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YOGA AND MEDITATION TRADITIONS IN INSULAR SOUTHEAST ASIA

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Introduction

The region of insular Southeast Asia, which for the scope of the present chapter largely coincides with the archipelagic state of the Republic of Indonesia,¹ has been the theatre of the complex and long-lasting phenomenon of linguistic, cultural, and religious transfer called ‘Sanskritisation’, ‘Indianisation’/‘Indicisation’ or ‘Hinduisation’, from at least the first half of the first millennium of the current era up to 1500 CE and beyond. While the territories of Indonesia and Malaysia became gradually Islamised from the thirteenth–fifteenth century onwards, Indic cultural and religious elements have continued to be embedded in the local (predominantly Islamic) cultural and religious paradigms, especially in Java. The island of Bali has remained predominantly Hindu to this day, while small enclaves of Hindus and Buddhists (whether ‘indigenous’ or immigrated) are found in Java, Lombok, Sumatra and other islands. Christianity is the largest religious minority of Indonesia (about 10 per cent of the population). All the above-mentioned religious and cultural elements may be regarded as historical ‘layers’ resting on a ‘substratum’ of indigenous or Austronesian elements, which are often difficult to define precisely (beyond the general label of ‘shamanism’ or ‘ancestor cults’), let alone tease out.

An integral part of the phenomenon of Indicisation were the traditions of yoga that originated in the Indian subcontinent – understood here both in the narrow sense of specific philosophical and soteriological traditions described in Sanskrit sources (for example, Pātañjala yoga or tantric *śaḍāṅgayoga*) and in the wider sense of inner and outer psycho-physical techniques of self-cultivation, meditation, visualisation, asceticism (*tapas*), etc. Yoga traditions were transmitted to the region by the seventh century at the latest and developed there well beyond the end of the Hindu–Buddhist period into the modern period in Islamic contexts, such as in the Javanese tradition of mysticism (*kejawen*), or in Hindu contexts, for instance in Bali.

The fact that local societies readily adopted these techniques, adapted them to their contexts and concerns, and further developed them suggests that they might already have had a propensity for psycho-physical techniques even before the beginning of Indic influences. In particular, one notes the resilience throughout history in local cultures of practices geared towards the obtainment of physical and spiritual power, supernatural faculties, control of and influence over other people’s will, etc.² Thus, Indic yoga traditions in Indonesia should not be studied as mere cultural transplants, but as phenomena involving an active Southeast Asian agency. Indeed,

according to Wolters (1999: 9), the ‘localization’ of Indic culture may be regarded as a process that brought ‘persisting indigenous beliefs into sharper focus’; this may have been true in the case of ‘yogic’ psycho-physical techniques. Besides being a worthy object of study in their own right, yoga traditions in Indonesia also enlighten us about dynamics of cultural transfer within the wider transcultural context of the ‘Sanskrit Cosmopolis’ theorised by Pollock (2006), i.e. a wide cultural-geographical area that included both South and Southeast Asia. Last but not least, they provide an independent – yet parallel – source of data to better understand yoga traditions in South Asia itself.³

Our knowledge about yoga traditions in insular Southeast Asia mainly derives from textual documents in Sanskrit and premodern and modern vernacular languages of Java (Old Javanese, Modern Javanese), Bali (Old Javanese, Balinese) and Sumatra (Classical Malay), as well as from sparse art historical evidence and modern and contemporary practices. This chapter will survey this multifarious evidence, focusing mainly on the premodern period and Sanskrit–Old Javanese sources, and include discussions on how Indic traditions have evolved into (predominantly Islamic) modern Javanese and (predominantly Hindu) Balinese religious paradigms and meditative practices. However, I will not elaborate on the contemporary forms of transnational yoga, which are attracting a significant number of followers in Indonesia.

The earliest literary evidence: the old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*

Old Javanese was the translocal literary vernacular (akin to Prakrit(s) in South Asia) used in Java from circa the eighth century to the sixteenth century, and it is still attested in the manuscript tradition and religious lore of Bali to the present day.⁴ Zoetmulder’s *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (1982) lists more than two pages of occurrences in Old Javanese literature of dozens of substantival, adjectival and verbal forms based on the root *yoga*. These include, among others, the Sanskrit technical compounds *yogābhyāsa* (‘the practice of yoga’), *yogadhāraka* (‘concentration of the mind’), *yogajñāna* (‘the mind (spirit) in yoga’), *yogakrama* (‘method or practice of yoga’), *yogapavṛtti* (‘the performance of yoga’), *yogaśāstra* (‘the science of yoga’), *yogasiddhi* (‘perfection or supernatural power of yoga’) and *yogasmarāṇa* (‘meditative yoga’).⁵ Many instances of the word *yoga* and its derivatives are attested in what may be the earliest Old Javanese transmitted text known to us, the poem *Rāmāyaṇa kakavin* (c. ninth–early tenth century CE),⁶ where they occur both in the sense of ‘magical/creative power’ (20.53) and as a psycho-physical meditative technique associated with supernatural prowess and feats (3.38, 20.54), asceticism (1.42, 4.9, 4.13) and release (4.10), along with other technical terms, such as *samādhi* (4.10, 13), *japa* (21.135), *citta* and *dhāraṇā* (24.180). Designations of yogic agents such as *yogin/yogī*, etc., are equally widespread, suggesting that yoga practitioners must have been familiar realities in the *imaginaire* of the ancient Javanese courtly elites (that is, outside of restricted religious circles), and perhaps even of the population at large.

An interesting aperçu on yoga practices and agents in their social contexts is found in the allegorical chapters 24 and 25. Advancing a critique of various ascetic and religious groups mockingly depicted as animals,⁷ these chapters contain passages hinting at yoga postures that seem to have derived from Indian prototypes, for instance the observance of hanging upside-down (from trees), carried out by flying foxes (*kalvaiṅ*, 24.119, 25.68). This practice seems to have been still in use in modern Java, under the name of *tapa ngalong* or ‘the observance of the flying-fox’.⁸ A similar practice is attested in South Asia already in the Pāli canon, where it is associated with *tapasvins* and Ājīvikas practicing the “‘bat-penance” (*vagguli-vata*), which is generally assumed to mean suspending oneself upside down from a tree, thus inverting oneself in a fashion not dissimilar to the hathayogic *viparītakaraṇī mudrā*’ (Mallinson 2016: 21). It is also

mentioned in a number of later Sanskrit sources.⁹ According to Mallinson, these austerities may have been linked with techniques practised by celibate ascetics aiming at the preservation of semen, such as those described in early *haṭhayoga* texts.¹⁰ The same chapter of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* (25.34) mentions another observance that may have been linked to such techniques: the *asidhāravrata* or ‘knife’s edge penance’ (a form of *coitus reservatus*), found in the Śākta text *Brahmayāmala* (Hatley 2016).

