Rāmānandī Tyāgīs and Hathayoga

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The Vaiṣṇava Rāmānandīs are probably the largest renunciate sect in North India. The biggest subsection of the Rāmānandīs is that of the Tyāgīs, "Renouncers", who make up the majority of the sect. Although avowedly Vaiṣṇava, Tyāgīs have much in common with other non-Vaiṣṇava modern Indian ascetic orders, in particular the Śaiva Dasnāmī Nāgās, the Nāths and the Udāsī Nāgās. To the layperson there is little to tell these orders apart. They wear their hair long, in $jaṭ\bar{a}$, and clothe themselves in $laṅ goṭ\bar{a}$ s, loincloths, and little else. They are celibate and abandon all familial relationships. They are predominantly peripatetic and follow an annual round of pilgrimages and festivals. They live around $dh\bar{u}nis$, perpetually smouldering fires, and are fond of smoking $g\bar{a}nj\bar{a}$ and caras. They undergo acts of self-mortification in order to attain spiritual power and they frame their spiritual journeys in the language of haṭhayoga.

The origins of the individual elements shared by these orders are many and complex. We can trace some back to the Vedic era and the epics,³ some to early

¹Historical and ethnographic studies of the Rāmānandīs can be found in Burghart (1978, 1980, 1983), van der Veer (1988) and Gross (1992).

²These shared attributes also serve to differentiate between the orders. At initiation, for example, the Dasnāmīs and Nāths are given single rudrākṣa seeds to wear around their necks, but Tyāgīs wear pieces of tulasī wood (often of such a size and carved in such a way that they resemble rudrākṣa seeds) and Udāsīs wear another similarly sized bead, called a nazar baṭu. Udāsīs make their jaṭā especially thick and wear them coiled around their heads, Dasnāmīs generally wear theirs in a bun tied on top or at the sides of the head and Tyāgīs wear theirs at the back of the head. Tyāgīs wear white cloth and deride the ochre robes of the other orders as having the colour of Pārvatī's menstrual fluid.

 $^{^3}$ E.g. the mention of long hair and poison (i.e. intoxicants) in Rgveda 10.136 and the more explicit descriptions of ascetics wearing $jat\bar{a}$ and undergoing austerities (tapas) found throughout the epics.

Śaivism,⁴, some to tantric Śaivism,⁵ some to the Nāths,⁶, some to the Sūfīs,⁷, some to the Sants⁸ and some to the tradition of antinomian asceticism characterised as that of the avadhūta.⁹

Monastic orders rise and fall and this is reflected in the relative prosperity of today's three main orders. The Nāths flourished from approximately the fourteenth century onwards but are now a shadow of their former selves. ELIADE (1969:302) describes them as showing "all the signs of a sect in decomposition". They were gradually superseded by the Dasnāmīs, who achieved prominence after copying the organisational structure of the Sūfī institutions that had come to power in large parts of India (Clark 2004). Meanwhile, in the eighteenth century, the Rāmānandīs began to expand their territory from Rajasthan and establish monasteries in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and the Nepalese Terai (VAN DER VEER 1989:142). As stated above, they are now probably the largest ascetic order in North India.

⁴E.g. the wearing of ashes as described in *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.2.

⁵Tyāgīs explain their appearance as an imitation of that of Rāma when he lived in the forest as an ascetic; the other orders imitate Śiva. One of the earliest references to imitating one's tutelary deity as part of one's sādhana is found in the *Picumata* or *Brahmayāmalatantra* (National Archives Kathmandu MS No. 3-370, f. 326r³ to f. 327v³). I am grateful to Professor Alexis Sanderson for providing me with this reference.

⁶The Nāths are the oldest of the four orders and are the originators of *haṭhayoga* which is practised to some degree by all the orders.

⁷The use of cannabis for spiritual intoxication was introduced to India by wandering Sūfī ascetics in around 1400CE (SANDERSON 2003: n.43). I suspect that the exalted position of the $dh\bar{u}ni$ and the associated use of $cimt\bar{a}$, fire-tongs, were also a Sūfī innovation but more research is needed to confirm this. In the $dharmas\bar{a}stras$, ascetics are forbidden from using fire (e.g. $M\bar{a}navadharmas\bar{a}stra$ 6.43) and no Sanskrit texts from before the advent of Islam in India mention fire-tongs among ascetic accountrements. It seems likely that a non-Brahmanic ascetic tradition of using fire was combined with the Sūfīs' use of fires and fire-tongs to give the $dh\bar{u}ni$ the importance it now has.

