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The Amaraughaprabodha: New Evidence on the Manuscript Transmission of an Early Work on Haṭha- and Rājayoga

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Abstract The *Amaraughaprabodha* is a Sanskrit Śaiva yoga text attributed by its colophons to Gorakṣanātha. It was published by Kalyani Devi Mallik in 1954 and has been discussed in various secondary sources. Most notably, Christian Bouy (1994, pp. 18-19) identified this work as a source text for the *Haṭhapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma (mid- fifteenth century). This article presents new manuscript evidence for a shorter recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* than the one published by Mallik. Comparing the differences between the short and long recensions reveals that the structure of the shorter one is more cohesive and closer to the original design of the work. The close relationship of the *Amaraughaprabodha*'s short recension with an eleventh-century Vajrayāna work on yoga called the *Amṛtasiddhi* provides unique insights into how early teachings on Haṭhayoga were formulated. Although the practice of the physical techniques is largely the same in both texts, the author of the *Amaraughaprabodha* removed or obscured Vajrayāna terminology, added Śaiva metaphysics and framed Haṭhayoga as subordinate to a Śaiva yoga known as Rājayoga. This article proposes that the *Amaraughaprabodha*'s short recension is probably the earliest known work to combine Haṭha- with Rājayoga, on the basis of this recension's close relationship with the *Amṛtasiddhi*, its rudimentary nature and the likelihood that Svātmārāma used it, and not the long recension, for composing the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

Keywords Yoga · South Asia · Indology · Manuscripts · Hatha · Raja · Vajrayana · Hinduism · Buddhism

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Introduction

The *Amaraughaprabodha*, which literally means 'awakening a flood of nectar', is a Sanskrit yoga text that attributes its teachings to Gorakṣanātha, the alleged founder of the Nātha order and a physical type of yoga called Haṭhayoga. This text was first published in 1954 by Kalyani Devi Mallik, whose edition is a transcription of one manuscript. The text has seventy-five verses and has been dated by Bouy (1994, pp. 18–19) and others as being prior to the mid-fifteenth century, on the basis that Svātmārāma, the author of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, borrowed verses from it (Bouy 1994, p. 19).[1] This article aims to reassess these conclusions in light of newly discovered manuscript evidence which indicates that two recensions of the *Amaraughaprabodha* exist; a longer one, as published by Mallik, and a shorter one that is preserved by two unpublished manuscripts. An analysis of the manuscript transmission and the differences between the recensions reveals that the shorter recension is the older of the two and was probably the one known to Svātmārāma. Its rudimentary nature and close relationship with an eleventh-century Vajrayāna work called the *Amṛtasiddhi* make it probable that the short recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* was one of the earliest works to teach a fourfold system of yoga that combined Haṭha- with Rājayoga. The article concludes by discussing the significance of these findings within the broader history of yoga.

Previous Attempts to Date the Text

Bouy (1994, p. 19) examined the *Amaraughaprabodha* in Mallik's edition and identified twenty-two and half of its verses in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.[2] In spite of the fact that Svātmārāma does not reveal the names of his sources, Bouy proposed that Svātmārāma borrowed the *Amaraughaprabodha*'s verses by demonstrating that the *Haṭhapradīpikā* is an anthology (1994, pp. 80–86). If one accepts this logic behind the direction of borrowing, the *Amaraughaprabodha* was composed before the mid-fifteenth century. Bouy (1994, p. 19) also notes that the *Upāsanāsārasaṅgraha*, which he dates from the sixteenth to seventeenth century (1994, p. 91), cites the *Amaraughaprabodha* by name. This provides a certain, albeit more recent, *terminus ad quem*.[3]

[1] Mallinson (2011, pp. 771–772, 2016b, pp. 111–113) and Birch (2011, p. 528).

[2] Mallinson (2014, p. 239) has estimated that the *Haṭhapradīpikā* borrowed twenty and a half verses from the *Amaraughaprabodha*. The discrepancy occurs because Bouy includes *Amaraughaprabodha* 9, which is very similar to *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.14, and *Amaraughaprabodha* 38b–39a, which may have been heavily redacted to create *Haṭhapradīpikā* 3.25c–26a.

[3] Bouy (1994, p. 19) does not provide a reference in the *Upāsanāsārasaṅgraha* to its citation of the *Amaraughaprabodha*. Instead, he (1994, p. 9 n. 5, 19 n. 55) says that the reference would be included in a forthcoming article. However, it seems that this article was never published. Although I have access to only chapters 3, 4 and 7 (out of 24), I can confirm that *Amaraughaprabodha* 38–41 is quoted with attribution (i.e., *amaraughe*) in the seventh chapter of the *Upāsanāsārasaṅgraha* (IFP T1095, p. 48).

Mallinson (2016) has identified at least five verses of the *Amaraughaprabodha* in the eleventh-century *Amṛtasiddhi*.[4] Furthermore, the version of the *Amaraughaprabodha* in Mallik's edition has borrowed a verse from the second chapter of the *Amanaska* (Birch 2011, p. 528), which can be dated to the eleventh or early twelfth century (Birch 2014, p. 406 n. 21), and another from the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, circa thirteenth century.[5] There is also a verse cited and attributed to the *Śrīsampuṭa*[6] and a short passage attributed to the *Amaraughasaṃsiddhi*.[7] These borrowings indicate that the *Amaraughaprabodha* in Mallik's edition is a compilation, the *terminus a quo* of which was the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, bearing in mind that the *Śrīsampuṭa* and the *Amaraughasaṃsiddhi* are unknown works. These observations led me to propose in an earlier publication (Birch 2011, p. 528) that the *Amaraughaprabodha* was probably composed in the fourteenth century, because it must have appeared after the earliest Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts and before the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. The discovery of new manuscript evidence requires that these conclusions be revised.

Authorship

Among the earliest modern publications that mention the *Amaraughaprabodha* in any detail are the first volume of Madras University's *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (1949) and Mallik's edition (1954). Both attribute it to Gorakṣanātha. Before these publications, the *Amaraughaprabodha* is absent in lists of Gorakṣanātha's works by modern scholars (e.g., Briggs 1938, pp. 251–257 and Dvivedī 1950, pp. 98–100) and in studies on the Nāths (e.g., Dasgupta 1946, pp. 219–294). However, it has

[4] *Amaraughaprabodha* 20, 32cd, 37ab, 37cd, 38, 39cd, 40ab 45, 50c, 51ab = *Amṛtasiddhi* 16.1cd-16.2ab, 11.9cd, 11.3cd, 14.5cd, 14.6, 13.5cd, 13.7cd, 19.2, 25.1c, 22.2cd. Other sections of the *Amaraughaprabodha* appear to have been inspired by the *Amṛtasiddhi*. For example, a passage on the four types of student (*Amaraughaprabodha* 18–24), in particular the last called *adhimātratara*, is close to *Amṛtasiddhi* 15.1, 15.3, 16.1cd–17.1, 18.1–5 and a sequence of piercing knots (*granthi)* that causes various sounds to arise (*Amaraughaprabodha* 46–52) has some similarities to *Amṛtasiddhi* 13.10–11, 20.1ab, 20.7, 22.2cd, 25.1c, 31.1ab. The connection between the *Amaraughaprabodha* and the *Śivasaṃhitā* is less certain, despite the fact that they share a similar verse (*Amaraughaprabodha* 3 ∼ *Śivasaṃhitā* 5.12) and have some identical compounds in the passage on the four types of student (e.g., *Amaraughaprabodha* 19, 21, 22 ∼ *Śivasaṃhitā* 5.14, 5.21, 5.24). The *Śivasaṃhitā* is a compilation, which borrowed a large number of verses from the *Amṛtasiddhi* (Mallinson 2016a, pp. 127–128, n. 36). The similarities between the *Amaraughaprabodha* and the *Śivasaṃhitā* are largely explained by the fact that both borrow from the *Amṛtasiddhi*. In the few instances where the *Amaraughaprabodha* and the *Śivasaṃhitā* have something in common that is not in the *Amṛtasiddhi*, the direction of borrowing and the sources involved is not certain. The contradictions between the *Śivasaṃhitā*'s chapters (Birch 2018, p. 107 n. 13) suggest that it has been crudely cobbled together from various sources, an unknown one of which might be responsible for *Amaraughaprabodha* 3 and the similar compounds in the section on the four types of student.

[5] *Amaraughaprabodha* 71cd–72ab = *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* 161.

[6] The *Sampuṭa* is the name of a well-known Buddhist Tantra (Szántó 2016). However, the verse quoted by the *Amaraughaprabodha* is not found in this Buddhist work (Péter-Dániel Szántó, p.c. 27.4.2017). The verse is probably from a Śaiva text because it mentions the story of Matsyendranātha (by the name of Mīnanātha), who overheard Śiva's teachings after he is swallowed by a fish. I have not been able to find the source of this verse.

[7] See footnote 31.

been included in more recent lists (e.g., Banerjea 1962, pp. 26–28, Gonda 1977, p. 222 n. 28, etc.) and studies (e.g., Bouy 1994, pp. 18–19, White 1996, p. 141, etc.).

The attribution of authorship to Gorakṣanātha is supported by the final colophon of the manuscript used by Mallik, that states: "the *Amaraughaprabodha*, which was composed by the honourable Gorakṣanātha, is complete."[8] The same attribution is made in colophons of all the available manuscripts.[9] The colophons were probably inspired by the mention of Gorakṣanātha in three of the text's verses (2, 65 and 74). Two of these verses (2 and 74), at the beginning and end of the text, assert that Gorakṣanātha taught the four yogas, which are the main topic of the work:

> The awakening, which is proof [of itself], was taught by Gorakṣanātha for those who have undertaken Laya and the other [yogas] and whose minds are quarrelsome. […] The honourable Gorakṣanātha, who always abides in *samādhi*, taught Laya-, Mantra- and Haṭhayoga solely for [the attainment of] Rājayoga.[10]

It is probable that the scribe who added the colophon interpreted these statements as Gorakṣanātha referring to himself in the third person. However, it also possible to interpret these verses as statements made by an author within Gorakṣanātha's lineage, who believed that the teachings of the *Amaraughaprabodha* were first revealed by Gorakṣanātha. Therefore, these verses do not necessarily confirm that Gorakṣanātha was the author. Nonetheless, the sectarian milieu in which the text was composed is a Śaiva *siddha* tradition, as evinced by the first verse, which pays homage to Ādinātha, Mīnanātha (i.e., Matsyendranātha), Cauraṅgīnātha and Siddhabuddha, as well as by references to Śiva elsewhere in the text.[11]

Region

The manuscript used by Mallik (1954, p. 34) and the six surviving manuscripts of the *Amaraughaprabodha* are in south-Indian scripts. It is possible that the version published by Mallik was redacted in south India, because it has nine verses in

[8] Mallik (1954, p. 55) (*iti śrīmadgorakṣanāthaviracitaṃ amaraughaprabodhaṃ sampūrṇam*).

[9] G_1 (*ity amaraugha*[*ṃ*] *gorakṣaviracitaṃ saṃpūrṇam*); A_2 (*ity amaraugho śrīgorakṣaviracitaṃ śatakaṃ samāpyate*); B (*śrīgorakṣanāthaviracitaṃ amaraughaprabodhaḥ saṃpūrṇaṃ*); A_1 (*iti śrīmadgorakṣanāthaviracitaṃ amaraughaprabodhaḥ sampūrṇaṃ*); G_2 (*iti śrīmadgorakṣanāthaviracitam amaraughaprabodhaḥ saṃpūrṇaṃ*); T (*iti śrīmadgorakṣanāthaviracitam amaraughaprabodhaḥ saṃpūrṇaḥ*).

