liquids using his penis, particularly his semen if by chance it has fallen into the vagina of a co-practitioner during sex-yogic exercise (Mallinson, 2018). The importance of semen preservation is held very high in this tradition, the withdrawal of semen and taking it up through the central channel as *Ūrdhvareta* (upward movement of semen) is supposed to be the purpose of *Vajroli* mudra. A hagiographic account about a medieval Siddha named *Raṅganāth*, and Śivaji Maharāj gives a gripping account of the yogic capacity to hold semen and withdraw it if spilt¹⁸³.

Joseph Alter, drawing on the work of David Gordon White, writes (2011: 130) that there would seem to be no question but that haṭha yoga developed between the ninth and fourteenth centuries as a form of practice directly linked to the subtle hydraulics and symbolic significance of ritualized sex (as cited in (Mallinson, 2018, p.184). The texts such as *Dattātreya yogaśāstra* maintains the purpose of *Vajrōli* is to draw the *Kṣīra* and *Aṅgiras* and to keep it inside the Yogi's body. *Kṣīra* is translated as milk, but the hidden meaning of it signifies semen and *Aṅgiras* is the vaginal ejaculatory fluid of the women (*Rajas*)¹⁸⁴. The tāntric ontic ultimates *Śiva* and *Śakti* is represented by *Bindu* and *Rajas* respectively. The Yogi through the act of *Vajrōli* sucks up these two liquids during the ritual coitus and mix them up inside his body and attains miraculous powers. The āsanas mudras and bandhās used in the *Haṭhayogic*

Mallinson gives an elaborate detailing of *Amarōli* and *Sahajōli*, quoting from different texts of *Haṭhayoga* (see Mallinson, 2018).

¹⁸³ The story goes as Raṅganāth Svāmi had just had his lunch and was chewing a little betelnut. He was lying on a beautifully decorated bed, and two very beautiful girls were massaging his feet with complete devotion. As he lay there relaxing, eating pan, Śivaji Maharāj entered.... When Śivaji saw Raṅganāth, a little doubt about his saintliness, about his renunciation, about his greatness, entered his mind. Siddhas, of course, are wonderful mind readers. Reading minds is child's play for them. So Raṅganāth Svāmi asked those two ladies to leave and called for a silver bucket. Then he closed the door, and in the presence of the king, he ejaculated his seminal fluid into the bucket, filling it to the brim. Then he took a drop of the fluid with a small stick and put it onto Shivaji's palm. A blister immediately appeared on his hand. Shivaji cried, "Ah, it is burning!" Ranganāth replied, "Yes, Rāja don't you know? This is brahmavīrya, the power of Brahman.... It cannot be borne by anybody.... Now do you understand? From the outside, we look like everybody else, but inside we are totally different (Sarah, 2013, p.19).

¹⁸⁴ *Vajroli* mudra, which was originally a method for ascetics to ensure their celibacy, was taught as a method for householders to remain sexually active while not losing the benefits of their yoga practice (Mallinson, 2018, p.201).

tradition is intended to preserve the semen as in asceto-yogic culture and indulge in sex as in indulgence culture without losing the semen. The development of Vajroli mudra from the ascetic cultures of holding semen inside the body to sucking up the Bindu and Rajas according to Tantric concept showcases the trajectory of Yoga from the path of abstinence to the path of indulgence and the admixture of both to improvise syncretic identity to Yoga. The visualisation-based t antric yoga was combined with the physical techniques of the older ascetic tradition to produce *Haṭhayoga* (Mallinson, 2013).

Two ślokas from *Haṭhaprad ipika* (Sv tm r ma, 2002) gives a picture of the syncretic identity of *Haṭhayoga* that blends the abstinence school and indulgence school of Yoga tradition.

In Śloka 3. 41 the text talks about Bindudh raṇa (Semen restraint)

If the hole behind the palate be stopped with khecari by turning the tongue upward, then bindu cannot leave its place even if a woman were embraced.

Then in śloka 4.53 it talks about Semen flowing inside

Drench the body with nectar [amrta pl vayed] from the head to the soles of the feet. One will definitely get a great body, and great strength and heroism (Connolly, 2007, p. 203).

1.3.2. *Mantra yoga*

Mantra yoga belongs to the tradition of *Mantram rga* in the Saivite tradition. Among the two distinct traditions, such as the *Atim rga* and *Mantram rga* in Śaivism (Sanderson, 1988), the former is the path of sexual abstinence. In contrast, the latter is lenient towards sex and hence follows the indulgence path or syncretic path. *Mantra yoga* is a technique of repetition of mantras to attain miraculous powers (*Siddhi*). The *Haṭhayogic* texts that have allegiance to *Mantram rga* (*Ś ktite*) tradition such as *Khecar vidya* and *Śiva Samhita* mainly prescribe specific mantras and repeated changings of it for the attainment of *Siddhis* (Mallinson, 2011b, p.11). Tantric tradition considers syllables with great importance the sound

produced by uttering a syllable is considered as the divine reverberation, the *Mantra yoga* school associates these sounds to specific points in the body and maintains repeated *Mantra* chanting can invoke these power centres. In the *Mantra yoga* tradition itself, the use of verbal *mantras* is omitted in individual schools. In contrast, the focus is given to the incoming and outgoing breath and its natural sound produced while doing the process.

1.3.3. *Laya yoga*

Tāntric visualisation technique of dissolution is used in *Layayoga* as a technique. The *Śākta-Kaula* understanding of Body and the subtleties related to it, including the movement of *Prāṇa* , the energy centres called cakras, the technique of *Kuṇḍalini* uprising are employed in *Laya yoga*. *Laya yoga* focusses on the internal sounds that correspond with *Kuṇḍalini* awakening, the primary aim of *Layayoga* is the dissolution of *tattvas* (principles) that include, five elements, six *cakras* in the subtle body, mental apparatus including Mind, Intellect and Ego and different points of energy in the body (Joo, 2002; Ramanand, 2019). The teachings of *Layayoga* are seen in earlier works of *Śaivism* with a *Śākta* orientation. The earlier *yogic* texts such as *Dattātreyasamhita*, *Śiva Samhita*, *Amaraughaprabodha*, and *Śārṅgndharapaddhati* gives techniques of *Layayoga*. *Layayoga* is a visualisation and meditation technique compared to the postural yoga of *Haṭhayoga*. Later the concepts of *Layayoga* were incorporated to the *Haṭhayogic* techniques, Mallinson (2011b, p.15) argues, ‘the yoga taught in the early texts associated with *Nāth* gurus, with its emphasis on the raising of *Kuṇḍalinī*, corresponds more to the techniques of *Laya* than to those of *Haṭha* . . . An early and disjointed attempt at combining the two can be found in the *Vivekamārtanda*; the somewhat later *Śivasamhitā* presents a more coherent synthesis; the most influential fusion is that found in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

1.3.4. *Siddha* Yoga tradition

The term *Siddha* is overly used in *Tantras*, *Yogas* and other esoteric traditions. The Buddhist, Jain and *Ājīvika* traditions used this term to denote the adepts of their tradition. The term *Siddha* as defined by White (1984, p.2) is.

As a common noun, *Siddha* means "realized, perfected one," a term generally applied to a practitioner (*sādhaka*, *sādhū*) who has through his practice (*sādhana*) realized his dual goal of superhuman powers (*siddhis*, "realizations," "perfections") and bodily immortality (*jīvanmukti*). As a proper noun, *Siddha* becomes a broad sectarian appellation, applying to devotees of Śiva in the Deccan (*Māheśvara Siddhas*), alchemists in Tamil Nadu (*Sittars*), a group of early Buddhist *tāntrikas* from Bengal (*Mahāsiddhas*, *Siddhācāryas*), the alchemists of medieval India (*Rasa Siddhas*) and, most especially, a mainly north Indian group known as the *Nāth Siddhas*.

The ambit of traditions named as *Siddha* tradition, with all its internal pluralism shared a popular soteriology distinct from the *Vedic* concept. The *tāntric* substratum of these *Siddha* traditions helped them for this. In the *Siddha* tradition, the *Rasa Siddha* tradition was an alchemical yoga tradition that practised alchemical techniques to increase physical prowess and strength; this tradition mingled with the *Nāth* tradition and the *Saktite* traditions. The *Siddha* obsession with sexual fluids such as *Bindu* and *Rajas* has its origin in the *tāntric* tradition (White, 1984). The *Haṭhayogic* school of Yoga totally internalised the concept of vital fluids to semen and uterine blood whereas the *Rasa Siddhas*, on the other hand, took an approach exterior to the body, and they considered mercury as the representation of *Bindu* and Sulphur as the representation of *Rajas*. Interestingly, the metaphysics of *Haṭhayoga* and *Rasayoga* are alike. According to the *Rasa Siddhas* the transactions in the metallic world replicates the sexual transactions in a human being, and on the broader view both replicates the universal sexual transaction between the cosmic male principle Śiva and cosmic female Śakti (White, 2009, 2012; Lorenzen and Muñoz, 2011). The ingestion of the mixture of these divine metals such as mercury and sulphur were a technique valorised by *Rasa Yoga* tradition. White (1984, p. 26) cites the travelogue of Marco Polo, where he gives an account of meeting 'a group of yogis on the Malabar coast of India at the close of the thirteenth century, attributed their

superhuman life spans of 150 to 200 years to their ingestion of an elixir composed of mercury and sulphur'¹⁸⁵. The comingling of the ideas of exterior alchemy using metals with internal alchemy that uses sexual fluids is the distinguishing feature of Siddha system.

Looking into the widely spread vast literature produced on *Siddha* knowledge system and traditions, it proclaims the *Siddha* tradition was a pan-Indian phenomenon. The traces of *Siddha* tradition are seen all over the subcontinent. The *Nāth-Siddha* tradition had its substantial presence in Bengal, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tamilnadu. Each region has its distinct history and discrete genealogies of *Siddha* tradition although, all of them agree the broader metaphysics and cosmogony of *Siddha* system. Amongst all these *Siddha* traditions Tamil *Siddha* tradition has a distinct space as it had grown beyond the boundaries and flourished as full-blown philosophical tradition and practical religion. The Tamil *Siddha* tradition has produced its own medicine¹⁸⁶, yoga and philosophy possibly compatible with the broader *Nāth-Siddha* tradition of the sub-continent. The *Siddha* tradition of Tamilnadu is believed to have started from Lord Śiva himself and continued to *Nandidevar*, *Agastiar*, *Tirumūlar*, *Bōgar*, and other Siddhas as a spiritual tradition. The eighteen¹⁸⁷ Siddhar tradition of Tamilnadu is prevalent even today. The hagiographic history of Siddha tradition begins millions of years ago with the story of Lord Śiva's initiation of his consort or Śakti Parvati Devi into *Kriya kuṇḍalini Prāṇāyāma* in a

¹⁸⁵ 'Here these Brāhman live more than any other people in the world. . . . Moreover, they have among them regulars and orders of monks . . . who are called ciugi [Yogis, Jogis] who certainly live more than all the others in the world, for they commonly live from 150 to 200 years . . . And again I tell you that these ciugi who live so long . . . eat also what I shall explain . . . I tell you that they take quicksilver and sulphur and mix them together with water and make a drink out of them, and they drink it and say it increases their life . . . They do it twice on the week, and sometimes twice each month . . . and without mistake, those who live so long use this drink of sulphur and quicksilver'(White, 1984, p.50).

¹⁸⁶ Siddha medicine is a popular system of medicine practised in South India. It is also included as a traditional and alternative system of medicine along with Āyurveda, Yoga, Unani, and Sowa Rigpa in the Ayush scheme of the ministry of Ayush, by Government of India.

¹⁸⁷ According to Siddha tradition, there were 18 *Siddhars Tirumūlar, Rāmādevar, Agatiar, Koṅgaṇavar, Sattamuni, Kamalamuni, Karuravar, Sundaranandar, Vanmeegar, Nandidevar, Pampatti, Bogar, Machamuni, Korakkar, Patañjali, Dhanvantiri, Kutumbai and Idaikādar* as mentioned in Vaidya Vaatha Saathiram (Kumar, Senthilvel and Jeyavenkatesh, 2018). The names of eighteen Siddhas keeps changing in different Siddha texts.

colossal cave at Amarnath in Kashmir Himalayas later Yogi Śiva initiated others including the Siddha *Agastiar* and the Siddhas *Nandidevar* and *Tirumūlar* on Mount Kailash in Tibet (Govindan, 1991, p.29).

The Siddha movement of south India, particularly Tamilnadu, is closely allied with the *Tāntric* tradition¹⁸⁸, henceforth the apathy towards the supremacy of *Vedas* and *Varṇa* and *Jāti* system are seen in *Siddha* writings, the *Siddha* treatise on Yoga, called as *Tirumantiram* is very vocal about the above said anti-Vedic positions (Ganapathy, 2001). The Tamil Śaiva Siddha tradition rooted in the bedrock of *Tāntric Dehavāda* culture had given birth to distinct Yoga traditions, *Vāsiyoga* is one and important among the Siddha Yoga tradition.

1.3.5. *Vāsiyoga* tradition

The Tamil *Siddha* exploration of the idea of Yoga is seen in its maturity in the *Vāsiyoga* tradition. *Vāsiyoga* is an esoteric technique that involves *Prāṇāyāma*¹⁸⁹. Conversely to the *Prāṇāyāma* seen in *Pātañjala* yoga tradition, *Vāsiyoga* is a unique method of internal *Prāṇāyāma*. It is based on the idea of arresting *Prāṇa*; hence *Vāsiyoga* sees *Prāṇāyāma* as *Prāṇa+āma* (arresting)¹⁹⁰. The Sanskrit meaning of *Prāṇāyāma* is obtained from splitting the word into two, that is *Prāṇa + āyāma*, *āyāma* stands for stretching, extending, and lengthening. The *Prāṇāyāma* in *Pātañjala* yoga system agrees with this meaning, whereas *Vāsiyoga* takes an altogether different meaning of it. As discussed *Vāsiyoga* developed from the *Śaiva Siddha* tradition, the esoteric meaning of *Vāsiyoga* is obtained by shuffling the letters of *Vāsi*, when it

¹⁸⁸. Although there is a difference of opinion among scholars about the tantric legacy of Siddha system. There are strands in Siddha tradition sprout from ancient *Śaiva Siddhānta* tradition finds it challenging to accept the worship of women as Sakthi, goddess and *kuṇḍalini* yoga practices which are so much characteristic of *Tāntrism* (Ganapathy, 2001, p.56). This shows the internal pluralism in Siddha tradition as seen in other *Śaiva* traditions such as the differences between *Atimārgis* and *Mantramārgis*.

¹⁸⁹ The meaning of *Vāsi* is *Prāṇa*

¹⁹⁰ Interview with Kanan Gurukkal Chennai, a *Vāsiyoga* expert, dated on December 10th 2019. According to *Kanan* gurukkal arresting the *Prāṇa* inside one's body without losing its vitality is the primal principle of *Vāsiyoga*, interestingly in Tamil and Malayalam, *āma* means shackles.

is inversely shuffled *Vāśi* becomes *Śiva*¹⁹¹ henceforth *Vāśiyoga* is a secretive teaching of *Śiva yoga*.

Vāśiyoga is a living tradition in south India that follows a unique pattern that does not comply with other Yoga traditions; however, the *Siddhasamājam* tradition of northern Malabar has a close similarity with the *Vāśiyoga* tradition. Whereas the *Vāśiyoga* involves the use of mantras, in the process of *Sādhana*, and *Siddhasamājam* maintains a total secular outlook by avoiding mantras and other religious symbolism to invoke the vital force in the practitioner.

1.3.6. *Siddhasamājam* tradition of North Malabar Kerala¹⁹²

Siddhāśramam tradition started in the year 1921 at Vadakara, in north Malabar of Kerala by *Svāmi Śivānanda Paramahansa*, is a living spectacle in the history of the Yoga tradition. *Siddhasamājam*, as its name says, is a commune of renunciates called as *Siddhas* who are initiated in an ingenious technique of *Prāṇāyāma* envisaged by the founder of the *Samājam Svāmi Śivānanda Paramahansa*.

A brief history of Siddha Samājam¹⁹³

‘*Svāmi Śivānanda took birth in 1879 at Vadakara, in a humble family as the son of Karuṇākarakurupp and Mādhavi amma, Svāmi was given name Rāman Nambiar by his parents. At a very young age, Rāman Nambiar showed immense mercy to the deprived sections of society and was always lost in thought and deep meditation about the suffering of his fellow beings. His quest for spirituality and truth made him leave home quite often. However, all his attempts ended in despair that every time he was caught and taken back home by his parents*

¹⁹¹ Ibid

¹⁹² There is an immense number of Siddha traditions all over the world, among that the *Siddhasamājam* tradition of Kerala is very particular with its unique teachings and its exclusivity. The *Siddhasamājam* is a curious case in the history of Yoga tradition of the country. During the fieldwork, the researcher spent a considerable amount of time at *Kayenna, Siddhāśramam* Kerala to understand the nuances of the system. However, the community is very exclusivist in nature and maintains a level of secrecy.

¹⁹³, The story of *Svāmi Śivānanda* and the history of Siddha *Samājam*, was narrated by an *Antevāsi* (the name given to the inmate of *samājam*) named as *Lohitākṣan* who works as the storekeeper of *Kayenna* Siddha āśram (Fieldwork notes dated 15 to 20th of November 2019)

or relatives. When grown-up, family forced him to get married and get employed in a police station as a constable. Once while returning from the duty he found his beloved wife lying dead on the floor to give a shock to him. Rāman Nambiar for the last time left his home with deep anguish. He contemplated on the principle of impermanence in life and sat in deep meditation at Palani hills, he sat for some days in the same posture without any movement, finding his austerities futile he decided to commit suicide. While trying to commit suicide, Siddhar Bōgar appeared before him and initiated him into the esoteric teachings of Siddhas. After getting the initiation, he left to the Himalayas and returned as Svāmi Śivānanda and was given the title of Paramahamsa¹⁹⁴ later.

Svāmi established Siddha Samājam in 1921 at Vadakara, before taking the current shape of an Āśram it started as a social reform movement that offered a common platform offers food to everyone irrespective of caste, colour, creed, position and gender called as samapanthibhojanam. Even after Siddhasamājam was established as a monastic order, the idea of a community kitchen is followed and it is called as 'sagthi-sapeethi' in samājam.

The Siddhasamājam is a unique setup of monasticism that preaches against the concept of private property. The Samājam holds the land as the collective holding where everyone irrespective of their caste, creed and gender can come together and work for the betterment of the samaja. Inside the Samāja the Antevāsis do not wear any clothes and live in harmony with nature; for livelihood, they engage in agricultural activities and practice of Siddha and Āyurveda medicine. The Antevāsis of the samāja leads the life of monks where stringent observation of celibacy is not practised¹⁹⁵. The Antevāsis are allowed to procreate and have kids provided the Samāja does not permit the institution of marriage and family. The kids born

¹⁹⁴ Another version of the story tells that he was given the title *Paramahamsa* by the Narasimha Bhārati of Śrīgeri Śārada Pīṭham belonging to the Śaṅkarācārya *Advaita* tradition, however, this story is not told in *Siddhasamājam*, pointing towards the disregard to Śaṅkara *Advaita* tradition.

¹⁹⁵ The celibate vow seen in abstinence cultures are not strictly followed in Siddhasamāja. In contrast, the concept of semen virile and its preservation is discussed hence it takes a clear stand against the path of indulgence. The orientation of Siddhasamāja is thereby invariably that of a syncretic tradition.

in samaja are the kids of the Samāja not of its parents. Samāja believes in the principle of universal camaraderie hence the concepts such as father, mother, son, daughter, brother and sister are totally dismissed as it believes these all relationships are limitations to individual spiritual freedom¹⁹⁶. The Samjam has two types of members householders who follow the teachings of Samājam are called as Siddhavidyarthi, and there are insiders who are monks belonging to the samajam called as Antevāsis¹⁹⁷. Those who wish to join the Samājam should learn Siddhavidya from a Siddhavidyarthi as Antevāsis are not allowed to impart Siddhavidya to aspirants.

Siddhasamājam has many branches inside Kerala, and outside India, since its inception *Siddhasamāj* is imparting its *Siddhavidya* to the aspirants as a means to liberation.

a. Self - body, Soul and God

The concept of body in *Svāmi Śivānanda Paramahansa's* teaching very unique compared to other yogic schools of thought. Svāmi preaches *śarīra* (Body) is the one that gets destroyed¹⁹⁸, contrary to the understanding of the body, Swami tells, the physical body is not the real body, but the *Vāyu; Prāṇa* is the actual body that gets destroyed over time, and at the end of the *Prāṇa* depreciation death occurs to the body. The *Siddhasamāja* preaches the consumption of intoxicants and harmful foods makes the *Vāyu* disturbed inside and causes disequilibrium to the *Vāta-Pitta* and *Kapha*¹⁹⁹ that becomes the primal cause for death.

Siddhasamājam teaches the soul in everyone is nothing else but *Īśvara*. Taking a verse from *Bhagavadgītā* svāmi preaches the soul that is *Īśvara* is residing in the heart of every being²⁰⁰. However, the heart in *Siddhavidya* is not the physical heart but a divine point in the

¹⁹⁶ Siddhasamājam also does not believe in religion as it thinks religion and truth cannot go hand in hand.

¹⁹⁷ Siddhasamājam works similar to Nāth and Buddhist, Jain and other monastic orders where it has householders and monks as their members.

¹⁹⁸ Śiryate iti śarīram (that which gets fatigued and destroyed)

¹⁹⁹ The tridōṣa concept of Āyurveda and Siddha.

²⁰⁰ *Īśvara sarva-bhūtānām hṛd-deśe' rjuna tiṣṭhati*

bhramayan sarva-bhūtāni

yantrarudhani mayaya (Bhagavad Gita Ch.18 verse 61)

middle of the eyebrows. *Siddhasamājam* teaches this point called a heart where the soul dwells as *Īśvara* and the world outside is the reflection of this effulgent soul. With the inseparable *Māya* of *Īśvara*(soul) the real nature of soul is not realised. Although the verses from *Gīta* is used to elaborate on the concept of god, the *Siddhasamājam* tradition is not agreeing to a personal god concept; hence it is not advocating a strategic faith in god.

The concept of *Māya* seen in *Siddhasamājam* tradition is a confusing spectacle as it shows allegiance to the *Vedāntic* concept of *Māya* as the elusive force and at the same time, it is not dismissing the world as an illusion as *Vedānta* does. *Siddhasamāja* teachings show allegiance to the tantric *Dehavāda* school, it places high importance to body as the *Pinḍāṇḍa* and places all the divine points and deities in one's own body. *Śiva*, *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu*, *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, *Sarasvati* and other deities are explained as some parts of the body in its teachings thereby the *Samājam* is following a similar philosophy that of *Nāthism*, *Siddha* and *Sūfi* traditions.

b. Liberation

The soteriological conception of *Siddhasamājam* is as unique as its cosmology and metaphysics. According to *Samājam*, the soul is bonded to the body through the exhaling air and outward flowing awareness about the world. The bond between the world and the soul through this outward flow is the limitation of the soul. *Samājam* teaches *Siddhavidya* an ingenious *Prāṇāyāma* technique to control the movement of outward flowing air and helps to keep it inside. The yogi who practices this technique regularly gets mastery over the flow of air and can enjoy *Brahmānanda* (the ultimate bliss) that is regarded as *Mokṣa*²⁰¹. The *samājam*

Arjuna, God abides in the heart of all creatures, causing them to revolve according to their karma by his illusive power(*Māya*) as though mounted on a machine (Vyāsa, no date, p.199)

²⁰¹ *Siddhavidya* is the process of making the *Vāyu* that is the *Jīvaśakti* in a person, walk through the *Suṣumna* and uniting (Yoga) it with the *Paramātmā* (God) residing inside the *Brahmarandhra* (crown) is known as *Mokṣa* (*Śiva nanda*, 2014, p.8). The *Śākta* and *Śaiva* concept of taming *kuṇḍalini* is very much similar to the *Siddhavidya* preached by *Svāmi Śivānanda Paramahansa*. In contrast, he rejects the idea of six cakras as different vital points in the body, although he agrees with the concept of six chakras as the mental and awareness state of Yogis in the process of *Sādhana*.

does not believe in liberation after death²⁰², correspondingly to the t antric concept of *J ivanmukti* enjoyed by a yogi during the lifetime is the idea of *Sam ajam* about liberation.

Compatibly, to the other yogic traditions, *Siddhasam ajam* also believes in the concept of semen virile, it considers semen as *Brahma*- the source of everything. *Sam ajam* preaches *Siddhavidya* as a technique to preserve the semen inside one's skull and enjoy the *Brahm ananda* eternally ( iv ananda, 2014). *Sam ajam*'s teaching apathetically mentions the sexual act indulged by human beings as a reason for the loss of semen. However, it does not advocate strict celibacy to preserve the semen inside. The concept of the union of male semen and female ejaculatory fluid with *V ayu* is discussed in *Sam ajam*'s teaching with great reverence. The syncretic identity of *Siddhasam ajam* is thus very evident from this. Interestingly, the concept of *Rasav ada* preached by *Rasasiddhas* also gets a mention in *Siddhasam ajam* teachings, *Sam ajam* calls semen as Rasa and through the process of *Siddhavidya* Pr a ay ama yogi makes the Semen/Rasa solid called as *Rasama i* ( iv ananda, 2014) whereas the *Rasasiddhas* performs several steps of 'mercurial operations' to derive at the solid mercury (White, 1984).

²⁰² The whole teaching of *Siddhasam ajam* is revolving around the concept of Yogic immortality, the yogi who has mastered *Siddhavidya* will conquer death is the primal philosophy of *Siddhasam ajam* hence it distinguishes natural death and deathless sam adhi. The normal death occurring to a person will only lead the soul to get trapped in the life-death cycle, where reincarnation is inevitable. Nevertheless, a yogi who attains Sam adhi will become birthless and deathless. The teachings of *Siddhasam aj* regarding the cycle of death and life and suffering is on par with the * r amanic* teachings.

1.3.7. Sūfi²⁰³ Yoga

Sūfism is a mystical tradition that sprouted from the spiritual terrain of Islam, Sūfism is often quoted as the spiritual heart of Islam. As typical to any other spiritual tradition Sūfism is also an eclectic tradition with separate roots, and branches and meanings. Along with the differences in tradition, rituals, observances and spiritual disciplines, the varied meanings of Sūfism declares its multi-layered identity as a spiritual movement.

The etymologies for the term Sūfi are various. The primary obvious meaning of the term comes from suf, “wool,” the traditional ascetic garment of prophets and saints in the Near East. The term has also been connected to safa, “purity,” or safwa, “the chosen ones,” emphasizing the psychological dimension of purifying the heart and the role of divine grace in choosing the saintly. Another etymology links Sūfi with suffa or bench, referring to a group of poor Muslims contemporaneous with the prophet Muhammad, known as the People of the Bench, signifying a community of shared poverty (Ernst, Carl, 2004, p.685).

The esoteric nature of Sufism has always confused scholars to attribute its origin to semitic Islam. The oriental scholars belonging to the romantic period even argued an eastern mainly Indian origin of Sūfism. Scholars, including William James, Sir. John Malcolm, believed Hindu ideas were inoculated to Islam to create a mystical identity to Islam, following James, outrageous claims were made in the later times such as Max Horten in 1928 argued Sufism as a ‘pure expression of Vedānta²⁰⁴’ (Ernst, 2005). However seeing the historical preponderance of facts regarding the antiquity of Sūfism, Ernst (2004, p.684) strongly argues Sūfism is a mystical school of thought stemmed from the roots of Islam and, he traces verses from Quran as the source of inspiration for Sūfis. Sūfis consider Mohammed as the link between the almighty and them, Sūfis while getting initiated to a *Tariqat* (order) pledge their allegiance to an accomplished Sūfi master, considering it as the pledge of allegiance to Mohammed and thereby the connection between them and God is established. Almost all the

²⁰³, The Arabic word for Sūfi, is *Tassawwuf*, it is defined as the process of realizing the truth, hence more than a noun it is used as verb, just like in Indian mystical traditions Yogi or *Sādhak* is used to denote a person in the practice of Yoga or other spiritual *sādhana* (practice).

²⁰⁴ Interestingly, the Mughal king Jahangir identified the highest form of Sūfism with the Hindu philosophy of *Vedānta* (Behera, 2002, p.5079).

Sūfi orders²⁰⁵ reverts this lineage called as *Silsila*, it ensures a sense of organisational integrity, through tracing its spiritual pedigree back through a succession of significant *shaykhs* (Sūfi masters) as far back as the Prophet himself (Renard, 2009, p.144). The life of Mohammed is the fundamental inspiration for a Sūfi, the ascetic life of Sūfis is thereby the representation of Mohammed's secluded life spent in the *Hira* caves to get the revelation from Allah. 'The ascension (Miraj) of the prophet Muhammad to Paradise, as elaborated upon from brief references in the Quran provided a template for the movement of the soul toward an encounter with the Creator. While it was commonly accepted that the Prophet's ascension was accomplished in the body, for Sufis, this opened up the possibility of an internal spiritual ascension' (Richard, 2004, p.685).

During the eleventh century of the common era, Sufism, impregnated with asceto-mystic ideas found its way from West-Asia to the landscape of India²⁰⁶, by the end of the twelfth century, it began to influence Indian minds. 'The pantheistic or rather the panentheistic mysticism of the *Upaniṣads* the devotional mysticism mainly in the Vaiṣṇavite line and *Sahajīya* movements offered Sūfism a ready field, and that accounted for the speedy growth spread of Sufiistic faith in India' (Dasgupta, 1946, p.192). The Sufi display asceto-mystic style and pure devotion to the *Silsila* (lineage) and master were not alien to Indian asceto-mystic-yogic culture. Indian yogis always believed that the transfer of divine knowledge is possible

²⁰⁵ Sūfi organization is generally referred as *tariqa/tariqat* (path or way), however in the later phase of Sūfism, there started appearing different orders under different Sūfi shaykhs, practices and internal structures of all kinds vary from one order to another. 'Among the more common distinguishing attributes were modes of livelihood, degrees of political activism, social integration or preference for isolation, relative emphasis on daily communal life, and styles of prayer and ritual. Among the principal orders are the *Badavīya*, *Bektāshīya*, *Chishtīya*, *Darqāwīya*, *Dasūqīya*, *Firdawsīya*, *Khalwatīya*, *Kubrāwīya*, *Malāmatīya*, *Mawlawīya*, *Naqshbandīya*, *Ni'matallāhīya*, *Nūrbakhshīya*, *Qādirīya*, *Rifaīya*, *Sālimīya*, *Sammānīya*, *Sanūsīya*, *Shādhilīya*, *Shattārīya*, *Suhrawardīya*, *Tijānīya*, and *Yasawīya*' (Renard, 2009, p.178). Some of these Sufi orders came to India and had interacted with the local ascetic societies. Four Sufi enjoyed considerable importance in India. While the Chishtis and Suhrawardis flourished in the Sultanate period, the other two, the Qadiris and Naqshbandis, became significant in Mughal India (Aquil, 2012, p.19).

²⁰⁶ Dasgupta observes, 'In all probability, Sufism began to make its way in India in the 11th century A.D. and a postal is like Shah Sultan Rumi (who came to Bengal in 1050 3AD) Sayad Nathar Shah (Who carried Sūfism to the Deccan for the first time in 1039 A.D.) Makhdum Sayad Ali Uluvvi al Huzzuri (who settled in Lahore) are the preachers of this first period' (Dasgupta, 1946, p.191).

only through the *Guru-Śiṣya* connect, ‘especially in the Tāntric traditions one needs to be initiated into a lineage before beginning to practise it’s yoga or to carry out rites which are not in themselves yoga, but in which yoga-type practices may feature’ (Mallinson and Singleton, 2017, p.48). Sūfis on also cherished this concept of initiation as the connect between *Murshid* (master) and *Murid* (disciple). The techniques to manipulate the physical or subtle body to access knowledge (gnosis) and power (mystical powers/Siddhis) were passed down from Guru to Śiṣya and Murshid to Murid in a more or less similar manner. Along with the imbibed mysticism, Sūfism in India absorbed the tenets of *Nāth* tradition, *Sahajīya* Vaiṣṇavism and other tāntric sects. The inoculation of Tāntric yoga into the Sufi understanding of the body (subtle and physical) is very evident. The concepts about the body formulated in the epistemic universe of *Śaiva*, *Śākta* and *Sahajīya Vaiṣṇava* traditions were taken to the Sūfi knowledge system, and these concepts were naturalised into the philosophy and practice of Sūfism. The *Haṭhayogic* ideas of body were similarly taken into the Sūfi lore, as Carl Ernst observes that the Arabic and Persian translations of the *Haṭhayoga* text *Amrtakunda* is an important turn in the process of ‘Islamization’ of Yoga²⁰⁷ (Behera, 2002; Ernst, 2003). Along with, The influence of *Nāth* asceto-mystic ideas in Sūfism is discernible as, ‘One of the greatest Sufis of *Chishtiya* silsila, Nizammud-Din Awliya was greatly impressed and influenced by the *Śaivite Nātha* followers of *Gorakhnāth*. Their theory of the division of the human body into the regions of *Śiva* and *Śakti*, the yogic practice of growing long hair, yogic postures and breath control became an integral part of the *Cishtīya* Sūfi order’ (Behera, 2002, p. 5079). Nevertheless, Sūfi mystics were also well acquainted with some of the breathing techniques, for example, ‘Hartmann in 1915 noticed a report in a late Arabic text stating that one of the early founders of the Naqshbandi order in Central Asia, Abd al-Khaliq Ghijduwani was inspired by the

²⁰⁷ *Kāmarūpa Beejaskhsa* (The Kāmarūpa Seed Syllables) is also an important text believed to be a very ancient text, that describes several breathing techniques is also translated into Persian and interestingly revered as a great yogic text in Sufi circle. However, it is written in reverence to the Hindu goddess *Kamākhyā* (Zubrzycki, 2018).

immortal prophet Khidr²⁰⁸ to introduce the practice of breath control into Sūfis' (Ernst, 2003, p.202).

a. Self- Body and Soul

The concept of body in Sūfism is analogous with the *Dehavāda* doctrine of the archaic fertility cult and *Śrāmaṇic* societies²⁰⁹. As seen in *Śaivite-Śaktite* and *Nāth* traditions Sūfism also places more significant importance to body as it is the seat of the soul, 'Sūfism preaches 'Man arafa, nafsa hu faqad arafa rabba hu'²¹⁰. (one who knows the body, realises the Supreme). Here contrary to *Vedāntic* ascetic traditions, Sūfi's teaches the 'Soul' to appreciate the body in order to realize the divinity. The body is given supreme importance, and the soul is dependent on the body. However, the soul is trapped inside the body'. The homologies of cakras²¹¹, nādis, *granthīs* of Tantra yoga are also seen in Sūfi yoga.

Hatley (2014) observes.

Sūfism adapted to itself the basic template of the yogic body as formulated by the *Nātha* cult and reconfigured it within the parameters of Indo-Islamic thought. In the Bengali *Sir Nāma*, we are told that Allah's entire creation of eighteen cosmological spheres (ālam) is present within the body, within which we may obtain, according to *Tālib Nāma*, the fruits

²⁰⁸ The accounts of an Immortal Yogi roaming in the Himalayas, imparting his Yogic wisdom to the true seekers is a shared belief of many yogic traditions and Sūfi orders. The belief of *Mahāvātār Bābāji* Nāgaraj, discussed by Paramahansa Yogānanda, Himalayan Institute of Yoga and many other neo-yogic movements has a striking similarity with the Immortal Prophet Khidr (Khizr). Moreover, Sūfi's tried to make equivalences between Yogis and Sūfi masters, the most remarkable equivalences made by Muhammad Ghawth involve persons, identifying primordial yogis with the prophets recognized in Islam. At one point, he writes, "Their religious leader (imam,) is Gorakh, and some say that Gorakh is an expression for Khizr. Here the archetypal yogi has been assimilated to the immortal Prophet Khizr. who plays an important initiatic role in Sūfism. There are two further identifications of this type: "That religious leader (*imām*) *Chaurangi*, that is, Elijah [Ilyas], and the third, 'the breath of the fish,' who is the religious leader *Machindirnāth* [Maṣyendranāth], or Mīna Nāth, that is, Jonah [Yūnus] each one of them has attained the water of life (*Amrtakunda*)." Muhammad Ghawth has assimilated elements of the yogic tradition to familiar Islamic categories and persons, much as Islamic philosophers assimilated the wisdom of the Greeks and other pre-Islamic peoples to their own prophetic dispensation (Ernst, Carl, 1996, p.11).

²⁰⁹ The identification of body with cosmos as seen in the *Dehavāda* doctrine is seen in Sūfism also, Shaman Hatley(2014,p.354) describes how, 'Bengal's plentiful river sand canals for their part find biological correspondence in the body's nadis, conceived of as carriers of blood, semen, and the vital airs; also present in the body are the seven oceans of Indian cosmography in the form of the bodily fluids' in Sūfi knowledge tradition.

²¹⁰ Interview with Shayk Mohammed Swalih *Qādirīya*, of *Qādirīya Āliya Khwalwahiya* sect (a subset of *Qādirīya silsila*) dated on 24th December 2019.

²¹¹ According to the Quran the *Nafas* (body) is seven in number, they are *Ammara*, *Ivvama*, *mulhima*, *muthmmaīna*, *ralīya*, *marlīya*, *kāmila*. Along with that there are twelve centres (maqāms) in body invoking these centres is the spiritual practice, that is a breathing technique, eleven centres are in body and the last one is outside body, those who have invoked these centres are called as the moving scripture (Quran), (Interview with Shayk Mohammed Swalih *Qādirīya*, of *Qādirīya Āliya Khwalwahiya* sect (a subset of *Qādirīya silsila*) dated on 24th December 2019).

of visiting Mecca and Medina. It is within the body that one must wage holy war against *Iblīs* and his minions, a Sūfi conception of jihad enriched through the addition of yogic categories such as the *ṣadripu*, “six enemies” of lust, and so forth. The body itself is likened to a province (*wilayah*) or city under the rule of the soul, as king, with the various administrators of Indo-Islamic polity under his jurisdiction: the *aql* (intelligence) is the *vazīr* or prime minister (*ujūr*); correct discrimination is the *qādi* or judge (*kaji*); and the body’s hair the masses of subjects (*rayat*), all the transactions of whom are recorded in the *daftar* (daptar), or account book, of the heart. Filling the coffers of the royal treasury is the body’s stock of seminal fluid²¹², the expenditure of which spells the kingdom’s ruin (Hatley 2014, p. 353-354)

As seen in the archaic yogic traditions and Haṭhayoga, Sūfi mystics used certain body mortification techniques. ‘The more spectacular *chillai-ma'kus*, hanging oneself upside down with a branch of a tree on the mouth of a well, though generally conducted in private and in the darkness of the night’ (Aquil, 2012, p.20) are certain practices Sūfis imbibed from the yogic traditions of India. As discussed in the earlier sections, these postural yogas are directly linked to the preservation of semen virile. Shah Abdul Latif, in his *Risalo* writes beautifully about the relationship between Sūfis and Yogis.

*Lord, may my connection with the yogis not be
broken.
The yogis told me to travel to Hinglaj.
The ascetics took me to the land of the east.
That is the goal of my pilgrimage, and my resting
place; that is my journey.
The masters have shown me my place of pilgrimage
and my resting place (Khan, 2018).*

Although it is undeniable that the ideas of the body as the miniature of cosmos, and postural yoga was incorporated into Sūfism from the asceto-yogic cultures of India, it is tenuous to argue Indian mystical tradition acted as the source of entire Sūfi tradition.

²¹² The concept of semen virile and its preservation much common in other asceto-yogic traditions are conveyed with much significance in Sūfi lore.

b. Liberation

The concept of liberation in Sūfism is identical with the yogic concepts of *Nāthism* and other *Tāntric* traditions. The unification of *Rūh* (individual soul) with Allah (Supreme) is considered as the concept of liberation in Sūfism. All the practices including breathing techniques²¹³ are the techniques employed to make this unification possible. Two ideas are generally connected with the concept of liberation in Sūfism; they are *Fanā* and *Baqā*. *Fanā* is the total state of annihilation where the individual identity of a person is totally lost, and he/she is united with the *haq* (truth/god), where the Sūfi proclaims him as *Anal Haq* (I am the truth). This idea of being united with the ultimate truth is generally mentioned with the story of *Hallaj Mansoor*. *Mansoor* is said to be in the state of *Fanā* and proclaimed ‘*Anal Haq*’ (I am god) that invited brutal death penalty to him from the religious leaders²¹⁴, to proclaim oneself as god is not acceptable in Abrahamic faiths, as it is. The idea of the annihilation of self is consonant with the soteriological ideas of Tāntric traditions.

The concept of *Baqā* is totally opposite to the concept of *Fanā*. Instead of annihilation *Baqā* talks about abiding, after a divine experience, such as meeting with the divine and losing one’s self Sūfi comes back to a state of *Baqā*, it is defined ‘the paradoxical experience of surviving an encounter with the divine’ (Renard, 2009, p.21). The tāntric concept of *Jīvanmukti* is similar to the concept of *Baqā*. Some Sūfi’s consider *Fanā* as a step before attaining the state of *Baqā*. The unique soteriological idea of uniting the human soul with the supreme soul (Allah) distinguishes Sufis from the Islamic orthodoxy. The latter believed that God was unique and, therefore, to suggest that a human soul could achieve union with God was to imply

²¹³ ‘Prāṇāyāma’ in yogic cultures is just a beginning in Sūfi tradition, Sūfism in its higher practices goes beyond Prāṇāyāma where the practitioner feels the ‘death before death’, cessation of breath that analogous with arresting of Prāṇa in Siddhayoga/Vāśiyoga (Interview with Shayk Mohammed Swalih *Qādirīya*, of *Qādirīya Āliya Khwalwahiya* sect (a subset of *Qādirīya silsila*) dated on 24th December 2019).

²¹⁴ Ibid

that there was no distinction between God and human beings. It was for this reason that Sufis were occasionally attacked and persecuted' (Aquil, 2012, p.19).

The interaction between Sūfism and Indian asceto-yogic traditions had an overarching impression on the later Yogic traditions and *Bakti* movements. 'Criticism of idol worship, of 'useless' ritual, emphasis on equality, worship of and excessive devotion for one God, which are central to many strands of medieval Bhakti movements, can be traced to Sūfism' (Aquil, 2012, p. 20). The heterodox *Baul* tradition of Bengal is a classic example of a yogic tradition that imbibed the values of Sūfi and *Vaiṣṇava Sahajīya* love mysticism²¹⁵ and *Nāth* ascetism. The syncretic and heretical nature of *Bauls* testify the cultural transactions of different cultures of the region, and among them, the Islamic Sūfism plays a pivotal role.

2. *Vedic Yoga*

The roots of Yoga is undoubtedly anchored in the fertility cults of Indus river basin, the archaic shamanistic ecstasies, and practices bringing yogic trances are traceable from the hoary past itself; however, a rendering of Yogic ideas and practices gets a space in later written texts, and *Vedas* comes in the foremost position. Werner (1975, p.180) argues 'difficult as it is to try to draw conclusions from the limited archaeological evidence, it is no easier to do so on the basis of *Vedic* hymns, for the form in which they have been preserved is obviously a product of Brāhmaṇic redaction and hence religious, and particularly ritualistic conceptions prevail'. Although, with considerable appropriation, the body mortification techniques and soteriological scheme of *Dehavādis* later called as Yoga, was incorporated to the *Vedic* lore. The origin of these practices can be definitely traced back to *Ūrdhvamanthins/ Vātarāsanans/ Śramaṇas* (Ghurye, 1952). These later called long-haired *muni's* or *ṛṣi's* described in *Kesin* hymns of Ṛgveda were not congenial to *Vedic* people (Werner, 1975, 1994). The *Vedic*

²¹⁵. The use of music in *Baul* practices has a strong imprint of *Sama* the musical tradition of Sūfis.

ritualistic and polytheistic ideas were not acceptable to the above said Ṛṣis where they substituted worship with meditation. In every respect, the yogic endeavours followed by them were incomprehensible to the ritualist society, yet, amusingly these practices were incorporated and linked with the sacrificial ceremonies of *Vedas*! The idea of meditative practices of the rsi's henceforth getting a new meaning in *Vedas* that is 'Yoking' (√*yujir*-to yoke/unite) oneself to the personal God (Vedic) through the sacrificial ceremonies. A *Vedic* religious appropriation of a transcendental practice developed by the wandering seers is visible in these attempts. Moreover, in the *Vedas*, we find clear indications that the *Vedic* seers and *rsis* were quite familiar with a set of procedures which, when followed faithfully, were observed to bring about the highest state of being. These were spoken of variously as *dhyāna*, *dīkṣa*-, *Tapas*, and so on. Thus we find examples of *Vedic* seers aspiring to reach the heavens, or even for attaining *Brahman*, through *dhyāna*, and *Tapas*, (Joshi, 1965, p.55) not through the sacrificial ceremonies²¹⁶.

The *Vedic* conception of a person's body and Soul is axiomatically divergent from the concept of body and Soul in yogic traditions. The personal god concept seen in *Vedic* hymns and the soteriological scheme is also moving in a tangential direction from that of Yogic traditions. Although, the later Veda, that is *Atharva* had imbibed the Yogic values to a great extent is also to be noticed.

²¹⁶ The appropriation of Yogic ideas and its ontology is discussed in the coming chapter, in which a detailed discussion on the different meanings of Yoga will be there.

a. Self- Body and Soul

The concept of body in Vedic hymns portrays a picture of the body as a composite that is made of different parts that return to its source after the person dies. Vedas believe the material parts will return to their respective elements and the immaterial to the world of ancestors.

For example,

Ṛgveda 10.16 suggests that the eye goes to the sun, the spirit (*ātman*) goes to the wind, and the other parts go according to their natures, to the sky, the earth, the waters and the plants'.... In this *Ṛgvedic* passage, however, it still has clear associations with the verbal root from which it is derived: √ *an*, to breathe, and with other vitalistic terms such as *vāyu* (wind), *prāṇa* (breath), *vāta* (air), *asu* (breath) and *āyus* (life). In this context, it is entirely appropriate for *ātman* to return to its source in the wind. Likewise, in almost all later Indian religious thought, *manas* (mind) is part of the illusory ephemera of *samsāra* or a constituent of non-sentient material nature (*Prakṛti*). In *Ṛgveda* 10.16, however, we are told that the *manas* goes with the *asu* and the *aja* (unborn part) to the realm of immortality where they rejoin the *tanu* (Connolly, 2007, p.31).

Pancabhūtas as the source of body is not a unique *Vedic* concept, the *Śrāmaṇic* societies also believed in it. However, the return of *Ātman* to the world of ancestors or heaven is a *Vedic* concept not congruent with the *Śrāmaṇic* philosophy. The attainment of heaven in *Vedic* soteriology is based on the concept of the bestowment of a boon from the celestial gods, so forth the *Vedic* concept of Self is essential in one way that is to offer sacrifices to gods above and wait for their mercy. Those who are mercifully granted resort in heaven, ancestors realm or even immortality of the Soul are them who obtained it through the rituals prescribed in the scriptures.

b. God and Liberation

The Vedic concept of God is an inconsistent idea, fundamentally, different from the *Śrāmaṇic* concepts the *Vedic* society bowed before the natural forces. Extrapolating divinity to

natural forces is rudimentary to the Vedic theology, moreover, the relevance and priority given to different gods given at certain point of time changes accordingly. For example, the early *Ṛgvedic* society was revolving around the sea god *Varuṇa*; the supreme status was offered to *Varuṇa* than any other god in the Vedic pantheon. *Varuṇa* enjoyed that status without a rival, however in the later development of *Ṛgveda*, *Indra* becomes the supreme lord and all the supernal divinities attributed to *Varuṇa* gets transferred to *Indra*. The *Vedic* society relied on these gods to get prosperity in material life and spiritual upliftment. The spiritual upliftment of *Vedas* are revolving around three significant notions; they are reaching heaven, ancestral realm, and getting personal immortality. All of these things can be attained through the sacrificial ceremonies that are capable of warding one's sins off.

Similarly, as in Abrahamic faiths, the sinner goes to hell, and the righteous one gets heaven or other realms as a reward. In heaven, there is all that each one desires. *Ṛgveda* 1/154 describes heaven as the place,

Where men devout in blessedness are dwelling,
Where life to life succeeds for righteous spirits,
And each is fuller than the last in beauty (as cited in, Siqueira, 1933, p.187)

The hell and heaven concept is alien to *Dehavādis*, and the Yogic traditions that sprouted from the substratum of above-said traditions. The yogic traditions primarily rely on the idea of *Tapas*; austerity and yogic practices to attain salvation, that too during the lifetime, spelt as *Jīvanmukti/Kaivalya* in *Tāntric* and Yogic traditions. *Vedas* in close contact with these traditions later imbibed these values from them, the close contact with these soteriological societies abetted *Vedas* to add a fourth *Āśrama* and *Puruṣārtha* to its framework²¹⁷. The *Sannyāsa* āśrama that revolves around the ideas of *austerity* and the fourth *Puruṣārtha* that is

²¹⁷. The early Vedic thought had *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma* as the *Puruṣārthas* called as and the fourth one *Mokṣa* is a later addition.

Mokṣa, that gyrates around the idea of *Karma-Samsāra* entanglement and the techniques to detangle the *Karmic* bondages with the Soul is nothing else but *Śrāmaṇic* soteriology. Dandekar (1987) observes as conceptual discontinuity with the *Trivargas* (*Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*) and the fourth *Puruṣārtha Mokṣa*. *Mokṣa* is an intrinsic and personal concept, not in compliance with the functional and social concepts of *Trivargas*. '*Mokṣa* thus forms a sharp dichotomy with the other three *Puruṣārthas*, particularly with *dharma*. While *dharma* aims at the maintenance of the world-order, *mokṣa* deliberately rejects it. *Mokṣa* signifies release from the entire realm governed by *dharma*; essentially it purports to be the negation of *dharma*'(Dandekar, 1987, p. 667) so is the case with fourth *Āśrama*, *Sannyāsa*.

The ideas of *Sannyāsa* and *Mokṣa* along with schemes of *Karma* cycle, redemption and incarnation get a central space in *Upaniṣads*, also known as *Vedānta* (the end of Veda). Henceforth, the Yogic ideas prevailing from the shamanistic societies, *Śramaṇas*, *Tāntrics* and *Ṛṣis* and *Munis* gets a systematic rendering in *Upaniṣads*, noteworthy, without the ritualistic religious background of Vedic culture.

2.1. Upaniṣadic Yoga

Upaniṣads are considered to be the last part of *Vedas*. *Samhitas* that contain the Vedic hymns, *Brāhmaṇas* consisting of the explanations of the hymns and also the descriptions of rituals and *Āraṇyakas* discusses the philosophical values of the rituals are the other parts of *Vedas*. The three parts of *Vedas* are dealing with the social life of individual hence serving a functional role. Whereas *Upaniṣads*, on the other hand, talks about an altogether different approach of seclusion and renunciation, that it deals with Individual personal life and hence serves an intrinsic role. This dichotomy between the end of *Vedas* (*Vedānta*) and the former parts is a compelling case; the influence of *Śrāmaṇic* philosophy, its soteriology and metaphysics are very much reflected in *Upaniṣads*. Traditionally, *Upaniṣads* are believed to

be 108 in numbers; however, it is plausible to argue there are many more *Upaniṣads* than this traditional number and very few among them are genuinely *Vedic* (Connolly, 2007). Apart from the Vedic theological construct of sacrificial virtue and afterlife beliefs, *Upaniṣads* placed the ontological construct of *Karma* and *Samsāra* identical with the *Śrāmaṇic* philosophy. Some *Upaniṣads* are even non-hesitant in condemning the *Vedic* rituals as futile attempts that will only help in achieving heaven or hell, not the higher goal of birthless state *mōkṣa*.

For example, *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* writes,

Unsafe boats, however, are these sacrificial forms,
The eighteen,²¹⁸ In which is expressed the lower work.
The fools who approve that as the better,
Go again to old age and death....
Thinking sacrifice and merit is the chiefest thing,
Naught better do they know deluded!
Having had enjoyment on the top of heaven won by good
works,
They re-enter this world, or a lower (as cited in Connolly, 2007, p. 40).

Although in its philosophy *Upaniṣads* are against *Vedic* ritualism, over time the *Vedic* tradition appropriated *Upaniṣadic* ideas. Different *Śākhās* (Schools), eg. *Aitareyins*, *Jaimināya* of *Vedas* started to teach the *Upaniṣads* per the Vedic rituals. Different schools of *Vedas* communicated actively to exchange ideas, where the redaction of a *Upaniṣadic* idea was highly regarded in one school and not acceptable to others. Subsequently, according to the difference of *Śākhās*, the ‘texts appear with slight variations in the different *Vedic* schools, whether borrowed directly or going back on either side to a common origin. Other texts are met with side by side in the same *Śākhā* in numerous recensions, often very similar, often widely divergent from one another’ (Deussen, 1906, p.22).

²¹⁸ Four Vedas, their *Brāhmaṇas*, *Sūtras* and *Āṅgas*.

Despite all the differences happened due to the redactions by Vedic people, *Upaniṣads* in general proposes that the bondage of Individual Soul (*ātman*) to this *Samsāra* is through the identification of it to the *Karmas* and the identification is arising out of *Avidya* (Ignorance). Understanding the unitary identity of *Atman* with *Brahman* is the only way to get out of this karmic bondage and rebirth. Henceforth the early *Upaniṣads*²¹⁹ Places an asceto-gnostic approach to solve the riddle of death and rebirth.

According to many scholars, it was with the advent of middle *Upaniṣads*²²⁰ the technique of ‘Yoga’ to attain the *Ātma- Brahma* realisation started appearing. From an asceto-gnostic path of early *Upaniṣads*, the middle *Upaniṣads* took an asceto-yogic path as a spiritual discipline. Some *Upaniṣads* discusses Yoga as its central theme; they are, *Advaya-tāraḥkopaniṣad*, *Amṛta-nāḍopaniṣad*, *Amṛta-Bindu Upaniṣad*, *Ksurikopaniṣad*, *Tejo-Bindupaniṣad*, *Tri-Sikhi-Brahmopaniṣad*, *Darśanopaniṣad*, *Dhyāna-Bindupaniṣad*, *Nāda bindupaniṣad*, *Pāsupata-Brahmopaniṣad*, *Brahma-vidyōpaniṣad*, *Maṇḍala-Brahmonapaniṣad*, *Mahā-Vākyopaniṣad*, *Yoga-Kuṇḍali-Upaniṣad*, *Yoga-cūḍāmaṇi Upaniṣad*, *Yoga-tattvopaniṣad*, *Yoga-sikhōpaniṣad*, *Varāhopaniṣad*, *Śandilyopaniṣad* and *Hamsopaniṣad* (Ayyangar, 1938). The multitude of *Upaniṣads* dealing with the theme of Yoga is influenced by diverse philosophical schools such as *Śaivism*, *Sāktism*, and *tāntrism* in general. However, all of them are included in the 108 *Upaniṣads* preserved and spread by different *Sākha*’s of *Vedas*.

²¹⁹ Deussen (1906) argues, 'it is difficult to lay down the chronological order of succession of *Upaniṣads* . . . All the principal *Upaniṣads* contain earlier and later elements side by side, and therefore the age of each separate piece must be determined by itself as far as this is possible from the degree of development of the thought which finds expression in it. However, a rough and approximate determination of the period of *Upaniṣads* is made. The early pre- Buddhist *Upaniṣads* are *Brhadāraṇyaka*, *Chāndogya*, *Taittirīya*, *Aitareya*, *Kauṣītaki*, and *Kena*.

²²⁰ The metrical middle *Upaniṣads* are *Katha*, *Īśa*, *Śveteśvara Muṇḍaka*, *Mahānārāyaṇa*(Deussen, 1906; Connolly, 2007)

a. Self- Body and Soul

‘The idealist doctrine of the identity of the *brahman* with the *ātman* is the quintessential notion common to all *Upaniṣadic* or *Vedāntic* thought’ (Feuerstein, 2011, p.xix). The *Brahman* is omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, whereas avidya limits the *ātman* (individual Self). The Tāntric philosophy particularly the *Śaivite* and *Śaktaite* philosophies discussed the idea of entrapment of Soul in own body²²¹ in a more or less similar fashion. However, the tantric philosophies propose it as an act of Supreme to get entrapped in body and call the autonomous power of the Supreme as *Māya*. When it comes to *Upaniṣads* the reason for taking a bodily form that is a quite an apparition of the supreme (Deussen, 1906), is questioned in later *Upaniṣads*, where it answers this question, as it is the will of supreme to make the individual Soul enjoy the illusion of the world. Quoting *Maitreyaniya Upaniṣad* Deussen (1906, p.262) says, 'to taste of reality and illusion the great becomes twofold'. According to the *Upaniṣadic* rendering, the individual Soul residing in the body is equipped with the internal apparatus such as *Manas*, *Buddhi*, *Ahamkara* and *Chitta*, and external organs that constitute five sensory organs and five motor organs. The *Prāṇas* control bodily functions and *Prāṇas* are five in numbers such as *Prāṇa*, *Apāna*, *Vyāna*, *Udāna* and *Samāna* each assigned with particular tasks in bodily function²²². The individual Soul residing in the body using these apparatus does *Karma*, and the *Karma* becomes decisive in the course of life and death cycle.

