

UC Santa Barbara

UC Santa Barbara Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Sri Sabhapati Swami and the “Translocalization” of Śivarājayoga

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/48v5t1bc>

Author

Cantu, Keith Edward

Publication Date

2021

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara

Sri Sabhapati Swami and the “Translocalization” of Śivarājyoga

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Religious Studies

by

Keith Edward Cantú

Committee in charge:

David Gordon White, Chair

Professor Elaine Fisher

Professor Barbara Holdrege

Professor Dwight Reynolds

Professor Vesna Wallace

June 2021

The dissertation of Keith Edward Cantú is approved.

Elaine Fisher

Barbara Holdrege

Dwight Reynolds

Vesna Wallace

David Gordon White, Committee Chair

March 2021

Sri Sabhapati Swami and the “Translocalization” of Śivarājayoga

Copyright © 2021

by

Keith Edward Cantú

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are countless people whom I could thank for this dissertation, and I extend my gratitude to everyone, named and unnamed, who has facilitated this study of Sabhapati Swami and his method for Śivarājayoga. I would first like to offer my heartfelt thanks to my advisor David Gordon White and my dissertation committee: Elaine Fisher of Stanford University, Barbara Holdrege, Dwight Reynolds, and Vesna Wallace, all of whom offered valuable feedback on these chapters and helped this research be the best it could be. I also extend the utmost gratitude to Srilata Raman of the University of Toronto for lending her valuable time, expertise, and teaching, all of which continues to augment my research on this topic in incalculable ways. I also wish to thank Karl Baier of the University of Vienna for his patient support and helpful comments on this research from an early date. I also send my gratitude to Richard Salomon of the University of Washington, who has continued to support my interest in Sanskrit and academic trajectory more broadly; without his dedication and encouragement this project would have been impossible.

I owe much gratitude to Bill Breeze, Henrik Bogdan, Gordan Djurdjevic, Marco Pasi, Manon Hedenborg White, Richard Kaczynski, Tobias Churton, J. Daniel Gunther, Hugh Urban, and many others for directly or indirectly facilitating this research on Sabhapati Swami via their knowledge of and publications on Aleister Crowley, the infamous occult author in whose books I first read Sabhapati's name; Bill also graciously supplied me with materials on Franz Hartmann that assisted this research. I am very grateful to Michael Kolson for his personal support and encouragement in all things Sabhapati Swami over the past six years, and for initially encouraging my interest in William Estep. I also sincerely thank Mriganka Mukhopadhyay, Philip Deslippe, Magdalena Kraler, Julie Chajes, Mariano

Errichiello, Marleen Thaler, Dominic Zoehrer, and Patrizia Ebner for their inspiration in exploring many more connections between Western esotericism, yoga and tantra. I owe much gratitude to Kurt Leland for sharing an original photographed edition of Sabhapati's work at an early date and for his continual support and encouragement; as well as to Tim Boyd, president, and Jaishree Kannan, archivist, of the Theosophical Society (Adyar) for their permission to access the archives in Adyar and Blavatsky's and Olcott's personal papers. I am grateful to Phil Hine for his interest in and research on Sabhapati and Indian Theosophical authors on Tantra. I also thank Jens Schlieter, Bernd-Christian Otto, Lukas Pokorny, and Wouter Hanegraaff for their continued support of esotericism research

In the world of Yoga Studies I am grateful to Seth Powell, Daniela Bevilacqua, Mark Singleton, Jason Birch, Jacqueline Hargreaves, Jim Mallinson, and Suzanne Newcombe for sharing their knowledge and expertise on Hathayoga and modern yoga more broadly at various times and at academic conferences and workshops; and to Dagmar Wujastyk for encouraging me to better understand connections between alchemy and yoga in South India. I also send my gratitude to many other scholars of South Asia for their encouragement at various points of my career: Rebecca Manring, Sravana Borkataky-Varma, Carola Erika Lorea, Thibaut d'Hubert, Joel Bordeaux, John Nemeč, William "Bo" Sax, Glen Hayes, Martha Selby, Christopher Diamond, Isa Thompson, Christian Novetzke, and Julie Rocton.

I am grateful to Eric Steinschneider for offering his time and advice to visit the Koviloor Adheenam, and for helping clarify some questions on the Tamil Vīraśaiva perspective; and to Dominic Goodall of the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient in Pondicherry for putting me in contact with pandits who helped introduce me to the scope and style of Sabhapati's language (and who confirmed how little I still know). I am also grateful to

Manasicha Akepiyapornchai for her support and for sharing her insights on Maṇipravālam; and to Jessica Bachman for her encouragement and for sharing her firsthand knowledge of the ins and outs of archival research in India. I am extremely grateful to Soundraakohila Madam, the rest of the wonderful staff at the American Institute of Indian Studies (AIIS) language program in Madurai, and to Nikola Rajić of the University of Texas for their superior Tamil pedagogy that enabled this project to reach fruition. I also wish to thank Janani Mandayam Comar, Matthew Leveille, Nils Seiler, and Yang Qu for their friendship, assistance, and support during my language training in Madurai and beyond.

There are many people in South Asia to whom I owe gratitude during my time in Tamil Nadu as an AIIS Junior Fellow. I am eternally grateful to the entire staff of the Adyar Library and Research Centre for their affiliation and cheerful support and encouragement of my research, for their daily offering of tea and biscuits, and for free meals downstairs on several occasions. I also thank Vinayagam Swamigal of the Sri Sabapathy Lingeshwar Koil in Villivakkam, Chennai and his late father Hariharan Swamigal; V. Suppiramaniya Chettiyar of Murugambakkam Village, Madurantagam Taluk for information on Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal; Sami Saravanan of the Om Prakash Swamigal Ashram in Kandal, Udhamandalam; Selvamani Aiya, Padmanaban, and Natarajan of Chidambara Periya Swamigal's jeeva-samadhi in Velachery; and E. Jegan Parthiban of the Tamil Nadu Archives Library; Chitthanai of the Tamil Virtual Academy, and Narayanan Raju and Kishore Babu of the Sri Sabapathy Lingeshwar Koil; Yuvaraj Sir, Uma Maheswari, and Balachand for their dedicated assistance during my research at the Tamil Nadu Archives; and S. Suriyakumar, Assistant Director of Drawing at the Central Survey Office in Chepauk, Chennai for his gracious assistance in helping me to obtain unpublished village maps of Konnur,

Villivakkam, and Velachery. I am grateful to Munish Kumar of the Latent Light Culture in Delhi for sharing with me a typescript of one of Sabhapati's works, and to my friends Sivasakthi, Valarmathi, Beulah, and Poorani for their assistance with Tamil interviews. I also wish to thank Suveetha and Nagaraj for their assistance at various points. I extend my thanks to Saymon Zakaria and Idris Ali in Bangladesh for tracking down Shrish Chandra Basu's native home and for supporting research into Sabhapati's Bengali-language translation. I also extend an infinite amount of gratitude to Priya Dharshini, Kartthik Sir, and all the teachers of Arise 'n'Shine preschool in Adyar, Chennai for their childcare and logistical support that made the full scope of this dissertation research possible during my AIIIS fellowship.

Many other faculty at the University of California, Santa Barbara offered their support and encouragement in my research at various times: Dominic Steavu, Juan Campo, Ann Taves, Joseph Blankholm, David Walker, William Elison, Edward English, José Cabezón, Richard Hecht, Janet Afary, Rudy Busto, and Elliot Wolfson, among many others. I am also grateful to many of my fellow graduate students in UCSB's Department of Religious Studies, some of whom have since graduated or moved on: Courtney Applewhite, Ranjani Atur, Victoria Ballmes, James Brousseau, Yanitsa Buendia de Llaca, William Chavez, Jonathan Dickstein, Jed Forman, Anya Foxen, Nathan Fredrickson, Jeremy Hanes, Matthew Harris, Michael Ium, Samantha Kang, Shelby King, Kolby Knight, Patrick Lambelet, Damian Lanahan-Kalish, Julia McClenon, Delores Mondragon, Jake Nagasawa, Peter Romaskiewicz, Dale Rose, Jason Schwartz, Collin Sibley, Timothy Snediker, Jackson Stephenson, John Thibdeau, Morgane Thonnart, Sarah Veeck, Aaron Ullrey, Maharshi Vyas, and Kevin Whitesides, all of whom offered encouragement and support at various points in this research and/or friendship and collegiality during my graduate study at the university.

I am thankful to Scott Wilde for his assistance in supplying higher quality versions of two of the diagrams used in this dissertation, to Sampath Sai for painting one of the diagrams that will also appear in a forthcoming edition of Sabhapati Swami's works, and to Sri Kumaran for his dedication to producing paintings of Sabhapati Swami and the Siddhas.

On a personal level, I wish to thank my mother Gail Cantu for her lifelong support and love, my sister Krista Bañuelos, my granny Joyce Parkey and late grandparents Henry and Iris Cantú; my coparent Madeline Cantú, a shining star; and her mother Caroline Becker; and my extended family for their loving support in a myriad of ways. I send much appreciation to Zeke Swango, Shane Shumate, Hannah Haddix, Ken Korpi, and Zachary Mason for their encouraging support, friendship, alternative views, and humor at critical points in my life. I am also very grateful to the dedicated staff of Outer Space daycare in Seattle. I also wish to thank Jogini Krishna Devi, the late Azim Sai and Humayon Sadhu, Ferdosi Fakirani, and Bidhan Shah for helping me understand many mysteries of life as well as the connections between art and work ethic in a very profound way. I must also here acknowledge four cats in my life who brought me much calm and joy during these past six years: Matangi, Bhairavi, Vellai Puli, and the late Henry V who would surprise me by bringing critters inside the house in the middle of the night while working on this project.

Last but certainly not least, I wish to lovingly dedicate this dissertation to two very special people named Eddie in my life: first, my late father Edward Eden Cantu who encouraged my love for religion and set my mind towards the heavens and feet towards the hells; and second, my beautiful son Edward Idris Cantu who patiently accompanied me in India throughout all my research trials and triumphs. I find some humor in knowing that he will likely always remember that "crow" in Tamil is *kākam*.

Vita of KEITH EDWARD CANTÚ
February 2021

EDUCATION

- 2015 – 2021 **Ph.D. Religious Studies**, concentration in Religions of South Asia; interdisciplinary doctoral emphasis in European Medieval Studies
University of California, Santa Barbara
Dissertation Title:
Sri Sabhapati Swami and the “Translocalization” of Śivarājayoga
Comprehensive Exams (Passed): (1) World Alchemical Traditions, (2) Sufism in South Asia, (3) Buddhist Tantra, (4) Chinese Alchemy
- 2014 – 2015 **M.A. International Studies: South Asian Studies** (2nd M.A.)
University of Washington, Seattle
- 2011 – 2014 **M.A. International Studies: Comparative Religion**
University of Washington, Seattle
- 2006 – 2010 **B.A. International Studies** (Political Science concentration)
Pepperdine University

ACADEMIC WORK EXPERIENCE

- 2016 – Present **University of California, Santa Barbara**—Teaching Assistant
Department of Religious Studies
Department of Global Studies
- 2020 – Present **Correspondences: Journal for the Study of Esotericism**
Associate Editor
- 2010 – 2011 **The Fulbright Program**—English Teaching Assistant
St. Joseph Higher Secondary School, Dhaka, Bangladesh

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

Books

- 2017 *City of Mirrors: Songs of Lālan Sāi*. Text, translations, and commentary by Carol Salomon, edited by Keith Cantú and Saymon Zakaria, New York: Oxford University Press (South Asia Research series).
- 2015 *Theurgy and the Snake: The Yoga Kalandar and Bengali Sufism* (M.A. thesis), Saarbrücken, Germany: Lambert Academic Publishing V. [Cuppiramaṇiya Ceṭṭiyār note: LAP is a non-academic, print-on-demand press I used to self-publish my masters thesis].

Articles and Chapters (English)

- 2021 “Sri Sabhapati Swami: The Forgotten Yogi of Western Esotericism,” in *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, edited by Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 347–71.
- 2021 “The Eighth Instruction of the *Rasāyanakhaṇḍa*,” in Indian alchemy handbook published by the ERC-funded Ayuryog project, edited by Dagmar Wujastyk and Patricia Sauthoff (submitted and accepted for publication, ~30 pages; forthcoming).
- 2021 “Songs for Siddhi: An Ethnographic Analysis of Bāul Fakiri Sādhanā.” In *Tantric Traditions as Lived Religion: Re-Imagining Tantra through Ethnography*, edited by Carola Erika Lorea and Rohit Singh. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press (submitted and accepted for publication, ~25 pages; forthcoming).
- 2021 “Sri Sabhapati Swami,” in *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, edited by Knut Jacobsen, Leiden: Brill (submitted and accepted for publication, ~15 pages; forthcoming).
- 2020 “‘Don’t Take Any Wooden Nickels’: Western Esotericism, Yoga, and the Discourse of Authenticity.” In *New Approaches to the Study of Esotericism*, edited by Egil Asprem and Julian Strube. Supplements to Method & Theory in the Study of Religion. Leiden: Brill, 109–26.
- 2019 “Islamic Esotericism in the Bengali Bāul Songs of Lālan Fakir,” *Correspondences: Journal for the Study of Esotericism* 7, no. 1 (Special Issue: Islamic Esotericism), 109–65.
- 2018 “Bāuls,” in *Encyclopedia of Indian Religions: Hinduism and Tribal Religions*, edited by P. Jain, R. Sherma, and M. Khanna, Dordrecht: Springer (7 pages).

Articles (composed in Bengali)

- 2018 শ্রীশচন্দ্র বসু ও বাংলার অনুবাদে সভাপতি (“Śrīś Candra Basu and Sabhāpati’s Bengali translation”), *Bhābnagara: International Journal of Bengal Studies*, Vol. 9 (December), Dhaka: Bhābnagara, 1099–1106.
- 2017 শ্রীশচন্দ্র বসুর যৌবনকাল ও যোগ সাধনার রচনা (“The youth of Śrīśacandra Basu / S.C. Vasu and works on yogic sādhanā”), *Bhābnagara: International Journal of Bengal Studies*, Vol. 7 (December), Dhaka: Bhābnagara, 833–844.
- 2016 লালন সাঁই-এর বাউল গানে বৌদ্ধ তান্ত্রিক প্রতীক (“Buddhist Tantric elements in the Bengali Bāul songs of Lālan Fakir”), *Bhābanagara: International Journal of Bengal Studies*, Vol. 5 (June), Dhaka: Bhābanagara, 583–600.

- 2016 দশমহাবিদ্যা ও দেহকেন্দ্রিক থেলিমাতত্ত্ব (“The Ten Mahāvīdyās and thelemic doctrines of the body”), *Bhābanagara: International Journal of Bengal Studies*, Vol. 4 (February), Dhaka: Bhābanagara, 495–506.
- 2015 সভাপতি স্বামী জীবনসাধনার স্বরূপ ও বাংলার যোগ সাধনার সাদৃশ্য বিচার (“The essential image in Sabhapaty Swami’s lifework and an inquiry into its resemblance to Bengali yogic practice”), *Bhābnagara: International Journal of Bengal Studies*. Vol. 3 (October), Dhaka: Bhābnagara, 386–400.
- 2015 আলিস্টের ক্রোলির যোগসাধনা - বাংলার বাউল-সুফি সাদৃশ্য অনুসন্ধান (“The yoga of Aleister Crowley – an inquiry into its resemblance to Bengali Bāul and Sufi practice”), *Bhābnagara: International Journal of Bengal Studies*, Vol. 2 (April), Dhaka: Bhābnagara, 233–47.
- 2014 আগে জানো না রে মন - ইংরেজির অনুবাদে লালনের গান (“Didn’t you know it before, O my mind? - Lālan’s songs in translation”), *Bhābnagara: International Journal of Bengal Studies*, Vol. 1 (August), Dhaka: Bhābnagara, 115–37.

Reviews

- 2020 Book Review: Jeffrey Kripal and Whitley Strieber, *The Super Natural: A New Vision of the Unexplained*, in *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 21, no. 1 (Dec. 2020): 153–55.
- 2019 Book Review: Aparna Kapadia, *In Praise of Kings: Rajputs, Sultans and Poets in Fifteenth-century Gujarat*, in *Journal of Medieval Worlds* 1, no. 3 (September): 125–28.
- 2018 Book Review: Keya Maitra, *The Bhagavad Gita: A Guide to Navigating the Battle of Life*, in *Reading Religion: A Publication of the American Academy of Religion* (online).
- 2018 Book Review: Ravi Ravindra, *Philosophy of the Bhagavad Gita: A Contemporary Introduction*, in *Reading Religion: A Publication of the American Academy of Religion* (online).
- 2017 Book Review: Georg Dehn, *The Book of Abramelin*, in *Correspondences: Online Journal for the Academic Study of Western Esotericism*, Vol. 4 (2016): 134–37.

AWARDS AND HONORS

- 2020 Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship (awarded; forced to decline due to COVID-19)
- 2019 Fulbright-Nehru Student Research Fellowship (declined)

- 2018 American Institute of Indian Studies (AIIS) Junior Research Fellowship, named as Ludo and Rosane Rocher Research Fellowship in Sanskrit Studies
- 2018 Foreign Language and Area Studies Summer Fellowship, Tamil (AIIS in Madurai)
- 2017 Foreign Language and Area Studies Summer Fellowship, Tamil (SASLI)
- 2015 Chancellor’s Central Fellowship, UC Santa Barbara
- 2015 Graduate Center for Literary Research Fellowship, UC Santa Barbara
- 2010 Fulbright Student Fellowship (English Teaching Assistantship), Bangladesh
- 2010 Critical Language Enhancement Award (U.S. Department of State), Bengali
- 2009 Pi Delta Phi (French Honor Society)

ACADEMIC CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- 2020 “The Transformation of the Royal Yoga for Shiva into a ‘Translocalized’ Esotericism.” Esoteric Practices from a Global Perspective, Friedrich-Alexander University Erlangen-Nürnberg (hosted online), 8–9 December.
- 2020 “Sri Sabhapati Swami and Translation Translocalized?,” Translation Across Time and Space, Indiana University, India Gateway, New Delhi, 11–12 January.
- 2019 “Notes toward an Ethnography of Bengali Fakiri Yoga and Tantra,” International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) 11, in Leiden, July 16–19.
- 2019 “The Buddhist *skandhas* and Ceremonial Intoxication in the Works of Aleister Crowley,” European Society for the Study of Western Esotericism (ESSWE), University of Amsterdam, 2–4 July.
- 2019 “The Role of Herbal Intoxication in Bengali Fakiri *Sādhana*,” European Society for the Study of Western Esotericism (ESSWE), University of Amsterdam, 2–4 July.
- 2018 “The ‘Vedāntic Rājayoga’ of Śrī Sabhāpati Swāmī: Its History and Practice,” Occult South Asia. From the 19th to the 21st century Workshop. University of Vienna, Austria, 23–24 November.
- 2018 “The ‘Vedāntic Rājayoga’ of Śrī Sabhāpati Swāmī,” American Academy of Religion (AAR) annual conference in Denver, CO, 17–20 November.
- 2018 “From Basu to Vasu and Back Again: Śrīśacandra Basu’s Tantric Legacy,” American Academy of Religion (AAR) annual conference in Denver, CO, 17–20 November.
- 2018 “The ‘Mystic Anatomy’ of Theodor Reuss,” Association for the Study of Western Esotericism (ASE) biannual meeting at Rice University in Houston, TX, 25 May.
- 2018 “Buddhist Tantric Elements in the Bengali Bāul Songs of Lālan Fakir,” International Congress of Bengal Studies (ICBS) conference at Jahangirnagar University in Savar, Bangladesh, 27 January (paper delivered in absentia).

- 2017 “Haṭhayoga as ‘Black Magic’ in Early Theosophy: The Case of Rāma Prasād,” American Academy of Religion (AAR) annual conference in Boston, MA, 18–21 November.
- 2017 “The ‘Mystic Anatomy’ of Theodor Reuss,” Ascona Conference (organized by Academia O.T.O.) in Ascona, Switzerland, 26 August.
- 2017 “Haṭhayoga as ‘Black Magic’ in Early Theosophy and Beyond,” European Society for the Study of Western Esotericism (ESSWE), 6th Conference in Erfurt, Germany, 1–3 June.
- 2016 “Śrī Sabhāpati Swāmī: Forgotten Yogi of Western Esotericism,” American Academy of Religion (AAR) annual conference in San Antonio, TX, 18–20 November.
- 2016 “The Essential Image in Sabhapati Swami’s Lifework and an Inquiry into its Resemblance to Bengali Yogic Practice,” *Yoga darśana, yoga sādhana*: Traditions, Transmissions, Transformations International Conference in Kraków, Poland, 19–21 May.
- 2016 “Proposal for a Department of Magical Studies,” Magic, Miracles, and the Paranormal in Religious Imaginaries graduate conference at the University of Texas at Austin, 9–10 April.

CONFERENCE PANELS ORGANIZED

- 2018 “Bengali Tantra in its Colonial and Contemporary Contexts,” American Academy of Religion (AAR) annual conference in Denver, CO, 17–20 November.
- 2016 “South Asian Yoga and Tantra in Western Esoteric and Occult Traditions: A Cross-fertilization of Practice,” American Academy of Religion (AAR) annual conference in San Antonio, TX, 18–20 November.

COURSES TAUGHT (TEACHING ASSISTANTSHIPS)

University of California, Santa Barbara

- Dept. of Religious Studies: Gods and Goddesses of India (accepted, Spring 2021)
 Modern Iran (Spring 2019)
 Religion and Western Civilization: Medieval (Winter 2019)
 Native American Rel. and Phil. Traditions (Fall 2018)
 Islam and the West: 750–1850 (Fall 2017)
 Gods and Goddesses of India (Spring 2017)
 Religious Approaches to Death (Winter 2017, Winter 2021)
 Zen Buddhism (Fall 2016)
- Dept. of Global Studies: Global Culture and Ethics (Winter 2018)

OTHER INVITED LECTURES AND TALKS

- 2020 “Sri Sabhapati Swami and Yoga in Modern Occultism,” Ordo Templi Orientis - Carl Kellner Camp, Hallein, Austria, 25 July.
- 2018 “Tantric Roots of Thelema: Fact and Fiction,” Star Sapphire Lodge, Los Angeles, 16 December.
- 2017 “Celebrating an Embodied Feminine: Lālan Fakir and the Bāuls of Bengal,” lecture and Bāul song performance with Madeline Cantú, University of California, Santa Barbara, 3 March.
- 2016 “The Essential Image in Sabhapati Swami’s Lifework and an Inquiry into its Resemblance to Bengali Yogic Practice,” Universität Gotenburg, 18 May.
- 2015 “Mahābhūter ras o bāṅglār bāul” (“Quintessential fluids and the Bāuls of Bengal”), Cultural Heritage and Ethnomusicology of Bangladesh symposium, EMK Center in Dhanmondi, Dhaka, 26 August.

OTHER SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS

- 2021 *The Collected Works of Sri Sabhapati Swami, Volume One: Om. A Treatise on Vedantic Raj Yoga Philosophy (1880)*. The Mahatma Giana Guroo Yogi Sabhapaty, edited by Siris Chandra Basu and Keith E. Cantú, with a new introduction and annotations. OTO Editions (submitted and accepted for publication, ~200 pages; manuscript submitted; publication forthcoming).

ABSTRACT

Sri Sabhapati Swami and the “Translocalization” of Śivarājayoga

by

Keith Edward Cantú

This dissertation examines the life and works of a nineteenth- to early twentieth-century Tamil yogi named Sri Sabhapati Swami (Śrī Sabhāpati Svāmī, Capāpati Cuvāmikal, ca. 1828–1923/4), specifically the “translocalization” of his unique vernacular literature on a system of yoga known as Śivarājayoga (Mpv. *civarājayōkam*), or the “Royal Yoga for Śiva.” Sabhapati’s translocalized literature had a significant impact on the development of Early Modern Yoga, and there is a growing number of authors who have written about him over the past decades, even if he remains largely forgotten today both in India and abroad. His works introduced elements of Tamil Śaiva cosmology to North India (especially British Punjab and Bengal), and he pioneered a yogic system that—on the surface—anticipates one later popularized by Swami Vivekananda. Yet Sabhapati, whose first work was published over fifteen years before Swami Vivekananda’s *Rājayoga*, was also a major figure in a larger movement to publish and disseminate editions of yogic texts in Indic vernacular languages as well as English in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century India. Through his editor Shrish Chandra Basu he was known to the Indologist Max Müller and, in addition, he had close contacts with some of the founding members of the Theosophical Society who later distanced themselves from him. His yogic techniques were subsequently integrated into the thelemic

“Magick” of Aleister Crowley as well as books by Franz Hartmann and William Estep. This dissertation therefore fills a major gap in scholarship by providing a meticulous examination of the contents of Sabhapati’s teachings and publications both in their local South Indian settings and abroad in their new mesolocal and translocal contexts in North India as well as internationally. The methodology behind this dissertation is historical-critical, and offers a solution to the problem of Sabhapati’s neglect in scholarly literature by centering the discussion on Sabhapati himself and his own writings. The research methods are accordingly qualitative, and the claims are constructed based on Sabhapati’s primary texts, secondary academic literature, biographical accounts, archival data, ethnographic fieldwork and recorded interviews, photographic evidence, nineteenth-century temple epigraphic inscriptions, colonial-era geography, religious art history, and other related sources.

To adequately treat on all these levels of Śivarājyoga’s local and mesolocal contexts, translocalization, and relocalization, the dissertation is divided into seven thematic chapters:

- 1) A biographical account of Sabhapati and his students as gleaned from his textual sources, library and archival records and my ethnographic field work at extant sites of relevance to Sabhapati’s yoga, including an analysis and historiography of his web of relationships, with special attention to his collaboration with his Bengali editor Shrish Chandra Basu (S.C. Vasu);
- 2) A philological treatment of the three main textual “streams” of Sabhapati’s writings, their terminology, and their translations, with special reference to his vernacular works;
- 3) A comprehensive treatment of the Śaiva cosmology outlined in Sabhapati’s literature, including an analysis of its sources in North and

South Indian milieus, and his philosophical engagement with other religions and with Atheism;

- 4) A thorough analysis of Sabhapati's system of Śivarājayoga, including an overview of the role that subtle physiology such as the Tantric *cakras* plays in his literature;
- 5) An analysis of Sabhapati's aesthetic integration of music, mantric chanting as well as an evaluation of his use of visual diagrams;
- 6) An evaluation of the role of "science" in Sabhapati's literature, including a Bengali prologue by his translator Ambikacharan Bandopadhyay that engaged the Victorian naturalist worldview, and a consideration of his literature's relevance to the cognitive science of religion (CSR); and
- 7) An analysis of several late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century occult authors who met with Sabhapati and/or published his work, such as Henry Olcott and Helena Blavatsky, Franz Hartmann, Aleister Crowley, and William Estep, as well as of Sabhapati's legacy.

To these are appended: 1) a never-before translated alternative account (T2) of Sabhapati's life found in his Tamil work MCVTS; 2) a lexicon in table-form that compiles some archaic variants and Roman transliterations of technical terms used in his work; 3) a critically-edited passage that refers to his innovative technique of Śivarājayoga, which included visualizing the yogic central channel as a lithic "pole" ; and 4) a never-before translated introduction to the Bengali prologue to his work BRY, which includes his engagement with Victorian naturalism and also a song composed in Bengali in a folk metrical style that exemplifies Sabhapati's works' relocalization even within various regions of India itself.

Abbreviations

Primary Source Abbreviations

- ANB: G. Sabhapathi Yogi, *Aṭukkunilai pōtam* (publisher unknown, 1894).
- BRY: Śrīmat Sabhāpati Svāmī, *Bedāntadarśan o rājayog* (Kalikātā: Śrī Aghoranāth Barāṭ, 1885).
- CU: Nānakuru Yōkīsvara Capāpati Svāmikaḷ, *Cātaṇāppiyāsānupava upatēcam* (Vellore: Natasun & Co.—V.N. Press, 1898).
- CĀT: Nānakuru Capāpati Yōkīsvarar, *Cakalākama tiraṭṭu*. Four Parts: I-A, I, I-C, and I-D (Madras: Printed by N. Kupusawmy Chettiar at the Duke of Edinburgh Press; and the Hindu Theological Press, 1894).
- CTCSPV: Nānakuruyōki Capāpati Cuvāmikaḷ, *Carvōpatēsa tatvañāṇa civarājayōka svayap pirammañāṇānupūti vētapōtam* ([Madras]: Empress of India Piras, 1889).
- CPSPS: The Mahathma Brumha Gnyana Mavuna Guru Sabhapathy Swamy Rishi Yogiswer, *Om. The Cosmic Psychological Spiritual Philosophy and Science of communion with and absorption in the Infinite Spirit, or Vedhantha Siva Raja Yoga Samadhi Brumha Gnyana Anubuthi, etc.* First Book (Madras: The Hindu Press, 1884); Second Book (Bombay: Karnatak Press, 1890).
- FH1: Franz Hartmann, trans., “Aus der Philosophie und Wissenschaft des Vedānta und Rāja-Yoga, von Mahātmā Jñāna Guru Yogī Sabhapatti Svāmī,” *Neue Lotusbluthen* 1, nos. 7-12 (July-December).
- FH2: Hartmann, Franz, trans. *Die Philosophie und Wissenschaft des Vedanta und Rāja-Yoga oder Das Eingehen in Gottheit von Mahātma Jnāna Guru Yogi Sabhapatti Svāmī aus dem Englischen übersetzt von Franz Hartmann.* Leipzig: Jaeger, 1909.
- FH3: Svami, Sabhapatti. *Die Philosophie und Wissenschaft des Vedānta und Rāja-Yoga oder das Eingehen in Gott.* Übersetzt von Franz Hartmann. Leipzig: Theosophisches Verlagshaus, 1926.
- MCVTS: Capāpati Cuvāmikaḷ, *Carva māṇaca nittiya karmānuṣṭāṇa, carva tēvatātēvi māṇaca pūjāttiyāṇa, pirammakñāṇa rājayōka niṣṭai camāti, carva tīkṣākkramattiyāṇa, cātaṇā appiyāca kiramānucantāṇa, caṅkiraha vēta tiyāṇōpatēca smiruti* (Tiruccirāppalli: Ṣaṅmukavilās Piras, 1913).
- RYB: Mahātmā Jñānaguruyogī Sabhāpati Svāmī, *Rājayoga brahmajñānānubhūti saṅgraha veda* (Mumbai: Tattvavivecaka Chāpakhāne, 1892).

- SVSAA: *Sarva vidha vicāraṇa sādhanā abhyāsa anubhava, sarva tapa dhyāna upadēśa saṅgraha vidha*, published in Telugu in the third quarter of 1890 (likely no longer extant).
- T1: Tamil account prefaced to CTCSPV, published in 1889. English translation by Keith E. Cantú.
- T2: Tamil account prefaced to MCVTS, published in 1913. English translation by Keith E. Cantú.
- Ur-account: Account in English prefaced to *Om. A Treatise on Vedantic Raj Yoga Philosophy*, first published as “The Madras Yogi Sabhapaty Swami,” in *The Theosophist* 1, no. 6 (March 1880): 145-147. Lahore, dated January 3, 1880.
- VR1: The Mahatma Giana Guroo Yogi Sabhapaty Swami, *Om. A Treatise on Vedantic Raj Yoga Philosophy*, ed. Siris Chandra Basu (Lahore: “Civil and Military Gazette” Press, 1880).
- VR2: The Mahatma Jnana Guru Yogi Sabhapaty Swami Swami, *The Philosophy & Science of Vedanta and Raja Yoga*, Second Edition (Lahore: R.C. Bary at the “Arya Press” by Ram Das, 1883). Reprinted in 1950.
- VR3: The Mahatma Jnana Guru Yogi Sabhapaty Swami, *Om. The Philosophy & Science of Vedanta and Raja Yoga*, ed. Srish Chandra Vasu, Third Edition (Lahore: R.C. Bary & Sons, 1895).
- WE: Sabhapaty Swami and Wm. Estep, *Esoteric Cosmic Yogi Science, or, Works of the World Teacher* (Excelsior Springs, MO: Super Mind Science Publications, 1929).

Language Abbreviations for Transliterations

Bng.	Bengali
Hnd.	Hindustani
Mpvl.	Maṇipravālam (alternatively: “Tamilized Sanskrit”)
Skt.	Sanskrit
Tam.	Tamil
Tam. Eng.	English words rendered in Tamil script
Tel.	Telugu

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
A. From the Allure of “Authenticity” to “Translocalization”.....	2
B. Sabhapati’s Teachings as a “Translocalization” of Yoga.....	10
C. The Chapters and Methodology of this Dissertation.....	16
I. Reading between the Hagiographical Lines.....	20
A. Extant Sources on the Life of Sri Sabhapati Swamigal.....	
B. Sabhapati’s Childhood.....	26
C. A Quest for Religious Truth.....	32
D. A Visionary Experience in Velachery.....	39
E. A Southbound Quest.....	46
F. Sabhapati’s Teaching and Pilgrimage Circuit, and a Himalayan Vision.....	57
G. Sabhapati’s Splash on the Lahore Scene.....	64
1. Shrish Chandra Basu and the Theosophical “Founders”.....	65
2. John Campbell Oman.....	84
H. The Vision of Agastya, Once in Fifty Years.....	86
I. Sabhapati in Bombay.....	94
J. Agastya and the Konnur Meditation Hall and Hermitage of Asceticism.....	96
K. South Indians to the Fore.....	103
1. Om Prakash Swamigal: From Engineering Draftsman to Yogi.....	104
2. Ramalinga Swamigal and Konnur Meditation Hall.....	115
L. Sabhapati Swami’s Probable Date and Location of Death.....	127
II. The Literature of Sri Sabhapati Swami.....	131
A. Textual Streams of Sabhapati’s Work.....	133
B. From Lahore to Kolkata and Leipzig: The Alpha Stream (α).....	135
1. Three Original Editions of VRY.....	
2. CPSPS as Alpha Stream (α).....	139
3. Detailed Contents of the Alpha Stream (α).....	143
4. Bengali and German Translations of VRY (BRY and FH).....	152
5. William Estep’s <i>Esoteric Cosmic Yogi Science</i> (WE).....	155
C. The Beta and Gamma Streams.....	156
1. Contextualizing Sabhapati’s Vernacular Works.....	
2. CPSPS as also part of the Beta (β) and Gamma (γ) Streams.....	159

3. CTCSPV and the development of the Gamma Stream (γ).....	161
4. RYB and the Crystallization of the Beta Stream (β).....	170
5. The Pamphlets of Konnur Meditation Hall: CĀT, ANB, and CU.....	181
6. Sabhapati’s Literature in Telugu.....	190
7. Sabhapati’s Final Work, in Tamil: MCVTS.....	192
III. Sabhapati’s Genealogy, Cosmology, and Philosophical Views.....	201
A. The Succession (<i>paramparā</i>) of Sabhapati’s Gurus.....	204
1. Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal in the line of Kumara Devar.....	207
2. Shivajnana Bodha and the “Tamil Siddha Cult”.....	213
B. The Main Features of Sabhapati’s Embodied Cosmos.....	217
1. Śiva as the Infinite Spirit, Brahman, or Sarveśvara.....	218
2. The Cosmogonic Separation of the “Faculties”.....	200
3. “Illustration by Examples”.....	223
4. From the Infinite to the Finite (and Back Again).....	224
5. Emancipation and Transmigration.....	245
6. The Household of the Body’s Truth (<i>dehatattva</i>).....	249
C. Sabhapati’s Connection with Tamil Śaiva Discourse.....	257
D. Sabhapati’s Engagement with Other Religions.....	264
1. Sabhapati and Buddhism.....	268
2. Sabhapati and Christianity.....	270
3. Sabhapati and Islam.....	274
4. Sabhapati and Zoroastrianism or “Parsism”.....	276
5. Sabhapati and “Samajees”.....	279
6. Sabhapati and the “Theosophical Societies”.....	284
7. Sabhapati and Atheism.....	288
IV. Sabhapati’s System of Śivarājyoga.....	299
A. Sabhapati’s Triad of Haṭhayoga, Haṭharājyoga, Śivarājyoga.....	
1. Sabhapati and Haṭhayoga, “the Yoga of Force”.....	304
2. Sabhapati and Haṭharājyoga, “the Royal Yoga of Force”.....	317
3. Śivarājyoga, “Royal Yoga for Śiva”.....	326
B. Śivarājyoga in Practice: From Purification to Non-Being.....	330
V. Aural and Visual Aspects of Sabhapati’s Literature.....	346
A. The Musicality of Lyrical Compositions in Sabhapati’s Literature.....	347
B. Incantation of Musical Notes and Mantras.....	353
C. The Form and Function of Sabhapati’s Visual Diagrams.....	361

1. An Overview of Diagrams in Sabhapati’s Literature.....	365
2. <i>Svarūpa</i> and the Yogic Function of Sabhapati’s Diagrams.....	377
VI. Sri Sabhapati Swami and the “Science” of Śivarājayoga.....	386
A. Sabhapati and his Interpreters’ Views on Victorian Science.....	390
1. Sabhapati Swami and “Science”.....	
2. Sabhapati Swami and the Pure Æthers.....	400
3. Ambikacharan and the Naturalistic Cosmology of Yoga.....	409
B. A Theory of Illusions: Discovery of the Default Mode Network (DMN).....	433
VII. Sabhapati Swami and Modern Occult Interpreters.....	447
A. Sabhapati and Theosophy.....	449
B. Franz Hartmann and Sabhapati in German Translation.....	454
C. Sabhapati and the Thelema of Aleister Crowley.....	457
D. William Estep and “Super Mind Science”.....	468
Conclusion: Translocal, Local, Mesolocal and Beyond.....	475
Primary Source References.....	480
Secondary References.....	489
Appendix One: A Translation of an Excerpt of T2 (in MCVTS).....	507
A. Excerpt of T2 (English Translation).....	
B. Excerpt of T2 (Original Tamil).....	516
Appendix Two: A Lexicon of Some Common Terms and Variants.....	522
Appendix Three: A Passage on the “Pole” of Śivarājayoga.....	525
Appendix Four: A Translation of the Bengali Prologue of BRY.....	538
A. English Translation.....	
B. Original Bengali.....	558

Introduction

This dissertation, entitled “Sri Sabhapati Swami and the ‘Translocalization’ of Śivarājyoga,” treats of a nineteenth- to early twentieth-century Tamil yogi named Sri Sabhapati Swami (Śrī Sabhāpati Svāmī, Capāpati Cuvāmikaḷ, ca. 1828–1923/4), and specifically the “translocalization” (see below) of his unique vernacular works on a system of yoga known as Śivarājyoga (Mpv. *civarājyōkam*), or the “Royal Yoga for Śiva.”

Sabhapati’s translocalized literature had a significant impact on the development of Early Modern Yoga,¹ and there is a growing number of authors who have written about him over the past decades,² even if he remains largely forgotten today both in India and abroad. His works introduced elements of Tamil yogic practices to North India (especially British Punjab and Bengal), and he pioneered a yogic system that—on the surface—anticipates one later popularized by Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), whose lectures on Rājyoga, first published in 1896, are usually considered by scholars to mark the start of the modern period

¹ I have elected to keep both Early Modern Yoga (which I generally date to the eighteenth to late nineteenth century) and Modern Yoga (following De Michelis, starting around 1896 with the publication of Vivekananda’s *Rāja Yoga*) capitalized since it defines a fairly discrete trajectory of yoga’s engagement with modernity. At the same time, I have preferred to keep “yoga” lowercase when speaking about it in more general terms.

² Most notably among these is Karl Baier, *Meditation und Moderne: zur Genese eines Kernbereichs moderner Spiritualität in der Wechselwirkung zwischen Westeuropa, Nordamerika und Asien* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2009); Karl Baier, “Theosophical Orientalism and the Structures of Intercultural Transfer: Annotations on the Appropriations of the Cakras in Early Theosophy,” in *Theosophical Appropriations: Esotericism, Kabbalah and the Transformation of Traditions*, ed. Julie Chajes and Boaz Huss (Be’er Sheva, Israel: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2016), 309–54; Henrik Bogdan, “Reception of Occultism in India: The Case of the Holy Order of Krishna,” in *Occultism in a Global Perspective*, ed. Henrik Bogdan and Gordan Djurdjevic (London: Routledge, 2013); Patrick D. Bowen, “‘The Real Pure Yog’: Yoga in the Early Theosophical Society and the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor,” in *Imagining the East: The Early Theosophical Society*, ed. Tim Rudbøg and Erik Reenberg Sand (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 143–65. Among books not published for the academic market one will find treatment of Sabhapati Swami in Aleister Crowley et al., *Magick: Liber ABA, Book Four, Parts I–IV*, 2nd rev. ed (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1997); Kurt Leland, *Rainbow Body: A History of the Western Chakra System from Blavatsky to Brennan* (Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2016); Aleister Crowley, David Curwen, and Henrik Bogdan, *Brother Curwen, Brother Crowley: A Correspondence* (York Beach, ME: Teitan Press, 2010); Phil Hine, *Wheels Within Wheels: Chakras Come West* (London: Twisted Trunk, 2018); and Julian Strube, “Yoga and Meditation in Modern Esoteric Traditions,” in *Routledge Handbook of Yoga and Meditation Studies*, ed. Suzanne Newcombe and Karen O’Brien-Kop (Routledge: London, 2021), 130–46.

of yoga's history.³ Yet Sabhapati, whose first work was published over fifteen years before Swami Vivekananda's *Rājayoga*, was also a major figure in a larger movement to publish and disseminate editions of yogic texts in Indic vernacular languages as well as English in nineteenth-century India (see Chapter Two). Through his editor Shrish Chandra Basu he was known to the Indologist Max Müller (1823–1900),⁴ and he was even listed as a “local celebrity” by British publishing authorities in the Punjab. In addition, he had close contacts with some of the founding members of the Theosophical Society who later, however, severed their ties with him; and his practices went on to find a home in the new religious movement Thelema (see Chapter Seven). Given his publications, his relative prominence during his own lifetime and later influence, it is therefore remarkable that he is still scarcely mentioned at all in contemporary academic works on the historical development of modern yoga. My dissertation therefore fills a major gap in scholarship by providing a meticulous examination of the contents of Sabhapati's teachings and publications both in their local South Indian settings and abroad in their new mesolocal and translocal contexts in North India as well as internationally.

A. From the Allure of “Authenticity” to “Translocalization”

My examination of Sabhapati's teachings in terms of spacialized locality (see below) seeks to move research on colonial-era yoga beyond the web of what could be called the

³ Elizabeth De Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga: Patañjali and Western Esotericism*, Reprint (London: Continuum, 2008). For the broader history of Rājayoga in Sanskrit texts see Jason Birch, “Rājayoga: The Reincarnations of the King of All Yogas,” *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 17, no. 3 (2013): 399–442; and Jason Birch, “The Amaraughaprabodha: New Evidence on the Manuscript Transmission of an Early Work on Haṭha- and Rājayoga,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, no. 47 (2019): 947–77.

⁴ F. Max Müller, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* (London; New York; Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899), 462–4.

“discourse of authenticity,” predicated on questions of culture.⁵ I would argue that this discourse at present is salient to the growing academic fields of Yoga Studies and Western Esotericism.⁶ On the one hand, many scholars of yoga are presently engaged in the valuable process of excavating what in a recent book has been perhaps most aptly framed as the “roots of yoga,” that is, source texts of Hathayoga (Skt. *haṭhayoga*), Rajayoga (*rājayoga*), and precursors to postural and meditative practice that are presented not just for philologically-minded scholars but also for the interested public at large.⁷ On the other hand, many books published on Modern Yoga in the past decades are equally valuable studies that show how yogis in their innovations often departed or reformulated the traditions of the past, and present the genealogies of yoga in a comprehensive and relatively neutral manner with regard to authenticity claims, although they may be critical of individual authors.⁸ An unintended consequence is that Yoga Studies’s dominant periodization of yoga into “premodern” (or “precolonial”) and “modern,” however, often overlooks the critical intersections between vernacular yoga traditions and English and Western actors in the colonial period that bridges the early modern and post-Independence periods,⁹ except perhaps to offer political or

⁵ For more on this discourse and for further examples see Keith Cantú, “Don’t Take Any Wooden Nickels’: Western Esotericism, Yoga, and the Discourse of Authenticity,” in *New Approaches to the Study of Esotericism*, ed. Egil Asprem and Julian Strube, Supplements to Method & Theory in the Study of Religion (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 109–26.

⁶ While there are earlier foundations for these fields, for the sake of simplicity I locate the beginning of Western Esotericism in Antoine Faivre’s *Access to Western Esotericism* (1994, a translation from two volumes in French published in 1986) and the beginning of yoga studies in Eliade’s seminal publication *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom* (1958).

⁷ James Mallinson and Mark Singleton, eds., *Roots of Yoga* (London: Penguin Books, 2017).

⁸ For some examples see De Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga*; Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Suzanne Newcombe, *Yoga in Britain: Stretching Spirituality and Educating Yogis* (Bristol: Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2019); David Gordon White, *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); Philip Deslippe, “From Maharaj to Mahan Tantric: The Construction of Yogi Bhajan’s Kundalini Yoga,” *Sikh Formations* 8, no. 3 (2012): 369–387; Magdalena Kraler, “Tracing Vivekananda’s Prāṇa and Ākāśa: The Yogavāsīṣṭha and Rama Prasad’s Occult Science of Breath,” in *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, ed. Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 373–99.

⁹ While a rigid periodization is complicated by a number of factors, in this dissertation by “modern” period I mean from the year 1800, prior to India becoming a British colony, onwards.

economic criticism predicated on late twentieth-century theoretical discourses on Orientalism (and Occidentalism, arguably its corollary).¹⁰

Accordingly, the burden on authors of Modern Yoga is to show how individual actors changed and modified teachings, often based on a combination of both Sanskrit and non-Indic texts and practices, to suit their contemporary audiences and social or economic concerns.¹¹ However, the contours of this premodern/modern dichotomy often marginalize or gloss over the blurry exchanges occurring within the colonial period itself, including the innovative contributions of native South Asian religious authors and practitioners as well as their unique and idiosyncratic adaptations of local vernacular and Sanskrit teachings on yoga.¹² These South Asian authors and practitioners felt compelled to adapt their teachings on yoga, often in vernacular languages or English, to the needs of their audiences, both pan-Indian and outside of India, for a wide variety of reasons. Sometimes this adaptation was in response to social or political pressure to conform with colonial-era norms and propriety, but these adaptations and representations of Indian teachings were also creatively re-formulated according to their own volition and visionary agency, as Sabhapati's literature attests.¹³ In other words, the impetus for the innovation and reformulation of yogic teachings was far

¹⁰ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Saree Makdisi, *Making England Western: Occidentalism, Race, and Imperial Culture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014). For more engagement with these perspectives in the context of yoga see Cantú, "'Don't Take Any Wooden Nickels': Western Esotericism, Yoga, and the Discourse of Authenticity."

