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*From Isolation to Union:
Pātañjala vis-à-vis Śaiva Understandings of the
Meaning and Goal of Yoga*¹

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1. Introduction

Two of the major currents of Sanskritic yoga in the medieval period were Pātañjala Yoga (also referred to as Aṣṭāṅga Yoga, ‘Yoga of [i.e., attained by] Eight Auxiliaries’), going back to the seminal *Pātañjalayogasāstra* (PYŚ, ca. 325–425)² and its commentaries, and Ṣaḍaṅga Yoga (‘Yoga of [i.e., attained by] Six Auxiliaries’), which was widespread in tantric Śaiva (and, to a lesser extent, Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra and Buddhist)³ scriptural and non-

¹ I am delighted to contribute to this volume in honour of my first academic mentor, who introduced me to the study of Sanskrit, Indian Philosophy, and tantric Śaiva traditions at the ‘Sapienza’ University of Rome in the early 2000s. His fascinating lectures, some of which I still vividly remember 20 years later, as well as his brilliant and erudite writings, inspired me to pursue the study of Śaivism. I will always be grateful to him for having encouraged me to pursue my interest in the Śaiva traditions from Java and Bali, which I developed during my studies in Rome and which still forms my main research focus to date.

² In this article, PYŚ refers to the *Yogasūtra* (YS) with the *Bhāṣya* commentary, possibly by the redactor and systematizer of the *sūtras*, i.e. Patañjali himself (Maas 2013: 61). On the dating of the PYŚ, see *ibid.*, and Bronkhorst 1985: 194.

³ Cf. Sferra 2000:14, referring (for Pāñcarātra) to the *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* (30.57ff.) and the *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā* (Ṛṣirātra 1.14cd, 3.59cd), and to a number of tantric

scriptural sources. Recent scholarship has illuminated various aspects of the textual and religio-philosophical history of these two distinct yet related traditions, and also dealt with the relationship between them, for instance with respect to the number and status of the auxiliaries (*aṅga*).⁴ Considering the enormous amount of available textual sources, more work needs to be done on the relationship between Pātañjala Yoga and Śaiva Yoga from the early medieval period onwards. One particular vantage point from which to approach this problem is the definition of yoga and its ultimate goal. This is epitomized by the ideal of isolation (*kaivalya*) of Spirit (*puruṣa*) from Nature (*prakṛti*) by way of the purification of the mind (*citta*), espoused by Pātañjala Yoga, vis-à-vis the ideal of union (*sāyujya*), qualitative sameness (*samatā, tulya*, etc.) or identification (*sātmya/tādātmya*) with the Lord, championed by the Śaiva varieties of Śaḍaṅga Yoga.

In this article I shall return to this topic — to the study of which Prof. Torella has also contributed⁵ — by comparatively surveying pertinent passages on the meaning and goal of yoga found in the PYŚ and in selected genres of medieval Śaiva literature, namely scriptural sources and commentaries belonging to the Pāśupata and Saiddhāntika traditions, as well as Old Javanese Śaiva scriptures. My aim here is not so much to present new material, but rather to analyze and link together some relevant passages to advance the argument that, even though Pātañjala and non-Pātañjala systems of yoga might very well have emerged from a shared prototypical milieu,⁶ the PYŚ appears to have exerted an influence on the textual sources belonging to rival systems. For

Buddhist texts (*ibid.*: 15–16). Cf. also Zigmund-Cerbu 1963: 129–130, referring to a Pāñcarātra Sanskrit inscription from the Khmer domains mentioning *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*.

⁴ Recent overviews of Śaḍaṅga Yoga and its relationship with Aṣṭāṅga Yoga are Vasudeva 2004, 2017; Mallinson and Singleton 2017: 7–11 (cf. also 17–45 on the definitions of yoga, the ancillaries, etc.). On Śaḍaṅga Yoga, cf. the seminal work by Grönbold ([English translation] 1996), as well as Sferra (2000, esp. 11–16) and Zigmund-Cerbu 1963.

⁵ See in particular his discussion of the perception of Pātañjala Yoga by non-dualist Śaiva authors (Torella 2019, 2020).

⁶ While Śaḍaṅga Yoga is likely to predate Pātañjala Yoga, it is not impossible that, as suggested by Wallis (2016), Śaiva sources ‘drew on a common complex yogic milieu of the classical period, which must have included many texts now lost to us. The *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* was part of this milieu and clearly developed independently of Patañjali’s more famous *aṣṭāṅgayoga*.’

instance, it seems that many Śaiva authors, while providing their own sectarian accounts of the ultimate goal of yoga, did have the Pātañjala understandings in mind. This intertextuality reveals an appropriation or creative (re)use⁷ of the Pātañjala terminology by the Śaiva sources, and its application to affirm the hierarchically higher soteriological efficacy of the Śaiva system. Whether characterized by silent appropriation or more open criticism — by either openly or subtly critiquing it, Śaiva authors intended to distinguish themselves from a system that they deemed to be a rival as well as a partial truth —, this attitude suggests not only that the Śaivas may have been partly indebted to Pātañjala Yoga, but also that they could not avoid engaging in a dialectic relationship with what must have been a widespread and authoritative system of yoga in the mainstream Brahmanical religio-philosophical discourse.⁸

2. Śaiva attitudes towards Pātañjala Yoga

Śaiva texts, both by anonymous and identifiable authors, display a somewhat ambivalent stance towards yoga, championing one or more approaches across the fourfold soteriological spectrum formed by observances (*caryā*), ritual (*kriyā*), gnosis (*jñāna*), and yoga — the last item representing a sort of ‘middle ground’ between action and knowledge, in which to varying degrees internalized psycho-physical practices play a role as propaedeutic means of salvation and empowerment.⁹ As Torella (2019: 656) has recently

⁷ The label ‘adaptive reuse,’ traditionally employed in the domain of architecture, has been recently discussed by Freschi and Maas (2017) in the context of South Asian textual and religio-philosophical traditions, as comprising four main aspects, viz. ‘(1.) the involvement of at least one consciously acting agent, who, (2.) in order to achieve a certain purpose, (3.) resumes the usage (4.) of a clearly identifiable object after an interruption in its being used. The attribute “adaptive” presupposes that the reusing person pursues a specific purpose by adapting something already existent to his or her specific needs’ (*ibid.* 2017: 13). Deeming points 3 and especially 4 somewhat too restrictive, here I employ the term ‘reuse’ in a more general sense, as reflecting dynamics of conscious mimesis, appropriation and reelaboration characterizing traditional Indic text-building practices.

⁸ Birch and Hargreaves (2016: 37), commenting on Patañjali’s influence on medieval Brahmanical literature, contend: ‘It is as though many erudite Brahmins kept the *Pātañjalayogasāstra* in their manuscript collections and pulled it off the shelf, so to speak, when in need of a reference on yoga.’

⁹ A pioneering yet still useful study of yoga in Śaiva Saiddhāntika texts is Brunner 1994.

put it, ‘side by side with an utterly derogatory attitude, the texts of non-dual Śaivism also address high praises to yoga.’ In this context, ‘yoga’ refers to a variety of tantric yoga practices. These were sometimes contrasted with Pātañjala Yoga, deemed to be a less effective path characterized by detachment (*vairāgya*) and repeated practice (*abhyāsa*), as opposed to the tantric path characterized by empowerment and quick and effortless efficacy in bringing about the identification with Śiva or the supreme consciousness.¹⁰ For instance, the Kashmirian polymath Abhinavagupta (*fl.* ca. 975–1025) repeatedly critiques the *yogāṅgas* of Patañjali (and any *yogāṅgas*, indeed) as an inferior, or even useless, method for realizing the supreme consciousness that is the highest goal of the non-dualist Krama system.¹¹ Another point of disagreement between Śaiva and Pātañjala Yoga traditions is the emphasis on God in the former system, as opposed to its marginality in the latter, where *īśvara* covers the secondary role of a perfect *puruṣa* that could serve as an optional support for focusing the attention of chronically agitated minds, or that of a bestower of grace who may at best help those who are in search of liberation (PYŚ 1.4, 2.1). This lack of theism inevitably relegated the Pātañjala Yoga system (and Sāṅkhya too, which provided much of its philosophical background) to a secondary position in the soteriological hierarchy in the eyes of the Śaivas — a view that already emerges in the seminal Pāśupata treatise *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (PBh) and continues to be attested in later sources of the Śaiva Mantramārga.

A similarly negative, yet somewhat more ambivalent, stance towards Pātañjala Yoga can be detected in the works by Śaiva Saiddhāntika exegetes, like the strictly dualistic Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa-

¹⁰ Cf. verse 14 of the Kashmirian nondualist short work *Svabodhodayamañjarī* by Vāmanadatta, contrasting this method (described in *Yogasūtra* 1.12 and *Bhagavadgītā* 4.36cd) to the ‘effortless’ (*ayatnena*) method of suppression (*nirodha*) championed by the text (Torella 2000: 404).

¹¹ Torella 2019 lists such passages as *Tantrāloka* 4.87 (against the five *yamas* or restraints), 4.95 (against the three *aṅgas* of fixation, visualization, and absorption), 4.104 (against repeated practice, *abhyāsa*), 4.90ab (against breath-control), and 10.215cd–216ab (against withdrawal of the senses from their objects), as well as *Mālinīvijayavārttika* 2.106–107; compare Torella 2020: 846–847, and see also *Tantrasāra* 4.13–27. The consideration of the *aṅgas* as mere preliminaries to the yoga proper, which is the realization of Śiva’s powers, is a fairly widespread motif in Śaiva literature.

kaṇṭha (*fl.* ca. 900–950), Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha (II) (*fl.* ca. 950–1000), and Aghoraśiva (*fl.* ca. mid-12th c.). Since these authors reveal familiarity with the PYS, they seemingly consider Patañjali as an authority in matters of yoga. For instance, in his commentary to the *Yogapāda* (YP) of the *Mataṅgapārameśvaratantra*, Rāmakaṇṭha refers to the *Yogasūtras* (YS) no less than 28 times, and quotes 19 different *sūtras* (Creisméas 2015: 84–85).¹² Other Saiddhāntika authors too pay occasional lip service to Patañjali: for instance, Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, in his commentary on the YP of the *Mygendratāntra*, approvingly refers to the YS and Patañjali multiple times (e.g. *ad*YP 6, 7cd, 54c–55b), and so does Aghoraśiva’s commentary on the *Yogaprakaraṇa* of the *Sarvajñānottara*.¹³ Post-10th-c. Saiddhāntika commentator Śrī Kumāradeva also quotes Patañjali with approval,¹⁴ and Īśānaśiva in his *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (YP 2) utilizes the eight *yogāṅgas* taught by Patañjali instead of the six taught in most tantric scriptures. At the same time, like their Pāśupata predecessors, those authors never hesitate to affirm the supremacy of Śaiva Yoga, and sometimes openly critique Patañjali as the promulgator of a system of yoga that leads only to partial liberation.¹⁵ But in doing so, they seem to implicitly acknowledge that that system was an obligatory point of reference in the domain of yoga by their time.