An allegorical reference to what might have been another austerity-oriented (*tapasyā*) precursor of a later postural form of (*haṭha*)*yoga* (i.e., [*ekapāda*] *bakāsana*) is the description, in 24.116 and 117cd (cf. 25.52–60), of a cunning heron (*baka*) standing on one leg and posing as an ascetic to take advantage of the small fishes, which finds exact parallels in Old Javanese texts and temple reliefs, as well as Sanskrit prototypical sources such as the *Pañcatantra* (Acri 2010: 494–498).¹¹ A panel on the Buddhist monument Borobudur in Central Java (c. late eighth–early ninth century) depicts the bodhisattva Maitreya who is seemingly practising this kind of posture (Figure 19.1).¹² Some reliefs depicting ascetics and deities in *padmāsana* are found at the ninth-century Śaiva sanctuary of Loro Jonggrang in Prambanan, Central Java (Figure 19.2). Still, just like in South Asian tantric milieus throughout the medieval period, postural yoga (intended here as including both *āsana*-based Pātañjala yoga and *haṭhayoga*; see below) never represented the dominant paradigm in Java and Bali, as both the textual sources and living traditions display a clear predilection for internalised practices emphasising meditative processes.



Figure 19.1 Maitreya carrying out arduous practices; Borobudur, Central Java, c. 8th–9th century. Photo: Andrea Acri



Figure 19.2 One of the directional manifestations of Śiva at Candi Śiva, Loro Jonggrang, Central Java, 9th century.
Photo: Andrea Acri.

Old Javanese Śaiva sources on *aṣṭāṅgayoga* and *ṣaḍāṅgayoga*

Both the Pātañjala yoga of eight auxiliaries or ancillaries (*aṣṭāṅgayoga*) and the tantric form of Śaiva yoga of six ancillaries (*ṣaḍāṅgayoga*) are represented in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese religious literature, mainly formed by the texts known as *tuturs* and *tattvas*. However, it is the latter tradition that is by far the commonest form of yoga found there. This may be due to the fact that the majority of the scriptures from premodern Java and Bali that have survived to us are tantric in nature, and derive from prototypical Sanskrit canons of Śaiva and Buddhist scriptures from South Asia. It is this body of scripture that informed the mainstream religiosity of large parts of South and Southeast Asia from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries and beyond.

Some of the secondary literature published thus far on *ṣaḍāṅgayoga* has mentioned textual evidence from Old Javanese sources:¹³ this includes, for example, a widespread verse listing the six *aṅgas* of the Śaiva (and, to a lesser extent, Buddhist) yoga, which features in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 53, *Jñānasiddhānta* 15.1/*Gaṇapatitattva* 3 and *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* Śaiva p. 76, and has parallels in several Siddhāntatantras (see Table 19.1; cf. Vasudeva 2004: 376). Many of the Old Javanese sources appear to have inherited the system found in relatively early Saiddhāntika texts, such

Table 19.1 *Aṅgas* (limbs) of yoga in selected Old Javanese sources

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|------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--|--|-------------------------|
| <i>Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad</i> | <i>Saiḥ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan (Śaiva)</i> | <i>Dakṣasmṛti; Tāntrālokaviveka</i> | <i>Aṃṛtanāda Upaniṣad; Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha; Mataṅgapārameśvara; Gaṇapatitattva; Jñānasiddhānta, Titur Kamokṣan; Vṛhaspatitattva; Sutasoma</i> | <i>Guhyasamāja Tantra</i> | <i>Mṛgendrantra</i> | <i>Tattvajñāna</i> | <i>Dhyānabindu Upaniṣad; Gorakṣasātaḥ; Skanda Purāṇa</i> | <i>Yogasūtra; Liṅga Purāṇa; Aji Sangkya; Rsi Yadnya Sankhya dan Yoga</i> | <i>Dharma Pātāñjala</i> |
| prāṇāyāma | prāṇāyāma | prāṇāyāma | <u>pratyāhāra</u> | pratyāhāra | <u>prāṇāyāma</u> | prāṇāyāma | prāṇāyāma | yama | <u>yama</u> |
| pratyāhāra | pratyāhāra | dhyāna | <u>dhyāna</u> | dhyāna | pratyāhāra | pratyāhāra | pratyāhāra | niyama | <u>niyama</u> |
| dhyāna | dhāraṇā | pratyāhāra | <u>prāṇāyāma</u> | prāṇāyāma | dhāraṇā | dhāraṇā | dhāraṇā | āsana | <u>āsana</u> |
| dhāraṇā | dhyāna | dhāraṇā | <u>dhāraṇā</u> | dhāraṇā | dhyāna | dhyāna | dhyāna | prāṇāyāma | <u>pratyāhāra</u> |
| tarka | tarka | tarka | <u>tarka</u> | anusmṛti | anvīkṣaṇa | tarka | | pratyāhāra | <u>prāṇāyāma</u> |
| | | | | | japa | | | dhāraṇā | <u>dhāraṇā</u> |
| samādhi | samādhi | samādhi | <u>samādhi</u> | samādhi | samādhi | samādhi | samādhi | dhyāna | <u>dhyāna</u> |
| | | | | | yoga | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |

as the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, the *Kālottara*, the *Kiraṇa*, the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* and the *Parākhyā* (ibid.: 377).¹⁴ This system reflects the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* of the *tarka*-class (emphasising discrimination/reflection), as opposed to the *aṣṭāṅgayoga* of the *āsana*-class (emphasising postures/seats). Besides the omission of *āsanas*, *yamas*, and *nīyamas*, which are considered preparatory practices but not ancillaries proper as they are in *aṣṭāṅgayoga*, *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* adds *tarka* (or *ūha*, reasoning), and introduces an important element of theism. An interesting fact is the position of *dhyāna* in the two traditions: it usually appears as second member in early Śaiva sources, whereas in Pātañjala yoga sources – or Śaiva sources influenced by that system – it appears as the penultimate one (see Table 19.1). There are also hybrid lists of ancillaries attempting to bridge *ṣaḍaṅga* and *aṣṭāṅgayoga*, such as the one by the *Tattvajñāna*, including seven ancillaries – i.e. the six standard ancillaries plus *āsana*. This phenomenon reflects an attempt to bridge Śaiva yoga with Pātañjala yoga, and appears to be especially significant in Sanskrit texts composed or (re)compiled at a relatively late date (i.e. after the ninth or tenth centuries).¹⁵ It may reflect either the rising status of the yoga of Patañjali in the Indic world, or an intrinsically eclectic attitude by the Javanese authors, who adopted bits and pieces of what was available to them to perform an operation of textual and doctrinal bricolage.