¹¹ For recent examples see Mark Singleton and Ellen Goldberg, eds., *Gurus of Modern Yoga* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Anya P. Foxen, *Biography of a Yogi: Paramahansa Yogananda and the Origins of Modern Yoga* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); Anya P. Foxen, *Inhaling Spirit: Harmonialism, Orientalism, and the Western Roots of Modern Yoga* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020); Deslippe, "From Maharaj to Mahan Tantric."

¹² This has started to change in recent years, for example with Baier, *Meditation und Moderne*; Kraler, "Tracing Vivekananda's Prāṇa and Ākāśa"; Dominic S. Zoehrer, "From Fluidum to Prāṇa: Reading Mesmerism through Orientalist Lenses," in *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, ed. Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 85–111.

¹³ For a survey of the tension between individual agency and social pressure in feminist contexts, also applicable to this context of subaltern dynamics, see Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 17–22.

from unidirectional from West to East, or a mere Orientalist or colonizing projection on a passive and receptive “East”; rather, colonial-era Indian authors actively participated in this innovation and reformulation.¹⁴

Tangible departures with yoga’s past, such as the advent of Modern Postural Yoga (a typology coined by De Michelis) with its spandex, exercise balls, and global yoga studios, naturally and understandably lead to a scholarly and popular preoccupation with recovering a sense of premodern authenticity rooted in Indian tradition. However, in the process contextual analyses of the interconnected histories of colonial-era religious practice are usually dispensed with in favor of delineating and sometimes protecting or preserving an image of “yoga” or “tantra,” often Hindu, which is rooted in pre-colonial India. The full scope and stories of colonial-era yogis like Sabhapati that complicate this picture are often accordingly reduced to a consideration of their translocal engagements (for which see the following section), and these engagements can be easily dismissed in such analyses as inauthentic while ignoring the local vernacular context as sociologically unimportant or insignificant.

Similar problems of reductive historicization have been addressed for decades in scholarship that treats of social aspects of vernacular Hindu responses to Christian missionary movements, and by extension responses to the spread of Islam in prior centuries.¹⁵ In the scholarly wilderness of colonial-era yoga, however, many gaps in understanding these vernacular responses remain. For example, a more popular recent history

¹⁴ For the alternate point of view, somewhat challenged by this reading of Sabhapati’s literature, see Ronald B. Inden, *Imagining India* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000).

¹⁵ For the broader history of Christian and Islamic presence in South India see Susan Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society 1700–1900*, Cambridge South Asian Studies 43 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); for the Bengal region see Asim Roy, *The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1983). For Islamic engagement with yoga see Carl Ernst, “Situating Sufism and Yoga,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Third Series* 15, no. 1 (April 2005): 15–33.

of yoga by Alistair Shearer frames Sabhapati Swami principally as an “Indian Theosophist” and as “Christian missionary-educated,” and then notes that his teachings on Śivarājayoga, which he does not mention as such but (understandably) recognizes instead as a practice of tantra, form a “curious blend of Christianised asceticism and *chakra* meditation [that] was quite different from any authentically tantric teaching of course, but it became acceptable to the [Theosophical] Society as an unobjectionable treatment of a foreign doctrine.”¹⁶ There are at least two major problems with Shearer’s treatment. First, while Sabhapati Swami did receive his primary education at a missionary school, there is no record of him ever joining the Theosophical Society and to some extent he was rejected by the society’s founders.¹⁷ Second, while Sabhapati certainly employs Christian terminology in his English works as translations of Sanskrit terms (e.g. “sin” for *pāpa*, lit. “vice”; “Spirit” for *ātman*, lit. “self” or “soul,” and so on), there is no concrete evidence that his instructions on canceling the Tantric *cakras* to attain the *samādhi* of Śivarājayoga can be described to any significant extent as “Christianised asceticism.”¹⁸ One need only examine his vernacular literature to see that Christian perspectives have no significant importance in his yogic system except when Sabhapati or his editor Shrish Chandra are explicitly invoking outside points of view. The overarching problem with Shearer’s portrayal of Sabhapati is that, like every other author writing on Sabhapati Swami to date, he has omitted any consideration of his vernacular (and

¹⁶ Alistair Shearer, *The Story of Yoga from Ancient India to the Modern West* (London: C. Hurst, 2020), 118.

¹⁷ See Chapter One; Baier, “Theosophical Orientalism and the Structures of Intercultural Transfer: Annotations on the Appropriations of the Cakras in Early Theosophy”; Keith Cantú, “Sri Sabhapati Swami: The Forgotten Yogi of Western Esotericism,” in *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, ed. Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 347–73.

¹⁸ One could understandably make a point, as Baier has, that his verbal refutations of the *cakras* resemble Islamic declarations, but there are also Indic antecedents for these kinds of guided rejections of aspects of the self as illusory; see Chapters Three and Four. Sabhapati’s terminology of the *cakras* as “kingdoms” is also reminiscent of Christian terminology, but then a wide variety of objects were known to be envisioned in the subtle body, not just lotuses, as attested by the art historical record; see Debra Diamond, ed., *Yoga: The Art of Transformation* (Washington, D.C: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2013).

especially Tamil) works that show different angles of his teachings. These vernacular works offer clear Indic referents and terminology for his yogic practices, however idiosyncratic they may be (see Chapter Four). Further complicating this picture is the fact that Sabhapati himself engaged Christianity as an alternative point of view (see Chapter Three), meaning that he was able to be self-reflexive about certain doctrinal differences, even if he himself only had a very limited view of Christianity from his childhood education.

Evaluating Sabhapati in the context of Christianity and Theosophy does raise an important point, however, namely that yogis in the colonial period were not embraced by Christian societies but instead were welcomed—albeit still often with reservations—by Western occultist movements, such as for example the early Theosophical Society founded by H.P. Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Henry Olcott (1832–1907) as well as the Thelema of Aleister Crowley (1875–1947).¹⁹ These occultists integrated, albeit in different ways, not only Indian teachings but also ideas from Buddhism, Daoism, Greco-Egyptian mythology, Jewish Qabalah, Christian mysticism, Sufism, and many other streams of thought into published occult literature and oral teachings.²⁰ Their movements also included many lesser-known personalities, including women and Black authors, who likewise were part of a broader trend in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to expand the contours of

¹⁹ For more on the contours of “occultism” see Wouter J. Hanegraaff, ed., “Occult/Occultism,” in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 861–65. For bibliographic references on the Theosophical “Founders” and Crowley see Chapter Seven.

²⁰ For examples of this in Theosophy see Erik Sand and Tim Rudbøg, eds., *Imagining the East: The Early Theosophical Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Hans Martin Krämer and Julian Strube, eds., *Theosophy across Boundaries: Transcultural and Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Modern Esoteric Movement* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2020); and for a more critical view see Christopher Partridge, “Lost Horizon H.P. Blavatsky and Theosophical Orientalism,” in *Handbook of the Theosophical Current*, ed. Olav Hammer and Mikael Rothstein, Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion, v. 7 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2013), 309–33; for Thelema see Marco Pasi, *Aleister Crowley and the Temptation of Politics* (Durham, UK: Acumen, 2014); Gordan Djurdjevic, *India and the Occult: The Influence of South Asian Spirituality on Modern Western Occultism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Henrik Bogdan and Gordan Djurdjevic, eds., *Occultism in a Global Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2013).

occultism to encompass teachings from a wide variety of sources outside of what is typically considered “Western.”²¹ Yet it is precisely where vernacular traditions of yoga and these actors of Western esotericism intersect—as in the case of Sabhapati Swami—that the argument for colonial-era inauthenticity becomes most salient. The works of De Michelis and Djurdjevic largely sidestep such a concern to focus on various historical actors and/or phenomenological comparisons, although Djurdjevic does briefly indicate the problems associated with an imbalanced scholarly focus on “the issue of legitimacy and the supremacy of origins.”²² Other prominent treatments on this intersection, however, as well as popular media, have more or less directly framed Western interest in yoga—whether on the part of occultists or by practitioners of the “modern postural yoga” of the for-profit studio—in the context of a commodification or exoticization of cultural traditions, which are distorted in the process.²³ To be sure, these Western occultists modified, appropriated, and adjusted traditional Hindu religious teachings to fit their own agendas, curricula, and worldviews, which is certainly a phenomenon fraught with economic and social implications and one deserving of just as much if not more critical appraisal.²⁴ However, a major finding of this dissertation research is that colonial-era Indian authors also reformulated their own traditions to fit normative models of colonial propriety, and figures like Swami Vivekenanda and the

²¹ Manon Hedenborg White, *The Eloquent Blood: The Goddess Babalon and the Construction of Femininities in Western Esotericism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020); Hugh Urban, “The Yoga of Sex: Tantra, Orientalism, and Sex Magic in the Ordo Templi Orientis,” in *Hidden Intercourse: Eros and Sexuality in the History of Western Esotericism*, ed. Wouter J. Hanegraaff and Jeffrey J. Kripal, Aries Book Series 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 401–43; John P. Deveney, *Paschal Beverly Randolph: A Nineteenth-Century Black American Spiritualist, Rosicrucian, and Sex Magician*, SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997).

²² Djurdjevic, *India and the Occult*, 12.

²³ Hugh B. Urban, *Magia Sexualis: Sex, Magic, and Liberation in Modern Western Esotericism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006); Partridge, “Lost Horizon: H.P. Blavatsky and Theosophical Orientalism”; Andrea R. Jain, *Selling Yoga: From Counterculture to Pop Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

²⁴ For a well-balanced step in this direction, see Baier, “Theosophical Orientalism and the Structures of Intercultural Transfer.”

founders of the Theosophical Society were by no means the only actors in this reformulation; Sabhapati Swami was another node, although his recourse to the South Indian local cosmologies and religious practices of Śivarājayoga (see below and Chapters Three and Four) appears to have been unique among such translocal figures.

Some scholars like De Michelis have analyzed yogis' engagement with colonial modernity and expressed it in terms of "modern re-elaborations."²⁵ Others use similar terminology such as "hybrid," "syncretic," "innovative," "neo-," and "colonial-era." I would argue that these are all fair ways of framing the encounter of yogis like Sabhapati with colonial modernity, and often use these adjectives throughout this thesis. It may also understandably be the difficult task of the scholar to excavate what the premodern views really were, as unmediated as possible by the gloss of the present; such a task is obviously of great importance to history and should not be minimized.²⁶ However, to dismiss colonial re-elaborations on yoga as "inauthentic" by comparison with its pre-colonial forms is to also enter a discursive labyrinth of authenticity with competing claims of power structures and hegemonies, cultural and racial identity politics, and commercialization.²⁷ While this is undoubtedly an important labyrinth to be studied and further understood in the context of the

²⁵ De Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga*, 10.

²⁶ For examples see Philipp Maas, "A Concise Historiography of Classical Yoga Philosophy," in *Periodization and Historiography of Indian Philosophy*, ed. Eli Franco (Vienna: Sammlung de Nobili, Institut für Südasiens-, Tibet- und Buddhismuskunde der Universität Wien, 2013), 53–90; David Gordon White, *Kiss of the Yoginī: "Tantric Sex" in Its South Asian Contexts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009); James Mallinson, *The Khecarīvidyā of Ādinātha: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of an Early Text of Hathayoga*, Routledge Studies in Tantric Traditions Series (New York: Routledge, 2007); Jason Birch, "Hathayoga's Floruit on the Eve of Colonialism," in *Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions: Essays in Honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson*, ed. Dominic Goodall et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2020); Seth Powell, "A Lamp on Śiva's Yoga: The Unification of Yoga, Ritual, and Devotion in the Fifteenth-Century Śivayogapradīpikā" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, forthcoming), and many others.

²⁷ For examples of these discourses see Anya P. Foxen, *Inhaling Spirit*; Jain, *Selling Yoga*; Amanda J. Lucia, *White Utopias: The Religious Exoticism of Transformational Festivals* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2020); also Cantú, "'Don't Take Any Wooden Nickels'."

entanglements of modern history, I find these discourses to be inadequate when seeking to deliver a hermeneutical interpretation that encompasses the full local and translocal scope of Sabhapati's literature and teachings on Śivarājayoga.

B. Sabhapati's Teachings as a "Translocalization" of Yoga

In the previous section I showed that Sabhapati's near-total eclipse by other important figures in histories of modern yoga is at least partially due to a failure to fully appreciate the many different geographical contexts and vernacular audiences of his literature, contexts which spanned local Tamil, mesolocal pan-Indian, and translocal international levels; and which, with its relatively consistent Sanskrit linguistic base, was made accessible to new Indic vernacular (e.g. Hindustani, Bengali, Telugu) and Anglophone audiences (see Chapter Two). One is reminded of the parable of the blind men and the elephant, with each aspect of his literature recognized as a single part while missing the whole. Throughout this dissertation I have therefore located the local roots of Sabhapati's teachings in a regional Tamil form of Śivarājayoga, first taken up and promoted across India by a pan-Indian network of "Admirers," and later by new local networks of Tamil students (see Chapters Three and Four). His work concurrently reached international audiences on account of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Theosophists, Thelemites, and self-proclaimed American gurus (see Chapter Seven). As I argued above, the diversity of his literature that spans local, pan-Indian, and international audiences highlights the need for a more

comprehensive approach when seeking to holistically analyze the philosophy and practice of yoga in the colonial period.²⁸

I have found that one way to more comprehensively and neutrally contextualize and examine the dissemination of Sabhapati's teachings on Śivarājayoga is by means of a theory of "translocalization."²⁹ By this I specifically mean a framework that can analyze how Sabhapati's yogic literature and practices were translated and circulated through networks that gradually removed them from their original local religious (in this case Tamil) contexts, while at the same time never fully eliminating certain distinctive traces of their localized content.³⁰ This is a concept that is also actively used in translation enterprises today, such as when directors of media like films and video games make decisions on how to "regionalize" or "localize" the language or content to suit a given audience.³¹

While Ros only posits the existence of a local and translocal, I instead posit three main levels that assist with the analysis of his literature and the teachings that they contain (see also Figure One). This literature includes a wide variety of works in several languages that are surveyed in Chapter Two, with the acronyms and their full publication data given in the list of abbreviations: 1) local or Tamil contexts and their reception by his students in these regions (reflected by the Tamil works MCVTS, CTCSPV, ANB, CU, CĀT); 2) mesolocal or pan-Indian contexts and their reception by students across North and South India (reflected by the trilingual English, Sanskrit, and Tamil-language CPSPS), and 3) translocal or

²⁸ While I treat on this in Chapter Seven, further engagement can be found in Cantú, "Sri Sabhapati Swami: The Forgotten Yogi of Western Esotericism"; and Cantú, "Don't Take Any Wooden Nickels'."

²⁹ While this is the terminology I use in this thesis, it is by no means the only one. For instance, Mriganka Mukhopadhyay has similarly applied the idea of "despatialization" and related concepts to great utility.

³⁰ This is a slightly modified definition adapted from Alejandra Ros, "Translocalization," in *Encyclopedia of Global Religion* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2012).

³¹ I am grateful to Mariana Carneiro, who works in the field of translation localization services for video games, for this insight.

international contexts and their reception both by students across North and South India and in Europe and North America (e.g. the English-language works VRY, FH, WE). To these may be added the phenomenon of “relocalization,” or the way in which his literature was relocalized from points (2) or (3), that is, from the mesolocal or translocal contexts. As will be made clear in the analysis of the streams of his literature (see Chapter Two), some of Sabhapati’s vernacular works (Hindustani-language RYB, Telugu-language SVSAA, and a short portion of the Second Book of CPSPS in Marathi) could, in this schema, be understood as relocalized from a blend of local and mesolocal levels. Another work (the Bengali-language BRY), however, is a direct translation from VRY, Sabhapati’s most translocalized English work, and thus it uniquely reflects a relocalization from both mesolocal and translocal contexts; it also contains additional relocalized content, however, such as Bengali categories of yoga and a poem in which the Bengali Vaiṣṇava reformer Caitanya is mentioned in the prologue.

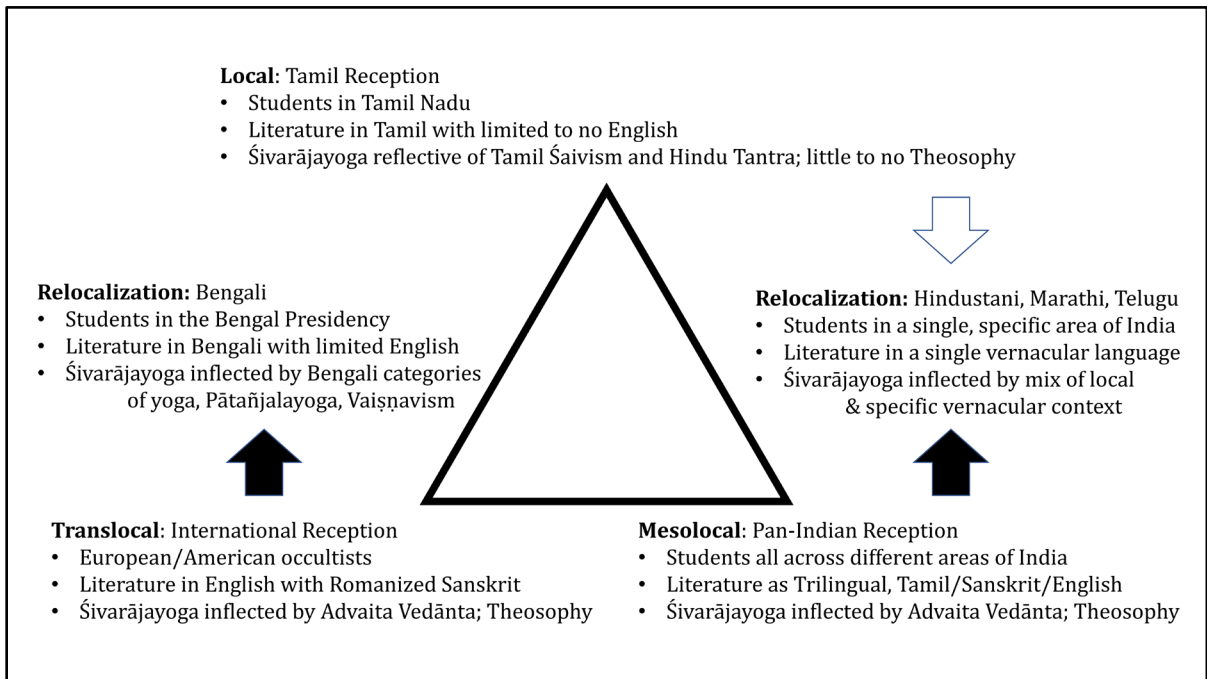


Figure One. A convenient schema to understand differences between Local, Mesolocal, and Translocal receptions of Sabhapati’s literature as well as the phenomenon of “relocalization.”

This categorization scheme should be considered as a fluid heuristic for grasping the full “elephant” of Sabhapati’s work and influence. There is an especially significant overlap between the translocal and mesolocal levels, that is, the international and pan-Indian: this is due to the fact that these audiences were, to some degree, intertwined in colonial modernity as English became a *lingua franca* in urban areas. There is accordingly evidence for the mesolocal moving to the translocal, as in the case of William Estep’s translation of CPSPS (see Chapters Two and Seven). At the same time, translocal networks (e.g. the Theosophical Society, colonial-era education and publishing, traveling authors) expanded Sabhapati’s teachings beyond even these English-language mesolocal or pan-Indian domains into other languages such as German and French. This notwithstanding, Sabhapati’s local Tamil-language content (as well as its relocalized vernacular content in Bengali, Hindustani, Telugu, and so on) has essentially remained forgotten in library archives until my present research into this dissertation topic. Despite a vast geographical and cultural gulf between the local and translocal levels and their reception history, one finding of this dissertation is that Sabhapati’s instructions on Śivarājayoga are a connecting thread that ties together his disparate literatures, and as a result I have made this the central topic in the chapters of this dissertation.

The translocal level of engagement with Sabhapati’s works is perhaps best exemplified by Sabhapati’s archaic roman transliterations of Sanskrit, Tamil, and Hindustani terms, unintentionally rendering his works, even those in English, obscure to many scholars and lay readers alike. However, in this dissertation I examine the full range of Sabhapati’s extant literature, including his vernacular works that provide recognizable Indic spellings and explanations of these terms for his Indian audiences who would have felt the need to read and

understand their substantive content. In the process I argue that Sabhapati did not simply invent a new system of yoga, nor did he merely vocalize the Theosophical or Hindu reformist opinions of his day; there is no record of him ever joining modern societies like the Theosophical Society or Arya Samaj, for instance, despite some of his followers' involvement in these milieus (see Chapters One and Three).

A further argument for a localization-based approach is that Sabhapati's literature instead combined material from a wide variety of Indic textual sources and yogic practices that were circulating in religious milieus in the modern period, although this combination is not merely haphazard; there is a certain logic to this material that emerges when considering the specific contexts and vernacular audiences of a given work and its local religious milieus. Often there is a wide variety of material, not always relevant to yoga, which distinguishes his localized literature as well. Some examples of this include the following: only the Bengali translation makes reference to the Vaiṣṇava reformer Caitanya, as mentioned above;³² only the Hindustani edition makes reference to Jwalaprasad Mishra, an important figure in the literary development of Hindi;³³ only the English works contain poems that reflect Christian terminology such as "sin" and "spirit"; the Tamil editions of his work make reference to Tamil-specific holidays and religious rites not found in his works in other languages like English and Bengali, and so on.

While recognizing Sabhapati's clear engagement with translocal discourses and knowledge-systems of colonial modernity in India, his vernacular works and translations,

³² For the significance of this figure in Bengal see Barbara A. Holdrege, *Bhakti and Embodiment: Fashioning Divine Bodies and Devotional Bodies in Kṛṣṇa Bhakti* (London: Routledge, 2015); Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Edward Cameron Dimock, and Tony Kevin Stewart, *Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja: A Translation and Commentary*, Harvard Oriental Series 56 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

³³ I am grateful to Jason Schwartz for pointing out the significance of this figure to me.

which as I mentioned above have not been previously considered in any published scholarship to date, also are deserving of their own contextualization. In this dissertation I accordingly also situate Sabhapati’s literature in the historical context of local South Indian milieus of Haṭha and Rājayoga-inspired texts and practices that arose in the early modern period of yoga’s history (ca. seventeenth to nineteenth centuries CE). While the compound Śivayoga (Mpv. *civayōkam*) is variously used—and sometimes with different meanings—in both Vīraśaiva and Śaiva Saiddhāntika milieus, the use of the phrase Śivarājayoga (as *civarāja yōkam*, *civarāca yōkam*, or *civarāya yōkam* depending on how the Sanskrit phoneme *ja* is rendered) occurs in a Tamil context at least as early as the poetry of the ca. eighteenth-century Tamil poet Tāyumāṇavar, where it is used in connection with the Tamil Siddhas (for this group see Chapters Three and Four).³⁴

Inspired by the scholarship of Jason Birch, Srilata Raman, Elaine Fisher, and Eric Steinschneider,³⁵ I would further argue that Sabhapati combines at least five principal components into his literature: 1) the Tamil Vīraśaiva synthesis of Śivayoga as evident by his explicit and traceable connection to the *paramparā* of the ca. seventeenth-century author Kumāratēvar; 2) the impulse toward Vedānta in this Vīraśaiva synthesis that reconciled a monistic idea of unity (Skt. *liṅgāṅgaikyabhāva*, lit. “being united as an auxiliary of [Śiva’s] *liṅga*) with dualistic Śaiva Siddhānta and non-dualist Advaita Vedānta; 3) Haṭhayoga and Rājayoga texts composed in Sanskrit, which themselves are informed by Buddhist and Jaina

³⁴ I am grateful to Srilata Raman for tracing this reference, which occurs in the sixth verse of his poetic composition “Cittarkaṇam.” A version of this poem has been published in Nā. Katiravēṇ Pillai, *Tāyumāṇa civāmi pāṭalkaḥ: mūlamum uraiyum* (Ceṇṇai: Cantiyā Patippakam, 2010), 149–63.

³⁵ Examples include Jason Birch, “The Amaraughaprabodha”; Srilata Raman, *The Transformation of Tamil Religion: Ramalinga Swamikal and Modern Dravidian Sainthood* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge), forthcoming; Elaine M. Fisher, “The Tangled Roots of Vīraśaivism: On the Vīramāheśvara Textual Culture of Srisailam,” *History of Religions* 59, no. 1 (2019): 1–37; and Eric Steinschneider, “Subversion, Authenticity, and Religious Creativity in Late-Medieval South India: Kaṇṇuṭaiya Vaḷḷal’s Oḷiviloṭukkam,” *Journal of Hindu Studies* 10, no. 2 (August 2017): 241–271.

Ascetic as well as Śaiva and Buddhist Tantric traditions; 4) mythological material from Purāṇas, Epics, and local Tamil lore, especially as pertains to the legend of Agastya; and 5) regional yogic and alchemical texts and traditions, such as those of the Tamil Siddhas (Tam. *cittarkaḷ*). Evidence suggests that these streams continued to coalesce and develop out of “Śivayoga,” which had been developed at least by the fifteenth century in Vīraśaiva milieus in other parts of India, especially Karnataka.³⁶ In subsequent centuries “Śivarājayoga” (Mpv. *civarāja yōkam*) arose with its own distinctive features from Śivayoga, and it is this later development, Śivarājayoga, that is reflected in—but not exclusive to—Sabhapati’s writing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see Chapters Three and Four).

C. The Chapters and Methodology of this Dissertation

To adequately treat on all these levels of Śivarājayoga’s local and mesolocal contexts, translocalization, and relocalization, I have divided this dissertation into seven thematic chapters:

- 1) A biographical account of Sabhapati and his students as gleaned from his textual sources, library and archival records and my ethnographic field work at extant sites of relevance to Sabhapati’s yoga, including an analysis and historiography of his web of relationships, with special attention to his collaboration with his Bengali editor Shrish Chandra Basu (S.C. Vasu);

³⁶ For Śivayoga see Powell, Seth. “A Lamp on Śiva’s Yoga: The Unification of Yoga, Ritual, and Devotion in the Fifteenth-Century Śivayogapradīpikā.” PhD Prospectus, Harvard University, 2018. For ways in which it is distinct from Śivarājayoga as practiced in Tamil Nadu see Chapter Four of this dissertation.

- 2) A philological treatment of the three main textual “streams” of Sabhapati’s writings, their terminology, and their translations, with special reference to his vernacular works;
- 3) A comprehensive treatment of the Śaiva cosmology outlined in Sabhapati’s literature, including an analysis of its sources in North and South Indian milieus, and his philosophical engagement with other religions and with Atheism;
- 4) A thorough analysis of Sabhapati’s system of Śivarājyoga, including an overview of the role that subtle physiology such as the Tantric *cakras* plays in his literature;
- 5) An analysis of Sabhapati’s aesthetic integration of music, mantric chanting as well as an evaluation of his use of visual diagrams;
- 6) An evaluation of the role of “science” in Sabhapati’s literature, including a Bengali prologue by his translator Ambikacharan Bandopadhyay that engaged the Victorian naturalist worldview, and a consideration of his literature’s relevance to the cognitive science of religion (CSR); and
- 7) An analysis of several late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century occult authors who met with Sabhapati and/or published his work, such as Henry Olcott and Helena Blavatsky, Franz Hartmann, Aleister Crowley, and William Estep.

To these are appended a conclusion and: 1) a never-before translated alternative account (T2) of Sabhapati’s life found in his Tamil work MCVTS; 2) a lexicon of some of Sabhapati’s main vocabulary in table-form that enables scholars to make sense of the confusing archaic

variants and roman transliterations of technical terms used in his work; 3) an annotated passage that refers to Sabhapati's innovative technique of Śivarājyoga, which included visualizing the yogic central channel as a "pole," and which was subsequently translocalized to occult milieus; and 4) a never-before translated introduction to the Bengali prologue of Sabhapati's work, which references Victorian naturalism and also includes a song composed in Bengali in a folk style that exemplifies Sabhapati's works' relocalization even within various regions of India itself. While I originally planned to append translations to this dissertation, I have since acquired a contract to separately publish the collected works of Sabhapati Swami, critically edited, annotated, and translated (where applicable) in four volumes, and I have already submitted the manuscript for the first volume (an annotated reprint of VRY). These primary sources will also greatly augment, and be useful to scholars and lay readers interested in, further exploration into the topics outlined in this dissertation.

The methodology behind this dissertation is historical-critical, and offers a solution to the problem of Sabhapati's neglect in scholarly literature by centering the discussion on Sabhapati himself and his own writings. At the same time, his literature spans categories across various academic fields of study in the humanities and social sciences (e.g. Religious Studies, South Asian Studies and Indology, Western Esotericism, Subaltern Studies), each of which sheds different light on Sabhapati's life and teachings. To bridge these fields I have centered the narrative on a specific "yogi" (< *yogī*, stem *yogin*) rather than "yoga" more generally, and accordingly this historical method also has the benefit of revealing what the practice of yoga meant to a nineteenth-century self-proclaimed practitioner of the

discipline.³⁷ My research methods are accordingly qualitative, and I have constructed my claims based on Sabhapati's primary texts, secondary academic literature, biographical accounts, archival data, ethnographic fieldwork and recorded interviews, photographic evidence, nineteenth-century temple epigraphic inscriptions, colonial-era geography, religious art history, and other related sources.

The research for the dissertation was principally carried out in India under the auspices of an American Institute of Indian Studies (AIIS) junior fellowship (named as the Ludo and Rosane Rocher Research Fellowship in Sanskrit Studies), under which I was able to spend eight months researching full-time in Tamil Nadu and other relevant regions of India. Preliminary familiarity with the scope of this project was also obtained in prior years during my Tamil language training in Madurai and independent visits to West Bengal, India, and Bangladesh. I was also awarded a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad (DDRA) fellowship to conduct six months of further research into specific localized regions of Sabhapati's published literature (i.e. Mumbai, Kolkata), but this was indefinitely postponed due to the onset of COVID-19. If and when the virus subsides and I am able to continue further research in these areas then some of these additional findings (if any) will be subsequently incorporated should this dissertation have the good fortune of being converted into a book.

³⁷ This is in line with David White's assertion that "... a history of yogis opens the way for an analysis of the extremely rich body of *narrative* accounts." David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis*, xii. I have generally kept "yogi" in lowercase without diacritics according to English usage but have used diacritics when citing vernacular or Sanskrit references.

I. Reading between the Hagiographical Lines

A. *Extant Sources on the Life of Sri Sabhapati Swamigal*

In this chapter I will provide foundational biographical information on Sri Sabhapati Swamigal (Śrī Sabhāpati Svāmī or Capāpati Cuvāmikaḷ, 1828-1923/4)³⁸ and those associates for whom there is evidence of him physically meeting, with special attention to 1) his gurus Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal (Vētacirēṇi Citambara [Periya]³⁹ Cuvāmikaḷ) and Satgurunath Shivajnana Bodha Yogishwarar (Caṅkurunāta Civañāṇa Pōta Yōkīsvarar); and 2) his students, especially Om Prakasa Swamigal (Om Pirakāccuvāmi Yōkīsvarar) and Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal (Konṇūr Irāmaliṅka Cuvāmikaḷ).⁴⁰ I will also here treat briefly on the early life and works of Sabhāpati’s most “translocalizing” interlocutor, the Bengali polymath Shrish Chandra Basu (Śrīś Candra Basu, a.k.a. S.C. Vasu), given his considerable importance as promoting a colonial-era vision of Hindu modernity within the works of Sabhapati that he edited from 1880 to 1895, after which his involvement appears to gradually end. I will treat later occultist interpreters of Sabhapati’s work as well as other authors who independently engaged his writings in Chapter Seven.

Data on Sabhapati’s life is scarce compared to many of his contemporaries, and no one has attempted until now to construct even a basic biography of his life grounded in the historical sources available. There are at least two separate semi-hagiographical accounts of

³⁸ The issues surrounding the precise dating of Sabhapati’s birth and death will be addressed throughout this chapter.

³⁹ Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal is today more commonly referred to as Chidambara Periya Swamigal to distinguish him from Thiruporur Chidambara Swamigal (Tiruppōrūr Citambara Cuvāmikaḷ). See below and Chapter Three.

⁴⁰ For the sake of readability, I have rendered proper names and places first according to contemporary transliteration styles according to each language followed by the precise transliteration with diacritical marks in parentheses. Unless otherwise indicated the transliteration in parentheses derives from the predominant Indic source language in which the name occurs. I have kept words relating to religions or philosophies (e.g. Śaiva) as well as the names of texts or published works with diacritics.

his life from which this biographical chapter is summarized and expanded, using secondary sources by or about his associates as well as material obtained through my field research in South Asia on this topic over the past couple of years. The first account, what I prefer to call the “Ur-account,” was drafted in Lahore on January 3rd, 1880. It was signed anonymously by “An Admirer,” but at least two sources—both Shrish Chandra’s biographer and the Indological scholar Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1890), of all people—attest to Shrish Chandra himself being the author.⁴¹ The Ur-account was first published in *The Theosophist*⁴² and in identical form in Sabhapati’s first English work, in print by April of 1880 (VRY).⁴³ It was subsequently translated by two other authors with ties to the Theosophical Society,⁴⁴ the details of which are as follows: an anonymous partial French translation published in 1897 with additional comments by Paul Gillard (d. 1901),⁴⁵ and a German translation first published in 1908 with annotations by Franz Hartmann (1838–1912).⁴⁶ This Ur-account was slightly expanded in 1884 in the first volume of Sabhapati Swami’s revised and expanded two-volume English, Tamil, and Sanskrit work (CSPSP),⁴⁷ the most notable difference of

⁴¹ Phanindranath Bose, *Life of Sris Chandra Basu* (Calcutta: R. Chatterjee, 1932), 86; F. Max Müller, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* (London; New York: Longmans, Green, 1899), 462. We know from Bose’s account that Shrish Chandra is the “author” in correspondence with Müller. See also the chapters by Donald Lopez, Tim Rudbøg, and Erik Sand in Sand and Rudbøg, *Imagining the East* for Müller’s critical perspective on Theosophy in general.

⁴² An Admirer, “The Madras Yogi Sabhapaty Swami,” *The Theosophist: A Monthly Journal Devoted to Oriental Philosophy, Art, Literature and Occultism: Embracing Mesmerism, Spiritualism, and Other Secret Sciences* 1, no. 6 (March 1880): 145–47.

⁴³ The Mahatma Giana Guroo Yogi Sabhapaty Swami, *Om. a treatise on Vedantic Raj Yoga Philosophy* (Lahore: “Civil and Military Gazette” Press, 1880), i–vii. I have elected to cite the page numbers from this text for the Ur-account.

⁴⁴ For the historical interactions between Sabhapati and the “Founders” of the Theosophical Society, see Section G below.

⁴⁵ Theosophist [Anonymous], “Un Yogui” and Paul Gillard, “Le pas décisif,” *Le Lotus Bleu: revue theosophique mensuelle* 8, nu. 1 (27 Mars 1897): 18–24.

⁴⁶ Franz Hartmann (trans.), “Aus dem Leben des indischen Mahātmā Jñāna Guru Yogī Sabhapatti Svāmī,” *Neue Lotusblüten, Volume [Jahrgang] 1* (Leipzig: Jaeger’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1908): 259–70.

⁴⁷ The Mahatma Brumha Gnyana Mavuna Guru Sabhapathy Swamy Rishi Yogiswer, *Om. The Cosmic Psychological Spiritual Philosophy and Science of communion with and absorption in the Infinite Spirit, or Vedhantha Siva Raja Yoga Samadhi Brumha Gnyana Anubuthi* (Mylapore: The Hindu Press, 1884 [First Book] and Bombay: Karnatak Press, 1890 [Second Book]).

which is the inclusion of certain terms and places in Devanagari script that help confirm the archaic or irregular Roman transliterations in the original 1880 version.⁴⁸ Additional details were also supplied in the Ur-account’s subsequent translations and modifications when rendered in Bengali (BRY),⁴⁹ Hindi (RYB),⁵⁰ and even Urdu in a small pamphlet.⁵¹ The Ur-account, its edited reprints, and its translations seem to be written for both pan-Indian (mesolocal) and international (translocal) audiences.⁵² The Ur-account and its derivations further appear intended to provide a basis for Sabhapati’s religious credentials, and in addition to historical facts also includes more or less explicit hagiographical narratives that elude historical analysis, such as visions of Śiva and encounters with age-defying sages, including one of Sabhapati’s gurus who is described as being “about two hundred years old.”⁵³ At the same time, such narratives are remarkably detailed and provide much useful historical information, including names, dates, and geographical locations that are verifiable with reference to external sources and that provide many clues about the local religious contexts that Sabhapati operated in. Furthermore, there is an extant claim that the details of his life that form the basis of the Ur-account—if not the whole account—were “narrated” by Sabhapati himself⁵⁴, and thus despite alterations by the editor we can safely assume that the

⁴⁸ For the phenomenon of translations, and publications, and the various scripts see Chapter Two.

⁴⁹ Śrīmat Sabhāpati Svāmī, *Bedāntadarśan o rājayoga*, trans. Ambikācaraṇ Bandyopādhyāy (Kolkata: Śrīśācandra Basu, 1885),

⁵⁰ Mahātmā Jñānaguruyogī Sabhāpati Svāmī, *Rājayoga Brahmajñānānubhūti saṅgraha veda* (Mumbai: Tattvavivecaka Chāpakhānemem Chāpe, 1892)

⁵¹ Sabhāpati Svāmī, *Yogī Sabhāpati Svāmīke hālāt* (Bareilly [Barelī]: The Rohilkhand Theosophical Society, 1883). I am grateful to Gwendolyn Kirk, instructor of Urdu at LUMS, for taking a look at this account, which is written in the Persian *nastaliq* script and appears to follow the Ur-account closely.

⁵² For an analysis of this interplay between mesolocal and translocal, see the Introduction.

⁵³ Ur-account, iii.

⁵⁴ For evidence that Sabhapati narrated this account see Bose, *Life of Sris Chandra Basu*, 86–87. In any event it is highly unlikely (if not impossible) that Sabhapati’s principle “Admirer” (most likely Shrish Chandra Basu) would have known the specificity of certain place names and dates without receiving this information directly from him. As we shall see, many of these locations are highly localized sites in Tamil Nadu that would have been unfamiliar to north Indian authors— this is exemplified by recourse to these place names’ perceived phonetic pronunciation when rendering them into Roman script.

Ur-account reflects his own idiosyncratic style of self-representation. At the same time, I would argue that Sabhapati’s “Admirer” prefers to situate him more squarely within the pale of conventional currents of Advaita Vedānta and to this end mentions the reformer Shankaracharya (Śaṅkarācārya) alongside Christ and the Buddha at the end of the Ur-account. As we shall see in Chapter Three, however, Sabhapati’s teachings on Vedānta were more directly mediated by his Tamil Vīraśaiva guru in Velachery, and Sabhapati also uses Śaiva Siddhānta, Vaiṣṇava, and to some extent even Śākta terminology and imagery to describe the practice and goals of his yogic system.

Practically every author writing on Sabhapati Swamigal to date has relied only on this English-language Ur-account or its translations to make claims about his life. However, I have discovered two other hagiographical accounts that were published in Tamil (henceforth “T1” and “T2”) in 1898 and 1913 respectively, and thus were produced later in his life.⁵⁵ T1 is prefaced to CTCSPV, of which at least eight copies survive at Om Prakash Swamigal’s former ashram in the Kandal area of Ooty (see Section K.1 below). The only known extant copy of T2 is bound as a prefatory insert—perhaps originally disseminated separately—to his main Tamil work on mantras and yoga (MCVTS). At least three copies of MCVTS survive, although the two copies respectively held by the British Library and the Library of the Tamil Nadu Archives (formerly the Library of the Madras Record Office) are incomplete, being around fifty pages long, and in any case omit the pages that include T2. The third extant copy, on the other hand, held by the Adyar Library and Research Centre in Chennai, is about 130 pages long and includes T2 as a preface, an additional wood-cut print of Sabhapati as a bearded yogi (Mṣvī. *yōki*, Skt. *yogī*), and several other diagrams and instructions. To my

⁵⁵ See the Appendix for a partial translation of T2.

knowledge no scholar, historian or otherwise, has considered either T1 or T2 to date (or, for that matter, Sabhapati's literature published in Indic vernacular languages more broadly).

T2 was authored by Shivajnanaprakash Yogishwara (Civañāṇappirakāca Yōkīsvara), a student of Sabhapati, and given its textual similarities with T1 it is probable that T1, although anonymous, was written by the same individual. Both were written in an early modern form of Maṇipravālam (abbreviated Mpv1.) that prefers a Sanskritic register for technical vocabulary overlaid on top of a Tamil grammatical base woven together with a stunning array of Tamil verbal participles, adverbial forms, and adjectives.⁵⁶ The substance of the account clearly outlines Sabhapati's two principle gurus' "lines" (Skt. *paramparās*), that of Vedashreni Chidambara (Periya) Swamigal and Satgurunath Shivajnana Bodha Yogishwarar, both of whom are also respectively mentioned in the title page of CPSPS (1884) in archaic Roman transliteration as "Sidhumbara Swamy" and "Brumhamaya Suthgurunadha Sivagnyanabodha Rishi Yogiswer." Based in part on this data as well as references in his other vernacular works, I have been able to conclusively confirm the continued existence of Vedashreni Chidambara (Periya) Swamigal's line in the Velachery area of Chennai (see Section C) as well as the site of Sabhapati's ashram in the Villivakkam area of Chennai, which was later handed down to his student Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal (see Sections K and L). T1 and T2 also provide more clues as to his other guru Satgurunath Shivajnana Bodha Yogishwarar's semi-legendary identity as a four-hundred-year-old sage in the line of Agastya (Akastiyar or Agattiyar) in the Pothigai Hills (Pothigai Malai; see Sections E and H). Unlike the Ur-account, T1 and T2 seem to predominantly reflect the needs and concerns of Sabhapati's TAMILIAN and MALAYALI students, and accordingly do not appear to mention either

⁵⁶ See Chapter Two for a more detailed treatment of the language used in Sabhapati's literature and issues with its translation.

Sabhapati's lectures in Lahore or his encounter with the founders of the Theosophical Society at all (see Section G).

In addition to Ur-account, T1, and T2, there is also a remarkably helpful list in MCVTS of some of Sabhapati's principal students and financial supporters towards the end of his life, for whom the book was explicitly compiled (see Figure Two in Section K).⁵⁷ This has led to my acquisition of several important secondary sources that help to corroborate the above accounts, including a biography of Sabhapati's student Om Prakash Swamigal of the Kandal area near Ooty (the summer capital of the Madras Presidency during the British Raj, colloquially known as "snooty Ooty," and today the tourist town of Udthagamandalam),⁵⁸ who is mentioned in the list, as well as one of his independent works *Śrīsatsampāṣiṇi*,⁵⁹ both of which refer to Sabhapati's life and career as a yogi and even show evidence that at least one of his students occasionally traveled to Mysore and back to spread Sabhapati's teachings outside of Tamil Nadu.⁶⁰ I have thus far not been able to trace any of Sabhapati's surviving letters, although it can be gathered from Om Prakash's biography that he occasionally wrote them to interested inquirers.

In addition to securing these primary textual sources about his life and secondary accounts of interviews and meetings with Sabhapati, I have also conducted interviews and

⁵⁷ Capāpati Cuvāmikaḷ, *Carva māṇaca nittiya karmānuṣṭāṇa, carva tēvatātēvi māṇaca pūjāttiyāṇa, pīrammakñāṇa rājayōka niṣṭai camāti, carva tīkṣākkramattiyāṇa, cātaṇā appiyāca kiramāṇucantāṇa, caṅkiraha vēta tiyāṇōpatēca smiruti* (Tiruccirāppaḷḷi: Ṣaṅmukavilās Piras, 1913), 6.

⁵⁸ Śrī Ti. Ku Piḷḷai, *Nīlakiri, utakamaṇṭalam, tirukkāntal śrī takṣiṇāmūrṭti maṭam lōkōpakāra vityātāṇa capai stāpakar acalapītam śrīmat ompirakāsa cuvāmikaḷ carittirac curukkam* (Tirupparāyṭṭuṇai: Śrīmat Citpavānanta Cuvāmikaḷatu muṇṇuraiyuṭaṇ kūṭiyatu, 1957), 13–20.

⁵⁹ Ōm Pirakāca Cuvāmikaḷ, *Śrīsatsampāṣiṇi* (Nīlakiri: Śrī Carasvati Ācramam, 1915). This work was reprinted a couple of decades later as Śrīmat Om Pirakāca Cuvāmikaḷ, *Śrī Satsampāṣiṇi* (Madras: The Eveready Press, 1939).

⁶⁰ Śrī Ti. Ku. Kōvintacāmi Piḷḷai, *Nīlakiri, utakamaṇṭalam, tirukkāntal śrī takṣiṇāmūrṭti maṭam lōkōpakāra vityātāṇa capai stāpakar acalapītam śrīmat ompirakāsa cuvāmikaḷ carittirac curukkam* (Tirupparāyṭṭuṇai: Śrīmat Citpavānanta Cuvāmikaḷatu muṇṇuraiyuṭaṇ kūṭiyatu, 1957), 13–20.

consulted extant wills and government land records, such as those pertaining to his student Ramalinga Swamigal and Ramalinga's student Anandananda Swamigal, both of which I have obtained through the assistance of his followers still living in the environs of Sabhapati's hermitage in present-day Villivakkam, Chennai (see Section K.2 below). These documents contain land survey numbers that I have been able to compare with period village maps obtained from the Central Survey Office in Chepauk. I have also consulted numerous colonial-era maps of the Madras Presidency, including Madras, Chingleput, and the forests of the Tinnevely (modern Tirunelveli) District held in the Tamil Nadu Archives, all of which have helped confirm various place-names, roads and railway lines, and forests as they existed in Sabhapati's time throughout the development of the Presidency up to the eve of Indian independence. When all this data is taken together, a relatively comprehensive historical as well as geographical portrait of this remarkable religious innovator emerges.

B. Sabhapati's Childhood

It seems most likely that Sabhapati was born in 1828 to a wealthy family either of Brahmin Deccani⁶¹ or Naidu of Telugu-speaking origin⁶² who lived in Vedashreni (Vētacirēṇi or Vētasrēṇi, from Skt. *vedaśrenī*, an alternate name for Velachery), then a temple village about fourteen kilometres south of Madras, which at that time was expanding under the direction of the British East India Company based in Fort St. George. T2 provides the most detailed information about his birth, including astrological data as follows (translated from Tamil):

⁶¹ Ur-account, i.