[10] *Amaraughaprabodha* (Edition) 2: (*layādipratipannānāṃ kalahotsukacetasām* | *gorakṣakeṇa kathitaḥ prabodhaḥ pratyayātmakaḥ* || *prabodhaḥ*] *conj.* : *prabodha-* Ed.). *Amaraughaprabodha* (Edition) 74 (*śrīmadgorakṣanāthena sadāmaraughavartinā* | *layamantrahaṭhāḥ proktā rājayogāya kevalam*). On the meaning of *amaraugha* as *samādhi*, see below. The compound *sadāmaraughavartinā* could also be understood as 'who always resides in the lineage (*ogha*) of the *siddha*s (*amara*).'

[11] The *beta* recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* has only a hemistich that pays homage to Cauraṅgīnātha and Buddhasiddha. Whether the salutations to Ādinātha and Matysendranātha were lost in the transmission of this recension is difficult to say. Nonetheless, Śiva is the object of meditation in both the *Amaraughaprabodha*'s Mantrayoga (25) and Layayoga (27). Also, the Rājayogin's final accomplishment is to become similar to Śiva (64). Other Śaiva elements are discussed below.

common with the fifth chapter of the *Varāhopaniṣat.*[12] This Upaniṣad is a compilation that was created in the mid-eighteenth century as part of the south-Indian corpus of one hundred and eight Upaniṣads (Bouy 1994, p. 106). If the long version of the *Amaraughaprabodha* was a source for this Upaniṣad,[13] then it would have been known in south India in the eighteenth century, which may account for why its surviving manuscripts are in south-Indian scripts. Nonetheless, there is new evidence, which I will discuss below, that suggests a shorter version of the *Amaraughaprabodha* was composed in south India.

Manuscript Transmission

There are six manuscripts of the *Amaraughaprabodha* reported in various catalogues by the Kaivalyadhama Yoga Institute's *Descriptive Catalogue of Yoga Manuscripts* (2005, pp. 22–25),[14] and five of them have been consulted for this article.[15] Also, another manuscript has been found and consulted at the Venkaṭeśvara Oriental Institute in Tirupati.[16] The six manuscripts consulted for this article are on palm-leaf and written in Grantha script. None of them have a scribal date. Four of the six preserve the version of the text in Mallik's edition.[17] Unfortunately, the single manuscript upon which Mallik's edition was based has been lost by the library that used to hold it.[18]

[12] *Amaraughaprabodha* 38–41ab = *Varāhopaniṣat* 5.60cd–5.63 and *Amaraughaprabodha* 56–61ab ∼ *Varāhopaniṣat* 5.1–5.6ab. There are also five and a half verses common to the *Amaraughaprabodha* (47–51ab, 52cd–53ab) and the *Saubhāgyalakṣmyupaniṣat* (2.5cd–10). However, all of these verses and more occur in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, so the *Amaraughaprabodha* text was probably not a source for the *Saubhāgyalakṣmī.* Bouy (1994, p. 85) notes that *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.5–7, 4.68–77b = *Saubhāgyalakṣmī* 2.14–16 and 2.4–10.

[13] Bouy (1994, p. 92 [table]) notes that verses 50–75 of the fifth chapter of the *Varāhopaniṣat* were borrowed from the *Upāsanāsārasaṅgraha*, which cites the *Amaraughaprabodha* elsewhere (see footnote 3). Therefore, it is unlikely that *Varāhopaniṣat* 5.60cd–5.63 was borrowed from the *Amaraughaprabodha,* but *Varāhopaniṣat* 5.1–5.6ab (∼ *Amaraughaprabodha* 56–61ab) may well have been.

[14] This catalogue (2005, pp. 24–25) mentions a seventh manuscript of the *Amaraughaprabodha,* which is said to be at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Chennai. It reports the manuscript number as D-4349. However, the catalogue of Raṅgācarya and Bahudur (1910, p. 3229) for this library indicates that D-4349 is a manuscript of the *Pātañjalayogasūtram*. Therefore, the Kaivalyadhama catalogue appears to be mistaken here.

[15] Two of these are held at the Adyar Research Library (ms. Nos. 70528 and 75278), one at the M.S. University of Baroda's Oriental Institute Library (ms. No. 7970c) and two at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Chennai (ms. No. D-4340 and R2831). Four of these are reported in the NCC (vol. 1 1949, p. 254); 7970c, 4339, 4340 and 2831(o). The sixth manuscript reported in Kaivalyadhama's catalogue is the one used by Mallik, which is no longer available to researchers (see footnotes 18 and 19).

[16] The details of the manuscript are; serial number 412 and stock number 179(a) in Sri Venkatesvara University and Sastri: 1956. I would like to thank Dr. S. V. B. K. V. Gupta for obtaining a copy of this manuscript for me.

[17] Mss. Nos. 75278, D-4340, 7970c and 179(a). In this article, these are represented as A_1, G_2, B and T respectively.

[18] Mallik (1954, p. 34) gives the manuscript number as D-4339. She mentions that it has nine folios 9 and is held at 'Madras'. This information corresponds to the Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (Raṅgācārya and Bahadur 1910, pp. 3220–3221).

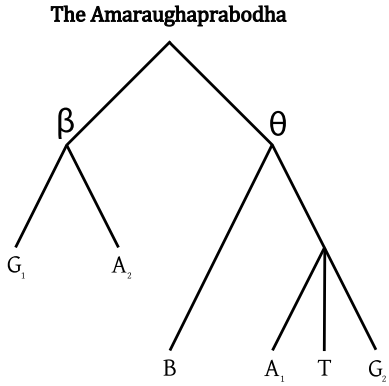

Fig. 1 A Hypothetical Stemma of the Amaraughaprabodha

This manuscript has not been available to researchers since at least 2004.[19] Although Mallik places several of her conjectures in round brackets, there is evidence to suggest that her transcription has tacit emendations and inaccuracies.[20]

Two of the six manuscripts of the *Amaraughaprabodha* preserve a recension that is significantly shorter than Mallik's edition.[21] This recension has forty-six verses. Both manuscripts of the shorter recension are complete and do not contain any indication of lacunae.

The stemma of the manuscript transmission bifurcates into the four manuscripts of the long recension, which I shall call the *theta* hyparchetype, and the two of the short recension, the *beta* hyparchetype, as shown in Fig. 1. The manuscripts of each group are fairly close to one another,[22] although none can be dismissed as an apograph of another.

In this article, I shall argue that the *beta* hyparchetype predates the fifteenth century, whereas *theta* was possibly created sometime between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. If one includes Mallik's edition, there are seven available witnesses that can be used to create critical editions of both *theta* and *beta*. The

[19] I first requested the manuscript in 2004 and was told that the bundle to which it belonged could not be found. I have since requested it in 2010 and 2016, but to no avail.

[20] The descriptive catalogue of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (Raṅgācārya and Bahadur 1910, pp. 3220–3221) transcribed the first four and last five verses of manuscript D-4339. When one compares this transcription to Mallik's edition, there are two instances where the catalogue has suggested a correction in brackets, which has been adopted by Mallik (3b catalogue *tṛtīya*(*kaḥ*), Mallik *tṛtīyakaḥ* and 4a catalogue *laya*(*ḥ*), Mallik *layaḥ*). Therefore, one wonders how many tacit emendations Mallik may have made. Without the manuscript at hand, it is not possible to determine whether the catalogue's transcription is more accurate than Mallik's. Nonetheless, the following discrepancies can be noted: several poor readings in the catalogue's transcription may have been tacitly emended by Mallik (e.g., 71c catalogue *rājayogaṃ padaṃ*, Mallik *rājayogapadaṃ*; 72d catalogue *kleśāpaho*, Mallik *kleśāpahā*). Also, Mallik may have introduced the following errors: 2d catalogue *prabodhaḥ pratyayātmakaḥ*, Mallik *prabodhapratyayātmakaḥ*; 4a catalogue *pradiṣṭo*, Mallik *pradiṣṭaḥ*; 4c catalogue *mantrayogo*, Mallik *mantrayogaḥ*; 72c catalogue *bhogāspadaṃ*, Mallik *bhogāspadam*; 73c catalogue *proktā*, Mallik *proktāḥ*.

[21] Mss. Nos. R2831 and 70528, represented as G_1 and A_2 respectively, in this article.

[22] As figure 1 depicts, the manuscripts that preserve the long recension bifurcate again because mss. 75278, 179(a) and D-4340 have more identical readings in common with one another than they do with 7970c, which has some distinct readings of *beta*.

Table 1 Summary of the content of theta and beta recensions

Content	Theta	Beta
Introduction[a]	1–17	1–14
Four types of student	18–24	–
Mantrayoga	25–26	15–16
Layayoga	27–28	17–18
Haṭhayoga	29–52	19–41
Rājayoga	53–55	42–44
Miscellaneous topics	56–73	–
Conclusion	74–75	45–46

[a] The manuscripts provide headings for the sections on Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha- and Rājayoga. However, the sections called 'introduction', 'the four types of student', 'miscellaneous topics' and 'conclusion' are my own designations

reconstruction of the relatively large section on Haṭhayoga can be further improved by using the *Amṛtasiddhi*, the *Śivasaṃhitā*, and the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Also, the fifth chapter of the *Varāhopaniṣat* is helpful for editing some of the additional verses of *theta*.

Differences between the Recensions

Both recensions have a similar structure, except for two significant differences. The structure (with these two differences in bold) has been summarised in Table 1.

Notwithstanding significant variant readings, the sections on Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha- and Rājayoga are largely the same. The most obvious differences between the two archetypes is, firstly, *theta*'s ten additional verses on the four types of student and, secondly, its eighteen verses following Rājayoga, which I have called 'miscellaneous topics' for the sake of this discussion. Comparing these and other differences in *theta* and *beta* reveals that the structure of *beta* is more cohesive and closer to the original design of the work.

The first four verses of both *theta* and *beta* introduce the four yogas, which are the main topic of the text. In *beta*, this opening passage is followed by rhetorical verses on the efficacy of Rājayoga (5–9), the importance of the guru, semen (*bindu*) and resonance (*nāda*) (10–12) and the union of Śiva and Śakti (13). The last verse of this section introduces the teachings on the four yogas by asking how they are taught (14). None of verses 1–14 has yet been traced to an earlier source.[23] In contrast to this, two or three additional verses in the introductory section of *theta* can be traced or identified as coming from an earlier work. One verse derives from the second

[23] The possible exception is verse 2 ($\sim$ *Śivasaṃhitā* 5.12). However, this verse is almost generic among texts that teach the fourfold system of yoga and may have found its way into the *Śivasaṃhitā* via another text. In its current form, it is unlikely that the *Śivasaṃhitā* predates the *beta* recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* (see footnote 4).

Table 2 Question on the four yogas in beta

Verses	Content of *Beta*
14cd	*layādibhiḥ samāyuktaś caturdhodīryate katham*[a] |
	How is the fourfold [yoga,] which is endowed with Layayoga and the others, taught?
15–16	Mantrayoga
17–18	Layayoga
19–41	Haṭhayoga
42–44	Rājayoga

[a] I would like to thank Dominic Goodall for proposing a slight emendation in this hemistich (i.e., *caturdhodīryate* for *caturthodīryate*). Three manuscripts read *caturthodīryate* (i.e., A_2, G_1, G_2) and the other three *caturthodīyyate* (B, A_1, T), in which the double *yakāra* indicates that *udīryate* was probably intended. The edition appears to have tacitly emended this reading to *dīyate* for the reason stated below

chapter of the *Amanaska* and another is quoted with attribution to an unknown work called the *Śrīsampuṭa*.[24] Therefore, the redactors of *theta* increased the size of the *Amaraughaprabodha*'s introduction by adding at least two verses from other texts. Furthermore, *theta*'s seven verses on the 'four types of student' appear to have been inspired by the *Amṛtasiddhi* and possibly the *Śivasaṃhitā*,[25] and its additional section on 'miscellaneous topics' contains a verse which can be traced to the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*.[26]

The tracing of two verses to the *Amanaska* and the *Dattatreyāyogaśāstra* and the references in *theta* to the *Śrīsampuṭa* and the *Amaraughasaṃsiddhi* elicit the hypothesis that the redactors of *theta* simply added verses to *beta.* The strongest evidence in support of this hypothesis is that some of the additional verses distort the structure of the text. There are two significant instances of this. Firstly, the introduction of *beta* ends with the question of how the four yogas are taught. This is immediately followed by the teachings on Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha- and Rājayoga, which has a logical structure, as can be seen in Table 2.