Influence from Pātañjala Yoga is detectable in some revealed Śaiva scriptures, such as Siddhāntatantras, especially those belonging to the later stratum of the corpus. Whereas the majority of the Siddhāntatantras adhered to the Śaiva Ṣaḍaṅga Yoga, post-10th-c. Sanskrit scriptures hailing from South India (alongside the 8th–9th

¹² Patañjali’s philosophy is referred to extensively by the same author in his commentary on the *Kiraṇa*, in the *Nareśvaraṇḍīśāprakāśa*, and in the *Paramokṣanirāsakārikāvṛtti*, commenting on the homonymous work by Sadyojyotis (ca. 675–725). The latter critiques the ideal of *kaivalya* by Sāṅkhyas (as well as the adherents to the yoga of Patañjali) in verses 2a and 53–56 (Watson, Goodall and Sarma 2013: 225–228, 445–460).

¹³ On *Sarvajñānottara*, *Yogaprakaraṇa* 2, quoting YS 2.30 and 2.32 (on *yamas* and *niyamas*).

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., *Tātparyadīpikā* on Bhoja’s *Tattvaṇḍīśā* 52 (4th *pariccheda*), referring to the treatise of *bhagavat patañjali* (YS 1.10: *abhāvaṇḍīśāyālamānā nidrā*), and echoing the wording of YS 1.15 (*dṛṣṭānuśravikaviśayavītyṣṇasya vaśīkārasaṃjñā vairāgyam*) in the expression *avairāgyaṃ ca dṛṣṭānuśravikaviśayarāgaḥ*.

¹⁵ Cf., e.g., Rāmakaṇṭha on *Mataṅga* YP 1.3d.

c. Kashmirian *Netratantra*),¹⁶ such as the *Ajitāgama* (Kriyāpāda 2.29),¹⁷ the *Makutāgama* (*Prāṇāyāmaavidhi* 1–2ab),¹⁸ the *Suprabhedāgama* (YP 3.53–55ab),¹⁹ the *Śāradātilakatantra* (YP 25.5–6),²⁰ and the *Jñānasiddhyāgama*,²¹ as well as Tamil texts such as Tirumular’s *Tirumantiram*,²² adopt the eight auxiliaries of Pātañjala Yoga (or simply refer to Aṣṭāṅga Yoga) instead, while retaining at the same time their theistic yoga.²³ Intriguingly enough, earlier scriptures preserved in both Nepalese and South Indian manuscripts present redacted versions of the auxiliaries in the manuscripts or editions from the latter region, thereby documenting a shift from Śaḍaṅga to Aṣṭāṅga Yoga.²⁴ Some scriptures, such as the yoga sec-

¹⁶ Cf. 8.9 (*tataḥ prabhṛti mukto ’sau na punarjanma cāpnuyāt | aṣṭāṅgena tu yogena prāpnuyān nānyataḥ kvacit*) and 8.21 (*evam aṣṭāṅgayogena svabhāvasthaṃ paraṃ dhruvam | dṣṭvā vañcayate kālam amṛteṣaṃ paraṃ vibhum*), as well as the description of the auxiliaries in-between. The text, however, still upholds a theistic view: supreme absorption (*paraḥ samādhiḥ*) implies the identification of the Self with Śiva (8.18).

¹⁷ *yamādy aṣṭāṅgayogena vimalikṛtamānasaiḥ | pūjyate netarais tasya pūjākṛtyaṃ viśiṣyate ||*.

¹⁸ *yamaniyamāsanañ ca [em.; yamanīm āsanaṃ caiva ms.] prāṇāyāmam atah param | pratyāhāraṃ ca dhyānaṃ ca dhāraṇā ca [em.; na ms.] samādhikam || aṣṭāṅgam iti vijñeyaṃ yogināṃ yogasādhanam | (= Suprabhedāgama YP 3.54).*

¹⁹ *śaivānāṃ sādhanam proktaṃ pañcadhā samudāhṛtam | yogāṣṭakāṅgau vakyāmi śṛṅṣuḥvaikāgramānasah || yamaniyamāsanañ ca prāṇāyāmaṃ tataḥ param | pratyāhāraṃ ca dhyānañ ca dhāraṇā ca samādhikam || aṣṭāṅgam iti vijñeyaṃ yogināṃ yogasādhanam |*.

²⁰ *yogāṣṭāṅgair imān jītvā yogino yogam āpnuyuh | yamaniyamāv āsanaḥprāṇāyāmau tataḥ param || pratyāhāraṃ dhāraṇākhyāṃ dhyānaṃ sārdaṃ samādhinā | aṣṭāṅgāny āhur etāni yogino yogasādhanā.*

²¹ Cf. pp. 1, 21, 38. Sanderson (2014: 90) sees this work by Jñānaśivācārya as a product of a late medieval South Indian milieu ‘showing a similar admixture of the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta, Śāktism, and Vedānta.’

²² Cf. Tantra 3, p. 86 (vv. 551–552), where Aṣṭāṅga Yoga is regarded as a means to reach *samādhi*, equated to *jñāna*.

²³ Similarly, except the *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* and the *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā*, the majority of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās adopt Aṣṭāṅga Yoga: cf. Sferra 2000: 14, n. 12.

²⁴ For instance, the Devakoṭṭai edition of the *Kiraṇatantra* (58.2c–3) substitutes *tarka* of Śaḍaṅga Yoga with *āsana*. Since the Nepalese manuscripts retain *tarka*, Vasudeva (2004: 377) has regarded this substitution ‘as an attempt [by a modern editor] to approximate the yoga of the *Kiraṇa* to the classical system of Patañjali’; Goodall (2004: 351–352, n. 735), however, has shown that the South Indian palm-leaf manuscripts on which the Devakoṭṭai edition was based already read *āsana*, thus suggesting that the adoption of the Pātañjala list of *aṅgas* goes back to the premodern period.

tions of the relatively late and ‘śāstric’ *Mygendra*,²⁵ reflect an attempt to ‘hybridize’ the Śaiva and Pātañjala lists of *aṅgas*. An analogous attempt is reflected in *haṭhayoga* texts, such as the *Gheraṇḍasamhitā*, the *Gorakṣaśataka*, and the *Vivekamārtaṇḍa*, which represents a distinct, ‘Patañjalified’ tradition of tantric Śaḍaṅga Yoga.²⁶

A similar attempt to bridge the two systems is documented in roughly coeval (Sanskrit-)Old Javanese Śaiva scriptures, for instance through the creation of hybrid lists of seven *aṅgas* halfway between Śaḍaṅga Yoga and Aṣṭāṅga Yoga, as in the case of the *Tattvajñāna*,²⁷ or the adoption of certain Pātañjala elements and terminology in a Śaiva doctrinal framework, such as in the case of chapter 19 of the *Jñānasiddhānta*, or again the appropriation — and modification along theistic lines — of Pātañjala Yoga by incorporating excerpts from the PYS, as in the case of the *Dharma Pātañjala*.²⁸

These attempts by post-9th-c. authors and transmitters of Śaiva texts to ‘interpolate’ certain passages in order to make them compliant with Pātañjala Yoga, or to hybridize Śaḍaṅga Yoga and Pātañjala Yoga, suggest a gradual rise in status and importance of the latter system in the course of the second half of the first millennium CE across the wider Indic world.²⁹ On the other hand, they also tell us that Pātañjala Yoga had achieved a somewhat paradoxical status in the religio-philosophical discourse, namely that of an authoritative system that did not engender a robust philoso-

²⁵ See YP 3, listing eight auxiliaries including the six of Śaḍaṅga Yoga (in which *vīkṣaṇa* = *tarka*) plus *japa* and *yoga* itself as the climax: *prāṇāyāmaḥ pratyāhāro dhāraṇā dhyānavīkṣaṇe | japaḥ samādhir ity aṅgāny aṅgi yogo śṭamaḥ svayam*.

²⁶ On these texts, and the relationship between Patañjali and *haṭhayoga*, see Larson 2009 and Mallinson 2007; on Śaivism’s appropriation of *haṭhayoga*, see Mallinson 2014.

²⁷ This text includes seven auxiliaries, i.e. the six standard auxiliaries of Śaḍaṅga Yoga plus *āsana* of Pātañjala Yoga. See Table 19.1 in Aciri 2021.

²⁸ For a survey of these sources and, more generally, of yoga in Indonesia, see Aciri 2021.

²⁹ The rise and ‘canonization’ of Pātañjala Yoga into Classical Yoga seems to have occurred in parallel to the rise and ‘canonization’ of the philosophical system of Vedānta — which elected Pātañjala Yoga as one of the valid means to achieve liberation — within what we now call ‘Hinduism.’ The rise of Vedānta influenced also Śaivism, which in South India flourished as a non-dualist Tamil variety of Śaiva Siddhānta from the 11th/12th c. onwards.

phical tradition — its textual corpus being limited to a handful of authoritative commentaries —, but that was restated in different ways by different currents, including the theistic ones.³⁰

The above-mentioned facts highlight the close dialectic inter-relationship existing between these two systems of yoga and their textual corpora throughout the medieval and early modern period. Starting from these premises, in what follows I will comparatively discuss some select textual passages containing definitions of yoga and its goal in the PYŚ and medieval Śaiva literature.

3. *The PYŚ*

As remarked above, while Śaiva authors diverged from Pātañjala Yoga sources on such relatively marginal aspects as the definition and number of the *aṅgas* or the emphasis on *aṅgas*³¹ other than *samādhi* as their climax,³² or again the accentuation of sudden realization rather than gradual practice, a more central point of disagreement was the very definition of yoga and its ultimate goal. For instance, the commentary on YS 1.1 (*atha yogānuśāsanam*, ‘here begins the authoritative teaching on yoga’) clarifies that *yoga* is to be intended in the sense of absorption (*yogaḥ samādhiḥ*), i.e., *samādhau* (and then, by implication, not in the sense of connec-

³⁰ Insofar that its primary focus was not on philosophy but on practice, Pātañjala Yoga as formulated in the PYŚ was prone to transcend the boundaries of distinct philosophical schools, lending itself to integration into the scriptures of rival systems. The PYŚ was described by Larson (1999) as a ‘tradition text’ of ‘non-sectarian’ nature, which, conflating Sāṅkhya and Buddhist formulations, was itself characterized by a hybrid character. It has also been argued by various scholars (whose views are summarized in Larson 2008: 62–64) that the doctrine of the eight ancillaries originally belonged to a different—and possibly older—system and was merged into the PYŚ by the editor and commentator of the *sūtras*.

³¹ For instance, *āsanas*, *yamas*, and *niyamas* are usually mentioned in Śaiva texts containing accounts of Śaḍaṅga Yoga, yet they are considered mere preparatory practices to the *upāyas* or *yogāṅgas* proper.