²²¹ Among the *Upaniṣads* the *Taittirīya* is the foremost one to be counted, that describes the metaphysics of a Yogic body and the concept five sheaths of the body. The *anna-maya-koṣa*, or sheath composed of food; that is, of material elements: the physical body. The *prāṇa-maya-koṣa*, or sheath composed of life force: the etheric body in Western occult literature. The *mano-maya-koṣa*, or sheath composed of mind: The ancients considered the mind (*manas*) as an envelope surrounding the physical and the etheric body. The *vijñāna-maya-koṣa*, or sheath composed of understanding: The mind simply coordinates the sensory input, but understanding (*vijñāna*) is a higher cognitive function. The *ānanda-maya-koṣa*, or sheath composed of bliss: This is that dimension of human existence through which we partake of the Absolute. In later *Vedānta*, however, the Absolute is thought to transcend all five sheaths (Feuerstein, 1998b, p.492)

²²² According to different texts the duties of each *Prāṇa* varies, shows the pluralistic understanding of the *Upaniṣad* tradition.

The Middle *Upaniṣads* considered the body as an essential tool to attain the supreme. However, in later *Upaniṣads*, a pessimistic colouring of body is seen, for example, *Maitreyanīya* Upaniṣad talks, ‘This body, originating from copulation, grown in the pit (of the mother’s womb) and issuing forth through the passages of the excretions, is a collection of bones daubed over with flesh, covered with skin, filled full with dung, urine, phlegm, marrow, fat and grease, and to crown all with many diseases, like a treasure store crammed with treasure’(Deussen, 1906, p.285).

The treasure mentioned in this statement is Soul, the identification of Individual Soul with cosmic Soul is seen in *Upaniṣads*, however, while looking at the characteristics of individual Soul different *Upaniṣads* have a different opinion, there are dissimilar opinions regarding the size, shape and colour and dwelling place of Soul in the body. Some *Upaniṣads* maintains Soul resides in the heart some says it lives between the eyebrows (point of *Ājñā* cakra in Tantra) some says Soul is blue in colour and some debates it as yellow, the size of the Soul is small as a grain is the take of some traditions whereas some do not attribute such values to Soul (Davids, 1899). All these divergent opinions clearly show the pluralistic nature of *Upaniṣads* informed by their parent philosophies.

b. God and liberation

The concept of God in *Upaniṣad* is of a cosmic-self called as *Brahman*; *Brahman* is considered to be a state of *Sat*, *Cid*, *Ānanda* that together makes *Satcidānanda*. The combination of Truth, Awareness and Bliss constructs the concept of God in *Upaniṣadic* understanding. These qualities are not the qualities of *Brahman*, but these are *Brahman* itself. The tantric concept of *Parāsamvit* is very much similar to the *Upaniṣadic* understanding. In contrast, in tantras, the *Parāsamvit* is all-knowing, all-pervasive and all-creative. Vedānta identifies *Brahman* as *Nirguṇa*, immovable not engaged in any activities

including the creation of the world. Earlier *Upaniṣads* such as *Taittirīya* maintains knowledge (gnosis) about this *Brahman* is the only way to liberation. It says through the ultimate gnosis the ‘*annamaya, prāṇamaya, manomaya* and *vijñānamaya* atman are in turn stripped off as mere husks in order to penetrate to the *ānandamaya* atman as kernel’ (Deussen, 1906, p.144) and the state of *Ānanda* is the ultimate bliss that is identified with Brahman.

Whereas the middle *Upaniṣads* maintains, that

The knowledge (*Jñāna*) is presented as being dependent on a person’s ability to achieve a certain level of mental concentration, an achievement that is accomplished through the practice of Yoga, which, as *Kāthopaniṣad* informs us in the earliest formal definition of Yoga, is the firm holding back of the senses (*indriya dhāraṇam*). This leads to the state of being undistracted. By the time of the *Maitri Upaniṣad*, different stages of mental concentration were being recognised. *Maitri* outlines a six-fold yoga practice consisting of breath control (*Prāṇa yāma*), sense withdrawal (*Pratyāhara*), concentration (*Dhyāna*), deeper concentration (*Dhāraṇa*), contemplation (*Tarka*) and absorption (*Samādhi*)(Connolly, 2007, p.38).

The idea of *mokṣa* is an alien idea to the *Vedas*, the concept of *Devayāna* (the path of Devas) and *Pitryāna* (the path of ancestors) are its scheme of deliverance, when the *Upaniṣadic* concepts were adapted to *Vedas*, the concept of *Devayāna* (later *Bhagavadgītā* uses the same analogy to speak about a birthless scheme) as a destination that defies the laws of rebirth. Along with, certain *Upaniṣads*, such as *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, talks about the importance of fire sacrifice to reach heaven (Davids, 1899). *Upaniṣads* and its philosophy are very much baffling, as it talks about shamanic eschatology of transmigration of the Soul, the materialistic *Sāmkhyan* understanding about the world, and at one hand it proposes Yoga as a means to deliverance and juxtaposes *Vedic* ritualism with that. The study of *Upaniṣads* hence leaves a volley of questions to a learner of the Yoga tradition. To arrive at a proper conclusion about the complex historical and philosophical exercises happened in the background of the production of *Upaniṣads* is difficult due to the shrouded chronology of *Upaniṣads*. However, it is definite

that the Shamanic, *Śrāmaṇic*, and *Tāntric* ideas that gave rise to *Sāmkhya* and Yoga²²³ entered to the Vedic lore through Upaniṣads, and it redefined the structure of Vedic thought.

2.2. Epic and classical *Sāmkhya* and Yoga

Mahābhārata serves as the ancient source of literature after *Vedas* that talks about Yoga. Yoga as a system developed as an exposition to the *Sāmkhya* Philosophy²²⁴. The *Sāmkhya* philosophical ideas were rooted in the *Dehavāda* metaphysics that sprouted from the ancient civilisation of Indian subcontinent. Although embedded in a non-Vedic school of thought (Ruben, 2018), *Sāmkhya* system gets enough encomiums in the Vedic texts and epic literature. The *Atharvaveda* is paying obeisance to *Sāmkhya* teachers, such as *Kapila*, *Āsuri* and *Pancasikha*. Other than *Atharvaveda*, *Aśvalāyana Gṛhya sūtras*, *Ahirbhudanīya Samhita* etcetera are giving the esteemed position to *Sāmkhya* philosophy. The epic *Mahābhārata* considers *Sāmkhya* as the most excellent knowledge. It considers it separate from the *Vedic* religion as the *Mōkṣadharmaparvam* counts it different from that of *Brāhmanas* and *Āraṇyakas*. The respectful position to *Sāmkhya* in *Mahābhārata* is seen from the revered names to *Sāmkhya* philosophers gave in the text as *Mahāprajñah* (A person with great intellect), *Sāmkhya -Darśinah* (*Sāmkhya* philosopher), *Tatvacintakah* (philosopher) and so on. *Mahābhārata* is also vocal about the amount of literature *Sāmkhya* system owned. Unfortunately, only the *Kārika* of *Īśvarakṛṣṇa* survived, and this only surviving text is a summary of a lost text called *Sastitantra* (Yardi, 1987).

²²³ Although *Sāmkhya* and Yoga system did not develop as separate discipline or philosophy in the earlier times the *Sāmkhya* and Yoga philosophies are seen in early Upaniṣads .

²²⁴ More than a discipline of philosophy *Sāmkhya* was considered a method of inquiry in earlier times, for example, *Kautilya* considered *Sāmkhya* as one of the three traditions of *Anvīṣiki*. *Anvīṣiki* is not philosophy; it is instead a kind of general scientific inquiry by means of systematic enumeration of basic principles. The *Sāmkhya* principles acted as a paradigm to interpret phonology, grammar, statecraft, medicine, law, cosmology, and iconography, and the compilations of these subject-area enumerations sometimes came to be called tantras (Larson, James, 1987, p.4).

The origin of epic *Sāmkhya* and Yoga is imprecise, although it is arguably traceable to the long-haired sages and *Ūrdhvarethas* of the ancient times. The *Mōkṣadharmā* Parva, *Śāntiparva*, *Bagavadgīta*, and *Anugīta* have enormous references to *Sāmkhya* and Yoga philosophies. According to *Mahābhārata*, the mythical sage *Kapila* is believed to be the originator of the *Sāmkhya* system and *Hiraṇyagarbha*, the founder of Yoga. *Mahābhārata* maintains *Hiraṇyagarbha* is none other than the supreme *Brahman*, and from the supreme the tradition of Yoga continued through *Vasiṣṭa* (mind-born son of *Hiraṇyagarbha*), his son and *Paraśara* and to *Veda Vyāsa* (commentator on Patañjali's *Yogasūtra*) whereas Upaniṣads like *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* calls sage *Kapila* as *Hiraṇyagarbha*, stating the philosophical substrate of Yoga as *Sāmkhyān* Philosophy. Moreover, the *Pātañjala* *Yogasūtra* or the Yoga of Patañjali is otherwise called as the *Sāmkhya* of Patañjali, which was written as an exposition to the *Varsangnya- Vidhyavāsin's* interpretation of the *Saśitantra* attributed to sage *Kapila* (Larson, James, 1987). Though Yoga formulates its basic philosophical designs on par with *Sāmkhyān* metaphysics, there are remarkably striking differences between both. As the concept of Self, Body and Soul, in *Sāmkhya* and Yoga goes together, whereas the concept of God and deliverance are distinct.

a. Self – Body and Soul

Sāmkhyān philosophy is considered to be a dualistic philosophy, as it considers *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa*²²⁵ as the ontic ultimates. *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* are the ultimates that are not created; they always existed, although distinct in their existence, *Puruṣa* influences *Prakṛti* to evolve, without self-evolving. Among these two, *Prakṛti* is evolving and is the reason for the observable universe. Whereas *Puruṣa* is static, not evolving. The evolving nature of *Prakṛti* is the essence

²²⁵ *Sāmkhya* maintains there is only one *Prakṛti* and there are multiple *Puruṣas*,

'Jananamaraṇākāraṇam pratiniyamād ayugapat pravṛtteś ca
Puruṣabahutvam siddham traiguṇyaviparyayāccaiva (*Sāmkhya* karika 18)

Due to various patterns of birth, death, and capacities, and to the disjunction of activities, *Puruṣa's* multiplicity is established; and also due to contrariety of the three *Guṇas*. *Sāmkhya* here follows the archaic eschatology of transmigration of Soul and systematically reason it with its metaphysics of *Triguṇās* (Burley, 2007, p.168)

of its nature that comes out as three *Guṇas*, namely *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. *Sattva* is a quality of fineness and happiness, *Rajas* is activeness, and *Tamas* is dormancy or inertia. The homeostasis of the three *Guṇas* is the original state of *Prakṛti* from this, with the influence of *Puruṣa*, *rajas* activates *Sattva*, and combinedly *Sattva* and *Rajas* overcomes the state of *Tamas* that is dormancy and manifests as world into twenty-three principles²²⁶, in this process of evolution, one of these three *Guṇas* occupies a dominant position. From these *Guṇas*, all the matter, subtle and gross arises. *Sattva* gives rise to *Mahat* or called as *Buddhi*; it distinguishes the difference between subject and object, then the I making principle *Ahamkara* evolves, it differentiates I and You and is the reason for possessiveness, *Ahamkāra* principle in *Sāṃkhyan* metaphysics is the source of two sets of things such as the five sensory organs and five motor organs and *Manas* principle that is the product of the combined activity of sensory organs as receptors and five motor effectors. The second set of things produced from *Ahamkāra* are five gross elements (space, air, fire, water, earth) and five subtle existence (sound, touch, sight, taste, smell are the elemental existence of gross elements) of them. The three psychological apparatus such as *manas*, *ahamkāra* and *intellect*, subtle and gross elements creates the physical body of a person, and that is the product of *Prakṛti*. Whereas the Soul that is an influencer of the *Prakṛti* is nothing else but *Puruṣa* principle (Math, no date; Zimmer, 1952; Iswarakrishna, 1960; Larson, James, 1969; Burley, 2007). *Sāṃkhya* philosophy was not a monolithic philosophy, but a composite of different schools of similar philosophies, it is said that around eighteen different *Sāṃkhyan* schools were present. Although fixed in the same metaphysical paradigm, each of them differed in their enumeration of principles, and according to their conceptual differences, different names were given to Soul and body. An earlier school of *Sāṃkhya* calls body as *Kṣara* (destructible) and Soul as *Akṣara* (indestructible), another

²²⁶ Earlier *Sāṃkhyan* ideas had less number of principles, it was during the later development of *Sāṃkhya* the principles were finalised to twenty-three and two ontic ultimates, that is *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa*.

name for body *Kṣetra* (field) and Soul is *Kṣetrajña* (the knower of the field), this terminology comes repeating in *Bhagavadgītā*. 'Vyakta for Soul and Avyakta for Prakṛti is used by *Aśvaghōṣa* in expounding the philosophy of *Arāda* the *Sāmkhya* teacher of Buddha' (Yardi, 2017, p. 314).

Sāmkhyān concepts are not only seen in *Sāmkhya* texts alone, as mentioned above different *Parvas* in *Mahābhārata*, many early Buddhist Upaniṣads also speaks the philosophies discussed in later *Sāmkhya*. However, the epic²²⁷ and *Upaniṣadic*²²⁸ texts tried to propose *Brahman* on top of all principles, which is an alien idea to the *Sāmkhyān* understanding of the world.

Yoga also follows the similar metaphysics of *Sāmkhya*; it agrees the principles of *Sāmkhya* system the concept of ontic ultimates and Self as a trapped Puruṣa inside the Prakṛti that is the body. Yoga proposes Avidya as the reason for this entrapment. In contrast, *Sāmkhya* tells it is Prakṛti that entraps Puruṣa by the seven aspects of it and liberates Puruṣa by one principle that is nothing but the knowledge of Puruṣa.

²²⁷ In Mōkṣadharmā Parva, 'Vasiṣṭha tells Janaka that when the Self realises his true nature through discriminating knowledge, he is to be regarded as the twenty-sixth principle, which is the eternal, stainless, primaeval Brahman. According to Yajñavalkya, this twenty-sixth principle is the pure Self without attributes. When the individual Self realises himself as different from *Prakṛti*, he becomes liberated and beholds the Supreme Self (Yardi, 1987, p.311).

²²⁸ Trisikhibrahmanopaniṣad says, 'Out of the Brahman (there came into being) the *Avyakta* (the indistinct) out of the *Avyakta*, the *Mahat* (the vast) out of the *Mahat*, The *Ahamkāra* the five *Tanmātra* (the subtle elements) out of the five *Tanmātras* the five *Mahābhūtas* (the gross elements) out of the five gross elements, all the World (Ayyangar, 1938, p.89).

b. God and Liberation

Edgerton writes ‘Any formula of metaphysical truth, provided that knowledge thereof was conceived to tend towards salvation, might be called *Sāmkhya*’ (as cited in, Larson, James, 1987). However, the scheme of salvation in *Sāmkhya* is without the help of a personal god as the Epic and Classical *Sāmkhya* is an atheistic (*Nāstik*²²⁹ and *Anīśvara*) philosophy. Nevertheless, when it comes to Yoga, it paradoxically follows the metaphysics of *Sāmkhya* and becomes a theistic philosophy. However, the God of Patañjali is not *Upaniṣadic Brahman*, who is the cause and effect but a distinguished self (*Puruṣa viśeṣa iswara*²³⁰) untouched by actions and afflictions (Yardi, 1987). The belief of God as a distinguished self does not qualify a strategic faith in God; rather, it implies the possibility of the individual Soul to become a supreme soul. The very construct of this outlook negates a strategic faith in a personal God. Even though *Pātañjalayoga* is considered as a Vedic and *Āstika* philosophy, the philosophical position of it is *Nāstika*. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the Yoga philosophy voiced in *Bhagavadgītā* brings a personal god concept.

Sāmkhya proposes a gnostic approach for the deliverance of Soul, as it considers the bonds of *Prakṛti* can only be broken through the means of knowledge. In contrast, *PātañjalaYoga* puts forward Yoga as a means to deliverance. The bondage of *Puruṣa* is the matter of discussion in both the philosophies and Patañjali brings the *Vṛtis* (fluctuations) of *Ātma* (Mind) as the reason for the ignorance of *Puruṣa*. The empirical information about the physical world (*Prakṛti*) obtained through the five sensory organs creates fluctuations in mind. Moreover, these fluctuations are categorised into two categories that are *Kliṣṭa* (perturbed) and

²²⁹ *Sāmkhya* comes closest to Manu’s description of a ‘reviler of the Veda’ (*Nāstika*). Indeed, *Sāmkhya* accepts scriptural authority as one of the means of valid knowledge, and if the minimum requirement for being a *Āstika* is only this, *Sāmkhya* qualifies. Nevertheless, *Sāmkhya* is unlike *Vedānta*, which saw reason as only able to function properly when anchored to the truths revealed by scripture. *Sāmkhya* denies that reason by itself is inherently aimless and unstable.

On the contrary, for *Sāmkhya*, it is the scriptural authority which needs to be checked by reason, since blind adherence to Vedic injunctions without critical evaluation leads to immorality and demerit (Nicholson, 2012, 107).

²³⁰ *Kleśakarmavipākāśaiaparamruṣṭa Puruṣa viśeṣa īśvara* (Yogasūtra 1.25, Poonjaar, 2010)

Akliṣṭa (simple, unperturbed), the *Kliṣṭa Vṛttis* are influenced by *Rajas* (activeness) and *Tamas* (inertness) and the *Akliṣṭa* is influenced by *Sattva* (fineness). The cognitive and mental processes such as *Pramāṇa*; inference, *Viparyaya*; inference through sight *Vikalpa*; inference through sound inference *Nidra*; Sleep, *Smṛiti*; memory are the five²³¹ types of *Vṛttis* falls under the categories of *Kliṣṭa* and *Akliṣṭa Vṛttis*²³². Patañjali proposes through the cessation of these five types of *Vṛttis*, *Puruṣa* understands his/her true nature. Yoga is simply defined as the cessation of these mental fluctuations through different methods, some of them are, *Abhyāsa* (the practice of *Yama* and *Niyamas*) *Vairāgya* (renunciation of the material and immaterial world), meditating on ‘god’, meditating the sound *Aum*, and *Prāṇāyāma*. The *Puruṣa* who is bonded with the ties of *Vṛttis* to *Prakṛti* gets to know the true nature of the Self through these practices. Patañjal also goes further in telling the *Yogi* who attained the stillness of *Citta* is even capable of controlling the subtle and gross elements of *Prakṛti* at his/her will.

Differing from the *Sāmkhya* soteriological frame Yoga proposes meditation and other Yogic techniques to deliverance; also it takes a turn in acknowledging the powers of *Yogi* called as *Yogasiddhis* attained through the practice of Yoga. Thereby a direct mystical verification and personal experimentation is the philosophical foundation of Yoga contrasted to the theoretical/intellectual analysis of the *Sāmkhya* system (Burley, 2007).

²³¹ *Pramāṇaviparyayavikalpanidrāsmṛtya* (Yogasutra 1.6, Poonjaar, 2010)

²³² *Vruthayapañcatyakliṣṭākliṣṭa* (Yogasūtra 1.5, Poonjaar, 2010)

III

TRANSFORMING DOMAINS OF YOGA

This chapter is a postlude to the previous chapters²³³ that discussed the history and philosophy of Yoga from ancient times to the age of classical-yoga²³⁴ tradition. It concerns the transformation of the domains of Yoga and discusses the epistemological and ontological reductionism happened to Yoga. There are two sections in this chapter; the first section discusses Yoga philosophy's transformation from a *Nāstik* ancient discipline to a *Vedic* and *Advaita Vedāntic* orthodox philosophy. The history of Vedānta²³⁵ from Pre-Śaṅkara²³⁶ times to Śaṅkara's Advaita is discussed in this section, the rationale behind this discussion is to historically trace the 'Vedāntisation'²³⁷ in Yoga.

The second section of the chapter discusses Yoga's rediscovery as a global 'Vedāntic' philosophy in the backdrop of Yoga's transnational journey after Svāmi Vivekānanda's visit to the West. These transformations in the history of Yoga can be characterised as two epochs in the history of Yoga. The first is from prehistoric times to *Pātañjala Yogasūtra*, wherein Yoga had to undergo various shifts and finally had to reconcile with a *Vedāntic* interpretation of Yoga²³⁸. The second epoch started in 'pre-modern'²³⁹ times that defined the history of 'modern

²³³ Chapter I and II

²³⁴ *Pātañjala Yoga*

²³⁵ *Vedānta*, the word literally means 'end of Veda', it can be taken as the end of Vedic recitation in one case and a much more philosophical definition can also be given to the word. The term *Vedānta*—'end of Veda,' proposes a beginning for Veda, according to traditional belief the sacred syllable (*Om*) is uttered at the beginning of Veda, which is established at the end of Veda. The end part of Veda, is composed of *Upaniṣads*, hence the term generally intends *Upaniṣads*. However *Vedānta* is a school of thought in Indian philosophy that revered the *Upaniṣads* as sacred texts and philosophically inquired the inner meanings of *Upaniṣads*. The earlier meaning of Vedānta only included *Upaniṣads* but in later times after Śaṅkara an expanded meaning of *Vedānta* appeared that included *Brahmasūtra* and *Bhagavadgīta* (Nakamura, 1983).

²³⁶ Śaṅkarācārya (8-9th ? CE) the propounder of Advaita philosophy.

²³⁷ Interpreting diverse philosophies according to *Vedāntic* philosophies.

²³⁸ The trajectory of Yoga from ancient times, where the origin of Yoga from Indus Valley fertility cult, its orientation towards abstinence and indulgence traditions and the culmination of both to form a synthetic Yoga tradition and the *Vedāntisation* of heterogenous yoga tradition are discussed in the Chapters one and two.

²³⁹ The term 'Pre-Modern' specifically used in this chapter to denote a specific period in the history of Yoga—18th and 19th century.

Yoga²⁴⁰, where the inroads of 'Neo-Vedāntism' started coming to the field of Yoga that was already 'Vedāntised' to a great extent. This phase features how European nationalist ideas and enlightenment spirit, along with Scientific rationalism, started defining the new domains of Yoga.

Primary sources: Selected chapters from *Mahābhārata* such as *Śāntiparva*, and *Mokṣadharmaparva*; selected chapters of *Bhagavadgītā*, *Yogasūtra*, *Sarvamatasamgraha* and the commentaries on these primary texts are used. Excerpts from interviews with key speakers are also used as primary data

Secondary sources: Books, articles from journals, magazines on the topic

²⁴⁰ Yoga of the 20th century. Michelis, (2004, p.2) uses The expression 'Modern Yoga' as a technical term to refer to certain types of yoga that evolved mainly through the interaction of Western individuals interested in Indian religions and a number of more or less Westernized Indians over the last 150 years. It may therefore be defined as the graft of a Western branch onto the Indian tree of yoga. This study follows Michelis's definition of modern Yoga although her typology of Modern Yoga — psychosomatic, denominational, postural, meditational types of modern Yoga is not subscribed.

I

FIRST EPOCH

1. Yoga: Transformation from heterodox praxis to an orthodox philosophy

Yoga tradition is rooted in the historical and philosophical milieu of *Śrāmaṇic* traditions arising from the Indus valley's fertility cult, the *Śrāmaṇic* traditions were heterodox traditions and Brāhmanical traditions were called orthodox²⁴¹. Being a floating possession of different heterodox traditions (Chattopadhyaya, 1964) Yoga tradition also stood as a contra distinct philosophy to the *Vedas*. Along with Buddhist and Jain traditions, *Sāṃkhya* and Yoga system criticised the *Vedic* ritualism, especially the sacrificial rites²⁴².

The *Śrāmaṇic* heterodox philosophies such as the *Ājīvika*, *Jain*, *Buddhist* and *Lokāyata* philosophies were kept outside the *Vedic* tradition as non-Vedic (heterodox) darśanas and *Nāstik*. Interestingly, there was no uniform standard to call a particular philosophy *Nāstik*. According to *Manu*, the traditions that are 'reviler of the Veda' (*Vedanindaka*) are *Nāstik* (Nicholson, 2012b, p.105). *Manu* considered Veda as *Śruti*²⁴³ and *Smṛti*²⁴⁴, hence those who stood against these two should be categorised as *Nāstika*. While inspecting *Manu's* categorisation of *Āstika* and *Nāstika*, *Medhātithi* (9th CE) a southern Indian commentator opines *Nāstika* is one who does not participate in *Vedic* rituals and by this logic *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* clearly qualifies as *Nāstik* traditions. The agreement or disagreement towards *Vedic*

²⁴¹ See chapters 1 and 2 for detailed discussion.

²⁴² The approval and disapproval to animal sacrifice and other sacrifices were a common subject of debate between different philosophical schools of thought.

²⁴³ The literal meaning of *Śruti* is 'that which is heard', the traditional belief of Hindus to call a text authoritative is by its non-human origin. The most authoritative type of Hindu sacred literature, made up of all the Vedas, the oldest Hindu religious texts. The Vedas are generally considered to have four types of texts: the hymns to the gods known as *samhitas*, the ritual manuals called the *Brāhmaṇas*, and the speculative texts known as the *Araṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*. The term comes from the traditional Hindu belief that these texts were not composed by human beings but are based in the primordial vibrations of the cosmos itself (Lochtefeld, 2002, p. 645)

²⁴⁴ Vedic tradition is divided into two according to their provenance *Śruti* -that which is heard are the vibrations of the cosmos heard by Seers, hence *Śruti* is of non-human origin, another one is *Smṛti*-that which is remembered, these are remembered and written by humans. Manuals on Law, code of ethics such as *Manusmṛti*, *Yajñavalkya Smṛti* etcetra, *Dharma* literatures such as *Puraṇas*, epics such as *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* are called as *Smṛti* literature. As of its human origin *Smṛti* is of less religious value albeit the practical and social values of them were superior (Lochtefeld, 2002).

ritualism determined the philosophical position of a system as *Nāstik* or *Āstik*²⁴⁵ in earlier times²⁴⁶, as it was a period dominated by the ritualistic part (*Karmakāṇḍa*) of *Vedas* and the *Vedic* rituals were seen as the right practice (orthopraxy²⁴⁷) and a rightful or moral practice too ‘*Dharmic* practice’²⁴⁸ (Nicholson, 2007, 2012a, 2012b).

The orthopraxy (*Pūrva Mīmāṃsa*—the practical or ritualist side) of *Vedas* started declining after the dominance of the *Uttara Mīmāṃsa*²⁴⁹(*Vedānta*) school of thought²⁵⁰. ‘The *Vedāntic* school reinterpreted *Vedas* as imparting information about ultimate truths’(Nicholson, 2012, p.108), and this interpretation model became the primary model of reading *Veda*. It was the beginning of a trend that can be called as the ‘*Vedantisation*’ of *Veda*.

The trend of ‘*Vedantising*’ the *Vedas* has extended itself towards the *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* darśanas. During the medieval times there was a conscious attempt of unifying different philosophies and make it compatible with each other, and as an outcome of this attempt, the

²⁴⁵ More than a philosophy, *Vedas* were practically ritualistic. The philosophical redaction of *Veda* started in later times, to be specific, after the *Uttara Mīmāṃsa* school started dominating. Sankara lately reinterpreted *Uttara Mīmāṃsa* (*Vedānta*) in terms of *Advaita Vedānta*.

²⁴⁶ See, footnote ;17

²⁴⁷ The term Orthopraxy means right practice. The *Vedas* considered *Yoga* as a correct practice- Orthopraxy (Although the practice in *Yoga* is not *Vedic* ritualism)

²⁴⁸ After the dominance of *Uttara Mīmāṃsa* school, the classification of *Āstik* and *Nāstik* school changed, and according to the new classification of *Medhāthithi Nāstika* tradition is one ‘in which it is proclaimed again and again that the *Veda* is contrary to *dharma*’ (Nicholson, 2012a. p.107).

²⁴⁹ *Mīmāṃsa* is one among the six orthodox schools of thought in *Veda*, called as darśanas. 1. *Sāṃkhya*, 2. *Nyāya*, 3. *Yoga*, 4. *Vaiśeṣika* 5. *Pūrva Mīmāṃsa* and 6. *Uttara Mīmāṃsa* are the six schools. *Mīmāṃsa* school gives rule for interpreting *Vedas*. The anterior part of *Mīmāṃsa* named as *Pūrva Mīmāṃsa* is focused on the ritualistic aspect of *Veda* hence it is also named as *Karmakāṇḍa* (Ritualistic part) whereas the posterior part that is the *Uttara Mīmāṃsa* is concerned with the philosophical aspects of *Vedas* hence it is known as *Jñānakāṇḍa* (Knowledge part). As *Uttara Mīmāṃsa* is philosophical in nature it is also called as *Vedānta* (the end of *Veda*, *Veda* means knowledge and by reaching its end one attains enlightenment is the fundamental presupposition here)

²⁵⁰ The history of the change in supremacy of *Pūrva Mīmāṃsa* to *Uttara Mīmāṃsa* is a matter of research, the role of power, authority and structure of these two *Darśanas* are to be closely studied to understand the historical complexities involved in this. A common explanation given by some scholars about this is the chronological reason, it says *Pūrva Mīmāṃsa* came into existence before *Uttara Mīmāṃsa* hence the dominance of *Pūrva Mīmāṃsa* school was a natural phenomenon, however Nakamura (1983, p.416-417) objects this theory, he argues both the *Mīmāṃsa* schools existed parallelly in history. He substantiates his argument with the debate between *Jaimini* (The expounder of *Pūrva Mīmāṃsa*) and *Bādarāyaṇa* (The expounder of *Uttara Mīmāṃsa*) were the sanctity of *Praxis* over *Gnosis* and reverse was the central argument, *Pūrva Mīmāṃsa* represented *Praxis* and *Gnosis* was represented by *Uttara Mīmāṃsa*. The earlier times mentioned in this section was a period where the *praxis* over *gnosis* had an upper hand in history. The debate we are trying to identify to understand the history of integration *Yoga* into *Āstika darśana* is a power discourse that needs a more broader and closer look. The present research due to its limited scope is not attempting to explore the debate between early (*Pūrva*) and later (*Uttara*) *Mīmāṃsa*, as the study is largely looking at the transformation of *Yoga* from heterodox tradition to an orthodox philosophy.

commentators²⁵¹ on *Sāmkhya* and *Yoga* started looking at these philosophies compatible with the *Advaita Vedānta* school of thought²⁵². The classification of *Sāmkhya* and *Yoga* as *Nāstik* traditions started blurring and it was incorporated as an *Āstika darśana*. The minimum prerequisite to classify a philosophy as *Āstika* or *Nāstika* has changed by the time, and it was narrowed to only one criterion— ‘acceptance of scriptural authority as the means of valid knowledge’ (Nicholson, 2012a, p.106), by this *Sāmkhya* qualifies as *Āstik* philosophy although the ‘acceptance of scriptural authority’ in *Sāmkhya* is conditional to logical inquiry and reason. The addition of *Sāmkhya* and *Yoga* to the *Vedic* and *Vedāntic* fold redefined these traditions' in terms of their philosophical position. The fundamental heterodox nature of these philosophies were distorted to fit it into an orthodox Vedic stratum²⁵³.

The *Śrāmaṇic* traditions such as *Ājīvika*, *Jain* and *Buddhist* traditions have used the postural techniques of 'Yoga'²⁵⁴ to accomplish their soteriological goals²⁵⁵. Although it existed with many commonalities, each system in the *Śrāmaṇic* spectrum had its striking philosophical differences. The fundamental of them is their epistemological variances.

²⁵¹ Commentators such as *Madhava* and *Madusūdhana* interpreted *Yoga* and *Sāmkhya* compatible with *Advaita Vedānta* and considered these *Nāstik* philosophies as *Āstik*, and saved their criticism towards *Nāstik* philosophies which by then included *Buddhists* and *Jains* (Nicholson, 2012, p.105) .

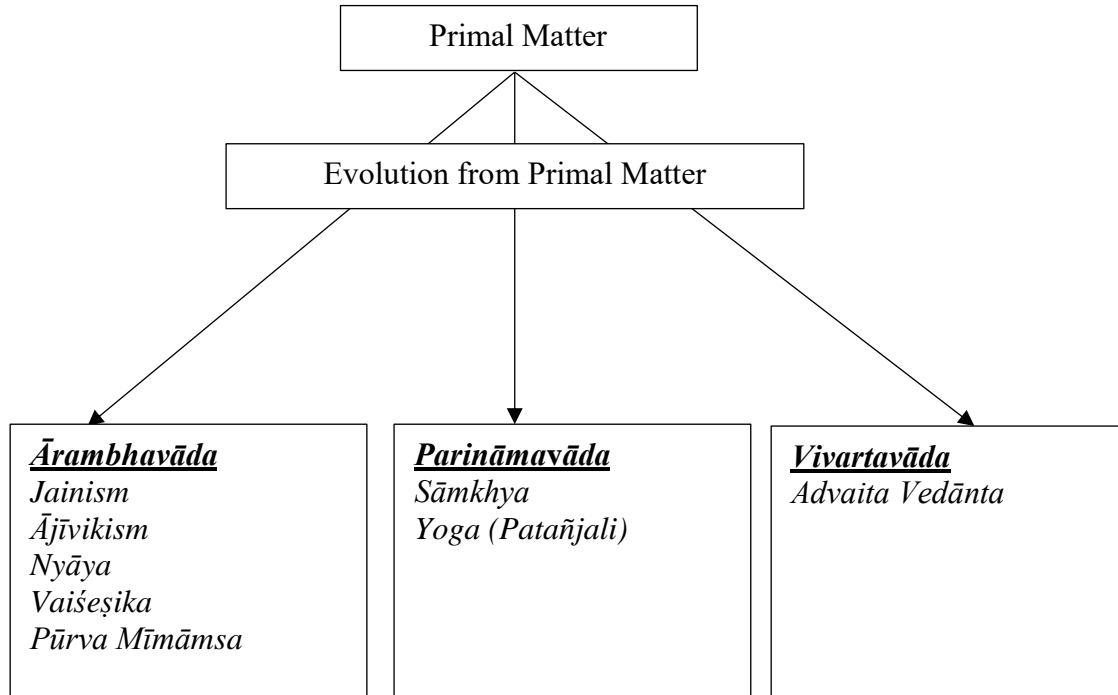
²⁵² Interestingly, *Śaṅkarācārya*, the foremost figure of *Advaita Vedānta*, has vehemently criticized *Sāmkhya* and *Yoga* philosophy. In Sankara's *Bhāṣya* (Commentary) to *Brahmasūtra* 2.1.3. There Śaṅkara maintains that "by the rejection of the *Sāmkhya* tradition (*Smṛti*) the *Yoga* tradition has been rejected (Bronkhorst, 1981, p. 309)

²⁵³ The *Vedāntic* redaction of *Yoga* in later times is descending from this process of refashioning heterodox praxis to an orthodox philosophy

²⁵⁴ The nomenclature ‘Yoga’ with its present meaning was not in existence then.

²⁵⁵ See Chapter 1 for detailed discussion on the roots of *Yoga* in different *Śrāmaṇic* traditions.

Figure 3: Cosmologies of different Philosophical traditions according to Prasthānabheda



An *Advaitic* doxographical²⁵⁶ work named *Prasthānabheda* of *Madhusūdhana Sarasvati* classifies the different traditions based on their respective cosmologies (Halbfass, 1988; Nicholson, 2012a). The categorisation seen in *Prasthānabheda* seems a logical classification in terms of the cosmologies of these traditions discussed in the previous chapters of the study²⁵⁷ of this study. According to *Madhusūdhana*, the *Ājīvika* and *Jain* philosophies were based on the theory of atomism called *Ārambhavāda*— early atomism of *Jain* and *Ājīvika*

²⁵⁶ ‘The word doxography is not Indian in origin—it is actually a Latin neologism, coined in 1879 by the philologist Hermann Diel (Nicholson, 2012, p.103) ‘Doxography encompasses those writings, or parts of writings, in which the author presents philosophical views of some or other of the ancient philosophers or schools, in some or other areas, or on some or other topics, of philosophy, whether with or without presentation of the argumentation or analysis through which they offered philosophical support or reasons in favor of their ‘tenets’, and whether or not they also include critical evaluations and comments of the author's own’ (*Doxography of Ancient Philosophy*, 2004).

²⁵⁷ See; Chapter II.

traditions maintains that the *Paramāṇus* (atoms) as the building blocks of the entire universe, lately the theory finds a way to *Nyaya* and *Vaisesika* school of thoughts, the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsa* school that represented the *Vedic* ritualism also subscribed to the atomist model of creation (Halbfass, 1988; Nicholson, 2012a).

Whereas the Tāntric culture evolved from the same substrate followed the theory of the evolution of primal matter²⁵⁸ (*Parāsamvit*) called *Pariṇāma Vāda*. The *Sāmkhya* system of *Kapila* and the *Yoga* system of Patañjali followed the same theory of creation. On the other hand, the *Advaita Vedānta* school of thought followed the unreal manifestation of supreme (*Brahman*) as their theory of creation (Nicholson, 2012a).

Yoga from its very ancient anchorage is seen emerging from the *Śrāmaṇic* and Tāntric substratum, and these two traditions were either *Ārambhavādin* or *Pariṇamavādin* darśanas. Later, a *Vivartavādin* redaction of *Yoga* started budding, which marks the epistemological twisting of *Yoga* praxis with the *Vedāntic* gnosis.

Yoga from its beginning follows a practical soteriology that involves techniques (*Kriya*) such as *Mudra*, *Bandha*, *Prāṇāyāma* and *āsanas*. Mallinson²⁵⁹ remarks, 'Yoga is a practical soteriology that works regardless of *Yogi's* philosophy'. The upsurge of *Uttara Mīmāṃsa* (*Vedānta*) changed this situation and started interpreting Yogic ideas in terms of *Vedāntic* gnostic philosophy. *Yoga*, from its start, maintains *Jñāna* (gnosis) of any kind is fruitless if the *Yogin* cannot make it practical. *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* that contributed a majority of verses to *Haṭhapradīpikā* along with *Vivekamārtanda* and *Gorakṣāsataka* has almost no place for *Jñāna* (gnosis) in it (Mallinson, 2017, p.232). The *Haṭhayogic* ideas of blending *Prāṇa* and *Apāna* to enter the central channel, holding semen inside, perpetuated the practical

²⁵⁸ The idea of primal matter (causal matter) of Cosmos is different in different traditions, Chapter 2 has a detailed discussion on the philosophical differences of diverse traditions regarding the concept of Primal matter as God, Consciousness, Atom, etcetera.

²⁵⁹ Unpublished draft submitted to Indian Journal of Philosophy, cited with the permission of author, Sir. James Mallinson.

ideas that Yoga upheld since its inception as a practical tradition rather a philosophical model²⁶⁰.

The *Haṭhapradīpikā* declares that there is *Jñāna* until the breath is led into the central channel and *Bindu* is held firm. 'He who claims to have *jñāna* without doing so is a liar (4.114 cf. 4.15). *Kriyā* is essential for *Haṭhayoga*, but it no longer means ritual action, having become yogic practice itself [Dattātreya yogaśāstra 42, 45-46]' (Mallinson, 2017, p.225).

The philosophical redaction of Yoga through the *Vedāntic* appropriation of it has a history of its own that tells the story of the epistemic twisting of Yoga tradition that was solely an asceto-mystic soteriology to a religious and gnostic soteriology. Yoga and *Sāṃkhya*'s entry to *Veda* and its later *Vedāntic* interpretation have to be studied to understand the epistemological and ontological reductionism²⁶¹ of Yoga.

1.1. Yoga's entry into the Vedic fold

As discussed in the previous chapters, the fundamentals of Yoga are rooted in the asceto-mystic traditions that were totally out of Vedas—*Veda-bāhya*. It is only the 'yogic' heat²⁶² produced through asceticism called '*Tapas*' has parallels in Veda. 'In Vedas, *Tapas*' discourse was first of all connected to the performance of the fire ritual, central to Vedic societies. The ritual fire had a powerful transformative effect of converting material products into energy resources for the gods. It empowered or 'tapasised' the gods, and the sacrifice would further benefit the universe and the sacrifice (Madsen, 2013). The *Tapas* mentioned in Vedas are used synonymously with Yoga. The *Rgveda* credits *Tapas* for the creation of world and means to ascend to a heavenly realm. As Chapple observes: 'Throughout the early literature of the Indian tradition, *tapas* serves the dual role of accounting for the creation of external realities, and inspiring the individual to see the power of creation within one's own body'

²⁶⁰ See chapters; 1 and 2 for detailed discussion.

²⁶¹ Epistemological reductionism is the idea that the knowledge about one domain can be reduced to another body of knowledge ('Editorial', 2011, p.1401)

²⁶² Tapa means heat, and *Tapas* is the process of generating heat, *Tāpasi* is the person who has inner Yogic heat produced through *Tapas*.

(Chapple, 2006, p.104). The heat that can be produced using the ascetic measures of stringent posture, celibacy, sleeplessness, fasting are paralleled with the heat produced by the *Yagñā/Yāga*. Interestingly the similarity between these two actions is seen in the root words of *Yoga* and *Yāga*; both these words emerge from etymologically similar words \sqrt{Yuj} , means to unite, \sqrt{Yaj} means to worship. Though worshipping an external god is not a scheme of *Yoga*, for this reason, *Yoga* in its essence was not acceptable to the *Vedic* culture.

The Vedas believed in the sacrificial ceremonies to the gods as the basis of world order, and if the fire rituals that carry the nourishment to the protector deities are stopped, the world order will collapse. The ascetic lifestyle -*Nivṛti* path of Śrāmaṇic Yogic stream which is a threat to Vedic ritualism and *Pravṛti* path in the initial times. The world view of Vedic and Yogic culture was different. The Vedic narrative of being in the world and enjoy its fruits was questioned by the Yogic counter-narrative; Raveh Daniel observes 'Vedic narrative is establishing a world; the yoga counter-narrative is leaving the world behind'. The former is established in words (the mantras and chants to satisfy the celestial gods for material benefits), whereas *Yoga* is rooted in silence²⁶³. The upholders of the yogic culture were '*Munis*' (silent monks). Thereby *Sāmkhya* and *Yoga* acted as a counter-narrative to the Vedic narrative. Nevertheless, in later times *Sāmkhya* and *Yoga* were incorporated into the Vedic fold, and the synthesis of *Veda* and *Sāmkhya* -*Yoga* started appearing.

The ancient Sanskrit doxography²⁶⁴ by *Ragavavanda* titled *Sarvamatasamgraha* gives an account of the inclusion of *Yoga* and *Sāmkhya* to the Vedic authoritarian tradition (Ragavananda, 1918). *Sarvamatasamgraha* classifies the *Āgama* (authoritative traditions) into two. One is *Apauruṣeya* (non-human origin), and the second is *Pauruṣeya* (human origin)²⁶⁵.

²⁶³ See; chapters: 1 and 2 for detailed discussion.

²⁶⁴ Other doxographical works are from either Jain background or *Advaita Vedāntic* background (Halbfass, 1988).

²⁶⁵ Manu's classification of Vedas into *Śruti* and *Smṛti* is similar to this.

‘The primary texts that are Vedas and their *Aṅgas* (auxiliaries) are considered to be of non-human origin, and the fifth Veda, that is *Mahābhārata* and *Puraṇas*, and *Smṛti* (code of law) are of human origin’ (Halbfass, 1988, p.354).

The early references of Yoga and *Sāmkhya* started appearing in *Mahābhārata*. *Sāmkhya* and Yoga were described as the part of *Mahābhārata*. The *Sāmkhya* and Yoga in *Mahābhārata* were referred as Epic *Sāmkhya* - Yoga. These traditions predates the emergence of classical *Sāmkhya* and Yoga of Patañjali.²⁶⁶ The primarily associated meaning of Yoga and *Sāmkhya* as a well thought out philosophical school of thought is not recognisable in the Epic *Sāmkhya* and Yoga, however Yoga as a corpus of practice and *Sāmkhya* as a body of cosmological theories is very well presented in *Mahābhārata*²⁶⁷(Yardi, 1987).

While talking about *Sāmkhya* and Yoga, the *Mahābhārata* presents the underlying tension between ascetic life and *Vedic* ritualistic life²⁶⁸(Ian and David, 2003) Looking at the *Śāntiparvan* and *Mokṣadharmaparvan* of *Mahābhārata*, the influence of *Śrāmaṇic* religions is discernible in the epic. By giving the *Pañcamaveda* (fifth Veda) status to the *Mahābhārata*,

²⁶⁶ Before the formulation of classical Yoga of Patanjali and *Sāmkhya* schools of thought, *Sāmkhya* ideas and Yogic ideas existed, the previous chapters have discussed the development of Yogic and *Sāmkhya* thoughts before its classical formulation. Here, the references of *Sāmkhya* and Yoga in Epic *Mahābhārata* does not refer to classical *Sāmkhya* or Yoga, instead a pre-classical form of them that can be called as Epic *Sāmkhya* or Yoga for distinguishing them from later classical traditions of *Sāmkhya* and Yoga.

²⁶⁷ It is interesting to see in the epic the word *Sāmkhya* used in plural and Yoga in the singular (Yardi, 1987), it is denoting the Presence of different *Sāmkhya* school present at that time. However, the presence of other schools of Yoga is not taken into account.

²⁶⁸ The tension between traditional Brahmanical spiritual practices and widely available yogic alternatives is perhaps what underlies Bhishma's promotion, in the *Japakopakhyana* (12.189–193), of the practice of *Japa* as an independent discipline and way of life belonging to the *Vedic* sacrificial tradition and differing from the practice of Yoga, even though his actual description of the practices of the *Japaka* is indebted to yoga' (Ian and David, 2003, p.2). Professor Thadani observes 'The whole story of *Mahābhārata* is an account of the connection and conflict between the different systems of Hindu philosophy and Religion. This is especially so regarding the central systems. Thus there is a conflict between principal Vedānta (Vaiṣṇavism) and principal Yoga (Śaivism); principal Yoga and principal *Sāmkhya* (Buddhism and Jainism); principal *Sāmkhya* and principal Vedānta. This you will see is a perfect cycle of eternal conflicts!' (as cited in Sukthankar, 1957, p.27) Thadani even argues the battle of Kurukṣetra itself represents the eternal conflict between the different philosophical traditions. However, he agrees there was a common ground of agreement between these opposing philosophies, which made the discussions possible (Sukthankar, 1957).

the heretic schools²⁶⁹ such as *Sāmkhya* and Yoga that has already infused the epic gets into Veda (Halbfass, 1988) and gets a scriptural validation.

Brockington notes that Yoga techniques were widely diffused already throughout the epics and that there is no book of the *Mahābhārata* from which [the mention of Yoga or Yogis] is absent. Yoga also permeates the text implicitly, with references to yogic practices part of the overall cultural context that guides the sensibilities of Indian tradition' (as cited in Chapple, 2006, p.104).

Yoga in the *Mahābhārata* is used along with its parent philosophy *Sāmkhya* ²⁷⁰. *Sāmkhya* system of Kapila is divided, 1. with *Īśvaraḥ*(God) and 2. *Anīśvaraḥ* (without God). The *Sāmkhya* system's epistemic universe arose from the same ideas of wandering ascetics who gave birth to the *Śrāmaṇic* philosophies. These philosophies were antagonistic to the concept of 'a god' (creator, maintainer and destroyer of the world). The concept of personal God is thereby totally alien to the philosophies of mendicant ascetic communities, and considered offerings and sacrifices to celestial gods as futile attempts. The fundamental difference they maintained against this ritualism is the reason for their labelling as heretic sects. *Sāmkhya* of *Kapila* qualifies to be a non-*Vedic* heretic sect and hence a *Nāstik Darśana*. Besides, the non-theistic orientation of *Sāmkhya* , the *Mahābhārata* showcases theistic speculation of the *Sāmkhyan* philosophy interpreted as *Sāmkhya* with *Īśvara*—*Seśvara Sāmkhya* ²⁷¹ that Patañjail later systematised through his compendium *Yogasūtra*. The theistic elucidation of non-theistic

²⁶⁹ Vedic tradition considered *Sāmkhya* and Yoga as heretic schools of thought.

²⁷⁰ There are differences of opinion among scholars regarding the allegiance of Yoga to *Sāmkhya* ; some scholars are maintaining although the metaphysical framework of *Sāmkhya* is agreed by Yoga, it existed as a separate discipline uninfluenced by *Sāmkhyan* logic; in *Mahābhārata* 's *Mokṣadhramaparvan*, Bhīṣma distinguishes Yoga and *Sāmkhya* as different in their darśanas although there are commonalities between them (Eliade, 1958) *Mokṣadhramaparvan* distinguishes *Sāmkhya* , *Yoga*, *Pāñcarātras*, *Vedas* and the *Pāsupatas*, as different religions as they hold different views. 'it is also said that *Sāmkhya* and Yoga were originally declared by two different sages, *Kapila* and *Hiranyagrabha* respectively' (Yardi, 1987, p. 312). Conversely, *Bhagavadgītā* goes further and declares 'children- not wisemen talk of *Sāmkhya* and Yoga as distinct'(Vyasa, no date). The statement of Patañjali about the allegiance of his Yoga to *Sāmkhya* is a strong point that gives validation to the *Sāmkhyan* epistemic foundation of Yoga (Vivekananda, no date; Poonjaar, 2010; Daniel, 2012).

²⁷¹ Bronkhorst(1981, p.309) argues that 'until a rather late date "Yoga" and *Sveśvara Sāmkhya* did not refer to Patañjali's philosophy. The evidence strongly suggests that before this date, "Yoga" referred to a system of philosophy, referred to *Nyāya* and/or *Vaiśeṣika*. The expression *Seśvara Sāmkhya* may have referred to the *Pāñcarātra*'.

Sāmkhyān philosophy appended the twenty-sixth principle on top of the two ontic ultimates (*Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa*) of *Sāmkhya*. The twenty-sixth principle appended to the basic *Sāmkhyān* principles is called *Kṣetrajñā* and equated with *Īśvara* (Brockington, 2003). Although called *Īśvara*, the Yogic understanding of *Īśvaraḥ* is not a personal god concept; instead, it is a state of *Yogi* who attains the ultimate state of an unblemished soul—*Puruṣaviśeṣa*, free from all *Karmas*, *Karmaphala* and *Kleśas*. The *Kṣetrajñā* is considered a perceiving self, free from all the tribulations of *Prakṛti*, which are seen as twenty-four principles of *Sāmkhyān* metaphysics. The *Kṣetrajñā* or *Īśvaraḥ* is thereby not a doer or enjoyer of the universe. However, a pure witness-consciousness that forms the background of all the empirical activities manifested as the world. The introduction of a personal god²⁷² to the idea of *Seśvara Sāmkhya* is seen first appearing in the later attached epic poem *Bhagavadgītā* of *Mahābhārata*. *Gītā* alluded to the twenty-sixth principle mentioned in *Seśvara Sāmkhya* as the supreme soul that is *Kṛṣṇa* (Brockington, 2003).

The transformation of Yoga tradition from a non-personal god to a personal god scheme is seen in *Bhagavadgītā*. This transformation portrays the shift of the philosophical position of Yoga from gnostic and mystic soteriology to religious soteriology. *Gītā*, in chapter four, declares about the divine origin of Yoga from *Kṛṣṇa*²⁷³. By introducing a theory of revelation of Yoga from the divine, the text also maintains that Arjuna is qualified to receive the teachings of Yoga, not by his merit —spiritual discipline, asceticism or *Tapas*, but through *Kṛṣṇa*'s grace, that Arjuna is a *Bhakta* (devotee) and *Sakhav* (comrade) of *Kṛṣṇa* (Vyāsa, no date). In continuing *slokas*, *Kṛṣṇa* talks about the perennality of Yoga tradition from time immemorial

²⁷² The idea of personal God in ascetic philosophies started first appearing in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*.

²⁷³ *Kṛṣṇa* declares to Arjuna: 'I revealed this immortal Yoga to *Vivasvān* (Sun) *Vivasvān* conveyed it to Manu (his son); and Manu imparted to (his son) *Ikṣvāku*. Thus transmitted in succession from father to son Arjuna this Yoga remained known to the royal sages (Rajarshis) through long lapse of time this Yoga got lost to the world' (Ch.4.2 and 3, Vyasa, no date, p.60).

to the present times, where he invokes the idea of transmigration and reincarnation of souls²⁷⁴. The idea of the cycle of birth and death adopted from the *Śrāmaṇic* tradition is reflected in this chapter of *Bhagavadgītā*. In the same chapter, the proclamation of the supremacy of Kṛṣṇa through stating that the entire *Prakṛti* is nothing but the lowest principle of the divine²⁷⁵ is presented along with the establishment of a 'Personal god'—the protector of the world²⁷⁶.

Gītā marks a particular juncture in the history of Yoga; it blends the concept of *Śrāmaṇic* gnostic and shamanistic mystic soteriologies with a religious soteriology grounded in *Bhakti* (devotion). Gītā opens a new era of synthesis in the history of Yoga that blended individual human life informed by the *Śrāmaṇic* ideals of renunciation and theory of Karma, with a human social life that gives importance to active participation in society's day to day activities, by executing the *Dharma* entrusted on each *Varna*²⁷⁷.

The warrior, Arjuna's dejection, presented in the first chapter of *Gītā*,²⁷⁸ portrays the conflict between the tradition of *Nīvṛti* and *Prāvṛti* rightly represented by *Śrāmaṇic* and *Vedic* societies, where Gītā through the mediation of 'Lord' arrives at a synthesis of blending both these streams, where the adherence of *Varṇa dharma* is established firmly and even prescribed

²⁷⁴ Śrī Bhagavān Said: Arjuna, you and I have passed through many births. I remember them all you don't remember. (Ch.4.5, Vyasa, no date, p.60).

²⁷⁵ Though birthless and immortal and the Lord of all beings, I manifest myself through my on Yoga Māya (divine potency), keeping my nature (*Prakṛti*) under control (Ch.4.6, Vyasa, no date, p.60) In the seventh chapter also a theistic account of *Sāṃkhya yoga* is presented: the eightfold *Prakṛti*s called *Kṛṣṇa's* "lower nature", and described as his Māya (Brockington, 2003, p.16)

²⁷⁶ 'Arjuna whenever righteousness is on the decline, unrighteousness is in the ascendant, Then I body myself forth' (Ch.4.7, Vyasa, no date, p.60).

²⁷⁷ In the fourth chapter of Gītā, Kṛṣṇa gives divine sanctity to *Varnas* by telling 'The four orders of the society (viz., the *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra* were created by me, classifying them according to the *guṇas* predominant in each and apportioning corresponding duties to them; though the originator of this creation, know me, the immortal Lord, to be a non-doer (Ch.4.13, Vyāsa, no date, p.62). The three *Guṇas*, such as *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, are taken from *Sāṃkhyan* metaphysics and clubbed with the *Vedic Varṇa* system; the non-doership of the Lord is again *Sāṃkhya* -Yoga speculation of *Puruṣa* (*Puruṣaviśeṣa* in Yoga).

²⁷⁸ The first chapter of Gītā is named *Arjunaviśādayoga* (dejection of Arjuna); the chapter draws a beautiful picture of the wavering psyche of Arjuna in terms of active participation in *Varṇadharmā* (here the *dharma* of *Kṣatriya* to indulge in war) or renounce the world and tread in the path of asceticism. The rest of Gītā deals with dealing with the confusion of Arjuna and makes him surrender to a plan that upholds the religious soteriology, which is nothing but a blend of asceticism, gnosis and religious mysticism.

as a means to liberation!²⁷⁹ The final sloka of Gītā is an example of this synthesis²⁸⁰. Larsen rightly spots the confusion due to the synthesis; he observes

Many of these tensions and changes come together intellectually in the *Bhagavadgītā*, and it is indeed no accident that the so-called "philosophy" of the Gītā is little more than a potpourri of *Upaniṣadic* speculation, cosmological and psychological *Sāmkhya* reasoning, Jain and Buddhist ascetic motifs, *varṇāśramadharmā* as *Karmayoga*, tied together with an apologia for early Vaiṣṇava bhaktiyoga — a potpourri that confuses a modern reader almost as much as it confused Arjuna (Larson, James, 1987, p.8).

A reading of the *Mahābhārata* and *Gīta* provides a historical insight into the transformation of Yoga from its roots in *Śrāmaṇic* asceticism and later engagement with the Vedic tradition. The Vedic tradition was antithetical to the *Śrāmaṇic* tradition, but the former was powerful in defining yoga and its practice. Finally, both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Gita* also record the shift of yoga into an *Āstika* Darśana. Mircea Eliade has presented three classes of 'data' about Yoga discerned from epic *Mahābhārata* (Eliade, 1958; Fowler, Eliade and Hauer, 1962). These three classes are not just sets of data, but possibly three epochs in the Yoga's history about the transformation of Yoga from an arcane discipline to a systematic philosophy.

²⁷⁹ The ideas of the three *Varṇas* and their respective *dharma* is representing the *Prāvṛtti* stream, whereas the fourth *Āśrama* and the last *Puruṣārtha*, that *Mokṣa* is representing the *Nivṛtti* stream, the case of Gītā is intriguing as it juxtaposes these two contradictory streams. Moreover, it places the adherence to *Varṇadharmā* as the most significant thing in one's life, and it is established through Gītā's unique Karma theory. The contradicting views on *Sanyasayoga* (Yoga of renunciation- *Nivṛtti*) and *Karmayoga* (Yoga of action- *Prāvṛtti*) is seen in *Bhagavadgītā*, confused Arjuna questions this controvert nature of preaching, Kṛṣṇa as a reply to Arjuna, in chapter five of Gītā undoubtedly declares the Yoga of action is superior to Yoga of renunciation. .