Indeed, fragments of Pātañjala yoga doctrines interspersed within otherwise eminently Śaiva texts that uphold *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* exist. For instance, a cluster of verses in the *Jñānasiddhānta* (ch. 19.5–7), one of which is borrowed from the Śaiva Saiddhāntika scripture *Kiraṇa*,¹⁶ define the individual soul in the state of *kevala* and final release in a manner that echoes Pātañjala yoga ideas and terminology, which may be traced to the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* (PYŚ, i.e. the *Yogasūtra* + *Bhāṣya*) 1.24, 2.27 and 4.34 (Acri 2011a). Verse 7 declares that liberation – which amounts to becoming the Spotless Śiva – is achieved via restraint (*saṃyama*), a meditative technique employing fixation (*dhāraṇā*), contemplation (*dhyāna*) and concentration (*samādhi*) mentioned in PYŚ 3.4, as well as lower dispassion (*vāhyavairāgya* [a spelling variant of *bāhyavairāgya*]), higher dispassion (*paravairāgya*) and fixation on God (*tīsvrapraṇidhāna*). The couplet *vāhyavairāgya* and *paravairāgya* correspond to *apara*- and *para*-*vairāgya* in *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.15–16, while *tīsvrapraṇidhāna* occurs in *Yogasūtra* 2.45.

What is by far the most significant Old Javanese source for our knowledge of yoga (in both the tantric and Pātañjala varieties) in the Archipelago is the *Dharma Pātañjala*, a Śaiva scripture of uncertain date retrieved from a West Javanese palm-leaf *codex unicus* last copied in 1467 CE (Acri 2017). This scripture, arranged in the form of a dialogue between the Lord Śiva (*bhaṭāra*) and his son Kumāra, presents a detailed exposition of the doctrinal and philosophical tenets of the Javanese form of Śaiva Siddhānta. Yet it devotes a long section (c. one-third of its length) – which it calls *yogapāda*, in the manner of Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras – to Pātañjala yoga, thereby providing a unique testimony for the knowledge of this system in premodern insular Southeast Asia. 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 *Yogasūtrabhāṣya*, it diverges from that commentary in several respects, either presenting specific doctrinal details that are found in other (sub-)commentaries, including the Arabic rendering of the *sūtras*-cum-commentary composed by al-Bīrūnī before 1030 CE, or adding seemingly original elements that are as yet unattested elsewhere. A fresh perspective on some problematic *sūtras* of the PYŚ is provided by the Old Javanese rendering and commentary on 1.10 (on sleep and dream), 1.21–23 (on the categories of yogins) and 2.9 (on *abhiniveśa*, ‘obsession’) (Acri 2012). Being shaped by an eminently theistic agenda, and imbued with Śaiva (tantric) tenets, the *Dharma Pātañjala* aims at attuning Pātañjala yoga (and philosophy) to Śaiva yoga (and philosophy).

The topics of the *sūtras* are followed in their original sequence (cf. Acri 2017: 482, table 13), opportunely re-arranged and shaped, like the rest of the text, as a commentary in the form of questions and answers. The Sanskrit verses embedded in the text correspond to *Yogasūtra* 1.2 (and *Bhāṣya* 1.28 commenting on it) – the famous definition of yoga as *cittavṛttinirodha*¹⁷ – 1.3 (on the isolated Self’s perception of its own nature), 1.24 (on the Lord as a special type of Self) and 1.30 (on the hindrances). The Old Javanese prose is by no means a direct translation of the PYŚ but a paraphrase alternating with more original exegetical passages. The author’s priority was apparently to present a synthetic account of the most important doctrinal points and practical techniques of Pātañjala yoga. The section of the *Yogapāda* from pp. 290.1–306.10 generally follows the sequence of the topics treated in the PYŚ up to *sūtra* 1.30, thus covering more than a half of the fifty-one *sūtras* making up the first chapter, the ‘*Samādhipāda*’. Motifs found in the Sanskrit text are occasionally omitted, presumably in order to avoid the repetition of topics already treated elsewhere in the text. For instance, the text follows the sequence of *sūtras* 1.21–28 characterising the Lord (*īśvara*) while omitting *sūtra* 1.26, where the Lord is said to have been incarnated as a primal sage (Kapila) – the status of the Lord as an incarnated being (e.g. Pātañjala)¹⁸ and universal teacher having been treated already in section 276.2–280.4. Similarly, the parts dealing with karma, latent impressions and cosmology are omitted.¹⁹ Intriguingly, the fourth *pāda* of the PYŚ (‘*Kaivalyapāda*’) is not reflected in the Old Javanese text. It seems likely that the author did not include it as he was trying to make Pātañjala yoga – an Indic system of yoga that seems to have been relatively marginal in Java – intelligible and useful to the local Śaiva theological milieu, which did not regard isolation (*kaivalya*) as the final goal of yoga (see below). On the other hand, perhaps more tentatively, this omission may also be interpreted in the light of the ongoing debate on the origins and authorship of the PYŚ. That the Javanese author may not have been aware of the ‘*Kaivalyapāda*’ due to the fact that the version of the PYŚ that was transmitted to Java did not (yet) include the fourth chapter is less likely but, at least in theory, not outside the realm of possibility. Indeed, according to Angot (2008: 27–28), the ‘*Kaivalyapāda*’ may be spurious, i.e. a later addition to the text, or in any event not written by the same hand who composed the first three chapters of the PYŚ.²⁰

As in the case of the *Jñānasiddhānta*, the *Dharma Pātañjala* makes an attempt to equate the *kaivalya* state of the Self with the Śaiva *summum bonum*, intended as the manifestation of the divine powers of the Lord in the practitioner, who thereby becomes Śiva. For instance, in 298.2–4, the *śloka*-quarter *ātmani cetanaḥ sthītaḥ* [= *sūtra* 1.3: ‘Then the Seer is established in his own form’ *tadā draṣṭuḥ svarūpe ’vasthānam*], defining the state of *samādhi* and conflating it with *kaivalya*,²¹ is glossed as the state where the mind is left behind by the Self and the *yogin* obtains the state of supernatural prowess, adhering closely to the Lord. A polemic on the role of *citta* in yoga may be hinted at in 290.10–11, where the Lord dispels an objection (possibly from the point of view of Pātañjala yoga) as to the identification of the mind with the Soul, remarking that since both have the same object of perception, what is experienced by the opponent (in the state of *kaivalya*) is just the mind, not the Soul. The implication is 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. Stillness of mind is thus a means and should not be confused with its end, as the opponent seems to do. Overall, such passages of the *Dharma Pātañjala* remind me of analogous (albeit more overtly polemic) reinterpretations of Pātañjala yoga by commentators in the Sanskrit tradition of Śaiva Siddhānta, such as Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha (fl. c. 900–950?) in his commentary to *Mrgendratānta* YP 2a, in which he defines yoga as union with Śiva, as well as Rāmakaṇṭha in his commentary to the *Yogapāda* of the *Mataṅgapārameśvara* (1.1), which regards the teaching of that Tantra as superior to those of Pātañjali.²²