⁸The nirguṇa bhakti movement propounded by the Sants spread across North India between the 15th and 17th centuries and had a profound effect on asceticism. All four orders worship the divine as without attributes (nirguṇa) in the manner of the Sants. They advocate bhakti and the repetition of the name of God as the best, and sometimes the only, means of liberation. Gorakhnāthīs, Udāsīs and Dasnāmīs are much given to the shouting of alakh (Sanskrit alakṣya), "imperceptible", a word often used to describe the divine in nirguṇa poetry. The Siddhānt Paṭal, a Tyāgī ritual handbook in Hindī, is full of nirguṇa terms. In its opening verse the divine is described as the alakh puruṣ. Tyāgīs do not worship anthropomorphic images of Rāma but use śālagrāmas, black ammonite stones from the Gaṇḍakī river in Nepal. Dasnāmīs worship narmadeśvaras, polished stones from the bed of the river Narmadā.

 $^{^9}Avadh\bar{u}ta$ ("shaken off") denotes an ascetic who has cast off worldly cares. All four orders refer to themselves as $avadh\bar{u}tas$ and worship Dattātreya, the archetypal $avadh\bar{u}ta$.

¹⁰I do not include the Udāsīs here because until recently they have been confined to north-west India, in particular the Punjab. They are now in the ascendant and are spreading throughout north India.

The control of individual temples illustrates these shifts in power. The shrine of Eklingjī, the tutelary deity of the Maharanas of Udaipur, was originally in the hands of Pāśupatas. Inscriptions show that it then fell under the control of the Nāths before being taken over by the Dasnāmīs (Taṃtreś n.d.). The Nāth centre at Galta was taken over by the Rāmānandīs in the 16th century (Clémentin-Ojha 1999:28, Burghart 1978:127). The temple of Hanumān Gaṛhi in Ayodhya is said to have been a site of worship for Nāths and Muslim fakirs until it was taken over by the Dasnāmīs. Then, in the eighteenth century the Dasnāmīs were driven out by a Rāmānandī called Abhayrām Dās (Van der Veer 1989:150).

As each order has come to prominence, it has not sought to overhaul older traditions but has adopted and adapted them for itself. Thus, over time, a model of an idealised archetypal ascetic has evolved, his lifestyle the refinement of millennia of practice, his iconography drawn from a wide array of sources. This notion of an archetypal ascetic is present, with regional variations, in the minds of the Indian laity and, other factors such as charisma notwithstanding, the amount of patronage attracted by an ascetic is in proportion to how well he lives up to this ideal.

The archetypal ascetic is a master of yoga, in particular the *haṭhayoga* often said to have first been taught by Gorakhnāth, the third guru of the Nāths after Ādināth and Matsyendranāth.¹² However, dedicated practice of *haṭhayoga* is in fact rare among ascetics of all orders. On this point VAN DER VEER remarks about the Tyāgīs (1989:121–122):

... there is an extensive primary and secondary literature on yog which suggests that it is one of the most important aspects of an ascetic life-style, while during my fieldwork I found only fragmentary traces of knowledge about it among the tyagis. Although almost all tyagis, when asked, answered that they performed yogic exercises, only very few of them were actually able to show more than a few positions. Contrary to expectation therefore, yog does not seem to play an important role in the life-style of the tyagis.

Similarly, in his many detailed ethnographic papers on the Tyāgīs, BURGHART makes no mention of yoga. For most Tyāgīs, tapas, asceticism, is more important than yoga. The austerity most widely practised by the Rāmānandīs is dhūnitap, in which the ascetic sits surrounded by smouldering cow-dung fires under the

¹¹In approximately 1975, control of the shrine was given to local Brahmins.

¹²The Nāths' rise in influence was in no small part due to their mastery of *hathayoga*. Other orders found it necessary to appropriate its techniques in order to compete with them for patronage. Thus, for example, passages from Nāth texts on *hathayoga* were used to compile new works in order to make up the corpus of 108 *upaniṣads* which were commented on by the Advaita Vedāntin Upaniṣadbrahmayogin (BOUY 1994).

midday summer sun. At the end of the practice many Tyāgīs will perform a few haṭhayogic āsanas, and this is usually the extent of their practice of yoga.