³² While Pātañjala Yoga does not include *tarka* among the auxiliaries (but one may argue that, historically, *saṃprajñāta samādhi* is related to *tarka*), some Śaiva texts, such as the *Mālinīvijayottara* and post-10th-c. Kashmirian nondual Śaiva exegetes, consider it the most important among the auxiliaries (Vasudeva 2004: 373). In many early Śaiva texts, *samādhi* is not regarded as the most important *aṅga*, and it is never regarded as a synonym of yoga, unlike in the PYŚ (Mallinson and Singleton 2017: 325).

tion, i.e. *yoge*).³³ Thus, the root *yuj* entails *samādhāna* ('concentration,' or 'absorption') into one's own Self, that is to say isolation (*kaivalya*) of *puruṣa* from *prakṛti*. That goal is achieved through the purification of *citta* from the three constituents (*guṇa*) of Nature, which thereby ceases to mistakenly identify itself with the *puruṣa*.³⁴ It follows that in the PYŚ *samādhi* is not only one, and the highest, among the ancillaries of yoga, but rather forms its very essence, which leads to the state of isolation amounting to final release.

Having defined yoga as the depletion of the activities of the mind (*yogaś cittavṛttinirodhaḥ*) in *sūtra* 1.2, the PYŚ goes on to describe the ultimate goal resulting from the higher type of *samādhi* in *sūtra* 1.3: *tadā draṣṭuḥ svarūpe 'vasthānam*, 'Then the seer is established in its own form.' This is a key *sūtra*, echoes of which, as I will argue, appear to recur in many of the passages discussed in this article. A central term is *avasthānam*, from the stem *ava+sthā*, which could be rendered into English as 'to stay, abide, stop at any place,' 'to abide in a state or condition,' 'to remain or continue (doing anything),' 'to be found, exist, be present,' 'to enter, be absorbed in' (Monier-Williams 1899: 106). The last two meanings seem to be particularly appropriate here in view of the meaning of *samādhi* as 'intense absorption or a kind of trance' (*ibid.*: 1159), alongside the other meanings of the stem *samādhā*, 'to place, set, lay, fix, direct, settle, adjust' (*ibid.*). Thus, the Pātañjala system regards liberation as the spirit or Soul being immersed and permanently established in itself.

The aforementioned state coincides with the end of its mistaken connection or identification (*saṃyoga*) with the tainted, outer-oriented mind, which is part of *prakṛti*:³⁵ in *samādhi*, the realization of the ontological difference between the subject and Nature, cal-

³³ A definition explicitly mentioning the derivation from the *Dhātupāṭha* (IV.68) is found in Bhoja's commentary on the YS, the *Rājamārtanḍa* (ca. early 11th c.), on the same *sūtra* (*yogo yuktaḥ samādhānam | yuja samādhau*), as well as in Vācaspatimiśra's (9th c.) commentary (*Tattvavaiśārādī*) on the PYŚ (*ad.* 1.1, p. 2), which explicitly excludes *yujir yoge* (as in *Dhātupāṭha* VII.7). Cf. below, n. 66.

³⁴ Cf. YS 3.55: *sattvapuruṣayoḥ śuddhisāmye kaivalyam iti*, 'When the purity of the consciousness (*sattva* ≈ *buddhi*) is equal to that of the Spirit, Isolation [occurs].'

³⁵ Cf. YS 2.17: *draṣṭṛdṛśayoḥ saṃyogo heyahetuḥ*, 'The connection between the seer and what is seen is the cause of what is to be removed (i.e., suffering).'

led *vivekakhyaṭi*, causes the cessation of suffering and the complete separation (or isolation or aloneness, *kaivalya*) of the subject from Nature. This state of liberation is conceived of as an unrestricted self-awareness of the subject, which is then established in its essential form (*svarūpapraṭiṣṭha*: see PYŚ 4.34). The term *svarūpapraṭiṣṭha*, which can be regarded as conveying a meaning that is analogous to that of *sūtra* 1.3, occurs multiple times in the PYŚ, viz. in 1.2, 1.3, 2.25, 3.50, and 4.34 — the final, climatic *sūtra* of the work; cf. *svarūpapraṭilambhe* in 2.6. Clearly, all these key terms epitomize the Pātañjala idea of liberation as *kaivalya*.

Having briefly presented relevant textual passages of the PYŚ and the key ideas conveyed by them, I shall now discuss instances of critique and/or reuse of this Pātañjala Yoga material in Śaiva literature.

4. Pāśupata sources

The view that yoga is to be intended in the sense of ‘union’ between the individual Soul and the Lord is already found in the ‘proto-tantric’ Pāśupata system, the earliest documented movement of Śaivism. Attesting to an early form of Śaiva yoga, this tradition — or rather constellation of traditions, collectively part of the Atimārga movement — arguably constitutes the prototypical system from which many medieval currents of Śaiva yoga originated.

For the Pāñcārthika Pāśupata system, whose philosophical tenets are outlined in Kauṇḍinya’s PBh (prob. 4th/5th c.) on the *Pāśupatasūtras* (PS) and in the *Gaṇakārikās* (GK; prob. 8th c.) with Bhāsarvajña’s *Ratnaṭikā* (RT; prob. 10th c.), yoga (in the sense of ‘union with God’) is one of the five principles or *padārthas* systematized by Kauṇḍinya. The Pāśupatas knew a specific form of yoga, called *pāśupatayoga*. This yoga, which is not described in the philosophical treatises but in Purāṇic texts,³⁶ mainly consisted in such disciplines as breath-control and postures, supernatural powers, as well as a form of ‘yogic suicide’ (*utkrānti*).³⁷ As such, it approached

³⁶ See the early *Skandapurāṇa* (chapters 174–183); chapters 11, 14 and 15 of the *Vāyupurāṇa*; ch. 33 of the *Vāyavīyasamhitā* of the *Sivapurāṇa*; as well as several chapters in the *Līṅgapurāṇa*.

³⁷ The Pāśupata adept had to die before being united with Rudra (Sanderson 2014: 10–11). It is relevant to point out here that *utkrānti* is already mentioned as a means leading to liberation in PYŚ 3.39.

the *kriyāyoga* outlined in the second chapter of the PYS, but, unlike it, it was also characterized by a strongly theistic nuance.

We do not know much about the philosophical framework of this system of yoga, but some textual passages suggest that it may have been indebted to ideas elaborated in both Pātañjala and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika milieus. Hara (2002: 25–26) argued that, although Pāśupata theologians tried to deviate as much as possible from (Pātañjala) Yoga and even looked down upon it, condemning it as a false view and regarding its goal (*kaivalya*) as leading to suffering, its tradition still ‘supplied the basic framework (Grundgerüst) for the formation of the Pāśupata theology’ (*ibid.*: 46); furthermore, Pāśupata Śaivism ‘tried to distinguish itself from the “Yoga” as a philosophical system, while taking full advantage of the “yoga” as a common heritage (Gemeingut) of Indian culture’ (*ibid.*). Similarly, Hara (*ibid.*: 153) argued that the Pāśupata philosophical system emerged from Sāṅkhya and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika ideas.³⁸ It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that, while the yoga of the Pāśupatas tried to distinguish itself from those of its predecessors, especially by evolving in a theistic direction, it was also intellectually indebted to them.

Be this as it may, the critique of ‘Yoga’ alongside Sāṅkhya (*sāṅkhyayoga*),³⁹ and the association of both with *kaivalya* that we

³⁸ ‘Although the date of Kauṇḍinya is still uncertain, the main source he used for the philosophical foundation obviously was from the Sāṅkhya school of thought, though we meet occasionally the concepts of Nyāya as well as Vaiśeṣika’; cf. Gonda 1963: 214. Several scholars (cf., e.g., Bhandarkar 1913: 117; Matilal 1977: 85; Lorenzen 1991: 110, 134–135, 191; Hara 2002: 278) have noted that Pāśupatism was indebted to the Vaiśeṣika system, and vice-versa. Cf. Preisendanz 2011: ‘Śaivism was the dominant religious background of the Vaiśeṣika tradition from at least the classical period onward [...]. Pāśupatas were among those who were interested in Vaiśeṣika and wrote on it, and thus influenced the development of the tradition.’

³⁹ At least seven occurrences of this compound are found in the PBh (viz. *ad* 1.1 [twice], 2.17, 5.7, 5.39 [twice]). The fact that this compound should not be interpreted as ‘the method (*yoga*) of Sāṅkhya’ is suggested not only by the context, but also by the fact that in PBh *ad* 5.8 we find a separation between Yoga and Sāṅkhya: *evam yat sāmkyam yogaś ca varṇayati* [...]. Cf. PBh *ad* 5.46: *yogaviśeṣaḥ | anyeṣāṃ kaivalyam | iha tu viśeṣo vikaraṇam iti*, ‘Now the method of distinction with respect to yoga. In other systems the final goal is perfect isolation (*kaivalya*), but here the final goal is better, namely, freedom from the instruments’ (tr. Hara 2002: 24), and *ad* 5.40, stating that the Pāśupata system is not founded on Yoga

find in the PBh suggest that Kauṇḍinya had a non-theistic/non-Pāśupata form of yoga in mind. This may very well have been Pātañjala Yoga; assuming that the PBh was composed at a slightly later date than the PYŚ, it is not impossible that Kauṇḍinya might have had access to that text. Thus, while the yoga described in Pāśupata philosophical treatises bears some similarities with the yoga described in the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* (VS),⁴⁰ thereby reflecting a different prototypical line of filiation — perhaps, a lost non-Pātañjala *Yogaśāstra* attributed to Hiraṇyagarbha,⁴¹ or other sources belonging to an early ‘common yogic milieu’⁴² —, one may still try to detect instances of intertextuality between the PYŚ and the PBh (as well as the later RṬ) — something that has already been noted, for instance, with respect to such yogic items as the *siddhis* or the *yamas* and *niyamas* featuring in the PBh.⁴³

In PBh 1.1, Kauṇḍinya defines yoga as a (particular) contact (*saṃyoga*) between the Soul (*ātman*) and the Lord (*īśvara*): *atrātmeśvarasaṃyogo yogah*. In this expression, which occurs no less

(in the Pātañjala sense?) as it forms an incomplete kind of knowledge leading to *kaivalya*. Compare RṬ, p. 14.28 and p. 15.3 (Pāśupata Yoga is superior as it brings about the complete end of suffering, not just *kaivalya*). Hara (*ibid.*) notes that ‘the schools from which Kauṇḍinya tries to distinguish his own are Sāṃkhya and Yoga’, whose highest goals are relegated to a position of secondary importance. PBh *ad* 1.1, p. 5.15–16, states that Sāṃkhyas and the Lords of Sāṃkhya and (Pātañjala) Yoga are beasts (*paśu*); on pp. 2–3, it states that those attaining *kaivalya* (*kaivalyagataḥ*; cf. RṬ p. 23.5–7) are still in the cycle of transmigration, while the Pāśupata adept, being beyond *kaivalya* (*kaivalyavyatiriktaḥ*, PBh *ad* 5.40), obtains the end of suffering (Hara 2002: 27).

⁴⁰ It should be noted that the relevant *sūtras*, describing yoga and *mokṣa*, were attributed by Wezler (1982) to the later, (Pātañjala?) yoga-influenced layers of the text. See *infra*.