Despite its partial adherence to Pātañjala yoga and the PYS, the *Dharma Pātañjala* shares the same stock of tantric yoga as the other texts from Indonesia. *Āsanas*, although included along with *yama* and *niyama* among the preliminaries, just as in South Asian tantric sources, do not play an important role; indeed, their number reflects the standard stock list of early Siddhāntatantras.²³ On the other hand, *samādhi* appears to be the most important ancillary, rather than *tarka*, which is prominent in the Kashmirian non-dual Śaiva sources. A section of the text (pp. 324.7–326.5) describes in detail the practice of *dhāraṇā* to ‘conquer’ the elements (being equivalent to *bhūtajaya* or ‘conquering of the five elements’, which is also featured in many South Asian tantric sources, such as the *Mālinīvijaya*; cf. *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan Śaiva* 28–29). There is nothing specifically Pātañjala in the description of *prāṇāyāma* (p. 316.11–17), which does not follow the *Yogaśāstra* (2.49–52) and is more tantric in character. It revolves around the practice of the breath exercises known in medieval (tantric and non-tantric) Sanskrit texts as *pūraka* ‘inhalation’, *kumbhaka* ‘retention’, and *recaka* ‘exhalation’. An important doctrinal feature of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, which is also reflected in the majority of Old Javanese Śaiva texts (as well as South Asian Pāsupata Śaiva texts and later *haṭhayoga* and *rājayoga* texts), is the view that liberation can be obtained through yoga and not initiation (*dikṣā*), as the ‘orthodox’ Saiddhāntika view would have it.²⁴ This is indicative of the important role played by yoga in shaping esoteric and mainstream religious traditions of premodern Indonesia. It is, therefore, not surprising that the highest category of (Śaiva) practitioner and epitome of spiritual aspirant is indicated in Old Javanese texts by the term *yogīśvara*, ‘leader among yogins’, in conformity with the prominence attributed to yoga as the main soteriological means.

Indeed, the majority of the texts of the *tutur* and *tattva* genre may be described as being primarily texts on yoga and, in a wider sense, (tantric) meditation techniques. The most representative practices are visualisations (*dhyānas*), fixations (*dhāraṇās*) and techniques that are reminiscent of the forms of *layayoga* found in Sanskrit texts from South Asia,²⁵ aiming at dissolving the mind and identifying the practitioner with the supreme reality (see e.g. *Bhuvanakośa* ch. 5). The theistic aspect is prominent, involving visualisations of the Lord and his hypostases (e.g. as the mantra-bodied Sadāśiva in the subtle centre of the heart; as Paramaśiva, Rudra, Mahādeva, etc., cf. *Gaṇapatitattva* 60–61), or constant meditation on, and identification with, Him while eating, sleeping, walking, and standing still (cf. e.g. *Tattvajñāna* 44) – a practice called *caturdhyāna*, whose prototype is well-attested in Sanskrit sources across sectarian boundaries (Acri 2017: 379–382). The idea of the coincidence of the normal state of consciousness with a higher state is reflected in the doctrine, expounded in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 47, of union of the waking state (*jāgrā*) with the ‘fourth state’ (*tūrya*), which has Upaniṣadic parallels and is also found in non-dual Śaivism of Kashmir. Equally widespread is the utilisation of mantras or *akṣaras* of the Sanskrit syllabary to be visualised and emplaced in different parts of the body of the yogin. When the whole syllabary is represented, this practice is called *svavayāñjananyāsa* (Acri 2016). The same interest in gross and subtle physiology that is found in Sanskrit tantric sources also characterises the *tutur* and *tattva* texts, which often include lists of breaths (*vāyus*, *prāṇas*), vessels (*nāḍīs*) and subtle centres (*sthānas*, *padmas*, *cakras*).

References to a practice called (as a Sanskrit *tatpuruṣa* compound) *prayogasandhi* ‘esoteric knowledge of the (right) means’ or (as two separate words) *prayoga sandhi* ‘secret means’ are found throughout the corpus. In the *Dharma Pātañjala* (p. 288.10–18), it denotes a form of *samādhi* through which the Lord is made manifest in a human being, like the fire which exists within wood (as the effect in its cause), which comes out as a consequence of rubbing, and like butter in milk, which comes out as a consequence of churning it with a ‘tool’. The tool (*upāya*) appears to be a metaphor referring to the six ancillaries of yoga (see p. 308.7–11; *Tattvajñāna* 44). The hymn of the Old Javanese poem *Arjuvavihāna* (c. early eleventh century) declares that the

yogin achieves the visible form of the Lord when he carefully ‘churns’ the consciousness (*amutār tutur pinahayu*). These ideas and practices are likely to be Javanese developments of South Asian Sanskrit prototypes: *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 1.10–12 equates the body to the slab and the syllable *om* as the upper drill, while *Amṛtabindu/Brahmabindu Upaniṣad* (ninth–twelfth century CE?) 20–21 declares that the realisation of Brahman amounts to the extraction of butter from milk and the production of fire through a churning–stick. An analogous idea is found in the Saiddhāntika Śaiva scripture *Triyodaśatikakālotara*. Some bodily and subtle techniques involving the use of *mathana*, ‘churning’ or ‘kindling’, are described in the *Kubjikāmatatantra* (12.60–65), which combines yogic techniques and visualisation in the cadre of a sexual intercourse metaphor, and in *Tantrāloka* (5.22–24), which describes a meditation on the ‘rubbing’ of Soma, Sūrya and Agni as the ‘kindling stick’ (*araṇi*) in the cadre of an internalised ritual (Mallinson 2007: 27, 208). In other Old Javanese passages, such as *Dharma Pātāñjala* p. 328.13–22, *prayogasandhi* is employed to separate the Soul from the enveloping power of the Unevolved Matter (*pradhāna*) and to enter the body of another human being by cutting off its karmic bonds (a practice akin to *paraśarīrapraveśa* in tantric texts as well as the PYS).²⁶ In the Old Javanese Śaiva didactic poem *Dharma Śūnya* 9.2, the aim of *sandhi upāya* (= *prayogasandhi*) is to hold back (or: ‘concentrate upon’, *rægəp*) the bad and good actions (*pāpa lavan supuṇya*) with the secret key of yoga (*kuñci rahasya yoga*, seemingly connected with *prāṇāyāma* in Old Javanese texts).