Unlike VAN DER VEER and BURGHART, my fieldwork among the Rāmānandīs has been devoted to finding practitioners of yoga and in particular the yogic practice called *khecarīmudrā*. I concur with VAN DER VEER's general point that yoga "does not seem to play an important role in the life-style of the tyagis" but there are individuals among them who, by any yardstick, are masters of *haṭhayoga*. ¹³

Rāmānandī Practitioners of haṭhayoga

At the 1992 Ujjain Kumbh Melā, I was sitting at the $dh\bar{u}ni$ of a Tyāgī mahant when he pointed out another Tyāgī walking by. He turned to a woman at the $dh\bar{u}ni$ and said, "Beware of that $b\bar{a}b\bar{a}$. If he gets inside you he will suck out all your śakti!"

The $b\bar{a}b\bar{a}$ was Śrī Rām Bālak Dās Yogīrāj, a mahant of the Terah Bhāī Tyāgī suborder of the Rāmānandī Tyāgīs. Bālak Dās was born into a Rājpūt family in a village near Gorakhpur, on the border between Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. At the age of about ten he ran away from home and made his way to Varanasi, where he hoped to become a musician. While there, he met Śrī Prahlād Dās Yogirāj, a Tyāgī śrīmahant who was a celā of the famous Devrāhā Bābā. Prahlād Dās had mastered the practices of yoga as taught to him by Devrāhā Bābā. Besides the well-known yogic practices of āsana and prāṇāyāma, he knew and practised more obscure techniques such as khecarīmudrā, 4 vajrolīmudrā, 5 and kāyakalpa.

 $^{^{13}}$ The same can be said of the other ascetic orders. One might think that the Nāths, as heirs to the original tradition of hathayoga, would have more accomplished yogins among their number, but in fact there are even fewer among them than in the other orders. When I asked some senior Nāth mahants at the 1998 Hardwar Kumbha Mela if they knew of any members of their order who practised $khecar\bar{l}mudr\bar{a}$ they replied that sadly most Nāths are nowadays interested only in getting intoxicated. I did hear reports of one Nāth, Sampat Nāth of Ajmer, who had mastered $khecar\bar{l}mudr\bar{a}$, but I did not meet him.

 $^{^{14}}$ Khecarīmudrā is described in detail in the Khecarīvidyā and explained in my introduction and annotation to the text and translation. It involves freeing and lengthening the tongue so that it can be turned back and inserted into the cavity above the soft palate in order to drink amrta, the nectar of immortality.

 $^{^{15}}$ Vajrolīmudrā is the practice of sucking liquids through the urethra. It is described briefly in various early Sanskrit manuals on <code>haṭhayoga</code> (e.g. <code>Haṭhapradīpikā</code> 3.82–89, Śivasaṃhitā 4.78–104 and <code>Dattātreyayogaśāstra</code> 299–314) and in more detail in the later <code>Haṭharatnāvalī</code> (2.80–112) and <code>Bṛhatkhecarīprakāśa</code> (f. $103r^{11}$ –f. $104r^6$). <code>Darmon</code> (2002) gives an ethnographic account of <code>vajrolīmudrā</code> as carried out by Śākta yogins at Tārāpīṭh in Bengal.

 $^{^{16}}$ To undergo $k\bar{a}yakalpa$, the yogin stays in a dark room or cave for an extended period (usually one lunar month) eating a single herbal preparation in order to rejuvenate his body. Herbal preparations for $k\bar{a}yakalpa$ are described in the fourth pațala of the $Khecar\bar{i}vidy\bar{a}$ and in the $K\bar{a}kacand\bar{i}svarakalpatantra$. A modern account of the practice is given in Anantha Murthy

Donations from Prahlād Dās's lay devotees had enabled him to establish ashrams in Varanasi, Jaipur, Gwalior and Ayodhya, and a farm in Bihar. He travelled between them as the leader of a $jam\bar{a}t$, an itinerant monastery.

Prahlād Dās initiated Rām Bālak Dās as his $cel\bar{a}$ and after a few years started to teach him yoga. He soon mastered $\bar{a}sana$ and $pr\bar{a}n\bar{a}y\bar{a}ma$, and Prahlād Dās decided to teach him more advanced practices including basti, a method of autoenema in which the yogin uses a technique called $nauli^{17}$ to create a vacuum in the stomach and draw water into the intestines. He was then taught $vajrol\bar{n}mudr\bar{a}$. By inserting specially made golden probes of steadily increasing length and diameter into Bālak Dās's urethra, Prahlād Dās opened it up and removed a piece of gristle (Hindī $m\bar{a}m\bar{s}$ in Bālak Dās's words) at its top end. This piece of gristle, said Bālak Dās, acts as a valve, so by using nauli, Bālak Dās was then able to suck fluids up his urethra into his bladder.