⁴¹ Harimoto (2021: 72) has hypothesized the existence of an early system of yoga comprising five *aṅgas* (*āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, and *dhāraṇā*) subscribing to the Vaiśeṣika mechanism of perception caused by contact (*sambandha/sannikarṣa/saṃyoga*) between objects, sense faculties, mind, and the Self (cf. PYŚ 2.54–55), and according to which yoga consisted in the contact (*saṃyoga*) between mind and Self only (cf. *Vivaraṇa* on PYŚ 1.1; Harimoto 2014: 200–203). Harimoto traces this type of yoga back to a pre-Pātañjala *yogaśāstra* traditionally ascribed to Hiraṇyagarbha (= Brahmā), which used Vaiśeṣika frameworks to describe its philosophical and soteriological system. Cf. below, n. 63.

⁴² Cf. above, n. 6.

⁴³ See Hara 2002 (esp. 17–46); cf. also the practice of ‘eruption’ of the breath (*udghāta*) described in the PYŚ, the PBh, and several tantric texts (see Mallinson and Singleton 2017: 132–133).

than seven times in the PBh,⁴⁴ yoga coincides with the climax of the system. This definition mirrors the particular contact (*saṃyoga*) between the thinking-organ (*manas*) and the *ātman* in the Vaiśeṣika definition of yoga (and *mokṣa*) in VS 5.2.16–17, which has been regarded by Wezler (1982) as an influence by (Pātañjala?) Yoga — for a yoga-centred soteriology was not part of the original system, being unattested in the earliest stratum of the VS.⁴⁵ In Kauṇḍinya’s formulation of *saṃyoga*, the term *īśvara* is used instead of *manas*, which gives to the definition of yoga a theistic orientation. Now, the ‘special contact’ postulated by the Vaiśeṣikas presupposes the absence (i.e., its elimination by way of yoga) of the ‘wrong contact’, engendering suffering, between the *manas* and the Soul: cf. VS 5.2.20, *tadabhāve saṃyogābhāvo ’prādurbhāvah sa mokṣah*, ‘Since this [*adyṣṭa*] does not exist, there is no contact [between internal organ and Soul, i.e. life], and the non-manifestation [of a new body]. That is liberation.’⁴⁶ This *sūtra* closely mirrors YS 2.25: *tadabhāvāt saṃyogābhāvo hānaṃ tad dṛśeḥ kaivalyam*, ‘Since this [ignorance that is the cause of the pain to be eliminated] does not exist, there is no contact [between the mind and the spirit]. This is the elimination [of pain], the isolation of consciousness.’⁴⁷

⁴⁴ PBh 1.1, 1.20, 2.11, 5.2, 5.12, 5.20, 5.23.

⁴⁵ Cf. VS 5.2.16–17: *indriyamano ’rthasannikarsāt sukhaduḥkhe tadanārambhātma-sṭhe manasi | saśārīrasya sukhaduḥkhābhāvāḥ | sa yogah*, ‘Pleasure and pain [arise] out of the drawing near to each other of sense(s), internal organ, and object [of cognition]; this (i.e. the drawing near to each other...) does not arise when the internal organ is in the soul. [Then] there is neither pleasure nor pain for the embodied [soul]. This is *yoga*’ (as reconstructed and translated by Wezler 1982: 663, who emends *saṃyoga* into *sa yogah*); Candrānanda’s *Vṛtti* (9th c.) on *sūtra* 17, *yadā hy ātmani mano ’vasthitam nendriyēsu*, ‘when the internal organ is established in the soul and not in the organs of senses’ (*ibid.*: 650–652); and 9.13, *ātmany ātmamanasoḥ saṃyogaviśeṣād ātmapratyakṣam*, ‘Because of a particular contact of soul and internal organ [taking place] in the soul [there arises] perception of the soul’ (*ibid.*: 666). Wezler (*ibid.*: 673–674) tentatively identified in the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha* by Praśastapāda (early 6th c.) a *terminus post quem* for the redaction of these *sūtras* into the VS, but also reminded that ‘one must not necessarily take for granted that these alterations and expansions of the VS cannot but be posterior to him’. This bears implications for the issue of intertextuality discussed here. For an analogous influence by the PYŚ on the *Nyāyasūtrabhāṣya* by Pakṣilasvāmin Vātsyāyana, see Oberhammer (1964) and Wezler (1984).

⁴⁶ According to Wezler (1982: 651, 669), this *sūtra* too would belong to the later, Pātañjala Yoga-influenced layer of the text.

⁴⁷ This wrong type of contact was defined in YS 2.17: *draṣṭṛdṛśayoḥ saṃyogo*

Thus, while the PBh's definition of yoga, echoing the formulation found in the VS, departs from the one given in the PYS, it also seems to presuppose it as an intermediary step, so to speak. That this was the case may also be evinced by the sequence of *sūtras* 5.33–40 of the PS:

*labhate rudrasāyujyaṃ || sadā rudram anusmaran || chittvā doṣāṇāṃ
hetujālasya mūlam || buddhyā || svaṃ cittaṃ*⁴⁸ *|| sthāpayitvā ca rudre ||
ekah kṣemī san vītaśokaḥ || apramādī gacched duḥkhanām antam
īśaprasādāt ||*

[The Pāśupata adept] obtains union with Rudra, keeping Rudra in his mind at all times. Having cut the root of the net of causes of faults by means of intellect and having fixed the mind by itself on Rudra [continuously], alone, secure, free from sorrow, careful, he may reach the end of suffering, because of the grace of the Lord.

This above-quoted string of *sūtras*, explaining the category of 'yoga', characterizes the climax of the system, that is to say the final stage (*avasthā*) of the fivefold ascetic career of the Pāśupata adept according to Kauṇḍinya, during which he puts an end to his life in a charnel ground through 'yoga.' It presents conceptual and terminological analogies with both the PYS's and the VS's definition of yoga. First, *sūtras* 33–34 declare that the goal of the system, union with Rudra (*rudrasāyujyaṃ*), is to be obtained through constant recollection (*anusmara*) of him.⁴⁹ Second, *sūtras* 35–36 identify in the intellect (*buddhi*) the instrument to cut the root of the net of causes of faults (*doṣāṇāṃ hetujālasya mūlam* — a concept that is close to the Sāṅkhya idea of *samyagdṛṣṭi* or 'right knowledge' taking place in the *buddhi* (or in the *citta*, for Yoga). This operation discriminates the difference between *prakṛti* and

heyahetuḥ, 'The connection between the seer and what is seen is the cause of what is to be removed (i.e., suffering).'

⁴⁸ I apply the emendation, suggested by Sanderson (*2004), of *samcittam* to *svaṃ cittaṃ*. Compare RĪ ad GK 1.7: *yo vidyānuḡrhitayā buddhyā svaṃ cittaṃ nirā-lambanaṃ karoti so 'mūḍha ity ucyate*, and *Pampāmāhātmya* 11.61cd–62ab: *tasmād asmīn svaṃ cittaṃ samstāpatyantaniścalam* (cf. Bisschop 2006: 17).

⁴⁹ *Anusmara* seems to be an equivalent of *dhyāna* of both Śaḍaṅga Yoga and Aṣṭāṅga Yoga (or, rather, of *tarka* of Śaḍaṅga Yoga), here denoting a type of meditation involving the visualization of the deity. Compare the expression *īśvara-praṇidhāna* in the Kriyāyoga section of the PYS.

puruṣa, thereby leading to their separation. Third, in contrast to the PYS's ideal of *kaivalya* as the Spirit's establishment in its own form, as well as the VS's establishment of the *manas* in the Soul, *sūtras* 37–38 define the climax of 'yoga' as establishing the *citta* — not a distinctive term of Sāṅkhya or Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, but rather of Pātañjala Yoga philosophy⁵⁰ — existing 'by itself' (*svam*) in Rudra (*sthāpayitvā ca rudre*), thereby shifting the target from the Soul/Self to the deity. Kauṇḍinya glosses *svam* as *svayam eva svaguṇatvena*, 'by itself, with only its inherent property', which calls to mind the Pātañjala Yoga idea of an untainted, 'self-contained' *citta* or *buddhi* leading to *kaivalya*.⁵¹ Thus, it is as if Kauṇḍinya — who, just like Patañjali, might have not only arranged but also redacted and even compiled some of the *sūtras* — wanted to convey the idea that the pure *citta* in the state of *kaivalya*, triggered by *buddhi*, constitutes an intermediary stage, and that the final stage consists in its permanent fixation on Rudra. According to the commentary, this state is also achieved through the control of the senses from their objects (*evam viṣayebhya indriyāṇāṃ jayaḥ kartavyaḥ*, PBh 5.38), a practice that is described in VS 5.2.16 (*indriyamano 'rthasannikarṣāt*), as well as in YS 2.54 (*svaviṣayāsamprayoge cittasvarūpānukāra ivendriyāṇāṃ pratyāhārah*) and *Bhāṣya* thereon (where it is regarded as leading to *cittanirodha*). The ensuing state of release (*ekaḥ kṣemī san vītasokaḥ*, PS 5.39), introduced in the PBh with a polemic note against 'those released by way of the Sāṅkhya and Yoga and who have reached isolation (*kaivalya*) [but] lack knowledge of themselves or of anyone else,'⁵² includes the end of suffering — an ideal shared by Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika soteriology and, implicitly, Pātañjala Yoga (cf. YS 2.25).

One may compare the expression *sthāpayitvā* (the causative form of the root *sthā*) in PS 5.38 (as well as *rudrastham*, 'fixed on Rudra,' in PBh *ad* 5.37) to similar expressions based on the same

⁵⁰ *Citta* occurs only once in the PS (5.37), but some 18 times in the PBh. Cf. PBh *ad* 5.37, where *antaḥkaraṇa*, coupled with *manas*, glosses *citta* (*cittaṃ mano 'ntaḥkaraṇam ity arthaḥ*). Note that the treatment of *citta*, *antaḥkaraṇa* and *manas* in Śaiva (Mantramārga) sources is often imprecise (Vasudeva 2004: 425).

⁵¹ Compare RṬ *ad* GK 1.7: *yo vidyānugrhitayā buddhyā svam cittaṃ nirālambanam karoti so 'mūḍha ity ucyate || tayā dhāraṇayā nirmalikṛtaṃ cittaṃ rudratattve sthāpitam sudīrghakālam na cyavata*.

⁵² *sāṃkhyayogamuktāḥ kaivalyagatāḥ svātmaparātmajñānarahitāḥ*. Cf. notes 39, 56.

verbal root *sthā* in the climatic passages of the PYS quoted above (i.e., *avasthānam* in 1.3 and *pratiṣṭha* in 4.34), as well as to *ātmasthe* in VS 5.2.16 (compare *ātmani mano ’vasthitam* in Candrānanda’s *Vṛtti* on VS 5.2.17). The root *sthā* is commented in PBh on 5.38 as follows:

atra ṣṭhā gatinivṛttau | cittasya rudrād avyavadhānaṃ sthītir ity ucyate |
 [...] *rudre cittam upaśleṣayitavyaṃ nānyatrety arthaḥ | evaṃ viṣayebhya*
indriyāṇāṃ jayaḥ kartavyaḥ |

Here the root *sthā* means to cessation of motion. The state of rest is the non-separation of the mind with Rudra. [...] The meaning is: the mind should join Rudra and nothing else. Thus, one should restrain the sense-organs from their objects.