A technique of Indian derivation that is prominently featured in Old Javanese texts is *sadyotkrānti*: ‘immediate ascent’ ≈ ‘immediate (forceful?) expulsion/going out’ (of the breath, life-principle or Soul); also *utkrānti* = ‘dying’. This practice is attested in the Sanskrit Mantramārga corpus, but it may have been derived from the earlier Pāśupata/Atimārga tradition. In both Indian and Javanese–Balinese contexts, *sadyotkrānti* is a praxis enabling the yogin to precipitate death, which is achieved through the expulsion of the breath. The texts stress the importance of knowing the exact time of the all important moment of physical death, so as not to be unprepared, and to have an empty mind or a mind focused on one’s supramundane aim. It is related to the practice of closing the nine bodily orifices with the esoteric/secret key (*kuñci rahasya*) and expelling the breath from the fontanel (cf. Acri 2017: 522–523; Vasudeva 2004: 395–397 and 402–409). Often *sadyotkrānti* is not explicitly mentioned; rather, we find *prāṇāyāma* (*kumbhaka*, *pūraka*, *recaka*), and also (*pra*)–*yogasandhi* (or just *sandhi*). While many passages describing this technique are studiously elliptic and esoteric, it must nonetheless have been widespread, as it constitutes a common literary trope even in the belles-lettres, where it is customarily described as the best way of dying and achieving liberation, such as in *Smaradahana* 8.23 (by Kāma) and *Sumanasāntaka* 10.31–33a (by the king father of the heroine Indumatī).

Insights on this practice come from the modern Balinese tradition, which has appropriated and carried forward this technique from the Old Javanese textual heritage. In yogic practice during life, the adept should unify the syllables *am* and *aḥ*, representing fire and water, Umā and Śiva, *pradhāna* and *puruṣa*, to obtain *amṛta*, the water of eternal life. At the time of death, the two should be kept separated (*rva bhineda*) and their position reversed, so that fire unnaturally moves downward and water upwards (Stephen 2010: 431). The yogin must, therefore, lead the vital principle through the body and expel it through one of the centres, most often the fontanel (*śivadvāra*). Since, depending on the contents of the mind, the soul may go to different abodes, it is crucial to maintain an empty mind as well as a heightened awareness during the time of death. This is a very difficult practice to master, however, and the soul can be brought back and instructed in order to achieve a better goal (ibid.: 446). In the Balinese tradition, this occurs after death itself, during the funerary ritual. Stephen has interpreted the Balinese *pitra yadnya* (funerary ritual) as a ‘yogic art of dying’, that is, the ritual re-enactment of the resorption of the cosmic principles (*tattvas*) into Paramaśiva. Śaiva Saiddhāntika funeral rites (*śrāddha*) seem similar

in this regard, insofar that, by bringing the soul back into the corpse and then liberating it, they ‘assist the deceased in a process through which he is gradually made to advance into higher levels of liberation, therewith completing the process that had been initiated by the *Dīkṣā* ritual ... bestowing union with Śiva’ (Mirnig 2013: 286). However, since, as we have seen above, it is not initiation (*dīkṣā*) but yoga that is deemed to bestow liberation/union with Śiva according to Old Javanese Śaiva texts, it would seem that the Balinese tradition elaborated a post-mortem ritualistic version of an originally yogic practice for the benefit of the lay people.

A genre of Old Javanese manuals on what may be labelled as ‘sexual yoga’ has been preserved in Bali within the context of the broader Śaiva *tutur* genre (see Creese and Bellow 2002). In these texts (e.g. *Aṅgulipraveśa*, *Indrāñīsāstra*, etc.), sex is considered a religious practice in which sexual climax and pleasure are central. Some of these texts and ideas may go back to premodern Java, as the demonstrably early belletristic sources convey a widespread idea that the *summum bonum* is attained via sexual union. The textual climax is often represented by the marriage of the hero and heroine and the enactment of ‘yoga of the bedchamber’, i.e. yogic copulation enjoining meditation and sex, which enables them to identify as the male–female embodiments of Śiva (Ardhanārīśvara), or the human counterparts of Kāma and Rati. That seems to have been understood as the main path of yoga for householders.

Old Javanese Buddhist sources on yoga

Forms of Buddhist *devatāyoga* existed in premodern Indonesia, where the predominant Buddhist paradigm from the seventh century onwards appears to have been a localised variety of Mantranaya/Mahāyāna Buddhist tantra.²⁷ While Buddhist and Śaiva tantric traditions – in Java and elsewhere – share a great deal of common concepts, terminology and techniques, a theoretical separation or distinction between the two appears to have existed in the domain of doctrine, ritual and clergy (Acri 2015). For instance, the fourteenth-century Buddhist poem *Sutasoma* by Mpu Tantular describes a ‘yogic way of dying’ (*parātramārga*, canto 38 and 39) that is in many respects reminiscent of the Śaiva practice of *utkrānti*. Yet it clearly separates the Śaiva way of *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* (canto 40), which leads to the acquisition of supernatural powers, from the Buddhist way of *advayayoga* (canto 41), which leads to liberation (Ensink 1974). The latter yoga is also called *advayajñāna*, and is discussed in connection with the Buddhist deity Prajñāpāramitā and the mantra *aṃ aḥ* (otherwise known as *rva bhineda* in the Balinese Śaiva tradition; see below). Similar passages are found in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese Buddhist manual *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, which is most probably three or four centuries earlier than the *Sutasoma*. A syncretic stance is attested in the Śaiva version of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*, which contains a variant of the widespread verse on *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* and employs Śaiva rather than Buddhist terminology (Kats 1910: 153–156). The Buddhist version features *samādhi* focused on Vajrasattva, Lokeśvara, Jambāla, Vairocana etc.; a technique called *dhyānapāramitā*; and a four-fold yoga taught by Ācārya Śrī Dignāgapāda: *mūlayoga*, *madhyayoga*, *vasānayoga* and *antayoga*, consisting in the visualisation of a Buddhist deity.

Classical Malay literature from Sumatra

Evidence of the presence of Indic yoga practices in Sumatra in the sixteenth century – that is, well into the Islamic period – is suggested by some Malay works of Islamic scholars who polemically wrote against certain non-Islamic practices. These are, for instance, the influential eighteenth-century South Sumatran scholar ‘Abd as-Samad al-Palimbani (Drewes 1976) and especially the Muslim mystic Hamzah Fansuri, who lived in North Sumatra between the