At Bālak Dās's suggestion, I went to Delhi to meet Śrī Nainā Dās Jī Yogīrāj, an elderly and well respected Rāmānandī Nāgā who had been an accomplished haṭhayogin when he was younger. He too had mastered vajrolīmudrā, as well as khecarīmudrā. He was reluctant to talk to me about how and why he had learnt these practices and would only say that they had to be experienced to be understood.

At the Dussehra festival in Kullu in 1996 I was introduced to Śrī Paraśurām Dās Jī Yogīrāj, an itinerant Tyāgī mahant, and told that he was an accomplished haṭhayogin. One evening I asked him about khecarīmudrā. He replied that such practices were not suitable for a sādhāraṇ vyakti, an "ordinary individual". That night we waited for the autumn full moon to reach its zenith before eating platefuls of khīr, rice pudding, into which the moon had poured amṛta, the nectar of immortality. The next morning Bālak Dās told me to look at Paraśurām Dās. His mouth was wide open and he was demonstrating khecarīmudrā. He then deigned to discuss it with me. It is samādhi kā aṅg, a constituent part of samādhi. He had learnt it here and there from other sādhus, not from one guru. It enabled him to drink amṛta and thereby go without food for two to three days at a time.

When Paraśurām Dās said that *khecarīmudrā* was a part of *samādhi* he did not mean the eighth *aṅga* of Patañjali's *aṣṭāṅga* yoga, but the celebrated yogic practice of remaining in meditation for long periods of time, usually underground. Because it suppresses hunger and thirst, *khecarīmudrā* is often said to be an important part of this technique. During my fieldwork, I have heard rumours of Tyāgīs who are

^{1986.}

¹⁷On nauli see e.g. Hathapradīpikā 2.34–35.

¹⁸See *Bṛhatkhecarīprakāśa* f. 72v⁷. Many of the historical reports of *bhūmigat samādhi* mention the yogin's use of *khecarīmudrā*: HONIGBERGER (1852:129) and Sir Claude Wade (BRAID 1850:13) describe it in the case of the Rāmānandī Hari Dās; cf. BOILEAU (1837:41–44) and the seventeeth century account of TAVERNIER (1925:156).

planning to perform this $sam\bar{a}dhi$ but I have never witnessed it.¹⁹ In 2004 a young Tyāgī of my acquaintance called Narsiṃh Dās undertook a related austerity of which I hadn't heard before. He covered his chest with earth in which he had put chickpeas and remained lying down for a week until the seeds sprouted. He had started to learn $khecar\bar{\imath}mudr\bar{a}$ when he undertook this austerity and used it throughout.

At an ashram near Surat, I met Śrī Govind Dās Jī Yogirāj, a Rāmānandī mahant of the Mahātyāgī suborder who had also mastered khecarīmudrā but had not practised it for some years. He demonstrated it to me with some difficulty. He told me that he had used it to drink amṛta. At first the liquid he tasted was fishy, then salty, then like butter, then like ghee and finally it had a taste jiskā varṇan kiyā nahīm jāyegā, "which cannot be described".

In Rishikesh I met Śrī Bālyogī Lāl Jī Bhāī. He had learnt *khecarīmudrā* from his guru, a Tyāgī from Nepal. Drinking *amṛta* had a *naśā*, "intoxication", like whisky and if he didn't do it every day he felt out of sorts. It made him immortal and gave him the power of flight.

At the 1998 Hardwar Kumbh Melā, Śrī Raghuvar Dās Jī Yogīrāj, a gurubhāī of Bālak Dās whom I had known for six years, surprised me by demonstrating khecarīmudrā. He told me that it had two varieties: the haṭhayogic practice and an implicitly superior $r\bar{a}jayoga$ variety, which was purely mental.²⁰ Raghuvar Dās then told me that he was able to induce $sam\bar{a}dhi$ in me. Without waiting for my assent he squeezed both sides of my neck. I backed away as I started to feel faint.²¹

Bālak Dās told me that his guru, Prahlād Dās, had practised $k\bar{a}yakalpa$ on more than one occasion. He would usually eat nothing but a preparation of $\bar{a}ml\bar{a}$ (*Phyllanthus emblica* Linn.) and spend a month in a cave or a room constructed especially for the purpose, attended to by his disciples. When he emerged, he would appear years younger. In 1998 I visited a Tyāgī ashram at Nangal Dam on the banks of the Sutlej where I was shown a room built into the bank of the river in which many yogins were said to have performed $k\bar{a}yakalpa$.