Although the root *sthā* is used the context of the final and perpetual abiding of the mind in Rudra rather than of the Soul in its own form, its gloss as ‘cessation of motion’ (*gatinivṛttau*) finds a parallel in the PYS’s explanation of the actionlessness of the *puruṣa* in 1.9.⁵³

A definition of yoga (*lakṣaṇaṃ ... yogasya*) and liberation as the *manas* abiding in the Soul and the conjunction of the Soul with the Lord is found in the Pāśupata Yoga section (ch. 1)⁵⁴ of the early *Skandapurāṇa* (ca. 6th–7th c.):

pratyaṅyasya bahir loṇo manasyātmani saṃsthite || 14cd
abhisandhiḥ pare caiva īśvarasyātmanaś ca ha |
eṣa yoga iti vyāsa kīrtitaḥ śambhunā purā || 15

When the mind abides in the Soul, [there arises] the interruption of the mental conditions pertaining to the outer reality, as well as the conjunction of the Lord and the Soul in the supreme reality. O Vyāsa, this was declared to be yoga by Śambhu in former times.

This passage, which traces the teaching of yoga to Śambhu (either Śiva or Brahmā, i.e. Hiraṇyagarbha?), contains echoes of both the Vaiśeṣika and Pāśupata definitions of yoga, apparently conceived

⁵³ ‘Thus [another example]: The Spirit is one whose fundamental properties have been denied, it is without action. In [the sentence] “The arrow comes to a standstill, will come to a standstill, has come to a standstill”, the meaning of the verbal root (*sthā*, “to stand still”) is to be understood as the cessation of motion’ (*tathā — pratiṣiddhavastudharmā, niṣkriyāḥ puruṣaḥ | tiṣṭhati bāṇaḥ, sthāsyati, sthītaḥ, iti gatinivṛttau dhātvarthaḥ*).

⁵⁴ This is the *Dhyānavidhi*, ch. 174 of the *Skandapurāṇa* (Bhaṭṭarāi’s ed.).

of as two steps towards liberation — the first purifying the *manas* by isolating it from the sense-objects and establishing it in the Soul, the second conjoining the Soul with Rudra.

A definition of liberation as the establishment of the *citta* in Rudra is elaborated in a passage of a much later text, the prob. 10th-c. RĪ on the GK (1.6ab, pp. 16.3–11), which bears close similarities with the section of the PS/PBh discussed above:

doṣahetujālasya mūlākhyānivyṛttau cittasya rudre 'vasthānam atyantaniścalatvaṃ sthitiḥ ucyate | [...] kevalarudratattvāvasthaticittatvaṃ yogitvaṃ | anurudhyamānacittavyṛttitvaṃ nityātmavasthaticittatvaṃ | [...] śarīrādiviyuktatvaṃ ekatvaṃ | [...] bāhyādhyātmikakriyāsūnyatvaṃ niṣkriyatvaṃ | samastacintārahitatvaṃ vītaśokatvaṃ ity etāni lakṣaṇāṇy asya yogasyātyantotkṛṣṭatvapratīpādanārtham uktāni |

Fixedness is when the mind, upon the destruction of what is called the root of the net of causes of faults comes to rest in Rudra and is absolutely immovable. [...] The condition of yogin (*yogitva*) means that the mind rests uniquely on the principle of Rudra. The condition of being of constant Soul means the state where all the activity of the mind (*cittavyṛtti*) is depleted. [...] The state of being alone (*ekatva*) means the separation of the body [from the Soul], etc. [...] The state of actionlessness means absence of both bodily and spiritual action. Freedom from suffering means the absence of all concerns. These characteristics are mentioned in order to show the extreme eminence of [this type of] union.

The commentary on fixedness (*sthiti*), the fourth attainment (*lābha*) in the system outlined by the text, closely echoes PBh 5.35–40: *atyantaniścalatvaṃ* (‘the state of being absolutely immovable’) conveys the same idea of *gatinivyṛttau*, and so does *niṣkriyatvaṃ* (‘the state of being without action’), which parallels the *niṣkriyaḥ* (*puruṣaḥ*) of PYS 1.9.5–6 referred to above. Further, the expression *cittasya rudre 'vasthānam* (cf. *kevalarudratattvāvasthaticittatvaṃ* in the same passage) roughly corresponds to *cittasya rudrād avyavadhānam* in PBh 5.38; the former expression may be regarded as a virtual ‘calque’ of *draṣṭuḥ svarūpe 'vasthānam* in PYS 1.3, shifting the focus from the Self to Rudra. Another notable expression is *anurudhyamānacittavyṛttitvaṃ* (‘the state where all the activity of the mind is depleted’), qualifying *nityātmavasthaticittatvaṃ*,⁵⁵ which

⁵⁵ Cf. PBh ad 5.3, discussing the state of constancy (*nityatva*) of the Soul when the adept, having stilled the mind by modifying its link with the objects of per-

recalls the *yogaś cittavyttinirodhaḥ* of YS 1.2. It implies that, while yoga itself is not the stilling or cleansing of the mind, a stilled/pure mind is a necessary condition for reaching liberation.⁵⁶ Further, the definition of the state ensuing from the cleansing of the mind, i.e. aloneness (*ekatva*), intended as the separation of the body from the Soul and so forth (cf. *ekah* in PS 5.39), calls to mind the concept of liberation as absence of the connection between *manas* and the Soul, which causes the non-manifestation of a new body, expounded in VS 5.2.20. However, I wonder whether the expression also implies a reference to (or reuse of) the Pātañjala Yoga concept of *kaivalya*, which, as we have seen above, in the Pāsupata system seems to have been understood as a necessary yet intermediate step in the process of attaining yoga or final liberation as union with Rudra — the superiority of *pāsupatayoga* lying in its theistic force.

It is tempting to regard the above-discussed kaleidoscope of conceptual and terminological correspondences detected among relevant passages of the PYŚ, the VS, the PS-*cum*-PBh, the early *Skandapurāṇa*, and the RṬ as an instance of intertextuality spanning several centuries. Admittedly, it is often difficult to disentangle the exact relationship between those correspondences and echoes, not to mention the directionality of any actual borrowings — for example, one may hypothesize that both the VS and the PBh independently drew these concepts from a non-Pātañjala Hairaṇyagarbha system of yoga (Harimoto 2021: 72), or some kind of shared yogic milieu. However, it does not seem unreasonable to propose that the PBh, while critiquing Sāṅkhya and (Pātañjala) Yoga, might have had in mind the PYŚ. This is consistent with the window proposed for the dating of the PBh to the 4th/5th c. CE, which is nearly coeval to the probable date of compilation of the PYŚ (i.e. 325–425), and suggests that soon after its

ception and fixing it on God, is joined to Rudra: *tasmin nirvytte maheśvare yukto nitya ity ucyate | ātmā iti kṣetrañnam āha*, ‘[The Soul] is called “constant” when this [object, i.e. God] has been achieved and one is united with the Great Lord. They call “Soul” the knower of the field.’

⁵⁶ This stance reflects a common trend in Śaiva definitions of yoga (see below), according to which a mind stilled/cleansed by way of (Pātañjala) yoga is a necessary yet not sufficient condition to reach release, being only capable of leading the adept to *kaivalya*.

first diffusion this text had already started to be perceived as an authoritative source in the Indic religio-philosophical discourse. Further, the apparent similarities existing between the PYS and the RT suggest that the latter text consciously reused the former when formulating its own theistic soteriology.⁵⁷ The fact that the reuse of the PYS is more evident in the RT supports the view that the status of the former text became increasingly important in theistic milieus near the end of the first millennium CE.

5. Śaiva Saiddhāntika sources

In harmony with the Pāśupata scriptures and commentaries discussed above, Śaiva sources of the tantric Mantramārga reflect a thoroughly theistic understanding of the meaning and goal of yoga. As many such definitions of yoga in Mantramārga scriptural sources have been studied before,⁵⁸ there is no need to delve into them here. I would like to return, however, to a passage of the Trika scripture *Mālinīvijayottara* (1.46–47) that describes a specific form of initiation called *yogadīkṣā*:

yogadīkṣāṃ samāsādyā jñātvā yogaṃ samabhyaset |
yogasiddhiṃ avāpnōti tadante śāśvataṃ padam ||
anena kramayogena saṃprāptaḥ paramaṃ padam |
na bhūyaḥ paśūtām eti śuddhe svātmani tiṣṭhati ||

After receiving initiation into yoga and learning [the fundamentals of] yoga, he should practise [it]. He will attain the perfection of yoga and at its end the eternal state. By this sequence of events the ultimate state is attained. One does not return into bondage but abides in one's own pure self. (tr. Vasudeva 2004: 245)

Vasudeva (2004: 245) notes that *yogadīkṣā* is not a variety of initiation commonly encountered in Śaiva scriptures, and argues that it may reflect an originally Pāśupata method, for the compounds

⁵⁷ Cf. Maas 2020: 'Soon after its composition, the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* was recognized widely as an authoritative exposition of Sāṃkhya philosophy.' Elsewhere, Maas (2013: 66) proposes a slightly later timeframe: 'the PYS was widely accepted to be the authoritative exposition of Yoga at the beginning of the seventh century.'

⁵⁸ See, e.g., Brunner 1994; Vasudeva 2004; Mallinson and Singleton 2017: 19–23.

yogadīkṣaḥ and *yogadīkṣitaḥ* occur in the Pāśupata inscription of Paldi (Udaipur).⁵⁹ This may very well be the case, and yet the supreme state (*paramaṃ padam*) conceived of as the elimination of bondage and ‘abiding in one’s own pure Self’ (*śuddhe svātmani tiṣṭhati*) strikes me as similar to the Pātāñjala yoga goal of isolation, as worded in YS 1.3, 2.25, 3.50, and 4.34. Thus, one may detect a terminological influence from the PYS,⁶⁰ whether direct or via a PYS-influenced Pāśupata source. It goes without saying that the passage may have been formulated with a theistic background in mind: since the supreme state mentioned in the verse must reflect the goal of the Śaivas, abiding into one’s pure Self can only correspond to identity with the Lord, as per the non-dualist stance of the *Mālinīvijayottara*.

I will now discuss selected passages drawn from commentaries on the Yogapādas of Saiddhāntika scriptures by authors who, while still subscribing to Śaiva Śaḍaṅga Yoga, reveal an either implicit or explicit knowledge of Pātāñjali’s system. Whether their intent was polemic or neutral, those passages suggest that those authors, when characterizing Śaiva Yoga, considered the PYS an obligatory reference (counter)point.