²⁸⁰ *Yatra yogeśvara Kṛṣṇo, yatra Pārtho dhanurdhara*

Tatra śrīvijayo bhūti dhruva nīmatirmama

Wherever there is Bhagwan Śrī Kṛṣṇa, The Lord of Yoga, and there is Arjuna, the wielder of the Ghāṇḍīva bow, goodness, victory, glory and unfailing righteousness will surely be there. Such is my conviction (Ch.18.78, Vyāsa, no date, p.203). The blending of Yoga and the *Varṇadharmā* is blended in this *Śloka* Paradoxically. Arjuna, who raised the importance of renunciation, is presented as the representative of *Varṇadharmā* and Kṛṣṇa, who preached the importance of *Varṇadharmā*, is presented as the upholder of Yoga!

The three classes of data Eliade presents are;

1. Episodes involving asceticism (tapas) and revealing practices and theories closely related to Vedic ascesis but without Yoga reference.
2. Episodes and discourses in which Yoga and Tapas are synonymous, and both are regarded as magical techniques
3. Didactic discourses and episodes in which Yoga is presented with philosophically elaborated terminology of its own (Mircea Eliade, 1958, p.150).

Among the three sets of data, the last set of data from epic, that is, 'Didactic discourses and episodes in which yoga is presented with philosophically elaborated terminology of its own', requires a close look, as it later defined the position of Yoga in India.

1.2. *Vedāntising Yoga*

The non-dualistic *Vedāntic* interpretation of dualistic *Sāmkhya* and Yoga started during the period of composition of *Mahābhārata* itself. *Vasiṣṭha*, *Vyāsa* and *Yājñavalkya*, the celebrated *Vedāntins* in *Mahābhārata*, were the first *ṛṣis* who started interpreting these dualist philosophies in terms of non-dualistic philosophy²⁸¹. The philosophical position of these *rishis* was imposed on the *Sāmkhyān* and *Yogic* traditions; the process of *Vedāntising* these traditions reached its zenith by the advent of *Bhagavadgītā* that was distinguished as a gospel of *Vedānta*. *Vasiṣṭha-Janakasamvāda*, *Sukanupraśna*, *Yājñavalkya-Janakasamvāda* and *Bhagavadgītā* tries to translate the dualistic philosophy Yoga into the *Upaniṣadic* monistic tradition. *Sukānupraśna* in *Śāntiparva* is a dialogue between Sage *Vyāsa* and his son *Śuka*; several topics are discussed in this section, including the cosmology of Vedas, its concept about creation, space, and time whatever be the topics discussed all of them were interpreted from the

²⁸¹ The epic *Sāmkhya* and Yoga is older than classical *Sāmkhya*, hence some scholars think that the earliest sources of *Sāmkhya* is epic itself hence to argue about the beginning of non-dualistic interpretation of dualistic *Sāmkhya* and Yoga seems implausible, albeit the existence of dualistic traditions seen in archaic *Sāmkhya* n, yogic and tantric cultures stems from Indus valley is undeniable, also the later *Sāmkhya kārika* of *Īśvarakṛṣṇa* follows a total dualistic take of *Sāmkhya* rather adhering to the non-dualistic and *Āstik* interpretation of *Sāmkhya*. Frauwallner and Hacker's reconstruction theory of *Sāmkhya* maintains there was a pre-kārika tradition of *Sāmkhyān* ontology-cosmology based on *Ṣaṣṭitantra* based on that Iswarakrishna clearly built and improved *Sāmkhya kārika* (Larson, James, 1969, p.10). The proto-*Sāmkhyān* ideas expressed in older *Upaniṣads* such as *Cāndogya*, *Brhadāranyaka*, *Kauṣītaki*, *Aitareya* shows the existence of pre-Kārika and pre-epic tradition of *Sāmkhya* -Yoga epistemology (Burley, 2007).

viewpoint of *Vedānta*²⁸² (Burley, 2007). Amongst all, the most important is the interpretation of foundational *Sāmkhya* principles. *Vyāsa* brings in the concept of a creator god '*Brahman*'²⁸³ from which all the principles explained in *Sāmkhya* philosophy, starting from the *Mahat* principle, buds up and comes into being²⁸⁴. Thereby, the creator concept and the cosmology of Vedas were successfully infused into the *Sāmkhya* framework, remarkably, the discussion on the value of asceticism (*Tapas*) is also noteworthy in this section²⁸⁵ (Ganguli, 1896). The

²⁸²*Vyāsa Bādarāyaṇa* (4th BC-2nd AD) is believed to be the father of *Vedāntic* philosophy (Damodaran, 1984, p.267), some scholars 'believe' *Vyāsa Bādarāyaṇa* codified Vedas and wrote *Brahmasūtra*, *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas*, but there are difference of opinion among scholars in identifying *Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa* with *Krishnadwaipayana Vyāsa* who is the author of *Epic Mahābhārata*. However here we see *Vyāsa* of *Mahābhārata* giving a *Vedāntic* interpretation to *Sāmkhya* - Yoga ideas. Whereas in *Brahmasūtras* one can find a lot of space where devoted to criticise non-*Vedāntic* darśanas including *Sāmkhya* -Yoga, Vaisesika, Buddhist and Jain darśanas. As an independent tradition, *Vedāntic* school represented in *Brahmasūtra* and *Uttara-Mīmamsa* is critical about the above said pluralistic philosophies but accepts them and reinterpret them using *Vedāntic* ideas is an interesting paradox.

²⁸³ In epic, the use of *Brahman* is used as a personal god; conversely, the Upanishads maintains *Brahman* as an abstract entity. Although Hermann Oldenberg (1991) observes a later pre-Buddhistic Upanishad named *Svetāsvatara Upanishad* held belief in 'a' personal God, he emphasizes it is the only one *Upanishad* among closely related texts which represents most emphatically the belief in one God. Oldenberg criticizes this *Upanishad* as the most confounded among the confused *Upanishads*; nevertheless, he identifies *Svetāsvatara* as the right predecessor of the later text that has 'produced the classical expression for India in a later age known for its intermingling of speculations and belief in god: the *Bhagavadgītā*' (Oldenberg, 1991, p.174). *Svetāsvatara* is the earliest available Indian document in defense of Monotheism (Chattopadhyaya, 1989, p.88). Damodaran (1984, p.267) observes Upanishads belonging to different knowledge traditions maintained divergent philosophies that include materialism and spiritualism, it was *Vyāsa* through his *Brahmasūtra*, and *Vedāntic* interpretation tried to weld different epistemologies to a *Vedāntic* framework, thereby the introduction of *Brahma* (the ultimate principle) was introduced. However, the term *Brahman* in *Brahmasūtra* did not intend a personal god.

²⁸⁴*Vyāsa* said, '*Brahma* is the effulgent seed from which, existing as it does by itself, hath sprung the whole universe consisting of two kinds of being, viz., the mobile and the immobile—at the dawn of His day, waking up. He creates with the help of *Avidya* this universe. At first springs up that which is called *Mahat*. That *Mahat* is speedily transformed into Mind, which is the soul of the Manifest. Overwhelming the *Chit*, which is effulgent, with *Avidya*, Mind creates seven great beings. Urged by the desire to create, Mind, which is far-reaching, which has many courses, and which has desire and doubt for its principal indications, begins to create diverse objects by modifications of itself. First springs from its space. Know that its property is Sound. From space, by modification, arises the bearer of all scents, viz., the pure and mighty Wind. It is said to possess the attribute of Touch. From Wind also, by modification, springs Light endued with effulgence. Displayed in beauty and also called *Sukram*, it starts into existence, thus, possessing the attribute of Form. From Light, by modification, arises Water having a taste for its attribute. From Water springs Earth having Scent for its attribute. These are said to represent initial creation (The *Mahābhārata*, Book 12: Santi Parva: Mokshadharma Parva: Section CCXXXII, Ganguli, 1896, p.157).

²⁸⁵ 'They however, whose vision is directed to truth regard *Brahma* as the cause. Penance is the highest good for living creatures. The roots of penance are tranquillity and self-restraint. By penance one obtains all things that one wishes for in one's mind. By penance one attains to that Being who creates the universe. He who (by penance) succeeds in attaining to that Being becomes the puissant master of all beings. It is by Penance that the Rishis are enabled to read the Vedas ceaselessly' (The *Mahābhārata*, Book 12: Santi Parva: Mokshadharma Parva: Section CCXXXII, Ganguli, 1896, p.159).

brahman concept added to the basic twenty-five principles of *Sāmkhya* seen in the epic is an addition based on the *Advaitic* reinterpretation of *Sāmkhya* .

The fragments of *Sāmkhya*-Yoga philosophy is seen in the *Mahābhārata* , pre-*Sāmkhya* *kārika* and pre-*Yogasūtra* Upaniṣads that had incorporated information about *Sāmkhya* and Yoga philosophies. Sage *Patañjali*²⁸⁶ compiled the Yogic ideas and made a compendium of Yoga named *Yogasūtra* ²⁸⁷in 3rd or 4th CE. Patañjalil compiled his *Yogasūtra* from several different texts belonging to diverse traditions ranging from *Śrāmaṇic* ascetic to mystical and gnostic traditions. Scholars such as Deussen, Hauer and Feuerstein point to the different texts and sub-text tradition seen in *Yogasūtra* (Chapple, 1994). As seen in other textual traditions such as *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* and *Brahmasūtra*, Patañjali also used the aphoristic writing method for Yoga. The Yogic aphorisms of Patañjalil were commented on by *Vyāsa*, called *Vyāsa Bhāṣya* of *Yogasūtra*²⁸⁸. The commentary of *Vyāsa* became inseparably attached to the *Yogasūtra* , and thereby the original text and commentary though representing divergent philosophies of dualism and non-dualism, became a single text called as '*Pātañjala Yogasāstra*²⁸⁹'.

²⁸⁶Patañjalil who wrote *Mahābhāṣya* (a grammatical treatise) is assumed to be a different person from the author of *Yogasūtra* also named as Patañjali, the former was supposed to be lived in 2nd or 3rd century before the common era (Daniel, 2012). The later Indian tradition beginning perhaps with *Bhojarāja* and *Cakrapānidatta* in the eleventh century and thereafter) tends to identify Patañjali the Yoga teacher with the famous grammarian Patañjali of *Mahābhāṣya* (Larson, James, 1987, p.165). However, scholars such as S.N. Dasgupta and J.W Hauer have observed the composition of *Yogasūtra* s where not limited to one particular period, Dasgupta considers the *Kaivalyapāda* of *Yogasūtra* is a later interpolation and Hauer considers the oldest portion of *Yogāṅga*, from chapter 2.28 to 3.55 may indeed date back to the grammarian Patañjali. Noteworthily, Fraunwaller thinks it is unwise to comment on Patañjali and *Yogasūtra* as there is a dearth of evidence to make even a guess (Larson, James, 1987)

²⁸⁷ The *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali is generally considered the shortest of all 'Sūtra texts' (Daniel, 2012). The *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali consists of 195 sutras in four chapters named as *Samādhipādam*, *Sādhanāpādam*, *Vibhūtipādam* and *Kaivalyapādam*.

²⁸⁸ See; chapter 1, section: *Lokāyatas* for details on aphoristic writing.

²⁸⁹ The text includes the aphorisms by Patañjali and the commentary by *Vyāsa*.

The compilation of *Yogasūtra* happened after the advent of Buddhism in India; The ideas expressed in certain portions of *Pātañjala Yogasūtra* are showing a striking similarity to the philosophical ideas of Buddhism. To cite an example the ideas '(1) *maitri* (loving kindness); (2) *karuṇa* (compassion); (3) *mudita* (sympathising joy); and (4) *upekṣa*²⁹⁰ (unconcernedness) are found in Buddhist texts *Mahpadanasutta* and *Tevijja Sutta*' (Raghuramaraju, 2014, p.77) are repeated in *Pātañjala Yogasūtra* ²⁹¹ without any alteration. The influence of Buddhism on *Pātañjala Yogasūtra* was well argued by Emile Senart in 1900, Senart's work was continued by Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1937), Poussin's inquiry was deeper than his predecessor which settled the chronological uncertainties regarding the age of *Yogasūtra* against Buddhism (Wujastyk, 2018, p.23). Dominik Wujastyk have studied the striking similarities of certain terms and sūtras in *Yogasūtra* with Buddhists concepts. Wujastyk argues one cannot fully understand *Yogasūtra* without understanding some fundamentals of Buddhist thought. More than decrypting the influence of Buddhism in *Yogasūtra*, the entire text itself appears to be a classical reproduction of Buddhist ideas and language (Wujastyk, 2018).

The presence of *Śrāmaṇic* ascetic and mystical philosophies is very evidently discernible from the *Yogasūtra* ; the idea of '*Kaivalya*' (liberation) conversed in the previous chapter discussed the world renunciation and *Karma* completion soteriology of *Śrāmaṇic* traditions along with the ideas expressed in asceto-gnostic and mystical schools of thoughts such as *Sāmkhya* and Tāntric traditions respectively. 'Although it is certainly the case that Patañjali summarises several different practices and philosophical perspectives, it seems that he does so in his own voice' (Chapple, 1994, p.88). He maintains a consistent style without giving scope for suspecting the adoption of ideas from parallel traditions. While writing a

²⁹⁰ *Maitri-Karuṇa-Mudita and Upekṣa* are known as *Brahmaviharas* in Buddhism although Patanjali does not call them by that name.

²⁹¹ *maitrī-karuṇā-muditā-upekṣāṇām sukha-duḥkha-puṇya-apuṇyaviṣayāṇām bhāvanātaś citta-prasādanam* (Daniel, 2012, p.121)

detailed commentary of *Yogasūtra*, *Vyāsa* should have mentioned these traditions, nonetheless 'he does not in his commentary mention these "sub-texts" or refers to different traditions or authors' (Chapple, 1994, p.88). *Vyāsa*, who commented on the *sūtras* of *Patañjali*, is supposed to be a contemporary of *Patañjali*²⁹² or someone who lived just after *Patañjali*; anyhow the chronological nearness or gap is not elemental if the commentary is on par with the tradition of *sūtras*. However, the commentary takes a different approach from that of the *sūtras*. It often seems to underplay the mystical traditions in explaining yogic aphorisms of the *Sutrakāra-Patanjali*.

To cite an example, a *sūtra* from the third chapter—*Vibhūtipada of Yogasūtra* is about the joining of *Prāna* and *Apāna* that leads to *Utkranti*—the upward movement of *Udāna*²⁹³ (this technique is an important mystical technique in archaic yogic tradition, later this technique was mentioned in *Haṭhayogic* texts as *Bindudhāraṇa*)²⁹⁴. *Patañjali* holds that mastering this technique will help the *yogi* to levitate, walk on water and swampy surfaces, and will also gain the ability to move the *Udāna prāna* through the central spinal channel—*Suśmna*. This *sūtra* is of a mystical kind by its nature and its listing in the third chapter, which talks about the yogic mystical powers—*Yoga siddhis*. The *sūtra* also points to the archaic yogic practice of *Ūrdhvareta*²⁹⁵. However, the commentary of *Vyāsa* on this *sūtra* is explained from the perspective of *Vedāntic* ideas, the upward movement *Udāna* is explained as the movement

²⁹² Philip Maas (2006) has a different take on *Vyāsa*; he 'thinks' instead proves *Vyāsa* and *Patañjali* are the same author's two names. However, the argument is still not widely accepted; Raveh Daniel (2012) sarcastically calls this argument a far more creative 'myth' created by Maas compared to the widely accepted myth on *Vyāsa* and *Patañjali*. The term *Vyāsa* means editor, the *Nirukta* of *Yāska* gives the etymological meaning of (Veda) *Vyāsa* as *vivyasa Vedan yasmad sa: thasmñd Vyāsa ithi smṛta* (the one who edited Vedas is called as *Vyāsa*), it is plausible to assume that in olden times the term *Vyāsa* was commonly attributed to almost all the editors of the primary texts, that led to a perplexing situation where different texts from different traditions, periods and authors were attributed to a single author *Vyāsa*. The *Vyāsa* who has written *Mahābhārata* may not be the actual commentator of *Yogasūtra*; nonetheless, as seen in the previous sections, the epic *Mahābhārata* has discussed *Yoga* in detail and explained with an inherent inclination towards a theistic-advaitic philosophy.

²⁹³ A vital air among the five vital airs such as *Prāṇa*, *Apāna*, *Samāna*, *Udāna*, and *Vyāna*.

²⁹⁴ For a detailed discussion on *Utkranti* and *Bindudhāraṇa* See chapter 1; section: Asceticism, Gnosticism and Mysticism in *Yoga* and Chapter 2; section: Path of Abstinence.

²⁹⁵ See; Chapter 1 and 2 for detailed discussion.

of *Jīvātma* to join with *Paramātma*²⁹⁶. The *Vedāntic* redaction of the text in the form of *Vyāsaśāstra* is thereby contorting with the epistemology of Yoga with *Vedāntic* epistemology and soteriology.

The extrapolation of *Vedāntic* Brahma to the Yogic concept of god 'who is none other than a Qualified Individual—*puruṣa-viśeṣa*,' as seen in the epic and later commentaries, paved the way for *Vedāntins* to argue that the aim of Yoga is nothing else than uniting *Jīvātma* (individual soul) with *Paramātma (Brahma)* (Larson, James, 1969; Bronkhorst, 1981; Ruben, 2018). The postures and meditative techniques used in Yoga is intending at this *aikya* (communion of Individual soul with Cosmic soul) is an idea not relevant to the teachings of *Pātañjala Yogasūtra* as it considers *citta-vṛtti-nirodhaḥ* (cessation of mental flux) as Yoga²⁹⁷ (Daniel, 2012), not the unification with Brahma. The *Advaita Vedāntins* argument of meditating on the supreme soul to reach the supreme is not a scheme of Yoga; for that matter, the *Nirodhaḥ* of *citta-vṛtti* in Yoga through *īśvara-praṇidhānād vā* (meditating on *Īśvaraḥ* - who is none other than *puruṣa-viśeṣa*) is a technique to attain the *Nirodha* of *Citta-vṛtti*. Attaining the Yoga (unity) with *Brahma* is not its aim. Instead, detaching from the mental flux (*Viyoga*) is the central aim of Yoga. Along with attempting to draw a parallel between *Brahma* of early Vedānta and *Īśvaraḥ* of Yoga, the *Māyavāda* of later *Advaita Vedānta* that started with *Śaṅkara* also began to interpret the Yogic aphorisms²⁹⁸ (Nicholson, 2007).

This *Advaitic* interpretation of Yoga was intensely probed by *Vijñānabhikṣu* (16th C), who called *Advaita Vedāntins* as 'crypto-Buddhists'. He wrote a commentary of *Yogasūtra*—*Yogabhāṣyavarttika* and *Yogasārasaṅgraha*, through this he proclaimed it as a mission to

²⁹⁶ The soteriological disposition of Vedānta is anchored on the concept of Individual soul—*Jīvātma* merging with the Supreme soul—*Paramātma*. Here *Vyāsa* interprets the concept of *Utkranti* in *Pātañjala Yogasūtra* as *Jīvātma-Paramātma Aikya* (communion of individual and supreme soul).

²⁹⁷ Yoga is the cessation (*nirodha*) of mental activity (*citta-vṛtti*) (Daniel, 2012).

²⁹⁸ An earlier commentary of *Yogasūtra* named *Tattva-vaiśāradī* by *Vacaspatimīśra* (9-10th century CE?) was inclined towards *Advaita Vedānta*, after that many commentaries on *Yogasūtra* started appearing most of them were oriented to *Advaita* Philosophy of *Śaṅkara*.

rescue Yoga from *Advaita Vedāntins* (Vijñānabhikṣu, 1894)²⁹⁹; interestingly, *Vijñānabhikṣu* himself was a *Vedāntin*³⁰⁰, if not an *Advaita Vedāntin*. Henceforth, *Vedāntising* the *Sāṃkhya* Yoga tradition's task is not only limited to *Advaita Vedāntins* but earlier *Vedāntins* too, and among them, *Vyāsa's*³⁰¹ and *Vijñānabhikṣu's* sub-commentaries are noteworthy³⁰².

1.2.1. The Epistemological and Ontological reductionism in *Vedāntising* Yoga.

Yoga as a philosophy is dependent on the epistemological framework of the *Sāṃkhya* system. *Patañjali* agrees that with the Yoga is an exposition of *Sāṃkhya* —*Sāṃkhya pravacanasūtra.*, The *Sāṃkhyan* epistemic universe is largely accepted by *Pātanjala* Yoga, henceforth yoga of *Patanjali* is called as *Pātanjala Sāṃkhya*.

The twenty-five *tattvas* of *Sāṃkhya* are agreed by Yoga and are further classified into four categories as *Viśeṣa*, *Aviśeṣa*, *Liṅgamatra* and *Liṅga* according to their features³⁰³. The *triguṇa*, as mentioned in the *Sāṃkhya* system -*Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, in its equilibrium is called as *Prakṛti*. Each of these *guṇas* has its respective duties and roles *Viśeṣa dharma*. The *Puruṣa* (Soul) recognises the *Viśeṣa dharmas* of the *triguṇas* that resides in five *bhūtas* through

²⁹⁹ *Vijñānabhikṣu's* commentary on *Yogasūtra* where of mono-dualistic—*Bhedābheda* nature, he criticised the *Advaitic* commentaries on *Yogasūtra* as he argued the text belonged to *Bhedābheda* tradition. The *Advaitic* commentaries according to him was an attempt to appropriate the text (*Vijnana Bhikshu*, 1894).

³⁰⁰ The works of *Vijñānabhikṣu* on *Sāṃkhya* and Yoga philosophy were from a *Bhedābheda Vedāntic* perspective, although he maintained a distance from *Advaita Vedānta*. The commentaries and independent works on *Sāṃkhya* -Yoga duo such as *Sāṃkhya sara* and *Sāṃkhya pravacanabhāṣya*, *Yogasarasamgraha*, *Yogavartika* and on *Brahmasūtra* named *Vijñānabhikṣu's* *Upadesharatnamala*, *Brahmadarsana* (Larson, James, 1987) were written in the perspective of earlier *Vedānta* philosophy, the intense criticism of *Vijñānabhikṣu* against *Advaita Vedānta* is a notable fact that points to the pluralism in *Vedāntic* spectrum.

³⁰¹ Surendranath Dasgupta, Paul Hacker, Hajime Nakamura, and Hiriyanna have observed that *Bhedābheda* predates *Advaita*. Nakamura and Dasgupta even claim that the author of the *Brahmasūtras* was himself a *Bhedābheda*. E.g., “...*Bādarāyana's* (*Vyāsa*) philosophy was some kind of *Bhedābheda* a theory of the transcendence and immanence of God (Brahman)..” (as cited in, Nicholson, 2007).

³⁰² Even though the works of *Vijñānabhikṣu* were largely neglected by modern Yoga scholars, Nicholson observes ‘This neglect of *Vijñānabhikṣu's* early works is one symptom of a wider neglect of *Bhedābheda Vedānta* by modern scholars. Perhaps the greatest single cause of this has been the claim in the 20th century by many Indian nationalists (e.g., Vivekananda and Radhakrishnan) and western orientalist (e.g., Deussen and Gough) that *Advaita Vedānta* is the authentic philosophy of India. This naturally led to the neglect of realist schools of *Vedānta*, not to mention the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* school, whose common-sense realism did not jibe with the nationalist/orientalist picture of India as the land of mystical otherworldliness’ (Nicholson, 2007, p.373).

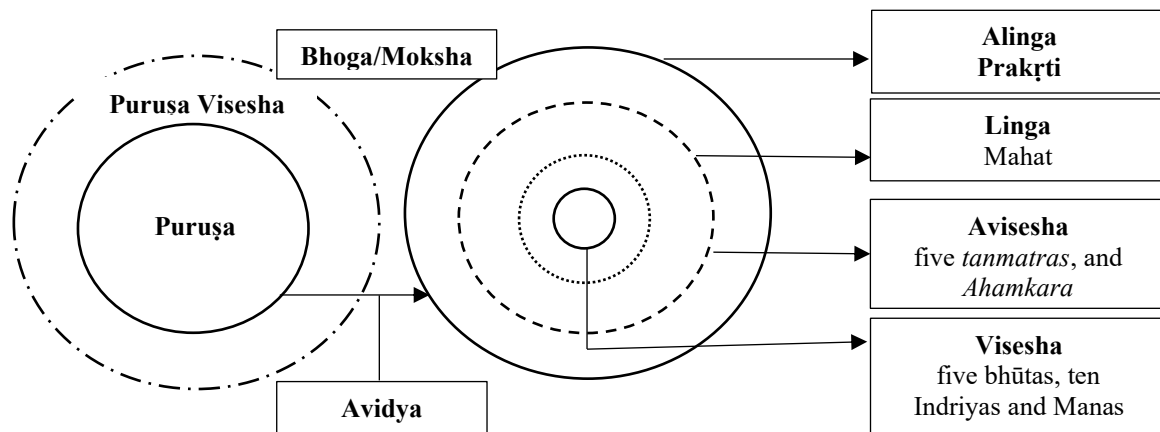
³⁰³ *Viśeṣāviśeṣalingganigūṇaparvāni* (*Yogasūtra*/chapter 2/ sūtra:19)

The states of the qualities are the defined, the undefined, the indicated only, and the signless (Vivekananda, no date, Poonjaar, 2010)

the ten organs such as five sense organs and five motor organs, and Mind; hence as they deal with the *Viśeṣa dharma* of *triguṇas*, they are classified under the category called as *Viśeṣa*.

The empirically incomprehensible *tattvas* the *tanmātras* (subtle elements), such as *śabda* (sound), *sparsā* (touch), *rūpa* (sight), *rasa* (taste), *gandha* (smell) and *Ahamkāra* (egoism) is categorised under *Aviśeṣa*. The *tattvas* categorised in *Viśeṣa* and *Aviśeṣa* is originating from the first principle of *Prakṛti* known as *Mahat*. *Mahat* is classified as *Liṅga*; as everything dissolves and *Prakṛti* will stand undissolved, it is classified as *Alīṅga*. *Puruṣa* is standing aloof from these categories, although the *Alīṅga* that is *Prakṛti* is existing to make *Puruṣa* enjoy it and liberate *Puruṣa*³⁰⁴. *Sāṃkhya* also talks about different individual *Puruṣas* for each *Puruṣa*'s liberation *Prakṛti* continues to exist. Both *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* agree on the singleness of *Prakṛti* and the multiplicity of *Puruṣa*; also, they agree the communion between *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* is due to *Avidya*.

Figure 4: The cosmological schema of *Sāṃkhya* -*Yoga*



³⁰⁴ *Prakaṣakriyasthithiśīlam bhūtendriyātmakam bhogāpavargartham drśyam* (/Yogasūtra chapter 2.18/(Poonjaar, 2010))

The experienced is composed of elements and organs, is of the nature of illumination, action and inertia, and is for experienced and release (of the experiencer) (Vivekananda, no date)

The *Sāmkhya* and Yoga cosmology proposes two ontic ultimates, such as *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa*, both of which are real in nature and form and independent of each other. In contrast, *Sāmkhya -Yoga* maintains the existence of *Prakṛti* as a means to liberation (moksha) of *Puruṣa*. Yoga upholds that detangling of *Puruṣa*—*Viyoga* from *Prakṛti* is possible through the mystical methods of *Tapas*³⁰⁵, *Svādhyāya*³⁰⁶ and *Īśvarapraṇidhāna*³⁰⁷, *Pratiprasava*³⁰⁸ and the practice of eightfold Yoga. Whereas *Sāmkhya* argues the *Puruṣa* is only liberated through gnosis, and it thereby relies on logical reasoning. *Sāmkhyan* reasoning to arrive at the ultimate gnosis has three levels they are *Pratyakṣa* (observable, empirical), *anumāna* (inferential) and *Śābda pramāṇa* (from a reliable source) of a fact. However, Yoga of Patañjali discards all of these³⁰⁹ as *Vṛttis* (flux) of *Citta*, and the ultimate³¹⁰ state in Yoga is obtained through the cessation of these mental activities³¹¹. The soteriology of Yoga and *Sāmkhya* is different in terms of gnostic and mystic traditions; nonetheless, both qualify to be dualistic traditions in terms of their general agreement to the dualism of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa*.

Despite Yoga's dualistic existence, it was interpreted by *Vedantins* as a non-dual sastra. The early *Vedāntic* interpretation to *Yogasūtras* by *Vyāsa*, *Vijñānabhikṣu* and prominent others was trying to extrapolate *Vedāntic Brahman's* idea to the *puruṣa-viśeṣa* of Yoga. As seen in the previous sections, this theological superimposition of a *Brahman* to Yoga does not fit its fundamental ontological framework. However, there is a concept of *puruṣa-viśeṣa* added extra to *Sāmkhyan Puruṣa*. Henceforth Yoga takes a divergent path from early *Advaita Vedāntic*

³⁰⁵ Mortification

³⁰⁶ Contemplation on higher truths such as chanting and contemplating on 'Prāṇava (the sound Aum; the sound of Īśvara)'

³⁰⁷ Meditating on *Puruṣa-Viśeṣa* (Īśvara)

³⁰⁸ Regression

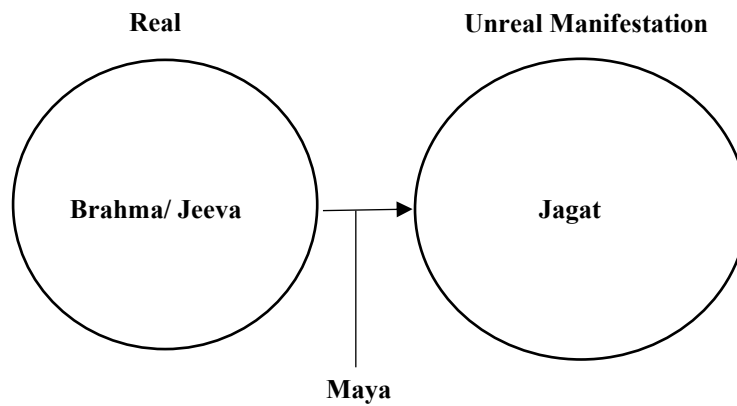
³⁰⁹ *Vṛttis* are largely classified into two *Kliṣṭa* and *Akliṣṭa*; they are categorized as five *Pramāṇa*, *Viparyaya*, *Vikalpa*, *Nidra* and *Smṛti*. Patañjala Yoga discards the three levels of reasoning in *Sāmkhya* as *Pramāṇa Vṛtti* (*Pratyakṣānumānāgamapramāṇani*). It is logically arguable to state that Yoga follows a mystical soteriology to reach salvation rather than following a gnostic soteriology of *Sāmkhya*.

³¹⁰ *Tadadraṣṭusvarūpe avasthānam*-At that time (the time of concentration) the seer (the *Puruṣa*) rests in his own (unmodified) state. (Vivekananda, 1896; Poonjaar, 2010)

³¹¹ *Yogascittarrtti Nirodha*- Yoga is restraining the mind-stuff (*Chitta*) from taking various forms (*Vṛttis*) (Vivekananda, 1896b; Poonjaar, 2010)

theological understanding of God. Later, despite Śaṅkara's criticism of Sāṃkhya and Yoga as a faulty methodology, the same Sāṃkhyan methodology was appropriated by Śaṅkara Advaita! The three levels of reasoning seen in Sāṃkhyan methodology such as *Pratyakṣa*, *Anumāna* and *Śābda* to arrive at the ultimate truth is used in Śaṅkara's Advaita but for proving a different truth from Sāṃkhya -Yoga. The truth, according to Śaṅkara, is that 'Brahma' is the only reality, and the '*Prakṛti / Jagat*' is unreal³¹². *Jeeva*³¹³, according to Śaṅkara, is none other than Brahma, but due to the illusive power of *Māya*, the unreality of the world is not revealed to *Jīva*.

Figure 5: The cosmological schema of Advaita Vedānta



Advaita Vedānta's cosmology is totally different from *Sāṃkhya -Yoga* cosmology. It completely rejects the existence of the world, and it considers the world as an illusive representation of the supreme. The fundamental difference between *Pariṇāmavādi* (Primal matter evolution theorists)—*Sāṃkhya - Yoga* tradition and *Vivartavādin* (illusive manifestation of primal matter theorists) *Advaita* is evident here.

Interpreting dualistic *Sāṃkhya -Yoga* according to the *Advaita Vedānta* did not end with the *Advaitic* commentaries including Śaṅkara's sub commentary on *Vyāsa bhāṣya* of *Yogasūtra*, but it extended further beyond to the future that almost shaped the history of Yoga in the forthcoming times. The neo-*Vedāntic* ideas and *Vedantisation* tendencies in Yoga seen

³¹² *Brahmasatyam Jagathmithya* (Brahma is only real, world is an Illusion)

³¹³ Individual soul

in Pre-modern times hence have a history of *Vedantisation* of Yoga in the past and a future of Modernisation of Yoga in the modern times.

II

SECOND EPOCH

2. *Vedāntised Yoga of Pre-Modern Times*

Sisters and Brothers of America,

It fills my heart with joy unspeakable to rise in response to the warm and cordial welcome which you have given us. I thank you in the name of the most ancient order of monks in the world; I thank you in the name of the mother of religions, and I thank you in the name of millions and millions of Hindu people of all classes and sects (Vivekananda, 1893).

The above said words are the first few lines from the famous Chicago speech of Swami Vivekananda, a speech that determined the future of 'spiritualism' and Yoga in Modern India. This celebrated speech is often regarded as India's clarion call to the western community to get immersed in India's 'spirituality'. The speech was critical about the 'materialistic' nature of western society, and it indeed instilled a feeling of spiritual east in the western minds. It eventually changed the destiny of the spiritual landscape of India. The key role played by Swami Vivekananda in defining Indian spirituality is a significant one in the history of 'Modern Yoga'. The spiritual biography of Swami Vivekananda and his rendezvous with his master Sree Ramakrishna Paramahansa have to be closely looked at to understand the role of Vivekananda in remaking the history of Modern Yoga.

The life story of Ramakrishna is interestingly identical with the history of Yoga in India, it tells the story of an eclectic and pluralistic tradition's transformation to a monistic tradition.

2.1. **Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Vivekananda**

From time immemorial, Bengal is a hub of esoteric religions. The cults such as the protean *Sākta Tāntric* cults, erotic *Vaiṣṇava Sahajīya* cult, *Tāntric Buddhism*, mystic Islamic *Sufism*, and *Baul* mysticism occupied the spiritual landscape of Bengal. This eclecticism of Bengal, in its true sense, gave birth to Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. The spiritual philosophy of Sri Ramakrishna was tremendously influenced by the pluralism of the above said religious sects, cults and mystic movements. Ramakrishna had a shade of all these varied traditions.

A short note on Ramakrishna's life story will bring light to his life and spiritual ideas.

2.1.1. A short biographical sketch of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa³¹⁴

Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa was born to orthodox Bengali Brāhmin parents on 18 February 1836. The boy, later named Ramakrishna, was named Gadadhar in his younger ages. The family of Ramakrishna was known for its piety to Lord Sri Rama. Since very young Gadadhar was interested in spiritual matters. At the age of six he declared that he had his first divine vision from the sky. Ramakrishna's divine vision was none other than a picturesque blue sky and a vast black cloud with a contrast of snow-white crane in flight over his head (Romain Rolland (1931), observes that it was the love mysticism of Bengal nourished and intoxicated by the beautiful poems of Chandidas, Vidyāpati and Chaitanya that influenced the young Ramakrishna to appreciate nature uniquely and mystically. It was his surrender to a euphoric seizure that he calls as his first divine experience³¹⁵). After that, Ramakrishna was frequented by similar ecstatic seizures counted as his divine experiences. At the year of twenty, Ramakrishna became a temple priest to a Kāli temple in Dakshineswar, which was founded by a Sūdra woman named Rani Rasmani. The temple where Ramakrishna chose to serve the Goddess Kāli was a symbol of syncretism, as it was devoted to Radhakrishna, and Siva along with Kāli as the principal goddess. The blend of Vaiṣṇavism, Śāktism and Saivism is seen in that temple and also frequented by Sufi mystics.

While serving as the priest of Kāli temple, Ramakrishna was married to little Saradadevi, a kid of only five years of age; and their marriage qualified to be a child marriage. Ramakrishna's marriage was a 'therapeutic remedy' thought by his mother to cure his god enchantments!

³¹⁴ The story of Ramakrishna becomes essential in this chapter as it talks about pluralistic cultural traditions that ranged from *Tāntrism* to *Vedānta*, and *Sufism* and *Christianity* that influenced Ramakrishna to develop an eclectic spiritual philosophy. While describing Ramakrishna, his *Advaitic* inclination is always projected since Swami Vivekananda, the foremost disciple of Ramakrishna, was inclined to *Advaita* Vedānta started representing Ramakrishna. However, the life of Ramakrishna gives a different account of his spiritual life; it also speaks about the influences of *Neo-Vedantins* such as Kesab Chandra Sen, Ram Mohan Roy, and Devendranath Tagore on Ramakrishna's disciples, prominent among them was none other than Swami Vivekananda. The history of *Vedāntisation* of an order of initiates and the presentation of non-*Vedāntic* traditions such as Yoga in the light of Vedāntais very well reflected in the life story of Ramakrishna and Ramakrishna Mission founded by Swami Vivekananda.

³¹⁵ The seraphic masters (such as *Chandidas*, *Vidyapati* and *Chaitanya*), the scented flowers of their soil, have impregnated it with their fragrance so that Bengal has been intoxicated with it for centuries. The little Ramakrishna's soul was made of the same substance; it was the flesh of their flesh, and he was looked upon as a flowering branch of the tree of *Chaitanya* (Rolland, 1931, p.28).

However, no therapies could 'cure' his ecstatic union with Kali. Eventually, his wife Sarada also started getting immersed in the divine joy experienced by Ramakrishna.

Ramakrishna's meeting with his first master, a Tāntric adept woman named Bhairavi Brahmani, changed his life drastically. As a stern taskmaster, she made Ramakrishna go through severe tāntric austerities that ranged from skull rituals of Vāmācāra (left-hand path of Tantra) to the practice of mystic postural Yogas prescribed in Tantras³¹⁶(Shourie, 2017). After three years of rigorous spiritual practise, Ramakrishna left Bhairavi for another master named Totapuri, a naked monk who taught non-dualism³¹⁷ to Ramakrishna. As advised by his master, Ramakrishna went through the 'Advaitic Initiation' process where he had to detach from all the worldly attachments, which was not a matter of difficulty for Ramakrishna. However, his attachment towards his mother, Kālī, was so strong. However, through the constant guidance of Totapuri, Ramakrishna left his holy mother and merged in absolute knowledge, to be technical; according to Yoga, he attained Nirvikalpa samādhi. Although Ramakrishna devoted his life to the great master Totapuri, he could not agree to the Advaita Vedānta concept of negating the world, as Māya³¹⁸. Ramakrishna always believed and experienced Māya as the manifested form of supreme, that Totapuri had to disagree with him early but to agree with his mystic disciple Ramakrishna later.

³¹⁶ Ramakrishna said

Under the bel-tree, I had many flaming visions. There I practised the various sadhanas prescribed in the Tantra. I needed many articles—human skulls, and so forth and so on. The Brahmani used to collect these things for me. I practised several mystic postures (as cited in Shourie, 2017, p.123). Brahmani taught Ramakrishna sixty-four tantras, including sadhana with five creatures' skulls, including that of human being, which she procured personally. Subsequently, she tried to train him in Ṣodaśī pūja- the tāntric ritual with a young female(Sil, 2003, p.42).

³¹⁷ The knowledge of absolute was imparted to Ramakrishna by Totapuri; he taught Ramkrishna to move from form to formlessness, from worship to the divine's higher wisdom. Interestingly to get away with his obsession with Kali and his metaphysical experiences by submitting to Totapuri, Ramakrishna asked permission of Kālī herself, and he obtained her permission (!)

³¹⁸ Ramakrishna believed Śakti as Brahman's creative aspect, where he differentiates Vedānta and his philosophy (if it was a philosophy of that kind). Ramakrishna believed "the Absolute Brahman and the Eternal Energy are inseparable and one. The existence of one implies that of the other, like fire and its burning power. He asks If you admit the existence of fire, how can you deny its burning power?"... "Therefore, no one can think of Brahman as apart from Shakti, or Shakti as separate from Brahman. Likewise, no one can conceive of the phenomenal as independent of the Absolute or of the Absolute as apart from the phenomenal. The same Eternal Energy, the Mother of all phenomena, is creating, preserving, and destroying everything. She is called Kālī, the Divine Mother. Kālī is Brahman; Brahman is Kālī, the same Being. I call Him Brahman when He is inactive; that is, when He neither creates, nor preserves, nor destroys phenomena; but when He performs all such actions, I call Him Kālī, the Eternal Energy, the Divine Mother" (Fitzgerald, Lipski; and Swāmī, 1907, p.203)

The Tāntric training of Ramakrishna under Bhairavi and his spiritual experiences through the practice of mystic yogic postures and Tāntric ceremonies helped Ramakrishna to understand the inseparableness of Prakṛti and Puruṣa (Sakti and Brahman).

The *Vedāntic* understanding of *Totapuri* about the non-existence of the world was revised by *Ramakrishna*, where the master turned to be his disciple. The story of *Ramakrishna* till the episode of *Totapuri* tells the very Tāntric eclectic nature of *Ramakrishna* that was anchored in a different ontological background in contrast to *Advaita Vedānta*. That being the case, calling *Ramakrishna* an *Advaitin* is not showing justice to his spiritual identity; moreover, *Ramakrishna's* prayer to his mother Kālī 'Oh mother, let me remain in contact with men! Do not make me a dried up ascetic' (Rolland, 1931, p.91) tells the nature of his spirituality. If anyone has to name *Ramakrishna* as a *Vedāntin*, then he is a *Viśiṣṭādvaitin*³¹⁹ or *Bhedābheda Vedāntin* by its spirit rather than an *Advaita Vedāntin*.

After undergoing Advaitic spiritual practise, it is said that Ramakrishna continued to be in yogic trance for almost six months, and gradually he came to his senses. The following action of Ramakrishna was nothing but the execution of his idea to practice divergent beliefs and see them leading to one absolute truth. Islam was the first religion he chooses to practice. Ramakrishna was initiated to Islam by a practising Sufī named Govinda rai. While practising Islam, Ramakrishna completely renounced Kālī; he wore Muslim robes and chanted Allah's name continuously. Like always, Ramakrishna started getting the vision of Prophet Mohammed. He got deeply immersed in that religious experience to comprehend Islam leads to the absolute that he had previously experienced through a multitude of spiritual practices.³²⁰ Likewise, Ramakrishna practised Christianity and accomplished the mystical experience of meeting Christ.

³¹⁹ *Viśiṣṭādvaita* philosophy is attributed to Sri Ramanuja. The philosophy is non-dual in nature, but the non-duality of the absolute is characterized by individual souls. *Ramakrishna* agreed with the concept of absolute of *Vedānta*, although he considered the individual manifestation of absolute, that is, his beloved Kālī, as Brahman's creative aspect. In believing, so *Ramakrishna* took a diversion from the *Advaita Vedāntic* understanding of supreme.

³²⁰ At the time of practising Islam, Swami Saradananda adds, the Master at first had the vision of an effulgent, impressive personage with a long beard; afterwards, he knew the all-pervading Brahman with attributes and merged finally in the attributeless Brahman, the Absolute (Shourie, 2017, p.323).

As rightly opined by Rolland, the 'magic plasticity'³²¹ of Ramakrishna, defined by the eclecticism of his spiritual philosophy, helped him to metamorphose to fit into these polymorphic religions, cults and beliefs. Although Ramakrishna existed as a towering figure of spiritual syncretism, strands of monotheism and monism started advancing to Ramakrishna and his disciples and it eventually determined the philosophy of Ramakrishna's disciples prominent among them was Swami Vivekananda.

2.1.2. Inroads of 'Neo-Vedantism'³²² to Ramakrishna and Vivekananda: Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Devendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen

The beginning of the 19th century is conspicuous by the European enlightenment ideas influencing the spiritual thought of India. The period was also marked as the beginning of 'Modern India'. The European ideas informed by enlightenment values started revisiting Indian cultural codes and religious conducts. Many of the customary rituals had to undergo a thorough revision or complete cessation of them. Moreover, the western enlightenment ideas started to have an overarching effect on India's spiritual philosophies for the ages to come. The introduction of western ideas to the Indian spiritual landscape was done by a group of English educated young men, and the pioneer among them was Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Mohan Roy's interventions on reforming the superstitious and regressive religious rituals, including the infamous *Sati*, made him popular among the masses and eventually gained him the position as the champion of Bengali renaissance and father of 'Modern India'. The impact of Roy on Indian intelligentsia is remarkable, and it started to redefine Hindu religion and philosophy in the light of European esotericism and religious ideas. The life and mission of Roy in transforming the worldview of Hindu intelligentsia is hence noteworthy.

³²¹ Plasticity is the quality of being molded or shape shifted, here Rolland use the term to denote Ramakrishna's flexibility to adapt to any religious or spiritual practice. He uses an adjective Magic with the term Plasticity to refer to the wide range of eclectic practices Ramakrishna undertook, that were apparently contrary to each other, there was no resistance or hesitation from Ramakrishna to embrace any of these practices.

³²² 'Neo- Vedānta' is first coined by Paul Hacker to distinguish novel trends in Indian spirituality in the contrast of Classical Hinduism. Michelis De Elizabeth(2004), in her book on the history of Modern Yoga, has widely used Neo-Vedānta's concept to talk about the reformers such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Debendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen and Swami Vivekananda. Neo-Vedānta's idea is very much relevant in analyzing the trajectory of Yoga from its archaic plural origin into a streamlined religious philosophy and instrumental practice.

Ram Mohan Roy was born in an aristocratic Bengali family at Burdwan in lower Bengal. He was brought up in the Mughal court; hence he learnt Arabic and Persian at a very young age. Besides being an orthodox brāhmin, Roy was brought up in Islamic culture (Rolland, 1931). Thus from childhood itself, Mohan Roy was familiar with the idea of monotheism. He started learning Sanskrit at a later stage where he discovered Hinduism's mystical side and was attracted to it, if not to the Idolatry and rituals. It is not his monistic Vedānta orientation that made him stand against Idolatry but the very implantation of monotheistic Islamic values from infancy. His unequalled criticism against Hindu orthodoxy and Idolatry made him unpopular in own house that his father drove Roy from home, which only benefited him to travel more to the interior of India and outside to Tibet, where he learnt Buddhism to be particular the Lamaist³²³ Buddhism. After an inquiring journey through India's spiritual heart, he returned home. At the age of twenty-four, he started learning English and classical European languages such as Greek and Latin. The close acquaintance with these languages made Mohan Roy rethink his prejudice against English Language and culture; eventually, he kept all his preconceptions about European culture aside and started thinking in line with Europeans and considered them his allies. Roy realised allying with English could only help him win his battle against Hindu orthodoxy and Idolatry. Roy's close association with Europeans helped him learn the teachings of the Bible and the gospel of Christ, and he later published a book on 'The Precepts of Jesus, a Guide to Peace and Happiness' in 1820. Even though Roy was fond of the teachings of Christ, as a rationalist, Roy did not agree to the divinity attributed to Christ as he was already at loggerheads with the incarnation concepts in Hinduism. He vehemently attacked Christian orthodoxy and its fundamental trinity concept as he protested against ritualistic Hinduism and orthodoxy. Ram Mohan Roy's rebelling nature made him unpopular among high caste Hindus and Christian missionaries, and he was restrained from entering churches for worship. This prohibition made Roy think of establishing a church for himself

³²³ Tāntric Buddhism followed by Lamas of Tibet, often named as Tibetan Buddhism of the Vajrayāna kind.

and all the believers without any restrictions. This was the beginning of 'Atmiya Sabha'³²⁴, a celebrated forerunner in the history of the Indian renaissance (Indian diplomacy, 2012). Roy's Atmiya Sabha soon turned to be a unitarian association under Debendranath Tagore's leadership; the new association was named Brahmo Samaj (Adi Brahmo Samaj). Roy's ideas and philosophy of Unitarianism was materialised as a religion through Brahmo Samaj.

Bipan Chandra Pal remarked

It is considered by many philosophers & thinkers that Raja Rammohun Roy had given us a philosophy of universal religion. But philosophy was not religion. It is only when philosophy becomes organised in ethical exercises and disciplines and spiritual sacraments that it becomes a religion. Debendranath gave us a national religion (!), on the foundations of Rammohun's philosophy of universal religion (exclamation added, *Brahmo Samaj*, no date).

Brahmoism as a monistic religion depended on the philosophical and theistic speculations of Ram Mohan Roy; strong discontent towards polytheism, Idolatry and customary rituals were fundamental to it. Ram Mohan Roy and his followers considered themselves as Unitarians, 'they defended themselves strenuously against the reproach of eclecticism'³²⁵ (Rolland, 1931, p.110). The inclination towards monotheistic Judaeo-Christian³²⁶ and Islamic faiths and monistic *Vedānta* made Hindu unitarians starting from Ram Mohan Roy think along these lines. After Ram Mohan Roy's death, Brahmo Samaj's leadership

³²⁴ *Ātmīyasabha* is founded in 1815 at Calcutta (Coward, 1987)

³²⁵ Remarkably, Ram Mohan Roy agreed with Sufi mysticism and Bhakti. He believed that being in *Brahmasamādhi* and perceiving Brahman from everything is insufficient to quench the *Bhakti* thirst. Regardless of his understanding of human aspirations for the divine through various means, he relied on Sufism, which perceives a formless god through the means of Bhakti. This nature of Ram Mohan Roy makes him less of a dry *Vedantist*. 'People generally think of Rammohun Roy as an intellectual giant, a great theologian and reformer, but he was not more intellectual than devout and emotional. His love for Hafiz and Saadi witnesses the emotional side of his religion. He was far from an abstract theologian; he was not a mere dry *Vedantist*, but in him, there was a happy harmony of *Jñāna*, *Bhakti* and *Karma*, the intellectual, emotional and practical aspects of Religion' (Dobson, 1914, p.xxx). Although his strong apathy towards idolatry was very much evident!

³²⁶ The inclination of Raja Ram Mohan Roy towards monotheism in the Christian faith and his disregard for idolatry and polytheism is expressed in a small pamphlet published under the title 'Answer of a Hindu'. He says, 'Because the prayers read, worship offered, and sermons preached in the unitarian place of worship remind me of the infinitely wise ruler of this infinite universe, without ascribing to him as churchmen do, fellow-creators or co-operators equal in power and other attributes.. because unitarians reject polytheism and idolatry under every sophisticated modification, and thereby discountenance all the evil consequences resulting from them.. because unitarians believe, profess, and inculcate the doctrine of the divine unity a doctrine which I find firmly maintained both by the Christian scriptures and by our most ancient writings commonly called the Vedas' (Coward, 1987, p.21).

came into the hands of Devendranath Tagore, son of Dwarakanath Tagore and father of Rabindranath Tagore. The western intellectual ideas commingled with the philosophical foundations laid by Ram Mohan Roy shaped Devendranath's concepts about Hinduism. Although Dwarakanath Tagore succeeded Roy as the *Mahācārya* (Chief) of Brahmosamaj, his son Devendranath structured the organisation into a systematic one. Tagore family was inclined towards monotheistic faith informed by Abrahamic religions since the time of Dwarakanath Tagore³²⁷; Devendranath Tagore inherited it from his father and was firmly cemented in the teachings of Ram Mohan Roy as his education was done at educational institutions founded by Ram Mohan Roy. Devendranath Tagore led Brahmosamaj with his impeccable administrative skills and piousness without any conciliation with orthodox Hinduism and Idolatry. However, the monistic thoughts presented in Upaniṣads had a profound impact on Devendranath as he revised the liturgy of Samaj to include the spiritual ideas seen in Upaniṣads. The monotheism of Abrahamic religions and the Upaniṣads' monism had an all-embracing effect on the leaders of Brahmosamaj, from Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Devendranath Tagore. It was overtly perceptible.

The successor to Devendranath Tagore was another influential personality in the renaissance history of India, Kesab Chandra Sen. At the age of nineteen, Sen was inducted to Brahmo Samaj and became the successor to Devendranath at the age of Twenty three³²⁸. Sen, just like his predecessors, was influenced by European Enlightenment ideas, Christian theology and Unitarianism. Sen, at a lecture delivered in England, admitted his allegiance to Judeo-

³²⁷ The Tagore family belong to the Brahmins' community but were considered outcasts because of their strong allegiance to Muslims as they served as ministers to Muslim rulers. The hostility to idolatry seen in Dwarakanath to Rabindranath Tagore is informed by their anchorage in Islamic theism.

³²⁸ Before inducting Sen to Brahmo Samaj, Devendranath Tagore used to attend the meetings conducted by Kesab Chandra Sen in the banner of 'Goodwill fraternity', which was founded by Sen and his friends as a religious organization (*Keshab Chunder Sen | Hindu philosopher and social reformer | Britannica*, no date; Mukherjee, 1992).

Christian faith; he believed his entry to Brahma Samaj was a divine interference³²⁹. Along with the strong faith in the Judeo-Christian theology, Sen strongly believed that the 'Western science, British Democracy and Justice were sure to unite India into one Nationhood and lead her to achieve freedom at the right time, and it will bring about the union of the East and West' (Mukherjee, 1992). The unification of East and West, according to Sen, was an assortment of eastern Mysticism with Judeo-Christian faith. During his regime as the chief of Samaj, Sen tried to incorporate his ideas of abovesaid Unitarianism in Brahma Samaj. The ardency and piousness of Sen moored in his vigorous faith to the doctrines of Christianity, to be specific, the New Testament had a detrimental effect on Brahma Samaj, Devendranath Tagore, although well versed in Christian faith could no longer adapt Sen's semitism as he suspected the inroads of Christianity invading the minds of his followers.

Moreover, as Rolland (1931) remarked, Tagore had a strong inclination towards the sacred writings of India; the difference in opinion and perspective between Sen and Tagore eventually resulted in a historical schism in Brahma Samaj, that it split into Adi Brahma Samaj under the guidance of Tagore and Brahma Samaj of India under Sen. The Samaj activities of Sen was moored in the idea of East-West unity, it spread to all the corners of country Sen travelled extensively to propagate the ideas of Samaj. Sen wholeheartedly held he was the chosen one to disseminate the 'New dispensation, which he believed as a revelation to him from

³²⁹ Sen said,

'English education unsettled my mind and left a void. I had given up idolatry but had received no positive system of faith to replace it. I had not a single friend to speak to me of religion, God and immortality. I was passing from idolatry into utter worldliness. However, through Divine grace, I felt a longing for something higher, the consciousness of sin was awakened within me. And was there no remedy? I looked upward, and there was a clear revelation to me. I felt that I had a Heavenly Friend always near to succour me. God, Himself told me this; no book, no teacher, but God Himself, in the secret recesses of my heart. God spoke to me in unmistakable language and gave me the secret of spiritual life. That was prayer, to which I owed my conversion...A small publication of the Calcutta Brahma Samaj fell into my hands and as I read the chapter on 'what is Brahmaism?' I found that it corresponded exactly with the inner conviction of my heart, the voice of God in the soul. I always felt that every outward book must be subordinated to the teachings of the Inner Spirit that where God speaks through the Spirit in man, all earthly teachers must be silent, and every man must bow down and accept in reverence what God thus revealed in the soul. I at once determined that I would join the Brahma Samaj' (as cited in Mukherjee, 1992, p.6)

the 'God'. In 1875 Sen started proclaiming his New Dispensation, and in the same year, he started his acquaintance with Ramakrishna. The meeting with Ramakrishna opened new horizons to Sen; his stringent opposition against polytheism and Idolatry began to dilute; rather, he started to preach the different forms worshipped as idols is nothing but different manifestations³³⁰ of the same God. In a way, an 'Advaitic'³³¹ monistic understanding of the supreme and its manifestations started appearing in his teachings. Despite his religious comprehension of varied faiths, he sturdily trusted in his monotheism as superior to the polytheistic belief system. The former has real transformative power, and the latter will only bring outward joy and honour. Although Sen's above said, intellectual compromise with Idolatry as it was projected to his fellow followers soon turned detrimental to his Samaj activities. Sen had to face vehement censure from his followers that resulted in the split of Samaj, and a more 'secular' Sadharan Brahmosamaj was formed. The split in Samaj had a great effect on Sen, he felt left alone by his men, and his only resort was a few men who respected his sincerity, and Ramakrishna was prominent among them. The schism in Samaj was soon replied by Keshab and his followers with the founding of a new religion named 'Nava Vidhan', and they proclaimed Keshab as its Prophet. In 1879 Sen made a call to the country to get ready for the coming of Christ (whom he called as the bridegroom) who will redeem Yoga and Asceticism in India (Rolland, 1931; Michelis, 2004). As he proclaimed, Sen's 'Nava Vidhan' is a blend of Judeo-Christian faiths, and even stated his new dispensation was the third dispensation following Old and new-testaments seen in Torah and Bible. Sen's new dispensation was a blend of the Vaishnav Bhakti movement that was a guiding light to Sen in

³³⁰ Sen, while talking about manifestations, particularly meant the qualities of God that are represented by a peculiar name, such as Lakshmi to denote prosperity, Saraswati for Knowledge, Vishnu for protectiveness and Mahadev for destruction; Sen's explanation to idolatry and image worship is thereby allegorical in nature (Nikhilananda, 1942). Sen's idea of polytheism was hence an intellectual compromise definitely he had to make after meeting the pious Ramakrishna. Sen's efforts to co-occupy Christ and Brahman, gospels and Yoga religion and reason to reach a destination he believed Ramakrishna already achieved supreme with no efforts, this point made Sen settle his intellectual turbulence and listen to Ramakrishna in search of new meaning in life.