Although the above question appears to have been emended in the edition of the *Amaraughaprabodha* (see Table 3), the manuscript readings suggest that the same question was posed in *theta*, which is then followed by a passage on the four types of student. Had the redactors of *theta* been more careful, they might have rewritten the initial question to ask about the types of student to whom each yoga should be taught, but this does not appear to have been done. As shown in Table 3, it is apparent that the section on the four types of student (in bold) was inserted between the question on the four yogas (17cd) and the explanation of each of them (25–55).

Secondly, much of the content of *theta*'s additional passage on 'miscellaneous topics' (56–73) is extraneous to the main topic of the *Amaraughaprabodha*, which is the four yogas. This passage can be seen as consisting of three topics. The first (56–61) concerns the five elements (*pañcabhūta*). The final statement is that their loss

[24] See footnote 4.

[25] See footnote 4.

[26] See footnote 4.

Table 3 Question on the four yogas in theta and the edition

Verses	Content of *Theta* and the Edition
17cd	*layādibhiḥ samāyuktaś caturthodīryate katham* | (*theta*[a])
	layādibhiḥ samāyuktaś caturdhā dīyate katham | (edition[b])
	How is the fourfold [yoga,] endowed with Layayoga and the others, imparted?
18–24	**The four types of student**
25–26	Mantrayoga
27–28	Layayoga
29–52	Haṭhayoga
53–55	Rājayoga

[a] This is the reading of G_2. The other witnesses of *theta* have *caturthodīyyate* (B, A_1, T)

[b] In the edition of the *Amaraughaprabodha*, the question has been tacitly emended to reflect the use of the word *dīyate* in verse 24 on the type of students to whom each yoga is taught (*mṛdave dīyate mantro madhyāya laya ucyate* \| *adhimātre haṭhaṃ dadyād amaraughaṃ mahattare*)

leads to death and their retention (*dhāraṇa*) to life.[27] The motivation for adding these verses might have been to elaborate on the notion of immortality, which is introduced early in the text and mentioned as a result of Mantra- and Haṭhayoga.[28] However, this section does not indicate how the practice of any one of the four yogas might retain the five elements and the main section on the four yogas does not mention the five elements.

The second miscellaneous topic is on how the yogin can manipulate the sun and moon in the body. After completing an unspecified practice eight times for three hours, the yogin swallows his breaths and thereby replenishes his moon and controls both his sun and semen (*bindu*). Bliss and the attainment of Śivahood follow.[29] The

[27] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*theta*) 61ab (*itthaṃ bhūtakṣayān mṛtyur jīvitaṃ bhūtadhāraṇāt*).

[28] The introduction of *theta* has a verse that asks why one who knows the essence of semen (*bindu*) and the internal resonance (*nāda*) would fear death, among other things. *Amaraughaprabodha* (*theta*) 15: "He who knows the essence of both because of the teachings of a true guru, where is the fear of bodily affliction, old age, disease, sin or death [for him]?" (*yo jānāty anayoḥ sāraṃ sadguror upadeśataḥ* \| *kāyakleśajarāvyādhipāpamṛtyubhayaṃ kutaḥ*). By repeating *oṃ* and meditating on Śiva in the heart, death is destroyed: *Amaraughaprabodha* (*theta*) 26ab: "By repeating [this] mantra one hundred thousand times, [the yogin] destroys death, which is very frightening […]" (*ekalakṣajapān mṛtyuṃ nāśayed atidāruṇam* \| […]). The practice of *mahāmudrā*, a technique of Haṭhayoga, consumes death: *Amaraughaprabodha* (*theta*) 32ab: "Great diseases and great afflictions, such as death, are consumed" (*mahārogā mahākleśā jīryante maraṇādayaḥ*). *Mahābandha*, another technique of Haṭhayoga, also destroys death: *Amaraughaprabodha* 33cd: "This *mahābandha* is said to be a destroyer of old age and death" (*kathyate 'sau mahābandho jarāmaraṇanāśakaḥ*). There are three other similar examples in the section on Haṭhayoga (41, 42 and 51).

[29] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*theta*) 62–64: "From having performed the practice eight times in a watch (i.e., three hours), the [yogin] swallows all his breaths. His moon remains endowed with sixteen digits, because it has been filled [by this practice]. When the mind is motionless and steady, the breath goes into the central channel. The sun reaches its zenith and semen becomes controlled. The yogin is filled with bliss and becomes like a Śiva. Then, all the supreme powers are seen [in him] after ten months" (*yāmāṣṭakakṛtābhyāsāt sarvāñ śvāsān grasaty asau* \| *sa ṣoḍaśakalopetaḥ śaśī tiṣṭhati pūrakāt* ‖62‖ *nistaraṅge sthire citte vāyur bhavati madhyagaḥ* \| *ravir ūrdhvapadaṃ yāti bindur āyāti vaśyatām* ‖63‖ *ānandapūrito yogī jāyate śivasannibhaḥ* \| *tadaiśvaryaguṇāḥ sarve dṛśyante daśamāsataḥ* ‖64‖

motivation for adding these verses might have been to support the following comment in the section on Haṭhayoga, "One should know the connection between the moon, sun and fire in order to [attain] immortality."[30] However, the additional passage introduces new terminology for the sun and moon (i.e., *śaśī*, *ravi* and *ṣoḍaśakalā*). It may be an attempt to summarise a yoga similar to that of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, in which case the practice done eight times for three hours would be the three *mudrās* of that text and the *Amaraughaprabodha*[31]. Furthermore, it is followed by a verse that suggests that the preceding verses were borrowed from a text called the *Amaraughasaṃsiddhi*, which is also attributed to *Gorakṣanātha*.

> Thus, in the *Amaraughasaṃsiddhi*, the awakening that is brought about by adeptness in the methods of Layayoga and so forth and is proof [of its own efficacy], has been revealed by Gorakṣanātha.[32]

Therefore, it is quite likely that this passage was borrowed from another text, which was probably on the same four yogas (i.e., Mantra, Laya, Haṭha and Rājayoga/*amaraugha*) taught by Gorakṣanātha, but contained different terminology to the short version of the *Amaraughaprabodha*.

The third miscellaneous topic is mainly on Rājayoga and liberation-in-life (*jīvanmukti*). The content of this passage is relevant to the central concern of the text, which is the four yogas that result in liberation. Nonetheless, it begins with a verse which was most probably taken from a Buddhist text. This verse mentions the signs of success that arise from practice, and it closely parallels a verse from the *Sekoddeśa*.[33] This indicates that the redactors of *theta* had access to Buddhist material or were using texts on the four yogas that had content borrowed from Buddhist works.

A subsequent verse in this section introduces a view of liberation-in-life which goes beyond that implied by *beta*. Whereas *beta* ends with the yogin's attainment of *samādhi* and his becoming a second Śiva, additional verses in *theta*, including one from the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, state that the yogin emerges from *samādhi* to live in the world however he so wishes:[34]

> After [liberation-in-life has been achieved], no one at all lives and no one will die. Having obtained the state of Rājayoga, which subjugates all beings, [the yogin] can do anything or nothing, behaving as he pleases. The king of yogis

Footnote 29 continued
bindur āyāti] conj. Shaman Hatley : *bindunāyāti* A_1, B, G_2, T. *tadaiśvaryaguṇāḥ*] conj. Shaman Hatley and Somadeva Vasudeva : *tadeśvaraguṇāḥ* A_1, B, G_2, T).

[30] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*theta*) 41ab (*somasūryāgnisambandhaṃ jānīyād amṛtāya vai*).

[31] I wish to thank James Mallinson for suggesting this to me.

[32] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*theta*) 65 (*ity amaraughasaṃsiddhau gorakṣeṇa prakāśitaḥ* | *layādyupāyakauśalyaprabodhaḥ pratyayātmakaḥ* ‖ 65a *-saṃsiddhau*] A_1, G_2, T, Ed : *-saṃsiddho* B. 65c *-prabodhaḥ*] conj. Goodall : - *prabodha-* B, A_1, G_2, T, Ed).

[33] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*theta*) 67 (*dhūmo marīcikhadyotadīpajvālendubhāskarāḥ* | *tamaḥ kalā mahābimbaṃ viśvabimbaṃ prakāśate* ‖ 67a *dhūmo*] T : *rumo* B, A_1, G_2, Ed. 67c *tamaḥ*] diagnostic conj. : *amī* B, A_1, G_2, T, Ed). Cf. *Sekoddeśa* 26 (*dhūmamarīcikhadyotadīpajvālendubhāskaraiḥ* | *tamaḥ kalā mahābindurviśvabimbaṃ prabhāsvaram*).

[34] I have discussed these differences in conceptions of *jīvanmukti* in Birch (2019) (forthcoming).

> [may be] someone who [lives] naked in caves, wears divine clothes or sometimes [just] a loin cloth. He may be one who has great sex with divine women somewhere or elsewhere he may be a celibate. Sometimes he is intent on eating alms and at other times he obtains the state of wealth. His behaviour is always free and he allays all suffering.[35]

There is no apparent reason as to why the passage on five elements is followed by another on the sun and moon and then further verses on Rājayoga and liberation. The infelicitous position of these additional verses suggests that this section of *theta* was hastily redacted and inserted into the *Amaraughaprabodha*. The redactor appears to have used at least one unknown work on the topic of *amaraugha* (i.e., the *Amaraughasaṃsiddhi*), as well as Buddhist material and an early yoga text on the same four yogas (i.e., the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*).

There is one other addition in *theta* that provides some insight into how it was redacted. In the section on Haṭhayoga, a verse has been added to the beginning of the description of *mahāvedha*.[36] The first hemistich of this verse occurs in the *Amṛtasiddhi* (11.3cd), but the context is different. In the *Amṛtasiddhi*, this hemistich describes the yogin's posture in *mahāmudrā,* whereas in *theta* it is appended to a passage on *mahāvedha.*[37] The second hemistich of the additional verse was taken from a different chapter of the *Amṛtasiddhi* (14.5cd). The inclusion of both hemistiches reveals that the redactor of *theta* used the *Amṛtasiddhi* to augment and emend the original *Amaraughaprabodha.* Nonetheless, despite having access to the source text, it appears that this redactor did not understand the practice of *mahāvedha* in the *Amṛtasiddhi*, nor any Haṭhayoga text for that matter, because this *mudrā* is not supposed to be done with both hands holding one extended leg.[38]

One might ask whether the opposite hypothesis to the one I have just discussed is at all likely. In other words, could *beta* be a more recent, truncated version of *theta* or, more to the point, can *beta* be seen as a deliberate attempt to rectify the problems of *theta*? Perhaps, a redactor omitted the passages in *theta* that are unrelated to the four yogas and removed *theta*'s worst imperfections. It is true that the absence of

[35] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*theta*) 71–73 (*na jīvati tataḥ ko 'pi na ca ko 'pi mariṣyati* | *rājayogapadaṃ prāpya sarvasattvavaśaṅkaram* ||71|| *sarvaṃ kuryān na kuryād vā yathāruci viceṣṭitam* ||72|| *nagnaḥ ko 'pi guhāsu divyavasanaḥ kaupīnavāsāḥ kva cid divyastrīsuratānvito 'pi kuha cit sa brahmacārī kva cit* | *bhikṣāhāraratataḥ kva cit kva cid api prāpnoti bhogāspadaṃ sarvatrāpratibaddhavṛttir akhilakleśāpahā yogirāṭ* || 71b *mariṣyati*] B, T, Ed : *mariṣyatmi* A1 : ++++ G2. *rājayogapadaṃ*] B, G2 : *rājayogaṃ padaṃ* A1, T, Ed. 72a *sarvaṃ*] *sarva* B. 72b *kūryān na*] omitted B. 73a *vāsāḥ*] B, A_1, T : *vāsā* G_2. 73b *'pi*] *omitted* T (*unmetr.*) 73d *pratibaddha-*] A_1, G_2, Ed: *pratibandha-* B, T). Cf. *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* 161 (*rājayogavaraṃ prāpya sarvasattvavaśaṃkaram* | *sarvaṃ kuryān na vā kuryād yathāruci viceṣṭitam*).