⁶² Hariharan Cuvāmikaḷ, Interview at Aruḷmiku Śrī Capāpati Liṅkēsvar Jīvacamāti Ālayam, Audio recording, August 12, 2018.

. . . the Jnana Guru Yogi, Guru Father Rishi, Sabhapati Swami, was incarnated at Natesamurthy Shivakami Amman Metalworks in Vedashreni. The year was 1828, the month of Markazhi [December–January], the lunar mansion of Thiruvathirai, at the time of a celestial great moment (Mpv1. *tivya mahāmukūrttam*, < Skt. *divya mahāmuhūrta*), on an auspicious day of Mars. At the time there were six planetary bodies in the Elevated Position (Mpv1. *uccastāṇam*, < Skt. *uccasthāna*), two planetary bodies in the Position of Speech (Mpv1. *vākkustāṇam*, < Skt. **vāksthāna*), and one planetary body in the Position of Happy Heat (Mpv1. *sukatapastāṇam*, < Skt. **sukhatapasthāna*⁶³).⁶⁴

The Ur-account, by contrast, gives 1840 as the year of Sabhapati’s birth, which is also reflected in T1’s date of 4941 of the Kali Yuga (Tam. *kaliyukam*). I consider this to be an error of estimation either on the part of the “Admirer” who authored the account or an uncritical guess by Sabhapati himself since it does not corroborate other known details of his life, particularly his relationship with his first guru Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal (Vētacirēṇi Citambara Cuvāmikaḷ), who died in 1858. As we shall see, if we take T2 at its word that Chidambara met with Sabhapati when he was as old as twenty-nine or thirty, then out of the two options Sabhapati must have been born in 1828 and not 1840 as that would

⁶³ An asterisk next to a Sanskrit compound indicates that it is rare or unused in Sanskrit, despite the compound having separate Maṇipravāla components that are each individually derived from Sanskrit. Such a distinction not only highlights the lack of adequate lexicons that include Maṇipravāla forms but also demonstrates the creative way in which Maṇipravāla authors could gradually create new compounds that didn’t need to be previously attested yet still retained their communicative value when parsed.

⁶⁴ T2, 3. Tam. “*naṭēcāmūrtti civakāmiyammaṇ vārppaṭam vētasrēṇiyil ceytaruḷiya ārukṅirakam uccastāṇattil, iraṇṭu kirakam vākkustāṇattil oru kirakam cukatapastāṇattiluḷḷa kālamākiya 1828 varuṣam mārkāḷi mātam tirūvātirai naṭcattira tivya mahāmukūrttakāla maṅkaḷ cupatiṇattil inta caṅkarakavētōpatēca, cāstira karttāvākiya ṅāṅakuruyōki kurupitāruṣi capāpati cuvāmikaḷ tiru{vavu}tāraṅ ceytaṅar.*” For a description of these astrological terms, see Caterina Guenzi, *Le Discours Du Destin: La Pratique de l’Astrologie à Bénarès* (Paris: CNRS Editions/Bibliothèque de l’Anthropologie, 2013). I am grateful to Peder Pedersen and Martin Gansten (Lund University) for their attempts in deciphering the horoscope, which yielded 29 December 1830 as a possibility for Sabhapati’s birth given the available data.

place this meeting in 1869 or 1870, at least a decade after Chidambara’s death, widely confirmed in both textual and inscriptional evidence at his tumulus (MpvI. *jīvacamāti*, < Skt. *jīva-samādhī*, lit. place of “individual composition”)⁶⁵ in Velachery. T2’s attention to minute astrological details and the specifics of his parentage also implies that the author, Shivajnanaprakash Yogishwara, had probed Sabhapati more deeply about the circumstances of his birth and had paid much more attention in general to chronological details, at least as pertains his early life. Additionally, T1 does not provide a Gregorian equivalent to the Kali Yuga year, meaning that the calculation could possibly have reflected a different correlation closer to 1828.

Sabhapati’s parentage presents further complexities, and we unfortunately know only a few details. While the Ur-account only mentions his parents in passing, T1 and T2 provide additional details as to the names of his father, Gurunatha Baktar (Gurunāta Paktar), and of his mother, Punyavathi (Puṇṇiyavati), and also notes his father’s role in the service of Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal as follows (translated from Tamil):

Within the southern part of India, in Thondayan Chakravartin’s city of Thondama (Toṇṭamā), in the city of Chennai, his father Gurunatha Baktar, superior in learning and of a renowned family of gurus who mark their foreheads, was in the service of an ancient and excellent sacred shrine. His wife was named Punyavathi. The commands of Gurunatha Baktar’s guru Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal, author of *Instructive Truth* (*Upatēca uṇmai*), were carried out by Gurunatha Baktar along with Kumbalinga Acharya of Mylapore at the location of the auspicious Vedashreni.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ For a brief summary of the function of these tumuli among Tamil Siddha milieus, see Chapter Three.

⁶⁶ T2, 3. Tam.: “*intutēca taṭcaṇa kāṇṭattil, toṇṭayāṇ cakkiravarttiyīṇ toṇṭamā nakarattil, ceṇṇaipuriyil, taṇattil, tēvālaya jīrṇōttāraṇa paṇiyil, kalviyil, cirēṣaṭarāy viḷaṅkiya kurukula tilakarākiya kurunāta paktarrām*

We know from the Ur-account that his parents were Śaiva and of Brahmin caste, so if he were a Tamil Brahmin or “TamBram” then he would have likely belonged to either the Iyer or Gurukkaḷ community. However, the Ur-account’s reference to the Deccan (“Dakkan”) could imply that his parents were instead of Telugu Niyogi or Maratha Deshastha descent,⁶⁷ and I have also conducted an interview with a devotee who claimed he was from a Naidu family.⁶⁸ This assertion is somewhat strengthened by the fact that Sabhapati in his youth was known to have had a command over four other languages in addition to Tamil and English, which could mean that his parents likely spoke different languages at home. He also was later keen to produce Telugu and Marathi translations of his work, although this could have been a response to the demands of his students. While his parents were Brahmins, it is notable that Sabhapati’s compositions reflect a general disdain for caste distinctions, are explicitly intended for “his male and female students of [any of] the four castes,”⁶⁹ and his works only ever mention his Brahmin heritage in passing, if at all. This attitude likely is at least partially informed by his parents’ support for Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal, who preached a more egalitarian message in line with the tradition of his Tamil Vīraśaiva guru-line (see below and Chapter Three).

As for Sabhapati’s childhood, both accounts agree, as is typical of biographies of religiously charismatic personalities, that he was a saintly child. While T2 focuses on his virtue and service, the author of the Ur-account notes his “precocious intellect” and “well-

pati:kkum, puṇṇiyavati eṇnum cati:kkum kurunāta pakttarāl tiruvēta cirēṇi kṣēttirattirākāka, tirumayilai kumpaliṅka ācāriyaik koṇṇu, kurunāta pakttarin kuruvākiya (upatēcavunmai) cāsttirakarttā vētacirēṇi citampara svāmikaḷiṅ ākṅāpirakāram.”

⁶⁷ For these categories and their relation to Brahman identity in Tamil Nadu, see C. J. Fuller and Haripriya Narasimhan, *Tamil Brahmins: The Making of a Middle-Class Caste* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), esp. 62–65.

⁶⁸ Hariharan Cuvāmikaḷ, Interview, August 12, 2018.

⁶⁹ MCVTS, [19]. Tam. “*taṇatu caturvarṇa stirīpuruṣa ciṣyarkaḷukku.*”

regulated imagination,” and that he had the reputation of a poet and musician, earning the title “Arootpa moorti” (Tam. *aruṭpā* [*aruḷ* + *pā*] *mūrtti*, “embodiment of sacred verse”) among his peers.⁷⁰

The Ur-account gives the important historical detail that he was educated at Free Church Mission School, a Scottish Protestant missionary school headed by John Anderson (1805–1855) and Robert Johnston (1807–1853).⁷¹ This is confirmed by T2, which notes that by age twenty he “had read the whole Bible and had examined the truth of the Christian religion,”⁷² undoubtedly a reference to his time at Free Church Mission School. The School was first opened in April 1837 as the Madras General Assembly’s School after two Scottish chaplains, who two years prior had founded a school named St Andrew’s School, handed control over of it to John Anderson with the intent to turn it into a reputable educational institution along the lines of what Alexander Duff (1806–1878) had formed in Calcutta.⁷³ Anderson’s involvement is historically important since, as one of his peers who witnessed the first ten years of the school’s development wrote, he “was the first missionary in South India who had made the *English* language the chief medium of his instruction, and who had from the first mainly directed his efforts to the evangelization of the *higher* classes of the Hindu community”⁷⁴ (emphasis as in original). As a result, I would argue that Sabhapati’s interest in publishing his lectures in English a few decades later, thus transforming his system of Rājayoga from a local Tamil into a translocal English phenomenon, is at least partially

⁷⁰ VRY, i. This could also imply he was skilled in the tradition of songs known as the “Arutpas” of Chidambaram Ramalinga Swamigal.

⁷¹ Rev. John Braidwood, *True Yoke-Fellows in the Mission Field: The Life and Labours of the Rev. John Anderson and the Rev. Robert Johnston, Traced in the Rise and Development of the Madras Free Church Mission* (London: James Nisbet, 1862).

⁷² T2, 3–4. Tam.: “(20) *vayatukkuḷ inkiḷiṣil purōpacarāy, paipil muḷutum vācittu kirustumatavuṇmai ārāyntum.*”

⁷³ Braidwood, *True Yoke-Fellows in the Mission Field*, 59.

⁷⁴ Colonel M.J. Rowlandson, quoted in Braidwood, *True Yoke-Fellows in the Mission Field*, 558.

informed by Anderson's pioneering emphasis on the English language as a viable medium of instruction in India.

Madras General Assembly's School was opened just six years before the Disruption of 1843, which saw a Scottish "Free Church" separate from the official Church of Scotland, hence the different name of the school given in the Ur-account, which reflects the ecclesiastical situation after 1843. The main building of the school originally was located on Armenian Street in the "Black Town" area of Madras. Later it shifted to the Esplanade (now NSC Bose Road, near the Madras High Court), and the original church associated with the school still remains.⁷⁵ It is not known when Sabhapati joined the school since no records survive of his enrolment, but if we accept the dating of T2 then he must have joined sometime in the eleven years prior to 1848 and would have figured among one of its first cohorts of students.

The school's explicit object, as stated in its prospectus first published on the eve of the school's opening in 1837, was to "convey through the channel of a good education as great an amount of truth as possible to the Native mind, especially of Bible truth."⁷⁶ It appears that Sabhapati was a direct recipient of the school's emphasis on Biblical literacy, which greatly contributed to his command, if limited, of the English language. At the same time, missionary records of the time, such as Anderson's contemporary John Braidwood's account of the school's origin, depict tensions on the one hand with the local Brahmin community in Madras, many of whom desired the educational opportunities afforded by the school but often clashed with the school's ultimate mission to convert Hindu and Muslim

⁷⁵ Today the school has been reconstituted as Madurai Christian College (MCC) and is one of the more prestigious colleges in the city, being especially known for its historical commitment to female education.

⁷⁶ Braidwood, *True Yoke-Fellows in the Mission Field*, 61.

children by baptizing them to Protestant Christianity,⁷⁷ and on the other hand Roman Catholic missionaries who were considered rivals and whose beliefs Braidwood sourly dismissed as “Popery.”⁷⁸ As a result, Sabhapati’s youth was inextricably intertwined with a somewhat polarizing educational experiment during the colonial period, a chief object of which was to save him from Hindu “idolatry,” a dominant concern in the missionary literature of the period. Indeed, in Braidwood’s account alone the term “idolatry” appears no fewer than forty-six times, not as an abstract concept but as a scathing critique of the very same rites that Sabhapati would, perhaps somewhat ironically, whole-heartedly embrace in subsequent years and even publish instructions on.

C. A Quest for Religious Truth

From 1848 to 1853, or age twenty to twenty-five, we find that Sabhapati was working at a “big job” (Tam. *periya uttiyōkam*), which may be the same “Government employment” that the Ur-account mentions he “easily obtained” a few years later. He also was married around this period to the daughter of a textile merchant, and the Ur-account indicates that he already had two sons by age twenty-nine,⁷⁹ meaning they were born sometime before the year 1858. No names or other further biographical details are given about his wife or two sons in the Ur-account, and T2 omits any mention of his wife and children altogether; T1 does mention his father-in-law, however.

The Ur-account and T2 diverge on the timing of what follows, namely Sabhapati’s trip to Burma (modern Myanmar) with his father-in-law. The Ur-account frames the trip as

⁷⁷ Braidwood, *True Yoke-Fellows in the Mission Field*, 206–8.

⁷⁸ Braidwood, *True Yoke-Fellows in the Mission Field*, 33–34; 207; 542.

⁷⁹ Ur-account, ii.

occurring much earlier, closer to age nineteen or twenty, while the chronology of T2 clearly indicates the trip taken was at age twenty-five, upon quitting his job. The relevant passage in the Ur-account is as follows:

His great desire to learn what the religions of other people had to teach, caused him to travel to Burmah. He lived there with his father-in-law who carried on a great merchandise. Here he learned from the Poongees (the Buddhist priests) the doctrines of their renowned Teacher. He stayed there for about a year.⁸⁰

This should be compared with T2, which reads as follows (translated from Tamil):

He investigated the truth of the Buddhist religion while carrying on a large business, by means of spiritual company [Mpv1. *catcaṅkam*, < Skt. *satsaṅga*] with exquisite Burmese monks and the use of the Pali language. Realizing that the Buddhist religion, Hindu religion, and Vedānta are one and the same, he was disenchanted with this business and renounced it as illusory.⁸¹

From the Ur-account and T1 we learn that the “large business” was conducted with his father-in-law and that he stayed there about a year, both details of which are omitted in T2.

Likewise, we learn from T2 that Sabhapati was aware of the existence of Pali and also that, curiously enough, Hinduism and Vedānta could be considered as separable religions at that time. Both accounts mention his interactions with Buddhist monks (“Poongees,” or Tam. *poṅkikaḷ*, plural of *poṅki* in T2, probably a rendering of *phun: kri*, a Burmese word for monk). When faced with these divergences, I take T1 and T2 to be more trustworthy—especially for chronology—on account of their increased attention to the details surrounding

⁸⁰ Ur-account, i.

⁸¹ T2, 4. Tam.: “*piṅpu atai viṭṭu viṭṭu raṅkōṅkukkuṁ pōy pāriyavartakaṅceyukkoṅṭuṁ pavattamata uṅmaiyaḷ yariya parmātēca poṅkikaḷ catcaṅkattāl pālīpāṣaiyiṅāl ārāyntu pavuttamatamum intumata vētāntamum oṅṅeratterintukkoṅṭuṁ, inta vartakam māyayil viratticeykinṅratenru veruttu.*”

Sabhapati's birth and parentage as well as his first guru in the environs of Madras. At the same time, the above example illustrates that the Ur-account also contains useful details, such as the role of his father-in-law in the business, and in many instances appears more grounded in Sabhapati's daily experiences.

If we accept that Sabhapati stayed in Burma for one year, from 1853 to 1854, then T2 contains the following critical piece of information (translated from Tamil) for understanding Sabhapati's subsequent relationship with his first guru and the wider context for his philosophy:

Leaving that business and returning to Chennai, he sustained himself by his ancestral property and special goods and, becoming the student of Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal, the author of the guru-sayings called *Instructive Truth* [*Upatēca uṇmai*], he obtained through him the knowledge of the principles of all scriptures.⁸²

I have concluded with certainty that Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal is none other than Chidambara Periya Swamigal (Citampara Periya Cuvāmikaḷ), whose tumulus is still present in Velachery alongside a thriving temple that contains sculpted images or idols (Mpvḷ. *silaikaḷ*, < Skt. *śilā*) of the Tamil Siddhas (Cittarkaḷ). The main proof for this conclusion is the mention of Chidambara as the author of *Upatēca uṇmai*, or “*Instructive Truth*,” a collection of Tamil sayings on Vedānta and Yoga published at least as early as 1881 and still in print today.⁸³ Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal is sometimes confused in library records with another person, Thiruporur Chidambara Swamigal (Tiruppōrūr Citambara Cuvāmikaḷ),

⁸² T2, 4. Tam.: “*avvarttakattai nīkki ceṇṇaipurikku vantu taṅ piturārjita vicēṣa cottāl jīvittuk koṇṭum taṅ kuruvākiya upatēcavuṇmai cāstira karttāvētas cirēṇi citampara svāmikaḷukku ciṣyarāy avariṭam carva cāstira tatatuvakiñāṇamaṭaintu*”.

⁸³ Citampara Cuvāmikaḷ, *Upatēcavuṇmai*, ed. Cīnkāravēlu Piḷḷai (Koṇṇūr: Maṇōṇmaṇivilācavaccukkūṭam of Māṇikka Mutaliyār, 1881). The current version in print and still circulating at his tumulus in Velachery is Citampara Periya Cuvāmikaḷ, *Upatēca uṇmai, viḷakka uraiyuṭaṅ* (Vēḷaccēri, Chennai, India: Vēḷaccēri Makāṇ Patippakam, 2014).

but they are different individuals who nevertheless are part of the same line; beyond the later date of the former, a key distinction is that Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal, and not Thiruporur Chidambara Swamigal, authored *Upatēca uṇmai* despite the fact that the work is sometimes erroneously attributed to the latter in library catalogues. Using inscriptional evidence at both the shrines of Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal and his guru Kuzhandaivel Swamigal (Kuḷantaivēl Cuvāmikal) in Velachery and Mylapore, respectively, as well as lists given in relevant published works, I have also been able to trace Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal’s line well beyond Thiruporur Chidambara Swamigal, back to the ca. seventeenth-century CE Vīraśaiva authors Kumara Devar (Kumāratēvar) and his guru Perur Santhalinga Swamigal (Pērūr Cāntaliṅka Cuvāmikal),⁸⁴ the implications of which I will fully treat in Chapter Three. Sabhapati would have known of Vedashreni Chidambara since childhood from his father’s service as per T1 and T2, but by the time of their meeting Vedashreni Chidambara would have been nearing the end of his life, since his date of apotheosis or death is clearly dated to December 24, 1858.⁸⁵

Either just before or after Chidambara’s death, Sabhapati next left Madras for the predominantly Islamic *maraiikkāyar* (Tam. “kings of the boat”) port city of Nagore near Nagapattinam (Nākappaṭṭiṇam), where he interacted with fakirs at the ca. sixteenth-century Dargah of the late fifteenth- to sixteenth-century Sufi elder Shah al-Hamid Naguri (Shāh al-Ḥamīd Nagurī), who may have been a thirteenth-generation descendant of Abdul Qadir Gilani (‘Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī), to whom the founding of the Qadiriyya Sufi order (Arabic

⁸⁴ For the relevance of these figures in Tamil Vīraśaiva literature see Eric Steinschneider, “Beyond the Warring Sects: Universalism, Dissent, and Canon in Tamil Śaivism, ca. 1675–1994” (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2016), 20–21. I am very grateful to Eric for taking the time to personally share with me his insight and perspective on these figures over the phone.

⁸⁵ Inscription at Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal’s tumulus, photographed by Keith E. Cantú.

tarīqa) is attributed.⁸⁶ As Narayanan points out in her ethnographic chapter on votive offerings at this shrine, not only Muslims but also “Hindus of all castes in Tamil Nadu frequent the *dargah* in Nagore as they do many other Muslim shrines,” attesting to its role in a kind of unique syncretic Tamil religious milieu.⁸⁷ The Ur-account’s mention of his visit is sparse, only noting that “he went to the temple of Nagoor Masthan in Nagapatam and gained the truths of Moslem faith from the well-known and learned fakirs of the place.” T1 also mentions this event, noting the place’s connection to fakirs (Tam. *pakkīr*). T2’s mention of this is also brief but adds a few other details (translated from Tamil):

He desired after this unity to understand the truth of Muhammad, and for this visited the shrine [*samādhi*] of Nagur Mira Sayappu Andavar [Shah al-Hamid Naguri].

There, having spiritual company with the people of the Islamic religion, he learned the truths of Muhammad and the Qur’an.⁸⁸

Shah al-Hamid Naguri’s hagiographical literature records that he became a close student of the Shattārī adept Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliyari (Muḥammad Ghawth Gwāliyārī, d. 1563), which is relevant for the connection of this shrine to yoga, a topic on which Sabhapati would of course later become known. This is the same Muhammad Ghaus who translated and expanded the Persian *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt* (“Ocean of Life”) from an Arabic translation of a supposed pre-existent Sanskrit text entitled *Amṛtakunḍa*.⁸⁹ Given the special emphasis on

⁸⁶ Vasudha Narayanan, “Religious Vows at the Shrine of Shahul Hamid,” in *Dealing with Deities: The Ritual Vow in South Asia* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), 67; cf. Susan Bayly, *Saints Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society 1700–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 91–92.

⁸⁷ Narayanan, “Religious Vows,” 67; 80–84.

⁸⁸ T2, 4. Tam.: “*avar aikkiyamāṇa pīraku makamat unṁmaiyai ariyavēṅtumenru nākūr mīrā cāyappu āṅṅavar camātikkucceṅru aṅku makumat matastāṅkaḷōṭu catcaṅkam ceytu makamat kurāṅ unmaikaḷai aṅintu . . .*”

⁸⁹ For more on this text see Carl Ernst, “The Islamization of Yoga in the Amṛtakunḍa Translations,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 13, no. 2 (2003): 199–226; and “Situating Sufism and Yoga,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Third Series* 15, no. 1 (April 2005): 15–33.

yogic practice among Shattārī fakirs, it is therefore possible that Sabhapati may have discussed some methods on yoga during his stay at the Nagore Dargah, although this is difficult to conclusively determine from his works. In any event, an account of the Carnatic nawab Azam Jah Walajah IV (A’zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, 1797–1825), who visited Nagore in 1823, three decades prior to Sabhapati, does record the presence of a fakir “of the *malang* order”⁹⁰ and also provides evidence for a Shattari presence in Tamil Nadu.⁹¹

T2 does not state when exactly Sabhapati returned to Madras from Nagapattinam, but if we accept the length of time given in the Ur-account then the trip would have lasted about two years. In any event, T2 notes that upon his return he solidified his ties to Hinduism, and we learn that he subsequently “performed the worship of the Lord of the Dance [Naṭēcar] as the Lord of the Universe [Carvēsvarar] in mental meditation, together with severe austerities (Mṣvl. *akōra tapam*, < Skt. *aghora tapas*).”⁹² The Ur-account omits this explicit reference to transgressive Śaiva religious practice, only noting that, despite these experiences of other religions, his “mind was not at ease” and that he was still “far from obtaining the true Spirituality (Skt. *brahmajñāna*).”⁹³ As noted earlier, the chronologies of the three accounts diverge in the order of his journeys up to his thirtieth year, but both the Ur-account and T2

⁹⁰ Ghulām ‘Abdu’l-Qādir Nāzir, *Bahār-i-a’zam Jāhī*, trans. S. Muhammad Husayn (Madras: University of Madras, 1950), 29. The term *malang* “robust” may reveal an association with the Madari *tariqa*, but in South Asian Islamic sources it can also refer to any non-aligned cannabis-imbibing ascetic who acts on the margins of normative society; cf. Ja’far Sharīf, *Islam in India or the Qānūn-i-Islām*, trans. G.A. Herklots (Oxford University Press, 1921), 290. I visited this dargah in the summer of 2015, spent the night with a cannabis-imbibing fakir at the site, and collected some literature there for further analysis.

⁹¹ For example, the Nāzir account states that Shah Rahmatullah, a descendent of Muhammad Ghawth’s brother and one of his four *khalifas*, Hazrat Shah Phul Shattari [Shaikh Phul or Shaikh Buhlul], received an endowment village (*in’ām*) of Samiwaram (modern Samayapuram, not far from Thiruchirappalli).

⁹² T2, 4: “. . . carvēsvararākiya naṭēcar upācaṇai māṇacēka tiyānattil akōra tapam ceytukoṇṭum . . .” The adjective *aghora* literally could be translated as “non-terrific” (privy *a*-suffix + *ghora*, “frightful,” “sublime,” “terrible”), however at least by the time of Sabhapati’s nineteenth-century Tamil *akōram* came to mean “vehemence,” “severity,” often with a connotation of heat. See Johann Philipp Fabricius, *J. P. Fabricius’s Tamil and English Dictionary*, Fourth Edition (Tranquebar, Tamil Nadu, India: Evangelical Lutheran Mission Pub. House, 1972), s.v. *akōram*.

⁹³ Sabhāpati Svāmī, CPSPS, 2.

agree that all of these experiences led to a turning point for Sabhapati and that he earnestly took up the study of Hindu scriptures. T2 frames this as follows (translated from Tamil):

After obtaining the knowledge of the Four Vedas, the Seven Scriptures, the Sixty-Four Arts, and the knowledge of all the Upaniṣads and the Gita, he considered the world's Christian religion, Buddhist religion, and Islamic religion and, moreover, these religions' entire mysteries, truths, discourses, rites, and experiences, to be pieces of the Hindu religion. He therefore felt that evidently the Hindu religion is the father-religion of the world, and the Sanskrit language of the Hindu Vedas is the mother-tongue of the world.⁹⁴

I would argue that this passage is critical since it reveals that Sabhapati's religious belief as to the truth of the "Hindu religion" was explicitly tied to his perception of the linguistic origins of Sanskrit, however erroneous such a view may be in the light of contemporary linguistics. It is not that other religions are false *per se*, it is that they were pieces of Hinduism that have splintered off over time, and Sanskrit therefore represents a level of linguistic purity before such a splintering occurred: the language prior to the figurative Tower of Babel, to borrow a similar metaphor from the Bible. This position of course denies independent origination and seems eerily reminiscent of Perennialism, or even "Theosophical Orientalism"⁹⁵ if the latter were to have instead been delineated on exclusively Hindu lines

⁹⁴ T2, 4: "*piṇṇum ceṇṇai purikku vantu carvēsvararākiya naṭēcar upācaṇai māṇacēka tiyāṇattil akōra tapam ceytukoṇṭum, caturvēta, ṣaṭ cāstira 64 kalaikkiṇāṇa carva upaniṣatam kītaikaḷiṇ kiṇāṇamaṭaintu, inta ulakattiṇ kirusttumatam pavutta matam, makamat mataṅkaḷākiya inta mataṅkaḷukku mēlāka cakala rahasyaṅkaḷaiyum, uṅmaikaḷaiyum vicāraṅkaḷaiyum cātaṅkaḷaiyum aṅupavaṅkaḷaiyum uṭaiyatu inta intumatam ākaiyāl intumatam jekat pitā matamāyum intuvēta camuskiruta pāṣai jekat mātā pāṣaiyāyum viḷaṅkukinratēru uṅarntaṅar.*"

⁹⁵ For the nuances of this phrase and its coinage see Karl Baier, "Theosophical Orientalism and the Structures of Intercultural Transfer: Annotations on the Appropriations of the Cakras in Early Theosophy," in *Theosophical Appropriations: Esotericism, Kabbalah and the Transformation of Traditions*, ed. Julie Chajes and Boaz Huss (Be'er Sheva, Israel: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2016), 309–54. For a much more critical

rather than a selective mixture of Hindu and Buddhist doctrines. In any event, as we will see below and in Chapter Four, Sabhapati did not join the Theosophical Society and continued to emphasize methods to cultivate an experience of what is only written about in the Hindu scriptures mentioned in the quote above.

D. A Visionary Experience in Velachery

By the age of twenty-eight (the year 1856–1857), we learn that Sabhapati was longing for more than just a theoretical knowledge of the scriptures he was consulting. He craved experience, and this preoccupation with obtaining experience and exercising one’s faculties (Skt. *anubhava*) would continue to pervade his entire literary corpus. I would argue that it is precisely this emphasis on cultivating religious experience that attracted occultists to his work both during and after his lifetime (see Chapter Seven). T2 frames this as a distinction he made between mediated gnosis (Skt. *parokṣajñāna*, lit. “invisible knowledge”) and gnosis that is not mediated, i.e. unmediated or direct gnosis (Skt. *aparokṣajñāna*). Sabhapati’s mental suffering is framed in the first person as follows (translated from Tamil):

Even if I have obtained through the guru the knowledge and examination of the knowledge of teaching, the knowledge of simplicity, the knowledge of time, the knowledge of dispassion, I have not obtained this gnosis through exercise and ritual, which are permanent gnoses since they are the experience of what is manifest. What

analysis of Theosophical Orientalism see Christopher Partridge, “Lost Horizon H.P. Blavatsky and Theosophical Orientalism,” in *Handbook of the Theosophical Current*, ed. Olav Hammer and Mikael Rothstein (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 309–33.

will I do? I therefore desire to become liberated while alive (Skt. *jīvanmukta*), which is the highest gnosis of Brahman.”⁹⁶

The Ur-account similarly frames this in English as his longing for “face to face communion with God,” and that “books could not teach him this knowledge.”⁹⁷

“Communion” is the most common translation for *samādhi* (lit. “composition”) in Sabhapati’s English works, which is a technical term that was translated by Eliade in his classic work as “stasis” or “enstatic experience” (as rendered into English from the original French) in the context of his own overarching theory of “reintegration” and interpretations of Pātañjalayoga.⁹⁸ *Samādhi* is of course a technical experience that is believed to be achieved through yogic meditation, being one of the eight “auxiliaries” (Skt. *aṅgas*) of Pātañjalayoga. While Sabhapati appears to be familiar with Patañjali’s work, however, his idea of Śiva’s Rājayoga, which is defined as *niṣṭhā samādhi* (lit. “a fixed state of composition”), reflects a Tamil Vīraśaiva synthesis of not just Vedānta but also Saiddhāntika sources (see Chapter Three). Sabhapati’s works in English, edited by Shrish Chandra Basu, almost unilaterally paint him as a Vedāntin, hence the English translation “communion,” but at the same time his vernacular works also frame this experience in Saiddhāntika terminology that provide evidence that Sabhapati himself had an idea of *samādhi* that was more polyvalent than the Vedānta-inflected translation “communion” allows for (see Chapter Four). T2 in any case also presents other related goals, such as the experience of unmediated gnosis as mentioned above, a desire for liberation (Mpv1. *mūmkṣutva*, < Skt. *mumukṣutva*), as well as attaining a

⁹⁶ T2, 4: “*nāṅ aṭainta vicāraṅakkiñāṅamākiya cāṅkiya parōkṣakkiñāṅattāl kuruviniṭam vicāraṅaikkiyāṅam kirahitakyāṅam, teḷivukkiyāṅam, yukakkiyāṅam niṣcamisciyyakkiyāṅam ya{m}aintēṅeyāṅri aṅupava aparōkṣa stīrakkiyāṅamākiya cāṭaṅā aṅupava kiñāṅam yaṭaintilēṅē eṅ ceyvēṅ evvaṅṅamucup pirammakkiyāṅiyāy jīvaṅ muktaṅ ākavēṅṅum . . .*”

⁹⁷ Ur-account, ii.

⁹⁸ Mircea Eliade, *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*, trans. Willard Trask (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), 69–70; 76.

stage (MpvI. *pātam*, < Skt. *pāda*, lit. “the feet” taken plurally) of “the Śakti who burns away the three impurities or *malas*” (Tam. *mūmmala paripākacattiṇi pātam*). This latter stage appears to be a relatively obscure reference to a supposed “fifth” stage presented in the medieval text *Tirumantiram*, attributed to Tirumular, which exceeds the traditional four stages (MpvI. *cariyai, kiriyai, yōkam*, and *ñāṇam*; < Skt. *caryā, kriyā, yoga*, and *jñāna*).⁹⁹ Regardless of the precise terminology used for Sabhapati’s motivation and experience, T2 notes that Sabhapati at this stage began praying to and mentally meditating upon the Lord of All (MpvI. *Carvasvarar*, < Skt. *Sarveśvara*), also mentioned in T1, whom the Ur-account glosses as “Infinite Spirit” but whom T2 more directly indicates is a form of Śiva.

Either in his twenty-ninth (Ur-account) or thirtieth year (T2), that is, in either 1857 or 1858, the accounts agree that Sabhapati had a vision-like dream. While this dream marks the beginning of Sabhapati’s experiences that must ultimately be considered as “hagiographical,” that is, unverifiable to an empirical historian of religions, its impact was such that it greatly altered Sabhapati’s life.¹⁰⁰ I therefore will suspend judgment and consider this experience as well as those that follow as if they did really happen in Sabhapati’s world, even if ultimately they were only “real” in his subjective experience, were simply the expressions of hagiographical myth that conceals a greater truth, and/or—on the extreme end of cynicism—were merely a literary device designed to generate social capital or religious devotion by means of literary narrative. Added to these considerations, however, is also a question of

⁹⁹ For a summary of and the problems with dating this text see Richard S. Weiss, *Recipes for Immortality: Medicine, Religion, and Community in South India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 57–62; for a reference to these four stages see *Ibid.*, 212, n81. See also Chapter Four.

¹⁰⁰ Similar visionary experiences of initiation surround the legends of Tirumalai Krishnamacharya (1888–1989); see David Gordon White, *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 197–201; cf. Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 175–90. Sabhapati’s student Om Prakash Swamigal also was visited in a dream, which may point to this being a South Indian yogic episteme.

social verifiability, in that many readers in colonial-era Madras would have been at least marginally familiar with the temple in which his subsequent vision occurred, as it is a physical location, and could have visited to inquire about these kinds of experiences. Furthermore, at least some of his students would have resonated with the experiences in question and would have believed them to be within the realm of possibility, at least for a yogi if not the general public at large. In any event, suspending truth claims for the time being, I will now proceed to delineate its description in each of the two accounts in order to describe the social conditions of this experience in a relatively systematic way.

Both accounts divide this experience into two parts, of which the first is a dream that Sabhapati had while sleeping, that is, neither while meditating nor in a waking state. In the Ur-account this dream is characterized by the “Infinite Spirit”—in Sabhapati’s English works always a translation of Brahman—expressing a kind of pantheistic monism: “I the Infinite Spirit am in all creations, and all creations are in me. You are not separate from me, neither is any soul distinct from me.”¹⁰¹ The account then continues with the Infinite Spirit bidding him to go to the “Agastiya Ashrum” (Agastyāśrama), where he would be found in the “shape of Rishees and Yogis.”¹⁰² The reference to this visionary experience in T1 and T2 corroborates the Ur-account, but we encounter Śiva as the “Lord of All” (Carvesvara, < Skt. *sarveśvara*) and the Lord of the Dance (Naṭēcāmūrṭti) instead of the Infinite Spirit, as follows (translated from Tamil):

At the age of thirty, one day at midnight the Lord of All appeared in his dream and said: “O crest-jewel among devotees, since I have called you out as my messenger, I will give you the name Azhaitthat Kondamurtthy [Tam. *alaittāṭkoṇṭamūrṭti*]. I honor

¹⁰¹ Ur-account, ii.

¹⁰² Ibid.

your adherence to devotion (Skt. *bhakti*). You, becoming free, will receive liberation (Skt. *mukti*) on the southern Kailasa mountain called Agastya-chala (“Mount Agastya”), through the discipline of an experienced guru. After going to him and revering him, remain in hiding and study with him in your dreams and while being awake.¹⁰³

T1 and T2 furthermore emphasize the role of Sabhapati’s first guru, the aforementioned Vedashreni Chidambara (Periya) Swamigal. T2 even introduces a lengthy paragraph writing about his mother Punyavathi’s acceptance of her son’s renunciation (Skt. *sannyāsa*) that is worth quoting in full (translated from Tamil):

His vision of engaging the Lord in a dream was made known to his mother Punyavathi while paying obeisance to her. That mother, being submerged in ecstasy and the bliss of Brahman by means of the gnosis of Brahman, said: “O my son, from the day you were incarnated in my womb, you were highly fortunate to not desire to be ensnared in illusion (Skt. *māyā*). Today you have received renunciation (Skt. *sannyāsatva*), as one who is liberated by the gnosis of Brahman and as one who is the path to receiving liberation, and your soul (Skt. *ātman*)¹⁰⁴ is the same as my soul by virtue of becoming the gnosis of Brahman. We will see each other there. Take your leave from me and go to your guru.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ T2, 4–5: “*taṅ (30-vatu[)] vaṃyātākīya or tiṅ irāttiri uccikālattil taṅ corpaṅattil carvēcuvarar tōṅṅri o pakta cirōṅmaṅiyē uṅṅai yaḷaittātkoḷḷa vantapaṅiyāl uṅakku (yaḷaittātkoṅṅamūrtti) eṅṅum nāmamiṅṅē, uṅ paktikkirakkamullēṅ, nī muktaṅāki muktipeṅa akastiyācala takṣaṅakailāsa parvatattil uṅakkaṅupava kuruvai niyamittē {a}variṅṅai cellēṅat tiruvāy malarntaruḷi maraintaṅar appoḷuta corapaṅāvastaipōy jākkirāvastaiyaṅaintu caravapraka.*”

¹⁰⁴ I have translated *ātman* as “soul” rather than “self” as per Sabhapati’s own usage in his English works. See the Introduction and Chapter Two for notes on translation.

¹⁰⁵ T2, 5: “*taṅ māṅvākiya puṅṅiyavaiyai namaskarittu taṅ corpaṅattilīcuvaraṅṅukkirahitta kākṣiyait terivikka anta māṅ pīrṅma kṅāṅiyākaiyāl prahamāṅanta paravacattil mūḷki o puttirā nī avataritta eṅke:ṅppamiṅṅē kirutārttamāyirru nī māyayir cikkavēṅṅām, iṅṅē caṅṅiyācittuvampeṅru prahammakṅāṅi muktaṅāy muktipeṅakkaṅavāy, uṅṅātmamumeṅṅātmamum orē pīrammakṅāṅamākaiyāl, aṅkiruvarun taricittukoḷvōm nī eṅṅittattu viṅaipeṅru ku:ruviṅṅai cellēṅa . . .*”

The role of Sabhapati's mother's acceptance of his renunciation in T2 contrasts sharply with the mention of him suddenly leaving his wife and two sons in the Ur-account, although both accounts otherwise read somewhat similarly.

All three accounts go on to tell us that Sabhapati, filled with "Divine ecstasy," went directly to the Sacred Place (Skt. *sthala*) of Vedashreni Swayambhu (Vedaśreṇi Svayambhū, "The Self-Manifest [Linga] in the Abode of the Vedas"). Evidence in T2 (see below) confirms that this is none other than Dandeeswarar Vedashreni Temple (Taṇṭīsvārar Vētacirēṇi Kōvil), a once-rural temple now located just outside the sprawling campus of the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) and around the corner from Phoenix Mall, one of the largest shopping malls in Chennai. The temple, also called Sri Dhandapani Eswaraswamy Temple, is considered a "Swayambhu" or self-manifesting phallic stone of Shiva, the presiding deity is Shiva as the Lord of the Dance (Śrī Naṭarājar), and there is a documented legend of Thirugnana Sambandar (Tiruñāṇa Cambantar) of the sixty-three Nayanars (Nāyaṇmārkaḷ) having visited the site.¹⁰⁶

In this temple Sabhapati obtained the second part of the experience following the dream, which this time is not framed as a dream but as a vision that Sabhapati obtained after three days and nights in continual meditation (Skt. *dhyāna*). According to the Ur-account, after he "sat before the Mahadeva for three days and three nights immersed in deep contemplation," on the third night he had a vision ("darshonum," < Mpv. *taricaṇam* < Skt. *darśana*) of Mahadeva (Mahādeva), who expressed to him certain mysteries of Shiva's "phallic stone" (Mpv. *liṅkam*, < Skt. *liṅga*) as follows: "Consider the Lingam to be nothing more than my Universal Infinite Spiritual Circle or Brahmasarōopa [Skt. *brahmasvarūpa*,

¹⁰⁶ P.K. Nambiar and N. Krishnamurthy, *Census of India 1961 Volume IX, Madras, Part XI-D: Temples of Madras State, 1. Chingleput District and Madras City* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1965), 74.

attire of renunciation, formally breaking his ties with familial life. Second, we get confirmation that he not only considered Vedashreni to be his birthplace but also to be both his own and his clan’s spiritual home. Finally, we learn that he met with his guru Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal and, if T1 and T2 are accurate on this point as we have no compelling reason to doubt, this meeting would have been just prior to the guru’s death in 1858, as confirmed by both inscriptional and published evidence.¹⁰⁹

As noted above, in the vision above the Lord of All had communicated to Sabhapati his desire for him to travel to the hermitage (Skt. *āśrāma*) of Agastya. But, as T2 notes, his first instruction was to “Recite your composition of a Garland as a Hymn of Mercy at all sacred places.” Accordingly, we next learn from T2 (omitted in the Ur-account) that “he went to all the sacred places in the lands of the Thondaman (Toṇṭa), Chola (Cōla), Kongu (Koṅku), Pandya (Pāṇṭiyan), and Chera (Cēra)”¹¹⁰ to recite this “Garland Hymn of Mercy.”¹¹¹ After Sabhapati performed this pan-Tamilian circuit through the various regions attributed to the above ancient and medieval South Indian empires, which may have been a flourish added by Shivajnanaprakash Yogishwara to demonstrate Sabhapati’s authority in Tamil-speaking contexts, he then headed south to seek out Agastya’s hermitage.

E. A Southbound Quest

Robert Caldwell (1814–1891) wrote in his colonial-era history of Tinnevely District (modern Tirunelveli), published a few decades after Sabhapati’s visionary experience, that there is a river in the district called the Thamirabirani (Tāmiraparaṇi) river, which “rises on a

¹⁰⁹ Inscription at Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal’s tumulus, photographed by Keith E. Cantú.

¹¹⁰ T2, 6. Tam.: “*atiṅ piṛaku toṇṭanāṭṭiṅ cōlanāṭṭiṅ koṅkunāṭṭiṅ pāṇṭiyanāṭṭiṅ cēranāṭṭiṅ stalaṅkaḷtōruṅceṅru.*”

¹¹¹ See Chapter Five for the role of music and poetry in Sabhapati’s works.

noble conical mountain called Potigai, more commonly called Potiyam, or Potiya-mā-malai, the meaning of which is probably ‘a place of concealment.’”¹¹² He separately noted that the mountain may have been known to the Greeks,¹¹³ was revered by the Pandya rulers and, at least by Caldwell’s time if not before, it had come to be known as “Agastyar’s Hill, or by the English simply ‘Agastier’ . . . ”¹¹⁴ Shu Hikosaka has argued based in part on an etymology of the mountain’s earlier name Potiyil (*bodhi + il*, “place of awakening”) that there is a clear connection between Agastya and the Buddhist figure of Avalokiteśvara as well,¹¹⁵ but this assertion has not been conclusively proven and the history of a Buddhist presence at the mountain, while certainly very likely, remains to be fully explored.¹¹⁶

Caldwell’s period descriptions of Mount Agastya and the Thamirabirani River are highly interesting for their historical references to the river in Indian and possibly even Greek sources as well, if the Solen was indeed an ancient name for this same river. His treatment is certainly dated from a scholarly perspective, and his enthusiasm to describe the nearby Thamirabirani River’s civilizational appeal to a “higher class than the rude, black aborigines” who inhabited Tinnevely in his day is, of course, quite racist.¹¹⁷ However, Caldwell’s work is important for our purposes since it is a period source, contemporary with Sabhapati’s own life, which reveals that Sabhapati would not have been wandering aimlessly in his search for Agastya’s hermitage but instead would most likely have had a specific

¹¹² Robert Caldwell, *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevely, in the Presidency of Madras, from the Earliest Period to Its Cession to the English Government in A.D. 1801* (Madras: E. Keys, at the Government Press, 1881), 6.

¹¹³ Robert Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged (London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1875), 100–101.

¹¹⁴ Caldwell, *A Political and General History*, 6.

¹¹⁵ Shu Hikosaka, “The Potiyil Mountain in Tamil Nadu and the Origin of the Avalokiteśvara Cult,” in *Buddhism in Tamil Nadu: Collected Papers* (Chennai: Institute of Asian Studies, 1998), 119–41.

¹¹⁶ For example, see the pessimism about Hikosaka’s argument in Marcus Bingenheimer, *Island of Guanyin: Mount Putuo and Its Gazetteers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

¹¹⁷ Caldwell, *A Political and General History*, 5.

destination (or destinations) in mind that by his time had already been firmly associated with the mythos of Agastya for at least a few centuries, if not earlier. The Thamirabirani River, which as Caldwell noted above has its source in Mount Agastya, played the most significant role in this mythos as it was perpetuated by the Tamil Siddhas (MpvI. *cittarkaḷ*, < Skt. *siddha*), among whom Agastya was believed to be the foremost exponent and had acquired legendary status on account of his mastery over medical and yogic arts.¹¹⁸

Today the mountain range is known as the Pothigai Malai, situated on the border of the modern states of Tamil Nadu and Kerala, geographically located to the south of the Nilgiri (Nīlakiri, “Blue Mountain”) range in the Western Ghats of South India. Just as in Caldwell’s time, the highest mountain in this range is today called Agasthya Mala (Akattiyamalai) or Agasthyarkoodam (Akastiyarkkūṭam). It is also now a popular trekking site from the Kerala side that was recently opened to women as well via a court ruling; Dhanya Sanal became the first recorded female to officially make the trek up to Agasthya Malai in 2019.¹¹⁹

The Ur-account more or less traces Sabhapati’s own route of about 150 years earlier, much of which is also confirmed elsewhere in T1 and T2, providing conclusive evidence as to the fact that the location of Agastya’s hermitage is indeed none other than the environs of Mount Agastya:

¹¹⁸ For the history of the amalgamation of various “Agastyas” in Tamil literature, see Appendix Three of Kamil Zvelebil, *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1992). For a detailed history and overview of the Siddhars, see Ramaswamy Venkatraman, *A History of the Tamil Siddha Cult* (Madurai: Ennes Publications, 1990). For a treatment of primarily their medical expertise, see Richard S. Weiss, *Recipes for Immortality*. For their connections with the wider phenomenon of “Siddhas” in Indian medieval literature, see David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

¹¹⁹ Samuel Osborne, “Woman Becomes First in India to Climb Sacred Mountain Agasthyakoodam after Ban on Females Lifted,” *Independent*, January 16, 2019, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/agasthyakoodam-climb-mountain-woman-first-india-sacred-dhanya-senal-kerala-a8731146.html>.