It is thus clear that the practice of *haṭhayoga* among the Rāmānandīs, although undeniably rare, is still current. It would seem to be in decline. This was the opinion of my informants, although the prevailing ideology of *kaliyug* may have

 $^{^{19}}$ At the last few Kumbh Melās this type of $sam\bar{a}dhi$ has been performed in an open pit for periods of up to a week by a yogin called Pilot Bābā of no apparent sectarian affiliation, together with a female Japanese disciple.

²⁰This reflects the two khecarīmudrās described in the $Hathaprad\bar{\imath}pik\bar{a}$ (3.31–53 and 4.42–55).

²¹This practice is part of yogic lore. Ballāla, in the $Brhatkhecar\bar{\imath}prak\bar{a}\acute{s}a$, his c. 1700 CE commentary on the $Khecar\bar{\imath}vidy\bar{a}$, lists various ways of bringing about $sam\bar{a}dhi$, and says that some people "use a special massage of an internal channel that they have discovered after lots of practice to enter $sam\bar{a}dhi$ and cause others to enter it" (f. $72v^6$: anye bahvabhyāsena jñātābhyaṃtaranāḍīviśeṣamardanenāpi taṃ kurvaṃti kārayaṃti ca).

influenced their assessments. Almost all of my informants said that their knowledge and mastery of yoga were but a fraction of their guru's, but again this is typical of hagiology. However, few of the yogins I met had found disciples willing or able to learn haṭhayoga from them. Furthermore, in the many Rāmānandī ashrams that I have visited, I have found no evidence of the building of new facilities for the practice of haṭhayoga. At his ashram near Pīmpalgāmv in the Nāsik district of Maharashtra, Bālak Dās had constructed a room equipped for the performance of yogic kriyās such as basti and vajrolīmudrā for which privacy and a good supply of water are necessary, but it had fallen into disuse.

I have found only one example of anecdotal evidence of the practice of hathayoga by Rāmānandīs in the past. Of the several cases of $bh\bar{u}migat$, "underground", $sam\bar{a}dhi$ which have been documented, perhaps the most famous was that of the Rāmānandī Hari Dās who was buried for forty days in a locked chest in a garden in Lahore in $1837.^{22}$

Despite the paucity of historical reports of Rāmānandīs practising haṭhayoga, evidence that they were practising it at the beginning of the eighteenth century can be found in the Jogpradīpakā of Jayatarāma.

Jayatarāma's Jogpradīpakā

Jayatarāma was a spiritual descendant of Kṛṣṇa Dās Payahārī, the first mahant of the important Rāmānandī seat at Galta, near Jaipur.²³ He composed the Jogpradīpakā in Vrindavan in 1718 CE.²⁴ It is a manual of haṭhayoga written in 964 Braj Bhāṣā verses, using dohā, sorṭhā and caupāī metres. Jayatarāma drew extensively from various Sanskrit works on haṭhayoga to compose the text,²⁵ in particular the long recension of the Haṭhapradīpikā.²⁶ The late Manohar Gharote edited the text from two manuscripts, one from Pune and one from Varanasi.

The text teaches all of the usual practices of hathayoga together with some more unusual ones. Thus, within the framework of the eight angas of Patañjali's

 $^{^{22}}$ See Honigberger 1852:127–131.

²³Payahārī means "one who lives off milk". On p. 1 of his introduction to the *Jogpradīpakā*, Gharote asserts that Payahārī Bābā was Jayatarāma's guru. This is hard to reconcile with Clémentin-Ojha's assertion that Payahārī Bābā took control of Galta at the beginning of the 16th century CE (1999:28). Payahārī's renown as the liberator of Galta from the Nāths lives on among Rāmānandīs today.

²⁴Jayatarāma gives the date and place of composition of the text in vv. 960–961.

²⁵ Jayatarāma lists the eleven works he used to compose the *Jogpradīpakā* in vv. 955–957: pātañjal yog prakās, cūḍāmaṇi, jognidh, jogprakās, jogsaṃghitā, jogsaṃghi, mūratsaṃghitā, hathpradīpikā, gorakhsat, tatpradīpakā and jognāgavali.