[36] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*theta*) 37: (*savyaṃ prasāritaṃ pādaṃ karābhyāṃ dhārayed dṛḍham* | *āndolanaṃ tataḥ kuryāc charīrasya trimārgataḥ* || 37cd *kuryāc charīrasya*] B : *kūryāch śarīrasya* A_1, G_2 : *kūryāt śarīrasya* T). *Amaraughaprabodha* (*theta*) 37ab = *Amṛtasiddhi* 11.3cd = *Haṭhapradīpikā* 3.10cd ∼ *Śivasaṃhitā* 4.27ab (descriptions of *mahāmudrā*). *Amaraughaprabodha* (*theta*) 37cd = *Amṛtasiddhi* 14.5cd.

[37] *Amṛtasiddhi* 11.3cd: "The [yogin] should hold firmly with both hands the left leg which has been extended" (*savyaṃ prasāritaṃ pādaṃ karābhyāṃ dhārayed dṛḍham*). Cf. *Amaraughaprabodha* (*theta*) 37ab (see footnote 35).

[38] As far as I'm aware, the *theta* recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* (37ab) is unique in instructing that one leg should be extended for the practice of *mahāvedha*.

some of *theta's* passages, such as the four types of student and the five elements, makes the structure of *beta* more coherent. However, if creating a better structure were the purpose behind *beta*, one would have to explain why *theta*'s final verses on Rājayoga and liberation-in-life were deliberately removed, because they are relevant to the central topic of the four yogas. Furthermore, had the redactor of *beta* simply removed problematic verses of *theta*, it is unclear why this redactor also removed verses that are coherent but were borrowed from other texts, such as the *Amanaska* and the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*. As we shall see below, the hypothesis that *beta* followed *theta* becomes even less likely when one attempts to date and understand the content of both recensions within the broader history of works that teach the same four yogas.

Dating the Recensions

The *terminus a quo* of the *beta* recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* is the *Amṛtasiddhi* and not the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*. The *Amṛtasiddhi* was composed before 1160 CE, which is the date of a colophon in the oldest available manuscript.[39] This Vajrayāna work does not teach a system of yoga called Haṭha- or Rājayoga, but it was nonetheless a source text for three important Haṭhayogic *mudrā*s, namely *mahāmudrā*, *mahābandha* and *mahāvedha*, and four distinct stages of yoga (*ārambha*, *ghaṭa*, *paricaya* and *niṣpatti*). The close relationship between the *Amṛtasiddhi* and the *beta* recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* and the fact that this recension does not borrow from another work on Haṭha- and Rājayoga make it probable that the *Amaraughaprabodha* was one of the earliest works to formulate a fourfold system which included Haṭha- and Rājayoga.

The *terminus ad quem* of the *beta* recension remains the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, as Bouy determined. However, it is probable that Svātmārāma knew only the *beta* recension, because none of the additional twenty-nine verses of *theta* can be found in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. These include *theta*'s additional verses on Rājayoga, which would have been relevant to the fourth chapter of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. Although the following evidence is not conclusive, there are two differences between *theta* and *beta* that are significant enough to suggest that Svātmārāma borrowed from *beta*. Firstly, in one place, the order of the hemistiches diverges in *beta* and *theta*, and the order in *beta* is the same as that in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.[40] The second difference

[39] For information on the dating of this manuscript, see Schaeffer (2002, p. 517), Mallinson (2016a, pp. 2–3) and Mallinson and Szántó (forthcoming).

[40] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 31–32 = *theta* 42ab, 43ab, 42cd, 43cd = *Haṭhapradīpikā* 3.30–31.

concerns the additional verse on *mahāvedha* in *theta*. The *Haṭhapradīpikā*'s description of the yogin's posture for *mahāvedha* is more, but not entirely, consistent with *beta* than *theta*.[41]

A comparison of the variant readings of *theta* and *beta* with the critical edition of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* indicates that *beta* has twice the number of significant variant readings in common the *Haṭhapradīpikā* than *theta* (see "Appendix"). Although this result is worth noting, it is not in itself conclusive evidence for assessing whether *theta* or *beta* was the source of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, because the comparison is based on a small sample of verses and on a critical edition of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* that is not dependable nor comprehensive in the manuscripts it reports.[42] Nonetheless, this comparison raises an interesting question: if *theta* postdates the *Haṭhapradīpikā,* why would it have readings in common with the *Haṭhapradīpikā* that are not found in *beta*? If it is indeed true that *theta* was redacted sometime after the *Haṭhapradīpikā,* then its transmission must have been contaminated by manuscripts of the *Haṭhapradīpikā.* This contamination seems plausible because its redactor was, after all, inserting material from other yoga texts.

The *terminus ad quem* of the *Amaraughaprabodha*'s *theta* recension may be the eighteenth-century *Varāhopaniṣat*. It remains somewhat uncertain as to whether *theta* was a source for this Upaniṣad, because the available manuscripts of the *Upāsanāsārasaṅgraha* are incomplete and, as Bouy (1994, p. 19) noted, the fifth chapter of the *Varāhopaniṣat* contains a large passage that was borrowed from the *Upāsanāsārasaṅgraha*.[43] The only other evidence, as far as I am aware, for the *theta*'s *terminus ad quem* is the four palm leaf manuscripts that preserve it, none of which is dated nor likely to be older than the eighteenth century.

[41] *Haṭhapradīpikā* 3.26–27ab (*mahābandhasthito yogī kṛtvā pūrakam ekadhīḥ* | *vāyūnāṃ gatim āvṛtya nibhṛtaṃ kaṇṭhamudrayā* || *samahastayugo bhūmau sphicau sanāḍayec chanaiḥ*). Cf. *Amaraughaprabodha* (beta) 27–28ab (*punar āsphālayed kaṭyāṃ susthiraṃ kaṇṭhamudrayā* | *vāyūnāṃ gatim ārudhya kṛtvā pūrakakumbhakau* || *samahastayugo bhūmau samapādayugas tathā*) and *Amaraughaprabodha* (theta) 37 (see footnote 35). The posture for *mahāvedha* in the *Amaraughaprabodha* is similar to that described in the *Amṛtasiddhi* (i.e., a squatting type position in which the legs and arms are symmetrical), whereas in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* the posture is a cross-legged position, as stipulated for *mahābandha* (see *Haṭhapradīpikā* 3.19).

[42] The only critical edition of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* is that by Swami Digambaraji and Pt. Raghunatha Shastri Kokaje in 1970 at the Kaivalyadhama, S.M.Y.M. Samiti. Most of the manuscripts which they used for this edition are from libraries in the state of Mahārāṣṭra, so it is unlikely that regional differences in the transmission of this pan-Indic work are represented by their edition. More importantly, the editors appear to have been unaware of the significant number of parallel verses in early yoga texts such as the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra*, the *Amṛtasiddhi*, the *Amanaska*, etc. Also, the critical apparatus is negative and it appears to include only the most important variants; the oldest manuscript has not been consulted (Bouy 1994, p. 84 n. 357) and the section on *vajrolī* has been distorted by the editors' belief that Haṭhayoga did not teach transgressive practices; e.g., the verse on *amarolī* which describes it as drinking urine and emanating from a Kāpālika tradition has been relegated to a footnote (*Haṭhapradīpikā* 1998: 112 n. 170), in spite of the fact that most of the manuscripts have it.

[43] In footnote 3, I mentioned that the *Upāsanāsārasaṅgraha* cites with attribution *Amaraughaprabodha* 38–41. These verse numbers are based on Mallik's edition of the *Amaraughaprabodha* (i.e., the *theta* recension), which Bouy used. However, it is very likely that the *Upāsanāsārasaṅgraha* borrowed from the *beta* recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* (27–30) and not *theta*, because an additional verse on *mahāmudrā* in *theta* (for details, see footnote 35) is omitted from the *Upāsanāsārasaṅgraha*'s passage on this *mudrā*, which it attributes to the *Amaraughaprabodha.*

Table 4 Parallel verses in the *Amaraughaprabodha* and the *Amṛtasiddhi*

Amaraughaprabodha's Haṭhayoga	Verses	Corresponding verses of the *Amṛtasiddhi*	Chapter topic of the *Amṛtasiddhi*
Mahāmudrā	19–23ab	∼ 11.3	Mahāmudrā
Mahābandha	23cd-26	= 12.9cd	Mahābandha
Mahāvedha	27–30	= 14.6, 13.5cd	Mahāvedha and Practice
Practice and Results of the Mudrās	31–33	= 13.7cd	Mahāvedha
The Four Stages	34	∼ 19.2	The Four Stages[a]
Ārambha (piercing *brahmāgranthi*)	35–37	∼ 13.10–11	Mahāvedha
Ghaṭa (piercing *viṣṇugranthi*)	38–39ab	∼ 20.1ab	Ghaṭa Stage
Paricaya (natural bliss arises)	39cd-40	∼ 20.7	Ghaṭa Stage
Niṣpatti (piercing *rudraganthi*)	41–43	∼ 22.2cd, 25.1c, 31.1ab	Great Bliss, Mastery of Breath and Mahāmudrā

[a] The name of this chapter is 'the completion of the first stage' (*prathamāvasthāniṣpatti*). However, I have referred to its contents as 'the four stages' because its opening discussion reflects this

The Significance of the *Amaraughaprabodha's Beta* Recension in the History of Yoga

The close relationship of the *beta* recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* with the *Amṛtasiddhi*, or perhaps a rudimentary version of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, provides unique insights into how early teachings on Haṭhayoga were formulated. Unlike early Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts, the *Amṛtasiddhi* contains extensive, detailed passages on the theory behind the practice, which reveal that its teachings were intended for esoteric Buddhists who had rejected deity yoga.[44] As I shall discuss below, the redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha* borrowed and modified only select portions of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, omitting much of the theory in the process, and introduced new ideas to formulate a system of Haṭhayoga that would have appealed to Śaivas. Also, the sparing application of doctrine and metaphysics in the *Amaraughaprabodha* probably made its yoga more accessible to people of other religions.

The section on Haṭhayoga in the *Amaraughaprabodha* is a terse account of the practice of the three *mudrā*s and the four stages of yoga that are similar to those in the *Amṛtasiddhi.* As seen in Table 4, the content of the *Amaraughaprabodha* largely derives from nine of the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s thirty-six chapters.

In spite of this shared content, a significant difference between the *Amaraughaprabodha* and the *Amṛtasiddhi* is that the latter has extensive chapters on the theory and metaphysics underlying the practice of the *mudrā*s and the stages of yoga that follow it. These additional chapters are in bold in Table 5. Most of the content of these chapters is not mentioned at all in the *Amaraughaprabodha*.

[44] On the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s sectarian affiliation and polemics against *svādhiṣṭhānayoga*, see Mallinson (2016a) and Szántó (2016).