Entering a thick forest he crossed it and passed through Soorooli [Suruli], Alagur [Azhagar] and Sathragiri [Sathuragiri] hill, thence through Kootala [Courtallam / Kutralam] Papanashan [Papanasam] to Agustya Ashrum [Agastya Ashram].¹²⁰

These places along his way are themselves notable as all being sites historically associated with the Tamil Siddhars. Sathuragiri especially is still considered an active site for devotees interested in learning about Siddha religion, alchemy, and yoga, as attested by numerous pilgrims who flock to the site and travel guides that show where to visit.¹²¹ Courtallam is the site of a Chola- and Pandya-era scenic site called Sri Kutralanathaswamy Temple (Aruḷmiku Tirukkurrālanātacuvāmi Tirukkōyil) that is associated with a legend of Agastya changing the presiding deity by miraculous means from Vishnu (Viṣṇu) into a Shiva Lingam (Śivaliṅga).¹²² Papanasam is a naturally beautiful town along the banks of the river Thamirabirani, and its ca. thirteenth-century Sri Papavinasar Temple (Pāpavinācar Civaṅ Kōvil; commonly spelt Pāpanācanātar Koyil) is renowned for removing one's sins as the name would suggest. The temple contains a sacred tree (Mṣvl. *stlavirukṣam*, < Skt. *sthalavṛkṣa*) behind the temple and the presiding deity is a self-manifesting phallus (Skt. *svayambhū-liṅga*), which, as we saw in the previous section, played an important part in Sabhapati's initial visionary experiences in Velachery.¹²³

All of the above locations additionally contain sacred waters and/or waterfalls that are believed to bestow religio-magical properties upon those who bathe in them. This is especially true of the Thamirabirani River and its waterfalls near Courtallam (e.g. Five Falls)

¹²⁰ Ur-account, ii.

¹²¹ See, for example, Pi Cuvāminātaṅ, *Caturakiri yāttirai / Sadhuragiri yaththirai* (Chennai: Vikaṭaṅ Piracuram, 2014).

¹²² P.K. Nambiar and K.C. Narayana Kurup, *Census of India 1961 Volume IX, Madras, Part XI-D: Temples of Madras State, v Kanyakumari & Tirunelveli* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1968), 298–99.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 350.

and Papanasam (Agastya’s Falls), and it was the same, if not more so, in Sabhapati’s day. T1 also highlights the significance of these waters by mentioning Thamirabirani directly (Tam. *tāmpara paraṇi nati*).¹²⁴ Caldwell also noted this phenomenon, and emphasized that the purest water is considered to be that which is closest to the river’s source: “Every portion of the stream is sacred; but bathing at the waterfalls in the upper part of its course is supposed in these times to be specially meritorious.”¹²⁵ He goes on to cite Banatheertham (Vāṇatīrtham) and Kalayana Theertham (Kalyāṇītīrtham or Kalyāṇatīrtham) as two principle examples, both of which are in the vicinity of Papanasam and Mount Agastya as mentioned in the Ur-account.

Since I have established that Sabhapati’s destination was somewhere in the environs of Mount Agastya and at the source of the sacred Thamirabirani River, I will now turn to what the accounts themselves say about his search for the hermitage. The Ur-account does not tell us that he was searching for a monastic structure or temple building of some kind, but rather that he “searched these forests for the caves of the Rishies.”¹²⁶ This was, of course, no urban hermitage or “ashram,” such as was made possible by the institutionalization of various yoga ashrams in the twentieth century; Sabhapati was literally searching for caves. Both accounts mention dense jungle, roaming animals, and that he had to survive by foraging for fruits and edible roots. While this is stock hagiographical material, it was probably not far from the truth given that Mount Agastya even today is considered one of India’s (if not the world’s) hotspots for biodiversity and remains heavily forested with limited human presence.

¹²⁴ T1, 5.

¹²⁵ Caldwell, *A Political and General History*, 7–8.

¹²⁶ Ur-account, ii.

Both accounts agree that he was exhausted and sitting under one of the trees in the forest. T2 tells the following (translated from Tamil) of how he finally found his guru-to-be, Shivajnana Bodha Yogishwarar (Civaññābōta Yogīśvar, also Civakññāpō:ta Ruṣi,¹²⁷

“Rishi who is the Awakening of the Gnosis of Śiva”):

At that time Shivajnana Bodha Rishi, Agastya Rishi’s upright student on Mount Agastya and the twenty-fourth Gurupita, was in mystical communion (*samādhi*). He perceived the Lord of All as making known the following in the vision of his gnosis: “Oh servant of mine, your devotee Azhaitthat Konda Murthy has come. Make him to be your own student.” After knowing everything, he called and sent out for his principle student Paramaguruyogi Siddhan (Paramakuruyōki Cittaṅ). After he arrived and his fatigue was treated, he took him along to the place of the guru.¹²⁸

The Ur-account tells the story a bit differently, with Sabhapati instead having a vision that “three miles from the place where he was sitting was a Yogee raja to whom he must go and become disciple.”¹²⁹ Upon going there, Shivajnana Bodha’s “first disciple” asks Sabhapati if he is the “same person who had the vision of Mahadeva while in the temple of Vedshreni” (the same vision that was analyzed earlier in this chapter), and notes that his guru had been talking of such a person’s arrival. When taken together both accounts, while slightly divergent, do include the role of Shivajnana Bodha’s principle student Paramaguruyogi Siddhan, although he is unnamed in the Ur-account, as well as the idea that Shivajnana

¹²⁷ MCVTS often adds colons (:) between syllables. Their placement is irregular but could have been intended to indicate syllabic stress or some kind of pause. A different symbol is used to indicate the *visarga*.

¹²⁸ T2, 7: “. . . appoḷutu akastiya ruṣiyiṅ nēr ciṣyarākiya akastiyācala parvatattil (24 vatu kurupītamākiya (civakññāpō:taruṣiyiṅ camāti lakṣiyattil nāṇaṭumaikoṅṭa (aḷaittāṅkoṅṭamūrṭti) varukirāṅ avaṅai ciṣyarākkikkoḷ yēṅru carvēsvaraṅ terivikka taṅ kññāṅatiruṣṭiyil yāvum terintukoṅṭu taṅ piratama ciṣyaṅākiya (paramakuruyōkicit:ta:ṅai) yivarai yaḷaittuvarayaṅuppa, yavar vantu yivar yāyācattai tīrttu yiṭṭukkoṅṭupōy kuruviṭam viṭṭaṅar.”

¹²⁹ Ur-account, ii.

Bodha had prior knowledge of Sabhapati's arrival, either via yogic powers or from an informant. Finally, both accounts also agree on the essential point that Sabhapati here encountered his second guru, Shivajnana Bodha, and became his student in the line of Agastya.

Tracking down a physical location of the hermitage beyond the general range of Mount Agastya has proven to be fascinating, perplexing, and ultimately frustrating. The Ur-account locates Shivajnana Bodha's hermitage in a mile-long cave near Mount Agastya. This cave, if it indeed existed, is exceedingly difficult to locate, despite a map-like image provided in MCVTS that depicts the general area of Shivajnana Bodha's hermitage, possibly in the environs of the aforementioned Kalayana Theertham but certainly near a confluence of rivers. This "map," which appears to be a simplified version of another more complex map presented in CTCSPV, is actually a woodcut print depicting Shivajnana Bodha together with Agastya and Sabhapati, with his later title "Guru Father Rishi" (Gurupitā), meditating in caves (Mpv. *kukaikaḷ*, < Skt. *guhā*) at the confluence of the Thamirabirani River and two other (possibly legendary or "yogic") rivers, the Amrita River (Mpv. *amirutanati*) and the Siddhi River (Mpv. *cittinati*). These form a "triple-braided" (Skt. *triveṇī*) confluence that mirrors the famous the confluence of the Ganges, Yamuna, and (subterranean) Saraswati in present-day Prayagraj. As a result, it is not impossible that this map is also similarly intended to depict yogic physiology mapped onto a landscape, or vice-versa, such as has also been done with the mythic/yogic geography of Varanasi.¹³⁰

Exploring the area today is complicated since the entire Tamil Nadu side of the Pothigai Hills is protected by the Government of Tamil Nadu Forest Department, which

¹³⁰ White, *Alchemical Body*, 225–28.

patrols the area via the use of police volunteers and Forest Department officials. When I visited the environs of Papanasam and Kalayana Theertham in the summer of 2018, several sadhus I spoke with along the quays of the Thamirabirani River confirmed after showing them the map that in Sabhapati's day westward travel in the hill areas towards the Kerala side of Mount Agastya was unrestricted, but that today such travel is impossible given that many areas, including access to the mountain itself, are simply off-limits from the Tamil Nadu side for either ecological or safety reasons. Several dam projects were also completed in the twentieth century that have further altered the landscape, and there is even a slight chance that the cave hermitage, if it was indeed a physical spot, has since been flooded.

At the same time, I have visited a publicly accessible hermitage in Kalayana Theertham that somewhat fits the description of a cave carved out of a rock (albeit not a mile long) and could have been a potential site for Sabhapati's hermitage. This site was permanently closed with the death in 2011 of one Sadhu Srila Srikrishnaveni Amma, a devotee of Agastya and the Siddhas for several decades, and the transfer of the land she occupied over to the Forest Police via a settled court case.¹³¹ Whether that was the precise site or not, I would argue that the presence of additional cave-hermitages lurking somewhere in the mountains is not impossible. One police official I spoke with confirmed that, scattered about the area of Kalayana Theertham, a gorgeous waterfall area rich in fresh water, there are caves that yogis used to meditate inside. There are also Tamil inscriptions in the Grantha script at Kalayana Theertham that to my knowledge have not yet been deciphered and translated. Perhaps if more geographical and archaeological attention is given to this historically-important site of

¹³¹ "Sadhu Srila Srikrishnaveni Amma vs The State Rep. By Its Secretary," 18 March, 2015.

religious activity then a more likely candidate for Agastya's cave-hermitage could be discovered.¹³²

All this is further complicated by the fact that there is no corroborating proof that Sabhapati's second guru Shivajnana Bodha ever existed, and he may have himself been a semi- or wholly legendary figure like Agastya. Unlike Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal, about whom some basic information is known and can be confirmed due to secondary witness accounts as well as the continued existence of his shrine, Shivajnana Bodha's life remains almost entirely obscured in legend. His name, of course, is identical to a medieval work related to the Śaivāgamas, the ca. thirteenth-century CE *Civaññāpōtam* (< Skt. *Śivajñānabodha*) of Meikandadevar (Meykaṇṭatēvar) of Thiruvennainallur,¹³³ and there was one Shivajnana Yogi (Civaññāyōki, < Skt. *śivajñāna yogī*) of Thiruvavadutharai who wrote a commentary on this work in the eighteenth century,¹³⁴ but the precise relationship of Shivajnana Bodha with this Śaiva Saiddhāntika text, if any, remains unclear.¹³⁵ T2 gives slightly more information about him than T1 and the Ur-account, noting that he is the “twenty-fourth Guru Father” in the line of Agastya and that he considered himself to be a Mahatma who spreads “compassion (Mpv1. *kāruṇya* = Skt.) to the sentient beings of the world,” a remarkably bodhisattva-like sentiment. The other factor contributing to his legendary status is his physical longevity; by the time of Sabhapati's departure from his hermitage T2 quotes him as saying that he had been “sitting majestically” for “four hundred

¹³² It remains a point of humor that, when I was first starting to research Sabhapati, one of the only sources online for him was about Agastya really being an extra-terrestrial alien and his ashram being a point of visitation for said aliens.

¹³³ See Alexis Sanderson, “The Śaiva Literature,” *Journal of Indological Studies*, no. 24 & 25 (2012–2013) (2014): 86.

¹³⁴ J.M. Nallaswami Pillai, *Sivagnana Botham of Meikanda Deva* (Tinnevely: The South Indian Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, 1984).

¹³⁵ See Chapter Three for a more detailed analysis of this question.

and thirty-eight years,”¹³⁶ while the Ur-account mentions that the yogi was “about two hundred years old.”¹³⁷

Regardless of whether Shivajnana Bodha was a historical person or legendary mouthpiece for yogis claiming descent from Agastya’s hermitage along the Thamirabirani River, both accounts claim that Sabhapati spent either nine years (Ur-account) or twelve years (T2) with this guru engaged in yogic practice.¹³⁸ This time period is critical for the purposes of this dissertation since it is precisely when Sabhapati is mentioned as first learning the techniques that culminated in his experience of “Śiva’s Rāja Yoga” (MpvI. *civarājayōkam*, < Skt. *śivarājayoga*, see Chapter Four; T1 calls it *ñānarājayōkam*, “Rājayoga of Gnosis”), as the following excerpt of T2 (translated from Tamil) makes clear:

He was in a cave, and while eating bulbs, roots, and so on, he received all the instructions (MpvI. *upatēcaṅkaḷ*, < Skt. *upadeśa*), experienced all the rites (MpvI. *cātaṅaikaḷ*, < Skt. *sādhanā*), and obtained all experience (MpvI. *aṅupavam*, < Skt. *anubhava*). He obtained the fullness of experience in mantra, concentration (MpvI. *tāraṅā*, < Skt. *dhāraṅā*) of vigor (MpvI. *vaya* < Skt. *vayas*), and the yogas of devotion (MpvI. *paktiyōkaṅkaḷ* < Skt. *bhaktiyoga*). He obtained the power (MpvI. *citti*, < Skt. *siddhi*) and experience of all yogas by means of the binding (MpvI. *pantaṅa*, < Skt. *bandhana*) of the exhalation (MpvI. *rēcaka*, < Skt. *recaka*), inhalation (MpvI. *pūraka*, as Skt.), and retention (MpvI. *kumpaka*, < Skt. *kumbhaka*), and by the arresting (MpvI. *stampaṅa*, < Skt. *stambhana*), fixing (MpvI. *stāpaṅa*, < Skt. *sthāpaṅa*), and the six acts

¹³⁶ T2, 8. Tam.: “*inta* (438) *varuṣakālamāy vīrrirukkiṅratu*.”

¹³⁷ Ur-account, iii.

¹³⁸ A period of yogic practice or *sādhanā* lasting nine or twelve years is also common in hagiographies of other legendary yogis, such as the Nāth *yogīs* and Siddhas of Sanskrit alchemical literature; see White, *The Alchemical Body*, 295.

(Mpv. *ṣaṭkiriyaikaḷ*, < Skt. *ṣaṭkriyā*) of the foremost yogas of the breath (Mpv. *cuvācam*, < Skt. *svāsa*) and vital channel (Mpv. *vāci*, < Skt. *vāṃśi*), the life-breath (Mpv. *pirāṇam*, < Skt. *prāṇa*), the point (Mpv. *vintu*, < Skt. *vinḍu*), the sound (Mpv. *nātam*, < Skt. *nāda*), the syllable Om (Mpv. *piraṇavam*, < Skt. *praṇava*), and the digit (Mpv. *kalā*, as in Skt.). He experienced a vision of all the principles (Mpv. *tattuva taricaṇam*, < Skt. *tattva darśana*), the divine natures of visible appearance, splendor, the womb, and power and energy. Having refuted all of these through his guidance, [his] isolated non-dual self was united to Brahman by the experience of the steadfast composure in Brahman (Mpv. *pirammaniṣaṭai camātiyaṇupavam*, < Skt. *brahmaniṣṭhā samādhyānubhava*), which is the Yoga of Kings for Śiva as Brahman (Mpv. *civapiramma rājayōka*, < Skt. *śivabrahma rājayoga*). While being in the most excellent and fully-developed, unwavering, and superior composure, he said, “I am neither the gnosis of thinking or the gnosis of happiness. I possess every nature and am Brahman itself.”¹³⁹

From this we learn, therefore, that Sabhapati found what he was searching for earlier while his “mind was not at ease,” as we saw above, namely those techniques that lead to an experience of what is only hinted about in the Vedas, Upaniṣads, and other sacred texts. The balance of both accounts will subsequently go on to stress both the continued development of his abilities as well as the sharing of these abilities with his students in the role of a teacher.

¹³⁹ T2, 7. Tam.: “*avar kuhaiyilēyē, kantamūlāti pakṣṣaṇai ceytukonṭu carva upatēcaṅkaḷaipperu carva cātaṅkaḷaiyuru, carvāṇupavamaṭaintu, mantira, vaya tāraṇā, paktiyōkaṅkaḷil pūrṇāṇupavapperu cuvācam vāci, pirāṇam, vintu, nātam, piraṇavam, kalā mutaliya yōkaṅkaḷiṅ rēcaka, pūraka kumpaka paṇaṇa, stampaṇa stāpaṇa ṣaṭkiriyaikaḷal carva yōkāṇupava cittiyaṭaintu carva tattuva taricaṇam kākṣi, mākṣi, yākṣi, kuḷṣi, citti cakti mūrttikaraṅkaḷaiyaṇupavittu nayatiyāl nivāraṇaṅ ceytu kēvavāttuvaita ātma piramma aikya civapiramma rājayōka pirammaniṣaṭai camātiyaṇupavattāl cittukṅāṇiyallātacukṅāṇiyāya nāhaṅ carvam etpirakāramayam ahaṅcuvappiramam) eṇṇum cuvāṇupava variṣṭṭa pakkuvā nirvikalpa kāṣṭṭa camātiyilirukkum camayattil . . .”*

F. Sabhapati's Teaching and Pilgrimage Circuit, and a Himalayan Vision

Sabhapati stayed with Shivajnana Bodha at Agastya's hermitage for either nine years (Ur-account) or twelve years (T2) engaged in yogic practice, when the accounts agree that he left to embark on a lecture and pilgrimage circuit that lasted at least until his arrival in Lahore towards the end of 1879. That would place his departure somewhere between 1867 and 1870. T2 provides the following additional details (translated from Tamil) as to the instructions that Shivajnana Bodha gave him and, perhaps more interesting, what he was and was not permitted to share with the public:

You know six languages. I command you therefore to complete this work of helping others. However, you must not reveal our utmost secrets, the foremost among them being alchemy (Mpv. *vātam*, < Skt. *vāda*), sky-flight (Mpv. *kavuṇam*, possibly < Skt. *gagana*),¹⁴⁰ medical arts (Mpv. *kalpam*, < Skt. *kalpa*), the entrance into other bodies (Mpv. *parakāyappiravēcam*, < Skt. *parakāyapraveśa*), the magical ointment (Mpv. *añcaṇam*, < Skt. *añjana*), powers (Mpv. *sitti*, < Skt. *siddhi*), energy (Mpv. *cakti*, < Skt. *śakti*), theurgy (Mpv. *mūrttikaram*, < Skt. **mūrtikara*), increasing the life-force (Mpv. *āyurvīrutti*, < Skt. *āyurvṛddhi*), the power of the eight acts (Mpv. *aṣṭakkiriyācitti*), and the eight powers (Mpv. *aṣṭacitti*, < Skt. *aṣṭasiddhi*), to the people of the world. Instead, [you should reveal] the forms of teaching on exercises (Mpv. *aṇupavaṅkaḷ*, < Skt. *anubhava*) of devotion (Mpv. *pakti*, < Skt. *bhakti*), meditation (Mpv. *tiyāṇam*, < Skt. *dhyāna*), gnosis (Mpv. *ñāṇam*, < Skt. *jñāna*), and ritual (Mpv. *cātaṇam*, < Skt. *sādhana*), which are for the benefit of the soul, for reaching the desires

¹⁴⁰ I have translated *kavuṇam* (an alternate form of *kevuṇam*) as flight, which seems to be the connotation here; see the entry in the University of Madras Tamil Lexicon which suggests its derivation from *gagana*. Based on the term's usage in Siddha alchemical texts, it could also refer to competency in the use or purification of mica, mercury, or another similar substance.

of now and the hereafter, and for [the sake of] desirelessness. After making a new sacred text with the sequence of instructions (Mpv1. *upatēcakkiramam*, < Skt. *upadeśakrama*) and a path of initiation (Mpv1. *tīkṣāmārkkam*, < Skt. *dīkṣāmārga*), and displaying in pictures every reflection, ritual, and every exercise, you should send it to be printed. Worship rites (Mpv1. *pūjai*, < Skt. *pūjā*) are to be performed in the same way by people of every caste (Mpv1. *carvavarṇastarkaḷ*, < Skt. **sarvavarṇastha*). It is your duty to go and assist the people in this way and then return to me.¹⁴¹

Again suspending truth claims as to the validity of the above powers, I find that this passage presents a remarkable perspective that must have been more widespread during this period prior to the more or less rationalistic refashioning of modern yoga by both the Theosophical Society and Swami Vivekananda (Svāmī Vivekānanda), namely that many yogis also practiced alchemy, medicine, entrance into other people’s bodies, and even the cultivation of powers (*siddhis*), but that these were believed to be kept secret for a select few who were the most dedicated of a given hermitage.¹⁴² It also provides an example showing that the practices of mantra-based ritual, meditation, and devotion were to be freely taught to the public at large while other practices such as the above powers were considered to be valid practices at some stages of the yogic path yet were withheld from the public gaze. This is

¹⁴¹ MCVTS, 8. Tam.: “*nī āru pāśai terntavaṅ ākaiyāl nāṅ āṅṅāpikkum inta parōpakāra kiriyai muṭikkuka, āṅṅulum nammuṭaiya yatirahasyaṅkaḷākiya, vātam, ka:vuṅam, kalpam, parakāyappiravēcam, aṅcaṅam, citti, cakti, mūrttikaram, āyurvirutti aṣṭaṭakkiriyācitti aṣṭacitti mutaliyatukaḷai ulakattavarkaḷukkuṭ terivikkāmal, ātma lāpattīrkum, ihaparakāmya niṣkāmyattīrkumuriya pakti tiyāṅa ṅāṅa cātaṅāṅupavaṅkaḷai pōtaṅārūpamāyūm. upatēcakkiramamāyūm, tīkṣāmārkkamāyūm inta carva vicāraṅai, cātaṅai, yaṅupavaṅkaḷai, paṅaṅkaḷil kāṭṭi nūtaṅa cāstiraṅceytu acci{t}tukkoṭuppatāyūm, carvavarṇastarkaḷūṅ camamāy pūjai ceyvatumākiya inta parōpakāraṅtaiceyukoṅṅum eṅṅiṅam vantu koṅṅum pōykoṅṅumirukkakkaṭavāyēṅru ākṅā pittapirakāram.*”

¹⁴² See Chapter Four. For examples of these aspects of what it meant to be a “yogi,” see Somadeva Vasudeva, “Powers and Identities: Yoga Powers and the Tantric Śaiva Traditions,” in *Yoga Powers: Extraordinary Capacities Attained Through Meditation and Concentration*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 264–302 and David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

very different from the prevailing contemporary opinion that mantra-based ritual, meditation, and devotion is separate from the cultivation of such “yoga powers,” often regarded as superstition.

In any event, the Ur-account mentions that soon after his departure he published a sacred text or “science” (his translation for Skt. *śruti*) in Tamil. This original Tamil text, now apparently lost if it indeed existed, was entitled *Vēṭānta sittānta samarasa pirummakiyāṇa civarājayōka kaivalya anupūti* (< Skt. *vedānta siddhānta samarasa brahmajñāna śivarājayoga kaivalya anubhūti*, “Perception of Vedānta, Siddhānta, Samarasa, the Gnosis of Brahman, Śiva’s Rājayoga, and Isolation”).¹⁴³ The title, especially the phrase *vedānta brahmajñāna śivarājayoga anubhūti* with *siddhānta samarasa* and *kaivalya* removed, is remarkably similar to the Sanskrit titles of CPSPS (*Vedhantha Siva Raja Yoga Brumha Gnyana Anubuthi*, i.e. Skt. *vedānta brahmajñāna śivarājayoga anubhūti*) and to some extent also his Hindi work RYB (*Rājayoga brahmajñānānubhūti saṃgraha veda*). As we shall see in Chapter Two, portions of this text may have formed the basis for some of Sabhapati’s instructions in these later texts that were absent from his other published lectures. It is further interesting that “Siddhānta,” in this case almost certainly a reference to Śaiva Siddhānta, was removed from subsequent titles that only wished to stress the text’s leanings toward Vedānta. As I shall point out in Chapter Three, however, a clear innovation of Sabhapati’s thinking is that the experience of Śiva’s Rājayoga could be framed in the terminologies of both Advaita Vedānta and Siddhānta—in simple terms, to him monism and dualism were not necessarily mutually exclusive positions in the attainment of the Rājayoga for Śiva.

¹⁴³ See Chapter Three for some indications as to how these terms are intertwined in Sabhapati’s literature.

T2 records that Sabhapati at this time then travelled to “Malayali, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindustani, Bengali, Nepali, Punjabi, Rajputhani, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Multani, and Himachali lands,”¹⁴⁴ which geographically covers much of the Indian subcontinent except for parts of modern-day Assam and further northeast, Bhutan, and the Sinhalese-speaking areas of Sri Lanka. In these places he visited sacred sites to view their presiding deities (Mpv. *stalaricaṇaṅkaḷ*, < Skt. *sthaladarśana*), he bathed in rivers (Mpv. *natisṇāṇam*, < Skt. *naḍisnāna*), and went on pilgrimage to sacred sites (Mpv. *stalatīrttayāttirai*, < Skt. *sthalatīrthayātra*).¹⁴⁵ He also wrote instructions such as the above Tamil text, and others according to T2 “in the languages of Sanskrit, Urdu, Hindustani, Bengali, Telugu, Marathi, Dravidian Tamil, and English, as well as in images that depict the exercise of these rites,”¹⁴⁶ the content of which was perhaps incorporated into later works in those languages.¹⁴⁷ He likewise composed numerous poetic stanzas of praise, some of which are interspersed in both T1 and T2.

T2 even mentions a meeting in Vadalur (Vaṭalūr) with the prominent figure Chidambaram Ramalinga Swamigal (Tam.: Citampara Irāmaliṅka Svāmikaḷ, 1823–1874, not to be confused with Sabhapati’s student Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal, for which see Section K.2).¹⁴⁸ Chidambaram Ramalinga Swamigal had established the “Satya Jnana Sabha” (or

¹⁴⁴ T2, 9. Tam.: “*malaiyāḷam, tamil, teluṅku, kaṇṇaṭi, mahārāṣṭṭi, kujarāṭṭi hintustāṇi, peṅkāli, nēpāḷam, pañcāp, rajapuṭṭāṇā, kāṣṁiyar, cintu, multāṇ himāñcalam, mutaliyatēcaṅkaḷukkucceṅru . . .*”

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ T2, 9. Tam.: “*cāṭaṇai aṇupavarūpamāy paṭaṅkaḷōṭu camaskirutam, urutu, hintustāṇi, peṅkāli, teluṅku, mahārāṣṭṭi, tirāviṭa tamil, inkiḷṣ mutaliya pāṣaikaḷil ceytu acciṭṭu veḷippaṭuttiyum . . .*”

¹⁴⁷ It is also possible that Shivajnanaprakash Yogishwara was unaware of the precise dates that many of Sabhapati’s works were published in various languages, from 1880 onwards. See Chapter Two for the textual history of his many works.

¹⁴⁸ T2, 9. For more on the significance of this figure see Srilata Raman, *The Transformation of Tamil Religion: Ramalinga Swamigal and Modern Dravidian Sainthood* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, Forthcoming); and Richard Weiss, *The Emergence of Modern Hinduism: Religion on the Margins of Colonialism* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017).

Sathya Gnana Sabha, Tam.: Catya Ñāna Capai) in Vadalur in 1872, and a Brahmin named “Sabhapathy Sivachariar” (Tam.: Capāpati Civācāriyār) is mentioned in some popular hagiographical accounts of this period as serving as the first priest of this shrine.¹⁴⁹ Although possible, it does not seem likely that they were the same Sabhapati since at least one court document states that Sabhapathy Sivachariar was from Adoor (in present-day Kerala) and died in 1903,¹⁵⁰ whereas Sabhapati Swami was from Velachery and died around 1923 (see Section L).

The Ur-account for its part stresses that on these journeys he corresponded and communicated with many religious practitioners at these and other temple sites across the subcontinent, noting that he “has visited nearly all the holy shrines and Ashrams of India, and in some of these places he met with genuine Yogis and Rishees,” and that he “had many adventures with these depositories of ancient lore.”¹⁵¹ These experiences would have greatly contributed to the pan-Indian character of his instructional literature on yoga, which would have undoubtedly been an interest of the account’s author. Finally, T2 also records that he “established four hundred and sixty-four meditation societies (Mpv. *tiyāna capaikaḷ*, < Skt. *dhyāna sabhā*) in various places of the land of the Hindus (Persian + Mpv. *hintutēcam* = Skt. *hindudeśa*) for his students to carry out the practice of the rites.”¹⁵²

At this point both accounts relate a cosmic vision that he had “on the coast of Manasarovar Lake” after “crossing the Himalayas.”¹⁵³ This visionary experience, as we shall

¹⁴⁹ For example, see Ma. Po. Civañānam, *The Universal Vision of Saint Ramalinga: Vallalar Kanda Orumaippadu*, trans. R. Ganapathy (Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1987).

¹⁵⁰ Justice K. Chandru, “Thiru Sabanatha Oli Sivachariyar v/s The Commissioner, H.R. & C.E. Department & Others,” 24 March 2010.

¹⁵¹ Ur-account, iii.

¹⁵² T2, 9. Tam.: “*hintutēcattirkuḷ taṅ ciṣyarkaḷ appiyāca cātanaiceyya* (464) *tiyāna capaikaḷai āṅkāṅku stāpittanar*.”

¹⁵³ Ur-account, iii.

see, would become somewhat of a controversial matter for Sabhapati and his followers, so I will here recount it in full. In the Ur-account, he encounters “three Rishies in antique Aryan dress,” two of whom are later revealed to be Shuka (Śuka) and Bhringi (Bhṛṅgi) from the Sanskrit epic Mahābhārata, while the third does not reveal his name. They question him about his guru and Agastya’s hermitage and, upon hearing his answer, they offer to grant him the “Ashtama Siddhis [Skt. *aṣṭamāsiddhi*],” which are framed as “eight kinds of psychic powers the acquisition of which enables one to perform (what is vulgarly called) miracles.”¹⁵⁴ Sabhapati of course turns down the offer, saying that he only wishes to pass his remaining days on earth in “Nishkama Brahmagiyana, Yoga tapam [Skt. *niṣkāmya brahmajñāna yoga tapa*, “the austere heat of yoga that leads to the gnosis of Brahman, free from desire].” They confer upon him the title “Brahmagiyana Guroo Yogi” (Skt. *brahmajñāna guru yogī*, CPSPS: “Holy Spiritual Godheaded Ascetic”) after hearing this answer, and ask if they can do anything else for him. He responds in the affirmative, saying that he has desired to see “Kailas [Kailāsa] or the celestial mountain which it is said is invisible to ordinary mortals.” They accept his request, and both they and Sabhapati “began to fly in the air for a time towards the direction of the mountain . . . where he had the goodfortune [*sic*] of seeing Mahadeva sitting in Semadhi [Skt. *samādhi*] in a cave.”¹⁵⁵ Sabhapati then spontaneously composes verses from his “overcharged emotions” that the rishis named “Shiva varnana stuti mala [Skt. *śiva varṇanā stuti mālā*, ‘Garland-Hymn in Praise of Śiva’].” They then descend back to where they were, and Shuka and Bhringi reveal their identities.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, iv.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

T1 and T2 gives similar readings of this event, except there are a few minor differences. First of all, Sabhapati is not offered the eight powers since, as we read, he had already ostensibly learned these from his guru Shivajnana Bodha but was instructed to keep them secret. Second of all, Sabhapati's response in T2 after the offer is that he only wants the "liberation of unity" (Mpv. *aikya mukti* = Skt.), and it is instead the rishis that praise him as "desireless" (Mpv. *niṣkāmmiyam*, < Skt. *niṣkāmya*). Third, a truncated version of the poem that Sabhapati spontaneously composed is provided. A much longer version of this poem is given in both Tamil and Devanagari script with some variations in the third part in CPSPS, which mostly follows the Ur-account but with some slight modifications,¹⁵⁶ and it was also supplied in full in T1.¹⁵⁷ Fourth, in T2 there is a difference in the title conferred on Sabhapati; the rishis mention that he was "elevated as a Guru Father Rishi (Kurupitā Ruṣī) by those of your hermitage (Mpv. *ācīrma*, < Skt. *āśrama*) who are beloved by the guru." The title "Jñānaguru Yogī" ("Yogī who is the Guru of Gnosis"), on the other hand, had already been bestowed upon him (minus the Ur-account's prefix *brahma-* to make *brahmajñāna*) in both T1 and T2 by his guru Shivajnana Bodha following his years of yogic practice on Mount Agastya. A final embellishing detail in T2 is that the rishis, after speaking, "vanished as they entered the sky (Mpv. *kaka:ṇa*, < Skt. *gagana*)."¹⁵⁸ while the Ur-account has them vanishing "on the very spot."¹⁵⁹

Following this event, all three accounts agree that he went to temple complexes in "the southern region of the Himalayas"¹⁶⁰ associated with the pilgrimage sites of Kedarnath

¹⁵⁶ CPSPS I, 6–15.

¹⁵⁷ T1, 7–9.

¹⁵⁸ T2, 10. Tam.: ". . . *kaka:ṇappiravēcamāy maraintaṇar.*"

¹⁵⁹ Ur-account, iv.

¹⁶⁰ T2, 10. Tam.: "*himāñcal takṣaṇapāricattilūḷa.*"

(Kedārnāth; Ur-account: “Pancha Kedar” [“Five Kedars”]; T2: “Kētāranāt”), Badrinath (Badrīnāth; Ur-account: “Pancha Bhadrīe” [“Five Badris”]; T2: “Pattirināt”),¹⁶¹ and Pashupatinath (Paśupatināth Ur-account: “Pasupati Nath in Nepal,” T2: “Pacupatināt”). T2 adds that following these he also visited “Jwalamukhi [Jvālāmukhī], Triloknath [Triloknāth], Bhutanath [Bhūtanāth], the source of the Ganges [likely Gaṅgotrī], the source of the Yamuna [likely Yamunotrī], Amarnath [Amarnāth], and Manikaran [Maṅikarṇa],”¹⁶² and then left for Kashmir, a list also mostly the same as T1. Somewhere amid travel to these sacred locations—possibly before or after visiting Jwalamukhi, which is not too far from Lahore and is the first site not mentioned in the Ur-account—we know from both his primary accounts and secondary literary accounts that he travelled to this former capital of British Punjab.

G. Sabhapati’s Splash on the Lahore Scene

Sabhapati enters another stream of colonial-era history with his stay at Lahore, which was then the principle city of British Punjab (since Partition in West Pakistan, and today the Islamic Republic of Pakistan).¹⁶³ This was undoubtedly one of the most fertile stops on his pilgrimage and teaching circuit, and here he secured at least three meetings of great importance for his future publishing efforts and both pan-Indian and international fame. It is

¹⁶¹ For traditional pilgrimage routes associated with Kedarnāth and Badrināth, see Shivaprasad Dabral, *Shri Uttarakhand Yatra Darshan* (Narayankoti: publisher unknown, 1960), 242–82. The grouping of “Five Kedars” is also treated in an undergraduate paper by William “Bo” Sax that refers to their presence in the *Kedārkhand*, a text on the mythology of Kedārnāth allegedly deriving from the *Skandapurāṇa* of which there are many local recensions; the list that Sax cites refers to Madhyamaheśvara, Tuṅganāth, Kalpeśvara, and Mahālaya (apparently synonymous with Rudranāth) in addition to Kedārnāth proper. I am grateful to William for sharing with me his paper and sources on these two temple complexes in Uttarakhand.

¹⁶² T2, 10. Tam.: “jvālāmukī tirilōkanāt, pūtanāt keṅkōtpatti, yamuṅōtpatti, amarnāt, maṅikarṇikā mutaliya kṣēttira tiricaṇam, natisnāṇam ceytu . . .”

¹⁶³ For more on the history of Lahore’s role and development in the Punjab during the colonial period see Ian Talbot, *Punjab and the Raj, 1849–1947* (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1988); and William J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

notable that T1 and T2 entirely omit mention of Sabhapati’s stay at Lahore, but beyond the Ur-account there are multiple secondary sources that confirm his visit to the city. Variants of the Ur-account differ on whether he stayed either a “few days,”¹⁶⁴ or about “six months,”¹⁶⁵ but it seems he broke his trip into at least two visits, one in December 1879 and another in November 1880. One source records him arriving in December of 1879 to deliver “lectures on *Yoga*,”¹⁶⁶ and we know that he must have already met with Shrish Chandra Basu, who penned the Ur-account, in Lahore before January of 1880 (the date of the account). After these initial lectures on yoga, he himself records in a published letter in *The Amrita Patrika Bazar* (see below) that he spent “six or seven months in the solitary caves and jungles of Kangra Hills” near present-day Kangra (Kāgrā), Himachal Pradesh, where he enjoyed a “solemn state of Samadhi.”¹⁶⁷ As we shall see below, Sabhapati had returned to Lahore by November of 1880 as evident in a personal diary entry of Henry Steel Olcott, Olcott’s published work, as well as in the published letter itself.

1. Shrish Chandra Basu and the Theosophical “Founders”

The most instrumental meeting that Sabhapati had in Lahore was with his Bengali editor-to-be and principle “Admirer” Shrish Chandra Basu (Śrīś Candra Basu, a.k.a. S.C. Vasu, 1861–1918),¹⁶⁸ the most likely candidate for authorship of the Ur-account itself; the

¹⁶⁴ CPSPS, 19: “Our Yogisver after the expiration of few days at Lahore . . .”

¹⁶⁵ BRY, 12. BRY is the only text that mentions Sabhapati’s length of stay at Lahore so this dating is tentative.

¹⁶⁶ Bose, *Life of Sris Chandra Basu*, 86.

¹⁶⁷ Sabhapaty Swamy, “The Madras Yogi Sabhapaty Swamy, Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott at Lahore.,” *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, letter dated November 16, 1880, in Blavatsky’s unpublished scrapbook held at the Theosophical Society Archives in Adyar, Chennai.

¹⁶⁸ Vasu’s family name is transliterated Basu according to Bengali orthography, which is the version I have used throughout for the sake of consistency.

account was, after all, penned in Lahore. According to his biographer Phanindranath Bose,¹⁶⁹ who also interviewed his mother, at the time of their meeting Shrish Chandra was only around nineteen years old and had not yet joined any reformist societies, but would later would go on to become an educated legal advocate (Hnd: *vakīl*) and translator of Sanskrit texts, including the dissemination of the work by Panini (Pāṇini) on traditional Sanskrit grammar, the *Aṣṭadhyāyī*, first published in 1897.¹⁷⁰ After meeting Sabhapati he went on to join the Theosophical Society, publish widely on yoga, and, as Singleton has noted, later would emerge as an unlikely emblem of early twentieth-century Hindu reform with the release of his series “Sacred Books of the Hindus,” today ubiquitous at university libraries and with print-on-demand book dealers.¹⁷¹ Given Shrish Chandra’s importance in the middle period of Sabhapati’s life, I will here briefly treat Shrish Chandra Basu’s own parallel history and interactions with Sabhapati, beginning with the history of his father’s relocation from Bengal to Lahore and ending with Shrish Chandra’s activities as a college student at Government College Lahore,¹⁷² during which Shrish Chandra met Dayananda Saraswati (Dayānanda Sarasvatī, 1824–1883), Sabhapati Swami, as well as the founders of the

¹⁶⁹ Bose, *Life of Sris Chandra Basu*. For other sources in Bengali that inform this treatment of his life see Śrījñānendramohan Dās, *Baṅger Bāhire Bāṅgālī (Uttar Bhārat)* (Kalikātā: Śrī Anāthanāth Mukhopādhyāy, 1322 [1915]); Śrīrāmānanda Caṭṭopādhyāy, “Bāmandās Basu,” *Prabāsī* 30, no. 2nd khaṇḍa, 3 (January 1339): 400–408.

¹⁷⁰ Pāṇini, *The Ashtadhyayi. Translated into English by Srisa Chandra Vasu* (Benares: Published by Sindhu Charan Bose, at the Panini Office, 1897).

¹⁷¹ Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) 44–53.

¹⁷² Government College Lahore was established in 1864 in accordance with Wood’s Educational Despatch of 1854, which mandated that an education department be established in every East India Company-controlled province and that at least one government school should be opened in every district. For a history of the institution see H.L.O. Garrett, ed., *A History of Government College, Lahore, 1864–1914* (Lahore: “Civil and Military Gazette” Press, 1914); and Syed Sultan Mahmood Hussain, *50 Years of Government College Lahore (1864–1913)* (Lahore: Izhar Research Institute of Pakistan, 2005).

Theosophical Society, Helena P. Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907), both of whom also met with Sabhapati.¹⁷³

Shrish Chandra’s father Shyama Charan Basu (Śyāmācaraṇ Basu or “Babu Shama Churn Bose,” 1827–1867) was born to a family of Kayastha (Kāyastha) caste in his home village (Bng. *deśer bāri*) of Tengra-Bhavanipur (Ṭemgrā-Bhabānīpur), which prior to the Partition of Bengal in 1905 was in Khulna (Khulnā) and today is in Satkhira District (Ṣaṭkṣīrā Jelā), Bangladesh.¹⁷⁴ Shyama Charan eventually left his home to study for a few years in Calcutta (today Kolkata, West Bengal) at the General Assembly’s Institution, an English-medium school founded by the Free Church of Scotland missionary Alexander Duff (1806–1878), and on Duff’s recommendation found employment with an American Presbyterian missionary, Charles William Forman (1821–1894) of Kentucky, a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary who was seeking to open the first English-medium missionary school in the Punjab. A series of events led Shyama Charan to government service, and he worked closely with Dr. Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner (1840–1899), a Hungarian Jew who was the first non-officiating principal of Lahore Government College from November 1864 to April 1886,¹⁷⁵ during which time Shyama Charan’s son Shrish Chandra would go on to attend the institution. Shyama Charan died suddenly in August of 1867 of natural causes, leaving behind his wife Bhubaneshwari Devi (Bhubaneśvarī Debī, ca. 1837–1923) and their four children, two sons and two daughters. Shrish Chandra, born on March

¹⁷³ For Shrish Chandra’s subsequent publications of yoga, such as the first known English translation of the *Shiva Samhita* (Sanskrit: *Śivasamhitā*), a ca. fifteenth-century work of Haṭhayoga that was widely utilized by occultists, from the Austrian industrialist Carl Kellner (1851–1905) to the British poet and mountain-climber Aleister Crowley (1875–1947), see Keith Cantú, “Shrish Chandra Basu and Modern Occult Yoga,” in *Occult South Asia*, ed. Karl Baier and Mriganka Mukhopadhyay (forthcoming).

¹⁷⁴ I am grateful to Idris Ali for visiting this village, confirming its location, and taking photographs.

¹⁷⁵ For more on Leitner’s role at Lahore Government College see Hussain, *50 Years of Government College Lahore (1864–1913)*.

21, 1861, was the oldest son and his younger brother, Baman Das Basu (Bāmandās Basu, 1867–1932), was the youngest child. One sister whose name is unknown was the eldest of all and was still living in 1932, while another younger sister was named Shrimati Jagatmohini Das (Śrīmatī Jagatmohinī Dās).

Shrish Chandra’s behavior changed after his father’s death, and we learn that he enrolled at Forman’s Mission School in 1868. He soon was transferred to the Government District High School after his mother was alarmed at the missionary influence on his life, and thanks to tutoring from friends of the family who taught him English via the Shakespearean classics *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and other works, he went on to achieve top marks on the Calcutta University entrance exam in 1876 and received a scholarship to attend Lahore Government College, where he was attending when he met Sabhapati in 1879. He initially chose Arabic and Persian as his secondary languages instead of Sanskrit, perhaps in honor of his father who had been a scholar of those languages, but he would eventually pick up a serious study of Sanskrit after his departure from Lahore.

Parallel to Shrish Chandra’s academic achievements was a growing interest in yoga. Phanindranath Bose informs us that Shrish Chandra met a Kanphata Nath Yogi (Kāṇphāṭa Nāth Yogī, that is, an “Ear-pierced” yogi of the Nāth sect) named “Shivanath” (Śivanāth), who was in charge of a temple on the same lane as the house the Basu family moved to in 1874.¹⁷⁶ Not much is known about Shivanath except the description that he provides:

There was a temple not far from the house in Lahore where Sris [Shrish Chandra] lived, in charge of a yogi, who had both his ears bored and with circular rings in them. He belonged to the sect of Guru Gorakhnath. He was learned in Sanskrit, Hindi

¹⁷⁶ Bose, *Life of Sris Chandra Basu*, 77.

and Panjabi and used to deliver discourses on religious subjects to the people who used to assemble almost daily in the temple. Sris was also a very frequent visitor there. He owed much of his knowledge of Hinduism and the rites and ceremonies of Guru Gorakhnath's sect to this ascetic, whom he always held in great reverence.¹⁷⁷

The reference to the semi-mythical Nāth hero Gorakhnath (Skt: Gorakṣanātha, Hnd: Gorakhnāth) is notable as it connects Shivanath—and Shrish Chandra's initial fascination with yoga as a teenager—to the Punjabi milieu of Nāth activity that Mohan Singh and George Briggs explored for their respective studies, over half a century later,¹⁷⁸ as well as to the wider historical context of the Nāth Yogī movement prior to Partition.¹⁷⁹

Shrish Chandra took this interest in yoga with him as he attended Government College Lahore, where he also became interested in a few popular Hindu reform movements that were just beginning to form at that time. He attended meetings personally hosted by Shiv Narayan Agnihotri (Śiv Nārāyaṇ Agnihotrī, 1850–1929), who had taken a vow of renunciation (Skt. *sannyāsa*) and took the name “Swami Satyananda,” although his subsequent marriages and his children caused him to receive popular criticism from those who felt his renunciation was insincere.¹⁸⁰ Agnihotri founded the Dev Samaj (Hnd: Dev Samāj) in 1887 and took the name “Dev Guru Bhagavan,” but by that time it seems that Shrish Chandra had lost all interest in that movement. On the other hand, Agnihotri's rival

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Mohan Singh, *Gorakhnath and Mediaeval Hindu Mysticism* (Lahore: Dr. Mohan Singh, Oriental College, Lahore, 1936); George Weston Briggs, *The Religious Life of India: Gorakhnāth and the Kānpḥaṭa Yogīs* (Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1938).

¹⁷⁹ For more on the Nāth Yogīs see White, *Sinister Yogis* as well as his earlier works; James Mallinson, “The Nāth Sampradāya,” *Brill Encyclopedia of Hinduism* 3 (2011): 407–28; David Lorenzen and Adrián Muñoz, *Yogi Heroes and Poets: Histories and Legends of the Nāths* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2011); and Gordan Djurdjevic and Shukdev Singh, trans., *Sayings of Gorakhnāth: Annotated Translation of the Gorakh Bānī* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

¹⁸⁰ Bose, *Life of Sris Chandra Basu*, 68.

Dayananda Saraswati, the aforementioned founder of the Arya Samaj (Ārya Samāj),¹⁸¹ was at that time a popular personality at the Government College. As Shrish Chandra's classmate and friend Lala Shiv Dayal (Lālā Śiv Dayāl Seth, 1861–1935) recounted, Dayananda paid his first visit to Lahore in 1877 and “gave a series of lectures which created commotion in the student community;”¹⁸² the Lahore Arya Samaj was founded in November of that year.