³³¹ Not referring to *Advaita* of Sankara, but Visishtadvaitic philosophy that talks about the manifestations of supreme is meant here. Brahma of Sen strongly avoided Advaitism (absolute monism)(Michelis, 2004).

his formative years, Christianity to which he intellectually surrendered in the coming years and Hindu Yogic practices he got acquainted with in his later phase of life. As a comparative religious movement, Brahmo under Sen comprehended values from all major religions. Thus, his Brahmo movement became a harbinger of Modern Hinduism informed by Western ideas such as Unitarianism³³², Transcendentalism³³³, European renaissance values, and Enlightenment thoughts.

Sen's Nava Vidhan and shapeshifted ideologies moulded the future of Indian spirituality. To be specific, it was rather influential on Swami Vivekananda, the celebrated Hindu monk and champion of 'New' Hinduism in the West. Sen and his Brahmo Samaj's influence on Vivekananda is unquestionable; the blending of eastern spirituality and western esoterism, redefinition of Hinduism in terms of modern thoughts and science, psychologization

³³² Unitarianism is a movement in Christianity that based its foundations on God's unity, contrary to the fundamental catholic belief in the Trinity of God. The primary difference between Unitarian and Trinitarian Christianity lies in the Unitarians rejection of the trinity and faith in a wholly unitary God. This position rests on the Unitarian's conception of the nature of Christ, which they viewed as distinctly separate from God (Ian, 2015). Ram Mohan Roy was the first celebrated Indian who started having acquaintance with unitarians. Although the association with Unitarians does not begin with Ram Mohan Roy, it was *Moodelliar Vellazha* alias William Roberts a native of Tamil Nadu who was born a Hindu in 1780, converted to Islam and later to Christianity, although he has written on Unitarianism, he did not gain much popularity like Roy did. The concept of Unitarianism that of the unity of God, was very much acceptable to Roy, as he found the possibilities of drawing parallels between Vedānta and Unitarianism. Roy's '*Percepts of Jesus*' and other writings strongly mark him as a Unitarian, if not a Sankara Advaitin. However, his strong apathy towards polytheism and idolatry saw in Roy was informed by his inclination towards monistic Vedānta. The project of blending Indian monistic thought and Western Unitarianism was always a priority for Roy. Killingly observes his project of bringing Vedas and Upaniṣads to Christianity was always viewed with suspicion by the missionaries, it was quite unsettling for them, and they were alarmed by 'Rammohun's claim that a true notion of God could be derived from the Vedas and Vedānta'. In his work, Answer of a Hindoo to the question 'Why do you Frequent a Unitarian Place of Worship', Roy lauds Unitarian Christianity, "Because Unitarians reject polytheism and idolatry under every sophistical modification, and thereby discountenance all the evil consequences resulting from therein," and "Because Unitarians believe, profess and inculcate the doctrine of divine unity- a doctrine which I find firmly maintained both by the Christian scriptures and by our most ancient writings, most commonly called the Vedas" (Ian, 2015, p.28). The acquaintance with Unitarians of Roy as a Brahmo Samaj leader had an overarching effect on the later leaders of the Brahmo Movement; the ideas of Unitarianism was passed down the lane.

³³³ The second part of the nineteenth century witnessed the influence of Transcendentalist (Transcendentalism is an American literary, philosophical, religious, and political movement of the early nineteenth century, centred around Ralph Waldo Emerson (*Transcendentalism (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)*, no date) ideas, American Transcendentalism believed in 'Intuition' and 'true reason' supreme to analytical understanding started influencing Sen and his movement, as they saw an opportunity of bringing humanity to a higher religious synthesis through Sen's Brahmo, they viewed it as a new discipline of comparative religion that would prove the concordance of all religious traditions. Transcendentalism's direct influence on Sen other Brahmo leaders was exerted by Charles Dall, who arrived in India in 1855 (Kopf, 1969; Michelis, 2004).

of religion, disapproval of the mystic tradition of India were fundamental to Vivekananda's thought. These traits, which he imbibed from Sen and Brahma, are visible in his commentary of 'Pātāñjala Yoga'. The appraisal of *Pātāñjala yoga* as *Rājayoga* is an attempt to psychologise Yoga, if not Mysticalise it³³⁴.

As described in the above sections, Ramakrishna's religion, philosophy and spirituality were illuminated by pluralistic traditions and philosophies. Although he tried to draw parallels and truth between them, he never propagated any particular school of thought or philosophy. His core message was on the importance of piety and love towards the divine. However, in later times neo-*Vedāntism* crept into Ramakrishna's order of monks. Ramakrishna's acquaintance with Neo-*Vedāntism* started with Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen. These interactions were not his intellectual compromise with the ideas of Brahma Samaj. Ramakrishna used to frequently visit Devendranath³³⁵ and Sen although their unitarian ideas failed to influence Ramakrishna.

³³⁴ The coming section on Vivekananda and his *Rājayoga* will detail this.

³³⁵ After the meeting with Devendranath Tagore, Ramakrishna found a little vanity in him, "He remarked later. 'And isn't that natural? He had such wealth, such scholarship, such name and fame! Noticing that streak of vanity, I asked Mathur (the one who took Ramakrishna to Tagore): "Well, is vanity the outcome of knowledge or ignorance? Can a knower of Brahman have such a feeling as, 'I am a scholar; I am a Jnani; I am rich?" after a long conversation with Tagore, Ramakrishna was invited to attend the Brahma annual function which he demurred, Tagore insisted Ramakrishna attended the function and asked him to cover his body with a good shawl while attending the function, Ramakrishna replied him back "I cannot promise that. I cannot be a babu." Later Mathur received a letter from Tagore forbidding Ramakrishna to attend the function; he said to his devotees, 'He (Tagore) wrote that it would be ungentlemanly of me not to cover my body with a shawl.' (Fitzgerald, Lipski; and Swāmī, 1907; Nikhilananda, 1942; Shourie, 2017) This account shows Ramakrishna's distaste for worldly affairs, along with it talks about the insolence of Tagore towards the outward appearance of an Indian Sadhu. The influence of orientalism and western education started with Rammohun Roy had a deep impact on Tagore and his followers, including Sen. The Bengali renaissance period instilled a western sense of dressing and etiquette among Bengalis (Kopf, 1969). In an article written by Pratap Chandra Mazumdar (the right-hand man of Keshab Chandra Sen and an accomplished Brahma preacher in Europe and America) in the 'Theistic Quarterly Review', he criticizes Ramakrishna for his use of 'Uncultured language' he further writes ", What is there in common between him and me? I, a Europeanized, civilized, self-centred, semi-sceptical, so-called educated reasoner, and he, a poor, illiterate, unpolished, half-idolatrous, friendless Hindu devotee? Why should I sit long hours to attend to him, I, who have listened to Disraeli and Fawcett, Stanley and Max Müller, and a whole host of European scholars and divines?". The impact of western education and orientalism is explicit in Mazumdar's writing. The period witnessed a steady deviation from the mystic Hinduism to a reinvented form of modern spirituality informed by neo-Vedānta, Orientalist and Christian values started to occupy the Indian spiritual landscape where Ramakrishna was an odd one out who represented the eclectic Hinduism that looked quite obscure to the latter. Roy, Tagore and Sen were the forerunners of the reinvention of Hinduism to an esoteric spiritual philosophy that had an impact on Swami Vivekananda.

Ramakrishna remained immune to the ideas and influence of Brahmosamaj, but his disciples, including Swami Vivekananda, were deeply influenced by Brahma ideas. As Michelis (2004) remarked, 'the esoteric spiritualism propelled by Brahma Samaj had an impact on Vivekananda's thoughts than that of Ramakrishna's eclectic Hinduism'. Moreover, an eclectic image of Ramakrishna was deliberately hidden, and a distorted image of him as an *Advaitin* was projected by none other than his famous and favourite disciple Swami Vivekananda (Sil, 2018). A closer look into Swami Vivekananda's life as Narendra Dutta³³⁶ and his acquaintance with Ramakrishna will provide an ample account of the differences in the philosophies of these spiritual icons, that which indubitably represents the epistemological variances of a *Tāntric* Master and *Advaitin* disciple!

2.2. Swami Vivekananda³³⁷ a short biographical sketch

Narendra Dutta was born in Calcutta on 12 January 1863 to an aristocratic Hindu kāyastha family. Narendra's mother was a devoted learner of Hindu epics and an ardent follower of Hindu culture; his father was a distinguished lawyer at Calcutta's high court, unlike his wife, Narendra's father was agnostic about religion. During his childhood days, Narendra proved to be a prodigal kid with immense physical courage and presence of mind; he possessed a prodigious photographic memory (śrutidhāra) as observed by his biographers (Sil, 2018). At a significantly younger age, Narendra familiarised western thinkers and philosophies. 'He is said to have studied the writings of David Hume, Immanuel Kant, Johann G. Fichte, Baruch Spinoza, Georg W. F. Hegel, Arthur Schopenhauer, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, John S. Mill, and Charles Darwin.. Prof Dhar observes among philosophers; Herbert spencer was his greatest favourite (Sil, 2018, p. 39). The predisposition with Western philosophies and thinkers negatively affected Narendra's faith in God and religion.

³³⁶ Admitting the study's analytical bias, the excerpts from Narendra Dutta's life that corroborates the principal argument raised in the survey are used to present the biographical sketch.

³³⁷ Monastic name of Narendra Dutta.

His biographers eulogised his childhood as a spiritually inclined one; he was keen to do meditation and showed excellent command of his concentration. However, the influence mentioned earlier of western rational thought later shaped Narendra to be an agnostic, if not an atheist. He was longing to have some spiritual experience to satisfy his underlying spiritual angst, he approached several scholars and mystics, but none could satisfy his urge. Narendra 'wanted an external power, a guru, who by embodying perfection in the flesh would still the commotion of his soul. Attracted by Keshab Chandra Sen's magnetic personality, he joined the Brāhmo Samāj and became a singer in its choir. However, in the Samāj, he did not find the Guru who could say that he had seen God.' (Nikhilananda, 1942, p.231). Narendra continued to be in his spiritual dilemma until he met his master Ramakrishna³³⁸. The miraculous first meeting with master caused 'what Narendra is to later describe 'a revolution' in his mind' (Shourie, 2017, p.13) Swami Nikhilananda in his 'Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna' while describing this first meeting of Narendra with Master writes after seeing Narendra, Ramakrishna wept and complained to Narendra' why has he (Narendra) been so unkind to make him (Ramakrishna) wait all these days³³⁹' (Nikhilananda, 1942, p.232). The incident turned to be a life-changing one for Narendra that from an agnostic, he later got initiated into a monastic order and was named Swami Vivekananda. Ramakrishna had great faith in Vivekananda, and

³³⁸ Vivekananda describes his miraculous first meeting with the master the incident is as follows,

I saw him sitting alone, merged in himself ... There was no one with him. No sooner had he seen me than he called me joyfully to him and made me sit at one end of the bedstead. I sat down but found him in a strange mood. He spoke something indistinctly to himself, looked steadfastly at me and was slowly coming towards me. I thought another scene of lunacy was going to be enacted. Scarcely had I felt so when he came to me and placed his right foot on my body, and immediately I had a wonderful experience. I saw with my eyes open that all the things of the room, together with the walls, were rapidly swirling and receding into an unknown region. My I-ness together with the whole universe was, as it were, going to vanish in the great all-devouring void. I was then overwhelmed with a terrible fear; I had known that the destruction of I-ness was death and that death was before me, very near at hand. Unable to control me, I cried out loudly and said, 'Ah! What is it that you have done to me? "I have my parents, you know.' Giving out a loud laugh to hear those words of mine and touching my chest with his hand, he said, 'Let it then cease now; it need not be done all at once; it will come to pass in the course of time.' I was amazed to see that extraordinary experience of mine vanish as quickly as it had come when he touched me in that manner and said those words. I came to my normal state and saw inside and outside the room standing still as before (as cited Shourie, 2017, p.13).

³³⁹ It is said that even before meeting Narendra, Ramakrishna had seen him in a vision as a sage, immersed in the meditation of the absolute, who at Sri Ramakrishna's request had to take human birth to assist him (Nikhilananda, 1942, p.229)

he even thought his Naren (as called by Ramakrishna) is God incarnate came to end the miseries of humankind. The master saw a strong pillar in Vivekananda where he can build a spirited foundation for his God (Kāli) entrusted work (Nikhilananda, 1942).

Vivekananda, unlike his master, was a man of 'reason and science'; his childhood inclination towards western thoughts and thinkers shaped his ideas. However, this great disciple and master's relationship is celebrated as the epitome of '*guru-śiṣya bandha*' has a shady history where one could see Vivekananda's strong apathy towards Ramakrishna's kind of mysticism or even to mysticism itself (Alter, 2009). Vivekananda always wished to portray a different kind of image of his Guru. Propagate the image of a *Vedāntic* ascetic than a Tāntric mystic was his instruction to the biographers of Ramakrishna³⁴⁰. Ramakrishna's *bhayaṅkara* (scary) and *atibhayaṅkara* (very scary) *Sādhanas*, including *śmaśānasādhana* (mortuary rites) with *Bhairavi Brahmani*,³⁴¹ were intentionally ignored by Vivekananda, 'Vivekananda's hagiographical account says after the death of Ramakrishna, Vivekananda's spiritual philosophy evolved into that of Advaita *Vedānta* or non-dualism. The adoption of this philosophical position became the official philosophy of the Ramakrishna movement. Thereby the official representation of Ramakrishna gives importance to his more prominent devotion to goddess Kāli and his practice of Tantra, which is the strategy by Vivekananda to present an ideal image of his master' (Olson, 2012, p.46). The representation of Ramakrishna as an

³⁴⁰ Vivekananda instructed the parameters of Ramakrishna's biography to Alasinga (biographer of Ramakrishna) as follows 'The life of Shri Ramakrishna was an extraordinary searchlight under whose illumination one is able to really understand the whole scope of Hindu religion. He was the object-lesson of all the theoretical knowledge given in the Śāstras (scriptures). He showed by his life what the Ṛṣis and *Avatāras* really wanted to teach... The Vedas can only be explained and the Śāstras reconciled by his theory of *Avastha* or stages-that we must not only tolerate others, but positively embrace them, and that truth is the basis of all religions....

He also cautioned Alasinga to avoid all irregular indecent expressions about sex etc..... because other nations think it the height of indecency to mention such things, and his life in English is going to be read by the whole world. He also warned to 'studiously avoid all the miracles' while writing (Sil, 2018, p. 28)

³⁴¹ The later confession by Ramachandra Datta (an earlier biographer of Ramakrishna) gives a clue about Ramakrishna's scary Tāntric practice with Bhairavi and the official decision of movement to keep such details confidential. Datta confessed, "We have heard many tales of the Brahmani, but we hesitate to divulge them to the public." (Sil, 2003, p.42)

Advaitin has a strong similarity with the later representation of Yoga in west by Swami Vivekananda. Just like in the case of his Guru, Vivekananda employed a similar strategy to alienate Yoga from its mystical roots and present it as a non-dualistic philosophy in terms of his *Vedānta*. Alter remarks, 'Vivekananda articulated a kind of spirituality based on *Vedānta* and named it as *Rājayoga*—'The Royal Yoga'. Most significantly, he was critical of asceticism and world renunciation and advocated a kind of "Yoga theology" linked to the world of direct experience' (Alter, 2009, p.26).

The journey of Yoga to the West and its transformation as a Neo-*Vedāntic* philosophy happened together with Swami Vivekananda's mission to the West, which started with his most famous speech at Chicago in World Parliament of Religions in 1893. It was often named in the history as the journey of 'spiritual East to meet the material West'.

2.2.1. East meets West – Easternising West or Westernising East?

Alexander the Great, and I see, as it were in a picture, the great monarch standing on the bank of the Indus, talking to one of our Sannyāsins in the forest; the old man he was talking to, perhaps naked, stark naked, sitting upon a block of stone, and the Emperor, astonished at his wisdom, tempting him with gold and honour to come over to Greece. And this man smiles at his gold, and smiles at his temptations, and refuses; and then the Emperor standing on his authority as an Emperor, says, "I will kill you if you do not come", and the man bursts into a laugh and says, "You never told such a falsehood in your life, as you tell just now. Who can kill me? Me you kill, Emperor of the material world! Never! For I am Spirit unborn and undecaying: never was I born and never do I die; I am the Infinite, the Omnipresent, the Omniscient; and you kill me, child, that you are! (Vivekananda, 1892)

Vivekananda pompously presents this anecdote of an alleged meeting with the Sādhu (Dandamis). Alexander³⁴² intends to present this story in one of the famous lectures³⁴³ is nothing but feting the spirituality of east and faulting the materiality of the West. This encounter seems to be the first encounter of West with east³⁴⁴; the emperor represents the men of the world

³⁴² The anecdote of Alexander and Dandamis is quoted in plenty of historical sources; historians such as Plutarch, Arrian Strabo, Megasthenes have mentioned the rendezvous between Alexander and the Sadhu; it is said that it was Aristotle who has requested Alexander to bring along a wise man from India, implying an unexpected openness on the part of the famous philosopher toward other traditions of knowledge (Daniel, 2012, p.xiii).

³⁴³ Lectures from Colombo to Almora, *Vedānta* and its Application

³⁴⁴ See Chapter: I, section, 'Gymnosophists's

(*Pravṛtti*), and Dandamis representing the ascetics who renounced the world (*Nivṛtti*). The stories of 'West meeting East' from historical times are always presented with an adjective 'valueless west' meeting invaluable east for spiritual guidance! Vivekananda also presents the story when he finds West as a lost society enmeshed in worldly ordeals. The opportunity to 'easternise' the valueless West was rightly recognised, and like his forerunner Keshab Chandra Sen, Vivekananda too decided to 'baptise'³⁴⁵ the West in India's spirituality (reshaped in *Vedāntic* terms to fit western audience) and get baptised in its science and rationality. His mission officially started in 1893, just after the death of Ramakrishna in 1892. According to Vivekananda's own accounts about his decision of travelling to the West to spread his 'master's message'³⁴⁶, started with his resolve at Cape Comorin, known as 'Kanyakumari resolve'³⁴⁷, where he decided 'to spread a doctrine of practical service to the poor and needy, a vision that blended the strengths of Indian spirituality shorn of its superstitions with a western dictation to science, progress and social equality (Alistair, 2020, p.127).

³⁴⁵ Keshab Chandra Sen in 1877 proclaimed

Let England baptize us with the spirit of true philosophy. Let the sages of Aryan India baptize us with the spirit of heavenly madness. Let modern England teach hard science and fact; let ancient India teach sweet poetry and sentiment... Let me have only fifty young men from our Universities, trained in science and philosophy, and baptized with the spirit of madness, and let these men go forth, as missionary-soldiers of God, conquering and to conquer, and in the fullness of time the banners of truth shall be planted throughout the length and the breadth of the country (as cited in, Michelis, 2004, p.109)

³⁴⁶ Ramakrishna's message was indeed of a different kind; his eclecticism and mystical love for Kali was never spread to the world; instead, a customized *Vedāntic* Ramakrishna and his message was fervently spread by Vivekananda and his Ramakrishna Movement. After his return from the United States in 1897, Ramakrishna Mission was established, which propagated spiritual humanism and Vedānta, the sole vision of the mission was to serve the poor, and it was established on the motto service to poor is service to God (*Naraseva Nārāyaṇaseva*). Ramakrishna's disciples did not totally accept the mission's altruistic and philanthropic activities; some of them questioned it. Moreover, many of Ramakrishna's disciples thought Vivekananda's work in the West is not in Harmony with Ramakrishna; Swami Nikhilananda records a debate between Vivekananda and his brother monk, It follows, 'One of them said bluntly to the Swami, 'You did not preach our Master in America; you only preached yourself.' The Swami retorted with equal bluntness, 'Let people understand me first; then they will understand Sri Ramakrishna.'... things came to a climax one day at Balaram's house in Calcutta, when Swami Yogananda, a brother disciple whom Sri Ramakrishna had pointed out as belonging to his 'inner circle' of devotees, said that the Master had emphasized bhakti alone for spiritual seekers and that philanthropic activities, organizations, homes of service for the public good, and patriotic work were the Swami's own peculiar ideas, the result of his Western education and travel in Europe and America (Nikhilananda, 1953, p. 153)

³⁴⁷ Vivekananda wrote to a fellow monk:

My brother, in view of all this, specially of the poverty and ignorance, I had no sleep. At Cape Comorin, sitting in Mother Kumari's temple, sitting on the last bit of Indian rock -I hit upon a plan: We are so many Sannyāsins wandering about and teaching the people metaphysics-it is all madness. Did not our Gurudeva use to say, 'An empty stomach is no good for religion'? That those poor people are leading the life of brutes is simply due to ignorance. We have for all ages been sucking their blood and trampling them underfoot (Alistair, 2020, p. 129)

Paradoxically, Vivekananda's mission to West keeping an agenda of 'easternising the west' apart from all its acclaims operated to be the opening call to immerse Indian spirituality in the 'materiality' of West. As understood, his mission was fuelled by a vision to bring the wealth of West to feed the impoverished masses of India, where he found '*Vedantised Yoga*' as the best' sellable good', 'Vivekananda thought it as a fair and useful trade³⁴⁸' (Strauss, 2002, p.218-219). As seen in the previous sections, Vivekananda wanted to reinvent Yoga in an *Advaitic* fashion that he found to be helpful to the western community; moreover, his apathy towards the mystical traditions³⁴⁹ determined his actions on *Vedāntising Yoga*.

2.2.2. Vivekananda's commentary on *Pātañjala Yogasūtras*

As we have seen in the previous chapters, Yoga has a history of *Vedāntising* from a very distant past, to say it started during the times of epics. According to *Vedānta* and Advaita *Vedānta*, Interpreting Yoga started long back; if it resulted from the complex cultural process of assimilation and appropriation, Vivekananda's interpretation of Yoga to Advaita was a strategic move to gain the confidence of the western audience for his cause. During his extended stay in America, the commentary on *Pātañjala Yogasūtra* s was released³⁵⁰; he named

³⁴⁸ 'Swami Vivekananda presented yoga as a spiritual commodity that had an explicit exchange value for people in America and Europe: he said that India had an abundance of spiritual wealth, and that yoga was a method that could help people to achieve spiritual well-being. In return, the West – well known for its material resources could pay cash for the privilege of learning yoga. Vivekananda reasoned that the West lacked spirituality, and so a fair trade could be made' (Strauss, 2005, p. 3).

³⁴⁹ Vivekananda was a shrewd culture broker seeking a way to turn his countrymen away from practices he termed "kitchen religion!" (emphasis added) (White 2012,p.35; Wujastyk 2012; Alter 2009; Laycock 2013) regardless of his apathy towards mystical traditions is also read as a reaction against Christian missionaries, where he wanted to baptize the west into Hinduism using a novel strategy different from that of missionaries in India, a letter written to Abhedananda Vivekananda asks to reshape the philosophy to fit western audience also reminds him to avoid including mystical traditions while presenting to the west, he calls the mystical traditions and its rituals as 'obscure mannerisms'. The letter goes as.. you should know that religion of the type that obtains in our country does not go here. You must suit it to the taste of the people. If you ask [Americans] to become Hindus, they will all give you a wide berth and hate you, as we do the Christian missionaries. They like some of the ideas of our Hindu scriptures - that is all ... A few thousand people have faith in the *Advaita* doctrine. But they will give you the go-by if you talk obscure mannerisms about sacred writings, caste, or women' (Michelis, 2004, p.120).

³⁵⁰ The commentary to *PātañjalaYogasūtra* was released in 1896. Notably, life in Western countries and engagements with western mysticism and American Transcendentalism shaped Vivekananda's thoughts in promoting Yoga in the West and spreading it to India. Interestingly, a close relative of Ralph Waldo Emerson (the founder of Transcendentalism) named Sarah Ellen Walden became a disciple of Vivekananda, took the name Sister Haridasi, transcribed Vivekananda's dictated text *Rājayoga*(Alistair, 2020)

it 'Rājayoga'³⁵¹ the king of all Yogas. Apart from the Advaitic interpretation of the Yoga philosophy, it was ontologically reduced and scientized and psychologised. Vivekananda reproduced the text freely according to his views, a blend of *Vedānta*, *Gīta*, and Christian altruism. He even did not mind bothering to keep an alliance with his forerunners, the incredible classical *Advaitins* and Yoga commentators such as *Vyāsa* and *Śaṅkara*³⁵². His 'Rajāyoga' a freehand translation of *Pātañjala Yogasūtra* became a key text in West's education in mind yoga (Alistair, 2020, p. 131).

In the introductory chapter to *Rājayoga*, Vivekananda sets the tone of his '(Raja) Yoga', he merges the methods of science and ancient yoga sutras, he argues Yoga is an 'internal science' that 'in the first place, proposes to give men such a means of observing the internal states, and the instrument is the mind itself. When properly guided and directed towards the inner world, the power of attention of Mind will analyse the Mind, and illumine facts for us' (Vivekananda, 1896b). The scientific methodology of observation and experiments to experience reality, the ultimate reality, in this case, is logically presented. A science-educated Westerner will find the philosophy of Yoga appealing. Vivekananda, through his *Rājayoga*, proposes it as a scientific enquiry to find out the unit of all manifestation as 'science' does³⁵³ in the physical world (Vivekananda, 1896b).

³⁵¹ The term Rājayogameans Royal yoga intending its supremacy on all other forms of Yoga, to call Pātañjala system of Yoga is a later development, it is noted that Theosophist's were the first one's to call PātañjalaYoga as Rajayoga, this term was later popularized by Swami Vivekananda and Swami Sivananda of Rishikesh (Michelis, 2004; Birch, 2013). The history of the term "Rajayoga" reveals that it did not derive from Patañjalayoga. It was not until the sixteenth century that this term was used in a commentary on the Yogasūtra. 'The earliest definition of Rājayogais found in the twelfth century, Saiva Yoga text called the Amanaska, which proclaimed Rājayoga to be superior to all other Yogas and soteriologies prevalent in India at that time. From the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, Rājayoga was mainly used as a synonym for samadhi, yet after the sixteenth century, the textual evidence reveals many attempts to reinterpret the name and connect it with different systems of Yoga' (Birch, 2013, p. 399).Vivekananda tried to connect it with Pātañjalayoga whereas there are other organizations uses the term to call their particular system of Yoga by this name and interestingly their system Yoga is not connected with PātañjalaYoga in anyways, foremost among them is Prajapati Brahmakumaris.

³⁵² Vivekananda's Advaitic interpretation was a divergent approach from Śaṅkara Advaita despite his claims to be a Śaṅkara Advaitin.

³⁵³ The end and aim of all science are to find a unit, that One out of which all this manifold is being manufactured, that One existing as many.

Vivekananda's commentary resounds with the ideas he had drawn from modern science; he extensively quotes scientific terms and ideas while interpreting *Yogasūtras*. Killingley (1990) observes, in his *Rājayoga*, Vivekananda brings the concept of Darwinian evolution theory in contrast to the theory evolution presented in *Yogasūtra*'s. He used the premise of modern evolutionary theory to explain *Sāmkhyan* and Yoga metaphysics, with criticism to the Darwinian theory of evolution. He finds Patañjali's evolutionary theory superior to the modern one contrasting the driving force of the one the manifestation of the perfection of every being, with that of the other "sexual selection or the survival of the fittest", he is also not hesitant to call 'Patañjali the greatest evolutionist'³⁵⁴ (Killingley, 1990, p.160), Vivekananda as rightly observed by Killingley, did not try to understand the theory of evolution but like transcendentalists and philosophers like Nietzsche tries to extrapolate evolution beyond man³⁵⁵. However, he logically argued there is a striking similarity between modern evolution theory and '*Patañjali*'s evolution theory'; the progressive evolution from one species to another is discussed in both theories; nonetheless, the drive for evolution is different in both theories. Vivekananda argued it is the 'infilling of nature'³⁵⁶ that decides evolution in beings, not natural

³⁵⁴ The great ancient evolutionist, *Patañjali*, declares that the true secret of evolution is the manifestation of the perfection which is already in every being; that this perfection has been barred, and the infinite tide behind it is struggling to express itself

³⁵⁵ Vivekananda sees man as potential God, seeking clues from the concept of Puruṣa Viśeṣa of Patañjali (Īśvara [the Supreme Ruler] is a special Puruṣa, untouched by misery, the results of actions, or desires (Vivekananda, 1896, p.103), he says 'in the animal, the man was suppressed, but, as soon as the door was opened, out rushed man. So, there is the potential god in man, kept in by the locks and bars of ignorance. When knowledge breaks these bars, the God becomes manifest' (Vivekananda, 1896, p.178). The utilization of evolution theory according to his understanding of it and what he calls as Yogic evolution theory is presented, where one can see the premise is of progressive evolution, but instead of physical circumstances, he discredits sexual selection and survival of the fittest, as inadequate and brings in the concept mental evolution which is later seen in the writings of Aurobindo.

³⁵⁶ '*Jatyantara pariṇāmah prakṛtyāpurat*' Vivekananda (1896) interprets the sūtra as 'The change into another species is by the filling in of nature, later, Iyengar (1993) interprets the sūtra as 'The abundant flow of nature's energy brings about a transformation in one's birth, aiding the process of evolution'... Due to the power of his practices, nature's energy flows in such a sadhaka with such force as to transform him into an immortal. This accords with the theory of evolution. It is interesting to note also that nature itself is the power-house for spiritual evolution. Here one can see influence of Vivekananda's interpretation is seen in later commentaries of *Yogasūtras*, Yoga's traditional commentarial tradition has shifted to a modern style of writing in accordance with new developments in science.

selection³⁵⁷ or sexual selection. Despite the differences, Vivekananda found the modern theory of evolution is advocating monism. He was not the first to believe or find monism in evolution theory, Herbert Spencer, and Ernst Haeckel, also had similar thoughts on it, the possibility of Vivekananda getting influenced by western monistic thinkers such as Spencer and Haeckel is evident, as western thinkers and philosophies influenced his childhood and early adulthood. Spencer is in the list of his influential thinkers. Vivekananda's monism is nothing less than Advaita Vedānta. He tried to bring in Advaita *Vedānta* monism to interpret Yogasūtras and merge it with evolutionism. He believed it as an appealing move to the educated class of the West. 'He described Vedānta, the system of thought represented true Hinduism, as the only religion which agrees with, and even goes a little further than modern researches, both on physical and moral lines . . . and that is why it appeals to modern scientists so much. Although the claim was sweeping, it was successful among westerners whose belief in religion was shaken by science; Vivekananda found an opportunity for his 'Hinduism to flourish, he found Christianity's difficulty as Hinduism's opportunity (Killingley, 1990, p.155).

Vivekananda devised a fourfold³⁵⁸ model of the Yoga system according to the character types³⁵⁹ of people. He had extensively written on his four Yoga models with an emphasis on

³⁵⁷ Vivekananda did not object to the idea of natural selection, but he found it inadequate; according to him, natural selection is only applicable to beings that are from the lower strata of the natural world; in conversation with a zoologist, Vivekananda explained his concept in detail.

'In the animal kingdom we really see such laws as struggle for existence, survival of the fittest, etc., evidently at work. Therefore Darwin's theory seems true to a certain extent. But in the human kingdom, where there is the manifestation of rationality, we find just the reverse of those laws. For instance, in those whom we consider really great men or ideal characters, we scarcely observe any external struggle. . . . The highest evolution of man is effected through sacrifice alone. A man is great among his fellows in proportion as he can sacrifice for the sake of others, while in the lower strata of the animal kingdom, that animal is the strongest which can kill the greatest number of animals' (*limitations of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution - Swami Vivekananda*, no date; Killingley, 1990)

³⁵⁸ Michelis (2004) argues Vivekananda adopted Keshab Chandra Sen's fourfold classification of devotees to develop his fourfold yoga system.

³⁵⁹(1) Karma Yoga - The manner in which a man realizes his own divinity through works and duty.

(2) Bhakti Yoga - The realization of a divinity through devotion to and love of a personal God.

(3) Rāja Yoga - The realization of divinity through control of mind.

(4) Gnana Yoga - The realization of man's own divinity through Knowledge (Michelis 2004, p. 124).

modern science without leaving his ground on *Vedānta*. Vivekananda's writings on *Rāja Yoga*, *Bhakti Yoga*, *Jñāna Yoga* and *Karma Yoga* in English helped in making Yoga an ideology and practice that fits the western audience. He seized upon the symbolic power of Yoga as a genuinely Indian, yet non-sectarian, type of applied philosophy that could be wielded as a "unifying sign of the Indian nation . . . not only for national consumption but for consumption by the entire world" (White 2012,p.20). He acted as a junction in the history of Yoga, where it takes many distinct but interrelated paths. After Vivekananda, the shifts and turn in the history of Yoga were very rapid; it became a nationalistic ideology while it played a dual role of a trans-nationalistic philosophy and praxis. Yoga shifted from its mystical ontological core to a rational, psychological, and modern scientific elucidation of its practice and philosophy. Strauss (2005, p.7) observes, "The power and flexibility of the yoga philosophy itself allowed Vivekananda to turn one simplified set of ideas and practices to two quite different ends: the spiritual awaking of the Western public, and the spiritual rejuvenation of the Indian people !" (exclamation added). Nevertheless, the role of Vivekananda in redefining Yoga is very much significant, that certainly marks Yoga- before and after Vivekananda.

2.3. Yoga after Vivekananda

Vivekananda's work on Yoga profoundly influenced scholars, mystics, and spiritual figures. The interpretations, redactions, and commentaries on Yoga after Vivekananda, his fourfold Yoga model and his outlook on 'modern' science and the concept of combining east and west reflected in every writing on Yoga after Vivekananda. To name a significant figure after Vivekananda is Maharshi Aurobindo, the revolutionary turned mystic whom Swami Vivekananda profoundly influenced in devising his Yoga. In his younger days, Aurobindo was not interested in philosophy; he was instead active in revolutionary politics and directly involved in the Indian freedom movement; moreover, Aurobindo lived a short span of life as an atheist and later accepted

an agnostic attitude³⁶⁰. However, his autobiographical notes say that despite his disinterest in spirituality and philosophy, he used to read the writings and sayings of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. Aurobindo was vocal about the 'direct'³⁶¹ influence of Swami Vivekananda, he said, Vivekananda used to come to me in Alipore Jail — who showed me the Intuitive plane. For about two to three weeks, he gave me instructions regarding Intuition. Afterwards, I began to see the still higher planes. I am not satisfied with only a part, or a flash of Supermind, I want to bring down the whole mass of the Supermind pure, and that is an extremely difficult business (Purani, 1959, p.585).

The above said words are taken from Aurobindo's evening talks recorded by AB Purani, where he talks about his rendezvous with Swami Vivekananda. The meeting did not happen in real, though Aurobindo used to interact with Swami Vivekananda in deep meditation; in his words, this meeting happened in occult planes, not in physical ones. Aurobindo's detention in Alipore jail as an undertrial prisoner in the Alipore conspiracy case was the turning point in his life; he devoted his entire year to spiritual practices and particularly Yoga³⁶². Aurobindo later said he practised Yoga from *Bhagavadgītā*³⁶³ and used Upaniṣads to supplement its practice. Although Aurobindo rejected the idea of reading *Bhagavadgītā* was instigated by Vivekananda, he openly admitted his spiritual plan of action, including Yoga is influenced by Swami Vivekananda through his Yogic unearthly visits³⁶⁴.

³⁶⁰ He [Aurobindo] had lived in the family of a Non-conformist clergyman, minister of a chapel belonging to the "Congregational" denomination; though he never became a Christian, this was the only religion and the Bible the only scripture with which he was acquainted in his childhood; but in the form in which it presented itself to him, it repelled rather than attracted him and the hideous story of persecution staining mediaeval Christianity and the narrowness and intolerance even of its later developments disgusted him so intensely that he drew back from religion altogether. After a short period of complete atheism, he accepted the Agnostic attitude (Aurobindo, 2006, p.106). Like his forerunners Aurobindo, who also had a Europeanised mind that objected to idol worship and religious ritualism, he quotes an instance of his meeting with Ganganath that turned his life upside down atheist turned agnostic to a believer of God. Aurobindo says, 'Once I visited Ganganath [at Chandod] after Brahmananda's death when Keshwananda was there [in charge]. I had no faith in image-worship with my Europeanised mind, and I hardly believed in the Presence of God. I went to Karnali [near Chandod], where there are many temples. There is one of Kali, and when I looked at the image, I saw the living Presence there. For the first time, I believed in the Presence of God' (Purani, 1959, p.630).

³⁶¹ Aurobindo claimed it was a direct influence of Vivekananda although it happened in the Psychic plane.

³⁶² Aurobindo started practicing Yoga in 1905(Aurobindo, 1939)

³⁶³ 'Being in my cell, I used to study the Bhagavad Gīta and the Upaniṣads. I tried to see God in every man moving before me, even in every tree, wall, bird, ..., the jail ceased to be prison to me' (Bonilla, 2016, P.41).

³⁶⁴ I had another direct experience of Vivekananda's Presence when I was practising Haṭhayoga. I felt this Presence standing behind and watching over me. (*Sri Aurobindo: Statements about the role of Vivekananda in Alipore jail*, no date; Purani, 1959)

Vivekananda's patriotic fervour³⁶⁵, pragmatic populism, *Vedāntic* inclination³⁶⁶, and ideas on super consciousness had a direct influence on Aurobindo. The idea of Supermind and the descension of it to human planes to elevate the human race was propagated by Aurobindo throughout his life. Aurobindo claimed he had attained two of the four great realisations, which was the foundation of his Yoga and philosophy, the rendezvous with the supreme consciousness happened to him twice; the first one was during a meditation session with a *yogi* Vishnu Bhaskar Lele and the second happened in Alipore Jail, that corresponds with his metaphysical meetings with Swami Vivekananda (Aurobindo, 1939). Vivekananda shunned Darwin's evolution theory and put forward Yogic evolution theory as an advanced theory of evolution. Also, he argued the higher truths of life are to be gathered from the superconscious state of Mind, and Rājayoga teaches how to reach the superconscious state (Vivekananda, 1922). Aurobindo appends the concept of supermind with the Yogic evolution theory proposed by Vivekananda; he argues human evolution has reached the highest point, where 'Mind is the highest term yet reached in the evolution, but it is not the highest of which it is capable. There is above it a supermind or eternal Truth-consciousness which is in its nature the self-aware and self-determining light and power of a Divine Knowledge' (Aurobindo, 1939, p.10). Although agreeing to Vivekananda's concept of Yogic evolution, Aurobindo took a distinct path from Vivekananda; the Śāṅkara *Advaita Vedānta* scheme of interpreting Yoga was not acceptable to Aurobindo. Aurobindo was a strong critique of Śāṅkara and his Advaita scheme³⁶⁷; Aurobindo always maintained the interpretations and commentaries of Śāṅkara to Upaniṣads was nothing but an epistemological mangling of distinct philosophies. Aurobindo's interpretation of Isha Upaniṣad fervidly criticises the *Māyāvāda* model of Śāṅkara Advaita philosophy. Although Vivekananda had a disagreement with Śāṅkara in most regards,

³⁶⁵ Aurobindo did not closely watch the 'political' mission of Vivekananda, but he was moved by the intense patriotic feeling of Swami Vivekananda that inspired Sister Nivedita.

³⁶⁶ Aurobindo once opined, '*Vedānta* is too abstract for the ordinary mind. It was the personality of Vivekananda that gave the drive (Purani, 1959).

³⁶⁷ Detailed in the coming section on Aurobindo's Yoga model.

which includes his ideas on *Varṇa system* and caste hierarchy³⁶⁸, Vivekananda wholeheartedly agreed with the epistemology of Śāṅkara Advaita, and while translating Upaniṣads and even the dualistic 'Yoga', he followed Śāṅkara's path.

Swami once opined,

Shankaracharya had caught the rhythm of the Vedas, the national cadence. Indeed I always imagine that he had some vision such as mine when he was young and recovered the ancient music that way. Anyway, his whole life's work is nothing but that, the throbbing of the beauty of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads (Vivekananda, 1922).

Aurobindo also agreed that 'Vivekananda accepted Śāṅkara's philosophy with modifications' (Aurobindo, 1970, p.55), whereas the Yoga model of Aurobindo is a different approach that he combined the *Advaita* monistic philosophy and Tantric mystical philosophies. Aurobindo calls his Yoga a synthesis of *Advaita* and *Tāntrism* as Integral Yoga.

He explains the dynamic aim of his Integral Yoga as a spiritual praxis to open the greater divine consciousness to rise to the power of light and bliss, discover one's true self, remain in constant union with the Divine and bring down the supramental force for the transformation of mind and life and body.

2.3.1. Integral Yoga Model

I do not agree with the view that the world is an illusion, *mithyā*. The Brahman is here as well as in the supracosmic Absolute. The thing to be overcome is the Ignorance which makes us blind and prevents us from realising Brahman in the world as well as beyond it and the true nature of existence (Aurobindo, 1970, p.39)

Aurobindo disagreed with the concept of *Māyāvāda* and the illusionary existence of the world; thereby, he disagreed with the *Vivartavādin* explanation of universal existence and inclined towards the *Pariṇāmavādin* explanation; Aurobindo said Śāṅkara's knowledge was

³⁶⁸ Vivekananda said to a disciple, 'Śāṅkara's intellect was sharp like the razor. He was a good arguer and a scholar, no doubt that he had no great liberality; his heart too seems to have been like that. Besides, he used to take great pride in Brāhmanism, much like a southern Brāhmin of the priest class; you may say how he has defended in his commentary on the Vedānta- sutras that the non - brahmin castes will not attain to a supreme knowledge of Brahman! And what specious arguments!'

too limited³⁶⁹ to explain the entire grand process of creation, he further added, without understanding the role of Śakti in creation process the entirety of the cosmic creation cannot be understood. Aurobindo explained the process of creation and existence in terms of the transcendent or Static and Immanent or dynamic nature of the absolute. Instead of using inactive Brahman as seen in Advaita philosophy, Aurobindo talked about an active Brahman as seen in Tāntric philosophies. Aurobindo's understanding of *Māya* is akin to *Tāntric* understanding of it; the illusionary aspect of Śakti is a nature of Śakti to curl the individual in lower planes of understanding. Aurobindo argued that *Brahman's* static aspect is a part of its actual reality, and the dynamic nature of it is the other side of it, hence an integral approach of combining *Advaita Vedānta* the monistic³⁷⁰ metaphysical approach and practical, experiential Tantra can only decipher the absolute truth of the world.

The tantric mystical³⁷¹ approach followed by Aurobindo in explaining the reality of the world is the foundation of Integral Yoga. Whereas he disagrees with the concept of the Self is eternally free³⁷², and the Yoga model of Aurobindo delivers liberation to the fastened self. For

³⁶⁹ Aurobindo says, '*Cittasuddhi* belongs to Rājayoga. In the pure Advaita, the method is rather to detach oneself by vicāra and Viveka and realize "I am not the mind, not the life, etc. etc." In that case, no śuddhi would be necessary —the self would separate from nature, good or bad and regard it as machinery which had no more the support of the ātman would fall away from itself along with the body. Of course, cittaśuddhi can be resorted to also, but for cessation of the cittavṛtti, not for their better dynamism as an instrument of the Divine. Śaṅkara insists that all karma must fall off before one can be liberated — the soul must realize itself as akartā (non-doer), there is no solution in or by works in the pure Yoga of Knowledge. So how could Śaṅkara recognize dynamism? Even if he recognizes cittaśuddhi as necessary, it must be as a preparation for getting rid of karma, not for anything else' (Aurobindo, 1970, p.56)

³⁷⁰ While talking about Monism, Aurobindo did not fall into the trap of European monistic and unitarian ideas like Brahma leaders like Roy, Tagore and Sen have fallen into. Aurobindo maintains 'The European type of monism is usually pantheistic and weaves the universe and the Divine so intimately together that they can hardly be separated. But what explanation of the evil and misery can there be there? The Indian view is that the Divine is the inmost substance of the universe, but he is also outside it, transcendent; good and evil, happiness and misery are only phenomena of cosmic experience due to a division and a diminution of consciousness in the manifestation but are not part of the essence or of the undivided whole-consciousness either of the Divine or of our own spiritual being', Aurobindo also adds that his Advaita Vedāntais not Māyavada school or 'illusionist Advaita' (the world as unreal manifestation) but a 'realistic Advaita' (world as real manifestation). Aurobindo presented this Advaita in his *Life Divine*

³⁷¹ Joseph S Alter (2009) calls Vivekananda and Aurobindo as 'antimystics' which is not true in the case of Aurobindo, Aurobindo's philosophy was more of a mystical kind than that of Vivekananda's practical or 'rational' approach.

³⁷² Advaitists have no place for the individual soul. They say Māya creates individual souls. In reality, they cannot exist (Vivekananda, 1922)

that, it proposes surrendering the mortal Mind to the Supermind, and there is no other plan of action a person can endeavour but to submit him/her to the divine interference for the liberation is the idea³⁷³. Aurobindo defines Yoga as 'a methodised effort towards self-perfection by expressing the potentialities latent in the being and a union of the human individual to the universal and transcendent existence we see partially expressed in man and the Cosmos (Kumar, 2018, p.2).

The integral Yoga model, although it relies on Supermind to act on individuals, is not unique, it has drawn from several Yoga models and Yogic philosophies, *Bhakti*, *Jñāna*, *Karma* and *Rājayoga* systems of Yoga along with the principles of other yogic schools were merged into Aurobindo's Yoga model, his rationale for mangling different Yogic philosophies together was nothing but the demand of a multifaceted synthetic Yoga to address the multifaceted problems of humanity. In Tantras, as discussed in the earlier sections, the liberation of the individual is supreme; almost every Tantra proposes a model for individual liberation through *Carya* (Tantric ritual), known as *caryāpāda* or *caryāvrata*. Tantra is thus an antinomian tradition anchored on individual liberation, whereas the Integral Yoga model of Aurobindo does not place the individual in the forefront; according to him, the liberation of the individual is a smallest achievement, especially if it is achieved in the seclusion leaving behind the entire cosmos. The liberation of the cosmos through the descension of Supermind is the grand aim of his Integral Yoga³⁷⁴.

³⁷³ For the practice of integral Yoga, one must first resolve to surrender entirely to the Divine; there is no other way; this is the way. But after that, one must have the five psychological virtues, five psychological perfections, and we say that the perfections are

- 1.Sincerity or Transparency
- 2.Faith or Trust (Trust in the Divine)
- 3.Devotion or Gratitude
- 4.Courage or Inspiration
- 5.Endurance or Perseverance (Kumar, 2018,p.4)

³⁷⁴ Interview with Dr. Charan Singh Rana a scholar on Maharshi Aurobindo and his teachings (dated 5th April 2021)

Through collective effort, the upheaval of society was Swami Vivekananda's plan. In his Yoga model, the principle of 'man making' for societal upheaval was always the key teaching. Vivekananda's fascination with strength and manliness³⁷⁵ determined his views on Yoga, too; even *Vedānta* was seen as a philosophy of strength by Vivekananda! Chatterjee and Naha (2014) observe 'Vivekananda was well in accordance with the personal, social and religious ideals advanced by the 19th century Anglo-American "muscular Christianity", which constructed the male body as a site of personal strength, competence, and self-control'.

As 'the harbingers of Yoga renaissance in India, Vivekananda and Aurobindo' (Alter, 2009) had strikingly similar nationalistic outlook, populist pragmatism and thrust on physical culture. Although Aurobindo differed from Vivekananda's kind, *Advaitic* interpretation of Yoga, the thrust on developing a physical culture was clear in Aurobindo's Yoga model too. Aurobindo vouched for most of Swami Vivekananda's ideas about the development of physical culture for the same outcome, that is, liberation, if not in the same way. Vivekananda's muscular masculinity is for the country's liberation using strength. He held that the youth should engage in physical activity and build a muscular physique. He insisted that they play football and eat meat. Although Aurobindo gave up his meat diet and started living a 'pure light life'³⁷⁶ in his own words, Aurobindo said, 'meat is a *rājasic* food Vivekananda recommended it to Indians because it gives a certain force and energy in the physical. From *Tamas* you pass into *Rajas*, Vivekananda was not quite wrong'. Aurobindo believed there is a need for building up a strong body for him it was for the easy descension of Supermind, to a question regarding the prerequisites of 'Supermind descension' he replied a disciple named Tirupati 'You must eat

³⁷⁵ Swami Vivekananda prays to the mother goddess,
O Thou Lord of Gauri, O Thou Mother of the
Universe, vouchsafe manliness unto me!

O Mother of Strength, take away my weakness,
take away my unmanliness, and make me a Man! (Vivekananda, 1922; Chatterjee and Naha, 2014)

³⁷⁶ 'It was at that time that I gave up meat diet and found a great feeling of lightness and purification in the system'(Purani, 1959)

well and regularly every day, sleep well every night and build up a strong body. The Supermind cannot descend and remain in a weak and starved body' (Aurobindo, 1939, p.319).

The Yoga models of Vivekananda and Aurobindo, were different in terms of their epistemologies and philosophical standpoints. Vivekananda agreed with Śāṅkara's Advaita *Vedānta* and propagated a Yoga model along the lines of Advaita, whereas Aurobindo did not agree with Śāṅkara's Advaita and did not hesitate to vehemently criticise it. Aurobindo's Yoga model was a blend of Advaita and Tāntrism. Although with these striking dissimilarities Vivekananda and Aurobindo's Yoga models are interestingly similar in terms of their concepts about societal liberation, both agreed with the idea of an embodied philosophy for individual and societal liberation. Their ideas did not end as a temporal phenomenon but it acted as potential source of inspiration for the production of an 'embodied ideology' in nationalist discourse in the future.

Yoga's trajectory as a philosophy and praxis embedded with soteriological motives later shifted to political discourse after these two ascetic monks. The third epoch in the transformation of Yoga discussed in the next chapter hence is a furtherance of the above-discussed ideas but in terms of embodied nation concept, nationalism and transnationalism.

IV

MODERN YOGA: BETWEEN 'NATION', 'BODY' AND BIOMEDICINE

This chapter discusses transformation Modern Yoga has two sections. The first section discusses the transformation of Yoga from philosophy and praxis to a nationalist Ideology; it looks at this from the concept of Somatic nationalism, key influential people and movements that promoted somatic nationalistic ideology are discussed in this section. The transnational journey of Yoga after Vivekananda, in terms of transnationalising an esoteric philosophy, different Yogis, and Yoga movement of the time that held a significant role in transnationalising Yoga, is also discussed here. The second section deals with the transformation of Yoga as 'Scientific Yoga'; key players who were significant in scientizing Yoga is discussed here. The biomedicalisation of Yoga and the reductionism—Epistemological, ontological and methodological reductionism—happened to Yoga is discussed in the last part of this section. Three themes are discussed in the chapter—Yoga as a nationalist and transnationalist philosophy and practice, the rise and prominence of postural Yoga, and scientising and biomedicalising Yoga are the themes in the chapter. Chronological linearity is not maintained between these three sections as there is interlapping of events and years; for the convenience of the chapter, it is arranged as two different sections thematically.

Primary Sources: Data collected from key informants of NIMHANS³⁷⁷ Bengaluru using Interview tool, Case reports provided by NIMHANS.

Secondary Sources: Books, articles, journals, newspapers.

I

1. YOGA 'NATIONALISM'

We want that energy, that love of independence, that spirit of self-reliance, that immovable fortitude, that dexterity in action, that bond of unity of purpose, that thirst for improvement checking a little the constant looking back to the past, we want that

³⁷⁷ The National Institute of Mental Health and Neuro Sciences (NIMHANS) is an Institute of National Importance governed by the act of Parliament titled NIMHANS Act, 2012. This institute is a multidisciplinary institute for patient care, academic pursuit and cutting-edge research in the field of mental health and neurosciences. The Central Government recognised its eminent academic position, growth and contributions, and declared it a 'Deemed University in 1994. In 2012, NIMHANS was conferred the status of an 'Institute of National Importance'(National Institute of Mental Health & Neurosciences, no date).

extensive vision infinitely projected forward; and we want that intense spirit of activity (Rajas) which will flow through every vein, from head to foot.

-Swami Vivekananda (Kakar, 2012, p. 163)

The 'revival-cum-reinvention'(Alter, 2009, p. 27) of Yoga as a phenomenon of modern times was kickstarted as a direct consequence of the Chicago speech by Swami Vivekananda; his speech in the wake of the late colonial period was a watershed event in the history of Yoga. The ideas of 'modern' science, colonialism, nationalism and the remodeled Hinduism in muscular culture inspired by 'Masculine Christian' movements started influencing Yoga. Henceforth in every sense, Vivekananda's voyage to the West can be considered as the paradigm shift in Yoga's history (Michelis, 2004; Alter, 2009, 2018).

As he is known today, Vivekananda is the 'icon of youth'(Deshwal, 2015), a monk. The latter cherished the muscular culture and is even called the muscular monk (Chatterjee and Naha, 2014), promoting the ideas of ascetic nationalism, inspired by the nationalistic discourses of the late colonial period and muscular Christianity clubbed with the ascetic notion of celibacy. The call of Vivekananda to Indian youth was to build their physical strength by any means— playing football to eating meat was prescribed for that. Ashis Nandi cites, 'In a moment of terrible defeatism Vivekananda had said that the salvation of the Hindus lay in three Bs: beef, biceps and *Bhagvadgīta*' (Nandi, 1983, p.47). The idea of strong muscular body and the gendered notion of 'man making' and spiritual athleticism was propagated to the Indian masses through Vivekananda's speeches and writings. The masculinity professed by Vivekananda is not aloof from the colonial social complex of his times (Chatterjee and Naha, 2014). Daniel Simpson (2021) observes that the physical culture embraced by Vivekananda is fundamentally a nineteenth-century European idea, where physical strength and bodybuilding was nothing less than nation-building (Simpson, 2021, p.155).

Vivekananda's adaptation of muscular culture from western society is seen as a response to the colonial binary of the 'manly British and the 'effeminate Indian' that was widely

articulated in colonial discourses (Chatterjee and Naha, 2014). The writings and discourses of Vivekananda reflected this binary as 'strength versus weakness; he was not even hesitant to proclaim that the message of *Vedānta* is 'Strength!' (Vivekananda, 1896a). The search for 'Indigenous masculinities' to compete with the 'imported masculinities'—British was a popular idea of the time. However, in contrast to the ideas of masculine spirituality, Vivekananda was not an advocate of postural Yoga practices that 'emerged as a result of a dialogical exchange between, modern body culture techniques developed in the West and the various discourses of "modern" Hindu yoga that emerged from the time of his times onward' (Singleton, 2010, p. 5). Goldberg observes that Vivekananda had a strong antipathy towards utilising Haṭhayoga for building physiques and condemned them as harmful too (Goldberg, 2016). The sense of physique building of Vivekananda rested on the ideas of western gymnastics and the 'akhara'³⁷⁸—a culture, which he was fond of from his childhood (Chatterjee and Naha, 2014), not on the foundations of *Haṭhayoga*. Vivekananda maintained *Haṭhayoga* as a preparatory step for *Rājayoga*. He held that the health benefits of *Haṭhayoga* are just for physical benefits, not for spiritual emancipation, and hence he considered *Haṭhayoga* inferior to *Rājayoga* (Singleton, 2010).

After Vivekananda, the writings of Aurobindo, too, reflected the bold ideas of spiritual athleticism; Aurobindo held the significance of a 'strong' body as a prerequisite for the 'Supermind' to descend (Aurobindo, 1939; Purani, 1959; Bonilla, 2016). Just like his forerunner—Vivekananda, Aurobindo also did not give importance to postural/*Haṭhayoga* but maintained the importance of building body through physical exercises³⁷⁹.

³⁷⁸ Wrestling Gymnasium

³⁷⁹ The writings of Vivekananda and Aurobindo, although emphasised the importance of physique and building physical strength in body were not inclined towards the postural Yoga practice, that is *Haṭhayoga*, both of them maintained a mental yoga—Vedāntised Yoga, *Rājayoga* in Vivekananda's lexicon is superior to postural Yoga. However, it is discernible from their writings that the emphasis on physical culture shown by these two masters was the direct influence of colonial nationalistic thought of their times. Aurobindo writes that Physical culture is the best way of developing the consciousness of the body, and the more the body is conscious, the more it is capable of receiving the divine forces that are at work to transform it and give birth to the new race (as cited in Alter, 2009,p.28)

Apart from these two spiritual masters who represented a masculinised spirituality, another critical figure who professed body politics in 'embodied morality and health and fitness' was Gandhi (Alter, 2009, p.xxi). Gandhi's nationalism in terms of embodied morality and health and fitness was also not a tangential shift from the colonial idea of nationalism. However, in fact, it was an 'other' of the West itself; as Ashis Nandi (1983) observes, 'Gandhi was a living antithesis set up against the thesis of the English'(Nandi, 1983, p.49). When combined with Gandhi, the Yoga duo—Vivekananda and Aurobindo makes a Yoga trio that revived Yoga in India during modern times. Nonetheless, Alter (2009) argues that these figures in the history of the yoga renaissance in India are prominent. Their contributions are much lesser than the direct influence of transnational physical fitness ideas, health and strength. He put the name 'Eugene Sandow', the father of modern bodybuilding forwards, as the most influential figure in the development of modern Haṭhayoga (Alter 2009, p.28).