²⁶There are several different recensions of the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. The longest is that found in MS No. 6756 in the collection of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur. It consists of 1553 verses in contrast with the 409 found in the Lonavla critical edition.

aṣṭāṅga yoga, we hear of ten yamas, ten niyamas, eighty-four āsanas, six cleansing practices (ṣaṭkarmas), eight types of breath-retention (kumbhaka or prāṇāyāma), twenty-four mudrās, oṃkāra, pratyāhāra, dhāraṇās of the five elements, kālajñāna (how to predict one's time of death), kālavañcana (how to cheat death when it arrives), dhyāna, parakāyapraveśana (how to enter another's body), the balancing of vāyu by drinking rice and lentil gruel (javāgu), descriptions of the ten $n\bar{a}d\bar{s}$ and ten $v\bar{a}yus$, supplementary cleansing techniques, an extended description of khecarīmudrā, descriptions of the six cakras and instructions on $sam\bar{a}dhi.^{27}$

Unlike other manuals of hathayoga, the chief deities of the $Jogprad\bar{\imath}pak\bar{a}$ are $S\bar{\imath}t\bar{a}$ and $R\bar{a}ma$ (Hind $\bar{\imath}$ Siy \bar{a} and $R\bar{a}m$, often written as the compound Siy $\bar{a}r\bar{a}m$), the tutelary deities of the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}nand\bar{\imath}s$. Thus the $dhy\bar{a}na$ taught at vv. 780–796 consists of instructions for the yogin to visualise an eight-petalled lotus in the heart within which are the sun and the moon. Within them are fires in which the yogin is to visualise $R\bar{a}m$ and $Siy\bar{a}$ shining forth. Similarly, in v. 527 in the description of the $\bar{a}kar\bar{\imath}an\bar{\imath}$ $mudr\bar{a}$, the yogin is told to sit in $svastik\bar{a}sana$, meditate on pindabrahma, use $pr\bar{a}n\bar{a}y\bar{a}ma$ to move $pr\bar{a}na$ to the tenth door (the opening at the top of the skull) and visualise $Siy\bar{a}r\bar{a}m$ inside the thousand-petalled lotus.²⁸

A corollary of Siyārām's primacy in the *Jogpradīpakā* is that, other than in verse 5 of the preliminary benediction, Śiva, who is credited with being the original teacher of *haṭhayoga* in all its other manuals, is not mentioned.²⁹ The *Jogpradīpakā* was composed at a time of fierce rivalry between the Rāmānandīs and the Śaiva Dasnāmī Saṃnyāsīs,³⁰ and this may be the reason for the omission. Rāmānandīs today are happy to acknowledge Śiva as the propounder of *haṭhayoga*.

²⁷Several of the practices described are not found in Sanskrit manuals of haṭhayoga and Jayatarāma also gives new names to established practices. Thus vajrolīmudrā is called viraja, bījarūpaṇī and vīra mudrā at vv. 552–561 (it is also referred to in passing as vajrolīmudrā in v. 560). Similarly, amaroli mudrā (see Haṭhapradīpikā 3.93–94) is given the alternative name varaṇaka mudrā in vv. 677–683. Some of the practices taught in the Jogpradīpakā which are not taught elsewhere are very bizarre. In vv. 834–843 Jayatarāma describes some supplementary cleansing techniques necessary for samādhi. These include, at vv. 838–841, instructions to draw in water through the anus and expel it through the penis and vice-versa, and then to do the same with air instead of water. This is, of course, anatomically impossible.

 $^{^{28}}$ Siyā and Rām are also said to be at the [lotus with] countless petals in v. 934.

²⁹Although Jayatarāma conspicuously avoids praise of Śiva, he usually preserves the Śaiva names of the practices he describes. Thus we hear of bhairū āsana (vv.95–100), kapālī āsana (vv.115–117), siva āsana (118–121), aghora āsana (vv. 205–209), rudra āsana (vv. 227–230), sivaliṃga āsana (vv. 233–234). Similarly, other practices have names which clearly originate in the Nāth tradition: gorakhjālī āsana (vv. 85–87), machaṃdra āsana (vv. 91–94), bhadragorakha āsana (vv. 131–133), and the carpaṭcok, gvālīpāv, kanerīpāv, hālīpāv, mīḍakīpāv, jalaṃdhrīpāv, gopīcaṃd and bhartharī āsanas described at vv. 254–275, which are all named after Nāth Siddhas.

 $^{^{30}}$ See e.g. Clémentin-Ojha 1999.