These lectures inspired Shrish Chandra to study “books on religious and scientific subjects” and to take “an active part in the debates which became common in those days and especially the weekly meetings which were then held in the Brahmo Samaj”.¹⁸³ Although Dayananda's hardline reformist attitude provided an early source of inspiration for Shrish Chandra and likely informed some of the tensions he expressed towards Haṭhayoga and Tantra,¹⁸⁴ Shrish Chandra never joined the Arya Samaj due to his “scruples regarding the infallibility of the Vedas” and later would go on to publish a translation of an explicitly Tantric text, the *Śiva Saṃhitā*, with the subtitle “Esoteric Philosophy of the Tantras.” He would also go on to join the Theosophical Society in 1880, as we shall see below, and the Brahmo Samaj (Brāhma Samāj) in 1881, although he would sever his ties with the Brahmo Samaj two years later, in

¹⁸¹ For the rivalry between Agnihotri's and Dayananda see Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). For a more recent take on Dayananda's reformism and its role in shaping Hindu modernity, see J. Barton Scott, *Spiritual Despots: Modern Hinduism and the Genealogies of Self-Rule*, South Asia across the Disciplines (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016).

¹⁸² Lala Shiv Dayal Seth, quoted in Bose, *Life of Sris Chandra Basu*, 68.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ For Dayananda's views on Tantra and a response to them among some Indian Theosophists, see Karl Baier, “Theosophical Orientalism and the Structures of Intercultural Transfer: Annotations on the Appropriations of the Cakras in Early Theosophy,” in *Theosophical Appropriations: Esotericism, Kabbalah and the Transformation of Traditions*, ed. Julie Chajes and Boaz Huss (Be'er Sheva, Israel: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2016), 326–27. For Shrish Chandra's complicated views on Haṭhayoga see Singleton, *Yoga Body* and Cantú, “Sris Chandra Vasu and Modern Occult Yoga.”

1883.¹⁸⁵ Nevertheless, he joined these two societies only after meeting Sabhapati, who entered Shrish Chandra's life in this world of competing visions of colonial modernity.

As Karl Baier has also noted, Sabhapati began his lectures on Vedānta and Rājayoga in December of 1879, and the Ur-account—again, penned by Shrish Chandra himself—was soon after published in the occult periodical *The Theosophist*, in March of 1880.¹⁸⁶ As Baier explains, the article was a “hagiography filled with so many miraculous events that even the editors of *The Theosophist* felt obliged to distance themselves from its content in an editorial note.”¹⁸⁷ Yet his story, however blended it was to the realm of fiction, was undoubtedly inspiring to Shrish Chandra, and may have resonated with the interactions or conversations he had with Shivanath in his youth. Perhaps his biographer puts it best, as follows: “If Dayananda Saraswati was instrumental in arousing his interest in the study of the sacred scriptures of the Hindus, Sabhapaty Swami and the Theosophical Society stimulated him to investigate the mysteries of life after death.”¹⁸⁸ As we have seen in this chapter, however, there is also a surprising amount of historical material beyond these mysteries that can be gleaned between the hagiographical lines.

The next month, in April, a pamphlet was subsequently advertised in *The Theosophist* as follows:

The “Trieste [*sic*] on Vedantic Raj Yoga,” by the Madras Mahatma Giana Yogi, Sabhapaty Swami, a chapter of whose life was given in our magazine last month, has

¹⁸⁵ Bose, *Life of Sris Chandra Basu*, 96, 117. The Brahma Samaj was founded in Calcutta in 1828, but it wasn't established in Lahore until the 1860s by one Nabin Chandra Ray (Nabīn Candra Rāy), a contemporary of Shrish Chandra's father Śyāmācaran.

¹⁸⁶ Baier, “Theosophical Orientalism,” 328–30; the first scholarly treatment of this meeting was in Karl Baier, *Meditation Und Moderne: Zur Genese Eines Kernbereichs Moderner Spiritualität in Der Wechselwirkung Zwischen Westeuropa, Nordamerika Und Asien* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2009).

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 328.

¹⁸⁸ Bose, *Life of Sris Chandra Basu*, 249.

appeared, and may be had at the *Mitra Vilas* Press, Lahore, Panjab, at annas 8 per copy. It is one of the most curious pamphlets ever printed, and will doubtless have a very large sale. A review of it will appear next month.¹⁸⁹

The “Mitra Vilas” Press was established in 1861 by one Pandit Mukund Ram (Pāḍit Mukūḍ Rām, 1831–1897), the “son of a Kashmiri Brahmin priest of Srinagar,”¹⁹⁰ and in this instance may have worked together with the “Civil and Military Gazette” Press, where the pamphlet was printed, to distribute the work to a wider audience. The pamphlet itself was entitled *Om. A Treatise on Vedanta and Raja Yoga* (1880, henceforth VRY), with the Ur-account added as a preface, and became widely successful as can be gleaned by its numerous reprints. Henry Olcott possessed a personal copy of the first edition of VRY that has survived in the Adyar Library and Research Centre, and also includes the only known colored diagram in Sabhapati’s works that in future works was printed instead in black and white, perhaps demonstrating that an original intent was for the diagrams to be in color.

Shrish Chandra’s involvement as editor helped give Sabhapati’s work a pan-Indian and even international appeal, which helped transform the yogi into a widely-known personality across several different vernacular linguistic worlds of India as well as abroad. As we will see in Chapter Two, the reprinted editions of VRY, in print in English until 1977 and in German translation by Franz Hartmann until 2005, went on to contain new material, including supplementary instructions, additional poems, and a question-and-answer section. Shrish Chandra also sponsored a Bengali translation of the pamphlet, translated by one Ambikacharan Badyopadhyay (Ambikācaraṇ Bandyopādhyāy),¹⁹¹ which still survives at the

¹⁸⁹ Helena Blavatsky and Henry Olcott, eds., “The ‘Trieste [sic] on Vedantic Raj Yoga,’” *The Theosophist: A Magazine of Oriental Philosophy, Art, Literature and Occultism* I, no. 7 (April 1880): 190.

¹⁹⁰ Francesca Orsini, *The History of the Book in South Asia* (Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2016).

¹⁹¹ Unfortunately the dates of this translator could not be traced at the time of writing.

National Library in Kolkata and has since been digitized. Furthermore, Shrish Chandra continued to be mentioned not only on all subsequent reprints of the English editions, as well as on the address page of a trilingual English, Tamil, and Sanskrit / Devanagari edition of his work (CPSPS), and he is given honorable mention in Sabhapati's work in Hindi (RYB). Friedrich Max Müller, who would also praise Shrish Chandra's *Aṣṭadhyāyī*, even cited VRY in his classic, if considered problematic on a scholarly level today, work *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, and discussed the Ur-account in the context of popular belief in what he called "miracles."¹⁹² Shrish Chandra's involvement would last until the late 1890s, when Sabhapati's later Tamil literature (including CTCSPV and MCVTS) ceased to mention him as a contributor and instead were sponsored and edited by a new cohort of mostly Tamilian students and supporters. There is also a Telugu work mentioned in front matter of MCVTS that could potentially mention Shrish Chandra's involvement, but I consider it to be unlikely given its apparently late date of release.

Another contribution of Shrish Chandra was to edit and in some cases even compose the poetry that accompanied VRY, much of what was in English but attributed to Sabhapati. For example, his biographer tells us that Shrish Chandra was the author of a nationalistic poem variously titled "The Yogi's Address to his Countrymen," which was included in VRY and most subsequent English works, including a small pamphlet entitled *The Secret of Longevity and Verses by Yogi Sabhapathy Swami*.¹⁹³ This poem is sometimes attributed to Sabhapati in his works, but this attribution is evidently erroneous; Shrish Chandra's biographer tells us that the poem was reproduced by Babu Narendra Nath Sen (Bābu

¹⁹² F. Max Müller, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* (London: Longmans, Green, 1899), 456, 462–65.

¹⁹³ Anonymous, *The Secret of Longevity and Verses by Yogi Sabhapathy Swami* (Coimbatore: K.N. Easwariah at the Literary Sun Press, 1895). It appears that only the "Verses" (i.e. "The Yogi's Address to his Countrymen") is attributed to Sabhapati, and not the story about one Prince Dharmapalu that precedes it.

Narendranāth Sen), who had also met Swami Vivekananda in 1897,¹⁹⁴ in the periodical *Indian Mirror* during the Partition of Bengal in September of 1905, who praised Shrish Chandra and said that “these verses deserved to be written in letters of gold.”¹⁹⁵ While the stanzas of this poem are an important record of prevailing attitudes at the time and contain many interesting Indic references from the Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali to the Mahābhārata, the poem does perpetuate Orientalist tropes about the degeneracy of Indian thought that seem much more in line with Shrish Chandra’s preoccupation of the reformist societies mentioned above rather than an unmediated reflection of Sabhapati’s own ideas. It is possible and even likely, however, that Sabhapati would have been sympathetic to Shrish Chandra’s political activism and would have supported his critique of atheism and materialism over the spirituality of yoga, which as we shall see in a moment is reflected in a published letter signed by Sabhapati.

At the translocal level, Shrish Chandra’s involvement was also instrumental in elevating Sabhapati into a known figure in the nascent Theosophical Society, which had only just been founded in a New York City apartment five years back, in 1875.¹⁹⁶ As already mentioned, both the Ur-account and an advertisement for the pamphlet (VRY) were respectively published in *The Theosophist* in March and April of 1880. The two principle “Founders,” Helena P. Blavatsky and Henry Olcott, first visited Lahore in 1880 following their arrival in Bombay from New York on February 16, 1879.¹⁹⁷ They subsequently took a trip to explore Buddhism in Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka) and by the autumn of 1880 were

¹⁹⁴ Advaita Ashrama, *Reminiscences of Swami Vivekananda: New & Enlarged Edition* (Kolkata: The Ahyaksha, Advaita Ashrama, 2018).

¹⁹⁵ Bose, *Life of Sris Chandra Basu*, 87.

¹⁹⁶ Joscelyn Godwin, “Blavatsky and the First Generation of Theosophy,” in *Handbook of the Theosophical Current*, ed. Olav Hammer and Mikael Rothstein, Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 15–31.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

staying with Alfred Percy Sinnett (1840–1921) before channeling the first of the infamous “Mahatma Letters.”¹⁹⁸

Olcott, who had already been lecturing regularly at that point, was invited to give a lecture on the occasion of the third anniversary of the founding of the Lahore Arya Samaj, to be held on Sunday, November 7th, 1880, and Sabhapati addressed the crowd afterwards. Blavatsky managed to preserve a programme for the event in her scrapbook, in which the site of the lecture is given as the “Arya Samaj premises in *Bhadarkaliyali, Vachovalī Bazar*.”¹⁹⁹ The joint-secretaries of the Samaj are listed on the program as one Sain Dass (Lālā Sāin Dāss, d. 1890)²⁰⁰ and Ruttun Chund Bary (also transliterated Lala Rattan Chand Barry; Ratan Candra Bairī, ca.1849–1890), a Punjabi clerk in the Lahore Accountant-General’s Office²⁰¹ who would go on to join the Theosophical Society (see below) and play an important role in the publication of reprints of *VRY* (see Chapter Two); his independent stances would periodically clash with Arya Samaj views,²⁰² but he did publish a well-circulated periodical out of Lahore entitled *The Arya* on a wide range of views that clarified the Lahore Arya Samaj’s religious views, often in contradistinction to Theosophy.²⁰³ The anniversary event lasted from 7:30 in the morning to 8 at night, with Olcott scheduled to lecture last, from 7 to

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 23. For more on these letters and the early Theosophical Society in India in general see the chapters by various authors in Erik Sand and Tim Rudbøg, eds., *Imagining the East: The Early Theosophical Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); and Hans Martin Krämer and Julian Strube, eds., *Theosophy across Boundaries: Transcultural and Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Modern Esoteric Movement* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2020).

¹⁹⁹ *H.P.B. Scrapbook Vol. X, Part II, 1879–80*, 493. This unpublished scrapbook is held in the Archives of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, Chennai. “*Vachovalī*” in Blavatsky’s scrapbook and Bose’s biography is also variously transliterated “*Vachchowali*,” “*Vachhowali*,” and “*Vachoovalī*.” “*Bhadarkaliyali*” is also transliterated “*Bhadarkālli Galee*.” This area may refer to the south of the Walled City or somewhat outside its gates, near Queens Road.

²⁰⁰ Jones, *Arya Dharm*, 37, 89.

²⁰¹ See Bose, *Life of Sris Chanda Basu*, 117–19.

²⁰² Jones, *Arya Dharm*, 46.

²⁰³ The first annual volume of this periodical, from 1882–1883, exists in the library collection of the University of Toronto, and a full run is present in the catalogue of the National Library of India in Kolkata.

8 pm, on “The relation of Theosophical Society with the Arya Samaj.” Given the date and other evidence, as we shall see below, some of the content of Olcott’s lecture likely mirrored “The Fourth Anniversary Address” of the Theosophical Society, also delivered in November of 1879 but in Bombay; the text of this lecture was published in 1883.²⁰⁴

There is no mention of Sabhapati’s name on the programme for Lahore, but we know that he addressed the crowd from Olcott’s published record in *Old Diary Leaves* as well as his unpublished diary for 1880, and that the address took place after Olcott’s lecture. Olcott’s published account of the lecture in *Old Diary Leaves* is as follows:

The Anglo-Indian papers were just then full of malevolent writings against us, which made us appreciate all the more the friendliness of the Indians. I lectured to the usual overflowing audience on Sunday, the 7th November, and among the Europeans present was Dr. Leitner, the famed Orientalist, then President of the Punjab University College. At the close, the alleged Yoga [*sic*] Sabhâpaty Swami read a rambling complimentary address in which his praises of us were mingled with much self-glorification.²⁰⁵

Contrast this with Olcott’s unpublished diary entry for November 7:

Delivered my lecture to an overflowing audience. Lalla Mulraj presided, & sundry Europeans were present, among them the Justice Lindsay, Dr. Leitner (Pres’t Punjab University College) Mr. – Ass’t Accountant General, and half a dozen clergymen. At the close Sabhapaty Swami read a complimentary address & lots of people crowded around to get a sight of the Man from Patâl.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ H.S. Olcott, “The Fourth Anniversary Address,” in *A Collection of Lectures on Theosophy and Archaic Religions, Delivered in India and Ceylon by Colonel H.S. Olcott, President of the Theosophical Society* (Madras: A. Theyaga Rajier, 1883), 18–25.

²⁰⁵ Henry S. Olcott, *Old Diary Leaves. Second Series 1878–83* (London and Madras: The Theosophical Publishing Society and the Theosophist Office, 1900), 258.

²⁰⁶ Henry Olcott’s personal diary for 1880, entry “November 7,” held at the Theosophical Society Archives in Adyar, Chennai.

From this we can gather that Olcott’s lecture and Sabhapati’s address were well-attended, even overflowing, and it is notable that the audience was a mix of Indians and Europeans, and even clergymen. Lalla Mulraj (Hi. Lālā Mūlrāj, pop. lit.: Lala Mul Raj), who presided, was a prominent member of the Arya Samaj who was also considered a “friend and Brother” by Olcott.²⁰⁷ Lalla along with Sain Dass (see above) and one other “rewrote the original principles [of the Arya Samaj] drafted in Bombay,” and would later become the President of the Lahore Arya Samaj.²⁰⁸ “Justice Lindsay” most likely refers to Charles Richard Lindsay, who served on the Chief Court of Lahore from 1877–1880.²⁰⁹ The reference to “the Man from Patāl” is obscure (*pātāl* refers in Sanskrit to the underworld or nether regions) but refers to Olcott himself and not to Sabhapati.²¹⁰

Leitner’s presence is noteworthy but expected, since almost a year earlier, on November 23, 1879, the scholar and principal had written to Olcott and “promised cooperation”.²¹¹ As we saw above, Leitner had been a personal friend of Shrish Chandra’s father and would have also likely known of Shrish Chandra and his interest in Sabhapati as well. Despite his favorable disposition toward Shrish Chandra, in June of 1880—only a few months prior to Sabhapati’s address—Leitner apparently lost his temper and “kicked one of his students,” prompting a revolt from the rest of the students called the “Students’

²⁰⁷ Olcott, “The Fourth Anniversary Address,” 23.

²⁰⁸ Jones, *Arya Dharm*, 37, 38n20.

²⁰⁹ “Former Chief Justices” on the Lahore High Court website, <www.lhc.gov.pk>, accessed 2/6/2020.

²¹⁰ The phrase appears in Olcott’s address in Bombay earlier that year, where he writes the following (“The Fourth Anniversary Address,” 19): “How often since we came to India have I heard it said by Natives, that it was a strange anomaly that white men had to journey from the antipodes—from *Patāl*—to tell them about their forefather’s religion!”

²¹¹ Henry Olcott’s unpublished personal diary for 1879, entry “Sunday, November 23, 1879,” held at the Theosophical Society Archives in Adyar, Chennai.

Rebellion,” led by none other than Shrish Chandra, who had to forfeit his scholarship for three months.²¹²

The next day, on November 8th, Sabhapati visited Blavatsky and Olcott at their residence in Lahore along with one Birj Lal and one other unnamed associate. Sabhapati stayed there from 9:30 am to 4 pm. Olcott wrote the following about Sabhapati’s visit in his *Old Diary Leaves*, which I will quote in full for reference:

He [Sabhapati] came to our place the next day and favored us with his company fom 9.30 A.M. until 4 P.M., by which time he had pretty thoroughly exhausted our patience. Whatever good opinion we may have formed of him before was spoilt by a yarn he told of his exploits as a Yogi. He had, he said, been taken up at Lake Mânsarovara, Tibet, high into the air and been transported two hundred miles along the high level to Mount Kailâs, where he saw Mahadeva! Ingenuous foreigners as H.P.B. and I may have been, we could not digest such a ridiculous falsehood as that. I told him so very plainly. If, I said, he had told us that he had gone anywhere he liked in astral body or clairvoyant vision, we might have believed it possible, but in physical body, from Lake Mânsarovara, in company with two Rishis mentioned in the Mahabharata, and to the non-physical Mount Kailâs—thanks, no: he should tell it to somebody else.²¹³

Compare this with Olcott’s unpublished diary entry for November 8th, which reads as follows:

Sabhapaty Swami came [to] us with Birj Lal & another & stopped from 9 ½ am to 4 pm. His talks are right, but seems to me a possible humbug as his is not a spiritual

²¹² Bose, *Life of Sris Chandra Basu*, 80–85.

²¹³ Henry S. Olcott, *Old Diary Leaves. Second Series 1878–83*, 258–59.

face, and he tells a ridiculous story about being able to fly bodily 200 miles through the air.²¹⁴

Olcott is, of course, referring in both the above published and unpublished entries to Sabhapati's vision of Mount Kailasa as recounted in both the Ur-account, T1, and T2, and already summarized previously (see Section F).

Olcott's readiness to view Sabhapati as a humbug (i.e., a pretender or charlatan) appears to be somewhat misplaced, especially given some of the other occult phenomena that he readily believed in, such as that related to mesmerism and spiritualism. Furthermore, it is unclear if Sabhapati would have been able to effectively communicate such a clear delineation between "spiritual" and "physical" and/or "mind" and "body" when faced with trying to describe what clearly must have been, if it indeed happened, a profound religious experience. Furthermore, this would have been an experience that his practices of mental isolation would have only made him more susceptible to (see Chapter Six). In any event, at least some of Sabhapati's supporters felt compelled to respond to Olcott's challenges. By both the second (1893) and third (1895) editions of *VRY*, published by R.C. Bary & Sons (i.e. Ruttun Chund Bary, see above), we find the following footnote—presumably written by Shrish Chandra, who is still listed as editor—in the section of the revised Ur-account that describes Sabhāpati's vision of Kailasa:

This need not have been in the *physical* body of the Rishis; they might have flown towards the holy mountain in their *Mayavi Rupa Kama Rupa* (astral body), which to

²¹⁴ Henry Olcott's unpublished personal diary for 1880, entry "Monday, November 8, 1879," held at the Theosophical Society Archives in Adyar, Chennai.

our author (who certainly is not an Adept in the sense the Theosophists use the word) must have been as real as if he had travelled through air in his physical body.—ED.²¹⁵

A second footnote note also disputes the identities of the “Rishies” (Skt. *ṛṣi*) as being from the Mahābhārata: “We beg to differ from our venerable author in this surmise. For our own part, we have *now* come to know that these Rishis were none else but the members of the glorious fraternity of adepts, the “Brothers of the Theosophical Society.—Ed.”²¹⁶ This prompted a brief response from one Damodar Mavalankar (Dāmodar Ke Māvalākar, b. 1857), an early Theosophist from Ahmedabad, Gujarat who had been accompanying Olcott during much of this early trip in India and who was also a friend of Shrish Chandra.²¹⁷ While Damodar considered “the motives of the author and the editor no doubt perfectly benevolent,” he viewed much of the work as a parable that could be potentially misleading to one not properly versed in “esoteric philosophy.” In response to Sabhapati’s vision he notes that “the Editor has, to some extent, in a special footnote hastened to extricate his hero and himself out of a really perilous situation.”²¹⁸

There is another factor to consider here, however, which is Sabhapati’s much more positive perspective on his meeting with Olcott and Blavatsky. A little over a week after their November 8 meeting, on November 16, 1880, a letter was published in the *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* by the “Madras Yogi Sabhapaty Swamy” that paints a much more positive view of the meeting. In the open letter, Sabhapati recounts the following:

²¹⁵ The Mahatma Jnana Guru Yogi Sabhapaty Swami, *Om. The Philosophy & Science of Vedanta and Raja Yoga*, ed. Shrish Chandra Vasu, Third Edition (R.C. Bary & Sons, 1895), iv.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ For more on the life of this figure from the Theosophical perspectives of his associates see Sven Eek, *Damodar and the Pioneers of the Theosophical Movement* (Adyar, Madras: Vasanta Press, 1978).

²¹⁸ D.K. Mavalankar, “The Philosophy and Science of Vedantic Raja Yoga,” *The Theosophist: A Magazine of Oriental Philosophy, Art, Literature and Occultism* 5, no. 6 (March 1884): 146.

I remained with them from 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. of the 8th November 1880. had a long conversation with them on the theory and practice of ancient occult science (*Sarva Sidhoo Shastras*) and on the *Vedantic Giyana Yog Shastras i.e.*, the science and holding communion with one's Self Impersonal God—The Infinite Spirit. Their explanations of these two branches of secret knowledge of our ancestors were on the whole perfectly correct, and in harmony with my own practical knowledge of them. They agreed with all my main points, and I am fully convinced that they have gained some practical acquaintance of both these sciences.²¹⁹

Sabhapati goes on to recollect Blavatsky's perspective on the knowledge of these two "ancient sciences," including a statement by her saying that she owes this knowledge "entirely to the *Yogis* of India" from whom she acquired it on her "first and second journeys through India." He then follows this by praising her spiritual power, noting the following:

Now, my dear Hindoo Brothers, I have found her through my divine sight of spirit that she is on the right track and has attained considerable progress in *yoge* [Skt. *yog(a)*], and acquired some of the *siddhees* [*siddhis*]—psychic powers, which however ought to be ignored and discarded if a person is in earnest after *moksh* [*mokṣa*]—final absorption . . . I as a *Yogi* advise you all to listen to these Theosophists and help them in reviving the ancient spiritual sciences.²²⁰

Despite Sabhapati's wholehearted endorsement of Blavatsky, likely at least partially mediated by Shrish Chandra, the prospect of any further relationship between Olcott, Blavatsky, and Sabhapati appears to have been soon abandoned after these events and

²¹⁹ Sabhapaty Swamy, "The Madras Yogi Sabhapaty Swamy, Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott at Lahore.," *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, letter dated November 16, 1880, in Blavatsky's unpublished scrapbook held at the Theosophical Society Archives in Adyar, Chennai.

²²⁰ Ibid.

especially Olcott’s lack of reciprocity. Yet Sabhapati’s favorable disposition towards Theosophy was not forgotten, and he continued to be considered—at least publicly—by both Blavatsky and Olcott as a “friend.” For example, Blavatsky most likely had both his address and his letter in the *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* in mind when she wrote the following a year later in *The Theosophist* (April 1881): “Some time ago our friend Sabhapathy Swami, the ‘Madras Yogi,’ publicly endorsed the truth of all that the Theosophists had said about Yoga and Yogis.”²²¹

In any case, while there is no evidence that Sabhapati himself ever joined the Theosophical Society, Shrish Chandra was personally initiated by Henry Olcott himself on November 8, 1880,²²² and was officially listed as a member by November 20 of the same year.²²³ Shrish Chandra was not the only one initiated that day, but we see in Olcott’s diary the following names:

1. Ruttun Chand Bary [Ratan Candra Bairī]
2. Birnassi Das [possibly Banārasī Dās]²²⁴
3. Kasul Nair²²⁵
4. Chandra Lal [Candra (or Chandu) Lāl]²²⁶
5. Bhavani Das Batra [Bhavānī Dās Batrā]²²⁷
6. Ramprasad [Rāma Prasād]²²⁸
7. Siris Chundra Basu [Shrish Chandra Basu]

²²¹ H.P. Blavatsky, “A Hindu Professor’s Views on Indian Yoga,” *The Theosophist: A Magazine of Oriental Philosophy, Art, Literature and Occultism* II, no. 7 (April 1881): 158–59. This piece is also included in Volume 3 of Blavatsky’s “Collected Writings.”

²²² Henry Olcott’s personal diary entry for 1880, held by the Theosophical Society in Adyar, Chennai, which I consulted in February of 2020.

²²³ I am grateful to Kurt Leland for sharing with me the dates of Shrish Chandra’s formal membership in the Theosophical Society.

²²⁴ It is not clear who this refers to.

²²⁵ It is not clear who this refers to.

²²⁶ This could refer to a few different figures active in Lahore during that time. Olcott’s handwriting also makes it difficult to distinguish if the first name is “Chandu” or “Chandra.” If it is the latter, then he was a respected and wealthy leader in the local community; see Jones, *Arya Dharm*, 158–59.

²²⁷ This could be the same person as Lala Bhawani Das; see Jones, *Arya Dharm*, 53.

²²⁸ This is likely Rama Prasad Keshyap (Rāma Prasād Keśyap), who did his MA at Punjab University in Lahore and later went on to be president of the Meerut Theosophical Society and publish a translation of the Sanskrit text *Śivasvarodaya*, entitled *Nature’s Finer Forces* (1890).

It is likely no accident of timing that Shrish Chandra and these others' initiations were the day after Sabhapati's address and the very same day that Sabhapati had visited Olcott and Blavatsky. Despite Olcott's personal reservations about Sabhapati, it seems that the swami's welcome in conjunction with a favorable turn-out for the Lahore Arya Samaj's anniversary had an unintended—or perhaps intended all along—consequence of persuading these Indian intellectuals away from some of the more hardline anti-ritual positions of the Arya Samaj as delineated by Dayananda Saraswati (both the Samaj and Dayananda would later break ties with the Theosophical Society) and towards more embracing, if limiting in some other ways, visions of Theosophy and yoga instead. As we will see in Chapter Seven, the publications of a few of these figures would go on to significantly affect the world of yoga and occultism at both the mesolocal and translocal levels.

It appears that Sabhapati and Shrish Chandra likely parted company sometime around 1881, as there is no subsequent mention of their interactions after this date, and as mentioned above there is no further mention of him in Sabhapati's Tamil-language works by the late 1890s onwards. By 1882 we find Shrish Chandra working towards the “Vakilship” of the Allahabad High Court. In 1883 his efforts to launch a Lahore branch of the Theosophical Society were halted when Olcott heard of a controversial meeting presided over by one Bishan Lal (Bisān Lāl), a well-educated and influential Theosophist of Bareilly, who apparently in his struggle with mental illness decided to “convince the people as to the reality of occult forces.”²²⁹

Shrish Chandra by 1886 had passed the Allahabad legal bar, left his post as the principal of a Bengali school in Lahore, and was working in Meerut, then part of the North-

²²⁹ Bose, *Life of Sris Chanda Basu*, 126–27.

Western Provinces, where he became more interested in the study of Sanskrit. It appears there were at least some limited interactions between him and Sabhapati concerning the publication of the First Book of CPSPS in 1884, in which his Meerut court details are listed, but unfortunately no record of their correspondence has been traced at present and it seems that they gradually fell out of touch; his name is not even mentioned in the Second Book of CPSPS, published in 1890.

2. John Campbell Oman

Aside from Shrish Chandra, another important meeting Sabhapati had in the Lahore “scene” was with John Campbell Oman (1841–1911), who would later obtain considerable fame as a popular author of various aspects of Indian life, especially the “fakir-yogi” and what he called “sadhuism.”²³⁰ Oman, the son of one John Oman, a planter, and Maria Eweler, was described as of “Eurasian or Domiciled European” origin.²³¹ He was educated in the “La Martiniere Institution” of Calcutta, the city where he appears to have been born. He was employed in the Accounts Department and apparently left from there to England, where he studied science, earning his MA. From 1866 to 1877 he worked in the Public Works Department of the British Raj, and joined the staff of Government College Lahore in 1877.

At the time of his meeting with Sabhapati, Oman was working as a “Professor of Natural Science” at the college, a post he would hold until his retirement in 1897.²³² During this time he was accordingly also an academic mentor to Shrish Chandra Basu, and he would

²³⁰ Cf. Singleton, *Yoga Body*, 44, 69–70 for some consideration of Oman’s subject-matter and inspiration on other authors and artists.

²³¹ Ibid, 87. His parentage is given in *Who Was Who. Volume I, 1897–1915: A Companion to Who’s Who Containing the Biographies of Those Who Died during the Period 1897–1915*, Seventh Edition (London: A. & C. Black, 2014).

²³² Garrett, *A History of Government College, Lahore*, Appendix B, iii; Hussain, *50 Years of Government College Lahore*, 374.

also invite students to his home on some occasions to meet with his wife, who was named Ellen Agnes Hodges. Oman apparently had an interest in Spiritualism and even held séances with the planchette with his students. His occult leanings likely informed his earnest interest in what he called the “sadhuism” of India, an eclectic interest for the time, about which he would later publish a tome including many interesting photographs, illustrations drawn by his son, and personal insights of an ethnographic nature.²³³ Somehow or another he heard of Sabhapati during the latter’s visit to Lahore, and they even met sometime between 1879 and 1880. Oman devotes almost three pages to Sabhapati and his Rājayoga—contrasting it with Haṭhayoga, which is somewhat reductive as we shall see in Chapter Four—in his work *Indian Life: Religious and Social* (1899).²³⁴ This analysis was also included in his expanded and revised edition entitled *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India* (1908).²³⁵ The following is an extract from his original treatment:

The *Raj yog* philosophy, as expounded in English by the Madras yogi Sabhapaty Swami, with whom I had the pleasure of conversing on one occasion, teaches that man’s existence, as distinct and separate from the Infinite Universal Spirit, is a mere delusion, which arises from the genesis of the so-called twelve faculties, due to the circulation of the Universal Spirit through the human body, in a triple set of hollow vessels, answering in some way to animal functions, mind, and soul—reminded one

²³³ John Campbell Oman, *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India: A Study of Sadhuism, with an Account of The Yogis, Sanyasis, Bairagis, and Other Strange Hindu Sectarians* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905). Oman’s work is also cited by Daniela Bevilacqua, “Let the Sādhus Talk. Ascetic Understanding of Haṭha Yoga and Yogāsanas” (Unpublished paper, n.d.).

²³⁴ John Campbell Oman, *Indian Life, Religious and Social*, First Edition (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1889), 30–33.

²³⁵ John Campbell Oman, *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India, Being a Revised and Enlarged Edition of “Indian Life, Religious and Social,” Comprising Studies and Sketches of Interesting Peculiarities in the Beliefs, Festivals and Domestic Life of the Indian People; Also of Witchcraft and Demoniactal Possession, as Known amongst Them* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908), 17–19.

of [E. Bulwer] Lytton’s impressive description of the red, the azure, and the silvery light circulating through Margrave’s prostrate frame in the museum under the power of Sir Philip Derval’s spells.²³⁶

The “twelve faculties” that Oman mentions, as we shall see, are none other than the Tantric *cakras*, of which for Sabhapati there are twelve and four superseding principles, making sixteen in all (see Chapter Four). The reference at the end of the above extract is a reference to E. Bulwer Lytton’s occult novel *A Strange Story*, first published in 1862, and underscores the remarkable way in which Europeans, often independently of each other, would continue to read Sabhapati’s teachings through the lens of occult literature and practice (See Chapter Seven).

H. The Vision of Agastya, Once in Fifty Years

While the Ur-account only treats on Sabhapati’s life up to January 1880, when the account was written, other sources show that Sabhapati permanently departed Lahore sometime in or after December of 1880 to return back to the Madras Presidency and his guru’s ashram on Mount Agastya. CPSPS tells us the following about his subsequent activities:

Our Yogísver after the expiration of a few days at Lahore, he went to Jelander [Jalandhar], with the Rajah of that place, and spent a few days there, wherefrom he started directly, to his holy cave Agustia mountain of Neilgiri mountain *ācīrmam* [*<* Skt. *āśrama*], touching Benares, Madras &c., reached his Guru’s place very soon, lest he will be loser of the visitation of Agustia Rishí which is once in 50 years.²³⁷

²³⁶ Oman, *Indian Life, Religious and Social*, 30–31.

²³⁷ CPSPS, First Book, 19.

This is corroborated by T2, which gives the following sequence of events (translated from Tamil), interspersing the text of several poems of praise:

While he was in Kashmir his guru Civañānapōtaruṣi was at Agastya’s Hermitage, and Akastiya Mahāruṣisvarar was going to come to his hermitage, as he does once in every fifty years, to grant the Beloved Students of the Guru a little time to have a vision of him. The Yogi Guru of Gnosis [Sabhapati Svāmī] realized this by means of his method of initiation (Mpv1. *tīkṣākīrama*, < Skt. *dīkṣākrama*) into the sight of the gnosis of Brahman (Mpv1. *pirammañāna tiruṣṭi*, < Skt. *brahmajñānadṛṣṭi*), in his formulated sight of gnosis, and through the sight of gnosis. Both merged with each other, and he perceived the connection. Akastiyaruṣi came within his vision and said, “You must come and join us at our hermitage.” Bewildered by this command (Mpv1. *ākñā*, < Skt. *ājñā*), he came from his place to the three banks [along the Ganges] of Rishikesh, Haridwar, and then Vindhyaçal. After coming to Vedashreni via Kishkindha and Srisailam, he worshipped with a poem of praise. . . . Afterwards he came to Chidambaram and spoke forth a song of praise. . . . After that, he visited Thirukkadayur, Tirupperunturai, Rameswaram, Madurai, Courtallam and then came to the mount called “Agastya’s Mountain,” which is his guru’s hermitage and the southern Kailasa. Having worshipped his teacher’s feet, he made the “Poem of Keeping the Teacher’s Command.”²³⁸

²³⁸ T2, 11. Tam.: “*kāsmīrattilirukkum poḷutu akastiyarāsramattilirukkun taṅ kuruvākiya civañānapōtaruṣiyāṅavar (50) varuṣattirku oruvicai, akastiya mahāruṣisvarar, taṅ āsrama ciṣyakurupīṭastarkaḷukku vantu taricaṅaṅkoṭukkuñcamayam vantuviṭṭamaiyāl, taṅ pirammañāna tiruṣṭi tīkṣākīramattāl avar ñāna tiruṣṭiyai inta ñānakuruyōki ñānatiruṣṭiyil kalappittatai yivararintu iruvaruñkalantavuṭaṅ akastiyaruṣi taricaṅantaravaruñcañkatiyai terivittu nī vuṭaṅē nammāsrāmam vantucērakkaṭavāyēṅru ākñāpittavuṭaṅē taṅṅiṭattilirunta mūṅru karaikkuṭukaiyakkōṅṭu ruṣikēcam harattuvāram vintācalam vantu piṅpu kiṣkintā, śrī kailam vētacirēṅi vantu oru stauttiyappāvālarccittaṅar. . . .*

The notion that Agastya only appears once in every fifty years had already been expressed in the Ur-account's publication in the *Theosophist* (March 1880, see above) as well as a section of VRY appended to the Ur-account, which I will reproduce in full here to facilitate a proper understanding of T2's mythological subtext that was informing Sabhapati's compulsion to return back to Mount Agastya:

The founder of our Ashram viz. His Holiness the Agastiya Moonee [< Skt. *muni*] who died according to the common chronology many thousand years *is still living*, with many of the other Rishees of his time. He lives in a cave on top of the hills. The entrance of the cave is three feet long and one foot broad. The present Yogies who live around this cave go to have the darshanam [< Skt. *darśana*] once in fifty years. At all other times the cave is inaccessible, and if any Yogi wants to pay special reverence, for some special reason he assumes the shape of a bird and then enters the cave. But at the appointed time (after fifty years) all the Yogies of the Ashram go in a procession, the door is spontaneously opened, and they prostrate themselves at the feet of the Holy Rishee who blesses them, and enjoins them to keep secret what passes in his presence and in the Ashram. All Shastras [Skt. *śāstras*] and Vedas and many other books which are now supposed to be lost, are also preserved in that cave: but our Holy Agastya Moonee has not allowed us to open them and reveal their contents to mankind, as the time has not come.²³⁹

The claim in the above assertion that Agastya is still alive prompted a question from at least one member of the Theosophical Society, and the Editors' response compared Sabhapati's

piṅpu citamparattukku vantu ekārccaṇaippā cārriṇār. . . . piraku, tirukkataiyu, tirupperunturai, rāmēsvaram, maturai, kurrālam, pāpanācam taricittu taṅṅūṭaiya kuruvīṇāsramamākiya takṣaṇakailācamākiya akastiyācalaparvatattirku vantu taṅ kurupātam vaṇaṅki kurākṅaparipālaṅappā ceytaṅar."

²³⁹ Ur-account, vi.

conviction of the reality of immortal rishis to a belief that the “moon is made of green cheese”—in other words, a belief that must be suspended.²⁴⁰ Yet there is something more being expressed in Sabhapati’s accounts that appears to transcend the level of argumentation over whether something is merely “true” or “false,” and it is here that we must again read between the hagiographical lines.

Sabhapati here appears to be perpetuating a mythology of yoga, similar to the “mythology of Tantric alchemy,” a phrase coined by David Gordon White to describe the diversity of Indian alchemical literature, some of which extends beyond mere laboratory instructions into the realm of myth.²⁴¹ The poems of praise that accompany the hagiography, especially at this stage of T1 and T2, serve to deepen this literary force even further. To see the course of events as merely false or unbelievable—while admittedly it is so, at least on a physical level—is to dismiss its function as a literary meaning-making apparatus that breathes life and purpose into the raw instructions of Sabhapati’s manual of Śivarājyoga.

The mythology of T2 goes on to recount the arrival of the Gnostics (Ñāṅikaḷ), the Rishis (Ruṣikaḷ), the Siddhas (Cittarkaḷ), and the Yogis (Yōkikaḷ) on Mount Agastya from the eleven mountain ranges, namely the Himalayas (Himāñcalam), Kush Mountain (Kuṣācala) Mount Abu (Apā:calam), Vindhya Mountain (Vintācalam), Kishkindha Mountain (Kiṣkintācalam), the Holy Kailasa Mountain (Śrī Kailācam), Bala Mountain (Pā:lācalam), Udhaga Mountain (Utakācalam) and Velliangiri (Velliyañ:ri) in the Nilgiris (Nīlakiri), Mahendragiri, and Kandy Mountain of the Mountains on Lanka. It also recounts the profound experience of Sabhapati’s vision (*darśana*) of Agastya in very detailed terms,

²⁴⁰ Another Hindu Theosophist, “Do the Rishis Exist?,” *The Theosophist: A Magazine of Oriental Philosophy, Art, Literature and Occultism* 4 (May 1883).

²⁴¹ White, *The Alchemical Body*, 74.

which I will treat in Chapter Three since it pertains more to the mythology of the Tamil Siddhas and certain intersections with Śaiva cosmology, as well as Chapter Five since it reads like a visualization to be performed in meditation (Skt. *dhyāna*). RYB, by contrast, provides a much more succinct account of the events that were believed to have transpired (translated from Hindi):

When he came this second time to the hermitage then he obtained the sight of Agastya Muni and of many rishis of his time. The people believed that this Agastya Muni was not alive, but such a thought was untrue.²⁴²

T2 records that the title “Rishi who is the Father of Gurus” (Kurupitāruṣi, henceforth translated “Guru Father Rishi”) was bestowed upon him soon after receiving this vision of Agastya, both supplementing and superseding his earlier title of “Yogi Guru of Gnosis” (*jñānaguruyogī*).

T2 dates Sabhapati’s vision of Agastya to “the full moon in the asterism of Chaitra (April/May, i.e. Chitra Pournami)” in 1880, but this appears to be based on a calculation from a parallel date from the Kali Yuga given in T1. We conclusively know from Section G that Sabhapati would have been in Lahore or the Kangra Hills during 1880 of the Common Era. As a result, one possible conjecture is that Sabhapati instead returned to the hermitage on Mount Agastya in the Pothigai Hills a few years later, sometime between 1881 and 1884, and from there returned to Madras (see below). CPSPS mentions that he made a promise to his guru before leaving Mount Agastya to fulfill two of his desires: 1) bringing the mode of worshipping the “imitated divine spiritual universal circle of the holy stone as Personal God,”

²⁴² RYB, page *kai* [the work uses the order of the Devanagari characters, beginning with “ka,” to paginate prefatory materials]. Hi.: “*yaha dūsare daphe jab āśrammē gaye tab agastya muni aur unōke kālke anek ṛṣiyōke darśan pāye. yaha agastya muni haiyāt nahī hai ēsā log samajate hai; lekīn ēsā vicār asatya hai.*”

that is, the “phallus” (Skt. *liṅga*) both in its “Kasi Lingum” and “Bana Lingum” forms, to both North and South India; and 2) to teach the people the “Spiritual Divine Vision.”²⁴³ After making this promise to his guru, our “Yogisver all in a sudden came to Madras,” which is where the biographical additions of CPSPS to the Ur-Account, entitled “The second visit of our Yogisver to his Guru and the second order of Guru to our Yogiswamy,” end.²⁴⁴

Another argument for Sabhapati’s presence in Madras by 1884 is that his followers would have been interested in his whereabouts and would have been able to verify his presence in the city, especially once the First Book of CPSPS was published in 1884. Indeed, by 1884 we learn of a network of “Admirers” starting to emerge across India, especially in Madras, who seem to have been partially responsible for disseminating Sabhapati’s works and to assist with publication efforts in various places (see Figure One). The two places listed from which CPSPS could be obtained were Meerut, where we know Shrish Chandra was living at this time, and Mylapore (Tam. Mayilāppūr) in Madras, where by this time a new “disciple” named M.S. Moorogasa Moodelliar (Murukēca Mudaliyār) was living near the eastern road (*māṭavīti*) surrounding the historic Kapaleeshwarar Temple (Kapālicuvarar Kōyil).²⁴⁵ On the other hand, Shrish Chandra’s details are given but he is only listed as an “Admirer,” not a “student” or “disciple.”

²⁴³ CPSPS, First Book, 19–21.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ CPSPS, First Book, vi. The address given is “Kapali Eeswarer East Madaveedi, Car Street Door No. 28, Mylapoor, Madras.”

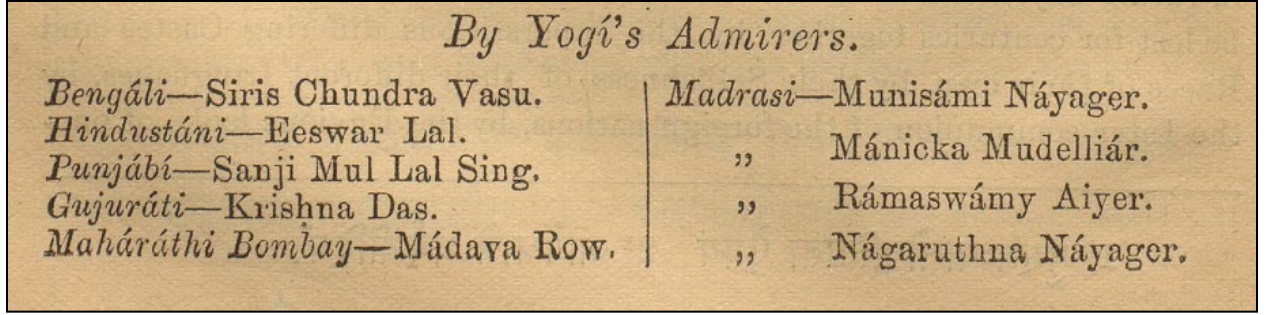


Figure One. The “Yogi’s Admirers” (CPSPS, First Book, 24).

Beginning with the First Book of CPSPS, which marks Sabhapati’s historical reemergence in Madras, we also see a “seal of REALITY” occur over a span of almost three decades, from 1884 to 1913, in the title pages of CPSPS, RYB, CTCSPV, and even MCVTS. This seal includes the names and/or titles of three “succeeding disciples” along with their relevant “callings” (Skt. *āvāhana*) or titles: 1) Nagaratna Yoginath (Nākarattiṇa Yōkināt) whose “calling was the gnosis of the constituents of reality” (MpvI. *tattuvakkiññāvāhana*, < Skt. *tattvajññāvāhana*); 2) Murugesha Yoginath (Murukēca Yōkināt) whose “calling was the vision of the gnosis of Brahman” (MpvI. *pirmakkiññatiruṣṭiyāvāhana*, < Skt. *brahmajññanadrṣṭyāvāhana*); and 3) Shishyanath (Ciṣṣiyanāt) whose calling was “initiation into the vision of the gnosis of every instruction” (MpvI. *carvōpatēcakkiññatiruṣṭi tīkṣkṣāvāhana*, < Skt. *sarvopadeśajññanadrṣṭidīkṣāvāhana*). Two of the names, “Nagaratna” and “Murugesha,” are recognizable (although there is unfortunately no additional information about “Shishyanath”), which confirms that Sabhapati Swami by 1884 had attracted two additional disciples in Tamil Nadu to help carry out his work. The first was undoubtedly “M. Nagarathanum Moodliar [Tam.: Ma Nākarattiṇam Mutaliyār], Gnyan Guru Yogi Sabhapati Swami’s Son and disciple,” whose address was in the Mylapore area of Madras, opposite a

large tank called Chitrakulam, still extant but undergoing renovation as of 2018.²⁴⁶ The other disciple was one M. Mooragasa Moodliar (Ma Murukēca Mudaliyār). These two disciples were instrumental in publishing Sabhapati Swami’s first extant full-length work in Tamil, CTCSPV, published in Madras in 1889, accompanied by numerous vividly-illustrated diagrams (see Chapter Two).