The rise of the Hindu nationalist movement in the wake of late colonialism, as said in the case of Gandhi, played the role of an 'other west' in India. Among the multitude of organisations fueled by the idea of Hindu Nationalism, Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) is a prominent one built on the foundation of a strong sense of embodied nationhood. The idea of *Rashtraśarīra* (The nation body) and the self-disciplined volunteers—*Swayamsevaks*, and celibate full-time workers—*Pracāraks* as the vehicles of *Prāṇa* through its veins is directly conversing to the ideas of Vivekananda, Aurobindo and Gandhi's idea on celibacy and self-control, if not on Gandhi's political ideology. As a militant organisation, RSS utilised the potential of Yoga to transform individual bodies as the vehicle of their embodied nationhood ideology. The very structure of the organisation is built on the idea of ascetic nationalism where the unmarried, full-time workers of the organisation—*Pracāraks*, devote their entire life to the organisation propagating its ideals. 'Celibacy (*Brahmacarya*) physical strength (*bal*) and Hindu notion of power (*Śakti*)' (Van der Veer, 1994, p.72) is combined in RSS ideology which took

inspiration from the militant Hindu ascetic monks. It was also inspired by the wrestling culture that had a significant influence in northern India for ages, which was reshaped after its rendezvous with modern bodybuilding and gymnastics of colonial times. RSS imbibed these traits into its organisation and started developing a body-focused curriculum for its training programs to build a healthy body for a healthy nation (Van der Veer, 1994; Alter, 2000, 2009). The gendered notion of 'man making' ideology of Vivekananda was taken as its motto and was refashioned as 'Nation reconstructing through man making'³⁸⁰ (*RSS -The Vision and Mission*, no date; Alter, 2009). The idea of a glorious Hindu past is emphasised here by invoking the phrase nation 're-constructing, RSS is bound to rebuild that glorious Nation, the vision statement of the organisation states 'the ideal of the Sangh (RSS) is to carry the nation to the pinnacle of glory through organising the entire society (*RSS -The Vision and Mission*, no date). The organisation was founded on the idea of strength, strength is the first and last thing it cherishes; it is echoed in its every activity and the words of its founder—Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar. He says, 'Strength, it should be remembered, comes only, through organisation. It is, therefore, the duty of every Hindu to do his best to consolidate the Hindu society (*RSS -The Vision and Mission*, no date). Hedgewar anticipated the need to strengthen Hindu society to prepare it for facing multiple challenges on social, economic, cultural, religious, philosophical and political planes. For that, a strong instrumentality—RSS, is needed. The founder visualised the organisation as an instrument of social change envisioned by national leaders such as Dayananda, Vivekananda, Aurobindo, Tilak and Gandhi (*RSS -The Vision and Mission*, no date). RSS claims to be a 'Hindu' organisation inspired by the ideals of Hinduism, although from top to bottom, the organisation is built on the ideals of western nationalistic ideas and

³⁸⁰ National reconstruction demands the fostering of a national character, uncompromising devotion to the Motherland, discipline, self-restraint, courage and heroism. Creating and nurturing these noble impulses is the most challenging task before the country - what Swami Vivekananda succinctly called man-making (*RSS -The Vision and Mission*, no date).

muscular Christianity. CF Andrews recognised a nexus of 'Capitalism, Imperialism and Christianity'(Nandi, 1983, p.46) playing during the late colonial period. RSS was a product of it, where 'Christian muscularity masquerades as Hindu Nationalism' (Nandi, 1983, p.47)

The utilisation of Yoga in RSS training programs is nothing less than an instrumental use of *Āsanās* intended to build physical strength. As Alter observes when compared to the wrestling pit with RSS *śākhā* (daily training). 'The wrestler trains on his own and fights other wrestlers to win, while RSS volunteer/cadres dressed in (western) uniforms engage in mass gymnastics'(Van der Veer, 1994; Alter, 2009), and the postural Yoga is one among that gymnastics schedule. Alter (2009) remarks the RSS adaptation of Yoga is not Yoga, but a problematic adaptation of it—Yoga that is alienated from its inherent soteriological disposition and pluralistic ideals. The adaptation of Yoga is a mechanical act to build a strong body on par with 'healthy' nation body. The transformation of Yoga as somatic-nationalistic discourse has started after Vivekananda's lecture series likewise the transformation of Yoga as transnational philosophy also has its origin Vivekananda. White (2012) observes Vivekananda seized upon the symbolic power of yoga as a genuinely Indian, yet non-sectarian, type of applied philosophy that could be wielded as a "unifying sign of the Indian nation . . . not only for national consumption but for consumption by the entire world" (White 2012,p.20)

1.1. Transoceanic transmission of Yoga

The storied success of Vivekananda's speech in Chicago created an ideal atmosphere for the transoceanic transmission of Yoga. So many monks, masters and scholars voyaged to West with a motive of propagating the value of 'spiritual east' in the West. The esoteric knowledge of India was very well embraced by western society, and it had a "pizza effect"³⁸¹ (Strauss, 2005; Singleton and Goldberg, 2014; Goldberg, 2016; Simpson, 2021) on Yoga. The modernised postural Yoga became more popular in India than a traditional style of Yoga. The transnational reinvention of Yoga set a new norm of 'Spiritual east and Material West' that was equally celebrated by the people on both sides (Strauss, 2002). The following period witnessed a current of explorers, including 'Beatles'³⁸² and 'Beach boys' coming to India thinking it as a hub of esoteric mysticism. Philip Goldberg (2010) begins his book *American Veda* with these words 'In February 1968 the Beatles went to India for an extended stay with their new guru, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. It may have been the most momentous spiritual retreat since *'Jesus spent those forty days in the wilderness!* (emphasis added) (Goldberg 2010,p.7). Since then, India is an export hub of spiritual masters, and mystic gurus. The new age gurus of the present age also finds the 'desperate' and 'value less' Western society as their coveted audience.

Rishikesh served as the melting pot of India's Yoga tourism and the man behind that was the doctor turned mystic Swami Sivananda³⁸³ (who was inspired from the writings of

³⁸¹"The pizza effect is the phenomenon of elements of a nation's or people's culture being transformed or at least more fully embraced elsewhere, then re-imported to their culture of origin. The term pizza effect was coined by the anthropologist Aghendananda Bharati to describe cultural exports such as Pizza and acupuncture that are transformed and re-imported to the culture of origin' (Queen, 2003, p.33) "A hundred years ago, Sicilian and Calabrian immigrants to the United States turned a simple food into something elaborate, with different thicknesses, toppings, and sizes. These fancier forms were re-imported to Italy, becoming embraced as a national dish"(Simpson, 2021, p.230)

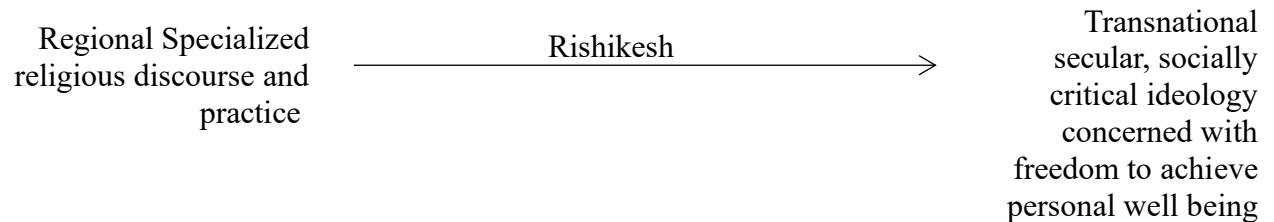
³⁸² Two famous rock music bands from England and America respectively.

³⁸³ In Rishikesh, Swami Sivananda (a secular biomedical doctor who left his career only to become a notable religious figure) taught a sequence of postures based on Kavalayananda's. He sent his student Vishnudevananda to North America, where he opened the first of many Sivananda YogaVedāntaCenters, and ran one of the earliest teacher training courses. Another Sivananda disciple, Satchidananda, founded Integral Yoga in New York and

Swami Vivekananda and the scientific expeditions in Yoga by Swami Kuvalayananda³⁸⁴) and his Divine Life Society. Although posture-based, Swami Sivananda's Yoga was a Vedāntised form of Yoga, whereas his disciple —Satyananda Saraswati followed a Tāntric inclined Yoga and established Bihar school of Yoga (Strauss, 2005).

The transnational refashioning of Yoga was identified with the following features. In its transnational attire, Yoga rediscovered it as a secular, socially critical ideology concerned with freedom to achieve personal well-being from a regional specialised discourse and practice (Strauss, 2002).

Figure 6: Features of transnational Yoga in Rishikesh



[Source adapted from ‘The Master's Narrative: Swami Sivananda and the Transnational Production of Yoga by Sarah Strauss (2002)]

On the other hand Paramahansa Yogananda famous for his bestselling Autobiography³⁸⁵, ‘*Autobiography of a Yogi*’, (who started Yogada Satsang Society [YSS]) travelled to America to spread the message of ‘*Kriya Yoga*’ as per the instruction of his ethereal master ‘the deathless *yogi*’ *Mahāvatār Bābāji*. He reproduces Bābāji’s words to his master— Sri Yuketswar Giri, in his Autobiography.

appeared at Woodstock. A third, Satyananda, established the Bihar School of Yoga, whose range of books is widely used around the world (Simpson, 2021, p.227).

³⁸⁴ Coming section in this chapter discusses the role of Kuvalayananda in Yoga’s history.

³⁸⁵ Elsewhere, before writing the bestselling Autobiography of a Yogi, Yogananda practised postures in Bengal. His younger brother Bishnu Ghosh developed a system of eighty-four asanas, which he taught to his son-in-law, Buddha Bose. In the 1930s, Ghosh and Bose travelled India, Europe, and America giving demonstrations. One of Ghosh's students was Bikram Choudhury, who moved to California with a simplified method of twenty-six postures, which he taught in heated rooms as Bikram Yoga (Simpson, 2021, p.228).

It reads as.

East and West must establish a golden middle path of activity and spirituality combined, he continued. 'India has much to learn from the West in material development; in return, India can teach the universal methods by which the West will be able to base its religious beliefs on the unshakable foundations of yogic science... Some years hence I shall send you a disciple whom you can train for yoga dissemination in the West... At this point in his story, Sri Yukteswar turned his gaze fully on mine. "My son," he said, smiling in the moonlight, "you are the disciple that, years ago, Babaji promised to send me (Yogananda, 1946, p.367).

The above-quoted words said to be said by the 'deathless master' repeats the rhetoric of Easternising the West and bringing the material wealth of the West to the east. The master's interest in sending his disciple to carry forward this mission expressed here seems *Yogānanda's* aspiration to carry forward the mission of his forerunners—Sen and Vivekananda. Unlike Vivekananda, who presented him in the attire of a *Vedāntic* rational Indian, Yogānanda successfully invoked the metaphor of a 'deathless *yogi*—Mahāvatār Bābāji' in the Himalayas and has succeeded in gaining a mystic *Yogi* image for himself and esoteric land image to India. As mentioned above, the current of western folks in search of a sacred east was a direct consequence of this movement. Mahesh *Yogi's* Transcendental meditation and Osho Rajaneesh's dynamic meditation also had an impactful role. Ulf Hannerz calls this a "countercurrent" in the larger body of transnational cultural flows (Strauss, 2002, p.219).

In contemporary times, the self-styled.³⁸⁶ Gurus of Modern Yoga are utilising the idea of the east-west duo that was created during the fin-de-siecle times. Sri. Sri. Ravishankar, who developed a rhythmic breathing technique that creates a hyperventilation effect in the brain, is a prominent figure who gained acceptability as a transnational guru. The customised *Prāṇāyāma* he developed was named *Sudarśana Kriya*³⁸⁷ is popular and even incorporated as a complementary

³⁸⁶ The yoga gurus mentioned here does not belong to any spiritual lineage and does not have a living master; hence they are called self-styled masters in this study. There are several self-styled masters in and outside India; prominent ones are only discussed in this study.

³⁸⁷ Sudarśan kriya (SK) is a rhythmic breathing process, where three rhythms of breath are followed in a cyclical fashion (*Research*, no date).

therapy for ailments, specifically in mental illness³⁸⁸ premium institutes such as NIMHANS and AIIMS (*Research*, no date) are employing *Sudarśana Kriya* on their patients.

Mata Amritanandamayi, popularly called Amma, the hugging saint, is also travelling as a mystic all around the globe, spreading her message of 'Love'. *Amma* has also developed a version of her style of Yoga named IAM (Integrated Amrita Meditation Technique) and trademarked it (*IAM Meditation - Amma, Mata Amritanandamayi Devi*, no date); IAM is a short duration daily practice that involves *Yoga, Meditation* and *Prāṇāyāma*.³⁸⁹ IAM sees the mind as a 'machine', and this technique is for maintaining the machine. IAM is a Yoga module in IIM's, public sector companies BSNL, big corporations such as Infosys, and paramilitary personnel (*IAM Meditation - Amma, Mata Amritanandamayi Devi*, no date). It is said that Amma devised this to help people who have been wrongly given breathing techniques by self-styled masters, intending *Sudarśana Kriya* and *Sri Sri Ravishankar*.³⁹⁰

Along the lines of Sri Sri Ravishankar, another self-styled Guru who sells “a comprehensive course for personal growth” called Inner Engineering, which blends self-improvement with yogic ideas”(Simpson, 2021, p. 228) is Jaggi Vasudev alias Sadhguru. Sadhguru presents a nuanced rendition of Hindu yogic ideas appealing to an educated crowd, and he is not hesitant to discount the importance of traditional learning of scriptures.³⁹¹ Within a short period, Jaggi Vasudev got massive international acceptance. His visit to the United Nations and interaction with WHO senior scientist Dr Soumya Swaminathan on the topic ' *The power of Inclusion* ' (*Sadhguru at United Nations: Yoga – The Power of Inclusion - YouTube*, 2019) covered a lot of issues starting from social issues like inclusiveness, environmental and ecological issues, policy and administrative issues to public health issues such as 'Vaccination hesitancy in people', invokes

³⁸⁸ The therapeutic use of *Sudarśana Kriya* is discussed in the last section of this chapter.

³⁸⁹ *Yoga, Meditation* and *Prāṇāyāma* are written separately with a notion of Yoga as just *Āsana*.

³⁹⁰ Interview with a Brahmachari of Amrita Āśram, Vallikavu Kollam.

³⁹¹ 'Even though I have a deep appreciation of Sanskrit, I never bothered to learn it because my vision had never failed me and I did not want to read ancient texts written in Sanskrit and clutter myself with all that traditional whatever' (Singleton and Goldberg, 2014, p.284).

the same old rhetoric of a wise old man from esoteric India giving solutions for all the problems in the earth!

Another prominent Yoga guru of contemporary times is Baba Ramdev. An ascetic monk who gives daily fitness demonstrations based on Hāṭhayoga through a channel broadcasting in Aastha Television. Ramdev's program has one million viewers, making him an influential figure and champion of fitness programs based on traditional Indian methods (Chakraborty, 2006). Ramdev promotes breathing exercises and postural Yoga, and Āyurveda as an effective medicine through his program. The binary of traditional medicine versus biomedicine is a central theme in his demonstration and lectures. Unlike other gurus who have embraced Globalisation and adapted as transnational gurus, Ramdev is a strong critique of Globalisation, and he argues Globalisation has sapped of Nation's strength, and it needs to be rejuvenated and 'disciplined' through Yoga. Following the Somatic nationalism promulgated by Vivekananda, Aurobindo, Gandhi and Hindu nationalists, Ramdev also believes that man making is nation-making and claims his service is free for all in the more significant interest of the national cause. Despite being a critique of modernity, materialism, and westernisation, Ramdev runs a multibillion corporation that sells Āyurveda proprietary products and groceries stylishly packed and bottled, satisfying the consumer appetite and aesthetics defined by modernity. Chakraborty (2006) observes indeed he (Ramdev) is modifying Yoga and Āyurveda in terms of modernity, and he is aware of the fact that indigenous systems of medicine have got a lucrative global market where health regimen can be commodified and sold as a 'medicalised' self-help (Chakraborty, 2006, p.389).

1.2. Yoga Body and Asana Age

Defining Hāṭhayoga as the science of preserving good health through maintaining the well-being of (not supernatural control over) the vital organs began in the 1920s—the yogic fantasy of suprapowers reduced to the practice of hygienics, and the yogic yearning for a correspondence between microcosm and macrocosm reduced to a prescription for harmony between musculature and viscera (Goldberg, 2016, p.253)

Yoga, from its traditional roots, have been alienated by the modernisation process that happened by the end of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century. The entire

groundwork carried forward by Vivekananda to Paramahansa Yogananda has opened the possibility to interpret Yoga as a physical exercise module combined with breathing techniques and Āsanas. The modern postural Yoga adapted western gymnastics and improvised it, and sold it back to the western audience.

Muzumdar (1937) observes

Yogic physical culture is now no longer esoteric. Instead of being exclusively practised by Yogis, it has become popular among persons with no particular spiritual aims. Formerly it used to be practised as the first step and fundamental part of spiritual life... But in modern times, Yogic physical culture has escaped from the cloistered boundaries of the hermitage into the larger world(as cited in Singleton, 2010, p.154)

The yoga masters such as Yogendra (1897 – 1989), Kuvalayananda (1883-1966), KV Iyer³⁹² (1897-1980) *Yogācārya* Sundaram³⁹³ (1901-1994), Ramesh Balsekar³⁹⁴ (1917-2009),

³⁹² Prof. KV Iyer was considered to be an Indian mystic and *Vedāntic* scholar who attempted to blend Yoga, Hindu mysticism and western physical culture(Prof. K.V. Iyer, no date).. ‘*Muscle Cult: A Pro-Em to My System*’, ‘*Perfect Physique: a Poem to My System*’, ‘*Physique & Figure, Physical training through correspondence Lessons 1-8*’, ‘*Hercules Gymnasium and Correspondence School of Physical Culture*’ are some of the books KV Iyer had written, his book titles portrays his inclination towards physical culture.

³⁹³ Yogācārya Sundaram was a very popular yoga master and contemporary of KV Iyer, both of them travelled together to western countries giving lectures on Yoga and physical culture. In 1928 he published *Yogic Physical Culture or the Secret of Happiness*, describing a modernised hatha yoga reworked as a combination of gymnastics, bodybuilding, and hygiene, the book was the first book on Yoga with illustrations. Sundaram’s Yoga echoed the idea of somatic nationalism he wrote “sons of India” might “obtain super-strength to make their Mother an equal sister among Nations!”(Singleton, 2010, p.126), just like Iyer, Sundaram also believed in the amalgam of Yoga and muscle cult, intertwined with ultra nationalistic outlooks.

³⁹⁴ Ramesh Balsekar was popular *Advaita* master, before his transition to an Advaita master he was drawn to physical culture of Yoga and he studied under KV Iyer. ‘Balsekar studied in England under Lawrence A. Woodford, author of *Physical Idealism and the Art of Posing*, and later became “not only winner of the ‘All-India Body Beautiful Competition’ in 1938, but also one of Great Britain’s ‘ten most perfectly developed men’. Balasekar’s photographs were featured in health magazines of that time. ‘His book *Streamlines*, of 1940, is a curious combination of instruction in yogāsana and sūryanamaskār, juxtaposed with a series of glamor shots of the semi- or fully naked author in various heroic postures. The message is clear: through yoga, one can develop a body such as this. Interestingly Balasekar later met his master *Nisargadatta Maharaj* and got initiated to Advaitic tradition, which he excelled as a champion of it in future, disowning his previous master and their tradition.

T Krishnamacharya³⁹⁵ (1888-1989), BKS Iyengar³⁹⁶ (1918-2014), Pattabhi Jois³⁹⁷(1915-2009) have combined harmonial gymnastics with postural Yoga and gave rise to their styles of Yoga. The combination of Western physical culture and harmonial gymnastics was the only innovation made in the revival of postural Yoga. Yoga curriculum and physical education introduced in schools after the asana revival age is focussed on the disciplinary bodybuilding activity named as *Āsana*. Along with the charged ideas of European masculinity and vigour, a strong sense of scientising Yoga in terms of 'modern science' ruled the mind of *Āsana* pioneers of the time. Kuvalayananda and Yogendra were the foremost among them.

³⁹⁵ Tirumalai Krishnamacharya was born in November 1888 in the village of Muchukundapuram, which is in the South Indian state of Karnataka (Mohan, 2010, p.13). Krishnamacharya is often named as the father of modern Yoga, just like the other gurus of modern yoga, he revived Haṭhayoga tradition. Krishnamacharya was a scholar in six darśanas. Under the patronage of Mysore king Krishnaraja Wadiyar Krishnamacharya sailed to west and grabbed his western audience for Yoga, he devised a style of yoga named *Vinyāsa yoga*—a rhythmic transition of Yoga *Āsanās* into modern exercise. Krishnamacharya had written several articles and books on Yoga such as *Yoga makaranda* (1934), *Yogaasanagalu* (c. 1941), *Yoga Rahasya*, and *Yogavalli*. As an influential figure in the history of Yoga he influenced many coming yoga masters some of them where direct disciples of him. The most famous disciples who started their on schools of Yoga are BKS Iyengar and Pattabhi Jois (Mohan, 2010; Singleton, 2010; Singleton and Goldberg, 2014).

³⁹⁶ BKS Iyengar was the brother-in-law and disciple of T. Krishnamacharya. Iyengar popularised his style of Yoga named Iyengar Yoga (Iyengar, 1993), Iyengar had an appeal of a transnational guru. Many Indian and Western celebrities learned yoga from Iyengar. He has written *Light on Yoga*, *Light on Prāṇāyāma*, *Light on the Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali*, and *Light on Life*. The name Iyengar is now used a synonym used to refer a *Haṭhayogic* practice ensures correct body posture.

³⁹⁷ Pattabhi jois was a direct disciple of T. Krishnamacharya. As a spinoff from Krishnamacharya's Vinyasa yoga Jois devised Aṣṭāṅga yoga and popularised it. Aṣṭāṅga yoga was well popular in the west and it was the major influence of the later variants of Yogas such as power yoga, power vinyasa flow etcetera (Singleton, 2010; Singleton and Goldberg, 2014; Goldberg, 2016).

II

2. 'Scientific' Yoga

The early phase of 20th century is marked as an era of augmented enthusiasm towards science 'Almost any discipline—from painting, philosophy, psychoanalysis, and socialism to crime detection—could be given validity and respectability if it could be shown to be scientific in some way: if it could be proven by scientific procedures (tested, measured, compared, and recorded), if it used the scientific method (formulated and tested a hypothesis), or if it simply had scientific underpinnings (conformed to the latest scientific theories)'(Goldberg, 2016, p.247).

The history of 'Scientific Yoga'—'Yoga in terms of rational, scientific principles and laboratory experiments to prove the efficacy of āsana, kriya (i.e. purification techniques) and *prāṇāyāma*, as well as *pratyāhara* (withdrawal of the senses), *dhyāna* (meditation), *dhāraṇa* (concentration) and *samādhi* (embodied enlightenment)' (Alter, 2018, p.120)—, starts in the later part of 19th century and the early twentieth century. In the wake of 1920's Yoga hospitals and research institutes were founded in Bombay and Pune (Lonavala). These two institutions informed by 'modern' scientific knowledge about the anatomy and physiology of human body were founded by Manibhai Haribhai Desai and Jagnatha Ganesa Gune who were 'self-consciously' renamed as Swami Yogendra and Swami Kunalayananda in the future. These two leading gurus of Modern Yoga, set a paradigm in the history of modern Yoga, where Yoga was reconfigured according to modern science. Kunalayananda and Yogendra were *Gurubhais*—disciples of same Guru—*Paramahansa Madhavadas*.

The life of *Paramhansa Madhavadas* although a little is known about it, is very interesting. The influence of him in the history of modern Yoga is unparalleled. His disciples, Kunalayananda and Yogendra not only reshaped postural Yoga according to modern science and health requirements but also detangled postural Yoga from its medieval *Haṭhayogic* tradition. Alter (2018) observes they underplayed the mystical *Haṭhayogic* schools, to superimpose their tradition of Yoga that was directly inherited from their Guru—*Paramahansa Madhavadasji*. Kunalayananda and Yogendra boastfully claimed about their initiation—

Yogadīkṣa from their master. However, what was the kind of knowledge truly imparted by Madhavadasji to his ambitious disciples is shrouded in mystery.

A brief note on Paramahansa Madhavadasji, Yogendra and Kuvalayananda will shed light on the lineage and history of the two major influential ‘*Gurus*’ of Scientific Yoga.

2.1. Life sketches of Paramahansa Madhavadasji , Swami Yogendra and Swami Kuvalayananda

Madhavadasji was born around the late 1830s to Bengali brahmin parents of Shantipur Village in the Nadia district of Northeast Calcutta. Much is not known about Madhavadasji's elementary education, but his higher education was most likely completed at Scottish Church College. He was trained in the law, and like any other ambitious youth of the colonial time, he too joined the Indian Civil Service and served in the Judicial service. After serving several years in the government service, Madhavadasji left for renunciation. He chose the mystical path of asceticism of Chaitanya Mahaprabhu over the gnostic ascetic path; as an itinerant monk, he preached Bhakti Yoga.³⁹⁸ for liberation³⁹⁹ and āsanās and prāṇāyāmas for health ailments. He wandered in the Himalayas for several years, practising and preaching the bhakti and Yoga and attained enlightenment, which aided him to be adept in Haṭhayoga. Singleton, and Goldberg, (2014,p.63) wonders 'exactly how Madhavadasji reconciled the principles of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism with the tantric Śaiva alchemy of Haṭhayoga.⁴⁰⁰ is unclear, but what he did undoubtedly reflects a synthesis that has become very common in contemporary practice'. After an extended stay and extensive travel in the Himalayas, Madhavadasji came down to settle at Malsar situated at the banks of river Narmada at the age of eighty, where he met his two disciples-Manibhai Haribhai Desai and Jagnatha Ganesa Gune. Who in their later times

³⁹⁸ Paramahansa Madhavadasji preached 'It is not necessary to feel sad. Be constantly remembering God (Sri Krishna). You will thus gain peace. This letter has become a long one, but you must quietly and slowly read it and think it over and meditate on it and come to a blissful state and thus become of the very blissful nature of God himself'(Rodrigues, 1997, p.38).

³⁹⁹ 'Yogendra records Madhavadasji's focus was on absolute faith in God as realised through the constant chanting of his name: *Hare Kṛṣṇa, Hare Rām*' (Singleton, Mark and Goldberg, 2014, p.64).

⁴⁰⁰ The influence of alchemy in Haṭhayoga is well discussed in 'Alchemical body' by David Gordon White (1984).

reshaped Yoga on par with physical culture and modern science. The accounts of these two adepts on Yoga and their meeting with their Master are fascinating even in the history of modern postural Yoga.

2.1.1. Manibhai Haribhai Desai aka Swami Yogendra

Manibhai Haribhai Desai was born on November 18, 1897, to a village school teacher, Haribhai Jivanji Desai, at Degam district, Surat (Rodrigues, 1997, p.1). Desai lost his mother at a very young age, and his father raised him. Desai completed his elementary education at Amalsad English school at Degam. Desai was attracted to gymnastics, wrestling, and physical culture; his biographer Santan Rodrigues (1997) mentions that young Desai was even hailed as 'Mr. Universe' at Degam (Singleton and Goldberg, 2014). His school—Amalsad English School, and its Principal Gulababhai induced the physical culture in young Desai.

Alter observes

To whatever extent this interest grew directly out of the organisation of school sports at the English School, it certainly set the stage for Desai's subsequent development of a program of athletic Yoga and the incorporation of Yoga physical fitness and ethics into the rubric of muscular Christianity, a broad-based, turn-of-the-century reform movement that linked morals, ethics, and character development to ideals of fitness, fairness, hard work, and self-improvement.⁴⁰¹ (as cited in Singleton, Mark and Goldberg, 2014, p. 64)

After completing elementary education, Desai was sent to Bombay St. Xavier's college for higher education. The formative years spent at St. Xavier's—an institution founded by German Jesuits in 1869, helped Desai build a 'tailored personality to suit the executive needs'(Rodrigues, 1997, p.23). There were a lot of extracurricular activities organised in the

⁴⁰¹ Almost in a similar fashion, the education of Paramahansa Madhavdasji and Vivekananda in missionary educational institution—Scottish college had a lasting impact on their ideas about physical culture. The activities of Alexander Duff, who enthusiastically incorporated sports into the curriculum of his new college— Scottish college to build muscles and morals as a means by which to promote the development of Christianity among the middle-class youth of Calcutta (Singleton, Mark and Goldberg, 2014, p. 65). Interestingly these three beaming figures in the history of modern Yoga—Swami Vivekananda and Paramahansa Madhavadasji, Paramahansa Yogananda studied in the Scottish college.

college, which initially engaged Desai to lose interest in any external activities later. Desai suddenly became introverted and meditative.

At this phase of Desai's contemplative silence, he was introduced to Paramahansa Madhavadasji of Malsar. Desai's roommate Ambalal 'hoped that Mani lost in his world would use this 'happening' to get over his troubled mind'(Goldberg, 2016, p.40). From a very young age, Desai, like Narendra Dutta (aka. Swami Vivekananda), distrusted sadhus of all kinds. Nevertheless, the meeting with Madhavadasji transformed him.⁴⁰² A trance experience followed the meeting with Guru— Samādhi, granted as a boon to Desai. The young mind of Desai, astounded with the mystical yogic experiences from Madhavadasji, decided to renounce the world for higher truths in life. However, Desai's father was not in agreement with this decision and Desai was taken home to lead the life of a householder. Although the communication between the Master and disciple continued through letters. In one letter, Madhavadasji strongly advised Desai to abandon his father and join him.⁴⁰³ He invokes a past life relationship with his loved disciple to convince him about the outworld relevance of the entreaty he is making to his disciple (Goldberg cites Sudhir Kakar's study on childhood and society in India.⁴⁰⁴ and comments that the 'love affair' between this Master and disciple should be psychologically analysed as a case of Guru showering extended maternal love on Desai,

⁴⁰² The account given by Desai a few months after the meeting resembles Vivekananda's account of his meeting with Ramakrishna Paramahansa.

Desai wrote

'On the night of Saturday, August 26 1916, Ambalal and I set out for the Dharamshala of Madhav Baug," recorded Yogendra in a vivid account written only a few months after the event. "I had mixed feelings even as I was going there. [However,] as soon as I saw Paramahamsaji, I felt that there was a man—a great man. My early thoughts of belittling sadhus disappeared. All my earlier misgivings seemed to go away as our eyes met. There was a feeling of complete understanding, and I felt humbled and greatly drawn to the Master. Madhavadasaji's eyes were glued on me... I prostrated myself at the feet of the Master'(Goldberg, 2016, p.41).

⁴⁰³ Madhavadasji wrote,

'Make your mind strong and adamant and abandon your father.' "Be quiet! My dear Mani, be quiet! Start the medicine of chanting the name of God (Sri Hari)." "Write quickly. I am even more worried than you. I do not know God's work, but I know through His love that in the last life, you were mine, and I was yours. We had great love, and so I write this'(Goldberg, 2016, p.47). Interestingly in a similar fashion, Ramakrishna and Yukteswara invoked their past life connections with their prodigious disciples Vivekananda and *Yogānanda*.

⁴⁰⁴ The Inner World: A Psychoanalytic Study of Childhood and Society in India by Sudhir Kakkar (Goldberg, 2016, p.49).

which he was missing from his very young age. The love affair between this Master and disciple has many parallels with the story of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, Paramahansa Yogānanda and Yukteswara Giri, Swami Sivananda and Satyānanda Saraswati. A plenty of accounts of *the Guru-śiṣya* relationship and their mystical connection can be traceable from history. The relationship between Matsyendranāth and Gorakṣānāth is a citeable example of deific love between Master and disciple from the dawn of *Haṭhayoga's* early beginning). *Young Desai could not resist his Master's voice, so he joined with his Master at Malsar. Desai soon became the most apprised apprentice of the Āshram. He accompanied Madhavadasji in his regular rounds at Āshram sick ward, developed his diagnostic skills, and learned Yogic treatment for ailments. The precise usage of Āsana, Mudra, Prāṇāyāma, Bandha and Yogic diet was learned under the guidance of Guru, soon Desai was allocated with his patients to treat. He undertook vigorous training under Madhavadasji.*

'Much of the training was related to practical and pragmatic use of Yoga and its application in various situations of sickness and suffering. The cause of these problems had to be first studied, and an intuitive skill of analysis had to be developed'(Rodrigues, 1997, p.46).

After an extended stay at Malsar, Desai left his Master and chose a different path; it was neither of a Guru that his Master aspired him to be nor a civil servant his father wanted him to be. Yogendra became a 'Yoga teacher'—an instructor of Yoga, which indeed was a new career then! Desai chose not to be a recluse⁴⁰⁵Not only because he was afraid of delivering the responsibilities of a Guru, but also he wanted to live a secular career of a teacher who imparts perennial wisdom to students from all walks of life. It was a period when the Indian middle class started consuming spiritual ideas and practices as a service. Desai found his unique place

⁴⁰⁵ In a letter written to a disciple, Desai expresses his distaste for renunciation, writes, 'These people take a sort of pride in turning men into sannyāsins and this I hate'(Goldberg, 2016, p.73).

led the life of a householder; his biographer Santan Rodrigues named Yogendra's biography 'The Householder Yogi'. Yogendra wanted to live the life of a householder to show the people that Yoga is suitable for men and women with family; thereby, he wanted to set an example with his own life.

as an engaged member of the society delivering his classes on Yoga (Goldberg, 2016). The distaste for asceticism—total withdrawal from society was very evident in Desai; he believed that being under any order, sect, or religion is limiting one's universalism, he believed in a non-sectarian, secular and universal identity. Clearly, the views of Swami Vivekananda on Yoga as a non-sectarian, scientific direct method for the realisation of the unitary nature of the supreme influenced Desai, and he proudly upheld those views; on par with Swami Vivekananda, he also felt the traditional anchoring of Yoga makes it constrained (Rodrigues, 1997; Singleton and Goldberg, 2014; Goldberg, 2016).

The detachment from ancient and medieval practices and philosophy of Yoga and attachment to new-age 'spiritual' movements such as transcendentalism and Unitarianism, along with neo-Vedāntic ideas and modern medical science, is seen in Desai's Yoga. The secularisation of Yoga started with Swami Vivekananda; however, an institutionalised attempt to secularise. Yoga was started by Desai, the founding of Yoga Institute at Versova, Mumbai, at the residence of Homi Dadina.⁴⁰⁶ on 1918 December 25⁴⁰⁷ marks it. The establishment of a Yoga institute apart from a Yoga *āśram* itself was a move to detach Yoga from its traditional substratum. Madhavadasji's āshram also offered Yoga for ailments, but it was an offering made with the intention to guide a layperson into the realms of spirituality. The aim of Malsar āshram was hence affixed to its spiritual goals where Yoga treatment worked as a complementary provision. In contrast, the new Yoga institute founded by Yogendra is a secular institution not necessarily bound to the spiritual goals of liberation and renunciation. The Yoga institute hence became a benchmark to the following Yoga institutes in the future, the secular underpinning of

⁴⁰⁶ Home Dadina was the son in law of Dadabhai Naoroji, who took Yoga treatment from Desai, then named Yogendra for his myriads of health ailments. Yogendra stayed with Dadina in his beachside house, where the neighbourhood was crowded with a rich Zoroastrian community; Yogendra treated Dadina using his 'Yoga treatment protocol' that he has learned from Malsar. After informally teaching Yoga to Dadina and a few other men on the beach, Yogendra founded the Yoga Institute in Dadina's house (Rodrigues, 1997; Singleton and Goldberg, 2014; Goldberg, 2016) Yogendra's meeting with Dadina was one of the turning points in the history of modern Yoga, As his biographer, Santan Rodrigues proclaims 'a red-letter day in the history of Yoga' (Goldberg, 2016, p.82).

⁴⁰⁷ As an interesting coincidence (?) Ramakrishna Mission was also founded on a Christmas eve

the new institute detangled it from religion and demystified it using scientific principles and 'salvaged' (Rodrigues, 1997,p.218) Yoga from the hands of ascetics! Although he changed his name to Swami Yogendra, Desai later corrected it as founder Yogendra, as he believed any mystical or religious prefixes attached to his name would dilute his mission of secularising the Yoga. He firmly believed Yoga is for all, people irrespective of their sex, religion, caste, class, creed, culture, race, nationality should benefit from Yoga (Yogendra, 1956)⁴⁰⁸.

Yogendra travelled to America in 1919 with Homi Dadina, where he showcased all the yogic abilities he could perform to grab the attention of his new audience. Haṭhayogic āsana techniques and Prāṇāyāma was shown to the people. Vincent Anderson cited these incidents as miracles performed by a Yogi from 'The land of miracles—India (Rodrigues, 1997; Goldberg, 2016) . Yogendra, although cynical about the superfluousness and materialism of the West, could relate to its health needs it. He felt it is an obligation to work for western people though it is a herculean task to make them aware of a 'new philosophy—Yoga'.

The idea of Easternising West with its perennial wisdom that started with the Brahmo-Unitarians such as Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen that extended to Vivekananda has a successor in Yogendra. His stay in America ascertained him the necessity to carry forward this 'noble' task, which ended with spreading the message of Yoga in the West and shaped an International centre for Yoga at Lonavala for the benefit of the entire world. The rendezvous with the West, especially with the 'superfluous and materialistic' American culture, invariably influenced the 'modern spiritualists' of the twentieth century. Most of them shaped their strategy and practice from their experience from the West; Yogendra was also not aloof from

⁴⁰⁸ Yogendra (1956) proclaimed

Above all, [Yoga] is the only practical, scientific and catholic culture that is not limited to any sex, race, nationality, religion or creed. One may continue to be a Hindu, a Christian, a Mohamedan, a Russian or an American, a Socialist or a Fascist, a Theosophist or a Freemason or whatever one happens to be or styles himself, and he can still follow Yoga and receive the entire benefit. It does not require one to disown his beliefs, creed, religion or heritage. Further, the Yoga technique applies to all grades of aspirants so that the sick and the healthy, the good and the bad, the intelligent and the ignorant, the believer and the nonbeliever can profit equally by its practice (Yogendra, 1956; Goldberg, 2016).

them. Alike the abovesaid forerunners, a strong antipathy towards the mystical nature of Yoga or at least the portrayal of it as mystical teaching or a corpus of secretive practices is evident from the writings of Yogendra. In his book—*Āsanas simplified*— dealing with the science of Yogic postures, in a section named ‘What Yoga is not?’

Yogendra points out

The ignorant and the misinformed have come to believe that it is some form of white or black magic, obscure sorcery, pseudo supernatural trickery, physical and mental mortification or orgies of secret ritualism through which in some unaccountable manner, miraculous feats are performed; these misconceptions have frightened many, and they are still frightening not a few. The superstitious have come to regard it with awe and reverence, almost with fear (Yogendra, 1956, p.19).

Yogendra believed his role as a teacher is to demystify Yoga and present it as pure science. He advocated Yoga as a catholic culture despite its portrayal as an ascetic practice, which involves dangerous and irrational acrobatics that could turn dangerous to a layperson. He strongly condemned all these are misrepresentations of Yoga arising out of sheer ignorance. He interprets Yoga as a 'rational synthesis that represents the way of life which endows perfect health—physical, mental, moral and spiritual... through the development of a self-culture based on Aṣṭāṅga Yoga scheme of Patañjali one can sublimate what is ignoble in him to what is noble in him'⁴⁰⁹. (Yogendra, 1956, p.20).

Yogendra (1956) claimed

It is thus clear that Yoga is a complete practical system of self-culture which aims at interrelated harmonious development of one's body, mind and dormant psychic potencies. There is nothing dubious or mystic about it. On the contrary, it is a positive science of man whose practices are founded on the unchangeable Laws of Nature. Therefore, it is open to laboratory and clinical tests of which the modern sciences may be capable. In short, Yoga is a science, philosophy and way of life that neither admits of nor encourages dogmas because it is intensely rational (Yogendra, 1956, p.25).

However, the ventures of Yogendra to scientise Yoga was outperformed by his contemporary 'Yogi'—none other than JG Gune who was later named as Swami

⁴⁰⁹ Yogendra taught *Hathayogic* postural practices as Yoga and used the ontology of Pātañjala Yoga is an exciting paradox repeated in history to this date.

‘Kualayananda—this was not his renunciate name, but a pseudonym which he used to write poetry’ (Goldberg, 2016, p.257). Kuvalayananda was a revolutionary figure in the history of Scientific Yoga. He was more successful in being famous than his 'rival' Yogendra; he could achieve this using his close ties with the ruling Congress government (Rodrigues, 1997). Kuvalayananda too claimed the discipleship of Paramahansa Madhavadasji and was derogatively called an 'Imposter' by the partisan biographer—Santan Rodrigues, of Yogendra (Rodrigues, 1997; Alter, 2009; Goldberg, 2016). Yogendra’s biography shows a strained relationship between these two stalwarts of Scientific Yoga, claimed to be *Gurubhais*—disciples of the same Guru.

2.1.2. Jagnath Ganesh Gune aka Swami Kuvalayananda

Jagnath Ganesh Gune, later named Swami Kuvalayananda, is known as the father of scientific Yoga research studies (Swami Kuvalayananda - A brief biography, no date)⁴¹⁰, Gune was born to Ganesh Laxman Gune and Saraswati in a middle-class family of Dabhoi village, in the Vadodara district of Gujarat in 1883, August 30 (Swami Kuvalayananda / KaivalyaDhama, no date). At a very young age of 8 or 9, similar to the story of Desai, Gune lost his parents, and he was orphaned and was deprived of all love and care. Gune undertook his high school education at Pune, which almost turned into an educational hub during colonial times; after completing his high school education, he was sent to Baroda college for higher education. Gune remembers all these years as his destitute years.

During his love deprived years, he found his long lost filial care and affection in his first Guru Rajaratna Manikrao. Before meeting his first teacher, Gune was attracted to the home rule movement and swarajya movement of nationalist revolutionaries, including Lokamanya Tilak, henceforth Alter (2018, p.120) calls Gune as a nationalist revolutionary. Along with these movements, Gune was also interested in Maharshi Aurobindo's philosophy.

⁴¹⁰ His biography published from Kaivalyadhama is named 'The Yogi Scientist'.

The urge to meet Manikrao was incited by Gune's interest in śāstra vidya—the art of weaponry— Gune as a young nationalist revolutionary, just like any Indian youth of the time wanted to fight back the colonial powers, and he was very keen about the methods he should adopt for that, building a strong body was a necessity rather than a choice for him— Manikrao was an adept in weaponry. He served as a teacher at Jummadada Vyayam Mandir temple of physical education named after his Master Jummadada. Manikrao formally accepted Gune as his disciple in 1907. Gune learnt the non-yogic postural practise that was based on Indian wrestling and śāstra vidya in the Gurukula atmosphere of Manikrao's Vyayam Mandir. Manikrao was also a traditional bonesetter and adept in āsanās. Gune was a fragile person, who suffered from chronic ailments such as pulmonary congestion and cough; eventually, he was healed by his Master with the systematic application of Yogic āsanās (Swami Kuvalayananda | KaivalyaDhama, no date). This subjective experience of Gune had a lasting impact on his whole life. He approached Manikrao to learn weaponry, but he was disillusioned and astonished by the Yogic āsanās and their application in healing. He finally left his first Guru after three years of rigorous training (Goldberg, 2016).

By the time Gune secured his Bachelor's degree from Bombay University, and he left for Khandesh, where he worked as a high school teacher. At Khandesh, he organised Khandesh educational society and became the principal of a national college in 1916. Life as a school teacher at Khandesh helped Gune to induce physical culture in his students, he applied the teachings of Manikrao in his students and tried to instil nationalism and patriotic fervour in them. Gune had three goals to achieve with his students,

- 1. To prepare the young generation for the service of the country,*
- 2. To master the Indian system of physical education and integrate with general education,*
- 3. To bring together modern science and science of Yoga (Swami Kuvalayananda | KaivalyaDhama, no date).*

Gune was inclined to live the life of an ascetic yogi; he did not marry and indulged in family affairs. He built a Yoga hut for him named—Kaivalyadhāma.⁴¹¹ At Amalner, where he spent his life reading yogic literature and āsana practices, Gune was frequented by scholars and academics who were enthusiasts in Yoga. The professors of the Indian Institute of philosophy that promoted Advaita Vedānta were regular among them. The Institute had a journal named 'Tatvajnana Mandira' that discussed non-dual Vedānta and Indian philosophy in general, Gune was inspired by this journal and established his journal on Yoga—Yoga Mīmāṃsa (Swami Kuvalayananda - A brief biography, no date; Swami Kuvalayananda / KaivalyaDhama, no date; Goldberg, 2016).

The conclusive findings on the practice of Yogic āsanās intrigued Gune, that he wanted to learn Yoga formally from an adept. Paramahansa Madhavadasji was the chosen teacher of Gune, who inspired Gune for the later part of his life. 'Although Gune had been introduced to the practice of Yoga under the guidance of Rajratan Manikrao, and had undoubtedly studied Yoga philosophy, it was Madhavdasji who inspired him to research the "uncanny psychophysical effects" of various higher states of yogic consciousness'(Alter, 2009, p.82). In 1920 Kuvalayananda officially began his research on Yoga in modern medical terms. Kuvalayananda found an opportunity as well as the necessity to blend Yoga with medical science. He discussed and debated with several medical practitioners and scientists about the effect of Yoga. However, they were unaware of it, and the Yogis were ignorant about the physiological effects of Yoga. He wanted to establish the 'real' scientific quotient of Yoga in terms of research, not on speculation. With available resources such as an X-ray machine and a manometer pressure gauge, he conducted his first research on the endocrine system. The vacuum in the large intestine created by Yoga kriya—Nauli, analysed using the above said

⁴¹¹ The hut Kaivalyadhama served as a Yoga laboratory, where conclusive findings of āsanās and other Yogic practices were held and later published in 'Yoga Mīmāṃsa journal. The scientific articles published in this journal for decades set the tone for inventing a 'scientific Yoga' in the future.

apparatus were a jaw-dropping discovery for Gune and his team, he eponymously named the vacuum with his Master's name—'Madhavadasa vacuum'⁴¹² (Alter, 2009, p.84). He could not hold this finding go unnoticed; he intimated Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore and scientist Jagadeesh Chandra Bose about the finding (Swami Kuvalayananda / KaivalyaDhama, no date). The new discoveries made Gune more entranced in Yoga; he established an āshram research centre named after his hut Kaivalyadhama at Lonavala in 1924; he christened himself as Swami Kuvalayananda after that.

Swami Kuvalayananda's interest in science was mooted with his desire to bridge Yoga and science; he thoroughly believed the scientific quotient in Yoga also, he felt that mystical, secretive, and arcane interpretations of Yoga obscured the truth rather than revealed it. This was not at all to say that Gune sought to "secularise" and purely objectify Yoga or define its true value in terms of science' (Alter, 2009, p. 82). Swami Kuvalayananda approached many funders to support his venture, including landlords, local feuds and kings of princely states. Yale and Harvard's universities reached out to Kuvalayananda with their office of help to conduct the research in the United States. The offer was unacceptable to Kuvalayananda as he wanted to conduct the research in India, as it dealt with India's 'classical tradition'. He was generously supported by his friends, Prathap Seth, founder of Institute of philosophy at Amalner, and King of princely state Porbandar. Kaivalyadhama was thus established as a project funded by nationals as it was the dream of Kuvalayananda. The Institute, with its laboratory and its medical equipment's, soon started functioning.

⁴¹² Eponym- naming a (scientific) phenomena after some important person's name is a trend in 'modern' science and biomedicine, some examples are Abney effect named after William de Wiveleslie Abney, Raman effect named after CV Raman , Chandrasekhar limit named after Subramaniam Chandrasekhar , Aaron sign in surgery named after Charles Dettie Aaron, Brain bridge reflex in cardiology named after Francis Arthur Brain bridge etcetra. Kuvalayananda's effort to name a yogic phenomenon with his master's name can be an influence of this along with it was intended to claim his discipleship more firmly in the wake of his strained relationship with Yogendra.

Analysing the subtle flow of *Prāṇa* —refreshing air in the body using medical apparatus was the first experiment conducted in the Institute. Brain waves, pulse rates and blood pressure in the body were gauged with the help of medical apparatuses to analyse the movement of *Prāṇa* in the body (Swami Kuvalayananda / *Kaivalya Dhama*, no date; Alter, 2009). These experiments aimed to establish the link between the subtle and gross features of human physiology; also, these experiments, rather than being focussed on the health benefits, were more inclined towards scientising the ancient techniques of Yoga. To present Yoga in terms of science was undeniably his plan to demystify this ancient philosophy and practice that was shrouded in mystery.⁴¹³ Alter (2009) observes that Swami Kuvalayananda did not just modernise Yoga, but he analysed Yoga in such a way that helped it blend with the modernity manifested in science; it was harmonic hybridity of Yoga and science that invented an alternative in healthcare. Alter adds that this strength of Yoga helped it colonise the West as a health regime. This kind of Yoga invented in the Kaivalyadhama laboratory was potentially authoritative to transform into a transnational phenomenon.

The life stories of Jaganath Ganesh Gune and Manibhai Haribhai Desai tells the history of modern Yoga's biomedicalisation, 'these two men set up modern medical clinics, theorised Yoga in terms of rational, scientific principles and conducted numerous laboratory experiments to prove the efficacy of āsana, kriya (i.e. purification techniques) and *Prāṇāyāma*, as well as pratyāhāra (withdrawal of the senses), dhyāna (meditation), Dhāraṇa (concentration) and samādhi (embodied enlightenment). They took on names—Swami Kuvalayananda and Yogendra—that self-consciously evoke a very different kind of Yoga and a different history of Yoga's development'(Alter, 2018, p. 120).

⁴¹³ S. M. Chingle (1975) observes,

India's age-old Yoga was veiled and shrouded in mystery as also it was overlaid by numerous crusts of blind beliefs and irrelevant superstitions. In a word, it was unscientific. Hence it had scant appeal to the modern mind. Sri Swamiji fully realised that its scientific presentation was indispensable to put it in its proper perspective for India's benefit and the world at large (as cited in Alter, 2009).

3. Biomedicalised Yoga

Although the Hindus have elaborated a complex system of scientific medicine, nothing obliges us to believe that the theories of mystical physiology were developed in dependence upon this objective and utilitarian medicine or at least in connection with it (Eliade, 1958, p.33).

The history of modern Yoga is wrapped in the chronicles of several Yogic movements that started in pre-modern times. The transoceanic spread of Yoga and its reinvention in scientific rationalism and modernity clubbed with shapeshifted *Vedānta*. *Neo-Vedānta* were the influential factors that played an essential role in the production of Modern Yoga. The transformation of Yoga from ancient to pre-modern times is discussed in the previous sections of the current chapter and previous chapters of the study. This section deals with the eventual transformation of modern Yoga into medical Yoga—Biomedicalized Yoga. The section discusses the methodological reductionism that happened to Yoga after biomedicalizing it—henceforth resuming the discussion on the reductionism that happened to Yoga from ancient times to modern. The discussion on methodological reductionism is appended with the previous discussion from chapter three on epistemological and ontological reductionism in Yoga.

The current form of Yoga that undergoes RCT (Randomized Control Trial)⁴¹⁴, trials of EBM (Evidence-Based Medicine)⁴¹⁵ Moreover, other clinical trials can be termed as 'biomedical Yoga'; as Alter (2018) points out, 'it has become redundant to point out the medicalising trends in Modern Yoga, as it is more or less biomedicalised'. Henceforth this section is not intended to argue the biomedicalisation trends in Yoga, and it is concerned with

⁴¹⁴ An RCT is a type of study in which participants are randomly assigned to one of two or more clinical interventions. The RCT is the most scientifically rigorous method of hypothesis testing available and is regarded as the gold standard trial for evaluating the effectiveness of interventions (Akobeng, 2005, p.840)

⁴¹⁵ The concept of evidence based Medicine (EBM), defined as the "integration of best research evidence with clinical expertise and patient values (Akobeng, 2005,p.837).

methodological reductionism in biomedicalising Yoga. These puzzling problems are presented from the primary data collected from the field and secondary data.

3.1. Medicine and Yoga

The history of Yoga from its ancient roots has been discussed in the previous chapters. The pluralistic origin and its transformation to a monistic philosophy and the epistemological and ontological reductionism are discussed. The methodological reductionism in Yoga, although it started in the latter part of the 19th century with its reinvention on par with 'modern science', became rampant by the biomedicalisation of Yoga. As seen in the previous section of this chapter, Yoga's engagement with biomedicine is fueled by its spirit to scientise, secularise and universalise its teachings and practices that began with unitarian movements and continued to Yoga masters of the present age; nevertheless, engagement is not a unipartite process, biomedicine also engaged with Yoga. Although what was the need for biomedicine to engage with Yoga? is a pertinent question that needs an answer.

Yoga in biomedicine leaves many questions than answers; the methodological issues, nosological dilemma, epistemological, ontological and logistical issues are yet to be answered. Fundamentally the cartesian paradigm of biomedicine is an unfavourable habitat for Yoga to exist if not to grow and flourish. Alter rightly observes, 'No matter how spiritualised or scientised, Yoga is fundamentally more *Sāmkhyān* than Cartesian' (Alter, 2009, p.18). The history of Yoga and its philosophical underpinnings have been discussed in the previous chapters. The history of medicine has to be closely examined to see the philosophical underpinnings of medicine.

The history of medicine talks about fundamental shifts in the epistemology of biomedicine, which is regarded as paradigm shifts. The trajectory of medicine from pre-historic times to modern talks about the development of modern biomedicine; the history revisits its philosophical foundations. Looking back on it will answer the question 'why biomedicine has

to engage with Yoga?' also, it will invoke more questions about the multilayered problems in 'integrating' Yoga with Biomedicine.

3.1.1. Medicine- A short history of paradigm⁴¹⁶ shifts⁴¹⁷

The history of medicine is intriguing; understanding the changes in its paradigms and the dynamic evolution of biomedicine through ages will help comprehend the nature of philosophy and its rationality. The history of paradigms in medicine is also the history of paradigm shifts in it. Paradigms are guidelines to scientists; it equips them with theories, methods and standards to explain a phenomenon. Thomas Kuhn (Kuhn, 1962) observes there are instances in history that a paradigm fails to give an explanation to an observed phenomenon, that brings the particular paradigm to a crisis, and it will be overthrown by intellectual revolutions replaced by a better paradigm with more 'explanatory.⁴¹⁸' power (Trochimchuk, 2008).

A paradigm shift is the total 'reconstruction of the field from new fundamentals, a reconstruction that changes some of the field's most elementary theoretical generalisation as well as many of its paradigm methods and applications. During the transition period, there will be a large but never complete overlap between the problems that can be solved by the old and the new paradigm. But there will also be a decisive difference in the modes of the solution' (Trochimchuk, 2008, p.43)

This section discusses significant paradigms and paradigmatic shifts in the history of medicine.

⁴¹⁶ The term Paradigm is defined here as worldview, by which the visible universe and the different phenomena are explained using cause and effect relationship for better understanding of the same.

⁴¹⁷ This section is briefly discussing the shifts in the history of medicine, only major shifts are discussed here.

⁴¹⁸ The capacity to explain an observed phenomenon convincingly.

3.1.1.1. Ancient Medicine—The Magico-religious Paradigm

The pre-historic and the dark ages in the history of medicine are marked by ambiguity about the relationship between the cause and effect of a disease situation. The rationality of that particular age alleged divine or devil spirits responsible for the diseases. Almost all the ancient societies upheld the same view in a more or less similar fashion; some of the traditional societies that continue to persist in the present times still hold similar beliefs. This phase is generally regarded as the magico-religious paradigm in the history of medicine. Shaman healers, oracle cures and other magical remedies were a usual treatment protocol administered during this phase. Many of the traditional medicines present today has residual characteristics of the magico-religious paradigm, albeit 'modern' medicine took a tangential turn from such practices that were later found to be unscientific according to the standards of 'modern' medicine and a dichotomy of traditional versus modern.⁴¹⁹ Was formed.

3.1.1.2. The Hippocratic Paradigm and Miasma theory

The history of 'modern medicine has its origin in the ancient Greco-Roman and Arab civilisation. The doctrine of body humours—blood, yellow and black biles and phlegm—represented four elements—earth, water, fire, air— was fundamental in this paradigm. Hippocratic paradigm established the logical reason for a disease condition instead of the magical causality of disease proposed in religious medicine. This paradigm discarded the supernatural elements, and materially relatable causes were argued as the reason for a disease condition. This particular shift from the magico-religious paradigm happened during the age of Hippocrates (460 BCE-370 BCE) (Jouanna, 2012). This paradigmatic shift in understanding the illness and health was based on the idea of humoral imbalance—imbalances in bodily humours as the real cause of ill health— the pathbreaking conclusions on health are generally

⁴¹⁹ Leslie observes that 'the ethnic interpretations of 'modern' science are the aberrations of nationalistic and totalitarian ideologies or reflex of colonial and neo-colonial thought. The scientific aspects of it were evolved through transcultural interactions' (Leslie:1998, p.7).

attributed to Hippocrates, although other medical schools were also prominent then⁴²⁰. The Hippocratean paradigm was not only based on the humoral theory, but it extended further towards the impact of habitat on the health of habitants; in his seminal work, '*On Air, Water and Places*', Hippocrates talks about the importance of living conditions. He advises the 'doctor to examine a whole series of factors (seasons, wind, and orientation of places, nature of the water, nature of the soil, lifestyle of inhabitants) to practice his art of medicine correctly. By observing the changes in climate and season, a doctor can predict which general diseases will afflict the city in summer or winter, as well as diseases particular to each individual' (Jouanna, 2012, p. 56). The tangential shift from the magico-religious paradigm to a more rational framework envisaged by Hippocrates happened with his redaction of *miasmatic* theory—*Miasma*, Émile Littré⁴²¹ defined it as 'Fumes that originate from organic substances and which, spreading through the air and attaching themselves to certain bodies, exercise a pernicious influence on animals' (Jouanna, 2012, p.121). The role of *Miasma* in disease is not a discovery of the Hippocratic age but an age-old concept on a disease that was shared by religious healers, later Hippocrateans and further later to followers of Galen. The three major phases in medicine, such as Magico-religious, Hippocratean and Galenic phases, were governed by *Miasma* theory, and it was almost like a preset to look at the causation of disease although these different streams interpreted *Miasma* from different viewpoints.