end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. As shown by Brakel (1979, 2004: 10–11), in a poem Fansuri attacks surviving ‘yoga’ practices, contrasting ‘the jungles of the interior, where such practices frequently occur, with the sea and the Islamized coasts which are open to the world’. Fansuri’s critique of the ascetic practices carried out in seclusion by spiritual seekers contains clear echoes of yogic techniques known in the Javano–Balinese tradition; for instance, the statement ‘They draw their breath into the brain, Lest their fluids get in commotion’ reminds us of the technique of retention of the breath (*prāṇāyāma*), which is described in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Vṛhaspatitattva* precisely as the closing of the bodily apertures and the breaking through of the breath from the cranial vault.²⁸ In a passage of his prose *Asrār al-Ārifin* (Brakel 1979: 74–75), Hamzah admonishes his reader not to localise God in the fontanel (*ubun-ubun*) or on the tip of the nose (*dī pucuk hiduñ*) or between the eyebrows (*dī antara keniñ*) or in the heart (*dī dalam jantuñ*), all of which correspond to the classical subtle centres of the human body described in yogic texts from both the Sanskrit and Javano–Balinese tradition, in which the practitioner should imagine Śiva to reside (e.g. *śivadvāra* = fontanel, *nāsāgra* = tip of the nose, *lalāṭa* = space between the eyebrows, *hṛdaya* = heart). Brakel (1979: 76) concluded that yogic techniques were still current in sixteenth-century Aceh. Braginsky (2004: 144–145) fine-tuned Brakel’s analysis and showed that Hamzah’s critique included elements of not only *dhyāna* and *dhāraṇā* but also acquisition of supernatural powers through yoga as well as sexo-yogic practices involving the manipulation of the semen. These techniques, of probably tantric derivation, were in fact described in a corpus of syncretic Sufi–tantric mystical literature in Malay from Sumatra focusing on sexual yoga (Braginsky 2004; 2017; 2019). This body of texts represents a clear continuation of the pre-Islamic Indic heritage, owing as it does to hathayogic and tantric practices. As in the case of the Old Javanese and Balinese texts, it lays emphasis on the spiritual practice of married householders through sexual yoga, but reframes it in a thoroughly Islamised religious and sociocultural context.

Yoga in modern Bali

Today, Bali is considered a mecca for yoga and yoga retreats; however, this phenomenon reflects practices coming from outside (i.e. Indian or globalised/modern postural yoga) and catering to (spiritual) tourists rather than locals. It is still largely centred around Ubud but is now rapidly extending to the main tourist locations across the island. This still-evolving phenomenon will not be dealt with here. Rather, I shall briefly outline the contours of the less-known phenomenon of Balinese yoga(s) and their historical roots.

As I anticipated above, the modern Balinese tradition of yoga may be regarded as a continuation and development of the Old Javanese paradigm, for instance in the case of such central practices as *sadyotkrānti*, the use of mantras and syllables and their imposition on the body, sexual yoga, etc. A ubiquitous practice is the yoga making use of the *daśākṣara* or ten sacred syllables, including the Śaiva *pañcabrahmamantras* (i.e. *sa ba ta a i*) + *na ma(h) śi vā ya*, which are then compressed to the three components of the OM – A, U, M –, then *aṃ uṃ maṃ*, *aṃ aḥ*, and finally the meeting and dissolution of the two into *nāda* and *Paraśiva* (Stephen 2014: 198). Texts such as the *Aji Sarasvatī* describe the placement of these syllables in the body and correspondences between these and colours, days, directions of the compass, deities, etc. This delineates a process of micro–macro–cosmic absorption within the body of the practitioner that reflects parallel external processes.

According to Stephen, this and other techniques have to be understood as reconfigurations of South Asian ideas and practices. For instance, the last five ‘mental’ ancillaries of *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* may be linked to the five stages of resorption of the *daśākṣaras*. Further, the visualisation of

nectar (*amṛta*) in a precious water vessel located in the brain as flowing down and transforming into the reversed *oṃkāra* located in the upper part of the cranial vault, the tip of the nose, the end of the tongue and then the cavity at the base of the neck (the golden phial) appears to reflect the *haṭhayoga* practice of *khecarīmudrā* (Mallinson 2007). This practice involves the turning backwards of the tongue until it enters the opening located in the back part of the soft palate to release the flow of nectar stored in the head (Stephen 2014; cf. *Dharma Pātañjala*, Acri 2017: 533). The practitioner should also imagine the burning up of the body to ashes and their washing away with nectar flowing from the golden phial (Stephen 2014: 23). This calls to mind the tantric ritual of *bhūtaśuddhi*, in which the elements of the body are purified by fire and water in order to create a divinised body.

A recent series of popular books on yoga deals with the figures of the Kanda Mpat or ‘spiritual siblings’ accompanying human beings since their birth. This is a widespread and important theme among Balinese Hindu householders who, by building a mystical relationship with their siblings through yoga, aim at attaining not only healing and success in other mundane matters, but also access to the innermost part of their Self. Indeed, the Kanda Mpat frame the theory (and practice) of liberation: the physical origin (birth) and end (death) of the individual finds a counterpart in the spiritual (re)incarnation into a human being and final liberation from the cycle of rebirth, which is achieved through yoga leading to the realisation of the ultimate identity between the Self (represented by the ‘fifth’ sibling) and the Lord Śiva. This practice and ideology was once represented in Java too, and indeed finds its origin in the Indian tradition, more precisely in the Śaiva Pāśupata doctrine of the four disciples of the incarnation of Śiva and promulgator of Pāśupata Śaivism known as Lakulīśa (Acri 2014).

One notes some sort of tension between the supra-ritualistic yogic attitude of certain categories of religious specialists and textual sources, and the ritualism of lay people and textual genres (mainly practical manuals). Indeed, the Pedanda Śiva, the highest brahmanical ritual specialists, may be regarded more as yogins than (mere) ritualists. Their main ritual practice, the *sūrya sevana*, may be considered a form of yoga aiming to turn, through *prāṇāyāma*, *dhyāna* and the uttering of mantras, the officiant into Śiva,²⁹ who is then able to produce the holy water (*tīrtha*). Stephen (2015: 96) regards this as a ‘daily yogic *sādhanā* of a tantric adept, rather than the recitation of a priestly liturgy or the worship of a deity’. Indeed, during *sūrya sevana* the practitioner assumes a seated yogic posture with his eyes closed, which is more indicative of a meditative rather than a ritual practice.³⁰ Even lay worship in temples (*sembahyang*) is not characterised by devotion (*bhakti*) and the presentation of offerings to a deity, but rather by the enactment of yoga/seated meditation, framed through the stages of *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *dhyāna* etc., followed by ritualised gestures.

The recent histories of *śaḍaṅga* and *aṣṭāṅga* yoga in the religious discourse in modern Bali (and, to a lesser extent, Java) are characterised by both continuities and changes with the precolonial tradition. In Bali, reformist groups have attempted to adopt (and adapt) the canon of neo-Hinduism as a constitutive part of modern Balinese Hinduism since the 1930s. The ideas of the prominent Hindu thinkers such as Vivekānanda, Swami Śivānanda, etc., probably through the medium of Theosophy, which was popular among the political and intellectual elites in Java and Bali, contributed to shape the new paradigm. This is evident from the mimeographed pamphlets and printed booklets in modern (Malay-)Indonesian or Balinese published on Bali from the 1940s, in which Balinese intellectuals and religious leaders were intent upon (re)creating a textual canon that, through the incorporation of elements of Indian Hinduism, would have sanctioned recognition of Balinese religion as a fully fledged, and pan-Indonesian, world religion.