T2 for its part omits mention of Madras but records that after Sabhapati obtained his vision of Agastya then he stayed for two years on Agastya’s eponymous mountain before descending from his mountaintop experience:

In this manner he dwelt for a period of two years in the hermitage’s cave, and afterwards at his guru’s command again set out for the Nilgiris for a few days before descending and embarking on a pilgrimage to all the sacred sites in the northern regions. He showed favor there to the people of all places, and printed his sacred writings in various languages.

It therefore appears most likely that Sabhapati returned to Madras before 1884 from Mount Agastya (or some other location where he could retreat from his supporters, if the hermitage is in fact entirely mythical). From Madras he took yet another trip north after overseeing the publication of CTCSPV, likely after 1889. This time part of the journey included a journey, probably via rail, to Bombay, the City of Dreams.

²⁴⁶ The address listed is “No. 2, Brahmin Street, south of Chitracotum [*sic*], Mylapore, Madras.” I visited this address in the summer of 2018, and discovered the streets have since been renumbered. When I found the old number, I discovered his home had since been replaced with a modern apartment building.

I. Sabhapati in Bombay

The historical thread of Sabhapati's life resurfaces in March and April of 1890, when we discover him lecturing in Bombay, as attested by one Muncherjee M. Shroff, Librarian of the Bombay Branch of the Theosophical Society:

Swami Sabhapatee, who is known to have come out of the Agastya Rishi's Ashramum in the Nilgherries, has been in Bombay for the past two months and delivered a series of six lectures in the Framjee Cowasjee Institute on Creation and Evolution and Purification of mind and soul. The lectures were illustrated by diagrams. He has been initiating some hundreds of men into the practical system of Raj-yoga, as he calls it. The Swamy says that he will persuade all his disciples to join the Theosophical Society. It is a question whether the Theosophical Society should or should not identify itself with such Guru-Yogis, and Swamis, and it is hoped our beloved Colonel will throw some light on this subject.²⁴⁷

The foundation stone for the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, mentioned in the excerpt and named after the Parsi trader and humanitarian Framji Cowasji Banaji (Phrāmjī Kavasjī Bānājī, 1767–1851), was posthumously laid in 1862, and lectures on a wide variety of various topics were regularly held at the institute (now a Hall and Reading Room). Colonel Olcott responded to Shroff's query in a snarky footnote:

The "beloved Colonel" repeats what he has often said already, that all this running after Yogis, Gurus and Hermetic Brotherhoods of sorts, that promise to put students into a short cut to adeptship, is criminal folly and sheer childishness. The particular

²⁴⁷ M. Muncherjee Shroff, "The Work in Bombay," *Supplement to The Theosophist: A Magazine of Oriental Philosophy, Art, Literature and Occultism* XI (April 1890): cxxiv. I am grateful to Kurt Leland for bringing this reference to my attention.

Yogi in question I have known for years, and while it is kind of him to advise people to join the Theosophical Society, I should like to see his credentials before undertaking to believe that he ever went into or came out of Agasthya's Ashrum. Olcott's response is notable for its criticism of "Hermetic Brotherhoods" alongside yogis and gurus, which indicates that by this time he may have been aware of the growth of rival occult societies following the Theosophical Society's start in 1875, such as the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor (founded in 1885), some members of which were interested in acquiring some of Sabhapati's publications,²⁴⁸ or the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn (founded in 1887; see Chapter Seven).

Credentials or no, Olcott's skepticism about Agastya did little to dampen Sabhapati's popularity in Bombay; on the contrary, the Second Book of CPSPS was published out of Bombay in 1890 with an additional section in Marathi specifically for readers of that language, and his Hindi and Sanskrit work (RYB, almost entirely in the Devanagari script) would be published only two years later, in 1892, by Bombay's Tattvavivecak Press (see Chapter Two for its relationship with VRY and Sabhapati's other works). This book does not name an editor or translator but does provide a song praising Sabhapati by the pandit Jwalaprasad Mishra (Jvālaprasād Mīśra, 1862–1916) of Moradabad (Murādābād), an important figure in the formation of Hindi literature who likely assisted with its publication in that language.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ Patrick D. Bowen, "'The Real Pure Yog': Yoga in the Early Theosophical Society and the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor," in *Imagining the East: The Early Theosophical Society*, ed. Tim Rudbøg and Erik Reenberg Sand (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 143–65.

²⁴⁹ Haramohana Lāl Sūda, *Bhāratendu maṅḍal ke samānāntara aur āpūrak murādābād maṅḍal* (New Delhi: Vāṇī Prakāśan, 1986), 78–84. I am grateful to Jason Schwartz for pointing out Jwalaprasad Mishra's broader significance in the development of Hindi literature.

An order slip in the copy of CPSPS held by the British Library serves to further confirm these dates, noting Sabhapati's temporary address "up to 1st of June 1891" as in the care of "Jamsetjee Pestonjee Patel Esqr: 47 Frere Road, Mody Baug, Bombay." His permanent address "after the 1st of June 1891," however, is "M. Mooragasa Moodliar, Gnyan Guru Yogi Sabapathy Swami's Son and Disciple," residing at "Door No. 2 Brahmin Street, South to Chitracolum, Mylapore, MADRAS." This is the same Mooragasa Moodliar who had, together with Nagarathanum Moodliar, assisted with the publication of CTCSPV (see Section H).

J. Agastya and the Konnur Meditation Hall and Hermitage of Asceticism

Following this trip to Bombay and the "northern regions," T2 records that he returned to Madras (Cennai). However, the place that caught his eye was not Mylapore or Velachery as one might expect, as the following excerpt makes clear (translated from Tamil):

He then approached the city of Chennai and is in Holy Konnur in Villivakkam. In ancient times Agastya established a pilgrimage bathing site of Agastya and a temple of Agastya at a forest of bael trees (Mpv1. *vilvavaṇam*, < Skt. *bilvavana*) where he slew the asuras Vatapi and Ilvala. He instituted a large pool, called the Offering Pool (Yākakuṇṭam, < Skt. *yajñakuṇḍa*), and made an offering (Mpv1. *yāka*, < Skt. *yajña*) upon coming to Holy Konnur. He approached the large pool, and was in his gnostic vision of the past, present, and future (Mpv1. *tirikāla nāṇatiruṣṭi*, < Skt. *trikārajñānadrṣṭi*) while on the ground in steadfast devotion. While in his steadfast devotion, he also established a hermitage and abode of instruction (Mpv1. *maṭālayam*, < Skt. **maṭhālaya*) after a short time. He dwelled there in that place and made

sacrifices at the great lake called the Offering Pool. On the ground at the north side of this Pool of Sacrifice was where the Lord of All (Carvēsvara, < Skt. Sarveśvara) had given the vision of his dance (Mpv1. *naṭanam*, < Skt. *naṭana*) of five activities (Mpv1. *pañcakiruttiam*, < Skt. *pañcakṛtya*) to Agastya, and where his disciples had gone to perform worship rites to 1,008 lingas and 108 shaligrams.²⁵⁰

Holy Konnur (Thirukoṇṇūr, pop. lit.: Konnur, Connoor) was a village in the Saidapet Taluk of Chingleput District that today has been almost entirely subsumed within the northwest Chennai suburb of Villivakkam (Villivākkam), a name also mentioned in the above quote; Villivakkam began as a neighboring village immediately to the south of Konnur but must have already been expanding to encompass Konnur even by that time. In any event, Konnur by the time of Sabhapati’s arrival in the late 1890s was still a tiny village at a good distance away from Fort St. George, Black Town, or the Esplanade, then some of the main urban centers of Madras. The Chennai to Arrakonam railway line—still running today—connected the village to Madras, however, making it accessible to the city, the rest of the Presidency, and India more broadly (cf. Figure Four in Section K.2 below). The village had a post office and a still-active large temple to Perumal (Tam.: Perumāl, a Tamil name for Viṣṇu), but the village otherwise would have been quite sleepy and rural.

A temple to Agastya named the Arulmigu Agatheeswarar Temple (Tam.: Aruḷmiku Akastīsvarar Tirukkōyil) along with a large tank is also still extant at the location alluded to in the quote from T2 above. The 1961 Census of India surveyed this temple and dated it to

²⁵⁰ T2, 13. Tam.: “*vilvavaṇattil ātiyil akasttiyar vātāpi, vilvāpiyacurālaikkonru akasttiyāralayamum, akasttiya tīrtamum stāpittu ipperēri ye:ṇpatil yākakunṭam erpaṭutti yākañceyupōṇa tirukkoṇṇūrirkuvantu pērērikku yaṭutta nilattil niṣṭaiyilirukkumpoḷuthu taṇ tirikāla ṇāṇatirusūṭiyil, tāṇ niṣṭaiyilirukkumiṭam akasttiyaruṣi koṇcakālam maṭālayayācīrmam erpaṭutti, vacittupōṇayītamāyūm, pērēri avar yākañceyayākakunṭamāyūm inta yākakunṭavaṭapurānilattil akasttiyarukku carvēsvarar taṇ pañcakiruttiya naṭana taricaṇam koṭuttatāyūm, 1008 liṅkaṅkaḷai 108 cālikkirāmaṅkaḷai taṇ ciṣyarkaḷ pūjittu pōṇatāyūm.*”

the sixteenth century, and the architecture and the sculptures of the temple reveal some artistic similarities with Vijayanagara-era temples in Hampi and Srisailam;²⁵¹ in any case the temple must have predated Sabhapati’s arrival by at least several centuries. A published pamphlet about this site in Tamil, entitled *Vilvāranyat tala purāṇac curukkam* (“Summary of the Legend of the Sacred Site of the Bael Forest”), refers not only to T2’s bael forest in its very title but also to the same destruction of Vatapi and Ilvala by Agastya in Villivakkam.²⁵² The earliest known mention of this story appears to be in the third book (Skt. *parvan*) of the Mahābhārata epic, entitled the “Āraṇyakaparvan,” chapter ninety-nine according to Sørensen’s order²⁵³ and chapter ninety-seven according to Sukthankar’s numbering of the *parvan*.²⁵⁴ Agastya’s digestion of the two “demon” (Skt. *daitya* or *āsura*) brothers Ilvalan and Vātāpi—the latter of whom even has an ancient temple site named after him in Badami, Karnataka—accords precisely with their mention in T2 above, and deepens our understanding of the textual mythos of Agastya that is constantly referred to in Sabhapati’s works (see Chapter Three).

Yet we know that Sabhapati was not simply a devotee (Skt. *bhakta*) but a “guru of gnosis,” after all. According to T2, it was not long before he founded “the Guru Father Rishi Meditation Hall [Mpv]. *maṭālayam*, < Skt. *maṭha* + *ālaya*] of the order of Agastya” in Konnur.²⁵⁵ There he also “facilitated the establishment of 1,008 lingas and the establishment

²⁵¹ I am grateful to Seth Powell for introducing me to the significance of using figures “etched in stone” to help date temples and explore previously unknown connections between disparate sites.

²⁵² Aruṭkavī Śrī Tēvī Karumārī Tāsar, *Vilvāranyat tala purāṇac curukkam* (Villivākkam, Ceṇṇai: Iḷaiṇār Aruṭpaṇi Maṇṇam, 2000). Cf. Alexis Sanderson, “The Saiva Literature,” *Journal of Indological Studies*, no. 24 & 25 (2012-2013) (2014): 88 for the importance of *sthalapurāṇa* literature in Tamil.

²⁵³ Søren Sørensen, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1904), 237 (Ilvala); 720 (Vātāpi).

²⁵⁴ Vishnu S. Sukthankar, *The Āraṇyakaparvan (Part 1), Being the Third Book of the Mahābhārata the Great Epic of India* (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute: Poona, 1942), 339–41. See also Zvelebil, *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature*, 238 and Appendix Three in general.

²⁵⁵ MCVTS, 14. Tam.: “. . . koṇṇūrīl akastiyavarkka kurupitāruṣi maṭālayam stāpittu . . .”

of 108 shaligrams.”²⁵⁶ The word *maṭālayam* is of course difficult to translate, and it could be argued that the Indic loan-words “matha” (< Hi. *maṭh*, < Skt. *maṭha*) or “ashram” (< Hi. *āśram*, < Skt. *āśrama*) are closer approximations to *maṭālayam* than what the phrase “meditation hall” communicates today. However, we know that Sabhapati had an interest in teaching through the use of “meditation halls” (using that exact phrase in English), and RYB calls them *maṭh sthāns* that included a “Hall for the maintenance of a library and residence of chief guiders and mesmerisers.”²⁵⁷ It is highly possible that the *maṭālayam* in Konnur was at least partially built on this model. By “mesmerisers” he mostly meant initiatory gurus, as evident by a diagram that directly translates the Sanskrit word *dīkṣā* with the English word “mesmerism,” which is as interesting as it is potentially misleading.²⁵⁸

We can be certain that the Guru Father Rishi “meditation hall” was at least partially established by 1889, as CTCSPV mentions the presence of this hall directly in the main text. It also refers to it in an insert as “Konnur Guru’s Meditation Hall” (Tam. *koṇṇūr kirāma kurumaṭālayam*). In the main text the Chief of the Meditation Hall (Mpv1. *maṭātipati*) is referred to as none other than this same Mooragasa Moodliar (Murukēcacuvāmi, see Sections H and I), and in both cases the village number is given as 73, which matches a survey map from this period (see Section K.2 below).

Furthermore, a few relatively short texts from 1894 survive, authored by Sabhapati, that also mention his name in conjunction with the *maṭālayam*. One is a multi-part series entitled “Synopsis of all the Āgamas” (Tam. *Cakālākama tiraṭṭu*), which was published in

²⁵⁶ T2, 13. Tam.: “*yatil (1008) līnkappiratiṣṭaiceyya (108) cālikkirāmapiratiṣṭaiceyya . . .*”

²⁵⁷ CPSPS, Second Book, 419–26.

²⁵⁸ Compare CPSPS, Second Book, 390–91; RYB, 118–19; and MCVTS, inserted diagrams between pages 44 and 45 of the main text. For the way that this would have compared and contrasted with the “mesmerism” of Henry Olcott and other Theosophists see Karl Baier, “Mesmeric Yoga and the Development of Meditation within the Theosophical Society,” *Theosophical History: A Quarterly Journal of Research* XVI, no. 3 and 4 (October 2012): 151–61.

Madras, distributed by one Mayilai Munisami Nayager (Mayilai Muṇicāmi Nāyakar), and authored (lit. “examined,” Tam. *pārvaiyiṭuppaṭṭu*) by none other than Jnanaguru Sabhapati Yogishwara (Jñānaguru Sabhāpati Yogīśvara) of the Konnur Meditation Hall (Koṇṇūr Maṭālaya Ṇāṇakuru Capāpati Yōkīsvarar).²⁵⁹ The series of booklets contain various instructions for different rituals to be conducted on various holy days of the Hindu and astrological calendar, such as Vinayaga / Ganesh Chaturthi (MpvI. *viṇāyakacaturtti*, < Skt. *vināyakacaturthī*), Diwali (MpvI. *tīpāvali*, < Skt. *dīpāvali*), Navaratri (MpvI. *navarāttiri viratam*, < Skt. *navarātri vrata*), the day of the winter solstice (MpvI. *caṅkirāntti*, < Skt. *saṃkrānti*), and for rituals of “pradosham” (MpvI. *piratōṣam*, < Skt. *pradoṣa*). Another pamphlet that Sabhapati released this same year (1894) was *Aṭukkunilai pōtam*, “The Order of the State of Awakening” a work attributed to Agastya. The original edition appears to be no longer extant, although the work was reprinted without Sabhapati’s name listed. The original book was registered with the Madras Record Office and a short description of it exists in the catalogue page of the aforementioned *Cakālākama tiraṭṭu* (Part I-A), indicating it was published for the same audience as “Synopsis of all the Āgamas.”

The next we read of the Konnur Meditation Hall is in 1898, in a booklet entitled “Instructions on the Exercises and Practice of the Rites that are Engaged by Jñāna Guru

²⁵⁹ Ṇāṇakuru Capāpati Yōkīsvarar, *Amcumati cūriyamūrttikup pōtitta cakalākama tiraṭṭu. itil civālayamātapūjai, viṇāyakacaturtti, caṅkaṭacaturtti . . . tira aṭaṅkiyirukkiṇṇaṇa*, Part I (Madras: Printed by N. Kupusawmy Chettiar at the Duke of Edinburgh Press, 1894); Ṇāṇakuru Capāpati Yōkīsvarar, *Amcumati cūriyamūrttikup pōtitta cakalākama tiraṭṭu. itil caṅkirāntti, tiruvācaluṛcavam, tīpāvali (naraka caturttaci) aṭaṅkiyirukkiṇṇaṇa*, Part I-A (Madras: Printed by N. Kupusawmy Chettiar at the Duke of Edinburgh Press, 1894); Ṇāṇakuru Capāpati Yōkīsvarar, *Amcumati cūriyamūrttikup pōtitta cakalākama tiraṭṭu. itil tēppōṛcavam, navarāttiri viratam, parācatti ānanta taricaṇap pūjai aṭaṅkiyirukkiṇṇaṇa*, Part I-C (Madras: Printed by C. Murugesu Mudalyar at the Hindu Theological Press, 1894); Ṇāṇakuru Capāpati Yōkīsvarar, *Amcumati cūriyamūrttikup pōtitta cakalākama tiraṭṭu. itil vināyakar, cuppiramaṇiyar, cūkkiravāram, caṣṭi, aṅkārakacaturtti, tiruvātirai viratam mutaliyavai aṭaṅkiyirukkiṇṇaṇa*, Part I-D (Madras: Printed by C. Murugesu Mudalyar at the Hindu Theological Press, 1894). A bibliographical reference exists for Part I-B, which seems non-existent, but not Part I (without a letter), so it is possible that Part I is in fact Part I-B or that the order is switched in another way.

Yogīsvara Sabhāpati Svāmī of the Hermitage of Asceticism that is Konnur Meditation Hall” (Tam. *Koṇṇūr kñāṇa kurumaṭālaya tapācīrmattiṇṭaiya ṅāṅakuru yōkīsvara capāpati svāmikaḷ aṅukkirakitta cātaṅāppiyāsāṅupava upatēcam*). This booklet, only eleven pages long, contains some basic practices, mantras, and meditations to be done at various times of the day. Yet notice the expansion of the name of Konnur Meditation Hall to now include “Hermitage of Asceticism (Mpv. *tapācīrmam*, < Skt. *tapāśrama*). The indication is clear that this is now not just a “meditation hall” but a hermitage for *tapas*, that frustratingly untranslatable word that has a range of semantic meanings from various physical ascetic practices that were later incorporated into Haṭhayoga to cultivating an inner heat.

The next decade and a half seems to have been fortunate for Sabhapati, who attracted a wide range of new students and devotees, both male and female, to the Konnur Meditation Hall and Hermitage of Asceticism. Little is known about his precise activities in the fifteen years between 1889 and 1913, but we know that he was definitely still living in 1913, at around age eighty-five, since instructions are given on how to travel to Konnur and meet him or write him via post. It is evident that Sabhapati channelled his efforts more specifically into Tamil students and the Tamil language, culminating in a new work published that year. T2 records the following (translated from Tamil):

He created and graciously bestowed a revealed scripture, recollected teaching, and sacred writing, which facilitates instruction in the Dravidian language of Tamil, and in it he showed the performance of action, the gnosis of yoga, and all kinds of austerities, practices of the rites, exercises, and gnososes of all the principles of being,

as well as in forty diagrams of the principles of being and in diagrams of meditation (*tiyāṇapaṭaṅkaḷ*).²⁶⁰

This new work appears to be Sabhapati Swamigal’s last independent work (i.e., that is not a reprint). As mentioned in Section A above, two versions exist; a short version of around forty-four pages (plus front matter) and a long version of 108 pages, the original front matter plus some additions, such as T2. The additional pages are not listed in the table of contents (Tam. *aṭṭavaṇai*), which is a remarkable amount of text (sixty-four pages in all) to not be accounted for. It is possible that the larger version may have been designed for teachers, or was added later, or was only released to the public on a limited basis, especially since it was the shorter version that was registered with the Madras Record Office, a copy of which found its way into the collection of the British Library in London. In any event both versions of the work included a veritable wealth of instructions on mantras and meditations not only pertaining to Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, and Śākta ritual devotion but also include mantras for many other gods, goddesses, and astrological bodies. Most importantly of all for the purposes of this dissertation, both versions also include a coherent explanation of Śiva’s Rājayoga and where it stands in relation to Haṭhayoga and Rājayoga (or Haṭharājayoga, as he calls Rājayoga; see Chapter Four). In short, the establishment of the Konnur Meditation Hall and the Hermitage of Asceticism as early as 1889 had all but inspired a new wave of growth for Sabhapati and his students, the latter of whom were eager to put his teachings into practice.

²⁶⁰ T2, 13. Tam.: “. . . karmakkiriyā yōkakñāṇa carvavita tapaṅkaḷaiyum, cātaṇāppiyācaṅkaḷaiyum, aṇṇupavaṅkaḷaiyum, tattuvakñāṇaṅkaḷaiyum (40) tattuvapaṭaṅkaḷil, tiyāṇapaṭaṅkaḷil kāṭṭi upatēcāṇṅkkiharamāy tamil tirāviṭa pāṣaiyil curuti smiruti cāstirañceyaruḷi (carva vicāraṇā cātaṇāṇṇupava caṅkiraha vētōpatēcam) eṇṇum cāstira nāmantaṇṇācīrma kurupūṭastarkaḷāl tarappaṭṭa nāmattōṭu acciṭappaṭṭirukkiṇṇratu .”

K. South Indians to the Fore: Om Prakash Swamigal and Ramalinga Swamigal

By 1913, Sabhapati's followers were spread out around the Nilgiri Hills in Ooty (present-day Udhagamandalam), Coonoor, as well as elsewhere in Tamil Nadu, including Madras and Trichy (present-day Tiruchirappalli), as attested by a list of names given in his Tamil work (see Figure Two). Many of these followers had various occupations, which are also listed as English words rendered into Tamil, such as "head accountant" (Tam. Eng. *heṭ akkavuṇṭeṇṭu*), "contractor" (*kaṇṭirākṭar*), and even "Madras governor's head butler" (*meṭrās kavarṇar heṭ paṭlar meṭrās*). While the central point was still the Konnur Meditation Hall and Hermitage of Asceticism, as mentioned in MCVTS, the network by this time had grown to encompass new areas of Tamil Nadu that don't appear to have been previously reached.

இந்த சரஸ்திரம் அச்சிட உதவிய செய்த இந்த சரஸ்திர கார்த்தாவின்
சிஷ்யர்களின் நாமங்கள்

- ஸ்ரீலக்ஷ்மி ஓம் பிரகாசசுவாமி யோகீஸ்வரர் மடாதிபதி காந்தல்மடம் நீலகிரி.
மகா-ரா-ஸ்ரீ செல்வப்பரவர்கள் ஹைகோர்ட்டு பிளீடர், ஓடகமண்டு நீலகிரி.
,, கந்தசாமிபிள்ளை ஹெட் அக்கவுண்டெண்டு ,,
,, குமாரசாமிபிள்ளை கண்டிராக்டர், காந்தல் நீலகிரி.
,, முருகேசம்பிள்ளை மெட்ராஸ் கவர்ணர் ஹெட் பட்லர் மெட்ராஸ்.
,, பெருமாள்சாமி நாயிடு பாத்திரக்கடை, ஓடகமண்டு நீலகிரி.
,, திருவேங்கிடசாமி பிள்ளை பாரஸ்ட் டிப்போ ,,
,, மதுரைமுத்து ஆசாரி மாஜிஸ்ட்ரேட் கோர்ட்டு, கூணூர், நீலகிரி.
,, தாசய்ய கவுண்டர் சானிடெரி இன்ஸ்பெக்டர், ,,
,, பெரிய அப்பாவுபிள்ளை கண்டிராக்டர் ,,
,, ஜம்புலிங்கம் பிள்ளை முனிசிபல் மானேஜர் ,,
,, பெரிசாமி பிள்ளை Nev. Albean Press Manager ,,
,, அண்ணாசாமி நாயிடு, அப்பாத்திகிரி, போதனூர்.
,, விஜயரங்க முதலியார் ஏஜண்டு, மெக்டோவல் & கோ, மெட்ராஸ்.
,, விஸ்வநாதமுதலியார் கெவர்ண்மெண்டு அக்கவுண்டெண்டு திருச்சி.
,, சிவக்ஞான முதலியார் பிளீடர், புத்தூர் திருச்சி.
,, கெஜராஜமுதலியார் அசிஸ்டெண்டு கன்சர்வேட்டர், திருச்சி.
,, துரைசாமி ஐயர் Best & Co., திருப்பூர்.
,, செங்கல்வராய நாயிடு, டிப்டி சர்வேயர், உறையூர்.
,, திருமலைசாமி நாயிடு G. T. S. ஆபீஸ் புத்தூர், திருச்சி.
,, குப்புசாமி நாயிடு C. S. S. ஆபீஸ் புத்தூர், திருச்சி.
,, T. A. Shunmugam Pillay Proprietor,
S. George & Co., Trichy.
,, M. Shunmugam Pillay Compositor,
S. George & Co., Trichy.

Figure Two. A list of Sabhapati's new wave of Tamilian students who helped make MCVTS possible, published in MCVTS, 6.

1. Om Prakash Swamigal: From Engineering Draftsman to Yogi

The most notable name on the Tamil list of Sabhapati's supporters in Figure Two, also evident by his name at the top of the list, is Om Prakash Swamigal (Om Pirakāca Cuvāmika); Om Pirakāccuvāmi Yokīsvāra, August 11, 1872 – December 14, 1947). The full name and title on the list could be translated as “The highly auspicious Om Prakash Swami Yogishwarar, chief of the Kandal meditation hall in the Nilgiris” (Tam. *śrīlaśrī om*

pirakāccuvāmi yōkīsvārar maṭātipati kāntalmaṭam nīlakiri). Om Prakash was born in a suburb of Chennai called “Varata Rājappēṭṭai” (possibly Varadharajapuram) to one Rayavelur Ve. Mu. Gopalswamy Pillai (Rāyavēlūr Ve. Mu. Kōpālacuvāmi Piḷḷai) and Sironmani Amaravathi (Cirōṇmaṇi Amarāvati). In his childhood he received the holy name “Tulsilinga” (Mpv. *tuḷacilīṅkam*, < Skt. *tulasīṅga*) at a temple to Perumal. As is the case with many hagiographical accounts of saintly people, his only known biographical account stresses his positive qualities and virtues during childhood and adolescence but is otherwise a very useful starting point to construct a history of this elusive figure.²⁶¹ He attended school, but even while there he had a constant attraction to temple rituals, and appears to have been religiously-minded from an early age. A few brief narrative sketches are given in the account that illustrate this, which I will summarize below to give some context for his interest in yoga and religious rituals leading up to his meeting with Sabhapati.

One day a well-known person from the “land of Malayalam” (Mpv. *malaiyāḷa tēcam*; at that time Travancore State, much of which is now modern Kerala) came by chance to his house from an adjacent street. Impressed with his devotion, he wrote a song for use in his ceremonies that both of them would sing regularly in the morning and night. Apparently Om Prakash could not get enough of what the man could teach him, and after a few months would sneak out the window regularly with his friends while his parents were sleeping so that he could learn more from him about the “wealth of worship rites” (Mpv. *pūjā tiraviyaṅkaḷ*, < Skt. *pūjā dravya*).²⁶²

²⁶¹ Śrī Ti. Ku. Kōvintacāmi Piḷḷai, *Nīlakiri, utakamaṅṅalam, tirukkāntal śrī takṣiṇāmūrtti maṭam lōkōpakāra vityātāṅa capai stāpakar acalapīṭam śrīmat ompirakāsa cuvāmikaḷ carittirac curukkam* (Tirupparāyṭṭuṅai: Śrīmat Citpavānanta Cuvāmikaḷatu muṅṅurāiyuṭaṅ kūṭiyatu, 1957), 13–20.

²⁶² Ibid., 5.

He seems to have been especially fond of Ganesh (Gaṇapati, Vināyakar) as a child, so much so that one day the idol of Ganesh that had been worshipped during the festival of the “Fourth Lunar Day of Vinayagar” (Mṣvl.: *vināyaka caturtti*) had been submerged and left behind in some water according to tradition, and Om Prakash without anyone knowing pulled it out of the water and hid it in a room of his house behind a stack of earthen pots. When his mother found it and asked why he put it there, he started crying and gave it to his mother and told her to put it in their room for worship rites (Mṣvl./Tam. *pūjai arai*).²⁶³

His account also recounts an interesting childhood story where he and his friends acted in a play depicting the story of Markandeya (Mārkaṇṭhyar) and Yama (Yamaṅ). One of his friends, dressed as Yama, cast the noose over Markandeya, who was hiding in a basket. Om Prakash, who was dressed as Shiva, emerged furiously and started kicking Yama to preserve Markandeya’s life.²⁶⁴ This particular anecdote in the account seems to at once highlight his ability to immerse himself in a role, useful in ritual worship, as well as the difficulty he could have in separating his own identity from such a dramatic simulation.

The account also devotes some attention to Om Prakash’s interest in books, noting that along the way to Chennai some booksellers had set up shop. Approaching one, he asked for a recommendation since he had no idea what book to get. The seller gave him a book entitled *Civānantapōtam*, “The Awakening of the Bliss of Śiva,” the price of which was one anna (at that time a currency denoting 1/16 of a rupee).²⁶⁵ After taking that home and reading it thoroughly, he was then given a book of the songs of one Kunangudi Masthan Sahib (Kuṇaṅkuṭi Mastāṅ Cāyapu, also Cākipu), a scholar from a Muslim family who appears to

²⁶³ Ibid., 5–6.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 6.

²⁶⁵ This could have been an earlier edition of *Civānantapōtam* (Cennai: Manonmanivilācam Accukkūtam, 1897).

have been active in the Royapuram (Irāyapuram) area of Chennai in the early nineteenth century and composed songs relating to the Tamil Siddhas, among other topics.²⁶⁶

Om Prakash apparently also enjoyed composing poems and hymns on the gods (Mpv. *teyvāṅkaḷ*), and would visit Thiruttani (Tiruttāṇi) and Thiruporur (Tiruppōrūr) out of devotion to Murugan (Murugaṅ, identified with Kartikeya and Skanda).²⁶⁷ The account also reveals that by this time he had two idols for contemplative worship (Mpv. *upācaṅā mūrttikal*, < Skt. *upāsanā mūrti*) in his personal temple room (Mpv./Tam. *pūjai arai*), Gaṅapati (Tam.: Kaṅapati, i.e. Ganesh) and Daṅḍapāṇi (Tam. Taṅṭapāṇi), in this case most likely a form of Murugan although it could also be a form of Viṣṇu.

After his initial “schooling on the veranda” (Tam. *tiṅṅaiṭṭikkūṭa*)²⁶⁸ was complete, Om Prakash was sent to “Wesley High School” (Tam. Eng.: Vesli Haiskūḷ) in Royapettah (Irāyapettai) to learn English. The school, today Wesley Higher Secondary School, was founded in 1818 and boasts a considerable amount of famous alumni, such as the politicians C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar (1879–1966) and M.C. Rajah (1883–1945),²⁶⁹ who would have attended slightly later if not around the same time as him.

In 1890, the same year Sabhapati was lecturing in Bombay, Om Prakash left for Ooty in the Nilgiris (Nīlakiri) to visit the home of his paternal uncle (lit. “father’s younger brother,” Tam. *ciṛiya takappaṅ*). While he was there, his father and uncle wished to take him to the Dakshinamurthy Madalayam (Takṣiṅāmūrtti Maṭālayam) to obtain the sight of Balathandayuthapani (Pālataṅṭāyutapāṇi), a deity usually associated with the worship of

²⁶⁶ Piḷḷai, *Nīlakiri*, 7. For a short summary of Kuṅṅankuṭi Mastāṅ Cāyapu’s literary contributions, see Ci. Pālacuppiramaṇiyaṅ, *Tamiḷ ilakkiya varalāru* (Ceṅṅai: Maṅamalar patippakam, 1998), 231–32.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 8.

²⁶⁸ This refers to a common form of primary schooling during the colonial period in which a teacher would conduct classes on the raised veranda (*tiṅṅai*) of a house.

²⁶⁹ “Photo Gallery: Prominent Alumni,” Wesley Higher Secondary School website, <<http://www.wesleyschool.in/photogallery5.html>>. Accessed 2/16/2020.

Murugan.²⁷⁰ Popular evidence suggests that this hermitage had been established eight years prior, in 1882, by one Shri Ekambara Desikar (Śrī Ēkāmparatēcīkar) who was roaming in the Nilgiris looking for a place to meditate and had settled in Kandal (Kantal), then a village outside of Ooty.²⁷¹ Our account mentions that Om Prakash met both Shri Ekambara Desikar and a female ascetic named Shrimati Ratnam Ammani (Śrīmati Irattiṇam Ammaṇi), and they are both pictured in Om Prakash’s book *Śrī Satsampāṣiṇi*, first published in 1915.²⁷² The account also claims that Shri Ekambara Desikar was someone who was “acquainted with the rituals of Haṭhayoga,” or the “yoga of force.”²⁷³ This is the first mention we have of Om Prakash’s encounter with yoga, so we can assume that his serious interest in its study and practice started at this time, as an eighteen-year-old. He only stayed with his uncle for about a year, leaving for Chennai in 1891 to take his academic examination for university placement. Yet a year later, in 1892, both his mother father decided to permanently move to the Nilgiris, and Om Prakash accompanied them both. During this period he also studied literature and grammar with a student of the nineteenth-century scholar Sri Sabhapati Mudaliar (Śrī Caṇṇapati Mutaliyār, not to be confused with Sabhapati Swami) who was knowledgeable in “picture poems” (Mṇv. *cittirakkavi*, < Skt. *citrakavi*), in which the visual arrangement of letters makes for different combinations of poetry.²⁷⁴

Shortly after this he joined a “Draftsman” (Tam. *piḷāṇ eḷutum*, lit. “plan-writing”) section of the Office of the Army Chief Engineer, but he left when the office transferred to

²⁷⁰ Temples to Balathandayuthapani also exist in Malaysia, such as the Arulmigu Balathandayuthapani Temple in Penang.

²⁷¹ “Ooty Kasiviswanathar Temple,” in Wanderings of a Pilgrim: Blog on South Indian temples with focus on unique features and sthalapuranams. <<http://wanderingtamil.blogspot.com/2017/11/ooty-kasiviswanathar-temple.html>>. Accessed 16 February 2020.

²⁷² Ōm Pirakāca Cuvāmikaḷ, *Śrīsatsampāṣiṇi* (Nīlakiri: Śrī Carasvati Ācramam, 1915).

²⁷³ Piḷḷai, *Nīlakiri*, 10. Tam.: “śrī ēkāmpara tēcika cuvāmikaḷ haṭayōka anuṣṭāṇamum uḷḷavarkaḷ.”

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 11.

Bangalore (today Bengaluru in the state of Karnataka) and his parents didn't give him permission to move. Yet they allowed him travel to Mysore (today Mysuru, also in Karnataka), where he joined the Maharaja's Palace (Mpv1./Tam. *mahārājā araṇmaṇai*) as a draftsman instead. This would have been just at the time of a transition of power between Chamarajendra Wadiyar X (r. 1881–1894) and his son Krishna Raja Wadiyar IV (r. 1894–1940). Despite these prestigious appointments he appears to have had anxiety about worldly pursuits, and his mind was always elsewhere.

While traveling to Chennai for some work, his account records that Om Prakash met one Saangu Siddha Sivalinga Nayanar (Cāṅku Citta Civaliṅka Nāyaṇār, d. 1900), a swami whose tumulus (Skt. *jīva-samādhi*, see Section B above) is still extant and active in the Guindy (Tam. Kiṇḍi) area of the city, northwest of Velachery. The story goes that Saangu Siddha embraced him upon seeing him, initiated him, and gave Om Prakash the name Sadhu Swamigal (Cātu Cuvāmika!). A few days later he returned to the Nilgiris, reciting the mantras he received day and night.

It is here where the parallel stories of Om Prakash and Sabhapati finally converge. The account of their interaction, at first via a dream and later via letters in the post, is subtitled the obtaining of his “initiation into the gnosis of Brahman” (Mpv1. *pirammañāṇa tīkṣai* < Skt. *brahmajñānadīkṣā*), a section that I will produce here in full (translated from Tamil):

While at the Palace of the Mysore Raja he read the sacred writing *Pirammañāṇa Anuṣṭāṇa*, which he had obtained from a friend, and which was composed by the Yogi who is the Guru of Gnosis Sri Adi Sabhapati Swamigal [Ñāṇakuru Yōki Śrī Āti Capāpati Cuvāmika!], who is of the guru-lineage of the great sage Holy Agastya, that

great Siddha of the Pothigai Mountain. He wanted intensely to come forth in a state of steadfastness in the gnosis of Brahman, and he sent a poem in a letter to Chennai with reverence toward this great man. That great man, consenting to his wish, bestowed the favor of initiation (Mpv. *tīkṣānukraham*, < Skt. **dīkṣānugraha*) in the direction of Ooty on a full-moon night. A wise man (Mpv. *ñāṇi*, < Skt. *jñānin*) of mature age appeared in Sadhu Swamigal's dream. He paid him respect with an abundance of devotion (Mpv. *pakti*, < Skt. *bhakti*) and overflowing tears. His soul, being satisfied, was taken away to his caves. The great man, abundant with compassion, there gave him instruction in gnosis (Mpv. *ñāṇōpatēcam*, < Skt. *jñānopadeśa*) and then, after blessing him, he vanished. When he woke up and looked around, he saw that his bed had been soaked with tears, and his bliss was fulfilled. He did not sleep and was reflecting again and again on the holy guru's instruction until the break of dawn. The night had passed in a dream, and that day he told everything to his dear mother. The mother, her heart (Mpv. *akam*) being so very delighted, recorded the language of that instruction. She said that it was mysterious that such a method of practicing the rites had not been explained by anyone. Three days later he received via mail the book *Pirammañāṇa Anuṣṭāṇa*, along with a sacred portrait (Tam. *tiruvuruvaṇṇam*) of the yogi who is the guru of gnosis, some offering of ashes, and a letter. He became filled with great joy as he read the letter written by the Gurunātha, and he realized that he had received the initiation in a dream into the instruction of gnosis as well as some practices on the yoga of gnosis (Mpv. *ñāṇa yōkāpyācaṅkaḷ*, < Skt. *jñānayogābhyāsa*) and words of blessing. He was astonished and filled with an ecstasy of bliss. He performed the practice according to his holy guru's command. After some time passed, he went to Elk Hill,

then Pajē Swami Cave,²⁷⁵ and then he reached the mountains to the south of the Maharaja’s Palace in Mysore, all the while singing praises to the groups of Siddhars (Mpv. *cittar kaṇaṅkaḷ*, < Skt. **siddhagaṇa*) with his eyes tearful from devotion and his thoughts full of tenderness. He returned to his little room in the Palace and would perform a practice (Mpv. *apyācam*, < Skt. *abhyāsa*) until it became a habit (Tam. *vaḷakkamāyiruntatu*).²⁷⁶

From the above excerpt we can glean at least a few interesting points. First, Om Prakash’s experience of a dream immediately recalls Sabhapati’s own vision-like dream, analyzed in Section D of this chapter. As referenced earlier, this motif also uncannily resembles the Tirumalai Krishnamacharya’s own trance-like vision of his guru. Yet here we have a further practice being alluded to, that of “initiation” (Mpv. *tīkṣai*, < Skt. *dīkṣā*), which, as earlier mentioned, was directly translated as “mesmerism” in one of his English works, despite the fact that in his vernacular Indic-language works it equally recalls Tantric systems of initiation. Translation aside, initiation, as we will see in Chapter Four, is an important

²⁷⁵ It is unclear to which cave this refers, so I have left it untranslated with diacritics.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 13–14. Tam.: “*maicūr aracar araṇmaṇaiyil iruntapōtu mahācittarām potikācalam śrī akastiya māmuṇivar paramparaiyil vanta ṇṇakuru yōki śrī āti capāpati cuvāmikaḷ iyarriya pīrammaṇṇa anuṣṭāṇa cāstiram oru naṇpar vāyilākak kiṭaikkap perru paṭittuvaravē, anta pīrammaṇṇa niṣṭaiyiṇiṭattu mikunta avar pīrantu ammahāṇṇukku mikka vinayattuṭaṇ pācuram mūlamāka viṇṇappam onru tapāḷil ceṇṇaikkū aṇuppiṇār. ivaratu kōrikkaiṅku iṇaṅki ammahāṇṇum oru paurṇimai iravilē utakai ticaiyai nōkkit tīkṣānukraham puriyavē iviṭam cātu cuvāmikaḷuṭaiya cuvapṇattil vayatu mutirnta or ṇṇi puruṣar tōṇriṇār. avarai pakti mikutiyaḷ kaṇṇār perukki upacarittu ātaṇattirutti taṇ kuhaikaḷai eṭuttucollavum, mahāṇ karuṇaikūrntu ṇṇōpatēcam ceytu ācīrvatittu maṇṇaintaṇar. viḷippaṭaintu pārkkumpōtu uṇmaiyaḷkavē tam paṭukkai kaṇṇiṇiṇāl naṇaintirukkakkaṇṇu āṇantamurru tūṅkāmālē śrī kuruviṇ upatēcattai mūṇṇum mūṇṇum cintittukoṇṇiruntu, poḷutu pularntatum iravu coppaṇattil nikaḷntavarrai ellām tamatu arumait tāyāriṭam colla, avvammaiyār akam mika makiḷntu avvupatēca moḷikaḷaik kuṇṇittuvaittukkoṇṇu ataṇai irakaciyamāka cātaṇai ceytuvarumpaṭiyāḷkavum, ataṇai yāriṭamum terivikkāmāl irukkumpaṭiyāḷkavum coṇṇārkaḷ. itu nikaḷnta mūṇṇāmnāl tapāl mūlamāka pīrahma ṇṇāṇuṣṭāṇa pustakam anta ṇṇakuru yōkikaḷuṭaiya tiruvuvappaṭam, vipūṭippiracātam maṇṇum or kaṭitamum varapperrup pērāṇantamuṇṇāki kuruntaṇ elutiya nirupattaip paṭittapōtu tam cuvapṇattil pērā ṇṇōpatēca tīkṣaiyum, maṇṇum cila ṇṇa yōkāpyācaṅkaḷum ācīr vacaṇaṅkaḷum irukkakkaṇṇu āccaryamum, āṇanta paravacamum aṭaintārkaḷ. śrī kuruviṇ ākṇaiyiṇpaṭi apyācamum ceytuvantārkaḷ. camayam nērum pōtēllām (Elk Hill) elk hil malaikkuppōy pajē cuvāmi kuhaikkum, maicūr makārājā araṇmaṇaikkut terkilulla malaikkum ceṇru aḷuta kaṇṇum paktiyāḷ urukiya cintaiyumāka cittar kaṇaṅkaḷaip pāṭittutittu tirumpuvatum, araṇmaṇaiyil or ciṇriya aṇriyil apyācam ceytuvaruvatum vaḷakkamāyiruntatu.”*

technique in his works of yoga, to which is devoted several pages and diagrams. This excerpt in particular shows that Sabhapati (and Om Prakash for that matter) believed that initiation could be conferred not just through physical contact but also at a distance through the medium of dreams, in this case while the student is dreaming but the guru is awake and consciously bestowing this initiation on a full-moon night. Second, the excerpt above shows that Sabhapati was involved in active correspondence through the mail, including the shipment of his English and vernacular-language books via post (see Chapter Two). Third, Om Prakash's devotion to the Siddhars directly after this visionary of Sabhapati demonstrates that the latter by this time had been firmly considered as partaking in the tradition of Agastya and the Tamil Siddhars in addition to the Vīraśaiva leanings of his first guru Vedashreni Chidambara (Periya) Swamigal. This alone is a strong example of how Vīraśaiva-inflected Vedantic philosophy and the teachings of the Siddhars could be perceived as harmonious and overlapping categories and not as mutually exclusive (see Chapter Three).

Om Prakash's story continues with more relevant details about Sabhapati and his students. It wasn't long of course, before he had another dream:

He had steadfast devotion and love even while working, and therefore would meditate on these men who were Siddhas (Mṣv. *citta puruṣarkaḷ*, < Skt. *siddhapuruṣa*) and would be praising them. One time at night, and moreover in a dream, a great man who was a Siddha appeared. The swami worshipped him with reverence and devotion, and rejoiced at the divine speech: "The instruction of gnosis was previously given to you. Henceforth a name of initiation will be consecrated for you by a great man named Sri Suparna Swamigal [Śrī Cuparṇa Cuvāmikaḷ], and you will receive

from him the mystery of “*om acalapīṭhakīlaka*” [lit. “Om, the fastener of the altar of the mountain”]. After saying this, he blessed him and vanished.²⁷⁷

Four days later, he learned “some news that one of Adi Sabhapati Swamigal’s students had come to Ooty on the way to the Palace of the Maharaja of Mysore.” After delivering his lectures there and returning to the mountains, Om Prakash went out to meet him. It was of course, the same person in his dream, and he embraced him with tears of joy. A few weeks later, they went together to “Tiger Hill Cave” (Tam.: Pulikkukai), a still-extant cave temple site outside of Ooty. Here Sri Suparna Swamigal gave Om Prakash his initiatory name of “Lord of Yoga” (Tam.: Yōkīntirar, < Skt. Yogīndra). He also instructed him to read the books *Vairākya Catakam* and *Vairākya Tīpam*, two works attributed to the seventeenth-century Śaiva author Perur Santhalinga Swamigal (Pērūr Cāntaliṅka Cuvāmikal), a figure known for his connections to Vīraśaiva philosophy through his student Kumara Devar (Kumāratēvar), who in turn was a part of Sabhapati’s own guru-lineage as we saw above in Section C and will analyze further in Chapter Three. Finally, we learn that that this is the first time that Om Prakash began to experience this steadfast devotion as a renunciate (Mpv1. *canyāci*, < Skt. *saṃnyāsin*). This experience would prove to have a profound impact on his subsequent life and interest in yoga, including his membership in the organization Latent Light Culture, which had explicit connections to Western occultism through its founder, T.R. Sanjivi of Tinnevely (today Tirunelveli).