Magico-religious Medicine also applied *miasma* theory in their treatment and diagnosis, but the Hippocratic elucidation of it was different and logical, and it was a rational

⁴²⁰ The theory of Body humours—Blood, Phlegm, Yellow and Black bile were presented in 'one of the most famous treatises (contains some sixty treatises) of the Hippocratic Corpus, the *Nature of Man* was written by Polybus, Hippocrates' student and son-in-law, However, alongside the group of writings originating from the Hippocratic School, or the School of Cos, there is a group of nosological treatises that originate from another medical centre, the Asclepiads of Cnidus. Finally, there are other treatises, philosophical in nature, which form a third group and are of unknown origin. Thus, the Corpus is composed of writings of various kinds. Moreover, the treatises that comprise it were not written at the same time. The majority belong to the second half of the fifth century or the fourth century; thus, they are contemporary with Hippocrates. Nevertheless, the Hippocratic Corpus presents an undeniable unity despite these differences in origin or date (Jouanna, 2012, p.97).

⁴²¹ Émile Littré was a French philosopher who translated the complete works of Hippocrates.

shift in the history of medicine; the shift can be very well explained using the example of epilepsy, an epileptic seizure was explained as the violent possession of divine spirit in magico-religious paradigm, the treatment in it is also on par with the diagnosis—including incantations, chants, spells and purifications comprising blood and dietary prohibitions, isolation in temples and sanctuaries. The idea of purification employed in religious medicine comes from the idea of *Miasma*—defined as a stain⁴²². The possession of divine spirit stains the individual soul, and it is purified using all those abovesaid treatment modalities! Hippocrates denounces all those practices as inhuman and questions the logic of stain with divine possession; he argues that the divine can only purify a soul, not pollute. The Hippocratean understanding of *Miasma* is not of stain but of a natural and physical cause, such as bad living conditions, which he explained through the idea of lousy air arising out of marshes, human wastes, and decomposing cadavers. The treatment in Hippocratic treatise is more preventative than curative—that is, to change the milieu of the patient from the *Miasmatic* environment to a better place where one can breathe good air. According to the modern curative understanding of medicine, these treatment protocols are irrational and unscientific; however, understanding health from a larger perspective of healthcare systems has its origin in the Hippocratean age.

Galen

Galen was born almost five hundred years—140. CE⁴²³— after Hippocrates, was an admirer of Hippocratean medicine, he extensively commented on the Hippocratean treatises and agreed with the Hippocratean concept on body humour and *miasma* theory (Flemming, 2019). The humoral theory could not triumph during the period of Galen, and more attention

⁴²² The Greek word Miasma was not originally a medical term. Derived from the verb *miaino*, which means 'to stain' (for example, with purple, and hence, by analogy, with blood), the noun miasma is first found in connection with the stain of blood spilt in a crime. This is the meaning of its oldest uses, which appear in Greek tragedy. Thus, Miasma belonged firstly to a religious and legal, rather than medical, context. However, from the fifth century, we begin to find the term Miasma connected with a disease in both tragic literature and the first medical texts found in the Hippocratic Corpus (Jouanna, 2012, p.121).

⁴²³ Galen was born in 130 A.D. in or near Pergamon, about 50 miles due north of Smyrna in modern Turkey (Kilgour, 1957, p.105)

was given to the studies of Anatomy, a ‘solidist’ view of the body based on the anatomical studies replaced the Hippocratean humoral model⁴²⁴ (Jouanna, 2012, p.337). ‘Galen is ranked as one of the greatest experimental scientists in all history, certainly the foremost in ancient science’ (Kilgour, 1957, p.105), who conducted several experiments on anatomy and physiology. Although high-pitched with its experimental quotient, Galen's experiment had a significant impediment that was the religious prohibition on dissecting human bodies. 'Galenic anatomical model although with its all limitations and inaccuracies continued to dominate the western medicine for around thousand five hundred years' (Sujatha and Abraham, 2009, p.39) until Andreas Vesalius corrected the errors in it in 1543⁴²⁵.

Andreas Vesalius : Birth of Modern Anatomy

Vesalius, although rectified the errors of his master—Galen, always wanted to follow the basic Galenic model in anatomy, 'He hunted assiduously but vainly for organs which Galen had mentioned. The *plexus mirabilis*, which Galen had described in minute detail, he could find in sheep but not in man'![exclamation added] (Gumpert, 1948, p.125). It was a shock for Vesalius to find that Galen never dissected a human body, he wrote, 'I could not get over wondering at my stupidity and over-confidence in Galen and the writings of the other anatomists' (Gumpert, 1948, p.129). This turn from Galen marks the beginning of modern Anatomy and the birth of *Fabrica*.

⁴²⁴ Galen, although he contributed a lot to the experiments in anatomy, never dismayed the humoral theory of Hippocrates; rather upheld it as scientific and even tried to explain its foundation through his experiments. 'It was Galen who, in the second century A.D., gave the theory of the four humours its prestige by showing in his Commentary on Hippocrates' The Nature of Man that this theory was the foundation of Hippocrates' work'(Jouanna, 2012, p.338).

⁴²⁵ The work on Human anatomy—*De Humani Corporis Fabrica*— based on the dissection of human bodies published by Andreas Vesalius was a pathbreaking book in the history of medicine, although Vesalius based his ideas on the Galenic model—Vesalius was regarded as a loyal Galenist— he rectified the errors in the Galenic model and added his own observations in the light of his actual experiments with human cadavers (criminals who were given capital punishment)(Gumpert, 1948; Kilgour, 1957).

William Harvey: Circulation of blood and shift in experimental Physiology

In 1648, William Harvey discovered blood circulation in the human body and took a total shift from the age-old Galenic model of anatomy and physiology. For hundreds of years, till Harvey, 'medical students had been force-fed a steady diet of Galenism, and that conformity was generally the ticket to success and advancement within an extremely conservative profession'(Magner, 2005, p.262). Harvey could not agree with Galenism. Soon, with his diligent work, he proved his teachers and fellow students who followed the universally accepted Galenic ideas of motions and functions of heart wrong. Harvey, with his prodigal intelligence, observed the functions of the heart, lungs, liver, veins and arteries, and explained his understanding of the circular motion of blood in the body. Harvey's discovery of blood circulation revolutionised the field of experimental physiology. Harvey's period also marked the invention of new medical instruments, microscope was one of the revolutionary inventions of the time, though his 'work was performed without the aid of the microscope' (Magner, 2005, p.262). Although Harvey demystified the Galenic concepts, his work had a significant drawback that was the absence of microscope in his experiments; thereby, he was unable to 'identify the structures joining the arterial and venous system' (Magner, 2005, p.252).

The discovery of Harvey undeniably revolutionised the history of medicine, but still, it could not make a paradigm shift in the aetiology of medicine which compelled many physicians of the time to follow the age-old Galenic logic; for them it answered many more questions related to anatomy and physiology and aetiology than Harvey's theory. Moreover, Harvey's theory of the continuous circulation of blood gave an impetus to phlebotomists.⁴²⁶ To continue their bloodletting practice as a cure for many diseases, as they were diagnosed due to

⁴²⁶ Phlebotomy is a medical practice of drawing blood from veins; in earlier times, the practice of bloodletting as a therapeutic technique was widely employed.

excessive (plethora) blood in the body! Apart from being a paradoxical influencer to phlebotomists, Harvey himself defended bloodletting as a therapeutic tool! (Magner, 2005)

The history of Medicine till Harvey has rapid shifts and turns but as said above, the tangential shift in the aetiology of diseases, especially communicable diseases, happened after the invention of the microscope, which opened a new paradigm.

3.1.1.3. Microscope and Germ Theory- A New Paradigm

The invention of the microscope by Zacharia Jansen⁴²⁷ In 1590 (Bardell, 2004) was a remarkable shift in the history of medicine. Microscopes widened the horizon of human knowledge about the smallest objects. Until the microscope, the smallest thing a human naked eye could see was as wide as a thin human hair; nonetheless, the microscope showed a new tiny world—a small living world that always existed with us and within us.

The larger socio-cultural background of Europe during the time of the revolutionary scientific instruments including, Microscope (1590), Telescope (1608), Barometer (1643), Thermometer (1714) (Bardell, 2004; Magner, 2005; Malet, 2005) were of deep unrest. During these times, Europe was either undergoing or preparing for a drastic change that transformed the conscience of Europe for the times to come. The political unrest resulted in warfare and revolution, social, religious, cultural and spiritual discontent resulted in reformation, counter-reformation and enlightenment. The socio-cultural background of Europe was witnessing a profound change during these ages; breaking away with old ideas and customs seemed normal. The literate masses started becoming sceptical about traditional beliefs and practices; they even questioned 'ancient medical dogma; and started relying on chemical remedies instead of traditional Gallenicals'⁴²⁸ (Magner, 2005, p.335). In the wake of these situations, an English scientist named Robert Hook reformed the microscope and made it possible to observe micro

⁴²⁷ Some historians regard Hans Lippershey as the inventor of the microscope, and some even regard Galileo Galilee for the same, anyhow microscope, apart from the claims of its actual inventor, has undergone a lot of evolution.

⁴²⁸ Plant-based medicines prescribed by Galen.

beings with precision. It is often said 'of the great classical microscopists-Leeuwenhoek (the father of microbiology), Swammerdam, Malpighi, Grew and Hooke, Hooke was the most outstanding intellectually'(Whitrow, 1938, p.497), Hooke through his modified microscope, observed cellular construction of plants. He was 'the first to introduce the word 'cell' into the biological nomenclature' (Whitrow, 1938, p.499). The *Micrographia*⁴²⁹ a treatise produced by Hooke with descriptions and engravings of minute bodies observed under a microscope opened a new world for medicine. It was the onset of a new paradigm in medicine—the germ theory paradigm. Even though there were revolutionary shifts in the field of medicine, the causation of disease was still shrouded in mystery, and the only explanation to disease causation was the traditional *Miasma* theory. The invention of the microscope changed this scenario as said above; it opened a new tiny world of microorganisms. Anton Van Leeuwenhoek, is said to be the first microscopist who saw and described bacteria. The role of microorganisms in contagious diseases such as smallpox, cholera, plague, etcetera thus came into the limelight of discussion. John snow's (a skeptic of miasma theory), study on cholera presented the germ theory of disease and sanitary reformation as the solution to prevent the disease, which became a pathfinder in the field of medicine and a harbinger of modern public health and the founding stone of a new branch of study that is epidemiology. Louis Pasteur, a French scientist based on germ and disease relation theory, devised various methods to kill the microorganisms, among all these stalwarts it was Robert Koch who developed a postulate to explain the relationship between Germ and disease—the Koch's postulate.

Robert Koch- Germ theory and Cartesian-Newtonian Paradigm

⁴²⁹ *Micrographia: or some Physiological Descriptions of Minute Bodies made by Magnifying Glasses with Observations and Inquiries thereupon.*

Robert Koch was a German bacteriologist who had done immense research on micro beings and formulated postulates ‘as the guidelines for establishing that microbes causing specific disease conditions’ (Walker, Levine and Jucker, 2006, p.1).

Robert Koch's postulates were formulated during the late nineteenth century, it proved the relationship between germ and disease, firmly in a scientific manner. It not only became a strong pillar for the Germ theory paradigm but also ended the age-old mystery of disease causation, which was conveniently explained as *Miasma*—stain, pollution in magico-religious paradigm, *Miasma*—noxious air, unfavourable living conditions in Hippocratean and Galenic paradigms, plethora of blood causing disease during the later ages of Vesalius and even during the times of William Harvey.

Koch’s postulates read as.

1. The organism must be shown to be invariably present in characteristic form and arrangement in the diseased tissue.
2. The organism, which from its relationship to the diseased tissue appears to be responsible for the disease, must be isolated and grown in pure culture.
3. The pure culture must be shown to induce the disease experimentally
4. The organism should be re-isolated from the experimentally infected subject
(Walker, Levine and Jucker, 2006)

Till germ theory and Koch’s postulates, European medicine had historical elements of humoral thinking, and the tenets of biomedicine revolutionarily replaced it. The availability of the human body for an immediate investigation that led to advancements in anatomy, physiology and the invention of new instruments such as the microscope were the reasons for this historic paradigm shift (Strathern, 1996). The larger developments influenced these developments in medicine in natural science. The germ theory was also not immune from the developments in physical sciences; it was influenced and duly echoed a trend in physics of the time and was 'guided by its paradigm of the fundamental building blocks of nature and matter, researchers were identifying the minute organisms which caused disease. No longer a loose association or web of factors, but a straightforward, mechanistic, cause and effect model, germ

theory-guided epidemiology during the era of infectious disease control' (Pearson *et al.*, 2001, p.6).

The pathbreaking discoveries of Sir. Issac Newton opened new vistas in science, particularly in physics. A model for analysing the material world in a linear fashion of cause and effect was fundamental to Newtonian physics; it proposed a mechanistic and atomist model of the world; henceforth Newtonian paradigm is otherwise called as mechanist paradigm. This worldview/ paradigm relied on the doctrines of reductionism and universality, and analytic mode of thinking (Ratcliffe and Gonzalez-del-Valle, 2021, p. 362)⁴³⁰. The Newtonian paradigm had an underlying influence of French philosopher—Rene Descartes.⁴³¹ and his ideas on methodological reductionism.

Descartes was a mathematician, a scientific thinker, natural philosopher and a metaphysician; he was born in 1596 in France. Through his versatile career, he has contributed immensely to mathematics, physics, physiology and metaphysics. The theories of Descartes had a determinant effect on further developments in science. Through his natural philosophy, Descartes proposed mechanistic physiology that suggested animal bodies are machines (that is, they are constituted by material mechanisms, governed by the laws of matter alone) (Hatfield, 2008). He, who was firmly anchored in his metaphysical speculations and rational hypotheses, proposed the mind-body dualism. His work named '*Discourse*' discussed the idea of mind-body dualism in detail. It argued that mind and body as distinct substances. Descartes's philosophy was pivotal in the history of medicine as it radically split the body and mind into

⁴³⁰ From the perspective of this paradigm, problem-solving involves reducing any given problem, through analysis, to a set of simpler subproblems, which are then assumed to be independent of one another. Solutions to these simpler subproblems are then pursued, and the solution to the whole problem is considered to be nothing more than the sum of the solutions to the parts or subproblems. When it appears that the problem cannot be broken down into independent subproblems, the relationship between parts is reduced, again by analysis, to one fundamental relationship: linear cause and effect. Every phenomenon, so it is believed, can be explained in principle by the laws governing matter and motion and cause and effect that Newton claimed to be universal(Ratcliffe and Gonzalez-del-Valle, 2021, p.362).

⁴³¹ Cartesian-Newtonian dialectics, in contrast with *Sāmkhya* -Yoga dialectics, are discussed in the coming section of this chapter.

two. Strathern (1996), indicating Descartes's obsession with metaphysics, observes, 'Descartes himself seems to have been more interested in the "mind" part of the dichotomy, but medical specialists took up the "body" part! (exclamation added, (Strathern, 1996, p.139).

3.1.1.4. Germ theory versus the black box epidemiology

Germ theory introduced a single factor aetiology in medicine. 'Single agents of disease were sought by the isolation and culture of microorganisms from disease sites, the experimental transmission of these microorganisms, and the reproduction of lesions. The appropriate responses were to limit transmission by vaccines, to isolate those affected, and, ultimately, to cure with chemotherapy and antibiotics'(Susser and Susser, 1996, p.670). The germ theory paradigm pushed the sanitary reform ideas based on environmental pollutants—*Miasma* and traditional public health initiatives into oblivion. However, by the end of the 19th century, a newly recognised problem, if not new, arose in medical history. That was the problem of chronic diseases; a single factor aetiology based on germ theory could not explain the multiple causations of chronic diseases; seeking a microbe responsible for chronic illnesses almost proved to be ridiculous though medicine relied on it for a considerable amount of time.

The second world war is considered a convenient marking point for the beginning of the era of chronic disease. After world war II, the mortality rate in developed countries due to chronic diseases surpassed the infectious disease mortality rate. Chronic illnesses such as lung cancer, coronary heart diseases, stomach ulcers have gained epidemic status (Susser and Susser, 1996). The unknown factors leading to a disease condition created a situation of perplexity in medical science, which introduced a new paradigm named the black box paradigm in epidemiology. 'The "Blackbox" is a metaphor used in many sciences to describe phenomena which cannot be directly or measured but whose characteristics and processes must be inferred'(Pearson *et al.*, 2001, p.5). The studies of lung cancer by Richard Doll and Bradford Hill(Doll and Hill, 1950) bypassed the germ theory pathogenesis. They established an indirect

link between smoking as a cause and lung cancer as its effect gave credibility to the black box paradigm. The cause of lung cancer was placed on environmental factors and personal lifestyle apart from an external agent causing disease.⁴³².

Dealing with the multiple aetiologies of diseases has manifold complexities, and it is not a more manageable task as in the case of single factor aetiology. Community interventions, public health approach, and community-based research on top of laboratory-based research are requirements to solve the complexities of multiple factor aetiology. Susser and Susser (1996) argues black box paradigm is almost redundant ‘as it only relies on the risk ratios that relate exposure to outcome with no elaboration on intervening pathways’(Susser and Susser, 1996, p.672). The Blackbox paradigm is even criticised for its ambiguity about the intervening pathways of a disease situation. Skrabanek (1994, p.553) calls "Blackbox" an untested postulate linking the exposure and the disease in a causal sequence’.

In the long run of medical history, from ancient to modern times, dominant paradigms that governed eras in medicine have been displaced by new paradigms. The advancement in human intellect and knowledge questioned age-old paradigms. As Kuhn (1962) remarks, intellectual revolutions displaced the old paradigms with new convincing ones, although the old ones continued to overlap the new paradigms. As in the case of older paradigms, Blackbox paradigm has also reached its finishing phase, and it is 'straining beyond its limits'(Susser and Susser, 1996, p.672).

Table 1: Eras⁴³³ and Paradigms in Medicine⁴³⁴

⁴³² 'A general atmospheric pollution from the exhaust fumes of cars, from the surface dust of tarred roads, and gasworks, Industrial plants, and coal fires; and (2) the smoking of tobacco (Doll and Hill, 1950, p.739), were the possible causes of lung cancer identified by Doll and Hill in their study.

⁴³³ The eras in medical science overlap with one another, ancient era of magico-religious paradigm co-existed with Hippocratean, and likewise, Hippocratean and Galenic era co-existed, it is hard to classify the era of the infectious disease begin with Fracastorius in the 16th century, or with Jenner in the 18th century or with Henle and Snow in the 1840s and 1850s, or with Pasteur and Koch in the 1870s and 1880s or, did the chronic disease era begin with Baker's study of lead poisoning in the 1760s, or Lane-Claypon's study of breast cancer in the 1920s, or with the studies of lung cancer in the 1950s (Warren, 1996, p.622).

Eras	Paradigms	Intervention	Limitations
Ancient	Magico-religious Paradigm (Miasma as ritual and moral pollution)	Religious medicine/ oracle cure	Magical causation theory with no empirical evidence
Ancient to medieval	Hippocratean – Galenic (<i>Miasma</i> -pollution in living conditions)	Plant-based medicine for humoral correction	Limitations in exploring real human body and establishing facts
Medieval to modern	Germ theory	Synthetic medicines – antibiotics, Vaccines, isolation, quarantine	The single-factor aetiology model failed to explain multiple causations of chronic illnesses.
Modern	Black box/ risk factor epidemiology	Risk factor identification, controlling risk factors, health care approach	Ambiguity in dealing with the intervening pathways of disease

[Source: Adapted from Susser and Susser's (1996) classification]

3.1.1.5. Biomedicine in search of a new paradigm

The developments of paradigms in physics always played an influential role in shaping the course of medicine. The inventions and discoveries in physics directly influenced the diagnostics and therapeutics in medicine; almost all the medical technologies are the direct translation of applications in physics (Jayasundar, 2013); however, at the same time, the impact of paradigms of physical sciences in medicine is an important thing to be looked at, as it talks about the rise, growth and limitations of biomedicine.

The history of medicine from ancient to modern, apart from the paradigms and intricacies in each era, can be primarily classified into three phases, that is the first phase of abstractness and vague understanding of medicine, the prescientific phase, the second phase is of scientific discoveries and inventions coming in hand with medicine and explaining the health and illnesses, the scientific phase. Compared to the first phase, medicine has acquired more power and social prestige by the second phase. It has become capable of saving lives from the clutches of diseases, particularly infectious ones. However, the second phase, powered by

science and technology, struggles to deal with chronic issues such as 'ageing societies, increasingly expensive technologies, growing problems in coping with chronic diseases and disability, and public demand for constant improvement. These issues will inevitably generate economic and social crisis in the years ahead'(Callahan and Parens, 1995, p. 96).

Moreover, the reductionist approach of biomedicine has dismayed the human side of illness; the psychological and spiritual dimensions of human illness and health is not recognised as valid parameter in measuring the illness, distress or finitude of a person. The modern definition of health from 'merely an absence of disease or infirmity changed to a complete state of physical, mental and social well-being' (*Constitution of the World Health Organization*, no date), exists as a mere definition in the techno-oriented biomedical system. The mechanist model has not yet developed an 'instrument' or technology to gauge an individual's mental, spiritual, and social well-being. Well-being and finitude are fundamental aspects of human life, and disease is an aberration; although medicine's progress is based on a disease-centred approach, life revolves around the enduring concept of health. The disease-oriented approach depends on technology and institutionalised delivery of health care, while in the public health care model, health is not an object or product but a state that is to be achieved through multiple modes of interventions at community and individual levels.

The classical paradigm in physical sciences—Newtonian Paradigm that has influenced the biological sciences, including medicine has shifted to a more challenging, if not convincing concept, by the introduction of quantum mechanics to science. As Kuhn (1962) observes, it was a revolutionary paradigm shift from classical paradigm to quantum paradigm. Kuhn, in his '*The structure of scientific revolutions*', observes the three stages of evolution of sciences; Kuhn's classification very well fits to explain the development of paradigms and its shifts in the history of medicine also, according to Kuhn, the first phase of the evolution is the pre-science period where a scientific theory is absent. It is a phase of immature science. In

medicine, that phase is represented by the magico-religious era; however, it is regarded as a paradigm in this study in a strict positivist notion; it was a 'paradigm less period that was governed by assumptions and irrational association of disease with its cause. The second phase is of normal science, where a paradigm appears, a set of theories, methods starts defining science. 'The paradigm specifies the ontology of the world; it dictates what puzzles science will work on, and what counts as an adequate solution to those puzzles, it establishes how science should be practised, and what the aim of science is'(Valia, 2015, p.3). In medicine, starting from the age of modern anatomy to the germ theory era, it was a period of paradigm formation. The Newtonian-Cartesian paradigm of a mechanistic worldview started governing medical sciences. The inventions of medical instruments such as the microscope also gave validity to the atomist model of the universe. Kuhn observes that the normal science paradigm governed by classical mechanics has met with an imminent crisis that was its inability to solve certain puzzles with a given theory; he calls it an anomaly. Anomalies can be multiple at specific points that need a scientific explanation. Scientists start giving different scientific explanations and solutions, often not fitting to the current theory or paradigm; at this critical juncture, the paradigm becomes fractured (Valia, 2015). This juncture is the anomaly of chronic diseases; scientists tried to solve it with germ theory, only to end in disappointment. A new paradigm—if not a paradigm in strict Kuhnian sense, started to ebb up that is the black box paradigm. Kuhn proposes the anomalies in science; although a crisis for the current paradigm invokes scientific revolution and a new paradigm that sweeps away the old theories and methods appears; quantum mechanics is such a revolutionary paradigm shift. In short, he classifies the evolution of science into three that is 1. period with no paradigm, 2. period with a paradigm period, and 3. period of paradigm shift. Although they went through a period of shift, the paradigms in science did not cease to exist; instead, they co-existed. Newtonian mechanics is very much relevant to the physical world, although it is incapable of explaining

the laws of the quantum world. Parallely in medical science, the critical juncture of chronic illnesses where germ theory⁴³⁵ failed needs a new paradigm to define the multiple anomalies; the black box will not be a good theory to explain or solve it. This is the juncture where medicine has to explore new pathways if, to be specific, a shift from its reductionistic approach to a holistic model is needed.

4. Biomedicine between reductionism and holism- A tryst with traditional medicine

As seen in the earlier section, the paradigmatic shift in the physical sciences duly affected medical science. Unforeseen anomalies shook the classical mechanical model that governed the paradigm in medicine. Although the reductionistic model was an effective methodology in diagnostics and therapeutics up to the level of communicable diseases failed to cure chronic illness, along with this lacuna, the reductionistic medicine with ever progressing costs, iatrogenic effects also made biologists question the classical reductionistic method.

The structural hierarchical⁴³⁶ model of the classical biomedical reductionist paradigm has started slowly changing. The understanding of the human body as a collective interaction of different systems started to appear after the stalemate period in medical history—the diagnostic and therapeutic puzzlement in dealing with chronic illness. After the advent of quantum mechanics, the paradigmatic shift in physical sciences also started to impact medicine, to look at the biological body outside the confinement of structural units—atoms and molecules. The introduction of the mind into the structural physical reality after the quantum mechanics era was also a breakthrough (Stapp, Henry, 2007; Jayasundar, 2013).

⁴³⁵ As said in the case of physical sciences germ theory has not become redundant as it explains the cause of infectious disease and has solutions for it however when it comes to multiple aetiologies of disease germ theory is not capable of explaining it or delivering sustainable cure.

⁴³⁶ The reductionist model is hierarchical, with atom in the lowest level forming the basic building block. Atoms make molecules, which in turn form cells and then tissues. A group of tissues working together form an organ and a group of organs referred as an organ system perform a major function. The human body is understood in terms of various systems such as skeletal, circulatory, reproductive, etc. Disease is understood and treated at the lowest level of the structural hierarchy, i.e. at molecular level (Jayasundar, 2013, p.4)

The studies to understand the role of consciousness and mind in health and the interplay between the physical body and thoughts in deciding health started to appear in medical sciences after the advent of quantum mechanics. However, as happened in the case of the Newtonian classical model, a new paradigm in medicine based on quantum mechanics did not happen in medical science; rather, it co-occupied with the conventional Newtonian classical reductionistic model. It contributed technologies such as ‘MRI machine, laser technologies, electron microscopes, transistors’ (Jayasundar, 2013, p.6) within the epistemological confinement of the Newtonian classical paradigm.

Although the reductionistic model survived and dominated medicine, a strive for systems biological approach and holism based on the nuanced understanding of health is visible in medical science. To fill that lacuna, biomedicine is in the path of integrating traditional and holistic medicines to its fold. The fundamental issue with reductionism is the guiding factor for integration, but there are practical reasons. The WHO traditional medicine strategy on the integration of traditional methods very well echoes these reasons.

It reads as.

Traditional medicine (TM) is an important and often underestimated part of health services. In some countries, traditional medicine or non-conventional medicine may be termed complementary medicine (CM). TM has a long history of use in health maintenance and disease prevention and treatment, particularly for chronic disease.

Many countries, predominantly South Asian and African countries, rely on their indigenous forms of traditional medicine. WHO has remarked these indigenous traditional medicines are delivering primary health care where biomedicine penetration is sparse⁴³⁷, also they are delivered in a ‘culturally appropriate way’⁴³⁸. Considering the widespread usage of

⁴³⁷ ‘The ratio of traditional healers to population in Africa is 1:500 whereas the ratio of medical doctors to population is 1:40 000. For millions of people in rural areas, native healers therefore remain their health providers (World Health Organization (WHO), 2013, p.27)

⁴³⁸ WHO Director-General, Dr Margaret Chan, stated that “traditional medicines, of proven quality, safety, and efficacy, contribute to the goal of ensuring that all people have access to care. For many millions of people, herbal medicines, traditional treatments, and traditional practitioners are the main source of health care, and sometimes

traditional medicine, patients' demand and the safety, efficacy, affordability and accessibility quotient of Indigenous medicine, World Health Organization came up with a plan of integrating traditional medicine—WHO Traditional medicine strategy, with national health care systems of its signatory countries (World Health Organization (WHO), 2014, p.17). The first traditional medicine strategy was released in 2002 and revised in 2004, 2008 and 2014.

The idea of integration⁴³⁹ is operationally defined by WHO as 'The two systems of indigenous and Western medicine need not clash. Within the context of primary health care, they can blend in a beneficial harmony, using the best features of each system, and compensating for certain weaknesses in each. This is not something that will happen all by itself. Deliberate policy decisions have to be made. But it can be done successfully'(World Health Organization (WHO), 2014, p.37).

The idea of integration has invoked multi-layered questions. 'It can be broken down into a series of practical questions about who does, why does and what at what levels of a health system. Being clear about these questions can be the basis for constructive discussions about integrating health services. (WHO, 2008).

4.1. Integrating Yoga into Biomedicine

Why and how Yoga is effective as a health-promoting therapy is still very much an open question. However, it is a question that is almost always exclusively framed in terms of a modern understanding of the body and of the various ways in which the body, mind and soul are configured with reference to modern science on the one hand and modern spirituality, broadly defined, on the other (Alter, 2018, p. 134)

the only source of care. This is care that is close to homes, accessible and affordable. It is also culturally acceptable and trusted by large numbers of people. The affordability of most traditional medicines makes them all the more attractive at a time of soaring health-care costs and nearly universal austerity. Traditional medicine also stands out as a way of coping with the relentless rise of chronic non-communicable diseases.”(World Health Organization (WHO), 2013, p.16)

⁴³⁹ The term integration within medical anthropology denotes integration of two or more systems of medicine, in terms of their principles, practices and knowledge in healing so that the patient benefits in the process(George, 2014, p.30).

Yoga is a traditional medicine according to the traditional medicine strategy of WHO. It is in the proposal to be integrated with biomedicine among six other traditional and complementary medicine⁴⁴⁰systems. The integration of biomedicine to Yoga is discussed in the previous sections of this chapter from the point of Yoga's strive to scientise and modernise it, here the biomedical point of view of the integration of Yoga to biomedicine is the matter of discussion. Yoga's need to integrate with biomedicine is fuelled by several historical reasons discussed in this chapter and previous chapters; however, the necessity of biomedicine in integrating Yoga is a pertinent question that can be answered with the help of the history of biomedicine and its paradigm shift. Beyond accessibility, efficacy, feasibility, cultural appropriateness and historical influences of Yoga, it was an effort to bring a holistic approach to medicine. WHO's traditional medicine strategy implicitly agrees to it,

It reads as,

'Some studies have shown that individuals choose traditional medicine for various reasons, including an increased demand for all health services, a desire for more information leading to an increased awareness of available options, an increasing dissatisfaction with existing health-care services, and a rekindled interest in "whole person care" and disease prevention which are more often associated with traditional medicine' (World Health Organization (WHO), 2014, p.37).

The 'whole person care', the strategy document put in a double inverted comma, is the fundamental necessity of biomedicine to engage with traditional holistic medicine; it is a step of exploring the domains of other disciplines to bring holism into the domain of biomedicine. Conversely, in an environment of asymmetrical pluralism, where other systems of medicine are less equal to biomedicine, the status and future of integration are questionable. Along with the dominance in the hierarchy, there are multi-layered concerns such as epistemological, ontological, nosological, methodological and logistical issues between these two systems that

⁴⁴⁰ Traditional and complementary medicine practices include medication therapy and procedure-based health care therapies such as herbal medicines, naturopathy, acupuncture and manual therapies such as chiropractic, osteopathy as well as other related techniques including qigong, tai chi, yoga, thermal medicine, and other physical, mental, spiritual and mind-body therapies (World Health Organization (WHO), 2014, p.31).

are also impediments in integrating Yoga with biomedicine. Neglecting these multiple issues, Yoga is ‘integrated⁴⁴¹’ into biomedicine in the treatment of non-communicable diseases that have grown to the level of epidemic proportions. WHO has categorised non-communicable diseases into four major diseases: cardiovascular disease, cancer, diabetes, and respiratory diseases. The risk factors for these diseases identified are sedentary lifestyle, lack of regular exercise, unhealthy diets and chronic psychosocial stress. Chronic stress mentioned here is considered a significant risk factor for almost all non-communicable diseases; in the management of chronic stress, yoga is apparently beneficial and hence employed as a therapy (Stephens, 2017). Even while Yoga is integrated as a therapeutic intervention in biomedicine, the above-mentioned multi-layered issues cannot be overlooked. It gives an accurate understanding of the status of ‘integration’ drives.

These multi-layered issues are discussed in the coming section, for that Yoga in Psychiatry is taken as a case for inquiry. The primary data collection was conducted at NIMHANS Bengaluru; the data include key informant interviews and secondary sources such as reports, articles and research papers published by Integrated centre for Yoga at NIMHANS⁴⁴².

4.1.1. Yoga in Psychiatry

At a conference held in 1975 on psychiatric education, many psychiatrists seemed to be saying to medicine, “please take us back, and we will never again deviate from the

⁴⁴¹ Integration or co-location is a debatable concept while considering the issues in the present integration drives.

⁴⁴² Research into the effects of Yoga has been going on at NIMHANS since the 1970’s and several clinical research studies had also been done between 1990 – 2000 in collaboration with the Art of Living foundation and SVYASA (Swami Vivekananda Yoga Anusandhana Samsthana) University. However, Yoga services as therapeutic interventions in the hospital began with the setting up of the Advanced Centre for Yoga in Mental Health and Neurosciences in 2007. The Morarji Desai National Institute of Yoga (MDNIY), New Delhi, supported and collaborated in this endeavour. NIMHANS later integrated the Centre as a part of the Institute itself, as the NIMHANS Integrated Centre for Yoga which was established in 2014. More than 40 peer-reviewed and indexed research papers have been published from the Centre. Research on yoga for schizophrenia has been acknowledged by the NICE guidelines of the UK. Several Ph.D., DM (Neurology), MD (Psychiatry) dissertations have been completed, and several are ongoing under the aegis of the centre. Faculty of the centre have presented invited lectures in scientific meetings held nationally as well as in 6 different countries. A large inter-departmental group of faculty interested in yoga research have been meeting and 12 research projects are currently ongoing. In November 2016, a Collaborative Centre for Yoga Therapy and Research has been started with the help of the Central Council for Research in Yoga and Naturopathy (CCRYN), New Delhi⁴⁴²(*Research – Nimhans*, no date).

‘medical model.’ for, as one Psychiatrist put it, “Psychiatry has become a hodgepodge of unscientific opinions, assorted philosophies and ‘schools of thought’, mixed metaphors, role diffusion, propaganda, and politicking for ‘mental health and other esoteric goals (Engel, 1977, p.129).

The above-stated paragraph is taken from the excerpts of the proceedings of a conference on psychiatric education held in 1975, the ideas discussed there has not become obsolete or redundant even in the present times. The ‘medical model’ and ‘deviation’ from its ‘normalcy’ is stated then is still a crisis in Psychiatry. In comparison with other branches in medical science, Psychiatry is the least ‘medical one’. Psychiatry is the only branch of medicine that has faced many legitimisation issues; it strived to earn a scientific status for its close alliance with ‘emotional’ or spiritual matters. ‘The understanding of mental illness as a medical condition in contrast to an emotional or spiritual condition is a recent phenomenon’ (Leguizamon, 2005, p.3306). Till then, other medical branches with their strong roots in biological sciences, technological support, and the basic biomedical model of reductionistic understanding of ‘disease’ (Engel, 1977) was posing a question to psychiatry, that is ‘Can psychiatry follow the basic biomedical model of disease diagnosis invalidating a psychiatric disease?’ Before validating a condition as ‘disease’, the term has to be defined. Does Psychiatry have a distinct definition for psychiatric disease?

Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), published by the American Psychiatric Association, is regarded as a standard text deals with psychiatric nosology⁴⁴³. This diagnostic manual is regularly upgraded according to the newer understandings and insights regarding diagnostic criteria.

⁴⁴³ International classification of diseases published by WHO is another global standard for classification of diseases, that includes mental health issue as well.

The ICD-10 classification of psychiatric disorders is as follows:

F00-F09 Organic Mental Disorders.

F10-F19 Disorders due to Psychoactive Substance Use.

F20-F29 Schizophrenia, Schizotypal & delusional Disorders.

F31-F39 Mood (Affective) Disorders.

F40-F48 Neurotic, Stress related & Somatoform Disorders.

F50-F59 Behavioral Syndromes associated with Physiological Disturbance & Physical factors

F60-F69 Disorders of Adult Personality & Behavior.

The fourth edition of DSM⁴⁴⁴ came up with a definition of psychiatric disease. It reads as

A clinically significant behavioural or psychological syndrome or pattern that occurs in an individual and that is associated with present distress (e.g. painful symptom) or disability (i.e., impairment in one or more important area of functioning) or with a significantly increased risk of suffering death, pain, disability or an important loss of freedom. It should not be merely an expectable and culturally sanctioned response to a particular event for example death of a loved one. A manifestation of a behavioural, psychological or biological dysfunction in the individual. Neither deviant behaviour (e.g. political, religious or sexual) nor conflicts that are primarily between the individual and society are mental disorders unless the deviance or conflict is a symptom of a dysfunction in the individual (Stein *et al.*, 2010; Shivarama, Arasappa and Gangadhar, no date;)

Although DSM-IV tried to elaborate diagnostic categories for a mental illness in the exact definition, it presents some other considerations on the diagnosis, which can be better named as the concerns in the diagnosis of a 'Mental Illness', they are as follows.

1. No definition adequately specifies precise boundaries for the concept of 'mental disorder.'
2. The concept of mental disorder (like many other concepts in medicine and science) lacks a consistent operational definition that covers all situations (Stein *et al.*, 2010, p.1760)

Like other medical conditions that are defined in 'various levels of abstraction such as structural pathology (e.g. ulcerative colitis), symptom presentation (e.g. migraine), deviance from a physiological norm (e.g. hypertension), and aetiology (e.g. pneumococcal pneumonia). Mental⁴⁴⁵ disorders have also been defined by a variety of concepts (e.g. distress, dyscontrol,

F70-F79 Mental Retardation.

F80-F89 Disorders of Psychological Development.

F90-F98 Behavioral & emotional Disorders with onset usually occurring in childhood & adolescence.

F99 Unspecified Mental Disorder (Shivarama, Arasappa and Gangadhar, no date).

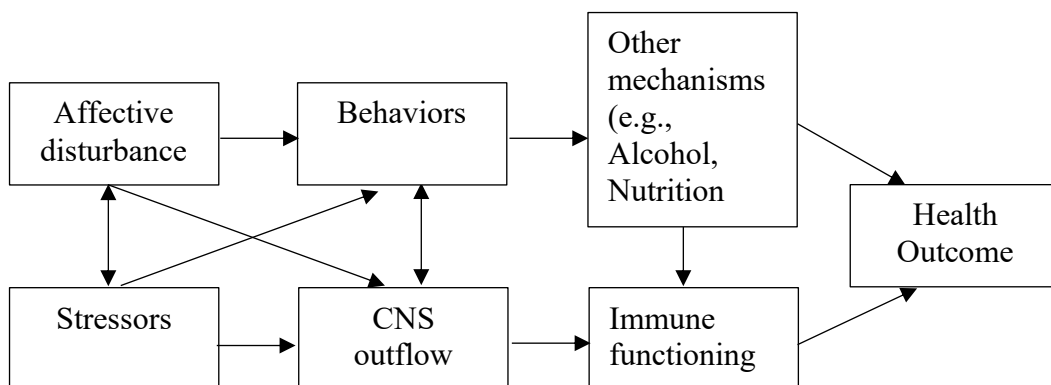
⁴⁴⁴ The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) is the commonly used basis for any mental disorder diagnosis. While the first two editions of the DSM were characterized by a strong theoretical view, mainly based on psychoanalysis, DSM-III and, even more, DSM-IV, try to be atheoretical and symptom-based. Thus, in the two last versions of the DSM, the psychiatric nosography became more and more descriptive and standardized, although not value-free (Maturo, 2012, p.126).

⁴⁴⁵ The term mental in biomedicine is used on par with cartesian view of mind-body dualism. The Cartesian proposition of mind and brain as separate is not congruent with modern understanding in neuroscience as it considers mind as what brain does, henceforth instead of mental disorders psychiatric disorders was suggested to use in the diagnostic manual which again caused an irk among the mental health professionals as the term 'psychiatric' reduces the scope of the disorder and it also sets a hierarchy in which Psychiatrists are considered as the only trained professionals to diagnose and manage a 'psychiatric' disorder, considering this DSM-IV have retained the term mental disorders (Stein *et al.*, 2010).

disadvantage, disability, inflexibility, irrationality, syndromal pattern, aetiology, and statistical deviation)’ (Stein *et al.*, 2010, p.1760). Although these categories serve as an indicator of a specific condition, it is not sufficient to define a mental condition as a disease and categorise it.

Psychoneuroimmunology has identified stress⁴⁴⁶ as an essential risk factor amounting to illness, primarily mental illness. A figure given in ‘*Psychoneuroimmunology-Stress, Mental disorders and Health*’(Goodkin and Visser, 2005) shows how stress affects health outcomes.

Figure 7: Relationships among life stressors and affective disturbances



⁴⁴⁶ Hans Selye defined stress as the nonspecific response of the body on any demand on it, he introduced the concepts of eustress in 1974 as motivational stress and distress as a condition detrimental to health (Szabo *et al.*, 2017).

[Source: *Psychoneuroimmunology-Stress, Mental disorders and Health* (2005, p.2)]

(Both life stressors and affective disturbances determine central nervous system (CNS) outflow and behavioural responses. Behaviours may affect immune functioning directly or through effects on other mechanisms. CNS outflow also directly affects immune functioning. Behaviours, associated mechanisms, and CNS outflow all have an impact on health outcomes (Goodkin and Visser, 2005, p.2)

The stress mentioned as a risk factor in Psychiatric disorders is treated with Psychosocial treatments. Generally, the treatment to the Psychiatric disorders are broadly put under two headings they are Somatic treatments such as ‘psychotropic drugs (Antipsychotics, Antidepressants, Mood stabilisers, Anti-anxiety drugs), Electroconvulsive Therapy (ECT), Transcranial Magnetic Stimulation (TMS) and psychosurgery and Psychosocial treatments that include Psychodynamic psychotherapy, Cognitive Behavior Therapy (CBT), family therapy, relaxation therapy, psychosocial rehabilitation, and Yoga. Yoga is applied as a complementary therapy at NIMHANS; it is tried in following disorders such as ‘Major Depressive Disorder & dysthymia, Schizophrenia, Alcohol dependence syndrome, Anxiety disorders Psychiatric disorders in childhood’ (Shivarama, Arasappa and Gangadhar, no date). Yoga is considered an effective therapy in relieving stress. Besides stress relief, Yoga-based interventions are applied to the abovesaid disorders as a therapeutic intervention, in which ‘Schizophrenia is an important disorder that has responded well to Yoga⁴⁴⁷. The results of clinical trials are encouraging. The negative and cognitive symptoms of schizophrenia, which have been a challenge for conventional treatments, have responded to yoga’ (Gangadhar and Varambally, 2015, p.747). The efficacy of Yoga was compared using a randomised control test. Yoga, and other exercises administered on patients with Schizophrenia. While both interventions benefited the negative symptoms and quality of life, Yoga was better (Duraiswamy *et al.*, 2007;

⁴⁴⁷ Interview with Dr. Hemanth Bhargava (NIMHANS dated 19th November 2019).

Gangadhar and Varambally, 2015) . As mentioned earlier, the efficacy of Yoga is thus measured in terms of a randomised control trial and measurement of the improvement in neurochemicals such as dopamine, cortisol, acetylcholine, serotonin, increased brain levels of Gamma Amino Butyric Acid (GABA). These levels are monitored using the brain imaging scan—fMRI (Functional magnetic resonance imaging⁴⁴⁸). The requisite for measuring the neurobiological factors come from the vagueness about the biological basis of symptom improvements in patients who are administered with Yoga therapy (Varambally and Gangadhar, 2012).

4.1.1.1. Review of literature Yoga in Psychiatry⁴⁴⁹

NIMHANS has produced many peer-reviewed research articles about the efficacy of Yoga therapy in psychiatry. A few relevant studies on depression/dysthymia and Schizophrenia are discussed here.

Depression

Multiple studies conducted at NIMHANS proved the efficacy of Sudarśana Kriya Yoga in the treatment of major depression and dysthymia (Naga Venkatesha Murthy *et al.*, 1997; Descilo *et al.*, 2010; Rao, Venkatasubramanian and Gangadhar, 2011; Naveen *et al.*, 2013, 2016; Thirthalli *et al.*, 2013; Varambally and Gangadhar, 2016; Bhargav, 2018). ‘One of the initial studies examined out-patients with dysthymia (without any co-morbidity) in an open-label design and reported much or very much improvement in 76% of participants at the end of three months. On subanalysis, 83% of patients practising Sudarśana Kriya Yoga regularly remitted (Rao, Varambally and Gangadhar, 2013). ‘Most studies might have been done on

⁴⁴⁸ Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) measures the small changes in blood flow that occur with brain activity. It may be used to examine the brain's functional anatomy, (determine which parts of the brain are handling critical functions), evaluate the effects of stroke or other disease, or to guide brain treatment. fMRI may detect abnormalities within the brain that cannot be found with other imaging techniques(*Magnetic Resonance, Functional (fMRI) - Brain*, no date).

⁴⁴⁹ The literature reviewed here is provided by Dr. Hemat Bhargav of NIMHANS NIMHANS Integrated Centre for Yoga.

people with mild-to-moderate anxiety or depression. Very few studies on melancholic depression have found inferiority to electroconvulsive therapy, but not to drug treatment. Hence, yoga therapy may be used as an add-on treatment in this population (Naga Venkatesha Murthy *et al.*, 1997, 1998; Reddy and Vijay, 2016).

Schizophrenia

Schizophrenia is a psychiatric condition with severe positive and negative symptoms. The new pharmacological advancements have attained considerable mileage in the treatment of positive symptoms of Schizophrenia. Compared to the old generation (typical) antipsychotics that created extrapyramidal⁴⁵⁰ side effects, the new generation antipsychotics (atypical) are better but still creating metabolic side effects. The treatment of cognitive and negative symptoms in Schizophrenia is a continuing problem. To manage the negative symptoms and the iatrogenic outcomes of antipsychotics, Yoga as an adjunct therapy is employed on patients. ‘A yoga package based on *Pañca Kōśa* model has been developed at NIMHANS in collaboration with Sri Vivekananda Yoga Anusandhana Samsthana (SVYASA)⁴⁵¹, Bangalore’ (Rao, Varambally and Gangadhar, 2013, p.147).

⁴⁵⁰ Extrapyramidal side effects (EPS), commonly referred to as drug-induced movement disorders are among the most common adverse drug effects patients experience from dopamine-receptor blocking agents (D’Souza and Hooten, 2021, p.56)

Antipsychotic medications commonly produce extrapyramidal symptoms as side effects. The extrapyramidal symptoms include acute dyskinesias and dystonic reactions, tardive dyskinesia, Parkinsonism, akinesia, akathisia, and neuroleptic malignant syndrome. Extrapyramidal symptoms are caused by dopamine blockade or depletion in the basal ganglia; this lack of dopamine often mimics idiopathic pathologies of the extrapyramidal system (Blair and Dauner, 1992, p.62)

⁴⁵¹ Vivekananda Yoga Anusandhana Samsthana or Vyāsa is a registered charitable institution (1986) working for making Yoga as a socially relevant Science. Based on the teachings of Swami Vivekananda the four streams of Yoga with unity in their diversity, the key essence of Indian culture, applications of Yoga to bring health, harmony, peace the world over are now spread across the globe in nearly 30 countries. The mission of VYASA is to combine the best of the East (Yoga and Spiritual lore) with that of the West (modern scientific research) (*Swami Vivekananda Yoga Anusandhana Samsthana - S-VYASA*, no date). S-Vyāsa is an Institute that has strong ties with RSS (*For yoga campaign, RSS looks beyond Ramdev | India News, The Indian Express*, no date).

Randomised control trials were used to check the efficacy of Yoga treatment, general physical exercise in contrast to add-on Yoga treatment were given to patients, and the studies showed a better score of decrease in negative symptoms of patients administered with Yoga in comparison to physical exercise. ‘A related study specifically assessed the effect of yoga on social cognition. To measure facial emotion recognition, subjects participating in the above-mentioned randomized controlled study were assessed using a culturally valid tool-Tool for Recognition of Emotions in Neuropsychiatric Disorder. Patients in the yoga group had significant improvement in social cognition when compared to patients in exercise or waitlisted groups’(Rao, Varambally and Gangadhar, 2013, p.147) Schizophrenia term is derived from ‘Schism’ meaning split, and the term Yoga is defined as ‘Union’, correcting the schism through yoga is often quoted in many of the articles published on the Yoga therapy and Schizophrenia (Jagannathan *et al.*, 2012; Varambally *et al.*, 2012; Jayaram *et al.*, 2013; Rao, Varambally and Gangadhar, 2013; Govindaraj *et al.*, 2016; Mehta, Keshavan and Gangadhar, 2016).

As it is seen today, Yoga is a reinvented form of an ancient praxis tailor-made to fit into the regime of biomedicine. The above studies show how the standards of biomedicine are unequivocally employed in Yoga and thereby it is completely biomedicalized.

However, looking back at the history of Yoga and biomedicine, ‘are these two systems reconcilable axiologies’? It is a pertinent question that can be answered only through considering the multi-layered complexities of Yoga and biomedicine that is the ontological, epistemological, nosological, methodological and logistical concerns in integrating these two distinct axiologies.

5. Ontological and Epistemological difference - Cartesian versus *Sāmkhya* -Yoga dialectics

The ontological and epistemological understanding about body-mind and health-illness are fundamentally different in biomedicine and Yoga. The vital difference between the body as a whole and the body as reducible parts makes a distinction in the health and well-being

approaches in these two systems. The concepts of the body-mind and the Health-illness dualism is discussed here.

5.1. Body and mind dichotomy in Yoga and Biomedicine

The guiding philosophy of biomedicine is anchored in the philosophical foundations of substance dualism or body-mind dualism proposed by 17. C philosopher Rene Descartes. Leguizamon (2005) observes.

The body-mind dichotomy is a central feature of biomedicine and one of the principles of western culture. It appears in a variety of forms, in philosophy as well as in biomedicine. For example, it appears in naturalism and vitalism as a dichotomy of matter and spirit, and in the Christian religion as flesh and spirit, and body-mind in the case of philosophy and biomedicine... . According to him, human substance or a 'thing' has two characteristics: to be 'res extensa' and 'res cogitans'. The first refers to the physical extension of the body and the second to the thoughtful aspects of the 'mind.' This consideration of Descartes has been important for modern philosophical and scientific thought (Leguizamon, 2005, p. 3305).

Earlier on par with the cartesian understanding of body and mind, it was rationally argued that emotions in the mind do not affect the body. This led to a proposition of psychophysical parallelism that created a metaphysical dispute in medicine—a problem with very few solutions biomedicine had in its hands. Kakar (1982) describes the scarce number of solutions medicine had in its hand to solve this body-mind puzzle; the solutions are numbered into three, the first one is the proposition of body and mind as ontologically distinct entities that cannot affect each other, the second one is of interactionism, that holds although separate, body and mind interact with each other and duly affects one another. The third hypothetical solution is considering body and mind as identical with each other⁴⁵² (Leguizamon, 2005, Kakar,1982).

⁴⁵² Kakar (1982) writes.

The first solution is that the body and mind are ontologically distinct and cannot affect each other, i.e., the answer lies in a psychophysical parallelism. This, however, dismisses the “unity of science” hypothesis from the very outset and is thus intolerable to many scholars. The second proposed solution is of interactionism, which holds (like the dualism of Descartes) that mind and body are separate but affect one another. This thesis is perhaps the dominant one in current Western thought. Even though it is not known exactly how brain and mind interact, the interactionist position is considered methodologically the most fruitful. The third hypothesis, that mind and body are identical, whether as different modes of one and the same x, or as x

The body-mind dichotomy in biomedicine is not a problem in Yoga's metaphysics. The archaic yoga, epic, and classical yoga have not proposed the dualism of body and mind; it presented a psychophysical monism instead of psychophysical parallelism. Whereas the idea of dualism is present in Yoga's ontology, and that is the separateness of soul and body, not psyche and body. The body in Yoga is an apparatus of physical matters/gross matters—*pañcabhūtas* and mental apparatus—*Antaḥkaraṇa* and subtle elements—*tanmātras*. The two states of the body is thus called the physical body—*sthūla śarīra* and the subtle body—*sūkṣma śarīra*.

The five gross matters such as ether, air, fire, water and earth constitute the physical body—*sthūla śarīra*, and the mental apparatus such as Mind (*Manas and Ātma*), ego (*ahamkāra*) and intellect (*buddhi*) with *śabda* (sound) *sparśa* (touch), *rūpa* (sight), *rasa* (taste), *gandha* (smell) constitutes the subtle body. Thereby the Yogic ontology considers mental apparatus—*Antaḥkaraṇa*, as the subtle form of the body, and hence it is irreducible to parts. The yogic body ends with these physical and subtle structures. It extends to mystic physiology that includes the channels of *prāṇa—nādis*, psychic vortexes—*cakras*, psychic knots—*granthis* and so on. Thereby the Yogic understanding of the body is far different from that of biomedical understanding of it. The dualism is agreed by *Sāṃkhya* -Yoga episteme, but it is on the levels of *Prakṛti* -*Puruṣa* dualism, not in terms of body-mind dualism, the body—*physical* and *subtle* are principles of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa—soul*, is distinct from the body.

Alter (2009, p.127) observes

Biomedicine fragments the body and thereby does epistemic violence to the person as a whole, to the extent that selfhood is an embodied experience; yoga disaggregates bodies and persons in terms of a natural ontology that does not see that disaggregation as problematic or violent. Nature, in this scheme, is more humane than humankind, and its holism is not confined to the biology of persons or the self-consciousness of individual selves. This is a kind of "positive" mind/body duality that does not carry the

described from two different standpoints in two different languages, is at the center of controversy in Western philosophy (as cited in Leguizamon, 2005, p.3305)

negative implications of Cartesian logic, and at least in principle, it inhibits a whole apparatus of power derived from that logic.

The cartesian idea of body-mind dichotomy, although mechanistic, is also striving to find an inner self where his inquiry rests on the concept ‘cogito—thinking’⁴⁵³, and the self is very much defined as mental apparatus, modern biomedical understanding though problematic in analyzing the interaction between mind and brain rests its proposition on the idea of selfhood as a coordinated activity of the brain—Mind. Whatsoever Yoga tradition is not satisfied with the idea of limiting of self into ‘thoughts/mind’ it further delves deep and finds *Puruṣa*—soul as the core of self, moreover, as steady deviance from Cartesian logic of ‘*Cogito ergo sum*’—I think therefore I am, *Yogasūtra* proposes *Yoga citta vṛtti nirodhaḥ*—Yoga is the cessation of mental flux, and this cessation makes one enlightened about his true self (*Tadadraṣṭu swarūpé avasthānam*) (Vivekananda, no date; Poonjaar, 2010; Daniel, 2012), in short Yoga is counter-Cartesian as it ultimately proposes ‘I think therefore I am not’.

5.2. Health and Illness in Yoga and Biomedicine

As seen in the case of body and mind, biomedical understanding of health and illness is again dichotomous. Health as a concept from time immemorial has changed its meaning according to human social conditions (Alter, 2018). Turner (1987) points out the evolution of the concept of health in biomedicine from its beginning. From a magico-religious paradigm, the concept of health as the soul's salvation travelled to the idea of the absence of illness in the

⁴⁵³ Leguizamon (2005) presents a contrary argument of Anna Wierzbicka a polish linguist well known for her studies in semantics. She argues, the fundamental proposition of Cartesian dichotomy of body and mind is not correct, she argues Descartes used the French terms ‘ame’ and ‘corp’ to present his dichotomy. ‘Ame’ in French means ‘soul’ not mind, the extrapolation of mind to it is a faulty translation of ‘ame’, beyond the defects of a defective translation Leguizamon (2005) asks whether was it a conscious attempt by Biomedicine to disregard soul and replace it with mind, where ‘mind’ became a rational entity of the new modern science that subsequently represents physical brain of the biomedical body.’ Thus, the transformation of an ‘invisible’ entity (soul) with intellectual, emotional and spiritual scope in the explanation of human beings, became just a material organ (brain) with specific rational functions’ Leguizamon (2005, p.3305).

18th century. By the notion of absence of illness, biomedicine reduced the idea of health as the overall wellbeing of the individual to a disease-free situation. The disease-centred approach was focused on the idea of institutional delivery of health through hospitals and clinics. A targeted disease management approach during the 18th and 19th centuries very well reflected the reductionistic paradigm in biomedicine. The biomedical body is compared to a machine with reducible parts; dysfunction of one part leads to the malfunctioning of the entire system; hence targeted repairing of the diseased part is its fundamental approach by this health has become reduced to a technical concept. The birth of the clinic, written by the French historian-philosopher Michel Foucault (1963), introduced the concept of ‘medical gaze’. Doctors enjoy the highest power in the medical realm for their access to the biomedicine’s nosological corpus of knowledge about the human body. The knowledge of this kind gives them authority to interpret the ‘patients’ condition from an objective point of view. This has alienated the idea of health as a state of wellbeing from an individual. It has created a technical criterion by which diseases are merely a product of classificatory procedure (Turner,1987). As Foucault (1963) observes, doctors have become doctors oriented, not patient-oriented, after the medicalization of health. A doctor-patient duo is established where the doctor ‘sees/gazes’ the patient, and power dynamics mediate this gaze. Interpretation of a disease from the point of biomedical understanding of it became the norm, and thereby non-biomedical materials, such as the role of individual’s emotions, were totally warded off.