An oft-quoted passage featuring a typically Śaiva definition of yoga as union with Śiva is the commentary by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha on *Mygendratāntra* YP 2a (*tadātmavattvaṃ yogitvaṃ*). In line with what we expect from the orthodox current of dualistic Śaiva Siddhānta espoused by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, it is introduced by a statement and a quotation from the early Saiddhāntika work *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* (Vidyāpāda [VP] 2.24) on the centrality of initiation (*dīkṣā*) as the sole means capable of bestowing liberation, defined as *niratiśayakaivalya*, i.e. isolation without superior.⁶¹ A translation by Sanderson runs as follows:

⁵⁹ Indeed, *yogadīkṣitaḥ* also occurs in PBh *ad* 1.9. A description of *yogadīkṣā* also constitutes the main subject of Paṭala 17 of the Saiddhāntika *Kālotarāgama*.

⁶⁰ Cf. also the *śloka*-quarter *ātmani cetanaḥ sthitaḥ* in the *Dharma Pātāñjala* (quoted below, p. 61). It is perhaps not coincidental that another passage of the *Mālinīvijayottara* that deals with the propaedeutic role of initiation in the qualification for Śaiva Yoga has been shown to betray an influence from the PYS: cf. 4.6–8, referring to *sabīja* yoga, which corresponds to *sabīja samādhi* of YS 1.46 (Vasudeva 2004: 244).

⁶¹ *dīkṣaiva mocayaty ūrdhvaṃ śaivaṃ dhāma nayaty api || iti śruter dīkṣāyā eva niratiśayakaivalyāvāptihetuvāt*. A relatively early Saiddhāntika scripture that character-

tadātmavattvam yogitvam | 2a

yujyate śivatvalakṣaṇayā svasvarūpābhivyaktyāvaśyam iti yogī | tasya bhāvo yogitvam ātmavattvāvinābhāvi | ata eva 'yujir yoge' ity asya dhātor yogaśabdo jñeyah na tu 'yuja samādhau' iti | asya samādhirūpasya tadāṅgatvenestāvāt ||

To have self-mastery [is] to be a yogin.

The term Yogin means 'one who is necessarily conjoined with' (←√*yuj*) the manifestation of his nature[. A yogin], in other words, [is one who must experience] the Śiva-state (*śivatvam*). It is being a yogin [in this sense] that is the invariable concomitant of self-mastery. It should be understood, therefore, that the term Yoga derives its meaning not from √*yuj* 'to be absorbed [in contemplation]' but from √*yuj* 'to join.' This is supported by the fact that Yoga in the form of absorption (*samādhiḥ*) is taught [separately] as one of its auxiliaries. (tr. Sanderson *1999: 4)

Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha stresses the theistic nature of yoga by explicitly stating that *yuj* is to be understood as 'union' (rather than *samādhi*, as in the PYS), and this union is 'unity of nature' with the Lord; further, he explains that *samādhi* is one of the auxiliaries of yoga, thus implicitly critiquing the PYS's view that *samādhi* is a synonym of yoga itself.⁶² Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha here is seemingly playing with words, for *tadātmavattvam* can mean both (in a general sense) 'self-mastery'⁶³ and (in a more specifically Śaiva sense) 'to

realizes the attainment of Śiva-ness as the goal of yoga (and not of initiation) is the *Sarvajñānottara* (Yogaprakaraṇa 30): 'Having entered into that [state of unity with Śiva brought about by yoga], the knower of yoga visibly becomes Śiva, whose nature is immortality, who is omniscient, omnipervasive, subtle, the Lord of everything and the all-doer', *amṛtātmā śivah sāksāt tasmīn viśtas tu yogavit | sarvajñah sarvagah sūkṣmah sarveśah sarvakṛd bhavet*. Aghoraśiva, commenting upon this passage, tries to bring it in line with the Saiddhāntika orthodoxy by identifying yoga as part of *dīkṣā*.

⁶² Cf. Aghoraśiva's gloss on *Sarvajñānottara*, Yogaprakaraṇa 2: *na tu pātāñjalāder* [em.; *pātāñjalāder* ms.] *iva samādhirūpaṃ tasya yogāṅgatvena śruteḥ* [em.; *śrute* ms.].

⁶³ As suggested by *jitākṣayopapadyate* ('It is accomplished by he whose senses have been controlled') in *pāda* 2b, and its gloss *jitendriyasya tv acirād eva svarūpalābhah* ('He whose senses have been controlled quickly obtains his essential nature'). Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha closes the passage with a quotation by Sanaka that echoes the definition of Yoga in the VS 5.2.16–17 (quoted above, n. 45): 'When a person has controlled his senses, their objects, the subtle elements, and his mind, he becomes free of all desire and dissolves into his ultimate identity' (*indriyāṅdriyārthāṃś ca tanmātrāṇi manas tathā | niyamy gatisaṅkalpaḥ paramātmāni liya-*

possess one's *ātman*': as pointed out by Brunner (1994: 428–429), to understand the statement *tadātmanavattvaṃ yogitvam* we must remember that, according to Saiddhāntika scriptures, 'the essence of any sentient being [...] is not different from Śiva's own[; ...] to "possess one's *ātman*" is therefore to have become like Śiva.'⁶⁴ As Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha explains, the yogin is characterized by Śiva-ness as the inevitable consequence of the manifestation of his real nature (*śivatvalakṣaṇayā svasvarūpābhivyaktyāvaśyam*). *Abhivyakti* is typically used in Śaiva texts as a technical term denoting the 'manifestation' of the divine qualities or powers (for instance, *jñānaśakti* and *kriyāśakti*) intrinsic to Śiva's nature that takes place in the liberated adept. Thus, one's real nature is neither the isolated, pure Soul (untainted by *guṇas* and identification with *prakṛti*), as the Pātañjala view would have it, nor the exclusive union with Rudra, as the Pāśupatas would have it, but rather the manifestation of the pure Soul's intrinsic Śiva-ness, which amounts to qualitative (but not numerical) sameness with Śiva.⁶⁵ Explicitly (and polemically) reinterpreting the sense of *yuj* against the PYŚ's understanding in the background,⁶⁶ the above-quoted passage appears to constitute a manifesto of the superiority of the Saiddhāntika ideal of yoga and its goal vis-à-vis the Pātañjala one.

te iti). Sanaka here may be one of the sons of Brahmā, also called Hairaṇyagarbha, who was deemed to be the revealer of the yoga-themed treatise *Dharmaputrikā* (Barois 2020: 12–13; 29 n. 55), and the promulgator of a non- or pre-Pātañjala *yogaśāstra* (Harimoto 2021: 72).

⁶⁴ Contrast the Pāśupata definition of *yogitvam* as the mind's resting uniquely on the principle of Rudra (*kevalarudratattvāvasthicitvatvam*) expounded in RṬ 1.6ab.

⁶⁵ A nondualistic Śaiva definitions of yoga as identity (i.e., both qualitative and numerical sameness) with the Lord is found, e.g., in Kṣemarāja's *Uddyota* on *Svacchandatantra* 6.45cd: [...] *yogaṃ tadaikātmyaprāptim*, '[...] yoga is the attainment of identity with that.'

⁶⁶ Analogous reinterpretations are found in Rāmakaṇṭha's *Mataṅgavytti*, introduction to YP 1.7 mentioning the auxiliaries (*atha kaścīd 'yuja samādhāv' iti dhātvarthānusāreṇa 'yogaḥ samādhir' iti bhrāntīyā manyate pātañjalabhāṣyakāra iti*); and in Aghoraśiva's commentary on *Sarvajñānottara*, *Yogaprakaraṇa* 1.2 (*ata eva yujir yoga [em.; yujin yoga eva ms.] ity asmād dhātor yogaśabdah, na tu yuja samādhāv iti*). As pointed out above (n. 33), since neither the *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* nor Bhoja's *Rājamārtaṇḍa* make an explicit reference to the rejected etymology of *yuj* in the sense of 'connection' (and the latter does not homologize *yoga* to *samādhī*), the commentary that Rāmakaṇṭha had in mind was probably the *Tattvavaiśārādī* by Vācaspatimiśra (*ad* PYŚ 1.1): see Creisméas 2015: 90.

I will now turn to a passage by the Saiddhāntika exegete Rāmakaṇṭha (II), Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha's son. In his commentary to the YP of the *Matanṅga*, this author mentions Pātañjala Yoga several times, mainly to criticize its philosophical and soteriological positions.⁶⁷ At the very outset, he specifies that the form of yoga explained in the Tantra is the Śaḍaṅga Yoga, not the Aṣṭāṅga Yoga of Patañjali and others,⁶⁸ and concludes in the following manner:

*uttamaś cāyaṃ pātañjalādigītayogavidhibhyaḥ, asya vakṣyamāṇāna-
yenaṭmayogatayā tebhyo buddhiyogebhyaḥ prakṛṣṭatvaṃ yataḥ | 1.1*

Further, this [yoga taught in the Tantra] is superior (*uttamaḥ*) to the yogic methods of the treatises of Patañjali etc., for it is preeminent compared to those yogas of the intellect (*buddhiyogebhyaḥ*) by virtue of being the yoga of the Soul (*ātmayogatayā*), following the method that is going to be expounded.

Here Rāmakaṇṭha assigns a higher position to the Śaiva Yoga taught in the *Matanṅga* with respect to the yoga taught by Patañjali by using *buddhi* as a synonym of *citta*, which is the soteriological fulcrum of the PYŚ, so as to contrast it to the notion that the fulcrum of Śaiva Yoga is the *ātman*, which is ultimately a Śiva. An analogous point seems to be adumbrated by Aghoraśiva when commenting on *Sarvajñānottara*, *Yogaṅgaprakaraṇa* 1.1, to defend the superiority of Śaiva Yoga vis-à-vis Pātañjala Yoga: ‘This [yoga] purifies the Soul, not the mind, as the followers of Patañjali maintain, because the yoga of Śiva causes the manifestation of omniscience and so forth’ (*puruṣasyaivāyaṃ saṃskārako na tu pātañjalānām*⁶⁹ *iva cittasyety arthaḥ, śivayogasya sarvajñatvādīprakāśakatvāt*⁷⁰).⁷¹

⁶⁷ For a thorough analysis of Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary, see Creisméas 2015.

⁶⁸ *Matanṅgaṅgāpārameśvaravṛtti* YP 1.1: *sa cāyaṃ śaḍaṅgo vidhir asmimś tantrē, na tu aṣṭāṅgo vidhir yathā pātañjalādividhiṣu* [*pātañjalādividhiṣu* ms.] *abhihitah*.

⁶⁹ Em.; *na _ _ tañjalānām iva* ms.

⁷⁰ Em.; *sarvajñatvādīprakāśakat* ms.

⁷¹ A similar hierarchizing view, according a lower position to Pātañjala Yoga with respect to Śaiva soteriology, is the distinction between ‘pervasion of the Self’ (*ātmavyāpti*) and ‘pervasion of Śiva’ (*śivavyāpti*) made by Kṣemarāja in his commentary on *Svacchandatantra* 4.387–390, 433–434. As noted by Torella (2019: 651), *ātmavyāpti* ‘corresponds to the state of *kaivalya*, sought by the followers of the Sāṃkhya and Pātañjala yoga, in which “the self becomes aware of its own form having overcome the identification with the bonds” (IV.434ab *pāśāvalokanaṃ tyaktvā svarūpālokanam hi yat*).’ This forms an intermediate step that should not be pursued by the yogin seeking the ultimate *śivavyāpti*.