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 15. Tam.: “*ivvāru utyōkattil iruntukoṇṭē niṣṭai purivatam citta puruṣarkaḷait tiyāṇittut tutippatumākavē irukkuṅkāl oru iravil piṇṇum oru kaṇavil oru mahā citta puruṣar tōṇṇavum avarai cuvāmikaḷ pakti vinayattuṭaṇ pūjikka avar tiruvuḷam makīḷntu “uṇakku muṇṇarē ṇāṇṇōpatēcam ceytāyirru. iṇi uṇakku śrī cuparṇa cuvāmikaḷ eṇap peyariya periyār oruvarāl tīkṣā nāmamum nām anuṣṭittu varum om acalapīṭhakīlaka irakaciyamum kiṭaikkum” eṇa ācikūri maṇaintaṇar.*”

Om Prakash straddled the modern and contemporary yoga worlds, having even lived to see the independence of India in 1947, although he died only four months later. He was born only nine years after Swami Vivekananda yet outlived him by forty-five years. Om Prakash's time of death (Mpv. *camāti*, < Skt. *samādhi*, lit. "composition") is still annually celebrated at the hermitage bearing his name in Kandal at the former site of Dakshinamurthy Madalayam. While Om Prakash is still commemorated in this way, I have noted during my visits that Sabhapati has been essentially forgotten in Kandal apart from the above mentions in Om Prakash's biographical account, and the presence of some of Sabhapati's works in their library (see Chapter Two) was surprising to the current temple leadership and trustees. I would argue that this "source amnesia" is due to the fact that Om Prakash's own body of work was reinterpreted by more mainline Vedānta thinkers associated with Swami Vivekananda and the Ramakrishna Mission, and their popularity by this time is accounted for by their prefatory remarks to his biographical account with praise for his devotion.²⁷⁸ In the process of this reinterpretation, Sabhapati's own contribution to his works and separate guru-lineage appear to have been largely forgotten or possibly even obscured by the all-encompassing mythos of Agastya and the Siddhas. Yet the details of Sabhapati and Om Prakash's collaboration are critically important since, as I will indicate in Chapter Three, Om Prakash would have supported Sabhapati's elevation of Śivarājyoga ("the subjugation of gnosis") as a higher form of Rājyoga ("the subjugation of the breath and mind"), while at the same time we know he continued to practice and teach the postures and breathing exercises of Haṭhayoga ("the subjugation of the breath"). We know that Swami Vivekananda, on the other hand, eschewed Haṭhayoga, partially contributing to the split between

²⁷⁸ Piḷḷai, *Nīlakiri*, i–ii.

meditative, Patañjali-inflected Vedānta and postural Haṭhayoga that still exists to this day.²⁷⁹

As a result, Om Prakash's example and literature offers an alternative vision of yoga that is worth comparing with more dominant translocal flows of modern yoga in the twentieth century and beyond.

2. Ramalinga Swamigal and Konnur Meditation Hall

Sabhapati must have died between 1913 and 1936, and the evidence suggests he died in either 1923 or 1924 (see Section L). As mentioned above, in MCVTS he is mentioned as still being alive and accepting visitors in 1913, and by that time he would have already been around eighty-five years old. The last new information about his activities is provided in T2, which notes the following (translated from Tamil):

He also spent a little time in each place, such as this Holy Konnur Meditation Hall and Hermitage of Asceticism, the Nilgiri Hermitage of Austerities, and the Hermitage of Austerities of the mountain and cave of Mount Agastya, realizing the steadfast devotion of experiencing the non-conceptual communion of the gnosis of Brahman.²⁸⁰

This indicates that at the end of his life he split his time between principally three places, 1) his Meditation Hall in Konnur; 2) a Hermitage of Austerities in the Nilgiris, which is likely none other than Om Prakash's ashram in the Kandal area of Ooty / Udhamandalam; and 3) Agastya's Hermitage of Austerities, which as I have demonstrated was located somewhere

²⁷⁹ See Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 70–75.

²⁸⁰ Tam.: “*ivarum inta tirukkoṇṇūr maṭālaya tapācīrmattilum nīlakiri tapācīrmattilum taṇ kuruviṇ akasttiyācala parvata kuhai tapācīrmattilum koṅcam koṅcaṅkālamāṅkāṅku pīrammakṅṅāna nirvikalpa camāti niṣṭai purintu varukinraṅar.*”

between Papanasam and Mount Agastya in the Pothigai Malai of the present-day Tirunelveli District. Sabhapati therefore likely died in one of these three places, although as we shall see there is evidence suggesting that his final resting place was in Konnur.

The missing link in this story is Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal (Konṇūr Irāmalinka Cuvāmikaḷ, 1856–1936), Sabhapati’s student who himself was given the title “Yogi Guru of Gnosis” (Mpv. *ñāṇakuruyōki*, < Skt. *jñānaguruyogī*) and who was the “appointed chief” of “Guru Father Rishi’s meditation hall” (Tam. *kurupitāruṣiyiṅ maṭattirku maṭātipatiyāy niyamikkappaṭṭa*), which was in Konnur as I demonstrated in Section J and will further show below. As I noted in Section J, CTCSPV, published in 1889, clearly states that one Murugesā Swami—almost undoubtedly the same as Moorogasa Moodelliar (Murukēca Mudaliyār)—at the time was the Chief of Konnur Meditation Hall. Ramalinga Swamigal’s name (along with his title of Ñāṇakuruyoki) is mentioned separately from Murugesā Swami’s in a section of this text dedicated to “praises for the guru” (*kurustuti*), which demonstrates that they were two different individuals.²⁸¹

However, by the time of MCVTS, published in 1913, Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal is clearly mentioned as the Chief of the Konnur Meditation Hall, and it is noted that the publication of the book “was overseen” (Tam. *pārvaiyiṭappaṭṭu*) by him.²⁸² As a result, Murugesā Swami by 1913 must have either died or resigned his position. Ramalinga Swamigal in this work also supplied a poem for publication in this work in praise of Sabhapati:

He who has complete gnosis, who has perceived finality;

he who is learned, who is eminent, who practices truth;

²⁸¹ CTCSPV, 12.

²⁸² MCVTS, 32/1.

he who is the ultimate teacher, whose worship is free from attachment;

he whose austerities are abundant, he who is Guru Father Rishi!²⁸³

Essentially nothing has been published about Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal to date, and it has been difficult to conduct archival research on him. Part of this is due to him sharing a name with the much more popular Chidambaram Ramalinga Swamigal (Citambara Irāmalīṅka Cuvāmikal), who died in 1874. Even were this not an issue, it is unlikely that archival or library research would get very far; it does not appear that Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal was prolific like Sabhapati or even wrote religious books at all, like Om Prakash, although there could be some shorter works still extant that have yet to surface since he did practice yoga in Sabhapati’s same lineage of practice.

As a result, the quest to discover more details about this student of Sabhapati required a shift to a combined methodology based principally on ethnography and geography, and I took my first trip in person in the summer of 2018 to the general area of Konnur and Villivakkam to try and track down any remnants of Guru Father Rishi’s meditation hall, which I had read mention of in the copy of MCVTS held in the British Library. There is only one extant candidate for the hall, a relatively small site near the present-day Baliamma Temple that at that time was called in Tamil “Aruḷmiku Śrī Capāpati Liṅkēsvar Jīvacamāti Ālayam,” (“The Place of the Sacred Tomb of the Blessed and Holy Sabhapati Lingeshwar”).²⁸⁴ The name “Sabhapati” immediately stuck out at me, of course, but there were still doubts, especially since Sabhapati is a common name in Chennai and throughout Tamil Nadu and can also be an epithet of Shiva. Yet, when I entered, I was struck by the

²⁸³ MCVTS, 12/3. Tam.: “*muṛṛumuṇarntamūḷuññaiyākuvāṇ / kaṛṛavarēttuṅkaruṇaiyāḷaṅākuvāṇ / paṛṛaravaraparavumparamakuruvākuvāṇ / naṛṛavamuṭaiyāṇṇaṛkurupitāruṣiyē.*”

²⁸⁴ Cuvāmi Pi. Pi. Ār. Hariharāṇ, *Aruḷmiku śrī capāpati liṅkēsvar jīvacamāti ālayamstala varalāru* (Maṇavūr: Kaviṅar Murukāṅantam Accakam, 2017).

ambience of the shrine and in particular the emphasis on the Siddhas—for example, a huge portrait of Agastya stood before me, and there were other images depicting Siddhas as well. When I interviewed the head of the “Managing Trust” (Tam. Eng.: *mēṇējin̄ t̄irast̄*), named P. P. R. Hariharan Swamigal (Tam.: Pi. Pi. Ār. Hariharan̄ Cuvāmikaḷ, ca. 1935 – September 30, 2019),²⁸⁵ he happily took me to the back of the building where I saw a photograph of none other than one Ramalinga Swamigal, a bearded yogi, along with his dates of birth and death. Ramalinga Swamigal’s portrait was flanked by the portrait of his student Anandananda Swamigal (Ananta Ānantā Cuvāmikaḷ, alias Raman Nair, d. October 29, 1983),²⁸⁶ a former military officer from Kerala, and both were in turn located above the shrine containing the remains of Anandananda Swamigal’s body.

While interviewing Hariharan with other friends of Villivakkam, at times a confusing claim arose: on the one hand, Hariharan was clear that Sabhapati lived to be ninety-five years old and was from a Naidu family;²⁸⁷ on the other hand, there was also a lingering assumption—given without proof—that Sabhapati must have lived several centuries ago, an assumption most likely generated by missing historical data on his life. I later learned that thieves had broken in upon his student Anandananda Swamigal’s death and were believed to have stolen goods as well as books and documents, which may have contributed to the lack of historical materials. This created some confusion since Ramalinga Swamigal in published literature as well as interviews with Hariharan and others (see below) was unequivocally referred to as Sabhapati’s direct student and not an idealized figurehead of some kind, *ergo*

²⁸⁵ Ibid. I attended his funeral the following year after he died of health-related causes.

²⁸⁶ Anandananda Swamigal’s alias is given in Koshi Muthalali, “Proceedings of the Tahsildar of Saidapet Taluk, Ref: Transfer of Registry-Saidapet Taluk 71, Konnur Village Patta Nos. 54 and 68,” 1936. I am grateful to Hariharan Swamigal’s son Vinayagam for sharing this document with me.

²⁸⁷ Hariharan̄ Cuvāmikaḷ, Interview at Aruḷmiku Śrī Capāpati Liṅkēsvar Jīvacamāti Ālayam, interview by Keith Cantú, with assistance from Sivasakthi, Mathan, and Beulah. Audio recording, July 2018.

this same Sabhapati must have been alive in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century to meet and initiate Ramalinga Swamigal, who died in 1936.

After gathering the above information during that August 2018 visit, I had established thus far that there was still extant, in Konnur, a shrine devoted to a Siddha named Sabhapati, and this Sabhapati had a student named Ramalinga Swamigal. As for the epithet Lingeswar, I later learned that this had been added by P. P. R. Hariharan Swamigal after the shrine's principal phallus was excavated and that phrase was discovered to be inscribed upon it.²⁸⁸ The burden of the evidence seemed to point that it was part of the same site, but there were still doubts remaining. To determine if this Ramalinga Swamigal conclusively matched the Ramalinga Swamigal in Sabhapati's literature, upon my return in 2019, I went with P. P. R. Hariharan Swamigal's son Vinayagam to Ramalinga Swamigal's own tumulus, which is not located in Chennai but in Murugambakkam Village, Madurantagam Taluk, in Kanchipuram District, where he had started organizing his own meditation hall (MpvI. *maṭam*, < Skt. *maṭha*) in 1905. While there I met and interviewed one V. Subramaniya Chettiar (Vi. Cuppiramaṇiya Ceṭṭiyār, born ca. 1933), whose father was a personal friend and devotee of Ramalinga Swamigal.²⁸⁹

During this interview I learned that Ramalinga Swamigal was indeed one of Sabhapati's students, and also received confirmation that his guru Sabhapati's own tumulus is in Konnur, which is of course strong evidence that Sabhapati died in Konnur and not elsewhere. V. Subramaniya also asserted that Ramalinga Swamigal was living near Madurai, and around the age of forty had an experience of communion (MpvI. *camāti*, < Skt. *samādhi*)

²⁸⁸ I am grateful to Vinayagam for sharing this information with me.

²⁸⁹ V. Cuppiramaṇiya Ceṭṭiyār, Interview with V. Cuppiramaṇiya Ceṭṭiyār, interview by Keith Cantú and Vinayagam, Audio recording, August 17, 2019.

that led to his association with Sabhapati. Since we know from extant portraits that Ramalinga Swamigal was born in 1856, that would place the date of his experience of communion in or around 1896, which as we saw above (Section J) is precisely the same period that Sabhapati's meditation hall in Konnur was established. This offers additional confirmation that both are indeed one and the same Ramalinga Swamigal.

V. Subramaniya also provided me with copies of his legal will that establish the upkeep and regular worship rites at the shrine of Ramalinga Swamigal. After interviewing him, both Vinayagam and I went to visit this shrine along with his associate who conducts the worship rites. The shrine is currently kept locked except for visitors and the occasional ritual *pūjā*. An old painting of Ramalinga Swamigal was hanging in the shrine and, upon enquiring about it, it was kindly gifted to me by V. Subramaniya. The resemblance between this painting and Sabhapati's own woodcut portrait as provided in MCVTS, such as the posture (Skt. *āsana*) and threefold mark (Mpv1. *tiripuṅṅaram*, < Skt. *tripuṅṅdra*), lends a further argument that they were of the same guru-lineage (see Figure Three). In fact, one would almost think they are the same person were it not for Sabhapati's wearing of what appears to be the sacred thread (Tam. *pūṅṅūl*) of a Brahmin in the form of a sash. Sabhapati was either from a Brahmin or a Naidu family, or a combination of both (which may have been more common while he was alive). By contrast, P. P. R. Hariharan Swamigal noted in an interview that Ramalinga Swamigal was from a Mudaliyar family,²⁹⁰ while V. Subramaniya noted that he was Malayali, so this information when taken together that could mean Ramalinga was from a Kerala Mudali family.

²⁹⁰ Hariharan Cuvāmikaḷ, Interview at Aruḷmiku Śrī Capāpati Liṅkēsvar Jīvacamāti Ālayam, 2018.



Figure Three. A woodcut portrait of Sabhapati from MCVTS (left) and a painting of Konnur Ramalinga Swami now in the personal collection of the author (right).

An inscription at the shrine conclusively shows the identity of the yogi buried inside: the name given is “Koṅṅūr Śrī Irāmalīṅka Cuvāmikaḷ,” which is the first time I had seen the name of the village Konnur (contemporary spelling: Koṅṅūr) explicitly attached to his name (see Figure Four). As I quoted from MCTVS above, we know that the Ramalinga Swamigal known to Sabhapati is also inextricably attached to Konnur, being the “appointed chief” of “Guru Father Rishi’s meditation hall” in Konnur. As there is no other person who would remotely fit the description, dates, and identity of Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal, Konnur being a small village even at that time, I have concluded that they are indeed the same person.



Figure Four. An inscription showing the establishment of a *maṭam* in Murugambakkam by “Konnūr Śrī Irāmalīṅkasvāmi” and the date of his *samādhi* or “composition” (i.e. his death). Photograph by Keith E. Cantú.

In this context, however, ethnography is most convincing when supplemented by published primary sources, and by 2019 I had also discovered the longer version of MCTVS at the Adyar Library that provided further geographical details that help to confirm the location of the site and the identity of Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal. Sabhapati’s address is given in English as follows:

Those who like to see G. P. Rushi Sabapathy Swamy and learn from him anything may come through train from Madras Central Station to Villivakam [*sic*] Station, which is in the Arakonam Railway Line and from here to Guru Pitha Rushi Madam of

Connur Village, which is within Villivakam Village, where the Guru Swamy can be seen.²⁹¹

The village “Connur” is an archaic anglicized spelling of Konnur, as confirmed by maps of the Madras Presidency that I have consulted at the Tamil Nadu Archives. The Tamil version of this statement is similar but with a notable addition (translated, with emphasis added):

After boarding a train at Madras Central Station and getting down at Villivakkam Station on the Arakkonam Railway Line, upon reaching there the Guru Father Rishi’s meditation hall **will be to the west of Konnur Perumal Temple**. Upon coming there you can see Sabhapati Swamigal. You can receive instruction for oneself and also buy his sacred writings.²⁹²

Apart from the fact that books were for sale, the main notable difference in the directions given in Tamil, namely that the meditation hall is “to the west of the Perumal temple,” is significant. This Perumal temple is none other than Sri Sowmya Damodara Perumal Temple (Tam.: Cavumiya Tāmōtarapperumāl Kōyil), the only temple surveyed in Konnur in the 1961 Census of India. The Vaishnava temple is believed to have been constructed in the fifteenth century CE and was renovated in 1901.²⁹³ The present-day tumulus at Sri Sabhapathy Lingeshwarar Koil is located at a walking-distance to the west of this temple, about 150 meters using the scale of Google Maps. These directions further accord with earlier directions by rail given in the prefatory matter of CTCSPV.

²⁹¹ MCVTS, [4] (in unnumbered prefatory material to the work proper).

²⁹² Ibid. Tam.: *matirācu ceṅṅiral sṭeṣaṅṅil rayilēri arakkōṇam rayilvē layṅṅilirukkum villivākkam sṭeṣaṅṅilirāṅki, itaic cērnta koṅṅūr perumāḷ kōyilukku mērkilirukkum kuru pitāruṣi maṭālayattirku vantu, kurupitāruṣi capāpati cuvāmikaḷait taricikkalām. upatēcam perukkoḷḷalām, cāstiramum vāṅkikkoḷḷalām.*

²⁹³ P.K. Nambiar and N. Krishnamurthy, *Census of India 1961 Volume IX, Madras, Part XI-D: Temples of Madras State, 1. Chingleput District and Madras City* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1965).

For additional proof, I went to the Central Survey Office (Tam. *mattiya nila aḷavai aluvalakam*) in Chepauk (Tam. *Cēppākkam*) and obtained village maps of Konnur (No. 71, see Figure Four) and Villivakkam (No. 73). This map was drafted to scale, with sixteen inches equal to one mile (with conversion to the metric system, one inch equal to just over 100 meters). Furthermore, the map provides a legend for the various symbols, including the location of “Tanks” or bodies of water and “Pagodas” or temples. The map is also populated by Old Survey Numbers that are linked to what is called a Re-settlement Register, ostensibly made for each village.²⁹⁴ These Old Survey Numbers on the village map have since been transformed into Town Survey (T.S.) numbers and incorporated into an urbanized system of blocks and wards as the Greater Chennai Corporation has gradually assumed jurisdiction over the area. However, the Old Survey Numbers are still listed in the legal documents pertaining to Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal’s bequest of his lands to his student Anandananda Swamigal upon the former’s death in 1936. These numbers include, among other numbers that have since been mortgaged or sold, 341, 342, and 343, which are located on Figure Four. Documents that were in the possession of Hariharan Cuvāmikaḷ and now his son Vinayagam show that Number 341 is the location of the present-day Sri Sabhapathy Lingeshwarar Koil and tumulus. I have been able to conclusively determine the location of the Sowmya Damodara Perumal Temple on the old village map based on the placement of the temple “Tank” and upon comparing the measurement of the distance from the village map with that of present-day Google maps.

More information on these Old Survey Numbers could potentially reveal Sabhapati’s place of death and a potential transfer of ownership between Murugesu Swami and Konnur

²⁹⁴ See Appendix XXIII in *A Manual of Instructions for Conducting Resettlements in the Madras Presidency (Under the Simplified System)* (Madras: The Superintendent, Government Press, 1937), 49.

Ramalinga Swamigal. However, it is a highly complex bureaucratic process to find any further information about each of these numbers, though the scrutiny upon citizens or non-citizen researchers for taking an interest in land titles has fortunately somewhat lessened due to the Right to Information Act (RTA), passed in 2005. I have applied both in person and via post to the relevant government offices with assistance from both the Tamil Nadu head archivist and other graduate students in the Tamil Nadu Archives.²⁹⁵ The two applications I have sent were to the Public Information Officer (Tam. *potu takaval aluvalar*) at the Central Survey Office as well as to the Direct Assistant to the Collector (Tam. *āṭciyariṅ nērmuka utaviyālar*) at the District Collector Office (*māvaṭṭa ācciyar aluvalakam*). The response I received was that no information exists on the Re-settlement Register for these numbers between 1913 and 1936, which was the date range I requested, so it may be fruitful to request an earlier date-range. An opportunity to appeal was given and I sent a letter to the Officer of Appeals (Tam. *mēlmurāiyīṭṭu aluvalar*) to conduct an additional search, but so far have heard no further news.

²⁹⁵ I am especially thankful to Umamaheshwari, Balachand, and Yuvaraj Sir at the Tamil Nadu Archives for their assistance with drafting these letters and in some cases providing court stamps to accompany the requests.

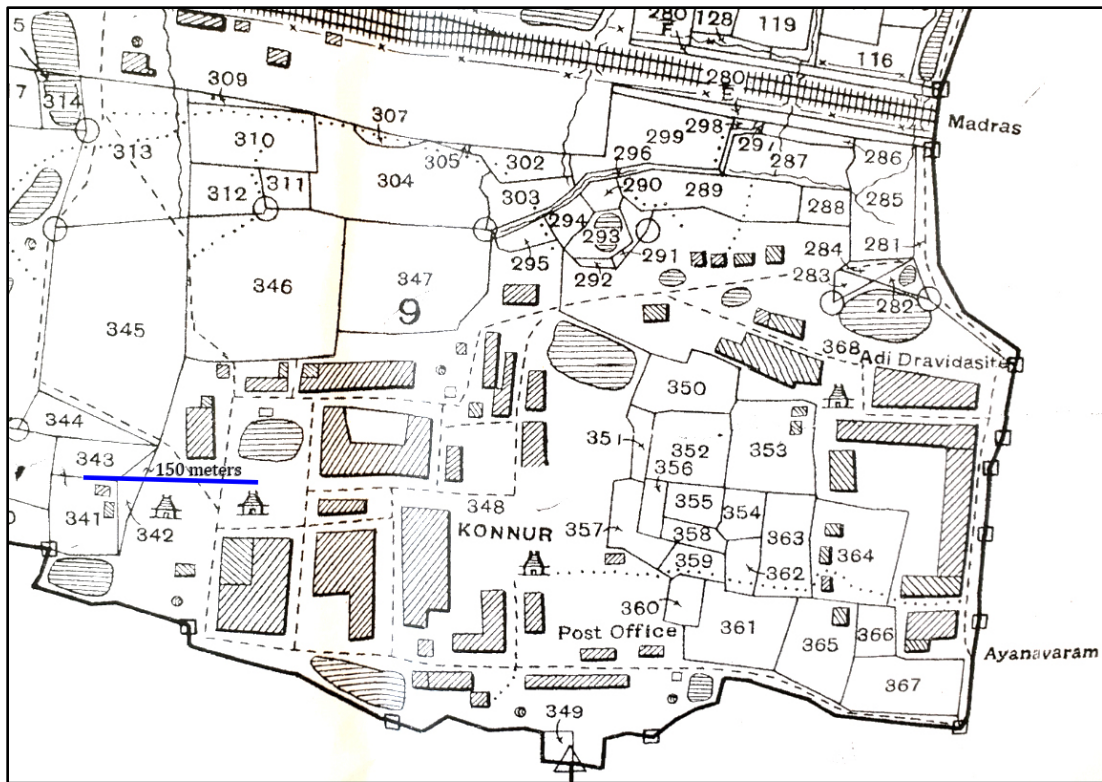


Figure Five. A portion of the village survey map of “Konnur,” “No. 71,” traced “from the Original map of 1906” and obtained upon request at the Central Survey Office in Chepauk, Chennai. The overlay shows the approximate distance between Sri Sabhapathy Lingeshwarar Koil (located in or near No. 343) and Sowmya Damodara Perumal Temple to the east with a still-extant temple tank (represented by a circle containing horizontal lines). This position accords with the directions given in MCVTS.

Furthermore, the name of the adjacent village to the south, Villivakkam, No. 73, accords with “No. 73” given in multiple places in CTCSPV (Tam. *73-vatu nempar konnūr kirāma kurumaṭālayam*, “the Guru’s Meditation Hall of Konnur Village, Number 73); although No. 73 by 1938 had been assigned to neighboring Villivakkam and not Konnur, as evident from the Village Map of each, it is clear that the Meditation Hall was on the border between Villivakkam (No. 73) and Konnur (No. 71) and that the precise border between them would have been tenuous and possibly altered over subsequent decades. If the numbering had not been amended, is also possible that the Meditation Hall moved to its present location after

starting just to the south, in Villivakkam, in 1889, or that Villivakkam's number was more readily known by the general public of Madras and its environs.

On account of 1) the details gleaned in personal interviews and material evidence such as books and photographs demonstrating that Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal was the student of an celebrated yogi named Sabhapati, and 2) the geographical location of the present-day Sri Sabhapathy Lingeshwarar Koil generally matching the location of the Konnur Meditation Hall given in CTCSPV and MCVTS, including the specific directions given in MCVTS showing it is west of the Perumal temple, I am compelled to claim with relative certainty that Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal is indeed the same Ramalinga Swamigal mentioned in CTCSPV and MCVTS, and that he remained a guru after Sabhapati died both in Konnur and in Murugambakkam, where he first arrived in 1905 and appears to have visited on multiple occasions. Registration details of the land or another document mentioning Sabhapati's name and date of death alongside mention of Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal would make this claim absolutely conclusive and provide much-needed details corroborating the accumulated evidence, but in lieu of more concrete evidence it is as close as we can come to a definite conclusion about Ramalinga Swamigal's identity.

L. Sabhapati Swami's Probable Date and Location of Death

Since, as I have demonstrated in the previous section, Konnur Ramalinga Swamigal is the most likely—and so far only—candidate for Sabhapati's own student and successor at the Konnur Meditation Hall, this enables us to make two further claims that neither the Ur-account, T1, or T2 address, since they were all written while the swami was alive. First, Hariharan Swami recalled with relative certainty in an interview that Sabhapati lived to be

ninety-five years old. As we have already treated, T2 appears to give the most concrete data on his birth, placing it in Mazhkali (December/January) of 1828, which, unlike the 1840 date of the Ur-account or the Kali Yuga date of T1 (which converted according to contemporary reckoning gives 1840 or 1841), accords with the relatively well-documented dates of Vedashreni Chidambara Periya Swamigal. This enables us to tentatively situate Sabhapati's year of death as either 1923 or 1924, depending on whether he was born at the beginning of the year, in January of 1828 or at the end of the year, in December of 1828. The alternative, if Sabhapati was indeed born in or closer to 1840, is that Sabhapati died in 1935.

Second, V. Subramaniya Chettiar was clear in his interview (see Section J) that Sabhapati's "meditation hall" (he used the word *maṭam* instead of the archaic *maṭālayam*) was in what is today Villivakkam, and was clear that this place is none other than the still-extant Sri Sabhapathy Lingeshwarar Koil in present-day Konnur/Villivakkam. This shrine has been maintained by each of its caretakers, from Anandananda Swamigal onwards, who have held that it contains the remains of Sabhapati's body in his tumulus (see Figure 6). V. Subramaniya's interview also confirms that Villivakkam was Sabhapati's place of death, although precisely where in the village still appears inconclusive. The current phallic stone installed at the site of the Sri Sabhapathy Lingeshwarar Koil extends around seventeen feet deep into the earth, and Sabhapati's body would have been buried underneath the stone in "sitting position only," although there is also a traditional belief pertaining to the idea that "Mahans" like Sabhapati would "bring themselves to the earth and perform miracles and disappear into the lingam."²⁹⁶ While there is no indication his head was encased in the above-ground portion of the tumulus or tumulus, the current phallus is ceremonially adorned with a

²⁹⁶ Personal communication via WhatsApp with Vinayagam Swamigal, the current trustee and presiding swami of the Sabhapati Lingeshwarar Koil, 11 February 2021.

face as the case with other Tamil Vīraśaiva temples. If Sabhapati's physical body were indeed buried there it would, according to tradition, have been covered in flowers, sacred ash (Tam. *vipūti*, < *vibhūti*), and rose water prior to being placed there in seated position.²⁹⁷

While in Chennai I explored the possibility of hiring an archaeologist to excavate the stone in collaboration with temple authorities, but this idea was abandoned after it was thought that it may upset local religious sensibilities and create unnecessary controversy in a charged political climate. A solution was raised of instead utilizing a radar to see beneath the surface of the phallic stone without physical excavation, but this takes the research outside the realm of what I as a scholar of Religious Studies am currently capable. Perhaps in the future a collaborative team can be organized to conclusively solve the mystery of the swami's resting place once and for all.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.



Figure Six. The *linga* traditionally associated with Sabhapati Swami's *jīva-samādhi* or tumulus at Sri Sabhapaty Lingeshwarar Koil. Photo by Keith E. Cantú.

II. The Literature of Sri Sabhapati Swami

In this chapter I will assess the scope and textual history of Sabhapati's published literature and their subsequent translations in English and vernacular languages. I will also provide a summary and list of contents for each of his works, some lists of which are entirely new and some of which are adapted, annotated, and in some cases translated from extant lists of contents in a given work. The dissemination of Sabhapati's published texts runs parallel to his own life, as already demonstrated (Chapter One), and separately analyzing these works provides much additional data of relevance to the translocalization of his Śaiva philosophy (Chapter Three) and, more directly, to his system of Śiva's Rājayoga (Chapter Four).

I would argue that a most immediately helpful method to make sense of the geographical and linguistic spread of his works is to loosely apply a philological categorization of manuscripts into various "stemmas" of transmission, which I will instead call "textual streams" since we are not dealing with a discrete genealogy of manuscripts but rather with a broader dissemination of published sources and variant excerpts of printed text. At the same time, this broader dissemination also had limits: Sabhapati's publications were often reprinted and translated in at least partial isolation from other streams, and the contents of each textual stream can accordingly be at least partially distinguished, rendering useful a stemmatic method of analysis. The process of separating information about the development of each textual stream additionally enables one to more properly appreciate the local, pan-Indian, and international flows of Sabhapati's works and system of Śiva's Rājayoga when taken as a whole, although it should be kept in mind that such a separation is not intrinsic to the texts themselves and is only presented here for the sake of convenience for scholars to help contextualize his texts' multi-varied audiences and their reception histories.

Before proceeding with a description of Sabhapati’s three textual streams, I wish to here also briefly clarify my use of a linguistic concept in this chapter (and in the dissertation more broadly). As will be seen below, there is certain stratum of technical Sanskrit language found in Sabhapati’s textual streams (with the possible exception of his works in Hindustani and Bengali, which are inextricably intertwined with Sanskrit) that I prefer to frame for convenience as a nineteenth-century variant of Maṇipravālam (“Ruby and Coral”), a hybrid language that in this case operates between Sanskrit and Tamil linguistic worlds but that is also used to describe a certain interplay between Malayalam and Sanskrit, and other similar blends between (principally) South Indian languages.²⁹⁸ Sabhapati’s literature, despite its overwhelming preference for Sanskrit nouns and Tamil verbs deriving from Sanskrit roots, does not typically go as far as to employ Sanskrit nominal case endings, so as a result his literature does not entirely qualify as “real” Maṇipravālam; in many cases his language could alternatively be described as a local form of “Tamilized Sanskrit” that emerged in some communities across Tamil Nadu, such as among Brahmans and some musical communities.²⁹⁹ However, even this is complicated since Sabhapati does in some of his more Sanskrit-centric compositions use Sanskrit grammatical particles and verbal forms that are given separate translations into Tamil for his Tamil-speaking audience (such lists or word banks are common in CTCSPV and MCVTS, especially following poetic compositions). In any event, while recognizing that the Maṇipravāla label is not wholly satisfactory, I nevertheless find it to be a useful marker in lieu of a better term for distinguishing Sabhapati’s own use of

²⁹⁸ I am grateful to Manasicha Akepiyapornchai for presenting her research and sharing with me her informed insights on Maṇipravālam as a kind of “hybrid language” (neither Sanskritized Tamil nor Tamilized Sanskrit).

²⁹⁹ For a survey of the role of Maṇipravālam in Tamil literature and a delineation as to what constitutes “pure Maṇipravālam, see David Dean Shulman, *Tamil: A Biography* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016), 215–33.

Sanskrit terms (with their erratic Tamil spellings) from their more readily recognizable dictionary spellings based on their rendering in North Indian scripts. My main reason for this distinction is practical: Sabhapati's spelling and usage of Sanskrit could appear highly erratic, even erroneous, to a scholar trained only in Sanskrit or the languages of North India more generally, while a scholar trained in Maṇipravālam—or simply familiar with the general way Sanskrit is rendered in Tamil script—would find such renderings commonplace, highly readable, and even intuitive.

A. Textual Streams of Sabhapati's Works

Sabhapati's works have been published in Chennai, Lahore, Kolkata, Mumbai, and New Delhi, to name a few cities in South Asia, as well as abroad in Leipzig, Germany and Excelsior Springs, Missouri. The texts of these various publications can be divided chronologically according to their earliest known witnesses as follows:

- Stream α)** an English textual stream with Sanskrit technical terms that resemble Maṇipravāla spellings transliterated into the Roman script, and later rendered into Tamil and Devanagari scripts; portions of this stream were translated from English into Bengali and German (pan-Indian mesolocal and international translocal levels);
- Stream β)** a North Indian Hindustani and Sanskrit textual stream, containing diagrams either derived from or translated into Tamil and Telugu equivalents (North Indian mesolocal level); and
- Stream γ)** a South Indian stream composed almost entirely of Tamil and Maṇipravālam in Tamil script; there is also a no-longer-extant Telugu work that was registered in Madras (South Indian local level).

We are fortunate to still have at least one extant original exemplar of Sabhapati’s books from each of these interconnected streams, although original editions are today very rare and are mostly held by research libraries or private collections. However, texts from each of these streams—especially those in Stream α —were circulated widely at the time of their publication, as indicated by the presence of reprinted editions and their mention in publisher’s catalogues in Britain, Germany, and elsewhere. They would have also been readily available for purchase from Sabhapati’s Meditation Hall in Konnur either in person or via post.

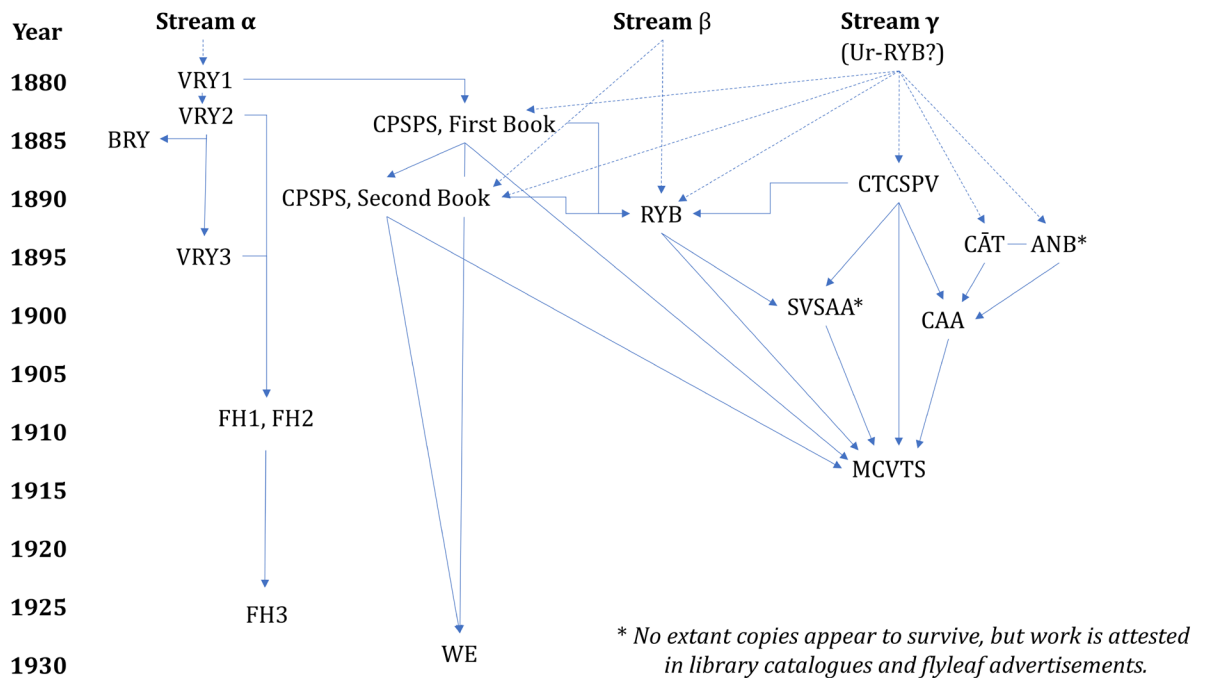


Figure One. A chart depicting three principal textual streams of Sabhapati’s works from 1880 to 1930 and their date of publication. Lines without arrows indicate parallel sources or intertextual references, while lines with arrows indicate a source relationship.

B. From Lahore to Kolkata and Leipzig: The Alpha Stream (α)

1. Three Original Editions of VRY

The introduction of Shrish Chandra Basu as Sabhapati's editor (see Chapter One) marks the beginning of the latter's extant publications and most if not all of their subsequent translation history to date, although the Ur-account does mention one earlier work in Tamil, "Vedanta Sidhanta Samarasa Brahmagiyana Shiva raja Yogue Kaiulia anubhooti" (Mpv1. conjecture *Vētānta cittānta camaraca pirammakñāṇa civarājayōka kaivalya anupūti*), which if indeed published would have been composed prior to Sabhapati's meeting with Shrish Chandra. However, this work does not appear to be extant except as the possible Ur-text of some instructions in Stream β , which has a near-identical title extant in Hindi translation, or CPSPS (see below). Both T1 and T2 also allude to many texts by Sabhapati being composed in the various languages of the places he would have visited prior to his stay in Lahore, although none of these survive if they were in fact produced. As a result, the earliest still-extant work attributed to Sabhapati (VRY1) is entitled *Om. A Treatise on Vedantic Raj Yoga Philosophy* (1880), based on two lectures on "Vedanta and Yoga" given in 1879 with "much additions" and a second part that is "altogether new."³⁰⁰ This work was published in Lahore by the "Civil and Military" Gazette Press, the first part of which was printed at the Mitchell Press, also in Lahore, and sold for eight annas (half a rupee). Shrish Chandra's involvement as editor is clearly cited in the title page. The only copy extant today of this first edition was originally owned by Henry Olcott (see Chapter One), as evident by his signed initials on the cover, and is officially in the collection of the Adyar Library & Research Centre. This first edition was out of print for ninety-seven years until a facsimile of VRY1 was reprinted in New

³⁰⁰ VRY1, v.

Delhi in 1977 by Pankaj Publications with the revised title *Vedantic Raj Yoga: Ancient Tantra Yoga of Rishies* [sic].³⁰¹ The reprint appended an additional section entitled “A Historical View of the Theories of the Soul” by the Scottish philosopher Alexander Bain (1818–1903), although this was not present in the first edition of VRY1.

A second edition of this work (VRY2) was published in 1883 by R.C. Bary at the “Arya Press.” Only a single copy of VRY2 appears to have survived, at the British Library, and a reference is found in *Probsthain’s Oriental Catalogue*.³⁰² VRY2 was also advertised and mentioned in the preface to the second edition of Rama Prasad Kasyapa’s *Occult Science of Breath* (1892), part of a notable series that would see later forms and editions circulating among occultists interested in yoga and breath-cultivation, both in India and abroad (see Chapter Seven);³⁰³ the price listed was 12 annas (three-fourths a rupee). VRY2 marks the beginning of the publishing involvement of Ruttun Chand Bary, an active member of the Lahore Arya Samaj who had interacted with the founders of the Theosophical Society in Lahore (see Chapter One). Ruttun Chand that same year also published *Sandhyāpaddhati*, a prayer book for “Sandhia” (*sam̐dhyā*) or the twilight time of dusk as well as the “Gayutree” (Gāyatri) mantra.³⁰⁴

A reprint of VRY2 was published in 1950 by Chaitanya Prabha Mandali, a community founded by one Swami Krishna Chaitanya that was based in Bombay; Swami Sivananda (1887–1963) visited the community for one of his lectures and was greeted by this same

³⁰¹ Maahtma [sic] Giana Guroo Yogi Sabhapaty Swami, *Vedantic Raj Yoga: Ancient Tantra Yoga of Rishies* (New Delhi: Pankaj Publications, 1977).

³⁰² *Probsthain’s Oriental Catalogue*, No. XXVIII. *Indian Literature: Art and Religion* (London: Probsthain 1913), 27.

³⁰³ Pandit Rama Prasad Kasyapa, *Occult Science, The Science of Breath*, Second Edition (Lahore: R.C. Bary & Sons, Printed at the “New Lyall Press,” 1892).

³⁰⁴ The first edition of this work was published as R.C. Bary, *The Prayer Book of the Aryans, Being a Translation in English of Sandhia and Gayutree, with Original Mantras in Sanscrit, as Well as Rules for Their Observance, with Scientific Explanation* (Lahore: R.C. Bary, printed at the “Arya Press,” 1883).

Krishna Chaitanya.³⁰⁵ Another author and retired Accountant General, one T.K. Rajagopalam (also Rajagopalan) of Madras, had discovered an original copy of VRY2 and offered the text to Chaitanya Prabha Mandali for its reprinting, assisted by one Sriyuth Manilal K. Desai.³⁰⁶ T.K. Rajagopalam had devoted two chapters to interpreting Sabhapati’s yogic teachings in a separate work (see also Chapter Seven). While the text of VRY1 is undoubtedly the foundation of VRY2, certain spelling changes were made to the Sanskrit terms and some other minor adjustments to the English syntax that readily distinguish the two (for which see the full list of contents below). Other more major changes are also discernible, including the following:

1. VRY2 adds footnotes to the Ur-account that seek to clarify Sabhapati’s vision of Mount Kailasa as taking place in the “astral” rather than physical body, and to change the rishis he encountered to the “‘Brothers’ of the Theosophical Society” (see Chapter One).
2. VRY2 omits a prefaced poem entitled “Poems on the Purification” that was included in VRY1.³⁰⁷
3. VRY2 omits the Sanskrit verses entitled “*Shlokas composed by the Madras Yogi Sabhapaty Swami on the state of Smadhi [sic]*”³⁰⁸ and replaces this with Sanskrit verses attributed to “Lord Shankaracharya” entitled “Nirvan” as well as a poem entitled “Verses on Atma” that was translated by the editor.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ Swami Sivananda and Swami Venkatesananda, *Sivananda’s Lectures: All-India Tour* (Rishikesh: Sivananda Publication League, 1951), 495–96.

³⁰⁶ The Mahatma Jnana Guru Yogi Sabhapathy Swami, *The Philosophy and Science of Vedanta and Raja Yoga*, ed. Siris Chandra Vasu (Mahim, Bombay: Chaitanya Prabha Mandali, 1950), 6; 9–10.

³⁰⁷ VRY1, vii.

³⁰⁸ VRY1, 28–30.

³⁰⁹ VRY2, 53–55.

4. The title of the poem “The Yogi’s advice to his Country” is changed to “Sabhapaty’s advice to his Country,” which as we saw in Chapter One appears to have actually been written by Shrish Chandra Basu.
5. The Sanskrit portions of the text in the “Supplementary Instructions” of Part II are considerably abbreviated.
6. VRY2 appends two additional sections to the end of the work that are not present in VRY1: a section entitled “Search after Knowledge of Spirit” that was apparently translated by the editor³¹⁰ and a question-and-answer section entitled “A Brief Sketch of Vedantism and Yoga.”

While the above alterations between VRY1 and VRY2 are for the most part quite minor, I would argue that especially points three and four serve to further reinforce Sabhapati’s connection to Advaita Vedānta at the expense of his debt to other philosophical perspectives (see Chapter Three). Point one, as mentioned in Chapter One, is of course a clear response to Olcott’s criticism of Sabhapati’s visionary experience that he framed in physical terms.

A third edition of this work was subsequently published in 1895 (VRY3), also by Ruttun Chand Bary but this time under his new Lahori publishing house R.C. Bary & Sons, which was established in 1890 and oversaw the publication of works as varied as 1) a commentary by Pandit Rama Prasad on the *Śivasvarodaya* (as evident from Rama Prasad’s later publications that produced a translation of this text);³¹¹ 2) a reprint of the aforementioned *Sandhyāpaddhati* by R.C. Bary; 3) an edition of *The Science and Art of*

³¹⁰ It is unclear what text of Sabhapati’s this portion was translated from, if indeed it was translated by Shrish Chandra Basu.

³¹¹ Pandit Rama Prasad Kasyapa, *Occult Science, The Science of Breath*, Second Edition (Lahore: R.C. Bary & Sons, Printed at the “New Lyall Press,” 1892).

Organic Magnetism by Chandos Leigh Hunt Wallace,³¹² 4) an Urdu story of a journey of one Lala Jhinda Ram, 5) a response to an article in *The Theosophist*, 6) a booklet of Indian national songs, and 7) “Middle School Examination Papers” from 1869 to 1882. The price of VRY3 was again set at twelve annas, making it the most expensive work in a R.C. Bary & Sons’ for sale list, which included many of the above books as well as additional titles for sale like “*The New Science of healing*” and “*Am I well or sick.*” A typescript of this third edition, omitting the Ur-account and other prefatory material, is extant in the possession of Munish Kumar of Latent Light Culture, a still-extant Indian occult society currently based in New Delhi.³¹³ Published editions are also extant at the British Library, the Connemara Public Library, and the personal library of the late Kenneth and Steffi Grant.³¹⁴ The text of VRY3 is only slightly changed from VRY2, with a few alterations being made to the spelling of certain Sanskrit technical terms and capitalization, but otherwise it is much closer to VRY2 than VRY2 is to VRY1.

2. CPSPS as Alpha Stream (α)

In addition to the above three editions of VRY proper, there is another English work that Sabhapati Swami released that could be said to also partake directly in the Alpha Stream (α) since it includes a modified and expanded version of the base text of VRY. This work is *The Cosmic Psychological Spiritual Philosophy and Science of Communion with and*

³¹² It is not clear if the R.C. Bary & Sons edition survives separately or if they simply imported the book from another publisher. The most readily available edition is Miss Chandos Leigh Hunt, *Private Instructions on the Science and Art of Organic Magnetism*, Third Edition (London: Printed for the authoress by G. Wilson, 1885).

³¹³ I am very grateful to Munish Kumar for tracking this typescript down and allowing me to photograph it at his apartment in New Delhi.

³¹⁴ At the time of writing it is still unclear which edition of VRY was possessed by the Grant library. The name and publisher (R.C. Bary & Sons) mostly matches VRY3, but the date initially provided to me from his library was 1890, which does not accord with the publication year of VRY3 (1895). In any event I am grateful to both Michael Kolson and Henrik Bogdan for separately querying the caretakers of their library.