As we see it today, Yoga is an exposition of *Sāmkhyān* philosophy; Yoga’s ontology depends on the *Sāmkhyān* epistemic universe. According to *Sāmkhyān* epistemology, the whole reality is divided into two ontic ultimates—*Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa*. *Puruṣa* is the multitude⁴⁵⁴ of qualityless⁴⁵⁵ souls, and *Prakṛti* is the root of all matter. The cosmogony of *Sāmkhyā* has

⁴⁵⁴ *Sāmkhyā* agrees to multiplicity of souls and singleness of *Prakṛti* ; see chapter 2 for detailed discussion.

⁴⁵⁵ *Nirguṇa*, *Sāmkhyā* talks about three *gunas*—*sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas*, these three *Gunas* constitute *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* distinct from the *Prakṛti* is called as *Nirguṇa* /qualityless.

applied to the individual body; also, the body thereby is constituted by the same three *Guṇas*, hence to denote the body's constitution, the term *Śarīra Prakṛti* is used.

Like Yoga Āyurveda also agrees with *Sāmkhyān* metaphysics; also, it follows the basic *guṇa Prakṛti* (body constitution), and the idea is extended by the concept of *Doṣas* or humors, which is nothing but a humoral representation of same *Guṇas*, the disequilibrium in *doṣas* is treated in Āyurveda and wellbeing is restored as a state of equilibrium. The natural constitution of the body—*Śarīra Prakṛti* - is disturbed due to different internal and external factors, which is considered the root cause of *Roga/disease*. The external factors are environmental factors, the adverse interaction of pathogens with the body, toxins, etcetera. These external factors can be treated by external means such as medicines and milieu correction of the individual. In contrast, the internal factors such as *rāga* (desire), *dveṣa* (hatred), *lobha* (possessiveness), *mada* (arrogance), *mātsarya* (competitiveness), *moha* (delusion⁴⁵⁶) can be treated using corrective mental practices (Leguizamon, 2005; Nellickappilly, 2014).

The therapeutic paradigm of Yoga detailed by *Vyāsa* in his *Yogasūtra bhāṣya* contains four dimensions, like in the *cikitsā-śāstra* (Āyurveda), which has fourfold components in therapeutics such as *roga* (disease), *roga-hetu* (cause of disease), *ārogya* (disease-free state) and *bhaiṣajya* (therapeutic remedy), Yoga has its own fourfold *śāstra*, that is *heya*⁴⁵⁷ (disease-mental flux), *heya-hetu*⁴⁵⁸ (cause of the disease), *hāna*, (disease-free state) *hānopāya* (methods to eliminate) (Daniel, 2012, p.52). The therapeutic paradigm of yoga mentioned here is not medical but soteriological in its nature is a remarkable thing to observe here; Yoga aims at delivering *mokṣa* to the soul, not personal wellbeing in the clinical sense. The *heya*—disease

⁴⁵⁶ Delusion here is not meant to be a clinical condition in Psychiatry.

⁴⁵⁷ *heyam duḥkham anāgatam 2.17* (Poonjaar, 2010)

The cause of that which is to be avoided is the junction of the seer and the seen (Vivekananda, 1896, p.136).

⁴⁵⁸ *draṣṭṛ-dṛśyayoḥ samyogo heya-hetuḥ 2.18* (Poonjaar, 2010)

The experienced is composed of elements and organs, is of the nature of illumination, action and inertia, and is for the purpose of experience and release (of the experiencer) (Vivekananda, 1896, p. 136)

mentioned here is the mental flux, *citta vṛiti* by which *Samasāra* (worldliness) comes into being, which is the greatest of all diseases. The cause of *Samsāra* is the communion of *Puruṣa* (the seer- Subject) and *Prakṛti* (the seen- object) caused by *avidya*—ignorance. The ultimate freedom from this state is liberation regarded as *hāna*, and the means to liberation—*hānopāya* is *samyag darśana* (balanced vision) (Daniel, 2012, p.52), while defining Yoga adhering to the *Sāmkhya* -Yoga epistemology *Bhagavadgīta* uses the concept ‘*Samatvam yoga ucyate* (2.48)’ ‘Yoga means equanimity’(Easwaran, 1985; Antonov, 2008). *Samatvam*—equanimity used in *Gīta* proposes a soteriological goal, not a medical or clinical health goal of balancing body and mind as it is widely understood and propagated⁴⁵⁹.

⁴⁵⁹The *Bhagavad Gīta* defines yoga as follows: *Samatvam yoga ucyate* (2.48) The statement says that equanimity is yoga. This shows that yoga enables a state of both physical homeostasis and mental equanimity. Yoga is a state of harmony where the body’s physiological functions are kept and the mind remains in moderation, not overly reacting to either aversion or desire. The *Bhagavad Gita* also enumerates mental health in great detail. A mentally sound and healthy individual is referred to as a *sthitaprajna*, which means a man of steady wisdom. The qualities of a *sthitaprajna* are elaborated in depth throughout the second chapter called as the *Sankhya* yoga. They include tranquility, situational stability, emotional stability, free from desires, complete self-control and oneness with brahman or knowledge of the ultimate(*Yoga*, no date). This excerpt is taken from the official website of ministry of Ayush where it gives the logic of using Yoga in therapeutics quoting *Bhagavadgita* out of its context, in an article named *Yoga as Therapy in Psychiatric Disorders: Past, Present, and Future*, Gangadhar and Varambally, (2011) says that *Samatvam Yoga Ucyate*—equanimity is yoga. It is a method of attaining perfection through the control of the wayward elements in human nature. Clearly, the practice was a set of procedures to be followed with an objective of enlightenment, to be achieved in logical steps. The health benefits, physical and mental, are by-products. Although they agreed about the soteriological value of Yoga, the idea of physical, and mental health as by-products of Yoga is prevailing, and it is self-refuting.

6. Yoga and biomedicine- the Nosological dilemma

Nosology is the branch of medical science that deals with disease classification (*Nosology*, no date). Biomedicine's most significant advantage lies in its capacity to classify diseases; in fact, it acts as a powerful tool in the process of 'biomedicalisation'. Peter Conrad (2007), while presenting his concept of medicalization in three respects had introduced the concept of 'conceptual medicalization' trends in medicine; he puts as the first level of medicalization where a medical lexicon is used to define a condition often which is a non-medical condition (Maturo, 2012, p.123). The biomedicalisation of Yoga has gone through the conceptual medicalization process. The Yogic concepts are translated into biomedicine's lexicon; however, this will only help create a nosological dilemma.

The Yogic lexicon has many terms to define yogic entities in the body; for example, the terms such as *Prāṇa*, *Granthi*, *Nādi*, *Kośa*, *Iḍa*, *Piṅgala*, *Suṣumna*, *Cakra* has their own specific meaning in Yogas lexicon. Moreover, these terms exist in the larger universe of Yoga's ontology; extracting these words from the Yogic ontological universe and defining it in biomedical terms creates the nosological dilemma. The translation of *Prāṇa* as air, *kośa* as tissue, *granthi* as a gland, *nādis* as nerves will only confuse the fundamental concepts like the concept of body in Yoga and biomedicine is very different, *Prāṇa* in Yoga is not used as gross breath, but the vital force in ones being, respiration is just a property of *Prāṇa*, reducing *Prāṇa* to oxygen and the process of respiration is reductionism, so is the case of other terms, *granthis* are not physiological entities such as glands, *nādis* are a psychic entity not physical nerves, *Kośa* in Yoga means five layers of *Kośa*—*Annamaya*, *Prāṇamaya*, *Manomaya*, *Vijnanamaya*, *Anandamaya*—which is a Yogic concept. The mystic physiology used in Yoga is not translatable to the physiology of biomedicine. However, the neo-yogic movements have tried to draw parallels between modern medicine and Yoga, so many Yogic terms and concepts were directly translated into medical terms and concepts. Alter (2009) cites an example of Udupa's

account of Yoga physiology, ‘there is a direct and unambiguous connection between the nādis and the sympathetic nervous system and the chakras and "the six autonomic plexuses of nerves" (Alter, 2009, p. 66), in his account parallels are drawn between *Prāṇa* and oxygen, neurochemistry of liberation and yogic experience, neuro-humoral changes in body and effects of *Prāṇāyāma*. While drawing these wild parallels between Yogic physiology and medical physiology, Yoga’s ontological and epistemological background is discarded, and a nosological dilemma is formed.

The nosography of biomedicine is not only informed by its ability to classify diseases, but it is also formed by the pathologizing gaze biomedicine holds. Maturo (2012, p. 126) observes that even ‘emotions like shyness and sadness can easily be turned into illness if framed through a pathologizing gaze’. The thin line between normal and pathological even gets thinner when dealing with some regions of Yoga. As argued in the previous chapters of the study, Yoga hails from an asceto-mystic background has imbibed mystical ideas and concepts to its larger scheme. The metaphysics of Yoga that deals with supra-mental abilities are not in congruence with the ‘rationality’ of biomedicine; for example, the desired state in Yoga can very well fit into a disease state in biomedicine, to be specific the supernatural Yogic powers attained through the Yogic practice is the desired state in the process of Yoga, termed as *Vibhūti* in Patañjali’s *Yogasūtra*. The third chapter of the book details about different mystic powers attainable by the Yogi. ‘Yoga’s ability to bestow supernatural powers upon its practitioners has always been central to its textual descriptions...they include flight, long-distance hearing and sight, the omniscience, the ability to locate buried treasure, mastery of alchemy, control over other people’ (Mallinson and Singleton, 2017, p.359). If looked at with a pathological gaze, all of these quickly falls into the category of delusional⁴⁶⁰ disorders. The ability to long-distance

⁴⁶⁰ Delusions are erroneous beliefs that usually involve a misinterpretation of perceptions or experiences. Their content may include a variety of themes (e.g., persecutory, referential, somatic, religious, or grandiose) (*Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders, fourth edition (DSM-IV)*. IV, 1994).

hearing and sight and divine vision can be categorized as visual and auditory hallucination⁴⁶¹, divine sensations experienced in the body as part of Kundalini rising can be diagnosed as tactile⁴⁶² hallucinations, moreover the fundamental aim of Yoga—metaphysical man making, that is making *Puruṣa* into *Puruṣaviśeṣa* itself can be diagnosed as a delusion of grandiosity⁴⁶³ or ‘unio-mystica’⁴⁶⁴.

Josef and Mads Gram (2016) observes the thin line between Mysticism and Schizophrenia, many mystical experiences (often quantified as an altered state of consciousness in psychiatric literature—the account Ramakrishna Paramahansa’s god enchantments discussed in the previous chapter is an example of alleged ‘altered state of consciousness’) are more or less similar to the acute-onset of Schizophrenia. Whereas in contrast, the literature on mysticism is keen to ‘distinguish between genuine mystical states of ‘unio mystica’ (i.e. an experience of ineffable, boundless sense oneness with the Absolute) and a host of other, often pathological mental states such as euphorias, illusions, delusions, hallucinations, visions, raptures, and trances’ (Josef and Mads Gram, 2016, p.76).

⁴⁶¹ A sensory perception that has the compelling sense of reality of a true perception but that occurs without external stimulation of the relevant sensory organ. Hallucinations should be distinguished from illusions, in which an actual external stimulus is misperceived or misinterpreted. The person may or may not have insight into the fact that he or she is having a hallucination. One person with auditory hallucinations may recognize that he or she is having a false sensory experience, whereas another may be convinced that the source of the sensory experience has an independent physical reality. The term hallucination is not ordinarily applied to the false perceptions that occur during dreaming, while falling asleep (hypnagogic), or when awakening (hypnopompic). Transient hallucinatory experiences may occur in people without a mental disorder (*Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders, fourth edition (DSM-IV)*. IV, 1994).

⁴⁶² A hallucination involving the perception of being touched or of something being under one's skin. The most common tactile hallucinations are the sensation of electric shocks and formication (the sensation of something creeping or crawling on or under the skin)

⁴⁶³ An inflated appraisal of one's worth, power, knowledge, importance, or identity. When extreme, grandiosity may be of delusional proportions (*Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders, fourth edition (DSM-IV)*. IV, 1994).

⁴⁶⁴ The union of the mystic's soul with God. In many religious traditions the ultimate aim of man is for his soul to be absorbed in the transcendent—in theistic religious traditions, in God and not only in the Hereafter but in this life as well, in rare moments of religious ecstasy (*Unio Mystica - Oxford Reference*, no date).

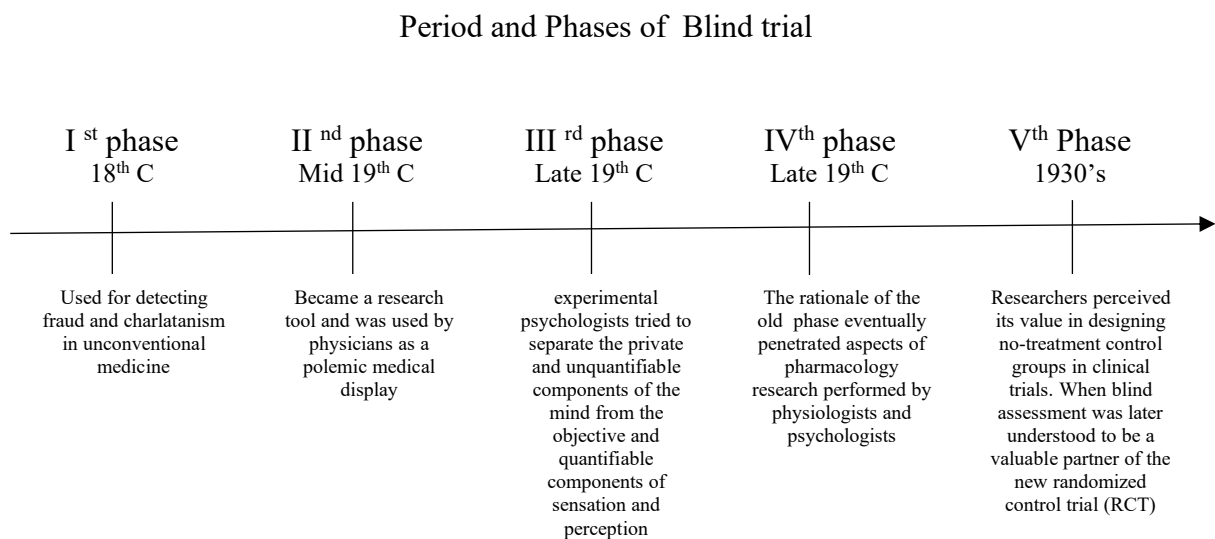
7. Methodological and Logistical concerns – RCT and EBM

The efficacy of Yoga in biomedicine is measured using the gold standard test of biomedicine that is Randomized Control Trial and Evidence-Based Medicine. ‘The existing scientific standards for evidence in clinical research are graded on several levels. Case reports and case series form the lowest level of evidence. The open, uncontrolled trials, controlled trials without randomization, randomized controlled trials, and double-blind randomized controlled (compared with placebo/active comparator) trials in that order have increasing levels of strength’(Gangadhar and Varambally, 2011, p.61). While applying Yoga as a therapeutic choice, it is mandatory to pass all these tests prescribed by biomedicine. The obsession with the gold standard tests is seen increasing in medicine; however, it is not because of its rationality but of its capacity to give more power to biomedicine. Many medical anthropologists question the RCT model for of its tendency to filter out ‘biological responses to meaning, Bode and Payyappallimana, (2013, p.3) ‘argue in the light of empirical researches that human bodies react to meaning and this meaning response is positively labelled as ‘the placebo effect’ and negatively as the ‘nocebo effect’, these meaning responses has many benefits in the health management of person as it helps to boost the self-healing capacity of the body. The double-blind trial in RCT blinds the patient and practitioner and thereby controls the influence outcome by curbing the chances of the patient’s and practitioner’s affinities, commitments and preferences influencing the outcome of the trial. Waldram(2000) argues ‘biomedical’s mechanic perspective on the body. The body is a machine robbed of its meaning giving capacity. The dismissal of the placebo is an intentional act, and part of biomedicine’s quest to identify those aspects of human experience over which it can claim authority and therefore assert control’(as cited in Bode and Payyappallimana, 2013, p.4) Kaptchuk (1998) questions the authority of double-blinded tests in research he argues the history of this method does not extend beyond the twentieth century, researchers adopted the test after world war II.

...attention to this practice in the historiography of human experimentation has varied from nil to minimal, occupying at most a few short paragraphs in relatively few articles and books. Such brief, perfunctory accounts as do exist portray it as having been adopted after World War II following, at most, a few precursors. In addition, the details of these accounts are surprisingly inconsistent, and the rationale for blind assessment is presented as self-evident and devoid of social or historical dimensions. The history of blind trials is veiled in obscurity, with the implication that this method was not available until well into the twentieth century when an eternal transhistorical scientific verity somehow became obvious to researchers. The aura of objectivity and neutrality attached to the blind assessment itself may have benefited from this absence of a past (Kaptchuk 1998, p.389).

Kaptchuk (1998), while criticizing the absence of a social and historical dimension of blind trials, tries to trace the available history of blind trials, where he marks five phases of the evolution of this research tool. The five phases of blind trials give an idea of the development of blind trials used in medicine. The below-given figure marks the five phases of its evolution.

Figure 8: The evolution of blind trial procedure in RCT



[Source: adapted from 'Intentional Ignorance: A History of Blind Assessment and Placebo Controls in Medicine' by Kaptchuk, (1998)]

The above-given figure details the evolution of blind trial procedures. From the inception of blinding procedures, a control mediated by the power possessed by biomedicine is visible. The blinding trials unequivocally set a demarcating line between traditional medicine

and modern ‘scientific medicine⁴⁶⁵’, where traditional medicine is considered a deviant practice with unexamined bias, contaminated evidence and subjective perceptions. The presentation of ‘unblinded evidence’ in traditional medicine is often ‘suspiciously viewed with an intrinsic value of an anecdote or folktale’ (Kaptchuk, 1998, p.392)]. The inception of blind trials was a control step against unconventional healing methods; its fundamental aim was to state the unconventional methods are unscientific and sell belief and magic; no cure is delivered through them. Paradoxically in the long tug-of-war in medicine between unconventional medicine and the normative biomedicine, the former had to make a Faustian bargain to gain ‘scientific respectability’. The employment of RCT in Yoga is not an unusual story.

Cramer, Lauche and Dobos, (2014) lists a corpus of data about the therapeutic value of Yoga investigated through RCT’s⁴⁶⁶. A bibliometric⁴⁶⁷ study of 366 papers, published between 1975 and 2014 is used for the study. 312 RCT’s from 23 countries from five continents (Asia, North America, South America, Europe, and Australia) with 22,548 participants were analyzed in this study. Another bibliometric analyses of systematic reviews of evidence on Yoga for health was published in 2021 (Wieland *et al.*, 2021), both these studies shows a steady increase in trend of research evidence on Yoga intervention.

⁴⁶⁵ Leslie, (1976, p.8) questions the term ‘scientific medicine’ used synonymously to refer biomedicine. He argues the term encourages the assumption that all aspects of cosmopolitan medicine are somehow derived or conducive to science, but by any ordinary criteria many elements in this system are not scientific- for example, the politics of research funding or of professional associations, various routines of hospital administration, or the etiquette of doctor- patient relationships, So as the usage of modern medicine and western medicine is also misleading the former leads to a dichotomized understanding of modernity and traditionalism, in which traditionalism is always static and modernity is dynamic.

⁴⁶⁶ There is a marked increase in the published RCT’s in the recent years this study made use of the data between 1975 and 2014. This bibliometric analysis presents the most complete up-to-date overview on published randomized yoga trials. While the available research evidence is sparse for most conditions...the literature was searched using four electronic databases, Medline/PubMed, Scopus, IndMED and the Cochrane Library from their inception through February 12, 2014. The literature search was constructed around search terms for “yoga” and a filter for retrieving randomized controlled trials (Cramer, Lauche and Dobos, 2014, p.1-2)

⁴⁶⁷ Bibliometrics is the quantitative evaluation of scientific articles and other published works, including the authors of these articles, the journals where the works were published, and the number of times they are later cited (Jones, 2015).

...there are several thousand popular, technical and scientific works available that advocate the practice of Yoga, in one form or another, to either cure or treat a whole spectrum of diseases or alleviate stress and promote overall health and fitness. The vast majority of these books seek to make sense of Yoga's health value in terms of rational, objective scientific principles. That is, they seek to make sense of Yoga with reference to a distinctly modern understanding of health and disease, and a modern prioritization of the direct and reciprocal interlinking of health and disease (Alter, 2018, p.133).

Apart from the issues of power dynamics and asymmetrical pluralism between Yoga and Biomedicine, the pertinent question is whether research methods like blinding are possible or even desirable in Yoga? The efficacy of RCT in Yoga is a paradoxical question as it becomes a test to test the efficacy of an efficacy test!

The methodological and logistical issues in integrating Yoga are manifold. The first and foremost among these issues are 'Which school of Yoga and curriculum is to be followed in the therapeutic procedure?' The bibliometric study conducted by Cramer, Lauche and Dobos (2014) clearly showcases this issue. It says 'of the 312 included RCT's, 119 (38.1%) did not define the specific style of Yoga used, thirty-five studies (11.2%) stated that Hatha yoga was used; and 30 others (9.6%) noted that Pranayama or yoga breathing was used, but failing to mention a specific yoga tradition'⁴⁶⁸ (Cramer, Lauche and Dobos, 2014, p.5).

Yoga is very diverse; the philosophical, methodological, ideological differences and diversity in practice is well evident among different schools of Yoga. To select a particular school of Yoga and apply its therapy is a cumbersome task at one hand. If selected, it is difficult to state the rationality of this particular selection. Gangadhar and Varambally (2011) write the concerns of this selection process, 'selecting a yoga package for a disorder or symptom has been variable. It is noticeable that researchers have tested various yoga interventions for the

⁴⁶⁸ 'Of the RCTs that did cite a specific yoga style or approach, Iyengar yoga (31 RCTs, 9.9%), the integrated approach to yoga (16 RCTs, 5.1%) and Sudarśan Kriya yoga (8 RCTs, 2.6%), appeared most often. The remaining 73 Health trials (23.4%) cited 43 different yoga traditions. Two hundred and forty-four RCTs (78.2%) included yoga postures in their yoga intervention; 232 RCTs (74.4%) included yogic breathing techniques; and 153 RCTs (49.0%) explicitly included meditation (mere relaxation was not counted as meditation). Lectures on yoga philosophy were included by 32 RCTs (10.3%). The reported yoga interventions ranged in length from 1 day (14 RCTs, 4.5%) to 1 year (4 RCT, 1.3%), with a median length of 9 weeks (IQR = 5, 12). Eight (50 RCTs, 16.0%) and twelve (68 RCTs, 21.8%) week programs were by far the most common' (Cramer, Lauche and Dobos, 2014, p.5).

same set of syndromal presentations or symptoms. Which literature should be cited to support such a choice? The traditional yoga literature prescribes yoga based on a system that is different from that used in allopathic psychiatry’.

NIMHANS has integrated the Yoga curriculum of Sri Sri Ravishankar’s⁴⁶⁹ Art of living in its treatment protocol. The reason behind the selection of the ‘Art of Living’ curriculum is not specified anywhere. The strong ties of Art of Living foundation with Government, NIMHANS authorities, pro-active formulation of a therapy curriculum for NIMHANS’s integrative project can be considered as the reason for this.

Another major issue in the application of Yoga in Psychiatry is the methodological issue—applying the efficacy tests such as blinding in Yoga. The ‘gold standard test’ —RCT is employed to analyse the efficacy of a treatment method, and blinding is a crucial tool in the procedure, logically blinding is hardly possible in a Yoga intervention⁴⁷⁰. The control group to which Yoga is administered can quickly identify it as a Yoga exercise; vice versa, the researcher, can also understand it. Henceforth single or double-blinding is not possible in a Yoga intervention. This situation will create a chance for ‘expectation effect’—patients reporting benefits as they are aware of Yoga intervention (Gangadhar and Varambally, 2011, p.62).

Like any other treatment procedure, the consistency of the therapy is a pre-requisite in Yoga therapy; also, considering the time-consuming nature of Yoga therapy, it is difficult to maintain the consistency of therapy, a high rate of attrition (Reddy and Vijay, 2016) is reported between an ongoing treatment procedure. The effective ‘dosage’ of a yoga therapy package

⁴⁶⁹ In a conference named Yoga & Neurosciences - Tradition & Research Approaches organized by the Department of Integrative Medicine NIMHANS, Sri Sri Ravishankar delivered a lecture covering the modern ‘scientific’ aspects of Yoga, and how Neuroscience and Yoga are on par with each other. The core of the lecture was to explain how Yoga has attained the acceptability among scientists through different evidence based standard tests, which was once unthinkable for a system like Yoga. Towards the end of the speech, he did not forget to blend Yoga with Vedānta and implicitly mentioned the complementarity of a Vedantised-Yoga with Modern Neuroscience (*Talk by Sri Sri Ravi Shankar Guruji in YANTRA-2020 conference - YouTube*, 2021).

⁴⁷⁰ Interview with Dr. Naren Rao (NIMHANS dated 18th November 2019).

cannot be standardized, as it is not quantified in terms of dosage against the duration of a therapy (Rao, Varambally and Gangadhar, 2013). Thereby to check the efficiency of Yoga in a time-bound research process is not feasible⁴⁷¹. The corpus of research evidence published over a period analysed by Cramer, Lauche and Dobos (2014) echoes this lacuna in Yoga research⁴⁷².

The diversity of Yoga is seen as an impediment in the integration process. ‘Heterogeneity of yoga practice poses a challenge for the conduct and applicability of Yoga research also’ (Wieland *et al.*, 2021, p.6). Technically, the development of a generic treatment model is not possible in Yoga. Especially in the case of persons with disabilities and mobility issues who may not be able to follow all types of postures in Yoga, in such cases, the therapy has to be customized according to the individual needs, which again creates difficulties in generalizing the treatment outcomes. Along with all these methodological issues, there are logistical issues too. The accessibility of people to the different therapy centres is an important thing to be taken into consideration. The institutional delivery of Yoga to out-patients has multilayered issues that start from the general stigma against mental health issues, and its treatment to patient’s social and financial background are factors influencing the visit to the centre⁴⁷³, the chance of defaulting the therapy due to these logistical reasons also affects the quality of ‘evidence’ of Yoga therapy. Another significant issue is regarding the nature of Yoga therapy; although Yoga is claimed to be secularized, there are existing religious colours on Yoga. For example, the chanting of OM as therapy cannot be accepted by certain religious groups; henceforth, the lack of ‘cultural acceptance of Yoga’ by everyone undergoing

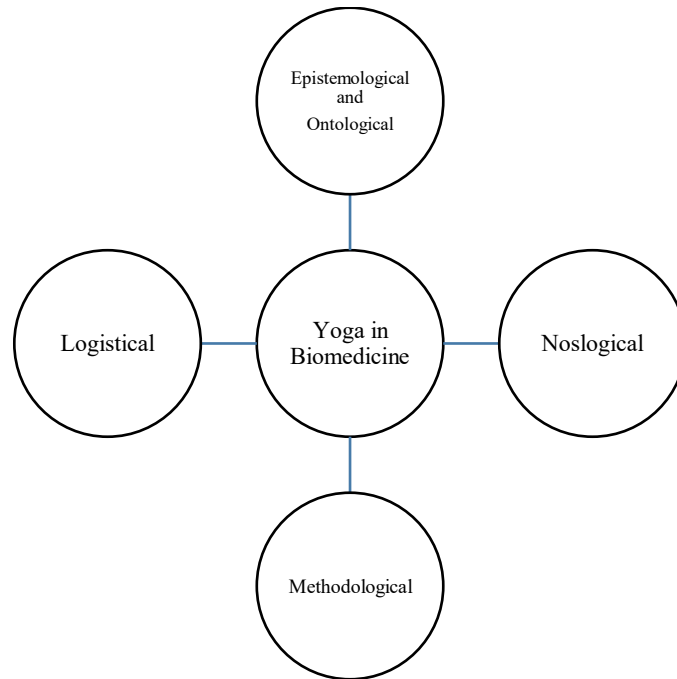
⁴⁷¹ Interview with Dr. Naren Rao (NIMHANS Integrated Centre for Yoga) dated 18th November 2019.

⁴⁷² To fix an eligibility criterion for the bibliometric study ‘no restrictions were applied regarding the tradition, length, frequency or duration of the studied yoga programs. The specific yoga practices included in the intervention were not restricted as long as the intervention was based on yoga theory and/or traditional yoga practice. Eligible intervention components included yoga postures, yoga breathing techniques and meditation, and lectures on yoga philosophy and/or yoga lifestyle’ (Cramer, Lauche and Dobos, 2014, p. 2), the lacuna in Yoga research is thus well evident from these data.

⁴⁷³ Ibid

treatment is an essential logistical issue in Yoga therapy (Rao, Varambally and Gangadhar, 2013).

Figure 9: Integrating Biomedicine and Yoga the web of Issues



All these issues make the integration drive, and its efficacy is testing a question mark in the history of Yoga's entry into biomedicine. Along with all these well-meditated issues, biomedicine is continuing its efforts to biomedicalize yoga; interestingly, without a meagre dissent from Yoga schools is an interesting phenomenon that can only be explained through analysing the position of Yoga and Biomedicine in a biomedicalized environment.

8. Yoga and Biomedicine- The epistemological triad⁴⁷⁴ and the interplay of knowledge and power

Michael Foucault had discussed the medical power—clinical gaze, in his famous '*Birth of the clinic*'. He argued that towards the end of the nineteenth century the access to knowledge, to be specific a 'scientific body of medical knowledge, gained immense social prestige and influence to doctors/medical men, and they surpassed priests and religious authority in defining social realities. The close linkage between knowledge and power is explained; Foucault even tries to call them synonyms; he suggested that 'we should admit rather the power produces knowledge... the power and knowledge directly imply one another (Turner, 1987, p.12). Foucault's analysis of knowledge and power has relevance in the history of biomedicalisation of yoga; in the previous chapter⁴⁷⁵ and previous section⁴⁷⁶ of this chapter, the scientization of the yoga of Yoga from Vivekananda to modern gurus of Yoga is discussed. Redefining Yoga in terms of modern science is seen as a reformatory step to secularize, modernize and sanitize Yoga, however restructuring the epistemology of yoga in terms of modern science was not only to reform Yoga, but it also does gain Yoga a social prestige and influence in the terrain of modern science and society. Acquisition of scientific knowledge, keeping regular acquaintance with the scientific developments of the time, drawing parallels with 'yogic science' has been common to masters' of Yoga since Vivekananda. Equipping Yoga with modern science by these masters is henceforth the harbinger of medicalization of Yoga. Through medicalizing, the notion of empowering Yoga with the knowledge about anatomy, physiology, and the sophisticated understanding of the human body by biomedicine is implied. Medicalized yoga

⁴⁷⁴ The concept of epistemological triad is an adaptation of the concept of epidemiological triad in public health, it explains about the interplay between host, agent (pathogen) and environment in the disease causation. 'Human beings encounter health problems when they interact with each other in the social structure. in addition to. when they interact with the parasite and the environment' (Nayar, 1993, p.158) . Here the idea is used in a different meaning, it is to explain the dynamics of the interplay of Yoga and Biomedicine in the modern biomedicalized environment where both of them exists as distinct form of 'medical' sciences influencing eachother.

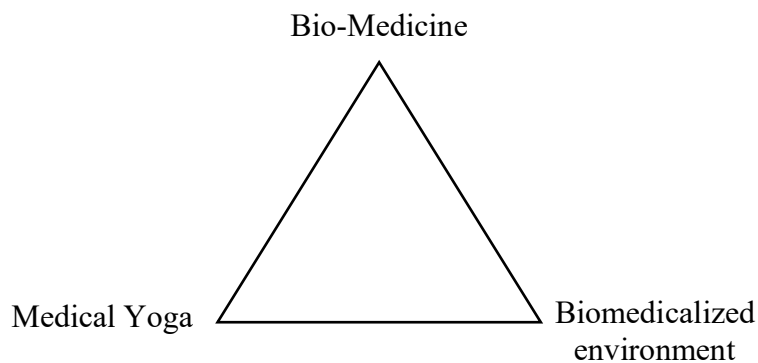
⁴⁷⁵ Chapter III

⁴⁷⁶ Chapter IV, section Scientific Yoga.

in the environment of biomedicine is henceforth interacting with biomedicine for its (co) existence as a ‘medical science’.

On the other hand, in its critical juncture of risk factor epidemiology/ Blackbox of chronic diseases, biomedicine is interacting with Yoga and trying to co-locate it as complementary medicine to bring elucidation to the inexplicable reason (diagnosis) and solution (treatment). The rationalized/scientized or bio-medicalized society acts as the environment between Yoga and biomedicine, pushing these systems to evolve according to one another’s standards. Although biomedicine, with its inevitable necessity to interact with Yoga, it keeps a powerful position that it enjoys from a very long period and tries to standardize yoga with its standards.

Figure 10 : Yoga and Biomedicine - The epistemological triad



CONCLUSION

The study is aimed to bring out the pre-Vedic origin of Yoga from Indus valley and its anti-Vedic development through the *Śrāmaṇic* ascetic sects. It discusses the pre-Vedic roots of Yoga, drawing from the writings of historians and archaeologists, and scholars on Yoga who studied the sitting posture of Indus valley and supposed the key root lock asana to it. The study draws from their argument and tries to link the body mortification process of Indus valley with the *Śrāmaṇic* traditions that have archaic roots in Indus valley culture. The researcher is aware of different scholarly opinions and disagreements on the 'Indus valley origin of Yoga' proposed by scholars such as McEvelley, Dhyansky, Dorris Srinivasan, Marshall, etcetera.

The scholarly disagreement on this proposed theory is based on the absence of textual traditions that support it and the reluctance to accept sculptural evidence from Indus as evidence to justify the river valley origin of Yoga. This disagreement was very well expressed by Prof. James Mallinson, the co-author of *Roots of Yoga* and an authority on *Haṭhayoga* tradition during the expert interview⁴⁷⁷. The researcher is inclined to the river valley origin theory of Yoga; for, the researcher tends to propose the shamanistic or proto-Elamite fertility cult of Indus Valley have given rise to the philosophy and practice of Yoga that was enjoyed as a floating possession by *Śrāmaṇic* religions that too originated from the same cultural milieu. While discussing the history of *Śrāmaṇic* sects' the researcher has maintained the idea of pluralism among these sects, hence have discussed the intricacies and conflicts⁴⁷⁸ between them. The study primarily focuses and try to critically comment on the homogenisation tendency seen in Yoga from ancient times; subsequently, to present the pluralistic propensities of Yoga, the divergence among each system is explained. Also, the study tries to trace back the

⁴⁷⁷ Expert Interview with Prof. James Mallinson dated 18-10-2019 at Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts.

⁴⁷⁸ There is a trend of addressing *Śrāmaṇic* tradition as a monolith against Vedic culture. Nonetheless, history gives a different narrative of mutually existent rival traditions in the *Śrāmaṇic* spectrum contrary to the popular conception of it, if not scholarly.

philosophical leaning of *Pātañjala Yogasūtra* to the ascetic traditions, for that the legacy of *Sāṃkhya* philosophy from ascetic ideas is discussed in detail, as it forms the foundational philosophy of *Yogasūtras*. The concept of Yoga as a discipline rather than an orthodox philosophy projected nowadays is discussed.

Tracing the roots of Yoga from the hoary past is a challenging task. Notwithstanding, historical assumptions based on archaeological fragments of evidence connect the dots of the early history of Yoga. The archaic 'Yogic' tradition is based on the fertility cult of Indus valley that was informed by Proto-Elamite and Shamanistic belief systems. The history and philosophy of fertility cult gyrate around the link between human fecundity and soil fertility. The early foundation of *Dehavāda* metaphysics that believes in the relation between the Macrocosm (Universe) and Microcosm (Human), is situated on the bedrock of the fertility cult. *Liṅga* and *Yoni* worship and the concept of semen virile are ingrained in the *Dehavāda* metaphysics. Yoga, as a tradition, irrespective of its inclination towards different philosophical streams, follows the *Dehavāda* metaphysics of *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Piṇḍāṇḍa* and the unification of both as the fundamental goal. Seeking clues from the antique *Mūlabandhāsana* seal, the first Yogic seal unearthed from the river basin arguably has traces of fertility cult and semen virile in it. The peepal tree symbolism in the root lock posture seal is a compelling case to investigate. The ideas of immortality coupling with the semen virile concept and the symbol of the peepal tree as an insignia of immortality are interesting while speaking the history of Yoga.

The trajectory of archaic Yogic tradition sprouted from the early *Dehavāda* metaphysics informed by the fertility cult of Indus valley took two incongruent paths, the path of abstinence and the path of indulgence. The concept of sexual virility was the theme in both. The abstinence path is based on the conservation of semen inside one's body and taking the crown through several body mortification techniques, and *Mūlabandhāsana* is among them. The abstinence path was set up in ascetic solid values principally in celibacy. The celibate

ascetics who get a mention in Vedic lore as *Śrāmaṇas* and *Ūrdhvaretins* (adept who can channelise semen upward) were the first ones who carried the path of abstinence forward. The existence of these people was outside the purview of Vedas; hence they were regarded as *Nāstikas*. They propagated rebelling ideas about the transcendental and immanent Self and the concept of *Brahmāṇḍa-Piṇḍāṇḍavāda* that became the foundation of Yogic ideas. The nonconformity to Vedic theism and ritualism made them unpopular to Vedas; hence they were called *Srauta-bāhya* (outside Veda). The *Kesin* hymns in Veda that had talked in detail about these longhaired rebels is a remarkable example to quote. The cosmology, metaphysics and theology of these wandering ascetics were different from that of the Vedas. They did not display a strategic faith in God or the theory of creation. The concept of God in different ascetic streams varied according to their philosophical viewpoints, although none of them conformed with Vedic theology.

The abstinent traditions of *Gymnosophists*, *Ājīvikas*, *Jains*, and *Teravāda Buddhists* are the various schools that preached the value of celibacy and conservation of semen inside and building immense inner strength (translated as *Anantavīrya* in Jainism) to liberate oneself from the clutches of *Karma*. Apart from going with a scheme of sacrificial rituals to get benefits in life, the *Śramaṇas* proposed the theory of the *Karma-Samsāra-Mokṣa* complex. The binding *Karma* and the techniques to unbind the *Karmic* loop and get liberated were preached and practised in different abstinent traditions. Stringent celibacy acts as the bedrock of all their teachings, makes them the followers of the path of abstinence, and this tradition is marked as the asceto-yogic tradition.

The ideas of fertility cult and sex rites that were observably rooted in the shamanistic rubric took a turn towards the indulgence tradition. The traditions that followed the fertility rituals and magic, such as the successors of ancient phallic and female genital worshippers,

come in the path of indulgence. The tantric cult of *Śaivas*, *Śaktas*, *Vaiṣṇava Sahajīyas*, *Yogācāra* and *Vajrayāna* Buddhists preached ritualistic sex to liberation. The path of indulgence also believed the concept of semen virile, the Yoga (communion) of *Yoni* and *Liṅga*, *Bindu* (Semen) and *retas* (Blood) became an essential concept in these traditions. These traditions thus practised a 'sexo-yogic' tradition.

The blending of abstinence and indulgence traditions marks a new age in the history of Yoga, the syncretic yoga tradition. The principles of abstinence and the pleasure of indulgence were combined to construct a new tradition. Semen virile and its preservation is vital in this tradition, but semen is preserved inside through stringent Yogic mudras such as *Khecari*. The *Yogi* who practices the *Khecari* mudra will not ejaculate semen even indulge in coitus. The ritualistic sex is exercised in the syncretic tradition but combined with specific yogic mudras to keep the semen inside. The mudras like *Vajroli* are developed in this tradition to suck back the ejaculated semen fallen to partner's vagina. The idea of indulgence culture of combining *Bindu* with *retas* is also seen in syncretic yoga culture; through the practice of *Vajroli*, the semen combined with vaginal blood is taken up and preserved inside for yogic powers. A mystical dimension of Yoga is seen in these practices. The *Nāth-Haṭha* yoga tradition, *Siddha*, and *Sufi* yoga traditions are examples of syncretic yoga traditions that imbibed the asceto-yogic and sexo-yogic traditions. *Bindudhāraṇa* and *Amṛtaplāvana* look contrary; however, they get blended in the syncretic yoga tradition.

Apart from the *Śramaṇa* systems, Vedas also imbibed Yoga; although argued as a pastoral song praising the celestial gods, *Vedas* also shows the tremendous influence of the fertility cult. Henceforth the ideas of archaic Yoga gets a space in Vedas too. However, in contrast to the Yogic conceptions, the cosmology, metaphysics and theology of Vedas maintain a strategic faith in god and creation theory. The ideas of Self-body and Soul, God and

Liberation, have striking dissimilarity with the *Śrāmaṇic* philosophies. The attainment of heaven and hell, deliverance through sacrificial rituals are rudimentary to Vedic thought.

It is noteworthy that the influence of the longhaired sages and their transcendental understanding of the world also have influenced Vedas—The *Kesin* hymns is an example of this. The *Karma-Samsāra-Mokṣa* scheme to the Vedic lore happened due to the interaction with the above-said ascetics, if not appropriation. *Upaniṣads* shows the best example of this intermingling of ideas where one can find the philosophical redaction of Vedic rituals juxtaposed with the concept of Karma and mokṣa. The *Upaniṣadic* Yoga is, thus again, a syncretic tradition of *Śrāmaṇic* and Vedic concepts.

The addition of Yoga to the Vedic lore was completed with the addition of Yoga as an orthodox system of philosophy (*darśana*) with the other five *darśanas*. *Sāṃkhya* and Yoga though nonconforming to the Vedas were added to the Vedic lore concerning the very nature of these philosophies. The former acts as the epistemic substratum of the latter; it is evident that they rebelled against Vedas. The ideas of *Sāṃkhya* and Yoga reflected in early *Upaniṣads* and epics show the heretic nature of both. Nevertheless, in later times, both were incorporated into the Vedic lore and started to call as *Āstika* *darśanas*.

The concept of Yoga as body mortification techniques, meditation, breathing techniques have a long history; the above-said schools and traditions used these yogic ideas with different aims. The understanding of Self, body, Soul, God and Liberation in each of these systems varied considerably, although with striking similarities; hence they are better termed as homologies (Eliade, 1958). All the differences seen in the fundamental concepts of Yoga from different traditions shows the vibrant pluralism of the tradition.

Yoga acted as a floating possession of all these traditions, if not in the strict meaning of what is understood in the present times. The history of Yoga is not just the history of a tradition but the history of all the traditions it had co-travelled with or intermingled.

Mapping the epistemological and ontological reductionism that happened to Yoga from ancient times to the recent is a significant objective of this study; henceforth, the philosophical reductionism in Yoga is discussed in detail. Yoga as a *Nātsik* tradition, along with *Sāmkhya*, stood against *Vedic* ritualism and sacrificial rights. However, these thoughts were incorporated/appropriated to the Vedic stream through a complex historical process.

From its inception, Vedas was considered a practical manual that involved *Yajñas* and *Yāgas* done in favour of celestial deities, *Devas*. The cosmology of *Vedas* rotates around the heavenly boon and curse of heavenly beings. The *Karmakāṇḍa* (*Pūrvamīmāṃsā*) section of Vedas that discuss the ritualist part of Vedas was very prominent once, later it lost its supremacy where the later part *Jñānakāṇḍa* (*Uttaramīmāṃsā*), started to dominate. A *Jñānakāṇḍa* interpretation of Vedic rituals began to appear, and over time that became the only model of interpreting Vedas.

Yoga, although it hails from a heterogeneous background of the *Śrāmaṇic* system, was incorporated into Vedas. Although Yoga was a complex of distinct heterogeneous practices (heteropraxis), Vedas considered it as a correct practice (Orthopraxy) than a valid opinion (Orthodoxy). The transformation of Yoga from a heterogenous *Śrāmaṇic* background to an Orthodox Vedic stratum redefined the philosophical position of Yoga in Indian philosophy. Although different in application, the soteriological goals envisioned in Yoga and *Sāmkhya* have transformed into a Vedic religious framework. The epistemology and cosmology of Yoga and *Sāmkhya* were mangled with Vedic religiosity; later, it was further epistemologically reduced by the *Advaitic* interpretation, which happened mainly to Vedas and Yoga in particular.

An *Advaitic* doxographical work by *Madhusudhanasarawathi* lists three distinct cosmologies, The *Ārambhavādin* (atomist model), *Pariṇāmavādin* (evolution model) and *Vivartavādin* (Unreal manifestation model). Yoga and *Sāmkhya* from their ancient roots belong to either *Pariṇāmavādin* or *Ārambhavādin* cosmologies. However, the *Advaita Vedāntic* interpretation of Yoga mangled its cosmology with the *Vivartavādin* cosmology. Moreover, seeing the ancient system of embodied practices, as James Mallinson rightly observed, Yoga qualifies as a practical soteriology that works irrespective of Yogi's philosophy. A philosophical interpretation that is too incongruent with the cosmologies of Yogas' will only reduce the scope and meaning of Yoga, and it had happened from the time of epics itself. The reference of Yoga is seen in Vedas as a synonym to *Tapas*, and there are references of *Yogic heat* and its benefits in transforming one's Self to become the supreme. However, Yoga's scheme was incongruent with Vedic ritualism of worshipping celestial gods. Subsequently, it was unacceptable to Vedas. Later, incorporating Yoga and *Sāmkhya* to Vedic lore is seen, as both of its mentions come in *Mahābhārata* (often named the fifth Veda). Through epic *Mahābhārata*, Yoga became part of the Vedic knowledge system; Yogic and *Sāmkhyān* ideas interestingly predates the classical Yoga of *Patañjali* and *Sāmkhya* philosophy. Epic Yoga and *Sāmkhya* represented the principles of *Nīvṛti* that was part of the *Śrāmaṇic* stream. In *Mahābhārata*, the reference of Yoga as a corpus of several Yogic practices and *Sāmkhya* as a body of different cosmologies validates these two as heterogeneous practices and philosophies of that age.

The *Nāstik* orientation of Yoga and *Sāmkhya* started blurring in *Mahābhārata*; on top of twenty-five principles, a twenty-sixth principle was alluded to, and that was *Īśvara*. *Sāmkhyān* metaphysics is materialistic and atheistic; there is no god in *Sāmkhya*; nonetheless, Yoga that follows *Sāmkhyān* epistemology has a concept of *Īśvaraḥ* in it; noteworthy, it is not 'God', *Īśvaraḥ* in Yoga is 'Qualified Individual' *Puruṣaviśeṣa*. The *Mahābhārata* and

Bhagavadgīta distorted this idea and brought a personal god concept in Yoga's *Īśvara*. Henceforth the *Sāmkhyan* ontological framework of Yoga was distorted by the introduction of 'a God'.

The epistemological and ontological reductionism of Yoga started with the epic rishis, *Vyāsa*, *Vasiṣṭha* and *Yājñavalkya*; their *Vedāntic* interpretation of texts redefined Yoga's philosophy. *Vyāsa's* commentary on the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali proved to be a total *Vedāntic* interpretation of a dualistic philosophy.

The *Vedāntins* who followed early *Vedānta* seen in *Uttaramīmāmsa* interpreted Yoga according to the principles of primitive *Vedānta*. *Advaita Vedāntins* later dominated the *Uttaramīmāmsa* or the early *Vedānta*. *Advaita Vedāntic* interpretation of *Uttaramīmāmsa* became prominent, which incited a difference of opinion among *Vedāntists*; *Vijñānabhikṣu* was a powerful figure vocal about its dominance of *Advaita Vedāntins*. Despite *Vijñānabhikṣu's* attempt to save Yoga from Crypto-Buddhists (*Advaita Vedāntins*), they started interpreting dualistic philosophies in their terms; subsequently, the entire ontology-cosmology and epistemology of Yoga also were *Vedāntised*, and supremacy of *Advaita Vedānta* was established on top of every *Śāstras*. A total *Vivartavādin* redaction of Yoga's cosmology was projected that was carried forward by 'modern Yogis' of India, the foremost among them is Swami Vivekananda.

Vivekananda's visit to the west changed the spiritual landscape of India and the history of Yoga. It gave impetus to a lot of scholars and Yogis to look at Yoga as nationalistic and transnationalistic philosophy and practice. Vivekananda interpreted Yoga as Monistic *Advaita Vedānta*, contrary to his lineage that started from Ramakrishna Paramahansa —a Tantric Master although misrepresented as an *Advaitin*. He disagreed with Brahman's concept as *Nirguṇa* and *Māya's* concept that brings in the world illusion. For Ramakrishna, the world is not unreal; subsequently, he does not qualify as a *Vivartavādin* and hence not an *Advaita*

Vedantin. Ramakrishna's world was the real manifestation of the supreme, where he believed Kali as the creative aspect of the supreme. Ramakrishna's philosophy was very much eclectic in that he practised Tāntric Sādhanas, mystical Yogic postures, *Vaiṣṇavism*, Christianity and Islamic Sufism. Later Ramakrishna's order of monks shifted from their master's kind of spirituality to *Vedānta*. Ramakrishna's favourite disciple Vivekananda started transforming the Ramakrishna movement; there was an underlying influence of English educated Indian Unitarians in it.

The beginning of the 19th century was marked by the presence of English educated Indian youth influencing India. The foremost among them was Raja Rammohan Roy. European Renaissance and enlightenment ideas influenced Roy and his followers. Roy started the Brahmo Samaj movement that had a philosophical inclination towards Unitarianism and Christian theology. Although he was not interested in Śāṅkara's *Advaita Vedānta*, Ram Mohan Roy started having muse in *Vedāntic* explanation of Upaniṣads; he believed there is a melting point between Indian *Vedānta* and Christian theology. After Roy Devendranath Tagore took over the organisation, he was not different from Roy; in his times, the Christian theology blended with *Vedānta* was the ideal ideology for Samaj. Tagore had a deep connection with Ramakrishna, but no significant influence he could make on Ramakrishna.

Kesab Chandra Sen, a polymath and protégé of Tagore, was supposed to be the intellectual heir of Tagore in Samaj, but he fought with Tagore and formed a new organisation. Unlike his predecessors, Sen was very vocal about his affinity to Christianity; he even proclaimed him the chosen one by God. Sen's charismatic personality and articulative skills have influenced many people all around the country. Sen too found Upaniṣads as the closest ally to Christianity. The visits to the west were all fueled by his interest in blending the east and west, which later seems loudly reflected in Swami Vivekananda, that makes Sen the intellectual godfather of Vivekananda. Like Tagore, Sen was also very close with

Ramakrishna, and he found Ramakrishna as a great master to whom he intellectually submitted. Sen had to compromise on his stands on polytheism and idol worship after seeing Ramakrishna. Sen tried to understand Hinduism in the light of Ramakrishna's thoughts and ideas on it. The influence of Sen on Ramakrishna's disciples was powerful, if not on their master. Vivekananda was one among them, the fourfold yoga model; his ideas of Easternising west, educating Indian youth in Western Education were all directly imbibed from Sen. Vivekananda, a choir singer in Brahma Samaj. Still, he was disappointed to find a true master in Sen, who finally met Ramakrishna.

Vivekananda's rendezvous with his master Ramakrishna is a pathbreaking one in Indian spirituality and Yoga history. Contrary to the celebrated master-disciple relationship Vivekananda seemed to be very sceptical of Ramakrishna's eclectic practices. He could not agree with certain practices, and he openly questioned them. He found Ramakrishna's practices were relatively obscure but settled with it because of his enigmatic devotion for his master. After Ramakrishna's death, Vivekananda shapeshifted his and the philosophy of his order of monks into *Advaita Vedānta*. Vivekananda found *Vedānta* to be a worthy philosophy less dogmatic and acceptable to the whole world. The famous Chicago speech and series of the lecture focused on Easternising the west with powerful *Vedānta*. He, although he disagreed with Sankara on several grounds, agreed with his *Advaita* epistemology.

Vivekananda found Yoga as a practical philosophy through which the values of *Advaita* can be propagated. More than the practical part of Yoga, he was fond of its philosophical part that he freely interpreted, combining Indian *Vedānta*, Science, and Psychology. He tried to make philosophy acceptable to modern minds who are rational and scientific. Vivekananda underplayed the very mystical aspects of Yoga, and even his Tāntric Master was (mis)represented as an *Advaitin*, who preached *Advaita* all this life. Vivekananda's commentary on *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali was named 'King of Yoga', '*Rājayoga*'. The text

became the manual of 'Mind Yoga' in the West. His fourfold Yoga model focused on different people with unique characteristics also set benchmarks for the future. Vivekananda's inclination towards Western Science, Populism, Muscular Christianity, and the national project he called 'bringing the wealth of West to India in return for her spirituality' was also overtly visible in his Yoga philosophy. Like *Advaitic* commentators, Vivekananda commented on Yoga with an *Advaitic* explanation and welded it with western science and philosophy, which led to the later developments in Yoga.

Vivekananda was intellectually succeeded by Aurobindo, who came with an Integral Yoga model. Although Aurobindo disagreed with Vivekananda in many respects, he agreed on the metaphysical influence of Vivekananda on him. Aurobindo's idea of Supermind is seen in the thoughts of Vivekananda and transcendentalists; he appended the theory of Darwinian Evolution with the concept of supramental evolution. The act of scientizing Yoga is thus first seen in Vivekananda and followed by Aurobindo. Notwithstanding, Vivekananda Aurobindo, did not underplay the mystical dimension of Yoga, and he chose a different path from Vivekananda as he disagreed with Śāṅkara's worldview as the world as an Illusion. Aurobindo instead believed in Brahman's creative aspect as Sakti, and he blended the philosophy of *Advaita* and Tantra. A long fight between these two philosophies is seen throughout the history of Yoga. Aurobindo's synthetic Yoga did not settle the epistemological issue instead made it more complex as both philosophies are irreconcilable. On the one hand, the epistemological dilemma of Yoga is unsolved; on the other taking impetus from Vivekananda, Aurobindo also defined it as an embodied philosophy for the 'liberation of the entire cosmos.'

The soteriological disposition of Yoga from ancient times has thus transformed and retransformed over time through the epistemological and ontological reductionism that happened to it. It has reached its zenith after the 'yoga renaissance leaders' such as Vivekananda

and Aurobindo, Yoga from an individual soteriological practice have turned to become a political tool for societal and National' liberation'!

The late nineteenth century witnessed the western nationalistic discourses and muscular culture rooted in muscular Christianity influencing Indian minds. The celebrated Yoga duo-Swami Vivekananda and Maharshi Aurobindo were strongly influenced by these ideas, which duly reflected in their writings and discourses. The binary of strong British men versus effeminate Indian men was a popular idea that has been propagated through colonial discourses. As an antithesis to this, the idea of a strong Indian was proposed against. The ideas of strength, vigour, muscular body, fearlessness was propagated in the messages of Vivekananda and Aurobindo.

Along with this duo, in later times, the anti-western sentiment in the form of an antithesis took shape in the form of Gandhi. The physical culture and western nationalistic ideas were introduced to India, and Yoga was instrumentally used. As an offshoot of these ideas in later times, the Hindu Nationalistic movements arose, and it started instrumentally utilising Yoga to spread its ideology of Somatic- Nationalism.

On the other hand, as Vivekananda remarked, Yoga became a tool for national integration and a good for global consumption. Yoga stretched its hand to the west as an esoteric philosophy from India, invoking the old rhetoric of spiritual east and material west, and the idea of easternising west popularised by unitarians and neo-*Vedāntins* during the fin-de-siècle times. The transoceanic export of Yoga gained followers for it all around the globe. The period witnessed Indian gurus going to the west with a mission of spiritualising the material west; the contemporary gurus of Yoga retained the trend. As a transnational phenomenon, Yoga attracted people to India, and Rishikesh became the hub of Yoga tourism. Rishikesh acted as a space for Yoga to transform from a 'regional specialised discourse and

practice to a transnational, secular, socially critical ideology concerned to achieve personal physical wellbeing'.

The impetus Yoga got through its reshaping inspired the coming Master of Yoga to engage with it as a physical wellbeing regime deliberately. Thereby Yoga was alienated from its fundamental soteriological disposition to a bodybuilding exercise, and the dominance of āsana yoga—Postural Yoga started in Yoga's history. The period of postural Yoga had two significant obsessions: the 'muscular body and the aspiration to get accepted by the 'scientific community, although the forerunners in Yoga's history, such as Vivekananda and Aurobindo, had similar kinds of obsessions.

The attempt to scientise Yoga was started by two significant figures in Yoga they were Swami Kuvalayananda and Swami Yogendra. Both of them were disciples of the same master Paramahansa Madhavdasji. Kuvalayananda and Yogendra revolutionised Yoga by integrating it with applied medical research. Many studies showing the efficacy of Yoga—particularly āsanās, were conducted and published by them. The trend that began by these two masters can be considered as the first attempt to biomedicalise Yoga.

Yoga's aspiration to scientise and biomedicalise is the direct influence of modernity; however, the need for biomedicine to integrate with Yoga is informed by a different reason that was the inevitable stupefaction it experienced in the paradigm shift from a single aetiology germ theory model to multiple aetiology risk factor epidemiology model. Although effective in dealing with pathogen-induced infectious diseases, the germ theory model failed to deal with chronic illnesses.