Table 5 Chapters of the *Amṛtasiddhi* without parallel verses in the *Amaraughaprabodha* (indicated in bold)

Chapter headings of the *Amṛtasiddhi*		
1. śarīra	12. mahābandha	**26. samādhi**
2. madhyamāyāḥ sāmānya	13. mahāvedha	**27. siddhacitta**
3. candra	14. abhyāsa	**28. kāyasiddhi**
4. sūrya	**15–18 [four types of student[a]]**	**29. tṛtīyāvasthā**
5. vahni	19. prathamāvasthā	**30. jīvanmuktilakṣaṇa**
6. sāmānyavāyu	20. ghaṭāvasthā	31. mahāmudrā
7. bindudhāraṇa	**21. ānandakāla**	**32. asiddhakāyalakṣaṇa**
8. citta	22. sahajānanda	**33. asiddhavāyulakṣaṇa**
9. prakṛti	**23. prakṛtiguṇa**	**34. mahābhūtapariṇāma**
10. guṇa	**24. kāyasiddhi**	**35. nirvāṇa**
11. mahāmudrā	25. vāyusiddhi	**36. [concluding chapter]**

[a] The four types are *mṛdu*, *madhya*, *adhimātra* and *adhimātratara*. These chapters probably inspired the section on the four types of students in the *theta* recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha*

Metaphysics, such as the sun, moon and fire, are mentioned only in passing in the *Amaraughaprabodha*'s section on Haṭhayoga. Theory regarding matter (*prakṛti*), mind and the five bodily winds is absent. In the chapters of the *Amṛtasiddhi* that follow the practice of the three *mudrā*s (i.e., chapters 11–14), many supernatural effects are enunciated and nearly all of these have been omitted by the redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha*. Therefore, it can be generally said that, if the redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha* did indeed use the *Amṛtasiddhi*, the process of redacting the section on Haṭhayoga was reductionist in the extreme and orientated almost entirely towards the practice of physical techniques and the results. This is also characteristic of other early works on Haṭhayoga. As the physical techniques, which came to define Haṭhayoga, moved from one tradition to another, the theory underlying them was minimal and subject to syncretization.

The redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha* did not altogether omit the terminology and theory that was peculiar to Buddhism. Terms were retained that Śaivas would have understood in contexts of yoga, such as *mahāmudrā*, *ānanda* and *śūnya*, on account of their use in earlier Śaiva works. Other terms that could be understood in a general sense, such as *vimarda* ('pounding') and *vicitra* ('various'), were also retained. Nonetheless, when this terminology occurs in the *Amṛtasiddhi*, its meaning is specific to a system of four blisses, moments and voids that was unique to esoteric Buddhism. Furthermore, some of *Amṛtasiddhi*'s terminology that probably derived from Rasaśāstra, such as *vedha, maraṇa* and *puṭa*, was incorporated by the redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha,* perhaps because the meaning of these terms was known outside of esoteric Buddhism.

The Śaiva orientation of the *Amaraughaprabodha* is established by the attribution of its teachings to Gorakṣanātha and verses that mention Śiva, Śakti or the *liṅga* in the introduction and the sections on Mantra-, Laya-, Haṭha- and Rājayoga. Although the redactor integrates terminology and metaphysics of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, the explicit references to Śiva, Śakti and the *liṅga* affirm the Śaiva

orientation of the work. A good example of this is seen in the penultimate verse of the introduction, in which notions of the sun and moon that are central to the teachings of the *Amṛtasiddhi* are subsumed under the goal of uniting Śiva and Śakti above the aperture of the skull (*brahmarandhra*):

> When the lord of thoughts is still and the sun enters completely the path of Meru (i.e., *suṣumnā*); when its fiery state has increased, the moon melts and the body is quickly made full; when an abundance of bliss rises up and the darkness of delusion, such as [the thoughts] 'yours' and 'mine', departs, and when the aperture of the skull bursts open, the extraordinary and unprecedented union of Śiva and Śakti prevails.[45]

The above verse combines the metaphysics of the *Amṛtasiddhi* with those of earlier Śaiva traditions. Moving the sun into the central channel (*meru*) is mentioned in a passage of the *Amṛtasiddhi* (4.5–10) that describes a process of uniting the sun and moon. The aim of the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s yoga is to prevent the sun devouring the moon's nectar. However, rather than conserving the nectar in the moon, the above verse incorporates the different idea of the moon melting and filling the body, presumably, with nectar. The notion of flooding the body with nectar in order to purify and rejuvenate it can be found in early Saiddhāntika works, including the *Kiraṇa* and *Mṛgendratantra* (*Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* 2000 vol 1, p. 138). The verse concludes with uniting Śiva and Śakti, rather than the sun and moon. The association of *śakti*, or more specifically *kuṇḍalinī*, with nectar may not have been new to Śaivas, because a nectarean *kuṇḍalinī* (*kuṇḍalī*) is mentioned in the pre-tenth century Śākta scripture, the *Tantrasadbhāva* (*Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* 2000 vol 1, p. 136.),[46] and *kuṇḍalinī* is associated with nectar (*amṛta*) in a pre-tenth century Saiddhāntika work, the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* (12.1–2).[47] Also, there is a precedent in the Śaiva work called the *Jayadrathayāmala* for the practice of a *mudrā* (*karaṇa*) that releases nectar and unites Śiva and Śakti.[48]

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[45] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 13 (*nirvāte cittarāje viśati khararucau merumārgaṃ samantād udrikte udrikte vahnibhāve dravati śaśadhare pūrayaty āśu kāye | udyaty ānandavṛnde tyajati tavamametyādi-mohāndhakāre prodbhinne brahmarandhre jayati śivaśivāsaṅgamaḥ ko 'py apūrvaḥ* ‖ 13a *nirvāte*] : *niryāte* Ed. 13a *cittarāje*] G_1, A_2 : *cittarāte* B, A_2, G_2, T, Ed. 13a *viśati*] G_1, A_2 : *vrajati* B, A_2, G_2, T, Ed. 13a *khararucau*] B, A_2, G_2, T, Ed : *khararuce* G_1, A_2. 13a *merumārgaṃ*] B, A_2, G_2, T, Ed : *merudurge* G_1, A_2. 13b *udrikte*] *conj*. : *udrakte* T : *udrajñe* B, A_2, G_2 : *durvṛtte* G_1, A_2 : *dudrajñe* Ed. 13b *dravati*] G_1, A_2 : *sravati* B, A_2, G_2, Ed : +++ T. 13b *śaśadhare*] ++++ T. 13b *pūrayaty āśu kāye*] B, A_2, G_2, Ed : *pūrayitvā tu kāyaṃ* G_1, A_2 : ++*yaty āśu kāye* T. *udyaty ānandavṛnde*] A_2, G_2, T, Ed : *utp* +*utyānantakande* G_1 : *unnatyānandakande* A_2 : *udayatyānandavṛnde* B (*unmetr*.). 13c *tyajati*] *jatyat* A_2. 13c *tava-*] *śiva-* A_2. 13c *-mametyādi*] A_2, G_2, T, Ed : *-mamevandi* B : *-mukhetyādi-* G_1, A_2. 13c *unnatyānandakande*] ++*hāndhakāre* T. 13d *śivaśivāsaṅgamaḥ*] A_2, Ed : *śivaśivāsaṅgamaṃ* B, T, G_1 : *śivaśi*+*saṃgamaḥ* A_2 : *śivāsaṅgamaṃ* G_2 (*unmetr*.). 13d *apūrvaḥ*] *apūrvam* B.

[46] On the date of the *Tantrasadbhāva*, see Sanderson (2001, p. 4 (n.1), 20–35).

[47] See Hatley (forthcoming, pp. 2–3). On the date of this work, see Goodall (2004, p. lxxxvii).

[48] For the reference and translation of this passage, see Mallinson (2007, p. 21, 177 n. 79). Also, two fourteenth-century works, the *Khecarīvidyā* (3.1–15) and a section on yoga in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, contains passages on flooding of the body with nectar by uniting Śiva and Śakti (Mallinson 2007, pp. 28, 131).

Although the *Amaraughaprabodha*'s section on Haṭhayoga corresponds most closely to the yoga of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, Śaiva terminology and metaphysics have been introduced at key places to give the impression that this is a Śaiva form of yoga. In order to demonstrate this, as well as examine other issues around the relationship between the two texts and the Śaiva conception of Haṭhayoga, I shall compare the descriptions of *mahāmudrā* and the results of practising it in both texts. The *Amaraughaprabodha* describes it as follows:

> Having pressed the perineum with the left foot and having held the extended right foot with both hands, [the yogin] should breathe in through the mouth. Having fixed the lock in the throat, [the yogin] should hold the breath upwards. Just as a snake hit with a stick becomes [straight] like a stick, so, the coiled *śakti* [called] *kuṇḍalinī* suddenly becomes straight. Then, she resides in [a vessel] with two halves and has a death-like state. Great afflictions, etc., and problems, such as death, are destroyed. For this reason, the wisest call [it] the 'great *mudrā*.'[49]

As depicted in Fig. 2, the yogin in *mahāmudrā* is in an asymmetrical position, with one leg straight and the other bent. The heel of the bent leg presses against the perineum, his hands hold the foot of the extended leg, over which his torso is folded forward.

If one compares the description of *mahāmudrā* in the *Amaraughaprabodha* with the *Amṛtasiddhi*, it is clear that both are describing the same technique but a few of the details and, in particular, the results are quite different. The *Amṛtasiddhi* (11.3–10) states:

> Having pressed the perineum carefully with the heel of the left foot, [the yogin] should hold firmly with both hands the right [foot of the] extended leg. Having put his hips on an *āsana* [mat], placed the chin on the chest, closed the nine doors [of the body], filled the belly with the breath, he should focus the mind on the crossroads and undertake control of the breath. Having broken the flow of the moon and sun, he should stop the breath. This digests impurity, assimilates semen and the inner resonance, causes *prāṇa* to move through all the channels and stimulates the fire [in the body]. By uniting body, speech and mind, mastery of body, speech and mind certainly arises through the practice [of this *mudrā*] by the yogin who has progressed on the path. Because of this

[49] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 19–22 (*pādamūlena vāmena yoniṃ sampīḍya dakṣiṇam* | *pādaṃ prasāritaṃ dhṛtvā karābhyāṃ pūrayen mukhe* ||19|| *kaṇṭhe bandhaṃ samāropya dhārayed vāyum ūrdhvataḥ* | *yathā daṇḍāhataḥ sarpo daṇḍākāraḥ prajāyate* ||20|| *ṛjvībhūtā tathā śaktiḥ kuṇḍalī sahasā bhavet* | *tadāsau maraṇāvasthā jāyate dvipuṭāśritā* ||21|| *mahākleśādayo doṣā bhidyante maraṇādayaḥ* | *mahāmudrāṃ tu tenaiva vadanti vibudhottamāḥ* ||22|| 19c *pādaṃ prasāritaṃ*] G_1, A_2 : *prasāritaṃ padaṃ* A_1, G_2, T, Ed : *prasāritaṃ pada* B. 19c *dhṛtvā*] G_1, A_2 : *kṛtvā* B, A_1, G_2, T, Ed. 19d *mukhe*] *mukham* B. 20a *kaṇṭhe*] *kaṇṭhaṃ* B. 20a *bandhaṃ*] *baddhaṃ* T. 20a-b *samāropya dhārayed*] G_1, A_2 : *samāropya kṛdhārād* A_1 : *samāropyādhārād* G_2, T, Ed : *samāropya cādhāratad* B (unmetr.). 20c *sarpo*] *sarvo* B. 20d *daṇḍākāraḥ*] G_1, A_2, B, Ed : *daṇḍakāra* A_1, G_2, T. 21a *ṛjvībhūtā*] G_1, A_2, Ed : *ṛjvibhūtā* G_2 : *ṛjvābhūtā* B : *ṛjyabhūtā* A_1 : *ṛyja++* T. 21a *tathā*] G_1, A_2 : *tadā* B, A_1, G_2, Ed : ++ T. *śaktiḥ*] G_1, A_2, Ed : śakti- B, A_1, G_2, T. 22a *mahākleśādayo doṣā*] G_1 : *mahākleśādayo doṣāḥ* A_2 : *mahārogā mahākleśā* B, A_1, G_2, T, Ed. 22b *bhidyante*] G_1, A_2 : *jīryante* B, A_1, G_2, T, Ed. 22c *tu*] G_1, A_2 : *ca* B, G_2, T, Ed : *ci* A_1. 22c *tenaiva*] G_1, A_2, B : *tenainām* A_1, G_2, T, Ed. 22d *vibudhottamāḥ*] hi *budhottamāḥ* B.