Many such texts, while more or less closely adhering to the doctrinal and yogic paradigm found in Old Javanese Śaiva texts, namely the *śaḍaṅgayoga*, reflect an allure for Pātañjala yoga.

For instance, the *Aji Sangkya* by Ida Ketut Jelantik and *Rsi Yadnya Sankya dan Yoga* by Shri Rsi Anandakusuma pay lip service to Patañjali by including the yoga of the eight ancillaries, but maintaining the fundamentally theistic and tantric character of the Old Javanese and Balinese traditions (Acri 2013). Interestingly, the knowledge of Pātañjala yoga by the Balinese authors was not only mediated through the works of the above-mentioned Indian intellectuals, but also through the *Kitab Djoga Soetra Patandjali*, a translation into Malay of a Javanese version (*Serat Yogasūtra Patañjali*) of a Dutch translation of Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi's English translation of Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* in 1890, printed in Surakarta, Central Java (probably under the auspices of the local branch of the Theosophical society). The ascendance of Patañjali as the most authoritative voice in the domain of yoga is an ongoing phenomenon, as witnessed by the recent translation into Indonesian of the PYŚ by Balinese scholar Putu Suamba, and by the increasing presence of modern 'Ashtanga' practices in the contemporary Balinese yoga scene.

Modern Javanese mystical movements

The people of Java were prevalently Hindu and Buddhist until the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century; they have since shifted to Islam. The Islamisation of Java was a long and complex process, which included the – in origin Indic, or India-derived – Javanese psycho-physical yogic techniques. An early-sixteenth-century Portuguese visitor to the north coast of Java, Tome Pires, reported that there were still about 50,000 non-Muslim ascetics (*tapas*) in Java, noting that 'these men are also worshipped by the Moors, and they believe in them greatly; they give them alms; they rejoice when such men come to their houses' (Ricklefs 2006: 11). Indeed, Indic religious elements were absorbed and reconfigured in what is now termed 'Javanism' (*kejawen*), namely a syncretic form of mysticism characterised by a (Sufi) Muslim and Hindu–Buddhist synthesis.

Javanese mysticism is characterised by a doctrinal focus on monism; a belief in karma, reincarnation and deliverance; a practical emphasis on meditative practices and/or ascetic austerities carried out in rivers, cemeteries, caves and forests; periodic fasts; and the acquisition of spiritual and worldly powers. While monism may be ascribed to both Indic and Sufi milieus, the latter seems to be responsible for the idea of total surrender to God (found in, for example, the mystical movements and meditation traditions called Sumarah and Subud). Its various movements and organisations all include, to different degrees, descriptions – through an idiom that freely mixes Indic and Arabic words – of levels of consciousness and subtle centres of the body, repetition of mantras (under the Sufi garb of *dhikr*), initiation, etc., mainly aimed at reuniting the practitioner with the Divine. These aspects of Javanism could indeed be described as a form of yoga in Islamic garb.

As in the ancient Javanese tradition, finding a partner (*jodoh*) and leading the life of a householder (which perhaps implies the practice of sexual yoga) constitute central aspects of spiritual experience. The connubiality between yoga and martial arts that is sometimes found in India also characterises such traditions as the Pencak Silat and Kanuragan, which mix bodily and meditative practices (some of which are clearly connected to the *kanda ampat*) within the context of a broader (nominally Islamic) spiritual dimension to increase spiritual authority and psycho-physical prowess (De Grave 2014). One notes the signs of a revival of mystical groups and a 'nativist' approach to the religious experience in contemporary Central and East Java, including groups identifying as the continuators of the Majapahit tradition of Hindu–Buddhist tantra (whether or not in an Islamic garb). The activities of these groups include rituals and meditation sessions in mountain sites centred around holy water springs and pre-Islamic vestiges (i.e. *lingas*, statues, megaliths or temples). Some of these sites have become the destinations of pilgrimages by Balinese Hindus.

All the above practices are in stark contrast with the rising influence of radical, Wahhabi Islam in Indonesia over the past few decades. In spite of this, and in spite of a *fatwa* emanated by the influential Indonesian Ulama Council in 2009 against the practice of yoga by Muslims (Tedjasukmana 2009), Indic/global contemporary yoga has become a mass phenomenon not only in Java but also in other predominantly Muslim regions of Indonesia. Yoga schools are flourishing in the major urban centres of the country, catering to the middle classes across the boundaries of religious allegiances. Yet, in spite of this growing interest in modern postural yoga, Indonesian mainstream cultural and religious discourses still seem to be largely unaware of the premodern Javanese and Balinese yoga traditions, which makes the task of preserving this heritage in the face of radical Islam and of the cultural onslaught of globalised yoga a particularly difficult one.

Notes

- 1 In this chapter I use the term ‘Indonesia’ for the sake of convenience, bearing in mind that this political entity is a recent (i.e. colonial and postcolonial) phenomenon that is not co-extensive with any polity or culturally homogenous region in the premodern period.
- 2 These concerns were prominently featured in the Indic socio-religious phenomenon we now call ‘tantrism’, which exerted a deep and long-lasting impact on the religious traditions of Indonesia.
- 3 In spite of this fact, and notable exceptions notwithstanding (cf., e.g. Grönbold 1983 and Vasudeva 2004), indological research has often been unwilling to take into account material from Java and Bali. For example, the most recent, authoritative and comprehensive book on yoga in South Asia (including excursions on Tibet, China and the Islamic world) by Mallinson and Singleton (2017) completely passes over in silence the existence of yoga traditions in Southeast Asia and their relevant textual sources. The same holds true in the case of the voluminous and wide-ranging collection *Yoga in Transformation* (Baier, Maas and Preisendanz 2018).
- 4 The majority of Old Javanese literature is known to us through the Indic tradition of Balinese palm-leaf manuscripts (*lontar*). A limited oral use of Old Javanese is found, alongside modern Balinese, in elite religious and/or intellectual milieus for mantras and ritualised textual recitation.
- 5 Some of these Sanskrit terms (such as, for example, the last one) may be only attested in Old Javanese literature, or may have acquired a new meaning due to semantic shift.
- 6 This is not a direct rendering of the famous Sanskrit epic attributed to Vālmīki, but the local retelling of a later version, the *Rāvaṇavadha* (or *Bhaṭṭikāvya*) by Bhaṭṭi (seventh century CE).
- 7 This is redolent of stories in the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*, in which some animals imitate the practices of ascetics for their own gain (see Acri 2010).
- 8 See *Baosastra Djawa* (Poerwadarminta 1939), s.v. *ngalong*.
- 9 See Mallinson 2016: 21 note 98, mentioning, among others, *Vāikhānasasmārtasūtra* and *Mahābhārata*.
- 10 The upside-down posture seemingly aimed (through the exploitation of gravity) at preventing the downward flow and loss of the life force or *amṛta* (see Mallinson and Singleton 2017: 90). A technique to reabsorb the semen into the body is *vajrolīmudrā* (see Mallinson 2018).
- 11 Similar practices involving standing on one leg are associated, with positive connotations, with ascetics in other Sanskrit texts, such as the *Mahābhārata* 3.185.4–5: see Mallinson 2016: 21 notes 98 and 107.
- 12 Fontein (2012: 89) describes the panel as follows: ‘Maitreya, standing on one leg in typical yoga fashion, illustrates the words: “he saw how Maitreya carried out arduous practices”. This passage seems to occur only in Prajñā’s Chinese translation (T293, 832, 19)’.
- 13 See Ensink (1974, 1978), Grönbold (1983), Vasudeva (2004: 367–436) and the notes by Goodall (2004: 351–353).
- 14 However, Sanskrit verses and their Old Javanese exegeses have not been systematically studied, either individually or in comparison to similar passages from both Indonesia and India.
- 15 See, for instance, the system of eight ancillaries expounded in *Mrgendratantra* (*yogapāda*, verse 3), which includes the usual six of Śaiva yoga (with the variant *anvīkṣana* instead of *tarka*, and the same order of the four first auxiliaries, from *prānāyāma* to *dhyāna*, as in *aṣṭāṅgayoga* texts) plus *japa* (mantra repetition)