The vagueness in the backbox paradigm and the revolutionary shift from a linear cause mechanistic model—Newtonian classical model- to quantum model also influenced biomedicine to look for a holistic model to deal with chronic illnesses. The attempts to integrate with traditional holistic medicine to bring in' whole person care was started. The lacuna of an

effective treatment for chronic illness, ever-increasing costs, iatrogenic effects, lack of cultural acceptance, sparse coverage and access were some of the other reasons for the integration drive. However, the integration of traditional medicines, including Yoga, to biomedicine was mediated by the hegemonic power played by biomedicine which creates a situation of asymmetrical pluralism in medicine.

Yoga is integrated into biomedicine as a complementary therapy; the efficacy of Yoga was measured using the standards of biomedicine. The gold standard tests—Randomised Control Trial and Evidence-Based Medicine are employed unequivocally on Yoga. Multiple issues arise in the process of inequitable integration drives. There are epistemological, ontological and methodological issues in each level of integration. The study deals with different types of reductionism that happened to Yoga when it was medicalised.

The need for biomedicine and Yoga in a biomedicine oriented environment is discussed in the study from the lens of power and knowledge. Thereby the entire theses map the trajectory of the transformation of Yoga from archaic times to the present with emphasis on pluralism, transformation and reductionism as its central themes.

References

- A.L. Basham (1951) 'Six Heretics', in *History and doctrines of the Ajivikas*. 1 st. London: Motilal Banarasidas, pp. 1–350.
- Aitareya Brahmana* (2019) *Vedic Heritage Portal*. Available at: <http://vedicheritage.gov.in/brahmanas/aitareya-brahmana/> (Accessed: 30 July 2019).
- Akobeng, A. K. (2005) 'Principles of evidence based medicine WHAT IS EVIDENCE BASED MEDICINE?', *Arch Dis Child*, 90, pp. 837–840. doi: 10.1136/adc.2005.071761.
- Alistair, S. (2020) *The Story of Yoga*. 1st edn. New Delhi: Penguin Viking.
- Alter, J. S. (2000) *Gandhi's Body Sex, Diet, and the Politics of Nationalism*. 1st edn. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Alter, J. S. (2009) *Yoga in Modern India The Body Between Science and Philosophy*. 1st edn. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Alter, J. S. (2018) 'Modern medical yoga: Struggling with a history of magic, alchemy and sex', *Asian Medicine*, 1(1), pp. 119–146. doi: 10.1163/157342105777996818.
- Antonov, V. (2008) *Bhagavad Gita and Commentaries*. Vladimir Antonov,.
- Aquil, R. (2012) 'Music and Related Practices in Chishti Sufism : Celebrations and Contestations', *Social Scientist*, 40(3), pp. 17–32.
- Arun kumar, J. (2009) *Faith and Philosophy of Jainism*. 1st edn. New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications.
- Aurobindo (1939) *Autobiographical Notes and Other Writings of Historical Interest*. Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Publication Department.
- Aurobindo (1970) *Letters on Yoga or Sri Aurobindo Birth Centenary Library, Volume 22-24 / Enhanced Reader, Sri Aurobindo Ashram Trust*. Available at: <moz-extension://3cac1177-cf30-2a4f-b8a5-be5c3c012518/enhanced->

reader.html?openApp&pdf=https%3A%2F%2Fauero-ebooks-in.s3.ap-south-1.amazonaws.com%2Fbook-uploads%2FSri-Aurobindo-SABCL-Vol22-24-Letters-on-Yoga.pdf (Accessed: 6 April 2021).

Ayyangar, T. R. S. (1938) *The Yoga Upanisads*. 1st edn. Edited by P. S. Sastri. Madras: The Adyar Library.

Balcerowicz, P. (2016) *Early Asceticism in India - Ajivikism and Jainism*. 1st edn. New York: Routledge.

Banerjea, A. K. (1962) *Philosophy of Gorakhnath*. 1st edn. New Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas.

Bardell, D. (2004) 'The Invention of the Microscope', *Beta Beta Beta Biological Society*, 75(2), pp. 78–84. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4608700> (Accessed: 6 September 2021).

Barua, B. . M. . (1926) 'Ajivika -What it Means IS Source : Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute , Vol . 8 , No . 2', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute , Vol . 8 , No . 2*, 8(2), pp. 183–188.

Basham, A. L. (1951) *History and Doctrines of the Ajivikas*. 1 st. London: Motilal Banarasidas.

Behera, S. (2002) 'India ' s Encounter with the Silk Road', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 37(51), pp. 5077–5080.

Bhargav, H. (2018) 'The Principles and Practice of Yoga in Health Care', *International Journal of Yoga*, 11(1), pp. 86–87. doi: 10.4103/ijoy.IJOY_52_17.

Bhattacharya, R. (2010) 'What the Cārvākas Originally Meant: More on the commentators on the Cārvākasūtra', *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 38(6), pp. 529–542. doi: 10.1007/s10781-010-9103-y.

Birch, J. (2013) 'Rājayoga: The Reincarnations of the King of All Yogas', *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, 17(3), pp. 399–442. doi: 10.1007/s11407-014-9146-x.

- Blair, D. T. and Dauner, A. (1992) 'Extrapyramidal symptoms are serious side-effects of antipsychotic and other drugs', *The Nurse practitioner*. Nurse Pract, 17(11), pp. 56–67. doi: 10.1097/00006205-199211000-00018.
- Bode, M. and Payyappallimana, U. (2013) 'Evidence Based Traditional Medicine : For Whom and to What End ?', *eJournal of Indian Medicine*, 6(2013), pp. 1–20.
- Bonilla, L. J. (2016) 'Sri Aurobindo at Alipore Jail', *Scientific GOD Journal* /, 7(1), pp. 40–42.
- Brahmo Samaj* (no date). Available at: <http://www.brahmosamaj.in/> (Accessed: 26 August 2020).
- Briggs, W. G. (1997) *The religious life of India Gorakmath and the Kanphata Yogis*. 1st edn. Calcutta: Y.M.C.A publishing house.
- Brockington, J. (2003) 'Yoga in Mahabharata', in *Yoga The Indian Tradition*. 1st edn. London: Routledge Curzon, pp. 1–199.
- Bronkhorst, J. (1981) 'Yoga and Sesvara Samkhya', *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 9(3), pp. 309–320.
- Burley, M. (2007) *Samkhya and Yoga- An Indian Metaphysics of experinece*. 1st edn. New York: The Routledge Hindu Studies Series.
- Callahan, D. and Parens, E. (1995) 'The Ends of Medicine: Shaping New Goals', *Bulletin of New York Academy of Medicine*, pp. 95–117.
- Carol, O. (2015) *Indian Asceticism Power, Violence, and Play*. 1st edn. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chakraborty, C. (2006) 'Ramdev and Somatic Nationalism: Embodying the Nation, Desiring the Global', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41(5), pp. 387–390. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4417755%5Cnhttp://www.jstor.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/stable/pdfplus/4417755.pdf?acceptTC=true>.

- Chapple, C. K. (1994) 'Reading Patanjali Without Vyasa', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, LXII(1), pp. 85–106.
- Chapple, C. K. (2003) *Reconciling Yogas- Haribhadra's Collection of Views on Yoga*. 1st edn. New York: State University of New York Press, Albany.
- Chapple, C. K. (2006) 'Yoga and the Mahabharata : Engaged Renouncers', *Journal of Vaishnava Studies.*, 14(2), pp. 103–114.
- Chapple, C. K. (2016) *Yoga in Jainism*. 1st edn. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul LTD.
- Chatterjee, A. and Naha, S. (2014) 'The Muscular Monk: Vivekananda , Sports and Physical Culture in colonial Bengal', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 49(11), pp. 25–29.
- Chattopadhyaya, D. (1959) *Lokayata*. 5th edn. New Delhi: Peoples Publishing House.
- Chattopadhyaya, D. (1964) *Indian Philosophy*. 9th edn. New Delhi: Peoples Publishing House.
- Chattopadhyaya, D. (1989) *In Defence of Materialism in Ancient India*. 2nd edn. New Delhi: Peoples Publishing House.
- Cheng, A. H. (1976) 'Nāgārjuna's Approach to the Problem of the Existence of God', *Religious Studies*, 12(2), pp. 207–216.
- Connolly, P. (2007) *A Student's Guide to the History and Philosophy of Yoga*. 2nd edn. Victoria: Equinox Publishing Ltd.
- Conrad, P. (2007) *The Medicalization of Society On the Transformation of Human Conditions into Treatable Disorders*. 1st edn. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Constitution of the World Health Organization* (no date). Available at: <https://www.who.int/about/governance/constitution> (Accessed: 18 October 2021).
- Coomaraswamy, A. K. (1927) 'The Origin of the Buddha Image', *The Art Bulletin*, 9(4), p. 287. doi: 10.2307/3046550.
- Cort, J. E. and Cort, J. E. (2019) 'Singing the Glory of Asceticism : Devotion of Asceticism in Jainism Singing the Glory of Asceticism : Devotion of Asceticism in Jainism', 70(4), pp.

719–742.

Coward, H. G. (1987) *Modern Indian Responses to Religious Pluralism*. Edited by H. G.

Coward. New York: State University of New York Press, Albany.

Cramer, H., Lauche, R. and Dobos, G. (2014) ‘Characteristics of randomized controlled trials of yoga: a bibliometric analysis’, *Complementary and Alternative Medicine*, pp. 1–20. doi:

10.1186/1472-6882-14-328.

D’Souza, R. S. and Hooten, W. M. (2021) ‘Extrapyramidal Symptoms’, *Clinical Nurse*

Specialist. StatPearls Publishing, 7(4), pp. 62–67. doi: 10.1097/00002800-199307000-00017.

Damodaran, K. (1984) *Bharatheyā Chinta*. 1st edn. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Bhasha Institute.

Dandekar, R. N. (1987) ‘The theory of Purushārthas: A Rethinking’, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 68(1).

Daniel, R. (2012) *Exploring the Yogasūtra- Philosophy and Translation*. 1st edn. Chennai: Continuum books.

Dasgupta, S. (1922a) *A History of Indian Philosophy*. First. Cambridge.

Dasgupta, S. (1922b) *A History of Indian Philosophy*. 1st edn, *A Companion to World Philosophies*. 1st edn. London: Cambridge University Press. doi:

10.1002/9781405164566.ch2.

Dasgupta, S. B. (1946) ‘Obscure Religious Cult’.

Dasgupta, S. (1924) *YOGA AS PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGIONS*. 1st edn. New York: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & CO., LTD.

Dauids, R. T. . (1899) ‘The Theory of ’ Soul ’ in the Upanishads Author’, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp. 71–87.

Descilo, T. *et al.* (2010) ‘Effects of a yoga breath intervention alone and in combination with an exposure therapy for post-traumatic stress disorder and depression in survivors of the 2004

- South-East Asia tsunami’, *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, 121(4), pp. 289–300. doi: 10.1111/j.1600-0447.2009.01466.x.
- Deshwal, A. (2015) *Relevance of Swami Vivekananda as Youth Icon of India*. New Delhi. Available at: <https://pib.gov.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=114503> (Accessed: 10 November 2021).
- Deussen, P. (1906) *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*. 1st edn. London: Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Dhyansky, Y. Y. (2017) ‘The Indus Valley Origin of a Yoga Practice’, *Artibus Asiae Publishers*, 48(1), pp. 89–108.
- Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders, fourth edition (DSM-IV)*. IV (1994) American Psychiatric Association. Washington: American Psychiatric Association. doi: 10.3109/00048679509064964.
- Dimock, E. C. J. (1989) *The Place of the Hidden Moon*. 1st edn. London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Dobson, S. C. (1914) *The Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy*. 1st edn. Edited by S. Hem Chandra. Calcutta.
- Doll, R. and Hill, A. B. (1950) ‘SMOKING AND CARCINOMA OF THE LUNG: PRELIMINARY REPORT’, *British Medical Journal*, pp. 739–748.
- Doxography of Ancient Philosophy* (2004) *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Available at: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/doxography-ancient/> (Accessed: 3 June 2021).
- Duraiswamy, G. *et al.* (2007) ‘Yoga therapy as an add-on treatment in the management of patients with schizophrenia—a randomized controlled trial’, *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, 116, pp. 226–232.
- Easwaran, E. (1985) *the bhagavad gita*. 1st edn. Tomales: Nilgiri Press.
- Eliade, M. (1958) *Yoga- Immortality and freedom*. 1st edn. New York: Princeton University

Press.

Engel, G. L. (1977) 'The Need for a New Medical Model: A Challenge for Biomedicine', *Science*, 196(4286), pp. 129–136.

Ernst, Carl, w (2004) 'Tassawwuf', in *Encyclopedia of Islam and Muslim world*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA., pp. 1–874.

Ernst, C. (2005) 'Situating sufism and yoga', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 15(01), pp. 15–43. doi: 10.1017/S1356186304004675.

Ernst, C. W. (2003) 'The islamization of yoga in the amrtakunda translations', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 13(2), pp. 199–226. doi: 10.1017/S1356186303003079.

Ernst, C. w (1996) 'Sufism and Yoga According to Muhammad Ghawth', *Sufi*, 4(29), pp. 9–13.

Feuerstein, G. (1996) *The Philosophy of Classical Yoga*. 2nd edn. New York: Inner Traditions India.

Feuerstein, G. (1998a) *Tantra The Path of Ecstasy*. 1st edn. London: Shambala Publications.

Feuerstein, G. (1998b) *The Yoga tradition Its history, literature, Philosophy and Practice*. 2nd edn. Arizona: Hohm Press.

Feuerstein, G. (2011) *The Encyclopedia of Yoga and Tantra*. 1st edn. London: Shambala Publications.

Fitzgerald, J. A., Lipski, A. and Swāmī, V. (1907) *The Original Gospel of Rāmakrishna*. 1st edn. Edited by Joseph A. Calcutta: World wisdom.

Fitzpatrick, E. C. (1994) *Origin and Development of Early Indian Contemplative Practices*. Volume 29. Edited by W. H. and H.-J. Klimkeit. Weisbaden: Studies in Oriental Religions.

Flemming, R. (2019) 'Galen and the Plague', in Petit, C. (ed.) *Galen's Treatise Περὶ Ἀλυσίας (De indolentia) in Context- A Tale of Resilience*. 1st edn, pp. 1–302. doi:

10.1163/j.ctvrk2wj.12.

Flood, G. (2006) 'The Tantric Body: The Secret Tradition of Hindu Religion', pp. 1–244.

For yoga campaign, RSS looks beyond Ramdev | India News, The Indian Express (no date). Available at: <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/for-yoga-campaign-rss-looks-beyond-ramdev/> (Accessed: 24 November 2021).

Foucault, M. (1963) *The Birth of the Clinic*. 1st edn, *Zitteliana*. 1st edn. London: Routledge.

Fowler, M., Eliade, M. and Hauer, J. W. (1962) 'Yoga: Immortality and Freedom', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. doi: 10.2307/597934.

Frazer, J. G. (1935) *The golden bough; a study in magic and religion*. New York: The Macmillan Company. Available at: <https://search.library.wisc.edu/catalog/999468395002121>.

Fritzgerald, Lj. (2012) 'Prescription for Yoga in Mahabharata', in White, D. G. (ed.) *Yoga in Practice*. 1st edn. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp. 1–408.

Ganapathy, M. (2001) *Siddha System of Medicine : A Sociological Exploration*. Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Gangadhar, B. N. and Varambally, S. (2011) 'Yoga as Therapy in Psychiatric Disorders: Past, Present, and Future', *Biofeedback*, 39(2), pp. 60–63. doi: 10.5298/1081-5937-39.2.03.

Gangadhar, B. N. and Varambally, S. (2015) 'Integrating yoga in mental health services', *Indian Journal of Medical Research*, 141(June), pp. 747–748. doi: 10.4103/0971-5916.160685.

Ganguli, M. K. (1896) *The Mahabharata*. 1st edn. Sacred Texts.

Gaur, A., Stefon, M. and Doniger, W. (2018) *Vaishnavism | Hindu sect | Britannica*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Vaishnavism> (Accessed: 3 December 2019).

George, M. (2014) 'How Not to Modernise Alternative Medicine Systems', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 49(32), pp. 30–32.

Ghurye, G. . S. . (1952) 'Ascetic Origins', *Indian Sociological Society*, 1(2), pp. 162–184.

Gloria, L. and Stefon, M. (2011) *Yogachara- Buddhist school*. Available at:

- <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Yogachara> (Accessed: 5 December 2019).
- Goldberg, E. (2016) 'The path of modern yoga : the history of an embodied spiritual practice'. Toronto: Inner Traditions, p. 512.
- Goldberg, P. (2010) *American Veda*. 1st edn. New York: Crown Publishing Group a division of Random House.
- Goodkin, K. and Visser, A. P. (2005) *Psychoneuroimmunology: Stress, Mental Disorders, and Health*. 1st edn, American Psychiatric Press Inc. 1st edn. Edited by K. Goodkin and P. Visser, Adriaan. Washington: American Psychiatric Press Inc. doi: 10.1176/appi.ps.52.2.246-a.
- Govindan, marshall (1991) *Babaji and the 18 Siddha Kriya Yoga Tradition*. 1st edn. Quebec: Kriya Yoga Publications.
- Govindaraj, R. *et al.* (2016) 'Designing and validation of a yoga-based intervention for schizophrenia', *International Review of Psychiatry*, 28(3), pp. 323–326. doi: 10.3109/09540261.2016.1151404.
- Gregoire, C. (2013) *How Yoga Became A \$27 Billion Industry -- And Reinvented American Spirituality*. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.in/entry/how-the-yoga-industry-los_n_4441767 (Accessed: 11 September 2017).
- Gumpert, M. (1948) 'VESALIUS: DISCOVERER OF THE HUMAN BODY', *Scientific American*, 178(5), pp. 24–31. doi: 10.2307/24945814.
- Halbfass, W. (1988) *India and Europe*. 1st edn. Albany: State University of New York Press, Albany.
- Halbfass, W. and Dasgupta, S. B. (2006) *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. doi: 10.2307/600392.
- Harper, Katherine, A. and Brown, L. R. (2002) *The Roots of Tantra*. 1st edn. Edited by K. A. Harper and R. L. Brown. New York: State University of New York Press, Albany. doi:

10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.

Hatfield, G. (2008) *René Descartes*, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University*. Available at:

<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/descartes/#EarLifEdu> (Accessed: 12 October 2021).

Hatley, S. (2014) 'Mapping the Esoteric Body in the Islamic Yoga of Bengal Author', 46(4), pp. 351–368.

How Kalaripayattu was born (no date). Available at: <http://isha.sadhguru.org/blog/yoga-meditation/history-of-yoga/how-kalaripayattu-was-born/> (Accessed: 17 March 2016).

IAM Meditation - Amma, Mata Amritanandamayi Devi (no date). Available at:

<https://www.amritapuri.org/activity/cultural/iam> (Accessed: 11 November 2021).

Ian, B. R. (2015) *Rammohan Roy and the Unitarians*. Florida State University.

Ian, W. and David, C. (2003) *Yoga The Indian Tradition*. 1st edn, *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling*. 1st edn. London: Routledge Curzon. doi:

10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.

Indian diplomacy (2012) *In Search of the Rajah* . Available at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JKZ6WOsNlcc> (Accessed: 26 August 2020).

Iswarakrishna (1960) *Samkhyakarika*. 1st edn, *Desamangalam Press*. 1st edn. Edited by S. A. Sasthrikal. Thrissur: Desamangalam Press.

Iyengar, B. K. . (1993) *Light on the Yogasutras of Patanjali*. 41st edn. London: Harper Element.

Jagannathan, A. *et al.* (2012) 'Barriers to yoga therapy as an add-on treatment for schizophrenia in India', *International Journal of Yoga*, 5(1), p. 70. doi: 10.4103/0973-6131.91718.

Jaidev Singh (1963) *Prathyabhinjhrdayam*. 9th edn. New Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas.

Jain, N. K. (2017) *Yoga in Sramana Tradition*, *University of Kelaniya Sri Lanka*. Available

at:

<http://repository.kln.ac.lk/bitstream/handle/123456789/16641/8.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> (Accessed: 13 February 2019).

Jain, S. (2016) 'The historical development of Jain Yoga system and the impacts of other Yoga systems on Jain Yoga', in Chapple, C. K. (ed.) *Yoga in Jainism*. 1st edn. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul LTD, pp. 1–255.

Jayaram, N. *et al.* (2013) 'Effect of yoga therapy on plasma oxytocin and facial emotion recognition deficits in patients of schizophrenia', *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, 55(7), pp. 409–413. doi: 10.4103/0019-5545.116318.

Jayasundar, R. (2013) 'Quantum Logic in Ayurveda', in Morandi, A. and Nambi, A. N. N. (eds) *An Integrated View of Health and Well-being: Bridging Indian and Western Knowledge*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, pp. 115–139. doi: 10.1007/978-94-007-6689-1_8.

Joaquin, R.-P. (1980) *Self and Non-Self in Early Buddhism*. Great Britain: Mouton Publishers.

John, P. (2008) 'Celibacy in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism', in Olson, C. (ed.) *Celibacy and Religious Traditions*. 1st edn. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 1–336.

Jones, A. W. (2015) 'Forensic Journals: Bibliometrics and Journal Impact Factors', *Encyclopedia of Forensic and Legal Medicine: Second Edition*. Elsevier Inc., pp. 528–538. doi: 10.1016/B978-0-12-800034-2.00181-6.

Joo, L. S. (2002) 'Vijnana-Bhairava-The-Practice-of-Centering-Awareness'. Varanasi: Indica books, pp. 1–221.

Joo, L. S. (2003) 'Kashmir-Shaivism-The-Secret-'. Delhi: Ishwar Ashram Trust, pp. 1–172.

Joo, L. S. (2010) *Kundalini Vijnana Rahasya*. 1st edn. Edited by K. Prof.M.L. Srinagar: Ishwar Ashram Trust.

Josef, P. and Mads Gram, H. (2016) 'Mysticism and schizophrenia: A phenomenological exploration of the structure of consciousness in the schizophrenia spectrum disorders | Elsevier Enhanced Reader', *Consciousness and Cognition*, 43, pp. 75–88. Available at: <https://reader.elsevier.com/reader/sd/pii/S1053810016301088?token=5EA6FE5F76FC1AE2C0E8E6E45F403CDCB8DDC6A2E16D07CF95C206BFB16BDD607C9470E8DF68FEB6C6CFEE8D58B8740&originRegion=eu-west-1&originCreation=20211105040717>

(Accessed: 5 November 2021).

Joshi, K. S. (1965) 'On the Meaning of Yoga', *Philosophy East and West*, 15(1), pp. 53-64
CR-Copyright © 1965 University of Ha. doi: 10.2307/1397408.

Joshi, R. V. (1987) 'Lokayata-in-Ancient-India-and-China', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 68(4), pp. 393–405.

Jouanna, J. (2012) 'Hippocratic Medicine and Greek Tragedy', in John, S. et al. (eds) *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen*. 1st edn. Leiden: Brill, pp. 1–423.

Jr.Robert, E. B. J. and Donald, S. L. (2014) *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. 1st edn. Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press.

Kakar, S. (1982) *Shamans, Mystics and Doctors- A psychological inquiry into India and its healing traditions*. 1st edn, Knopf. 1st edn. New York: Knopf.

Kakar, S. (2012) *The Inner World: A Psychoanalytical Study of Childhood and Society in India*. 2nd edn, *The Inner World: A Psychoanalytical Study of Childhood and Society in India*. 2nd edn. New York: Oxford University Press. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198077152.001.0001.

Kaptchuk, T. J. (1998) 'Intentional Ignorance: A History of Blind Assessment and Placebo Controls in Medicine | Enhanced Reader', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 72(3), pp. 389–433.

Keshab Chunder Sen | Hindu philosopher and social reformer | Britannica (no date).

Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Keshab-Chunder-Sen> (Accessed: 23 November 2020).

Khalid, H. (2015) *In Search of Shiva: A Study of Folk religious Practices in Pakistan*. New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd.

Khan, H. (2018) *Hindu nationalists are known for Islamophobia. But Adityanath's religious order shares a history with Islam - dawn.com, Prism*. Available at:

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1435114/hindu-nationalists-are-known-for-islamophobia-but-adityanaths-religious-order-shares-a-history-with-islam> (Accessed: 26 January 2020).

Kilgour, F. G. (1957) 'Galen', 196(3), pp. 105–117. doi: 10.2307/24940775.

Killingley, D. . (1990) "' Yoga-Sutra " IV , 2 — 3 and Vivekananda's Intrepretation of Evolution', *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 18(2), pp. 151–179.

Kopf, D. (1969) *British orientalism and Bengali renaissance 1773-1835*. Calcutta: FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY.

Kricheldorf, H. R. (2016) *Getting it right in science and medicine: Can science progress through errors? Fallacies and facts, Getting it Right in Science and Medicine: Can Science Progress through Errors? Fallacies and Facts*. Hamburg: Springer. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-30388-8.

Kuhn, T. S. (1962) *The structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 1st edn. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Kumar, K. (2018) 'Essence of Integral Yoga of Sri Aurobindo', *Nature and Wealth*, (January 2010), pp. 7–10.

Kumar, P., Senthilvel, G. and Jeyavenkatesh (2018) *Fundamentals of Siddha Internal Medicine*. Madurai: Shanlax Publications.

Laddu S.D (1992) "'Śramaṇa Vis-À-Vis Brāhmaṇa in Early History'", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* , Vol . 72 / 73 , No . 1 / 4, 72(1), pp. 719–736.

Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/41694934.

Larson, James, G. (1969) *Classical Samkhya- An Intrepretation of its History and Meaning*. 2nd edn. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas.

Larson, James, G. (1987) *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas.

Laycock, J. (2013) 'Yoga for the New Woman and the New Man The Role of Pierre Bernard and Blanche DeVries in the Creation of Modern Postural Yoga', *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, 23(1), pp. 101–136. doi: 10.1525/rac.2013.23.1.101.This.

Leguizamon, C. J. M. (2005) 'Dichotomies in Western Biomedicine and Ayurveda: Health-Illness and Body-Mind', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(30), pp. 3302–3310.

Leslie, C. (1976) *Asian Medical Systems: A Comparative Study*. 1st edn. California: University of California Press.

Levalley, P. (2000) 'NAKED PHILOSOPHER-ASCETICS : Some Observations on the Shramana Religious Sprectrum', (2), pp. 143–158.

limitations of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution - Swami Vivekananda (no date).

Available at: <https://www.swamivivekananda.guru/2017/03/18/the-limitations-of-charles-darwins-theory-of-evolution/> (Accessed: 1 April 2021).

Lochtefeld, J. G. (2002) *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Hinduism- Volume two*. 1st edn. New York: The Rosen Publishig Group.

Lorenzen, D. (1972) *The Kapalikas and Kalamukhas Two Lost Saivite Sects*. 1st edn. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas. Available at:

<http://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&btnG=Search&q=intitle:No+Title#0>.

Lorenzen, D. N. and Muñoz, A. (2011) *Yogi Heroes and Poets, Yogi Heroes and Poets*. New York: State University of New York Press, Albany. doi: 10.1093/jicru/ndp017.

- Maas, P. A. (2006) *Samādhipāda. Das erste Kapitel des Pātañjalayogaśāstra zum ersten Mal kritisch ediert. (Samādhipāda. The First Chapter of the Pātañjalayogaśāstra for the First Time Critically Edited)*. Universitatis Halensis.
- Madsen, B. (2013) *Why Yoga? A Cultural History of Yoga*. London: MadZen Press.
- Magner, L. N. (2005) *A History of Medicine. 2nd edn, Paper Knowledge . Toward a Media History of Documents. 2nd edn*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Magnetic Resonance, Functional (fMRI) - Brain* (no date) *Magnetic Resonance, Functional (fMRI) - Brain*. Available at: <https://www.radiologyinfo.org/en/info/fmribrain> (Accessed: 26 October 2021).
- Maity, P. . (1989) *Human Fertility Cults and Rituals of Bengal: A Comparative study*. 1st edn. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.
- Malet, A. (2005) ‘Early Conceptualizations of the Telescope as an Optical Instrument’, *Early Science and Medicine, 2005, Vol. 10, No. 2, Optics, Instruments and Painting, 1420-1720 Reflections on the Hockney-Falco Thesis (2005)*, pp. 237-262, 10(2), pp. 237–262.
- Mallinson (2018) ‘Yoga and Sex: What is the Purpose of Vajroli mudra?’, in Karl, B., Maas, P. A., and Karin, P. (eds) *Yoga in Transformation*. Vienna: Vienna University Press, pp. 1–623. doi: 10.14220/9783737008624.
- Mallinson, J. (2011a) ‘Nāth Sampradāya’. British Library and Materials, pp. 1–20.
- Mallinson, J. (2011b) ‘Śāktism and Hathayoga’, in *Śākta traditions*. Oxford, pp. 1–33. Available at: http://oxford.academia.edu/JamesMallinson/Papers/1524416/Saktism_and_Ha_hayoga.
- Mallinson, J. (2013) ‘Yoga and Religion’, in *Yoga and Religion*. London, pp. 1–11.
- Mallinson, J. (2017) ‘Haṭhayoga’s Philosophy: A Fortuitous Union of Non-Dualities’, *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 1–18. doi: 10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.
- Mallinson, J. (2019) ‘Kālavañcana in the konkan: How a vajrayāna haṭhayoga tradition

- cheated buddhism's death in india', *Religions*, 10(4). doi: 10.3390/rel10040273.
- Mallinson, J. and Singleton, M. (2017) *Roots of Yogayoga*. 1st edn. Penguin Classics.
- Math, K. (no date) *Samkhya as a Philosophy*. Available at:
<http://www.kapilmath.com/samkhya-as-a-philosophy/> (Accessed: 10 September 2017).
- Maturo, A. (2012) 'Medicalization: Current Concept and Future Directions in a Bionic Society', *Sociology and Biomedicine*, pp. 122–133. doi: 10.4103/0973-1229.91587.
- Mcevilley, T. (1981) 'An archaeology of yoga', 1(1), pp. 44–77.
- McEvelley, T. (2002) 'The Spinal Serpent', in Harper, K. A. and Brown, R. L. (eds) *The Roots of Tantra*. 1st edn. New York, pp. 1–257.
- McEvelley, T. (2016) 'An Archaeology of Yoga', *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 1(1), pp. 44–77. doi: 10.1086/resv1n1ms20166655.
- Mehta, U. M., Keshavan, M. S. and Gangadhar, B. N. (2016) 'Bridging the schism of schizophrenia through yoga—Review of putative mechanisms', *International Review of Psychiatry*, 28(3), pp. 254–264. doi: 10.1080/09540261.2016.1176905.
- Michelis, E. De (2004) *A History of Modern Yoga*. New York: Continuum books. doi: 10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.
- Mohan, A. G. (2010) *Krishnamacharya His Life and Teachings*. 1st edn. London: Shambala Publications.
- Mukherjee, A. K. (1992) *Builders of Modern India- Kesab Chandra Sen*. Edited by 1. New Delhi: Publications division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India.
- Naga Venkatesha Murthy, P. J. *et al.* (1997) 'Normalization of P300 amplitude following treatment in dysthymia', *Biological Psychiatry*, 42(8), pp. 740–743. doi: 10.1016/S0006-3223(97)00296-5.
- Naga Venkatesha Murthy, P. J. *et al.* (1998) 'P300 amplitude and antidepressant response to Sudarshan Kriya Yoga (SKY)', *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 50(1), pp. 45–48. doi:

10.1016/S0165-0327(98)00029-9.

Nakamura, H. (1983) *A history of Early Vedanta Philosophy*. 1st edn. New Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas.

Nandi, A. (1983) *The intimate enemy Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*. 1st edn, Oxford University Press. 1st edn. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. doi: 10.2307/582238.

National Institute of Mental Health & Neurosciences (no date). Available at:

<https://nimhans.co.in/> (Accessed: 17 November 2021).

Naveen, G. H. *et al.* (2013) 'Positive therapeutic and neurotropic effects of yoga in depression: A comparative study', *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, 55(7), pp. 400–404. doi: 10.4103/0019-5545.116313.

Naveen, G. H. *et al.* (2016) 'Serum cortisol and BDNF in patients with major depression—effect of yoga', *International Review of Psychiatry*, 28(3), pp. 273–278. doi:

10.1080/09540261.2016.1175419.

Nayar, K. R. (1993) 'Social Sciences in Health: Towards a Paradigm', *IASSI Quarterly*, 2(1), pp. 153–159.

Nellickappilly, S. (2014) 'The Traditional Ayurveda Practicing by Parambarya Vaidyas In Kerala and Their Unique Ethical Outlook', *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 3(December 2013), pp. 340–347.

Ney, A. (2015) *Reductionism*, *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy IEP*, University of Tennessee. Available at: <https://iep.utm.edu/red-ism/> (Accessed: 22 November 2021).

Nicholson, J. A. (2007) 'Reconciling dualism and non-dualism: Three arguments in Vijñānabhikṣu's Bhedābheda Vedānta', *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 35(4), pp. 371–403. doi: 10.1007/s10781-007-9016-6.

Nicholson, J. A. (2012a) 'Doxography and Boundary-Formation in Late Medieval India', in Balcerowicz, P. (ed.) *World View and Theory in Indian Philosophy*. 1st edn. New Delhi:

Manohar Publishers, pp. 1–433.

Nicholson, J. A. (2012b) *Unifying Hinduism: Philosophy and Identity in Indian Intellectual History, Religious Studies Review*. doi: 10.1111/j.1748-0922.2011.01585_5.x.

Nikhilananda, S. (1942) *Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna-Ramakrishna*. 1st edn. New York: Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center.

Nikhilananda, S. (1953) *Vivekananda A Biography*. 1st edn. London: Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center Newyork.

Nosology (no date) *Definition of Nosology by Merriam-Webster*. Available at:

<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nosology> (Accessed: 3 November 2021).

Oldenberg, H. (1991) *The Doctrine of the Upanishads and the Early Buddhism*. 1st edn. Edited by S. B. Shrortri. New Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas.

Oliver, Duncan, J. (2007) *The Buddha... off the record*. 2nd edn. London: Watkins Publishing.

Olson, C. (2008) *Celibacy and Religious Traditions*. 1st edn. Edited by C. Olson. New York: Oxford University Press.

Olson, C. (2012) ‘Vivekānanda and Rāmākṛṣṇa Face to Face : An Essay on the Alterity of a Saint’, *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, 2(1), pp. 43–66.

Padoux, A. (2002) ‘What Do We Mean by Tantrism?’, in Harper, Katherine, A. (ed.) *Roots of Tantra*. 1st edn. New York: State University of New York Press, Albany, pp. 1–281.

Pandey G C (1978) ‘Sraman Tradition: Its History and Contribution to Indian Culture’, in Malvania, D. and Shah, J, N. (eds). Ahmedabad: LD Institute of Indology, pp. 52–73.

Parpola, A. (2016) *The Roots of Hinduism. The Early Aryans and The Indus Civilization*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Patil, B. (2003) *The Rise , Decline and Renewals of Sramanic Religious Traditions Within Indic Civilisation With Particular Reference To the Evolution of Jain Sramanic Culture and*

Its Impact on the Indic Civilisation. New Delhi.

Payne, S. (2011) 'Editorial', *Reductionistic and Holistic Science*, 79(4), pp. 1401–1404. doi: 10.1128/IAI.01343-10.

Pearson, T A *et al.* (2001) 'Dissecting the 'black box' ' of community intervention: background and rationale', *Scand J Public Health*, 29, pp. 5–12.

Pilla, R. N. (2015) *Milindapanha*. Kottayam: DC Books.

Poonjaar, R. (2010) *Yoga Darsanam*. 1st edn. Kottayam: DC Books.

Prakash, S. (1946) *THE ĀJĪVIKAS AND THEIR PLACE IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY*, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Indian History Congress*. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44137034>.

Prof. K.V. Iyer (no date). Available at: <https://www.sandowplus.co.uk/India/Iyer/iyer-index.html> (Accessed: 23 November 2021).

Purani, A. B. (1959) *EVENING TALKS WITH Recorded by*. 1st edn. Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Publication Department.

Queen, C. (2003) *Action Dharma: New Studies in Engaged Buddhism*. 1st edn. Edited by Charles Prebish and Damien Keown. London: Routledge Curzon. Available at: [https://books.google.co.in/books?id=hjum-](https://books.google.co.in/books?id=hjum-VG8pTsC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false)

[VG8pTsC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.in/books?id=hjum-VG8pTsC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false) (Accessed: 11 November 2021).

Radhakrishnan, S. and Moore, C. A. (1957) *A Source Book on Indian Philosophy*. 1st edn. Edited by C. M. Radhakrishnan Sarvepalli. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Ragavananda (1918) *Sarva Mata Sangraha*. 1st edn. Edited by S. T. Ganapati.

Thiruvananthapuram: Anantashayana.

Raghuramaraju, A. (2014) 'Buddhism in Indian Philosophy', *India International Centre Quarterly*, 40(3), pp. 65–85.

Ramanand, R. (2019) *Vijnana Bhairava Tantram*. 1st edn. Pattambi: Logos Books.

- Ramanand, R. (2020) ‘Altering Domains of Yoga: An Arcane Discipline or Orthodox Philosophy?’, *IOSR Journal of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 25(8), pp. 31–38. doi: 10.9790/0837-2508093138.
- Rao, N. P., Varambally, S. and Gangadhar, B. N. (2013) ‘Yoga school of thought and psychiatry: Therapeutic potential’, *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*. Wolters Kluwer -- Medknow Publications, 55(Suppl 2), pp. 145–149. doi: 10.4103/0019-5545.105510.
- Rao, N. P., Venkatasubramanian, G. and Gangadhar, B. N. (2011) ‘Proton magnetic resonance spectroscopy in depression’, *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, 53(4), pp. 307–311. doi: 10.4103/0019-5545.91903.
- Ratcliffe, W. J. and Gonzalez-del-Valle, A. (2021) ‘RIGOR IN HEALTH-RELATED RESEARCH : TOWARD AN EXPANDED CONCEPTUALIZATION Author (s): John W . Ratcliffe and Amalia Gonzalez-del-Valle Published by : Sage Publications , Inc . Stable URL : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45130868>’, *Sage Publications, Inc*, 18(3), pp. 361–392.
- Rawson, P. (1978) *The Art of Tantra*, *Thames and Hudson*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Reddy, M. S. and Vijay, S. M. (2016) ‘Yoga in Psychiatry: An Examination of Concept, Efficacy, and Safety’, *Indian Journal of Psychological Medicine*, pp. 275–278. doi: 10.4103/0253-7176.185948.
- Renard, J. (2009) *The A to Z of Sufism*. 1st edn, *The Scarecrow Press, Inc*. 1st edn. The Scarecrow Press, Inc. doi: 10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.
- Research* (no date). Available at: https://www.aiims.edu/en/2015-01-02-12-02-49/medical_oncology_research.html (Accessed: 12 November 2021).
- Research – Nimhans* (no date). Available at: <https://nimhans.ac.in/im/research-integrative-medicine/> (Accessed: 20 October 2021).
- Richard, C. M. (2004) *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*. 1st edn, *Macmillan Reference USA*. 1st edn. New York: Macmillan Reference USA. doi: 10.5260/chara.13.4.15.

- Rodrigues, S. (1997) *The Householder Yogi Life of Shri Yogendra*. 1st edn. Bombay: Yogendra Publications Fund- The Yoga Institute.
- Rolland, R. (1931) *The Life of Ramakrishna*. 1st edn. Almora: Advaita Ashrama, Yavati.
- RSS -*The Vision and Mission* (no date). Available at: <https://www.rss.org/Encyc/2012/10/22/rss-vision-and-mission.html> (Accessed: 11 November 2021).
- Ruben, W. (2018) 'The Beginning of The Epic Samkhya', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 37(1), pp. 174–189.
- Sadhguru at United Nations: Yoga – The Power of Inclusion - YouTube* (2019). Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vEJOywx9Eq8> (Accessed: 12 November 2021).
- Sanderson, A. (1988) 'Saivism and the Tantric Traditions', in *The World's Religions*. 1st edn. London: Routledge.
- Sarah, C. (2013) 'The Heart of the Secret: A Personal and Scholarly Encounter with Shakta Tantrism in Siddha Yoga', *The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions*, 5(1), pp. 9–51. doi: 10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.
- Satishchandra, C. and Datta, D. (1948) *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy*. reprint, UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA. reprint. Edited by D. M. Datta. New Delhi: Rupa & Company. doi: 10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.
- Schiltz, E. A. (2006) 'Two Chariots: The Justification of the Best Life in the "Katha Upanishad" and Plato's "Phaedrus"', *Philosophy East and West*, 56(3), pp. 451–468.
- Sensharma, D. (1994) *Matsyendra-Samhita ascribed to Matsyendranatha-Part I*. 1st edn. Edited by D. Sensharma. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society.
- Shahe, P. K. (no date) *Concept of God in Jainism*, Jainism Literature Centre Harvard University. Available at: <https://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~pluralsm/affiliates/jainism/jainedu/jaingod.htm> (Accessed: 25

October 2019).

Shivaprakash, H. . (2018) *Guru - Ten Doors to Ancient Wisdom*. 1st edn. Gurrugram: Hachette India.

Shivarama, V., Arasappa, R. and Gangadhar, B. (no date) ‘Yoga therapy for the Management of Psychiatric Disorders’. Bengaluru: Advanced Centre for yoga – Mental Health and Neurosciences NIMHANS, Bangalore A, pp. 1–15.

Shourie, A. (2017) *Two Saints_ Speculations Around and About Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Ramana Maharishi-*. 1st edn. New Delhi: HarperCollins.

Sil, N. P. (2003) *Divine Dowager: Life and Teachings of Saradamani, the Holy Mother*. 1st edn. London: Susquehanna University Press.

Sil, N. P. (2018) ‘Vivekānanda ’ s Rāmākṛṣṇa : An Untold Story of Mythmaking and Propaganda’, *Brill*, 40(1), pp. 38–62.

Silburn, L. (1988) *Kundalini: Energy of the Depths , Kundalini: Energy of the Depths .*

Simpson, D. (2021) *The Truth of Yoga_ A Comprehensive Guide to Yoga ’s History, Texts, Philosophy, and Practices*North Point Press (2021). New York: North Point Press.

Singh, J. (1979) *Śiva Sūtras: the Yoga of Supreme Identity*.

Singh, J. (no date) *Spanda Karikas The divine Creative Pulsation*. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidas.

Singleton, M. (2010) *Yoga body The origins of modern Posture Practice*. 1st edn. New York: Oxford University Press.

Singleton, M. and Goldberg, E. (2014) *Gurus of Modern Yoga*. 1st edn, *Angewandte Chemie International Edition*, 6(11), 951–952. 1st edn. New York: Oxford University Press.

Siqueira, T. . (1933) ‘Sin and Salvation in the Early Rig-Veda’, *Anthropos*, 28(1), pp. 179–188.

Sivananda, P. S. (2014) *Lokakshemaprakasika*. 6th edn. Calicut: Siddha Samajam.

- Skrabanek, P. (1994) *The Emptiness of the Black Box*, Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.
- Sri Aurobindo: Statements about the role of Vivekananda in Alipore jail* (no date). Available at: <http://intyoga.online.fr/viveka.htm> (Accessed: 3 April 2021).
- Srinivasan, D. (1976) 'The So-Called Proto-Siva Seal from Mohenjo-Daro : An Iconological Assessment', *Archives of Asian Art*, 29, pp. 47–58.
- Stapp, Henry, P. (2007) *Mindful Universe- Quantum Mechanics and the Participating Observer*. 1st edn. New York: Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg.
- Stefon, M., Doniger, W. and Ray, M. (2015) *Vishishtadvaita / Hindu philosophy / Britannica*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Vishishtadvaita> (Accessed: 3 December 2019).
- Stein, D. J. *et al.* (2010) 'What is a mental/psychiatric disorder? From DSM-IV to DSM-V', *Psychological Medicine*(, pp. 1759–1765. doi: 10.1017/S0033291709992261.
- Stephen, P. (2009) *Yoga, Karma, and Rebirth_ A Brief History and Philosophy-Columbia University Press* (2009). 1st edn. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Stephens, I. (2017) 'Medical Yoga Therapy', *Children*. Massachusetts Medical Society, 369(14), pp. 1–20. doi: 10.1056/NEJMRA1109345.
- Strathern, A. J. (1996) *Body Thoughts*. 1st edn. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.
- Strauss, S. (2002) 'The Master's Narrative: Swami Sivananda and the Transnational Production of Yoga', *Journal of Folklore Research: An International Journal of Folklore and Ethnomusicology*, 39(2–3), pp. 217–241. doi: 10.2979/JFR.2002.39.2-3.217.
- Strauss, S. (2005) *Positioning Yoga - Balancing acts across Cultures, Positioning Yoga*. New York: Berg. doi: 10.4324/9781003086420.
- Sujatha, V. and Abraham, L. (2009) *Medical Pluralism In Contemporary India*. 1st edn. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited.
- Sukthankar, V. . (1957) *On the Meaning of Mahabharata*. 3rd edn. New Delhi: Motilal

Banarasidas.

Susser, M. and Susser, E. (1996) 'Choosing a Future for Epidemiology: I. Eras and Paradigms', *American Journal of Public Health*.

Swami Kuvalayananda - A brief biography (no date). Available at:

<https://www.esamskriti.com/e/Yoga/Asanas-ad-Pranayama/Swami-Kuvalayananda--A-brief-biography-1.aspx> (Accessed: 24 July 2021).

Swami Kuvalayananda / KaivalyaDhama (no date). Available at: <https://kdham.com/swami-kuvalayananda/> (Accessed: 25 July 2021).

Swatmarama (2002) *The Hatha Yoga Pradipika of Svatmarama*. Edited by P. Sinh.

Szabo, S. *et al.* (2017) "'Stress" is 80 Years Old: From Hans Selye Original Paper in 1936 to Recent Advances in GI Ulceration', *Bentham Science*. Bentham Science Publishers Ltd., 23(27), pp. 4029–4041. doi: 10.2174/1381612823666170622110046.

Talk by Sri Sri Ravi Shankar Guruji in YANTRA-2020 conference - YouTube (2021).

Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2xEoRcWwwIw&t=69s> (Accessed: 7 November 2021).

Tapasyananda, S. (1987) *Saundarya Lahari of Sri Sankaracarya: Inundation of Divine Splendour*. 1st edn. Chennai: Sri Ramakrishna Math.

Tater, S. R. (no date) *Jain and other systems of Yoga: Scientific Perspective*. Available at: http://drsohanrajtater.com/admin/floorplan_images/SRT_ARTICLE-82.pdf (Accessed: 22 October 2019).

Thirthalli, J. *et al.* (2013) 'Cortisol and antidepressant effects of yoga', *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, 55(7), pp. 405–408. doi: 10.4103/0019-5545.116315.

Transcendentalism (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy) (no date). Available at:

<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/transcendentalism/> (Accessed: 14 February 2021).

Trochimchuk, S. (2008) 'The Natural Philosophies of Descartes and Newton: A Kuhnian

Reflection’, *Episteme*, 19, pp. 41–59. Available at:

<https://digitalcommons.denison.edu/episteme/vol19/iss1/5> (Accessed: 11 October 2021).

Turner, B. S. (1987) *Medical Power and Social Knowledge*. 1st edn. London: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Unio Mystica - Oxford Reference (no date). Available at:

<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803110707752>

(Accessed: 4 November 2021).

Valia, A. (2015) ‘Quantum Mechanics and Paradigm Shifts’, *Topoi*, 34, pp. 1–22.

Varambally, S. *et al.* (2012) ‘Therapeutic efficacy of add-on yogasana intervention in stabilized outpatient schizophrenia: Randomized controlled comparison with exercise and waitlist’, *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, 54(3), pp. 227–232. doi: 10.4103/0019-5545.102414.

Varambally, S. and Gangadhar, B. N. (2012) ‘Yoga: A spiritual practice with therapeutic value in psychiatry’, *Asian Journal of Psychiatry*. Elsevier B.V., 5(2), pp. 186–189. doi: 10.1016/j.ajp.2012.05.003.

Varambally, S. and Gangadhar, B. N. (2016) ‘Current status of yoga in mental health services’, *International Review of Psychiatry*, 28(3), pp. 233–235. doi: 10.3109/09540261.2016.1159950.

Vassiliades, D. T. (2000) *The Greeks in India A Survey in Philosophical Understanding*. 1st edn. New Delhi: Manoharlal Munshiram Publishers.

Van der Veer, P. (1994) *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*. 1st edn. Los Angeles: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS. doi: Doi 10.2307/2082761.

Vijnanabhikshu (1894) *Yoga SaraSangraha*. 1st edn. Bombay: Bombay Theosophical Publication Fund.

Vivekananda, S. (1892) *Vedanta in its applications to Indian life, Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*. Available at:

https://www.ramakrishnavivekananda.info/vivekananda/volume_3/lectures_from_colombo_to_almora/vedanta_in_its_applications_to_indian_life.htm (Accessed: 5 March 2021).

Vivekananda, S. (1893) *Swami Vivekananda's Speech at World Parliament of Religion, Chicago*.

Vivekananda, S. (1896a) *Practical Vedanta Part I*. Available at:

https://www.ramakrishnavivekananda.info/vivekananda/volume_2/practical_vedanta_and_others_lectures/practical_vedanta_part_i.htm (Accessed: 10 November 2021).

Vivekananda, S. (1896b) *Rajyoga*. 1st edn. Celephais Press.

Vivekananda, S. (1922) *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Advaita Ashrama*.

Available at: <https://advaitaashrama.org/cw/content.php> (Accessed: 6 April 2021).

Vivekananda, S. (no date) *Patanjali Yogasutras*.

Vyasa (no date) *THE BHAGAVADGITA or THE SONG DIVINE*. Gita Press.

Waldram, J. B. (2000) 'The Efficacy of Traditional Medicine: Current Theoretical and Methodological Issues', *Medical Anthropology*, 14(4), pp. 603–625.

Walker, L., Levine, H. and Jucker, M. (2006) 'Koch's postulates and infectious proteins', *Acta Neuropathol*, 112, pp. 1–4. doi: 10.1007/s00401-006-0072-x.

Wallis, D. C. (2013) *Tantra Illuminated_ The Philosophy, History, and Practice of a Timeless Tradition*. California: Matamayura Press.

Warren, W. J. (1996) 'Editorial: Eras, Paradigms, and the Future of Epidemiology', *American Journal of Public Health*, 86(5), pp. 621–622.

Weber, M. (1920) *The Religion of India The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism 2000.pdf*. 1st edn. Edited by H. H. Gerth and Don Martindale. Illinois: The Free Press, Glencoe.

Werner, K. (1975) 'Religious practice and Yoga in the time of the Vedas, Upanishads and early Buddhism', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 56(1), pp. 179–194.

Werner, K. (1994) *The Yogi and the Mystic Studies in Indian and Comparative Mysticism*. 1st

edn. Richmond: Curzon Press.

White, D. (1984) *The Alchemical Body Siddha Traditions in Medieval India*. 1st edn.

Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

White, D. (2011) 'Yoga, Brief History of an idea', *Yoga in practice*, pp. 1–23. Available at: <http://www.whitelotus.org/articles/history-and-evolution-of-yoga-by-david-g-white-phd.pdf>.

White, D. G. (2006) *Kiss of the Yogini*. 1st edn. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

White, D. G. (2009) *Sinister Yogis*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

White, D. G. (2012) *Yoga in Practice*. 1st edn. Edited by D. G. White. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Whitrow, G. J. (1938) 'Robert Hooke', *Philosophy of Science*, 5(4), pp. 493–502. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/184662> (Accessed: 6 September 2021).

WHO (2008) 'Technical Brief No.1, Integrated Health Services, What and Why?', *WHO*. Geneva: WHO, pp. 1–8.

Wieland, L. S. *et al.* (2021) 'Evidence on yoga for health: A bibliometric analysis of systematic reviews', *Complementary Therapies in Medicine*. Churchill Livingstone, 60, p. 102746. doi: 10.1016/J.CTIM.2021.102746.

World Health Organization (WHO) (2014) *WHO Traditional Medicine Strategy 2014-2023*, World Health Organization (WHO). doi: 2013.

Wujastyk, D. (2012) 'The Path to Liberation through Yogic Mindfulness in Early Ayurveda', in White, D. (ed.) *Yoga in Practice*. 1st edn. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp. 1–408.

Wujastyk, D. (2018) 'Some Problematic Yoga Sūtra-sand Their Buddhist Background', in *Yoga in Transformation Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Vienna: Vienna University Press, pp. 1–631.

Yardi, M. . (1987) 'Sankhya and Yoga in the Mokshdharma and the Bhagavadgīta', *Annals of*

the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 68(4), pp. 309–319.

Yoga (no date). Available at: <https://yoga.ayush.gov.in/blog?q=61> (Accessed: 3 November 2021).

Yogananda, P. (1946) *Autobiography of a Yogi*. 1st edn. Los Angeles: The Philosophical Library.

Yogendra, S. (1956) *Yoga -Asanas Simplified*. 1st edn. Bombay: The Yoga Institute Santa Cruz Bombay.

Zimmer, H. (1952) *Philosophies of India*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul LTD.

Zubrzycki, J. (2018) *Empire of Enchantment The story of Indian Magic*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Annexure I
Chronology of Yoga tradition in India

Time	Schools of Yoga			Traditions
3000 BC		<i>Moolabhandhasana</i> (Root lock Posture)		Indus Valley Culture (pre-Vedic Shamanist practices influenced by central
		<i>Lokayatikas and Dehavadis</i>		Proto- Materialist Tantrism and agricultural magic
5 th and 6 th BC	<i>Ajivika</i>	<i>Jain</i>	<i>Buddhism</i>	Śramanic Ascetic, Gnostic and Mystical
3rd and 4 th BC		<i>Gymnosophists</i>		Ascetic and Gnostic tradition
78 CE				Atheistic Ascetic and Gnostic tradition Theistic Ascetic and Mystical tradition
3 rd C. CE	<i>Sāmkhya</i>			Atheistic Gnostic Tradition
4 th C. CE		<i>Yoga of Patañjali</i> <i>Yogabhasya of Vacaspatimisra</i>		Theistic Ascetic and Mystical Tradition
5 th C. CE 10 th C. CE	<i>Nath Tradition</i>	<i>Yogasutra bhasya of Vyāsa</i>		Theistic Ascetic and Mystical Tradition
	<i>Hathayoga</i>			Ascetic Mystical Tradition
14 th C. CE				Ascetic Mystical Tradition

18-19 th C. CE	<i>Neo-Vedantised Yoga</i>	Neo- Vedantic- Rājayoga tradition
19 th -20 th C. CE	<i>Transnational Yoga Nationalistic Yoga Modern Postural Yoga Scientific Yoga</i>	Modern gymnastics Calisthenics Influences on Hathayogic tradition
20 th to present C. CE	<i>Modern Medical Yoga</i>	Biomedicalised yoga

Annexure II

Interview Guide for Key Informant(s) from different Schools/ Streams/traditions of Yoga.

Demographic data

Name.....

Age.....Gender.....

Address (optional).....

School/ Stream/ Tradition of Yoga.....

- 1) How do you define the term Yoga? Or what is Yoga to you?
- 2) What is the history of your school/ /stream/ tradition of Yoga?
- 3) What is the fundamental philosophy of your school/ /stream/ tradition of yoga?
- 4) How are you orienting people about your philosophy and practice of Yoga?
- 5) What are the methods of learning used in your school/ /stream/ tradition of Yoga?
- 6) How is the tradition of your school/ /stream/ tradition of Yoga is existing? Is it through oral means, textual tradition, inscriptions or any other means?
- 7) Do you identify your school/ /stream/ tradition of Yoga is distinct from the classical yoga of Patanjali?
- 8) If yes, what are the differences?

Annexure III

Interview guide for Key Informant(s) (Clinicians) from the selected departments of NIMHANS which administer Yoga as part of their treatment protocol.

Demographic data

Name.....

Age.....Gender.....

Address (optional).....

Department.....

- 1) How do you define the term Yoga? Or what is Yoga to you?
- 2) When did your department start using Yoga with allopathic treatment procedure?
- 3) How is Yoga used in your treatment procedure?
- 4) Why did you start using Yoga with treatment procedure?
- 5) What are types of psychiatric conditions in which yoga is used?
- 6) What are the types of Yoga administered in your department?
- 7) Do you use particular Yoga for particular illnesses?
- 8) How do you evaluate the effectiveness of Yoga?
- 9) What do you think about the effectiveness of Yoga in psychiatric illness?
- 10) What are the challenges faced by the administration of Yoga to a patient?
- 11) What are the challenges in integrating Yoga with the allopathic treatment procedure?

Annexure IV

Interview guide for Key Informant(s) practitioners of School/ Stream/ Tradition of Yoga which associate with the selected departments of NIMHANS which administer Yoga as part of their treatment protocol.

Demographic data

Name.....

Age.....Gender.....

Address (optional).....

School/Stream/Tradition.....

- 1) How do you define the term Yoga? Or what is Yoga to you?
- 2) When did your School/Stream/Tradition start associating with the departments of NIMHANS?
- 3) Why did you start associating with Yoga with the departments of NIMHANS?
- 4) How is your Yoga used in the treatment procedure?
- 5) What are the types of Yoga administered in the department?
- 6) Do you think particular Yoga should be used to treat particular illnesses?
- 7) Do you agree with the clinical evaluation of the effectiveness of Yoga used in treating psychiatric illness?
- 8) What do you think about the effectiveness of Yoga in psychiatric illnesses?
- 9) What are the challenges faced by the administration of Yoga to a patient?
- 10) What are the challenges in integrating Yoga with the allopathic treatment procedure?