Jayatarāma has not, however, completely excluded references to Kaula tantric practices from his text. At v. 638 we hear that applying $khecar\bar{\imath}mudr\bar{a}$ will prevent the yogin's bindu from falling when he is in the embrace of a woman.³¹ The description of the $b\bar{\imath}jar\bar{u}pan\bar{\imath}$ $mudr\bar{a}$ (another name for $vajrol\bar{\imath}mudr\bar{a}$) at vv. 552–561 is more explicit and explains how the yogin is to resorb through his urethra the combined sexual fluids of him and a young woman in order to unite Śiva and Śakti within his body. This, he says, is $r\bar{a}jayoga$, adding the caveat that it is to be done indoors (v. 559).³²

Paradoxes of Rāmānandī haṭhayoga

The corpus of haṭhayogic texts is not a doctrinally coherent whole. The origins of haṭhayoga are closely linked to the beginnings of the Nāth saṃpradāya and can be seen as a similar attempt to bring together various different schools, ranging from orders of relatively orthodox celibate ascetics, through to alchemists and antinomian tantrics.³³ The Rāmānandī Tyāgīs are natural heirs to the ascetic tradition of yoga,³⁴ but the haṭhayoga that they inherited already included elements from several different yogic traditions.

Many of the techniques of haṭhayoga have their origins in practices taught in Śaiva tantras. Indeed, most of haṭhayoga can be seen as an interiorisation of Śaiva tantric ritual, in which the need for its external elements, including Kaula features such as alcohol, meat and a sexual partner, is removed.³⁵ However, traces of Kaulism are still to be found. These, and its Śaiva heritage, make for some doctrinal paradoxes in the practice of haṭhayoga by Rāmānandī Tyāgīs, who are celibate Vaiṣṇava renunciates.

Hathayoga is so well accepted as part of orthodox ascetic religious practice that

³¹Cf. Hathapradīpikā 3.41.

 $^{^{32}}$ Contrast this with the *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā*, a manual of *haṭhayoga* which has Vaiṣṇava leanings but does recognise Śiva as *haṭhayoga*'s original teacher. At 3.39 it includes a *vajrolīmudrā* in its description of twenty-five *mudrā*s which is completely different from that found in all other texts on *haṭhayoga*, being no more than a simple $\bar{a}sana$.

 $^{^{33}}$ In a simplification of the complex situation which is revealed in the many texts of hathayoga, the c. 14th century Śarngadharapaddhati (4365a–4371b) says that there are two different methods of its practice. One represents the tradition of the celibate ascetic: the yogin pierces the three knots and leads his breath and his mind upwards to his head. The other has roots in the tantric tradition: the yogin is to pierce the five cakras and lead Kuṇḍalinī to the store of amrta in the skull before flooding the body with it. The different approaches to the practice of hathayoga described in its texts are discussed in my introduction to the $Khecarīvidy\bar{a}$.

³⁴The best textual witness of this tradition is the *Dattātreyayogasāstra*, an early haṭhayogic manual relatively free of tantric elements.

 $^{^{35}}$ On this interiorisation of tantric ritual, see the chapter on *khecarīmudrā* in my introduction to the *Khecarīvidyā*.

its tantric roots have for the most part been long forgotten. Thus Tyāgīs, who would never let themselves be called $t\bar{a}ntrikas$, are happy to discuss the raising of Kuṇḍalinī through the cakras, and the attainment of siddhis such as the power of flight and the ability to drink amrta, all of whose origins can be traced in tantric texts.

However, some of haṭhayoga's Śaiva tantric heritage does pose problems for the Tyāgīs. The most obvious example of this is vajrolīmudrā, the practice described above which was originally used after ritual sexual intercourse to resorb the combined sexual fluids of the male and female partners. This was apparently acceptable to Jayatarāma but is completely beyond the pale of today's Rāmānandī Tyāgī, who has taken on the mantle of the defender of modern Hinduism and its new puritanism. Tyāgīs are also known as Vairāgīs, "those without passion". They are wholeheartedly celibate and women are effectively excluded from the order. They see themselves as ultra-orthodox Hindus. In contrast with other ascetic orders, they keep their topknots at initiation and preserve the right to perform Vedic sacrifices. They are steadfastly vegetarian, and do not use onion and garlic. Vajrolīmudrā's unorthodox "left-hand" tantric origins are obvious. Writing about its practice at Tārāpīṭh in Bengal, DARMON says that "seul un nombre infime de yogis parmi les vāmācāri effectue les opérations de ce type" (2002:214). So how can a Rāmānandī Tyāgī justify the practice of vajrolīmudrā?