The division between higher (i.e., internal and subtle) and lower (i.e., external and coarse) yoga is expounded in *Mataṅga* VP 1.2–5, which declares that the latter causes extreme suffering (*atīvaduḥkhaḍaḥ*) and is only necessary to cleanse the mind of the yogin. Having done so, he realizes the establishment (*avasthānam ... vyaktim āyāti*) of the subject in its own nature, by virtue of the yoga’s function as an auxiliary. As noted by Créismeas (2015: 89), here we find a possible reuse of the key term *avasthānam* found in YS 1.3, but in a Śaiva sense. In his commentary, Rāmakaṅṭha unpacks his critique of Pātañjala Yoga, as well as his reorientation along Śaiva lines, by explaining that the *buddhiyoga* is produced by confusion (*bhrānti*), as its adepts believe that the Self has no agency (cf. *niṣkriyāḥ puruṣaḥ*, PYS 1.9), whereas in reality it is the supreme agent and knower. Further, the depletion of the mind’s activity (*cittavyttinirodha*, an obvious reference to the yoga of the PYS), while cleansing (*apamārijana*) the mind, actually produces extreme suffering (*atiduḥkhada*), hindering as it does the manifestation of the innate powers of knowledge and action (*sarvajñakartṛtva*).

For Rāmakaṅṭha, the status of Pātañjala Yoga as an auxiliary (*aṅga*) — as opposed to the preeminence of Śaiva Yoga, accomplished through visualizations (*bhāvanā*) and a relation (*sambandha*)⁷² with the Lord (*Mataṅgavyṛtti ad* YP 1.4–5) — implies that it can only allow the adept to reach the intermediary state of *pralaya-kevalin* (‘isolated by final dissolution’). This term is found in several post-scriptural Saiddhāntika sources, sometimes along with that of another category of semi-liberated Souls, the *vijñāna-kevalin* (‘isolated by knowledge’). For the Śaivas, a *kevalin* is not, as in Pātañjala Yoga, one who is isolated from *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*, but one who is separated from some (but not all) the bonds — for instance, the *guṇas*, as in Pātañjala Yoga — fettering the individual non-liberated Soul.⁷³ The intermediate position of the *kevalin* is in

⁷² Compare *Mataṅgavyṛtti* YP 1.10d–11ab, which defines the relation between the meditator and the meditated (i.e., the Lord) as *sthiti* (‘maintenance’ or ‘fixation’), which in its turn amounts to yoga (*dhyeyasya dhyeyarūpatayā dhyātus ca dhyā-tyrūpeṇa yā sthitiḥ, sa eva yogaḥ sambandhas tayoh*).

⁷³ Saiddhāntika sources (e.g., *Svāyambhūvasūtrasaṅgraha* VP 1.5, *Kiraṇa* VP 1.23, *Suprabhedāgama* 3.53, etc.) list *kevala* (‘isolated’) as an intermediary state of the Soul between the bound experiencer (*sakala, bhokṛt*) and the liberated through initiation (*amala, śuddha*). See below, n. 76.

harmony with the one accorded by the Śaivas to Pātañjala Yoga, and suggests an intentional reuse of the climactic word of the latter system along inclusivistic lines.

6. Old Javanese Śaiva sources

While the most widespread form of yoga documented in Sanskrit-Old Javanese Śaiva literature from Java and Bali is the tantric Śaḍaṅga Yoga,⁷⁴ Aṣṭāṅga Yoga was by no means unknown. Besides the hybrid lists of auxiliaries attempting to bridge Śaḍaṅga and Aṣṭāṅga Yoga mentioned above, such as the one in the *Tattva-jñāna*, including the six *aṅgas* of Śaḍaṅga Yoga plus *āsana*, we find fragments of Pātañjala Yoga doctrines interspersed within otherwise thoroughly Śaiva texts that uphold Śaḍaṅga Yoga. For instance, a cluster of verses in the *Jñānasiddhānta* (ch. 19.5–7) — one of which finds a parallel in the *Kiraṇatantra* — defining the categories of individual Souls and the climax of liberation as becoming the Spotless Śiva echoes Pātañjala Yoga ideas, and a terminology that may be traced to the PYŚ (see Acri 2011; 2021: 278).⁷⁵ The definition of the mind (*citta*) projected towards liberation as *śuddhasūksmasvayambhogī* ‘pure, subtle, experiencing itself only’ in v. 6 echoes the characterization of the state of *kaivalya* found in YS 1.3, 3.55, etc. Further, the triadic repartition of the conditions of the Soul (*sakala*, *kevala*, and *śuddha*) that is commonly found in Saiddhāntika sources is reinterpreted in the commentary to v. 5,⁷⁶ which declares that the condition of impurity (*malinatva*) means that the mind (*citta*) is not separated from the three constituents,

⁷⁴ See, for example, a widespread verse listing the six *aṅgas* in Sanskrit-Old Javanese Śaiva *tutur* and *tattva* texts, which has parallels in several Siddhāntatantras (see Table 19.1 in Acri 2021: 277). Those Old Javanese sources appear to have inherited their Śaiva Yoga system from relatively early Saiddhāntika texts that were in circulation in the Archipelago, such as the *Matāṅga*, the *Kālotara*, and the *Kiraṇa*.

⁷⁵ E.g., PYŚ 1.15–16, 1.24, 2.27, and 4.34. A clear echo is the mention of *saṃyama* in v. 7 (cf. PYŚ 3.4) as leading to liberation, as well as lower dispassion (*vāhyavairāgya* [a spelling variant of *bāhyavairāgya*]), higher dispassion (*paravairāgya*), and fixation on God (*īśvarapraṇidhāna*); the couplet *vāhyavairāgya* and *paravairāgya* correspond to *aparā-* and *para-vairāgya* in *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.15–16, while *īśvarapraṇidhāna* occurs in YS 2.45.

⁷⁶ *sakalaḥ kevalaḥ śuddhas tryavasthaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ | malinatvacittamokṣaḥ kalyāṇate nirmalaḥ śivaḥ* (≈ *Kiraṇatantra* VP 1.23; cf. above, n. 73).

thereby indicating the state of bound Soul. This viewpoint may reflect an archaic doctrinal status quo, in which Saiddhāntika ideas around stain (*mala*) had not yet been codified. Of course, it is also possible — perhaps more likely — that this reflects a relatively late attempt to attune Śaiva and Pātañjala Yoga ideas.⁷⁷

What is by far the most significant Old Javanese source for our knowledge of Pātañjala Yoga in the Archipelago is the *Dharma Pātañjala*, a scripture presenting a detailed exposition of the doctrinal and philosophical tenets of the form of Śaiva Siddhānta that was prevalent in Java (Acri 2017). It devotes a long section (about one-third of its length), which it calls *yogapāda* in the manner of Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras, to Pātañjala Yoga. This section apparently follows the first three chapters of the PYŚ, either interweaving a few Sanskrit verses from an untraced versified recension of the *sūtras* with an Old Javanese commentary, or directly rendering into Old Javanese what might have been a likewise unknown Sanskrit commentary. Although the prose section often bears a strong resemblance to the arrangement and formulation of the topics treated in the PYŚ, it occasionally diverges from the commentary, either by presenting specific doctrinal details that are found in other (sub-)commentaries, or by adding seemingly original elements that are as yet unattested elsewhere. Being shaped by an eminently theistic agenda, and imbued with Śaiva tenets, the *Dharma Pātañjala* aims at attuning Pātañjala Yoga (and philosophy) to Śaiva yoga (and philosophy). The author's priority was apparently to present a synthetic account of the most important doctrinal points and practical techniques of Pātañjala Yoga, and reformulate them in an idiom that was consonant with the local Śaiva theological milieu. It seems, therefore, relevant for the present enquiry to analyze some pertinent passages below.

At its very outset, before the start of the Yoga section, the *Dharma Pātañjala* stresses the soteriological importance of *samādhi*, along the lines formulated in the PYŚ, but charges the term

⁷⁷ A relatively late transmission of the prototypical source of v. 19.5 of the *Jñānasiddhānta* to the Indonesian Archipelago is suggested by the fact that the second line of the verse found in the *Kiraṇa* is only preserved in South Indian manuscripts but not in Nepalese ones, and it is also absent from Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary (Goodall 1998: 221, n. 188).

with a theistic connotation.⁷⁸ The goal of absorption, the *summum bonum* (*paramārtha*), is indeed explained in v. 1 and its Old Javanese exegesis as the supreme aspect of the Lord Śiva (194.19–196.7). In the Yoga section, the text makes an attempt to reinterpret the *kaivalya* state of the Self (as per the Pātañjala Yoga definition) as the Śaiva *summum bonum*, intended as the manifestation of the divine powers of the Lord in the practitioner, who thereby becomes identical to Śiva. Whereas *sūtras* 1.2 and 1.3 of the PYS define *samādhi* and *kaivalya*, respectively, the *Dharma Pātañjala* (298.2–4) echoes *sūtras* 1.3 and 4.34 in reply to a question about what is the absorption of the yogin like in order to become one with the Lord, where the free-standing *śloka*-quarter *ātmani cetanaḥ sthitaḥ* defines the state of *samādhi*.⁷⁹ Having been conflated with *kaivalya*, it is glossed as the state where the mind is left behind by the Self and the *yogin* obtains the state of supernatural prowess, united with the Lord:

Consciousness rests in the soul — The mind disappears. The mind is left behind in the Holy Soul. That is what closely adheres to the Lord. This kind of absorption will be met by the yogin endlessly. That is the reason why the state of supernatural prowess is met by him.⁸⁰

The expression *kavākas tekaṅ citta ri saṅ hyaṅ ātmā* renders the concept of *kaivalya*. Even if the Śaivas did not regard isolation as the final goal of yoga, the text seeks to attune it to the Śaiva idea of liberation.

⁷⁸ *Dharma Pātañjala* (194.11–13): ‘Right knowledge is not within reach if there is no absorption. The absorption not coming into being, the *summum bonum* is not known, for the obtainment of the *summum bonum* is the result of performing absorption’ (*tātan vanaṅ samyajñāna, yatan hana samādhi, ikaṅ samādhi tan dadī ikā tan kinavruhan saṅ hyaṅ paramārtha, apan kapaṅguhan saṅ hyaṅ paramārtha doniṅ samādhi ginavayakən*).

⁷⁹ See also *pāda* 2d in v. 2 (290): *cittavyṅtinirodhākhyah | yogah paramadurlabhaḥ | tasmin yoge samārabdhe | svayam ātmā prakāśate ||*, ‘What is called the cessation of the functions of the mind is yoga, extremely difficult to achieve. Having undertaken that yoga, the Soul itself [alone] shines forth’; compare YS 1.2 (*yogas cittavyṅtinirodhaḥ*) and PYS 4.34 (*tadā svarūpapraṭiṣṭhaḥ puruṣaḥ*).