Fig. 2 Detail of *mahāmudrā āsana*, Ms. no. Add 24099 (f. 16). British Library Trust. Published in Bühnemann 2007: 46

> *mudrā*, everything [good] is sure to arise for a yogin. Therefore, one should diligently practice this great *mudrā*. Of all the *mudrā*s, it is great and independent. Therefore, the best of the wise call it the 'great *mudrā*.' Death is held in check by it. Therefore, it is always beneficial. The exercise (*yantra*) is mastered by one whose mind is concentrated.[50]

When these two passages are placed side by side, as in Table 6, the most conspicuous difference is that the *Amaraughaprabodha* is more succinct and uses different syntax and terminology.

Furthermore, the *Amaraughaprabodha* has the additional instruction that the yogin should breathe in through the mouth (highlighted in bold in Table 6), and several other directives are missing, such as focusing the mind on the crossroads (*catuḥpatha*). These significant differences raise the question of whether the redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha* used the *Amṛtasiddhi* or some other (currently unknown) source to redact the section on Haṭhayoga. If it was the *Amṛtasiddhi*, then the redactor radically truncated and modified the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s account of *mahāmudrā*. Some of the added details and omissions might be explained by variations or alternative views of the practice. However, it is more difficult to

[50] *Amṛtasiddhi* 11.3–10 (*yoniṃ saṃpīḍya vāmena pādamūlena yatnataḥ* | *savyaṃ prasāritaṃ pādaṃ karābhyāṃ dhārayed dṛḍham* ||3|| *āsane kaṭim āropya cibukaṃ hṛdayopari* | *nava dvārāṇi saṃyamya kukṣim āpūrya vāyunā* ||4|| *cittaṃ catuḥpathe kṛtvā ārabhet prāṇayantraṇam* | *candrārkayor gatiṃ bhaṅktvā kuryād vāyunivāraṇam* ||5|| *jāraṇeyaṃ kaṣāyasya cāraṇaṃ bindunādayoḥ* | *cālanaṃ sarvanāḍīṇāṃ analasya ca dīpanaṃ* ||6|| *kāyavākcittayogena kāyavākcittasādhanaṃ* | *bhaved abhyāsato 'vaśyaṃ mārgārūḍhasya yoginaḥ* ||7|| *anayā mudrayā sarvaṃ jāyate yogino dhruvaṃ* | *tasmād enāṃ prayatnena mahāmudrāṃ samabhyaset* ||8|| *sarvāsām eva mudrāṇāṃ mahatīyaṃ svayaṃbhuvā* | *mahāmudrāṃ ca tenainām vadanti vibudhottamāḥ* ||9|| *anayā bādhyate mṛtyur hiteyaṃ tena sarvadā* | *cetasā vidhṛtā yena yantraṃ tenaiva nirjitam*).

Table 6 Descriptions of *Mahāmudrā* in the *Amṛtasiddhi* and the *Amaraughaprabodha*

Amṛtasiddhi 11.3–10	*Amaraughaprabodha* 19–22
The practice of Mahāmudrā	
yoniṃ saṃpīḍya vāmena pādamūlena yatnataḥ |	*pādamūlena vāmena yoniṃ sampīḍya dakṣiṇam* |
savyaṃ prasāritaṃ pādaṃ karābhyāṃ dhārayed dṛḍham ‖3‖	*pādaṃ prasāritaṃ dhṛtvā karābhyāṃ* ***pūrayen mukhe*** ‖19‖
āsane kaṭim āropya cibukaṃ hṛdayopari |	*kaṇṭhe bandhaṃ samāropya dhārayed vāyum ūrdhvataḥ* |
nava dvārāṇi saṃyamya kukṣim āpūrya vāyunā ‖4‖	
cittaṃ catuḥpathe kṛtvā ārabhet prāṇayantraṇam |	
candrārkayor gatiṃ bhaṅktvā kuryād vāyunivāraṇam ‖5‖	
The results of the practice	
jāraṇeyaṃ kaṣāyasya cāraṇaṃ bindunādayoḥ |	*yathā daṇḍāhataḥ sarpo daṇḍākāraḥ prajāyate* ‖20‖
cālanaṃ sarvanāḍīṇāṃ analasya ca dīpanaṃ ‖6‖	*ṛjvībhūtā tathā śaktiḥ* ***kuṇḍalī*** *sahasā bhavet* |
kāyavākcittayogena kāyavākcittasādhanaṃ |	*tadāsau maraṇāvasthā jāyate dvipuṭāśritā* ‖21‖
bhaved abhyāsato 'vaśyaṃ mārgārūḍhasya yoginaḥ ‖7‖	*mahākleśādayo doṣā bhidyante maraṇādayaḥ* |
anayā mudrayā sarvaṃ jāyate yogino dhruvaṃ |	*mahāmudrāṃ tu tenaiva vadanti vibudhottamāḥ* ‖22‖
tasmād enāṃ prayatnena mahāmudrāṃ samabhyaset ‖8‖	
sarvāsām eva mudrāṇāṃ mahatīyaṃ svayaṃbhuvā |	
mahāmudrāṃ ca tenainām vadanti vibudhottamāḥ ‖9‖	
anayā bādhyate mṛtyur hiteyaṃ tena sarvadā |	
cetasā vidhṛtā yena yantraṃ tenaiva nirjitam ‖10‖	

propose reasons for why a redactor would truncate the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s account to the extent seen in the *Amaraughaprabodha*.

Indeed, it seems possible, if not probable, that the *Amaraughaprabodha* has preserved an older and more rudimentary account of this yoga than that of the *Amṛtasiddhi*. One might further propose that this older work was a source text for the *Amṛtasiddhi*, because the latter has verses in common with the *Amaraughaprabodha.* Even if the *Amaraughaprabodha'*s teachings on Haṭhayoga derive from a text that was older than the *Amṛtasiddhi*, the original source must have been composed in a Vajrayāna milieu because the remnants of this tradition's distinct system of four blisses, voids and moments are apparent in the *Amaraughaprabodha.* Therefore, the most significant change made by the redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha* to the description of *mahāmudrā* was the introduction of the Śaiva metaphysics of *kuṇḍalinī* (highlighted in bold in Table 6).

In the *Amaraughaprabodha*, *mahāmudrā* is likened, in effect, to a stick that is used to kill a snake. It strikes the coiled *kuṇḍalinī* and forces her to become straight. Such notions of force, as well as the metaphysics of *kuṇḍalinī*, are absent in the *Amṛtasiddhi*. So, it would seem that Śaivas understood the notion of force (*haṭha*) in Haṭhayoga as referring to the forceful effect of its practice on *kuṇḍalinī*. This understanding probably extended to the general aim of the three *mudrā*s, which was to force *kuṇḍalinī* and *prāṇa* up through the central channel to pierce the three knots (*granthi*). Similar forceful effects, in particular on *apānavāyu*, semen and *kuṇḍalinī*, can be found in other early works on Haṭhayoga and, in my opinion, provide the strongest indication for the intended meaning of *haṭhayoga* in the formative phase of this type of yoga (Birch 2011, pp. 544–545).

Both the *Amaraughaprabodha* and the *Amṛtasiddhi* use terms from Rasaśāstra, such as *jāraṇa* ('digesting') and *cāraṇa* ('assimilating'), to describe the effects of *mahāmudrā*. In the *Amaraughaprabodha*'s description, the pressing of the perineum and the application of the throat lock (*bandha*) seem to create something akin to an alchemical vessel with two halves or lids (*dvipuṭa*).[51] Presumably, this vessel is the central channel after it has been blocked above and below by the locks, which envelop and hold *kuṇḍalinī* in a death-like state (*maraṇāvasthā*). Although the meaning of *maraṇāvasthā* is not entirely clear to me in the context of raising *kuṇḍalinī* to meet Śiva in or above the *brahmarandhra*, it seems that the redactor may have been alluding to the process of 'killing' (*māraṇa*), which in Rasaśāstra refers to heating a substance in a burning pit (*puṭa*) until it turns to ash.[52] These

[51] I am assuming here that the term *puṭa* is referring more specifically to a vessel or burning pit, rather than the process of heating a metal, which involves a pit, an enclosed vessel and fuel for the fire (*puṭapāka*). Hellwig (2009, p. 307) states that both meanings are possible but can be difficult to distinguish in texts: "Die Erhitzung mit *puṭa*s, der *puṭapāka*, ist eine zentrale Verfahrensweise der indischen Alchemie. Da sich Vorgangsbezeichnung (*puṭapāka*) und praktischer Aufbau (*puṭa*) an den meisten Fundstellen nicht unterscheiden lassen und der Begriff *puṭa* für beide Konzepte benutzt wird, werden sie in einem Artikel behandelt." I would like to thank James Mallinson for this idea and the reference.

[52] "Trotz oder gerade wegen seiner enormen Bedeutung für die indische Alchemie wird das *māraṇa* ("Töten") nicht formal definiert. Zentrales Element aller *māraṇa*-Vorschriften ist aber das Erhitzen einer Substanz, in dessen Verlauf diese Substanz in ein *bhasman* ("Asche") transformiert wird." (Hellwig 2009, p. 238).

alchemical metaphors, which are also found in the *Amṛtasiddhi*, imply that *kuṇḍalinī* is transformed irreversibly from her coiled to erect state in the central channel.[53]

The *Amaraughaprabodha*'s description of the second *mudrā* called *mahābandha* includes two metaphysical terms, namely *triveṇī* and *kedāra*, that do not occur in the *Amṛtasiddhi*.[54] The technical term *triveṇī*, which usually means the confluence of the three main channels in other Haṭha- and Rājayoga texts,[55] would probably have been known to a Śaiva audience judging by its appearance in earlier Śaiva works, such as the *Kubjikāmatatantra*, in which it is mentioned along with the channels (5.170–72) and located in the navel (25.93). The *Kuñcitāṅghristava*, which was composed in Cidambaram in the fourteenth century, locates it in the heart. This confluence, also known as the *prayāga*, was considered one of eight sacred places in early Śaivism, as attested in works such as the *Niśvāsaguhya* (1.29–34) and the *Tantrasadbhāva* (15.62).[56] *Kedāra*, which is generally located in the head,[57] is included in lists of forty sacred sites (*tīrtha*) in "the Śivadharma and throughout the scriptural authorities of the Mantramārga" (Sanderson 2003, p. 405).[58] Both these terms appear to have been added by the redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha* to make the practice of *mahābandha* appeal to a Śaiva audience.

The account of *mahāvedha* in the *Amaraughaprabodha* does not introduce terminology that is peculiar to Śaivism and absent in the *Amṛtasiddhi*. In fact, the challenge the redactor appeared to face in composing the remaining portion of the section on Haṭhayoga was modifying or removing concepts unique to Buddhism, in particular the technical terms from the sexual yoga of some Vajrayāna works, which incorporate systems of four blisses, moments and voids (Sferra 2000, pp. 31–33), as seen in Table 7.

[53] I wish to thank James Mallinson for pointing out to me the meaning and implications of this alchemical terminology in the *Amaraughaprabodha*, which occurs in the *Amṛtasiddhi* in the passage translated above as well as 14.14ab. Until now, I have been inclined to understand *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 21cd as later commentators did (see below). I also wish to thank Dagmar Wujastyk for her comments on this hemistich and its alchemical metaphors.

[54] *Amaraughaprabodha* (beta) 25: "And this [*mahābandha*] stops the upward flow of [air in] all the channels. It places the mind on the confluence of the three [main] currents and causes it to reach Kedāra (*ayañ ca sarvanāḍīnām ūrdhvaṃgatinirodhakaḥ* | *triveṇīsaṅgamaṃ dhatte kedāraṃ prāpayen manaḥ*). *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 25ab ∼ *Amṛtasiddhi* 12.15ab (*bandho 'yaṃ sarvanāḍīnāṃ ūrdhvagatinirodhakaḥ*) and *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 25cd is untraced.

[55] The term *triveṇī* is used in the *Śivasaṃhitā* (5.169–172) to refer to the confluence of the Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī rivers, which are equated with *iḍā*, *piṅgalā* and the central channel, respectively. In the *Yogaprakāśikā* (5.27), Bālakṛṣṇa gives the same information (*iḍāditritayarūpiṇī yā triveṇī gaṃgāyamunāsarasvatīrūpā tayā prāṇavāyoḥ sambandhaṃ* […]). The *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā* (5.88) locates it in the nostrils.