- and *yoga* as the final one (Vasudeva 2004: 380); the intermediate system of the *Sarvajñānottara*, teaching six ancillaries without *tarka*; the substitution of *tarka* with *āsana* in the Devakōṭṭai edition of the *Kīraṇatantra* (58.2c–3); and the adherence to Pātañjalayoga in *Suprabhedāgama* (Yogapāda 3.53–56), Īśānaśiva's *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (ch. 2), *Ajitāgama* (2.29), *Makutāgama* (11.1–21) and the Kashmirian *Netratantra* (8.9, 21) (see Vasudeva 2004: 370, note 5; Acri 2013: 94).
- 16 *Kīraṇatantra*, *Vidyāpāda* 1.23 (Vivanti 1975: 8). Note, however, that only the half-line 'ab' is present in the Nepalese manuscripts and the commentary of Rāmakaṇṭha, while it appears in later South Indian versions of the text, as well as in Tryambakaśambhu's commentary (Goodall 1998: 221, note 188).
- 17 This *sūtra* is also attested in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese moralistic–didactic text *Sārasamuccaya* 415.6: *yoga ṅaranya cittavṛttinirodha, kahārətaniṅ manah* ('Yoga is *cittavṛttinirodha*, the restraining of the mind').
- 18 While the element *Pātañjala* in the title of the text may be a hint to Patañjali, the (legendary) author of the *Yogaśāstra*, it is more likely to refer to the last of the five *pañcakūśikas* or *pañcarśis*, representing the incarnation of the Lord on earth. This is a reconfigured Pāsupata Śaiva motif, derived from the legend of the Lord's incarnation at Kāyāvarohaṇa as Lakulīśa (Pātañjala's alter-ego), the teacher of the four disciples Kuśika, Kuruṣya, Gārgya, and Maitri (see Acri 2014).
- 19 Namely, the references to the three kinds of pain as described in the *Bhāṣya* on *sūtra* 1.31 – those having been already defined earlier, in pp. 256.10–260.7; the definition and justification of the mechanism of karma and latent impressions found in *Bhāṣya* 2.13, this having been treated in pp. 272.17–274.18; the long and elaborate cosmographical excursus found in the *Bhāṣya* on 3.26 – cosmography having been treated already in pp. 224.1–226.11.
- 20 I should like to mention here that the *Dharma Pātañjala*, although of uncertain date, appears to have preserved – much like the other surviving Old Javanese texts of the *tattva* genre – an archaic doctrinal *status quo*, which is detectable in pre-seventh-century Śaiva texts from the Indian Subcontinent, and which has hardly survived in the extant Sanskrit Śaiva Saiddhāntika canon (see Acri 2011b; 2017²: 12–14). In this light, although the limited and circumstantial evidence at our disposal does not allow us to draw any conclusions, an analogous point could be made with respect to the form of the PYŚ reflected in the Old Javanese text.
- 21 In the PYŚ, *sūtras* 1.2 and 1.3 are generally understood to define *samādhi* and *kaivalya*, respectively, while in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, *sūtra* 1.3 is quoted in reply to a question by Kumāra about what the absorption of the yogin is like in order to become one with the Lord.
- 22 This is a prominent theme among the Kashmirian non-dual Śaiva exegetes, too: see, for example, Abhinavagupta's dismissal of the auxiliaries of Pātañjala yoga, and *prāṇāyāma* in particular, in *Tantrāloka* 4.91a (early eleventh century).
- 23 Cf. *Tattvajñāna* 44 and *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* Śaiva pp. 75–76, which enumerate only the few postures common to early Śaivatāntras: *padmāsana*, *vajrāsana*, *paryaṅkāśana*, *svastikāsana*, *vidyāsana* (i.e. *vīrāsana* or *vīryāsana?*), *daṇḍāsana*.
- 24 A metaphor illustrating this point, found in the *Dharma Pātañjala* and other Old Javanese texts, is that of the fire of yoga burning the impurity (*mala*) sticking to the soul. This differs from the standard Saiddhāntika view that only ritual action (e.g. *dikṣā*) can burn *mala*. In pp. 306.13–308.12, observances are said to burn maculation (by way of the breath) just like fire burns a piece of dry wood. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 61.14–20 declares that latent karmic impressions (*karmavāsanā*), as well as *mala*, are burnt by yogic fire.
- 25 These are post-twelfth-century *haṭhayoga* texts, such as the *Amarāughaprabodha*, *Yogabīja*, etc., where *layayoga* is explicitly mentioned (Mallinson and Singleton 2017: 328–329), but also earlier tantric texts, such as the *Vijñānabhairava* and Vāmanadatta's *Svabodhodayamañjarī* (Torella 2000).
- 26 See White 2004: 622–623, and *Yogasūtra* (3.38): 'From loosening the fetters of bondage to the body and from awareness of the bodily processes, there is the entering of the mind into another's body'; *bandhakāraṇaśaithilyāt pracārasaṃvedanā ca cittasya paraśarīrāveśah*. Cf. also al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb Pātañjal* (Pines and Gelblum 1983: 262).
- 27 Hardly any traces of Theravāda Buddhism and the meditation techniques associated with it have come down to us from premodern Indonesia.
- 28 *Vṛhaspatitattva*, *śloka* 56 and Old Javanese commentary.
- 29 This corresponds to the stage of *śivīkaraṇa* found in Śaiva Saiddhāntika ritual texts from South India.
- 30 My conversations with several Balinese Pedanda Śiva have confirmed Stephen's views, as most of them regard this daily procedure as having the same characteristics, and conferring the same benefits, of meditation and yoga.

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