⁸⁰ *ātmani cetanaḥ sthitaḥ* — *hilaṅ* [em.; *hiliṅ* ms.] *ikaṅ citta, kavākas tekaṅ citta ri saṅ hyaṅ ātmā, ya tekaṅ rumakət ri bhaṭāra, lana pvekaṅ samādhi maṅkana kapaṅguhana ya de saṅ yogi, ya mataṅnyan kapaṅguh ikaṅ kasiddhyan denira*.

Another attempt to define *samādhi* according to a theistic agenda is found in 196.8–14:

Your representation of the *summum bonum*, that is what you [should] imagine during day and night. ‘Paramount’ is the name of insight, its characteristics are of one level with the *summum bonum*. This is the reason why ‘absorption’ is what is constantly practiced by him who desires the supreme pleasure, for that is what is designated as ‘release.’ There is the absorption toward the *summum bonum*: that leaves behind the latent impressions in the mind. That is called ‘right knowledge,’ as distinct from the ‘wrong knowledge.’⁸¹

Here *samādhi* is equated with a salvific kind of knowledge (*samyajñāna*) and regarded as essential for attaining supreme pleasure (*sukha viśeṣa*), i.e. release. The statement that the characteristics of insight (*prajñā*), seemingly attributed to the yogin, are of one level (*samaṣada*)⁸² with the *summum bonum* (*paramārtha*), an expression that is used in the text as a synonym of the Supreme Śiva, may refer to the Lord’s qualities of omniscience and omnipotence, which constitutes a departure from the Pātañjala view.

A polemic on the role of *citta* in yoga may be hinted at in 290.10–13, where the Lord, having declared that the true nature of the Soul is met only when yoga is performed (*yan aṣa yan kaṣaṅguh jāti saṅ hyaṅ ātmā, yan ginavayakṅ ikaṅ yogātaḥ*), dispels an objection related by his son Kumāra as to the experiencing of the Soul even without performing yoga:

Kumāra:

Whether yoga be performed or not, the Soul is still experienced by us.

[The Lord]

That which you call [Soul] is by no means the Soul: that is the

⁸¹ *Ikaṅ hidṣpta ri saṅ hyaṅ paramārtha, ya ta inaṅṅanaṅṅanta ri rahineṅ vṅṅi, lṅvih pva ṅaraninṅ prājñā, samaṣada lakṣaṅanya lāvan saṅ hyaṅ paramārtha, ya ta mataṅnyan samādhi ṅaranikaṅ inabhyāsa saṅ mahyun ri sukha viśeṣa, aṣan yekā sinaṅguh kalṣasan ṅaranya, hana pvekaṅ samādhi ri saṅ hyaṅ paramārtha, ya ta mamṅkasakṅ saṅaskāra riṅ citta, ya ta sinaṅguh samyajñāna ṅaranya.*

⁸² This expression could actually be a corruption for *ṣaṣaḍa*, ‘being the same,’ or the separate words *sama ṣaḍa*, if this were the case, the meaning would remain unchanged.

‘mind’. The reason why it is designated as ‘mind’ is because it has the same object (*ekaviṣayanya*) [of perception as the Soul]. That is the reason why only the mind is experienced by him.⁸³

The Lord observes that since both have the same object of perception, what is experienced or perceived (*kahidāp*) by the opponent (in the state of *kaivalya*) is just the mind, not the Soul. The implications of the passage seem to be that the mind should not be confused with the Soul,⁸⁴ and that stillness or dispassion of the mind alone, belonging to the realm of cognitive absorption, is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the attainment of the final goal of yoga.⁸⁵ Indeed, in 294.15–22 the text critiques those who deem the stillness of the mind to be yoga and absorption, for those beings who obtain it are not liberated, but become the categories of lords of yogins known as ‘disembodied’ (*videha*) and ‘dissolved in *prakṛti*’ (*prakṛtilīna*).⁸⁶ Stillness or clarity of mind is, therefore, a means, and should not be confused with its end, as the opponent seems to do. This point is remindful of the perspective upheld by Rāmakaṇṭha when commenting on *Mataṅga* YP 1.1 and 1.3, and by Aghoraśiva when commenting on *Sarvajñānottara* Yogaprakaraṇa 1, to defend the preeminence of Śaiva Yoga (the yoga of the Soul) over Pātāñjala Yoga (the yoga of *buddhi*, probably intended as a synonym of *citta*).

⁸³ *Tan kagavaya ikaṅ yoga kahidāp tah saṅ hyaṅ ātmā de mami, tamatan ātmā ikā liṅta, yekiṅ citta ṅaranya, mataṅnyan sinaṅguh citta, apan ekaviṣayanya, ya mataṅnyan citta juga kahidāp denya.* Here I have arranged this passage slightly differently from the printed edition, taking the Lord’s reply to start from *tamatan*.

⁸⁴ That the issue was regarded in Java as one worthy of being problematized is suggested by the presence of a similar theme in the Sanskrit-Old Javanese Śaiva text *Vṛhaspatitattva* (35.18–19), where Vṛhaspati asks the Lord about the characteristic of the Soul in the body, ‘for it is difficult to understand the difference between the mind and the Soul’ (*apan ivəh ikaṅ citta lavan ātmā bhedanya*).

⁸⁵ This view is in harmony with that of Rāmakaṇṭha, according to whom the yoga of Pātāñjala constitutes a mere cleansing of the mind, which is propaedeutic to the higher Śaiva yoga: see *Mataṅgavṛtti* on YP 1.2–4, 3.5–6.

⁸⁶ *Dharma Pātāñjala* 294.14–17: ‘It is not right to designate the stillness of the mind as *yoga*, for there are the lords of yogins “disembodied” and those “dissolved into unevolved matter”’ (*sumahur saṅ para, vruh ta kami ikaṅ sinaṅguh yoga ṅaranya, apan sabarīnyān hənāṅ ikaṅ citta, ya ta samādhi ṅaranya, yan kva liṅta saṅ para, tan yoga ikaṅ hənāṅni citta, saṅguhən yoga, apan hana sira yogiṣvara videha lavan prakṛtilīna*).

Overall, the *Dharma Pātañjala* is not overtly polemical towards Pātañjala Yoga — in fact, it does not even mention Pātañjala Yoga as a (separate) system, let alone Patañjali⁸⁷ —, but rather expounds Pātañjala Yoga within a Śaiva framework.⁸⁸ As I have mentioned above, this attempt to (silently) attune Śaiva yoga to Pātañjala yoga appears to be especially significant in Śaiva scriptures composed or (re)compiled in the Indian subcontinent at a relatively late date (i.e. after the 9th or 10th c.). Thus, the attitude documented in Old Javanese sources may reflect, besides the eclectic attitude of Javanese authors, the rising status of Patañjali's yoga in the medieval Indic world.

7. Conclusion

In contrast to the understanding upheld by such non-theistic (or marginally theistic) systems as Pātañjala Yoga and Vaiśeṣika, which regard yoga and its ultimate goal as, respectively, isolation and the establishment of the Soul in itself and as a special connection between the *manas* and the Soul, Śaiva sources emphasize the theistic element by framing yoga and liberation in the sense of union between the Soul and the Lord. This sense is formulated in slightly different ways by distinct Śaiva traditions, depending on the exact nature of the relationship that they envisage between the individual Soul and the Lord.

The Śaiva definitions constitute a departure from Pātañjala Yoga insofar as they emphasize the theistic element; and yet, despite the critical stance upheld by Śaiva authors towards Pātañjala Yoga, one may note a dialectic relationship between those traditions, as well as a significant intertextuality. While the commonality of themes detected in the sources presented in this article highlights a 'shared register' in the domain of soteriology and

⁸⁷ The title of the text possibly documents a conflation between the figure of Pātañjala, intended as an incarnation of Śiva (probably a synonym of Agastya), which is widespread in Old Javanese literature, and the Patañjali of the PYŚ, who is never mentioned as such in Old Javanese literature.

⁸⁸ This framework does not conform to the 'orthodox' Siddhānta, for an important doctrinal feature of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, which is also reflected in the majority of Old Javanese Śaiva texts, is the view that liberation can be obtained through yoga and not initiation (*dīkṣā*).

yoga that could be the outcome of a gradual evolution and differentiation of a core of 'pre-classical' ideas found in both non-theistic and theistic systems, the gradual rise of status of the PYS during the medieval period and its influence on the authors of both revealed scriptures and commentaries can hardly be denied. Elaborating on the parallels between the yoga-influenced *sūtras* of the VS, Wezler (1982: 666) remarked that 'the theory and practice of yoga had in the meantime become so important and widely accepted that it was deemed a serious defect of any school of thought not to include it in its own tradition.' Adapting these comments to the present case study, I should like to suggest that the mainstream Śaiva attitude towards Pātañjala Yoga was shaped by, and responded to, the rise in importance of this system during the medieval period, so much so that it was deemed a serious flaw not to engage with it — and sometimes even not to include it in one's own tradition.

The instances of intertextuality and reuse identified above, as well as the references — whether polemical or not — to Pātañjala Yoga found in the works of medieval Śaiva exegetes, show that the Pātañjala system assumed a paradigmatic role in the medieval Indian religio-philosophical discourse as the most authoritative system of Yoga not long after its composition. The important status of Pātañjala Yoga across the wider Indic world may also be evinced from the progressive influence of this system on post-10th-c. South Indian Śaiva Siddhāntika sources, which substitute the six auxiliaries of Ṣaḍāṅga yoga with the eight auxiliaries of Aṣṭāṅga yoga, as well as on possibly coeval Sanskrit-Old Javanese Śaiva sources.

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[2] cf. *Sarvajñānottaravṛtti*.

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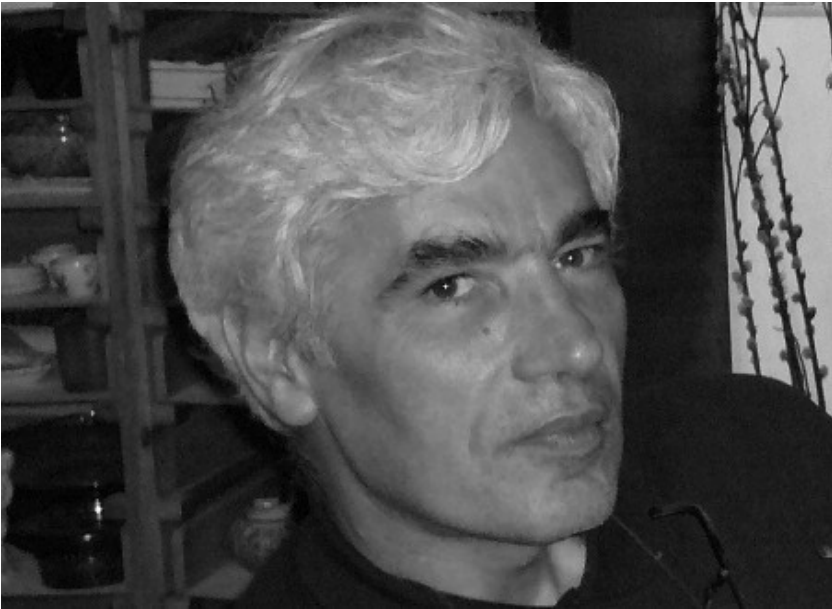
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Raffaele Torella

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