[56] I wish to thank Somadeva Vasudeva for these references (p.c. 19.4.2018).

[57] In the *Jābāladarśanopaniṣat* (48), Kedāra is located in the forehead (*lalāṭaka*). In the *Jyotsnā* (3.24), Brahmānanda locates it between the eyebrows as Śiva's abode (*kedāraṃ bhruvor madhye śivasthānaṃ kedāraśabdavācyaṃ taṃ manaḥ svāntaṃ prāpayet*). In the *Khecarīvidyā,* it is located at the *cūlitala,* which is at the back of the head and above the nape of the neck (Mallinson 2007, p. 214 n. 285). In the *Yogaprakāśikā* (5.27), Bālakṛṣṇa equates it with the *brahmarandhra*. The same location is found in the *Gorakh Bāṇī* (p. 256, section 19).

[58] *Prayāga* would refer to the confluence of sacred rivers in Allahabad and *kedāra* to Kedarnath in the Indian Himalayas.

Table 7 Blisses, moments and voids in Vajrayāna

Blisses	Moments	Voids
ānanda	*vicitra*	*śūnya*
paramānanda	*vipāka*	*atiśūnya*
viramānanda	*vimarda*	*mahāśūnya*
sahajānanda	*vilakṣaṇa*	*sarvaśūnya*

The *Amṛtasiddhi* incorporates this terminology, with the exception of *viramānanda*, *vilakṣaṇakṣaṇa* and *sarvaśūnya*. The *Amaraughaprabodha* does not mention the four moments at all, but includes three blisses and voids. Although this specific system of blisses and voids may be unique to Vajrayāna, terms such as *ānanda*, *paramānanda*, *śūnya* and *mahāśūnya* are scattered throughout Śaiva works. Furthermore, some Śaivas were probably familiar with progressive stages of sounds and void-like meditative states in their own tradition.[59] Therefore, it would seem that the redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha* deliberately excluded terminology that was specific to Vajrayāna, but was willing to include terms that occur in Śaiva works. This strategy is evident in a comparison of the following parallel passages of the *Amṛtasiddhi* and the *Amaraughaprabodha*. In the first example, the *vicitra* moment has been emended to a '*vicitra*' sound:

The *Amṛtasiddhi*:

> When the first stage is completed and Brahmā's knot pierced, then, a biting [sensation] and the perception of a little bliss in the central channel arise. One also enters into voidness and the *vicitra* moment arises.[60]

The *Amaraughaprabodha*:

> Because of piercing Brahmā's knot, bliss arises in the void. The unstruck resonance, which has various [musical] sounds (*vicitrakvaṇaka*), is heard in the body.[61]

Whether the redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha* was responsible for this unobtrusive emendation is not certain because the south-Indian manuscripts of the *Amṛtasiddhi* also preserve *vicitrakvaṇa*, which is one of many instances where the Indian transmission has changed technical terms of Vajrayāna into something

[59] For a discussion of internal sounds and void-like meditative states, see Vasudeva (2004, pp. 263–271, 336–342).

[60] *Amṛtasiddhi* 19.14–15ab (*ekāvasthā yadā pūrṇā vedho 'yaṃ brahmagranthitaḥ* | *tadā daṃśo bhaven madhye kiṃcidānandadarśanaṃ* || *śūnyatānupraveśo 'pi vicitrakṣaṇasaṃbhavam*).

[61] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 35 (*brahmagranthes tathā bhedād ānandaḥ śūnyasambhavaḥ* | *vicitrakvaṇako dehe 'nāhataḥ śrūyate dhvaniḥ* || 35a *-granthes tathā*] G_1 : -graje satato A_2 (unmetr.) : -granther bhaved B, A_1, G_2, T : -granthe bhaved Ed. 35a bhedād] G_1, A_2 : *vedhād* G_2, Ed : *vedhā* B, A_1, T. 35b *ānandaḥ śūnyasambhavaḥ*] G_1, A_2, A_1, G2, T : *nandaḥ śūnyasambhavaḥ* B (unmetr.) : *ānandā+nyasambhavam* Ed. 35c *-kvaṇako*] B, A_1, G_2, T, Ed : *-kvaṇiko* G_1 : *-kvako* A_2 (unmetr.). 35d *'nāhataḥ*] A_1, G_2, T : *nāhataḥ* Ed : *'nāhate* A_2 : *nāhate* G_1 : *'nvāhata* B).

more intelligible to non-Buddhist yogins.[62] Therefore, it is possible that *vicitrakṣaṇa* had already become *vicitrakvaṇa* in a south-Indian version of the *Amṛtasiddhi* by the time the *Amaraughaprabodha* was written.[63]

In another example, the redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha* removed the reference to the *vimarda* moment by omitting the word for moment (*kṣaṇa*). In this case, *vimarda* would have been understand by a non-Buddhist in its more general sense of 'pounding':

The *Amṛtasiddhi*:

> […] When the second stage is complete, the [state] beyond the void arises. Then, the sound of the *bherī* drum occurs in the middle channel and the *vimarda* moment.[64]

The *Amaraughaprabodha*:

> […] Then, because of piercing Viṣṇu's knot, a pounding [sound] (*vimarda*), which is indicative of supreme bliss, arises beyond the void. Then, the sound of a *bherī* drum occurs.[65]

It is worth asking why the redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha* retained any of the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s technical terminology peculiar to Vajrayāna, given that less ingenuity would have been required to remove it altogether. For example, one might question the need of a verse at the end of the description of *mahāvedha* in the *Amaraughaprabodha*, which states that the yogin should know the conjunction of the moon, sun and fire in order to achieve immortality.[66] These metaphysical notions are important in the *Amṛtasiddhi*, but none are mentioned elsewhere in the *Amaraughaprabodha*'s section on Haṭhayoga. The inclusion of this verse, as well as terms like *vicitra* and *vimarda*, suggests that the intended audience of the *Amaraughaprabodha* was familiar with the Buddhist origins of this yoga. Therefore, although the redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha* may have composed the text to lay claim to Haṭhayoga as a Śaiva practice, it seems that the system of blisses, voids and sounds could not be dispensed with entirely, perhaps because this type of Vajrayāna yoga was still known at the time of writing. The likelihood of this and the possibility that the redactor was using a more rudimentary version of the *Amṛtasiddhi* points to an early date (i.e., the twelfth century) for the composition of the short recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha*. Be this as it may, it seems that the short recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* was composed close to the time of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, when the yoga of the latter was still known, especially in communities transitioning from

[62] For a discussion and more examples of such changes, see Mallinson (2016b).

[63] I would like to thank Dominic Goodall for pointing this out to me.

[64] *Amṛtasiddhi* 20.7 (*saṃpūrṇāyāṃ dvitīyāyām atiśūnyaṃ prajāyate* | *bherīśabdas tadā madhye vimardakṣaṇasaṃbhavaḥ*).

[65] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 38 (*viṣṇugranthes tato bhedāt paramānandasūcakaḥ* | *atiśūnye vimardaś ca bherīśabdas tato bhavet* || 38a *tato*] G_1, A_2 : *tathā* B, A_1, G_2, T, Ed. 38a *bhedāt* A_2 : *vedhāt* G_2, A_1, T, Ed : om. B (unmetr.). *atiśūnye*] A_1, G_2, T, Ed : *atiśūnyo* G_1, A_2, B. 38d *bherīśabdas*] *bherīnādas* A_2. 38d *tato*] G_1, A_2 : *tathā* B, Ed : *tadā* A_1, G_2, T).

[66] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 30ab (*somasūryāgnisaṃbandhaṃ jānīyād amṛtāya vai* | 30a *-saṃbandhaṃ*] A_1, G_2, T, Ed : *-saṃbandhā* B : *-saṃbandhāj* G_1, A_2. 30b *jānīyād*] *dāniryyād* B).

Buddhism to Śaivism.[67] This supports James Mallinson's proposal (2016b, p. 11 n. 25 and forthcoming) that the *Amaraughaprabodha* was composed in such a community at Kadri in Karnataka, owing to the text's opening invocation to the wise Siddhabuddha, a disciple of Matsyendranātha from that locality.

Apart from introducing Śaiva terms and metaphysics and obscuring or omitting Vajrayāna ones, the Śaiva appropriation of the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s yoga is achieved by making it subordinate to Rājayoga. This so-called 'king of all yogas' probably had an older association with Śaivism, as evinced by a Śaiva work known as the *Amanaska*, which teaches the attainment of the no-mind state by the practice of *śāmbhavī mudrā*. The *Amanaska* was known in Gujarat in the mid-twelfth century (Birch 2014, p. 406 n. 21), so it was probably composed in the eleventh or early twelfth century. The redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha* alludes to the Śaiva origins of Rājayoga by referring to the *liṅga* in the final verse on Rājayoga,[68] and by defining the term *amaraugha* (literally, 'a flood of nectar' or 'a multitude of immortals') as Rājayoga.[69] It is likely that the term *amaraugha* would have reminded Śaivas of the divine stream of teachings known as the *divyaugha* in earlier Kaula scriptures,[70] while also conveying meanings close to that of *amṛtasiddhi* ('the attainment of nectar/immortality'). Moreover, any association Haṭhayoga might have had with Buddhism when the *Amaraughaprabodha* was composed would surely not have deterred Śaivas from adopting a system of yoga in which Haṭhayoga was only one option of several auxiliary methods for the attainment of Rājayoga.

Furthermore, the redactor of the *Amaraughaprabodha* appears to have distanced Haṭhayoga from the yoga of the *Amṛtasiddhi* by omitting any mention of semen (*bindu*) in the section on Haṭhayoga. In keeping with the sexual yoga of the Kālacakra tradition (Sferra 2000, p. 32), the *Amṛtasiddhi* is very much concerned with retaining semen. An introductory verse of the *Amaraughaprabodha* states that there are two types of Haṭhayoga: one practised with the internal resonance (*nāda*) and the other with semen (*bindu*).[71] Although the yogin is advised to avoid frequenting fire, women and roads in the initial stage of practice,[72] the emphasis on internal sounds and the absence of references to semen indicate that the first type of Haṭhayoga, rather than the second, was taught. A further distinction can be seen in the way both works interpret nectar. In the *Amaraughaprabodha*, nectar (*amara*) is

[67] See Mallinson (2016b) for information on the Buddhist milieu in which the *Amṛtasiddhi* was probably composed.

[68] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 44a: "[For the Rājayogin,] that into which the universe is easily dissolved is called [Śiva's] Liṅga" (*līnaṃ yatra carācaraṃ sukhavaśāt tal liṅgam ity ucyate* | 44a *yatra*] *yatri* A_1. 44a *sukhavaśāt*] G_1, A_2 : *layavaśāt* B, A_1, G_2, T, Ed. 44a. *talliṅgam*] *talyaṃgam* A_2).

[69] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 14ab: "Only this unique *amaraugha* has the name Rājayoga" (*eka evāmaraugho 'yaṃ rājayogābhidhānakaḥ* | 14a *evāmaraugho 'yaṃ*] emend. : *evāmaraugho yaṃ* G1, A2 : *evāmarogho hi* B, A1, G2, T : *evāmaraugho hi* Ed. 14b *-dhānakaḥ* B, A1, G2, T, Ed : *-dhānakaṃ* G1, A2).

[70] I am grateful to Somadeva Vasudeva for pointing this out to me. For more information on *divyaugha*, see the *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* vol 3 (2013, p. 168).

[71] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 4cd (*haṭho 'pi dvividhaḥ prokto nādabinduniṣevaṇāt* | 4c *dvividhaḥ*] B, A_1, G_2, T, Ed : *dvividhā* G_1 : *dvividhāḥ* A_2. 4c *prokto*] G_1, A_2 : *kvāpi* B_1, A_1, G_2, T, Ed. 4d *nāda-*] G_1 : *rāda-* A_2 : *vāyu-* B, A_1, G_2, Ed : *vā+* T. 4d *-binduniṣevaṇāt*] +++++++ T).