Tyāgīs stand out from other renunciate orders in their fastidious observance of purity rules. At a Himalayan $t\bar{\imath}rtha$ it is the Tyāgīs and not the other $s\bar{\imath}dhu$ s who will rise at dawn and bathe in icy water. Rāmānandī ritual handbooks such as the $Siddh\bar{\imath}nt$ Paṭal and $R\bar{\imath}m$ Paṭal contain detailed instructions on every aspect of physical purity. The cleansing practices of haṭ hayoga take this to its extremes and thus Bālak Dās, although he himself is aware of its tantric origins, sees $vajrol\bar{\imath}-mudr\bar{\imath}a$ as a method of internal cleansing similar to basti, the yogic auto-enema. In this respect, rather than a technique for attaining siddhi, magical power, it resembles Jayatarāma's far-fetched cleansing practice mentioned above, in which water is drawn in through the anus and expelled through the penis.

Bālak Dās also told me that $vajrol\bar{n}mudr\bar{a}$ enables him to open and close his $sv\bar{a}dhish\bar{n}a$ cakra at will. In the same way, he said, through mastering basti he had achieved control over his $m\bar{u}l\bar{a}dh\bar{a}ra$ cakra. Opening these cakras is necessary in order to raise Kuṇḍalinī up the $susumn\bar{a}$ $n\bar{a}d\bar{a}$. In contrast to the teachings of

³⁶Some modern non-Vaiṣṇava commentators and practitioners of haṭhayoga have even more trouble than the Tyāgīs in accepting the practice of vajrolīmudrā. Vasu's 1914 edition of the Śivasaṃhitā omits its description entirely "as it is an obscene practice indulged in by low class Tantrists" (p. 51). RIEKER's commentary on the Haṭhapradīpikā written in 1972 under the guidance of B.K.S. Iyengar, a well-known haṭhayoga teacher from Pune, describes the vajrolī-, sahajolī- and amarolī- mudrās as "a few obscure and repugnant practices...a yoga that has nothing but its name in common with the yoga of a Patanjali or a Ramakrishna" (1992:127).

haṭhayogic texts, however, Bālak Dās does not believe that mastery of a set of practices can ensure that Kuṇḍalinī will rise. For him the Vaiṣṇava idea of grace (prasāda) is necessary for that. All he can do is practise haṭhayoga assiduously and repeat the name of Lord Rām in the hope that He will bring about bhagavān-prāpti.

Conclusion

The Rāmānandī Tyāgīs are the dominant ascetic order in north India today and heirs to an ancient ascetic tradition. The Nāths' dominance of the ascetic milieu in medieval times ensured that their hallmark soteriological technique, hathayoga, became an essential part of the ascetic tradition. It was thus taken on by the Tyāgīs. Tyāgīs frame their spiritual practices in the terminology of hathayoga, and refer to themselves as $jog\bar{\imath}s$ in many of their mantras. Dedicated practice of hathayoga is rare among them, but can be found.

Haṭhayoga has roots in Śaiva tantric practices, but has become so mainstream that its unorthodox heritage has long been forgotten. Only the blatantly "left-hand" practice of vajrolīmudrā needs reinterpretation by the Vaiṣṇava Rāmānandīs.

Although the Rāmānandīs accept haṭhayoga as part of ascetic practice, nirguṇa bhakti and the repetition of the name of Lord Rām are always seen as the true path to emancipation. To some, like Bālak Dās, the techniques of haṭhayoga help to prepare the body for god's grace and can lead to the attainment of siddhis along the way, but to many Tyāgīs they are little more than a sideshow.

Patronage is the key to any monastic order's survival. Asceticism's long history in India is testament to its appeal to the Indian populace. Ascetics are living embodiments of otherworldliness, of the idea that there is more to life than our regular mundane existence. The magical powers said to result from the mastery of haṭhayoga confirm that otherworldliness and they have a strong grasp on the imagination of the Indian laity.³⁹ The Tyāgīs' Vaiṣṇavism, on the other hand, is usually of little consequence to their devotees, who are attracted to them in the same way that they might be attracted to any ascetic: for his charisma and his

³⁷See e.g. Burghart 1991:110–111.

 $^{^{38}}Jog\bar{\imath}$ is a vernacular form for $yog\bar{\imath}$. See e.g. the *bhasma gāyatrī mantra* on pp. 30–32 of the $Siddh\bar{a}nt\ Patal$.

 $^{^{39}}$ Once when Bālak Dās was staying by a tributary of the Godavari near Nasik, he filled his bladder with milk as an exercise in his practice of $vajrol\bar{t}mudr\bar{a}$. When he was relieving himself he inadvertently let himself be seen by a man from the nearby village. Despite Bālak Dās's protestations, news quickly spread throughout the village that the $s\bar{a}dhu$ staying out by the river urinated milk. Devotees thronged to him.

possession of certain archetypal ascetic qualities, of which mastery of hathayoga may be one.

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