[72] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 33cd: "[The yogin] should avoid at first frequenting fire, women and roads" (*vahnistrīpathasevānām ādau varjanam ācaret* || 33c *-patha-*] A_2, A_1, G_2, T, Ed : *-padha-* B : *-pathi-* G_1).

associated with Rājayoga, which is defined as meditative absorption, whereas in the *Amṛtasiddhi* nectar (*amṛta*) corresponds with semen in the male body.[73]

Some of the metaphysics and terminology specific to the *Amṛtasiddhi* continued to be used by authors of works on Haṭhayoga up until the nineteenth century, partly because of the significant amount of verses that Svātmārāma borrowed from the *Amaraughaprabodha*'s section on Haṭhayoga. The passage on the four stages of yoga, in which the knots are pierced and various blisses, sounds and voids arise, was incorporated into the fourth chapter of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* as the practice of *nādānusandhāna* ('fusing the mind with the internal resonance').[74] In other cases, the original meaning of the technical terminology was lost and reinterpreted. For example, the alchemical terms *dvipuṭa* and *puṭadvaya* have been interpreted by commentators as *dvināsāpuṭa* ('the two nostrils') and the channels *iḍā* and *piṅgalā*.[75] In the *Yogacintāmaṇi*, Śivānanda rewrote the verse on *kuṇḍalinī* to say that she destroys the state of death, and Bhavadeva interpreted it to mean that, after the practice of *mahāmudrā, kuṇḍalinī* resides in the two nostrils.[76] Furthermore, it is likely that Svātmārāma and others understood a verse on the conjunction of the moon, sun and fire as referring to the intersection of the channels called *iḍā*, *piṅgalā* and *suṣumnā*,[77] because this meaning of moon, sun and fire can be found in early Śaiva works and even two yoga texts, the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* and the *Śivasaṃhitā*, known to him.[78]

Conclusion

The relationship between the *Amṛtasiddhi* and the *beta* recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* provides a window onto the early history of Haṭhayoga, which was shaped significantly by the exchange of ideas and techniques between Buddhism and Śaivism in

[73] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 3d, 42ab: "Rājayoga is that [state] which is free of mental activity. […] Then, having become one [with the flute-like sound], the mind is called Rājayoga" (*yaś cittavṛttirahitaḥ sa tu rājayogaḥ* ‖ […] ‖ *ekībhūtaṃ tadā cittaṃ rājayogābhidhānakam* | 42b *rājayogābhidhānakam*] G_1, B, A_1, G_2, Ed : *rājayogo 'bhidhīyate* A_2 : ++*yogā hi dhānakaṃ* T). Also see footnote 67.

[74] *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4.69–77 = *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 34–42.

[75] After quoting on *mahāmudrā* from the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, Bhavadeva glosses *dvipuṭāśritā* as *nāsāpuṭadvayāśritā* (*Yuktabhavadeva* 7.187). In the *Jyotsnā* (3.27), Brahmānanda glosses *puṭadvaya* as *puṭayor dvayam iḍāpiṅgalayor yugmam*.

[76] *Yogacintāmaṇi*, p. 133; "Then she destroys the state of death, which is the basis of adversity" (*tathāsau maraṇāvasthāṃ harate vipadāśrayām*). A similar reading is found in an eighteenth-century recension of the *Haṭhapradīpikā* with ten chapters (5.17ab) (*tadā sā maraṇāvasthā harate dvipuṭāśritā*). A commentary on this text, the *Yogaprakāśikā* (5.17) understands this as *mahāmudrā* destroying the state of death which resides in the two nostrils (*yadā kuṇḍalinībodhasamaye vāyor bahir nirgamanam antaḥ praveśa iti yat puṭadvayaṃ tam āśritāṃ maraṇāvasthāṃ harate mahāmudreti bhāvaḥ*). In *Yuktabhavadeva* 7.187, Bhavadeva says, "When the retention of the breath is being done thus, *kuṇḍalinī* becomes agitated and resides in the two nostrils along with *apāna* and *prāṇa*" (*evaṃ vāyudhāraṇāyāṃ kriyamāṇāyāṃ vyākulā bhūtā kuṇḍalinī apānaprāṇābhyāṃ saha nāsāpuṭadvayāśritā bhavati*).

[77] *Amaraughaprabodha* (*beta*) 30ab (*somasūryāgnisaṃbandhaṃ jānīyād amṛtāya vai* | 30a *-saṃbandhaṃ*] A_1, G_2, T, Ed : *-saṃbandhā* B : *-saṃbandhāj* G_1, A_2. 30b *jānīyād*] *dāniryyād* B).

[78] In the context of *nāḍīs*, references to *somasūryāgni* occur in the *Tantrasadbhāva* (24.141) and *Svacchandatantra* (7.153–154). Also, see *Vivekamārtaṇḍa* 20–21 and *Śivasaṃhitā* 2.17. In *Jyotsnā* 3.28, Brahmānanda understands them in this way (*somaś ca sūryaś cāgniś ca somasūryāgnayaḥ, somasūryāgniśabdais tadadhiṣṭhitā nāḍya iḍāpiṅgalāsuṣumnāgrāhyās teṣāṃ sambandhaḥ*).

south India around the 11th and 12th centuries. It seems that some sects associated with these religions devised physical methods of yoga on the understanding that *prāṇa* could be deliberately manipulated within the body to attain *samādhi* and liberation with greater efficacy and certainty than other methods. Even though proponents claimed that Haṭhayoga would cure diseases, old age, suffering, death and so on,[79] the notion that forcefully manipulating *prāṇa* was dangerous (Birch 2011, pp. 538–539), as well as broader trends toward gnosis and ritual in these religions, may have prevented this type of yoga from becoming a central teaching of Śaivism or Vajrayāna. Nonetheless, Haṭhayoga evolved as an auxiliary practice in systems of yoga associated with Gorakṣanātha.

Comparing the *Amaraughaprabodha* with the *Amṛtasiddhi* reveals that the doctrine and metaphysics used to teach a physical yoga practice could change significantly from one tradition to another, while the physical techniques remained essentially the same. Furthermore, although the physical practice of the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s yoga is the same as that of the *Amaraughaprabodha*, only a fraction of the former's underlying doctrine was adopted by the latter. Physical yoga could be taught with minimal doctrine, and the transposition of its techniques from one sect to another was probably a contributing factor to the doctrinal simplicity of early Haṭhayoga, which relied upon basic ideas that were extracted from Vajrayāna and Śaivism. Its simplicity would have made it easy to disseminate and adapt for people of various religions and social circumstances, which might explain why its teachings endured for most of the second millennium. A core group of physical techniques, in particular the *mudrā*s and *bandha*s, came to define Haṭhayoga, across sectarian divides, throughout its history and made it a unique method for achieving *samādhi* and liberation.

The short recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* is probably the earliest work to combine Haṭha- with Rājayoga and it likely predates the *Dattātreyayogaśāstra* (13th century), which is a more syncretic text, by at least a century. The number and sophistication of physical techniques associated with Haṭhayoga gradually increased in the centuries following the *Amaraughaprabodha*, but the doctrine and theory remained simple until shortly after the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, when Haṭhayoga was absorbed by Brahmanical traditions. This resulted in the physical practices being merged with more complex systems of the subtle body and philosophical teachings from Pātañjalayoga, Vedānta and Tantra. Thus, by the eighteenth century, some erudite Brahmins were writing large compendiums on Haṭhayoga, such as the *Haṭhasaṅketacandrikā*, and others composed encyclopaedic digests on yoga that incorporated the distinct methods of Haṭhayoga. Also, at this time, Upaniṣads based on Haṭhayoga texts were created and references to Haṭhayoga appeared in commentaries on the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*, such as Vijñānabhikṣu's *Yogavārttika* and Nārāyaṇatīrtha's *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. This process of assimilation marked the decline of Haṭhayoga as a distinct method, insofar as its physical techniques and its emphasis on bodily health had become essential components of more general notions of yoga in the modern period.

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[79] These benefits and more are mentioned in the section on Haṭhayoga in the *beta* recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha* (e.g., 22ab, 23cd, 31, 32, 36, 37cd and 40cd).

helped me to understand the content of the *Amaraughaprabodha* and the differences between its two recensions. Reading both recensions at a Haṭha Yoga Project workshop (15–18.1.2018) at the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Pondicherry with Christèle Barois, Alberta Ferrario, Dominic Goodall, Viswanatha Gupta, Jacqueline Hargreaves, Shaman Hatley, Nirajan Kafle, Murali Krishnan, James Mallinson, SAS Sarma, Mark Singleton and Somdev Vasudeva deepened my understanding of the text and enabled me to solve many problems in my critical editions and translations of both recensions. Also, thanks to James Mallinson and Péter-Dániel Szántó for sharing with me a draft of their critical edition of the *Amṛtasiddhi*. My work on this article has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant Agreement No. 647963). My critical edition and translation of the *Amaraughaprabodha* will be published as one of the outputs of the Haṭha Yoga Project in 2020.

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Appendix

Twelve of *beta*'s variant readings and six of *theta*'s (in **red**) match those of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

Verse No.	Theta	Beta	*Haṭhapradīpikā* Ed.	*Haṭhapradīpikā* Mss.
9a	**citte samatvam**	citte tu sattvam	**citte samatvam**	
29c	prasāritaṃ padaṃ	pādaṃ prasāritaṃ	prasāritaṃ padaṃ	pādaṃ prasāritaṃ Kha, Pa pādaprasāritaṃ Ka, Ga, Pha
29c	kṛtvā	dhṛtvā	kṛtvā	dhṛtvā Kha, Pa, Ga, Pha
32a	mahārogā mahākleśā	**mahākleśādayo doṣā**	**mahākleśādayo doṣāḥ**	
32b	jīryante	bhidyant	kṣīyante	jīryante Ga, Ta
34b	hṛdaye cibuke kṛte	cibukaṃ hṛdaye **dṛḍhaṃ**	hṛdaye cibuke **dṛḍhaṃ**	
35b	gativiśodhanaḥ	gativibodhakaḥ	gatinirodhakaḥ	gamanabodhakaḥ Ka, Kha, Ga gativibodhakaḥ Pha
35c	gatvā	**dhatte**	**dhatte**	
38c	**āvṛtya**	ārudhya	**āvṛtya**	
39a	bhūtvā	**bhūmau**	**bhūmau**	
40c	samākramya	samākṛṣya (Ga)	atikramya	samākṛṣya Ka, Kha, Ta, Tha, Pa samākramya Ga
42c	caitad	**caiva**	**caiva**	
45d	yogāvasthā caturvidhā	cetasas tasya bhūmikāḥ	syād avasthā catuṣṭayam	
46a	vedhād	**bhedād**	**bhedād**	
47b	**-gandhas tv**	-gandho hy	**-gandhas tv**	
47c	-hṛdayaḥ śūra	-hṛdaye **śūnye** tv	-hṛdayaḥ **śūnya**	
48a	**dvitīyāyāṃ ghaṭīkṛtya**	dvitīye saṃghaṭīkṛtya	**dvitīyāyāṃ ghaṭīkṛtya**	
48d	jñānād eva samaprabhaḥ	**jñānī devasamas tadā**	**jñānī devasamas tathā**	jñānī devasamas tadā Ka, Gha, Ya, Va
49a	tathā	**tato**	**tato**	
49a	vedhāt	**bhedāt**	**bhedāt**	
50c	**tadā**	tato	**tadā**	
50d	sarvasandhi-	**sarvasiddhi-**	**sarvasiddhi-**	
51a	**tato jitvā**	rocitvāt	**tadā jitvā**	
51c	doṣamṛtyu-	**doṣaduḥkha-**	**doṣaduḥkha-**	
51d	-duḥkha-	-mṛtyu-	-vyādhi-	-mṛtyu- Ga

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