Absorption in the Holy and Divine Infinite Spirit (here abbreviated CPSPS), of which the First Book was published on May 1st, 1884 at The Hindu Press in Mylapore, Madras with the subtitle “*or Vedhantha Siva Raja Yoga Brumha Gnyana Anubuthi*” (Skt. *vedānta śiva rāja yoga brahmajñānānubhūti*, “Perception of the Gnosis of Brahman that is the Rājayoga of Vedānta and Śiva”). The Second Book was published with the revised subtitle “*or Survopadhasa Survanoobhava Raja Yoga Bruhma Gnyana Anubhuthi*” (Skt. *sarvopadeśa sarvānubhava rāja yoga brahmajñānānubhūti*, “Every Instruction and Every Practice for the Rājayoga that is the Perception of the Gnosis of Brahman”) in 1890 by the “Karnatak Press” in Bombay. The price of each was initially advertised in the work itself for one rupee and two annas, and by 1913 the price had increased to two rupees for both volumes together. Both the First Book of CPSPS and a short portion of the Second Book contain the full text of VRY1 with many alterations and valuable additions, such as the inclusion of technical terms in both Tamil and Devanagari script as well as in Roman script and translation.³¹⁵ This effort facilitates a much greater understanding of the original context of such terms and their definitions, and also allows for a reflexive understanding of Sabhapati’s translations of certain Sanskrit terms into English. Certain distinguishing features of the text reveal that the republished portions of VRY in CPSPS were taken from VRY1 (1880) and not from VRY2 (1883).³¹⁶

In addition to two volumes, the book itself divides itself into four parts, which are self-described as follows:

³¹⁵ The text is almost entirely integrated into CPSPS, First Book, 1–122 and CPSPS, Second Book, 123–42.

³¹⁶ For example, CPSPS omits mention of Sabhapati’s stay in Lahore for six months and reprints a time-specific detail printed in VRY that he is currently residing in Lahore, which was true in 1880 but not in 1884; CPSPS itself notes that he had left Lahore by then (see Chapter One). CPSPS also does not include “Nirvan” or “Verses on Atma” and instead prints Sabhapati’s verses composed after his recounted experience of flying to Kailāsa.

1st. Part is Divine and Holy Infinite Spiritual Theory or instructions of Creations and of Non-creations of the Spiritual Faculties and Functions from the Infinite Spirit and of Rishi Yogiswara Author's life and Poems.

2nd. Part is of the different Practicable and Practical Divine and Holy Infinite Spiritual Processes, Modes and Practices or full of the instructions of Practices of attaining Infinite Spiritual Godhead and of holding Communion with the Infinite Spirit and of Becoming and Being the Infinite Spirit and of Chess Play of the Punishment and Transmigration by the Tree of Vice and Sins, and of Godhead and Salvation by the Tree of Virtue and Righteousness and of practising Infinite Spiritual Trance and the Ecstasy in different ways.

3rd. Part is of Instructions of the full of the Infinite Spiritual Secrecies and Mysteries, of the Hatta Yoga Practice, of the defects of Religions, and of clearing the doubts of Atheist by pointing out the untruth of Atheism, and of the Creational Table of the Spiritual Creations, Occultism, Psychic Powers, &c.

4th. Part is full of different instructions of secret, moral, and Spiritual Truths as Public Lectures and Speeches by the Author Yogi and of the Articles and the Catechisms of this Yogi's Disciples on the instructions, practice and success in the Spiritual search and attainment from Guru Yógi, and of the alphabets in English, Sanskrit and Tamil.³¹⁷

The Second Book saw the inclusion of a Fifth Part (see contents below), some of which overlaps with what the Fourth Part appears intended to describe. In any event, some of the material in these latter parts mirrors instructions provided in Sabhapati's vernacular literature

³¹⁷ CPSPS, First Book, iii–iv.

in Hindi (RYB) and Tamil (MCVTS and CTCSPV), which will be clear from an examination of their contents in the relevant sections below.

While the above language may appear highly erratic to a scholar of Indian religions, Sabhapati is highly consistent with the English terms he uses. For example, “Vice” and “Virtue” always directly refer to the equivalent concept of (Skt.) *pāpa* and *punya*, the “Infinite Spirit” and the adjective “Infinite Spiritual” are always direct translations of Brahman (or “of Brahman” in the adjectival usage; for Sabhapati, Brahman is also sometimes synonymously referred to as Śiva in his form of Sarveśvara, “The Lord of All”), and “Communion” or “Ecstasy” are placeholders for *samādhi*. As a result, while such English translations may on the surface appear to be misleading, they also serve two functions for scholars today: 1) they provide an example as to how Sanskrit yogic terminology could be variously interpreted in an English philosophical frame during the colonial period, before dictionary usage was standardized; and 2) they enable a phenomenon of reverse-translation. By the second point I mean that, regardless of how one feels about “Infinite Spirit” as a translation for Brahman, one can go back with the knowledge of this translation and read in “Brahman” for “Infinite Spirit” if one likes, and still make sense of a wide variety of passages in his English works. The same goes for his other terms, which points to the need for a comprehensive linguistic lexicon that pieces together these translations and their vernacular equivalents over time.³¹⁸

Finally, CPSPS integrates in its reprinting of material from VRY additional sections not extant in any edition of VRY, such as a section on sixteen “Rays” and four forms of

³¹⁸ See the Appendix for a start at such a lexicon, which includes most of the technical terminology in the Alpha Stream and English, Sanskrit, and Tamil equivalents for each term.

“Brightness,” additional poems composed by Sabhapati Swami in Sanskrit and Tamil,³¹⁹ a page that treats of Pātañjalayoga, additional social and political commentary, and extended practical instructions. As I shall consider below in Section C on the Beta Stream (β) and Gamma Stream (γ), CPSPS also contains material that was later integrated or written parallel to vernacular North and South Indian streams, so in that respect could be said to “bridge” or link both the Alpha Stream and the Beta and Gamma Streams. The remaining text of the Second Book (about three hundred additional pages in all) is not found in any edition of VRY and represents material that had previously been unpublished.

3. Detailed Contents of the Alpha Stream (α)

None of the three main editions of VRY included a table of contents, although the Second Book of CPSPS did include an “Index” for the First and Second Volumes or Books, and therefore provided the first real condensation of VRY’s material, albeit in very short phrases; and it did not reproduce the headings in VRY in full. To satisfactorily present the contents of this entire textual stream I will first synthesize the contents of the various editions of VRY. I will then separately reproduce the Index of those portions of VRY that were integrated into CPSPS to allow for an easier side-by-side comparison between both representations.

The main subjects of VRY are reproduced as follows from the main headings, with the original formatting (italics and capitalization) mostly preserved and with distinctions being made when a certain section is only found in a given edition or editions. I have preserved the archaic transliterations of VRY1 but have added updated transliterations in footnotes

³¹⁹ CPSPS, First Book, 90–96.

according to contemporary academic standards whenever the terms referred to are not clear and have supplied translations, sometimes with assistance from CPSPS. I have also noted variations in the titles of the headings between editions of VRY wherever possible.

Contents of VRY (VRY1, VRY2, and VRY3; with CPSPS variants in footnotes)

1. [Dedication]
2. “*THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.*”³²⁰
3. “. . . *how the Yogies and Rishies pass their lives in the Ashrum.*”³²¹
4. [The Yogi and the Nawab of Arcot]³²²
5. [VRY1 only] “*Poems on the Purification*”³²³
6. “*Verses on Purification.*”³²⁴
7. “*Prayer to the Infinite Spirit.*”
8. “*Introduction.*”³²⁵
9. “*Purification of the Jivatma*³²⁶ *or soul by itself.*”³²⁷
10. “*Jivatma becomes the disciple to Parmatma*³²⁸.”³²⁹
11. “*Instructions of Parmatma or Guru to Jivatma or disciple on the truths of Tatwa Gyana*³³⁰.”³³¹
12. “*Holy commandments of voidness and purification by Parmatma.*”³³²

³²⁰ CPSPS: “The life of the Author.”

³²¹ The full heading in VRY1 reads “These pages were already in print when the writer received the following communication from the venerable Swamy describing how the Yogies and Rishies pass their lives in the Ashrum.” VRY2 and VRY3 shortened and emended this to “*How the Yogis and Rishis pass their lives in the Ashram.*” CPSPS: “*How the Yogis and Rishis pass their lives in the holy residence of Caves *ācīrnam.*”

³²² This short section does not have a distinct heading but is marked off by a section line and recounts a distinct story from the rest of the work.

³²³ CPSPS: “(*Poems of the Caution.*)”

³²⁴ CPSPS: “Verses on Purification from Transmigration.”

³²⁵ CPSPS: “*INTRODUCTION.*”

³²⁶ “Jivatma” < Skt. nominal form *jīvātmā*, from *jīvātman*, individual “soul” or “self,” often translated into English by Sabhapati in VRY as “Finite Spirit.”

³²⁷ VRY2 and VRY3: “*The longing of Jivatma for purification.*” CPSPS: “*Purification of Finite Spirit or Jivāthmā or soul by itself.*”

³²⁸ “Parmatma” and “Paramatma” < Skt. *paramātmā*, from *paramātmā*, supreme “soul” or “self,” often translated into English by Sabhapati in VRY as “Spirit of Spirits.”

³²⁹ VRY2 and VRY3 emend “*Parmatma*” to “*Paramatma*”. CPSPS: “*Finite Spirit or Soul [in Tam.:] jīvātmā becomes the disciple to the Infinite Spirit or Priest [in Tam.:] pīrmam.*”

³³⁰ “Tatwa Gyana” and “Tatwa Jnana” < Skt. *tattva jñāna*, “gnosis of the principles.” CPSPS (First Book, 39) interprets this as “truths of the faculties of the Phenomena of creations.” See Chapter Three for the way in which Sabhapati interprets the term *tattva* alone and in certain phrases.

³³¹ VRY2: “*Instructions of the Paramatma or Guru to the Jivatma or Disciple on the truths of Tatwa Jnana.*” VRY3: “*Instructions of the Paramatma or Guru to the Jivatma or disciple on the truths of Tatwa Jnana.*” CPSPS: “*Instructions of the I. Spirit or Guru to F. Spirit or disciple on the truths of the faculties of the Phenomena of creations [in Tam.:] tattuvakñānam.*”

³³² VRY2 and VRY3: “*Holy commandments of voidness and purification by the Paramatma.*” CPSPS: “*Holy Commandments of Voidness and Purification to F. Spirit by the I. Spirit.*”

13. “Instructions on Sankalpa Kalpana Bhranti³³³.”³³⁴
14. “Knowledge of soul with Maya or delusion.”³³⁵
15. “Instructions on Tatwa Vritti through Kalpana and Bhranti.”³³⁶
16. “Paramatma instructs Jivatma the practice and truth of Tatwa Laya Kaivalya Anubhuti³³⁷.”³³⁸
17. “Paramatma instructs Jivatma the Vedantic Raja Yogue, and Siva Yogue Layabodh Jivanmookti, Anubhuti.”³³⁹
18. “Paramatma shows to Jivatma the secret state of Samadhi³⁴⁰ or Vedantic Raja Yogue or Shiva Yogue success.”³⁴¹
19. [VRY2 and VRY3 only] “NIRVAN³⁴²,”
20. [VRY2 and VRY3 only] “VERSES ON ATMA. (Translated by the Editor).”
21. [VRY1 only] “Shlokas composed by the Madras Yogi Sabhapaty Swami on the state of Smadhi [sic].”³⁴³

³³³ “Sankalpa Kalpana Bhranti” < Skt. *saṃkalpa kalpana bhrānti*, “delusion [that arises] from [mental] fabrication and wishful thinking.” CPSPS (First Book, 45) translates this similarly as a kind of “False” illusion (see note below).

³³⁴ VRY2: “Classification.”; VRY3: “Calssification.” [sic]. CPSPS: “Instructions on False contrivances, False Introduction, False show and False appearenaces [sic].”

³³⁵ VRY2 and VRY3: “Maya or delusion.” “Maya” = Skt. *māyā*, “illusion,” “delusion.” CPSPS: “Knowledge of soul with delusion [in Tam.:] *māyai* [footnote in Skt.: *māyā*].” CPSPS groups the final paragraph in this section starting with “I shall now enter upon the discussion. . .” and ending with “active principle” into a separate section.

³³⁶ “Tatwa Vritti” < MpvI. *tatvavirtti*, either < Skt. *tattvavṛtti*, “devotion or addition to the principles” or *tattvavṛddhi*, “growth of the principles” (both are possible when the Sanskrit is rendered into Tamil (and here Romanized) due to loss of voicing and aspiration. CPSPS: “Instruction on the reflection of faculties [in Tam.:] *tatvavirtti* [footnote in Skt.: *tattvavṛddhi* (sic)] through false belief [in Tam.:] *kalpanai* [footnote in Skt.: *kalpanai* (sic)] and false appearance or show [in Tam.:] *pirānti* [footnote in Skt.: *bhrānti*] or explanation of the seeming state of Active Personal Soul or Finite Spirit [in Tam.:] *ātmavarūpalakṣaṇam* [footnote in Skt.: *ātmavarūpalakṣaṇam* (sic)].”

³³⁷ “Tatwa Laya Kaivalya Anubhuti” and “Tattwa Laya Kaivalya Anubhuti” < Skt. *tattva laya kaivalya anubhūti*, “perception of isolation through the dissolution of the principles.”

³³⁸ VRY2 and VRY3: “Paramatma instructs Jivatma the practice, and the truth of Tattwa Laya Kaivalya Anubhuti.” CPSPS: “Infinite Spirit [in Tam.:] *pirmmam* [footnote in Skt.: *brahmaṃ* (sic)] instructs Finite Spirit [in Tam.:] *ātmā* [footnote in Skt.: *ātmā*] the Practice and the Truth of the absorption of the above faculties [in Tam.:] *tattuvalayakaivalliyānupūti* [foofnote in Skt.: *tatvalayakaivalyānubhūti* (sic)].”

³³⁹ VRY2 and VRY3: “Paramatma instructs Jivatma in the Vedantic Raja Yoga.” CPSPS: *The Infinite Spirit* [in Tam.:] *paramātmā* [footnote in Skt.: *paramātmā*] instructs the Finite Spirit [in Tam.:] *jīvātmā* [footnote in Skt.: *jīvātmā*] the Absorptional Communion with the Infinite Spirit [in Tam.:] *vētānta rājayōka civayōka layapōta vitēka muktīyānupūti aikkiyakaivalyam* [footnote in Skt.: *vedānta rājayoga layabodha jīvanmuktīyānubhūti aikyakaivalyam* (sic)].”

³⁴⁰ “Samadhi” < Skt. *samādhi*, “composition,” most often translated “communion” or “ecstasy of communion” in Sabhapati’s English works.

³⁴¹ VRY2 and VRY3: “Paramatma shows to Jivatma the secret state of Samadhi or Vedantic Raja Yoga or Shiva Yoga success.” CPSPS: “Infinite Spirit [in Tam.:] *paramātmā* [footnote in Skt.: *paramātmā*] shows to Soul [in Tam.:] *jīvātmā* [footnote in Skt.: *jīvātma*] the secret Infinite Spiritual state of Ecstasy [in Tam.:] *camāti* [footnote in Skt.: *samādi* (sic)] by Védantic Raja Yoga or Shiva Yoga Success [in Tam.:] *civañāna rājayōka nirvikalpa pirmmañāna camātikaivalliyastiti* [footnote in Skt.: *śivañāna rājayoga nirvikalpa brahmañāna samādi kaivalya stiti* (sic)].

³⁴² “Nirvan” < Skt. *nirvāṇa*, “extinction,” “cessation.”

³⁴³ “Shlokas” < Skt. *śloka*, “verse.” “Smadhi” < Skt. *samādhi*, see note above. CPSPS (First Book, starting on page 90) includes these verses in separate Tamil and Devanagari sections entitled “mahāvākkīyāaikkiya

PART II

22. “*The Yogi’s advice to his Country.*”³⁴⁴
23. “INSTRUCTION. *The fear of Transmigration or on Navabarana Dukhabhaya Atidheevera Bhukti verukti avasha utpuna Moomuktchu Adhikara Pukvum*³⁴⁵.”³⁴⁶
24. “*Tatwagiyana Paroksha Giyananoobhavam.*”³⁴⁷
25. “*The Apavāda or the absorption of Tatwagiana.*”³⁴⁸
26. “POEM OF BLESSING.”
27. [VRY2 and VRY3 only] “SEARCH AFTER KNOWLEDGE OF SPIRIT. (*Translated by the Editor.*)”³⁴⁹
28. [VRY2 and VRY3 only] “A BRIEF SKETCH OF VEDANTISM AND YOGA.”

The above contents of VRY are usefully compared with the following Index printed at the end of the Second Book of CPSPS, which I have reproduced below. Subjects in the Index that are marked by an asterisk [*] indicate that the material is also found in the three editions of VRY, while subject headings marked by a cross [†] indicate only portions of a given section are

nirvikalpa vitēkamukta pirmañāna camātiyāñupūtistiti” and “*atvaita mahāvākkīyārta ēkamēva pirummalayapōta mavuñattiyāna stuti*” (Tamil); and “*mahāvākyaikya nirvikalpa videhamukta brahmañāna samādhyānubhūtistiti [sic]*” and “*advaita mahāvākyārtha ekameva brahmalayabodha maunadhyānastuti*” (Devanagari).

³⁴⁴ VRY2: “SABHAPATY’S ADVICE TO HIS COUNTRY”; VRY3: “SABHAPATY’S ADVICE TO HIS COUNTRY.” CPSPS: “Yogi’s advice to his Country.” In CPSPS this poem is placed earlier in the text with Sabhapati’s other English poems (sections 5–7 in the list above).

³⁴⁵ “*Navabarana Dukhabhaya Atidheevera Bhukti verukti avasha utpuna Moomuktchu Adhikara Pukvum*” < Skt. *navāvaraṇa duḥkhabhaya atitīvra bhakti virakti avasthā utpanna mumukṣu adhikāra pakva* (see note below for Mañipravāla variants), “The nine states of blindness, sorrow, and fear, [and the nine] states of indifference and intense devotion that arise in he who has the competency and sovereignty to desire liberation.”

³⁴⁶ VRY2: “SUPPLEMENTARY INSTRUCTIONS. *The fear of Transmigration.*” VRY3: “SUPPLEMENTARY INSTRUCTIONS. *The fear of Transmigration.*” CPSPS renders this heading as “The fear of Transmigration and of 9 sorts of imperfections, unholiness, impurities and sinfulness, and of 9 sorts of purifications, holiness, purity and goodness when of being as Infinite Spirit’s holy state of indifference of Faculties [in Tam.] *navāvaraṇa tukkapayayacuttavācaṇā* and [in Tam.] *navappirakācavirtiyāñantacuttavācaṇā* of [in Tam.] *atitīvaravirākaviraktipaktiyāvēcayutpanṇamummūksūyatikārapakkuvam* [footnote in Skt.: *navāvaraṇa duḥkha bhaya aśuddhavāsanā* and *navaprakāśa vṛddhiyānanda śuddha vāsanā* of *atitīvara virāgavirakti bhaktiyāveṣa yutpanna mumukṣu adhikārah (sic)*.”

³⁴⁷ VRY2: “TATWAJNANA PAROKSHA JNANANUBHAVAM”; VRY3: “*Tatwajnana Paroksha Jnanubhavam.*” CPSPS: “The Knowledge and The Wisdom of Creations [in Tam.] *parōkṣatattvakñāñāñupūti* [footnote in Skt.: *parōkṣatva jñānānubhūti*].

³⁴⁸ VRY2 and VRY3: “*The Apavāda or the absorption of Tatwajnana.*” CPSPS: “*The Knowledge and Wisdom of the Absorption of Creations.* [in Tam.] *parōkṣattuva kñāñayapavātalaya kñāñāñupūti* [footnote in Skt.: *parōkṣatva jñānāpavāda laya jñānānubhūti*].”

³⁴⁹ VRY3 omits the period after “*Translated by the Editor.*”

also found in the three editions of VRY (excluding the addition of Tamil and Devanagari script for extant terms, which is a feature unique to CPSPS).

The “Index” of CPSPS (as integrating VRY1)

[CPSPS, First Book]

1. “Inside title page and Photo of the Author”
2. “Poem for piety and Precaution”
3. [†] ““Remark here much’ cancelled, Dedication”
4. [†] “Diagram No. 1 and The Life of the Author.”
5. “Prayers on Mahadave [Mahādeva]”
6. [*] “The Life of the Rishis and Yogees on mountains”
7. “The second visit to his Guru and the Guru’s order to him”
8. “Discussions of the social reformation”
9. [†] “Poems of Caution, Purifications and transmigrations”
10. [†] “Prayers to God and The Author’s sympathy with atheists”
11. [*] “Author’s advice to his country and his blessing in poem”
12. [*] “Introduction”
13. [*] “Purification of finite spirit or soul by itself”
14. “The Duty of the mental & physical faculties in poems”
15. “Author’s sacrificing everything to his Guru in poems”
16. [*] “Instruction about the phenomena of creations”
17. [*] “Holy Commandments of Voidness and Purifications”
18. [*] “The false contrivances and the soul with delusion”
19. [*] “The reflection of faculties through false belief”
20. [*] “Explanation of the I. spirit and the definition of the F. spirit”
21. [†] “Definition of the I. spirit and the emanation of it on diagram No. 1”
22. [†] “An abstract of the instructions of the above emanations”
23. [*] “I. spirit instructs F. spirit, the practical absorption”
24. [*] “Instructions on the practical states to gain I. spirit”
25. [*] “The absorption of faculties by discussing meditations”
26. [*] “The definition of the nature of mind and soul”
27. [†] “The absorptional communion”
28. [†] “The spiritual divine muntras [Skt. *mantras*] for absorptive Dhiana”
29. [*] “The I. spirit shows to the soul the secret spiritual ecstasy”
30. [†] “The poems in Tamil and Sanscrit showing the I. spiritual state”

PART II

1. [†] “Supplementary instructions of communion”
2. “Explanation of Ashtanga yogue [*aṣṭāṅga yoga*]”
3. [†] “The posture of trance, caution, and seven states of meditation”
4. [†] “Instructions of the place, time, way, and communion”
5. [†] “Here is the truth, Special note. Heed it”

6. “Notice, Believe this”
7. “Devote truly, Admit this mode”
8. “Observe this, Indifferent free mind”
9. [†] “Different branches of communion, nature of I. spirit”

[CPSPS, Second Book begins here]

10. [*] “Removing different spiritual eatherial visions”
11. [*] “The real way of knowing and being as thy-self I spirit”
12. [*] “The divine spiritual words for the concentration”
13. [*] “Instructions of the faculties of Thuthwagnyan [*tattvajñāna*]”
14. [*] “The practical knowledge of absorpion of creations”
15. [*] “Meditation of six stages with songs of concluding faculties”
16. [†] “The nature of being as the Self Universal I. Spirit”
17. “Changing the delusive blissfulness into spiritual blissfulness”
18. “Clearing the doubts of wrong beliefs”
19. “The state of keeping spiritual ecstasy in different postures”
20. “Changing the singing into spiritual trance”
21. “Meditation of spiritual sounds in the seats of nerves”
22. “Poems, advising purifications & attaining God-head”
23. “Poems, advising to be prayerful on God”
24. “Meditation of spiritual Muntras [*mantras*] for purity & psychic powers”
25. “Advice to the world by the disciples of the Author”
26. “Author’s advice to the world, in poem”
27. “Verses on Atma [*ātmā*] and proofs of the identity of God & soul”
28. “Advice to the worldly brothers”

Second Volume. PART III.

1. “Explanation of the diagram No. II of Transmigration for Vices and Sins, Effects of Virtues and Meditations”
2. “Tree-like human form chess play diagram”
3. “Tree of effects of pure virtue and meditation of mind and soul”
4. “Tree of transmigration for sins of lust of flesh”
5. “Tree of transmigration for sins of pride of Life”
6. “Tree of transmigration for sins of powers and wealth”
7. “Tree of transmigration for indulging in pleasures”
8. “Tree of transmigration for sins of love for false existence”
9. “Tree of effects of virtue for self sacrificing & knowing”
10. “Tree of effects for righteousness and chastity with hope and love and tree of effects for holiness and divinity”
11. “Tree of meditation with repentance and piety”
12. “Tree of identified communion and absorpion in God
13. “Tree of the perfect concentration of God by losing duality and trinity to remain as God”
14. “Tree shewing trance of unity and self-state”

15. “The Mystery of the Yogees’ [*yogīs*] and Gnyanees’ [*jñānīs*] death”
16. “The August tongue in the elevated tone of the author in sublime prose with mental judgment”
17. “Advice of wisdom in proverbs”
18. “Explanation of the Diagram No. III regarding seven I. spiritual states and their Meditation”
19. “Gnyana Yogue [*jñāna yoga*] or Communion with the Infinite Spirit according to Diagram No. III”
20. “Instructions on the 15 sorts of the Purification of the mind and soul”
21. “Ist sort of the purification of the mind and soul for the members of the body”
22. “IInd sort do. for passions and notions”
23. “IIIrd sort do. for passions and notions”
24. “IVth sort do. for spiritual family state”
25. “Vth sort do. for the holy and divine business”
26. “VIth sort do. for the spiritual actions”
27. “VIIth do. for fear and earnestness”
28. “VIIIth sort do. for Enquiries and understandings”
29. “IXth sort do. for Meditation”
30. “Xth sort do. for spiritual knowledge”
31. “XIth sort do. for spiritual shinings and powers”
32. “XIIth sort do. for the identified self-state”
33. “XIIIth sort do. for spiritual cultivation”
34. “XIVth sort do. for the discipleship to the Guru”
35. “XVth sort do. for retiring from all physical, sensual, mental and spiritual pleasures”
36. “Instructions on the destined duties of the members of the body”

PART IV

1. “Explanation of the Diagram No. IV. regarding creation”
2. “The twenty three arts of Yogue [*yoga*]”
3. “Poems by the Author signifying his I. spiritual state”
4. “Explanation condemning cow-killings”

PART V

1. “Explanation of the Diagram No. V and of four sorts of bodies and the Photo of the G. G. Y. Sabapathy Swamy for Pooja [*pūjā*].”
2. “Explanation of the initiations of Gnyana Yoga or communion with the Infinite Spirit and Guru Dhiana Sthoothi [*guru dhyāna stuti*]”
3. “Meditation of divine words for bathing & holy shrines”
4. “do. for the purification of the seat and for binding eight sides”
5. “Meditation of divine words for the purification of water; drinking and sprinkling”
6. “Meditation of divine words for putting marks of Vishnuism and Sivaism”
7. “Meditation of divine words for purifying faculties & members of body”

8. "Meditation of divine words for purifying sinful actions by touching signs by hands & for the meditation for psychic powers"
9. "Meditation of divine words for the meditation of the self I. Spirit"
10. "The instruction for removing the obstacles in the meditation"
11. "The instruction showing the following Yoga practice is the only true way to gain God-Head and Self I. S. Conscious state"
12. "Instructions of the 10 sorts of processes of Gnyana Yoga [*jñāna yoga*] or communion with the self I. Spirit on the Diagram No. V and the rules to the disciples of the Guru"
13. "The process (1) of fixing the Mind and the process (2) of transforming Mind into Consciousness"
14. "The process (3) of confirming the idea of the universal circle and the meditator's seat"
15. "The process (4) of ascertaining the spiritual nerve of the body"
16. "The process (5) of searching, finding & seeing the I. Spirit by mind"
17. "The process (6) of absorbing in, pervading off, becoming and being as the Infinite Spirit"
18. "The process (7) of ever and ever being as the same Self I. Spirit"
19. "The process (8) of filling the self I. spiritual state in the nerves of Breath and Matter"
20. "The poems in Sanscrit and Tamil of the nature of the I. spirit or Brumhum [Brahman]"
21. "The initiations of the spiritual Muntras [*mantras*] for the meditation of I. spiritual state"
22. "The process (9) of the meditation of duality for Eeswara Manasa Pooja [*īśvara mānasa pūjā*]"
23. "Instruction on the most essential secrecies"
24. "The process (10) of worshipping deities by mind according to the Diagram No. X"
25. "Cautious hint and Instructions on the past and present kurmas and sins"
26. "The branches of the different sorts of meditation"
27. "The preparation for becoming the Infinite spiritual man"
28. "The short way of Yoga or communion as cammandments [*sic*] by Guru"
29. "Poems on the truth of mental absorbtion and on the success of the I. spiritual state"
30. "Poems showing the I. spiritual state and the shortest true suggestion of meditation Gnyana Yoga [*jñāna yoga*] as per Diagram No. 10 of the Diagram No. IV"
31. "Initiation in poem to Void thy-Self; & to Know thy-Self"
32. "Initiation in poem to Be as thy-Self"
33. "Explanation of the Diagram No. VI of the mystery and theory of Lingum [*liṅga*] and Sivaroop [*śivarūpa*]"
34. "Explanation of the figure (A) of the Diagram No. VII of the worlds of the Firmaments of the universe"
35. "Explanation of the figure (B) of the Diagram VII of attaining I. spiritual state by cancelling every thing at once"

36. “Explanation of the Diagram No. VIII of the most secret practical hint of the I. Spiritual Trance or Ecstasy”
37. “Instruction on the Hata Yoga [*haṭha yoga*]”
38. “Explanation of the other Nos of the Diagram No. I”
39. “The mystery of pralayakala [*pralayakāla*] or distruction [*sic*] of the creation in prose and poem”
40. “Instruction on the six sorts of adhikari [*adhikāri*] or deserving states”
41. “Precautions”
42. “The principal perseverant and pious precautions”
43. “Reformation required in each religion prevailing in the world”
44. “Instructions on the Fire-worship of Hindus & Parsees”
45. “Reformation for Brahma, Araya [Ārya], Prathna [Prārthanā], Samaj &c:”
46. “Explanation of the Diagram No. IX and XI of 16 sorts of the blessing Mesmarisms [*sic*]”
47. “The practical instruction for the practice of the 8 sorts of Mesmerisms”
48. “Instructions on the supernatural miraculous phychic [*sic*] powers”
49. “Commandments of the Guru to his disciples”
50. “Special traits of different sects of Indian Nations”
51. “Judgment and decision passed on the soul by God”
52. “Advice in poem for repentance and pardon”
53. “Prayers on the nature of the infinite spirit”
54. “Prayers for the 10th process and Brumha Gnyana [*brahma jñāna*] and social reformation”
55. “Instruction on the successive emanation”
56. “Instruction of the successive evolutions”
57. “Condemning Atheism with practical proofs”
58. “Prayers of absorbtion of the F. spirit in the I. spirit”
59. “Author’s prayer to God for his disciples”
60. “Author’s personal blessing to his disciples”
61. “Explanation of the Diagram No. XII for the arrangement of the Meditation Hall and rules for the Meditation Hall”
62. “The Upathash [*upadeśa*] of Gnyana Yoga [*jñāna yoga*] and Manasa Pooja [*mānasa pūjā*] in the Maharashti Language on Diagram No. V & X”

From the above it should be clear that the entire First Book and a good amount of the Second Book are sourced from the contents of VRY. Since the First Book of CPSPS was printed four years later, we can assume that VRY was reworked into CPSPS and the technical terms produced in Tamil and Devanagari were added, most likely with the assistance of Sabhapati himself, although it is still unclear how the writing process unfolded (i.e., whether Sabhapati

himself wrote the manuscript or dictated it to a scribe).³⁵⁰ The three editions of VRY are no longer advertised in Sabhapati's vernacular-language material from 1892 onwards, and CPSPS appears to entirely eclipse its importance; CPSPS is advertised as Sabhapati's principal work in English by 1913 (see Figure 2).

Finally, at the end of the above index or table of contents, which is remarkable in its attempt to render Sabhapati's technical instructions on yoga in intelligible (if now somewhat archaic) English, there is the following note clarifying some of his translations on key religious concepts: "Mind or Mun [< Skt. *manas*] means Consciousness as Thoughts of Darkness; Soul or Atma [*ātmā*, < *ātman*] means Consciousness as witness of Light; God or Brahman [Brahman] means Consciousness as blissfulness of I. S. [Infinite Spiritual] Sight only." Clarifying notes like these indicate that Sabhapati and his followers were aware of how English words like "mind" or "God" could be variously interpreted according to various philosophies or religions and that they attempted to delineate such interpretations in the context of their own yogic philosophy while still expanding their teachings into the English language.

4. Bengali and German Translations of VRY (BRY and FH)

The demand for VRY1 upon its release is certainly evident by it having been reprinted twice (VRY2 and VRY3) as well as integrated into CPSPS. Yet the success of the book also prompted two additional translations intended for different linguistic and geographical milieus. The text of VRY from the outset had even anticipated and invited such translations by including the following comment: "If any gentleman has the leisure or inclination to translate

³⁵⁰ A diagram in CTCSPV depicts a scribe who is writing in the presence of Sabhapati seated as a guru, so it is possible that one was employed in the initial stages of creating his works, especially for those in Tamil.

and publish this book in Bengalee or Hindustanee or any other language with the diagram and the author's name, he has the full permission of our venerable Swamy to do so."³⁵¹ A note in CPSPS clarified these languages further, including "Bengálee, Hindoostáni, Punjábí, Tamil, Sanscrit, Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayali languages only, with the Diagrams, and the Author's name." However, permission was not given to publish the work in English "till the expiration of the registered time."³⁵²

The first of these translations was accordingly into Bengali by Ambikācaraṇ Bandyopādhyāy in 1885 (BRY), offering tantalizing proof that Tamil teachings on a different kind of Rājayoga had already spread to Bengal around a decade prior to Swami Vivekananda's own reformulation of Rājayoga,³⁵³ a reformulation at least indirectly assisted by the Theosophical Society. BRY, published privately by Shrish Chandra Basu himself, still survives at the National Library of India in Kolkata and possibly a few other libraries in West Bengal, such as the Bagbazar Reading Library in Kolkata (as a stamp on one surviving digital copy attests), and textual evidence demonstrates it was a translation from VRY2 and not from VRY1.³⁵⁴ A diagram of the "body as the linga" (*liṅgaśarīra* taken literally, see Chapter Four), based on the one included with the original VRY, was also included with the translation according to Sabhapati's above instruction, and the original English caption below the diagram was translated into Bengali as the following:

³⁵¹ VRY1, v.

³⁵² CPSPS, First Book, 16.

³⁵³ See Chapter Four; Elizabeth De Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga: Patañjali and Western Esotericism*, Reprint (London: Continuum, 2008); and Jason Birch, "Rājayoga: The Reincarnations of the King of All Yogas," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 17, no. 3 (2013): 399–442.

³⁵⁴ For example, its translation of the Ur-account notes that Sabhapati stayed in Lahore for six months, a detail only present in VRY2 and VRY3 (which was published after BRY so could not have been the source text).

*ye rūpe upabiṣṭa haiyā yog praṇālī dvārā samādhi yog abhyās pūrbbak sthul śarīr
sūkṣma śarīre pariṇata hay tāhāi māndrājī yogī pūjyapād śrīmat sabhāpati svāmi
kartṛk pradarsita hailo*

“The form of composure [*samādhi*] in which the gross body [*sthula śarīr, sic*] being seated, by means of the yogic system becomes changed into the subtle body [*sūkṣma śarīr*] after yogic practice; this is what has been shown by the venerable Madrasī Yogī Śrīmat Sabhāpati Svāmi.”

The most notable part of this translation of the caption is the change from *liṅga-śarīr* “body of the phallus (*liṅga*)” in VRY to *sūkṣma śarīr* “subtle body” in BRY, which may appear to be a minor change but carries with it important implications for yogic physiology (see Chapter Four). Although little to nothing can presently be found on the Ambikācaraṇ, this highly literate Bengali translator provided a compelling new Bengali-language introduction to VRY with references to continental philosophers like Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and the British biological philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820–1903). He also notes that he took the liberty of creatively rendering Sabhāpati’s Sanskritic English songs into Bengali, rendering them into a lyrical meter that can be easily set to music. Indeed, the songs and their range of vocabulary forms a striking fusion between Sabhāpati’s terminology on Vedānta that loosely mirrors language used by nineteenth-century Bāuls and other kinds of religious musical composers in Bengal (see Chapter Five).

The second translation of the VRY series was a partial translation into German by the occultist and novelist Franz Hartmann (1838–1912), first published between 1908 and 1909 in the journal *Neue Lotusbluthen* (FH1) and again as a standalone work in 1909 (FH2), which was in turn reprinted in 1926 (FH3) and 2015; this German-language edition of VRY is thus

the only one of Sabhapati's works still readily available for purchase at the present time of writing. This edition, translated from either VRY2 or VRY3,³⁵⁵ also contains numerous extra footnotes by Hartmann that interprets Sabhapati's philosophy through the lenses of the Bhagavadgītā, the Bible, the *Tattvabodha* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya, the Theosophical literature of H.P. Blavatsky and C.W. Leadbeater, Swami Vivekananda, and even the thirteenth- to fourteenth-century late medieval mystic Meister Eckhart. The translation, while highly important for the translocalization of Sabhapati's teachings, ends with Part One and does not include the "Supplementary Instructions" of Part Two of VRY.

5. William Estep's *Esoteric Cosmic Yogi Science* (WE)

Text from the Alpha Stream directly reached American shores due to the pioneering efforts of William Estep, a New Thought guru who took the alias "Mahatma Gotam Rishi" and was active in the 1920s.³⁵⁶ Estep published a version of CPSPS entitled *Esoteric Cosmic Yogi Science, or Works of the World Teacher* (WE), out of Excelsior Springs, Missouri in 1929. The publisher was called "The Super Mind Science Publications," which had previously released a variety of works such as *The Path of Light, Mysteries of God and Man, Threads of Wisdom*, and *The White Prophecy*, and three years later (in 1932) would publish *Eternal Wisdom & Health*, a work of over 700 pages on mental healing that also included an exegesis of certain books of the Bible and claimed to present "Super Mind Science" as the "restored message of Jesus Christ."³⁵⁷ As I will show in Chapter Seven, Estep claimed to be a

³⁵⁵ The differences between VRY2 and VRY3 are so minor as to prevent easily discerning which edition Hartmann translated from.

³⁵⁶ For more on Estep see Chapter Seven and the forthcoming research of Philip Deslippe. I am grateful to Philip for showing me newspaper clippings of Estep and continuing to highlight his importance in American religious contexts.

³⁵⁷ Professor WM. Estep, *Eternal Wisdom and Health with Light on the Scriptures* (Excelsior Springs, MO: Super Mind Science Publications, 1932), 10.

direct disciple of Sabhapati Swami, although there is no validation of this claim in Sabhapati’s own published writings, and he used the Super Mind Science imprint to market an occult correspondence course of instruction that likely partook at least partially in some of Sabhapati’s teachings.

WE was published in two separate volumes that include most of the contents of the original two volumes of CPSPS, although notably all of CPSPS’s text and footnotes in the Devanagari and Tamil scripts were removed. The diagrams, however, were preserved although significantly shrunk (especially in the cases of fold-out diagrams). WE claims in the Foreword that the original work consisted of “manuscripts” published in 1888—rather than 1884 (CPSPS, First Book) and 1890 (CPSPS, Second Book)—that were later used in Sabhapati’s “Schools of Yoga” by his disciples, and that the “Swami consented to let them be published in English after the expiration of 35 years,”³⁵⁸ which could be a reference to the registered time mentioned in the previous section (B.3). The Foreword also mentions that one “Professor Vithal Hari Khoth of Bombay” had possessed the “manuscript” (probably the original source volumes of CPSPS) and “helped in their translation and correcting of terms from Sanscrit and Tamil.”³⁵⁹

C. Sabhapati’s Vernacular Literature: The Beta (β) and Gamma (γ) Streams

1. Contextualizing Sabhapati’s Vernacular Works

Sabhapati Swami’s English works of the Alpha Stream (α) were catalogued by libraries on a given spelling of the name Sabhapati, of which there are many variations (including, but not limiting to, Sabhapaty Swami, Sabhapathy Swamy, Sabapatty Swami,

³⁵⁸ WE, 8.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 9.

Sabhapatti Svami, and Swami Sabhapatee). Yet, as mentioned above in Section B, the Ur-account did mention that Sabhapati had composed at least one earlier work in Tamil prior to 1880, entitled “Vedanta Sidhanta Samarasa Brahmagiyana Shiva raja Yogue Kaiulia anubhooti.” In attempting to locate this work mentioned in the Ur-account, I added proper diacritics to portions of the title of this work, especially combinations of the key words *brahmajñāna*, *rājayoga*, and *anubhūti*, and made several searches in a few catalogues. What resulted was a catalogue hit of *Rājayoga Brahmajñānānubhūti saṅgraha veda* (RYB), “A Compiled Scripture on Raja Yoga as the Perception of the Gnosis of Brahman,” specifically what I thought at the time may be the only surviving copy in the world, held by library of the University of Chicago. It is unclear why the term *samarasa* disappeared along with “Vedanta” (Vedānta) and “Sidhanta” (Siddhānta), although it would reemerge by 1889 in Sabhapati’s Tamil work CTCSPV (See “Summary of the Contents of CTCSPV, no. 109).³⁶⁰ It is possible that Sabhapati’s attempt to promote a soteriological “equal flavor” between Vedānta and Śaiva Siddhānta was not as large concern for Sabhapati outside of South India during this time period.³⁶¹

In any event this work, published in 1892, was composed by one Sabhāpati Svāmī in a Sanskritic register of Hindustani, also called *Urdū*, which the OED defines as an “Indo-Aryan language of northern South Asia widely used as a lingua franca, from which modern Hindi and Urdu derive.”³⁶² After I acquired and began to analyze the work I noted that there

³⁶⁰ For an alchemical usage of this term among the Nāth yogīs, see David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 185.

³⁶¹ For the bitter debates between Vedānta and Śiddhānta that prompted religious entrepreneurs to navigate a mediating path that tried to include or even transcend both perspectives, see Eric Steinschneider, “Beyond the Warring Sects: Universalism, Dissent, and Canon in Tamil Śaivism, ca. 1675–1994” (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2016). While sectarianism was an issue in North India too during the colonial period, debates between Vedāntins and Saiddhāntikas do not seem to have reached the same fever pitch.

³⁶² OED (Third Edition, June 2020), s.v. Hindustani, B.1.

were was much information in it that was not present in the texts of the Alpha Stream (α), particularly VRY1 and VRY2, and that the structure of the book's contents was relatively different than these English works.

While I consider RYB to be separate from the unknown Tamil work mentioned in the Ur-account (Ur-RYB), I do think the partial connection between the two titles provides an illustrative example as to the presence of vernacular-language content both preceding and running parallel to the Alpha Stream (α), which as I have already indicated was principally based on Sabhapati's English-language lectures in Lahore (along with additional supplementary instructions and a great deal of transliterated Sanskrit terminology) that took place after he had already been on quite a few journeys abroad from the environs of Madras. Sabhapati's vernacular-language works in which English is almost non-existent, by contrast, can be further divided into two distinct streams, what I call a "North Indian" Beta Stream (β) that was centered on this Hindustani work (RYB) and that was also intended to be accessible to Gujarati- and Marathi-speakers; and a "South Indian" Gamma Stream (γ) centered on CTCSPV, the Tamil pamphlets of Konnur Meditation Hall, and later MCVTS that was directly intended for readers of Tamil. Some vernacular-language content had already been integrated with the Alpha Stream (α) as early as 1884 in CPSPS (see also Section B.3), a uniquely hybrid trilingual work, but in most cases the vernacular-language content was intended to be accessible on its own and does not resort to English except in discrete sections or in isolated circumstances.

2. CPSPS as also part of the Beta (β) and Gamma (γ) Streams

CPSPS was a two-volume hybrid work composed in English, Tamil, and Devanagari, with portions in Marathi, published in 1884 and 1890, as we have already seen (CPSPS, see Section C.1 above). The Sanskrit title of the First Book, “*Vedhantha Siva Raja Yoga Brumha Gnyana Anubuthi*,” reveal some of the same key terms such as *rājayoga*, *brahmajñāna*, and *anubhūti* that connect it to Sabhapati’s vernacular literature in Tamil and Hindustani. Although I have already demonstrated that the First Book and a short portion of the Second Book are clearly part of the Alpha Stream (α), CPSPS’s addition of Tamil and Devanagari scripts alongside English shows that Sabhapati’s literature was already beginning to participate in a process of vernacularization so as to be readable to individuals more comfortable with languages apart from English and scripts other than Roman. The Second Book’s inclusion of a lengthy portion in “Maharashtrian” (Marathi) on “Śiva’s Rāja or Jñāna Yoga” (*śivarāja athavā jñānayoga*) is also evidence of this,³⁶³ and marks the first clear expression of North Indian vernacularization (i.e., the Beta Stream), as does the inclusion of several of Sabhapati’s poetic and spiritual compositions throughout CPSPS, some of which were not translated into English but simply left in Tamil and/or Devanagari script. These Tamil works in particular are intimately connected to Sabhapati’s literature as spread in South India (i.e., the Gamma Stream), and some of these compositions were even intended to be set to Carnatic musical modes.

CPSPS further indicates that Sabhapati’s literature (especially in the Second Book) was not merely translated from English into Tamil or Devanagari, as we saw from BRY’s translation from English into Bengali (see Section B.2). On the contrary, all extant evidence

³⁶³ CPSPS, Second Book, 427–34.

points to the other direction, that there was a kind of hybrid linguistic substratum that formed the foundation of the technical terminology in Sabhapati's literature. This substratum occupied a linguistic zone between Sanskrit and Tamil (possibly Maṇipravālam, for which see the beginning of this chapter), and was mediated by either the Roman (Alpha Stream), Devanagari (Beta Stream), or the Tamil script (Gamma Stream).. These terms were either sourced from Sabhapati's own preexistent lectures and writings—possibly manuscripts or texts that are no longer extant—or dictated by him directly at the time he was composing his lectures and writings in English or Tamil. The Devanagari footnotes of CPSPS were rendered from the Tamil script and not the other way around, which is evident by the numerous spelling issues that mirror eccentricities in the Tamil script's rendering of Sanskrit.³⁶⁴ This all allows for the possible existence of Ur-RYB or another text composed in Tamil, as mentioned in the Ur-account, which may have formed a general base for some of the technical terminology used in Sabhapati's works. However, it is also possible that a text like Ur-RYB never existed and the contents published in the Alpha Stream (α) were entirely new teachings in English (with Romanized Maṇipravāla terms) composed by Sabhapati himself for the purposes of his lectures in Lahore between 1879 and 1880, and then gradually reworked with the Tamil and Devanagari scripts in the formation of CPSPS. In either case, it would not be long until these and many other teachings were to be re-rendered (or re-localized) in vernacular-language editions (Hindustani, Tamil, Telugu) with a wealth of additional material, and which relegated English-language content to a few comparatively short passages (see Figure 2).

³⁶⁴ The notion that such eccentricities in Devanagari are merely due to their rendering from the Prakrits or Pali are untenable in this case given that it is clear the principal sources as well as Sabhapati himself were Tamil.

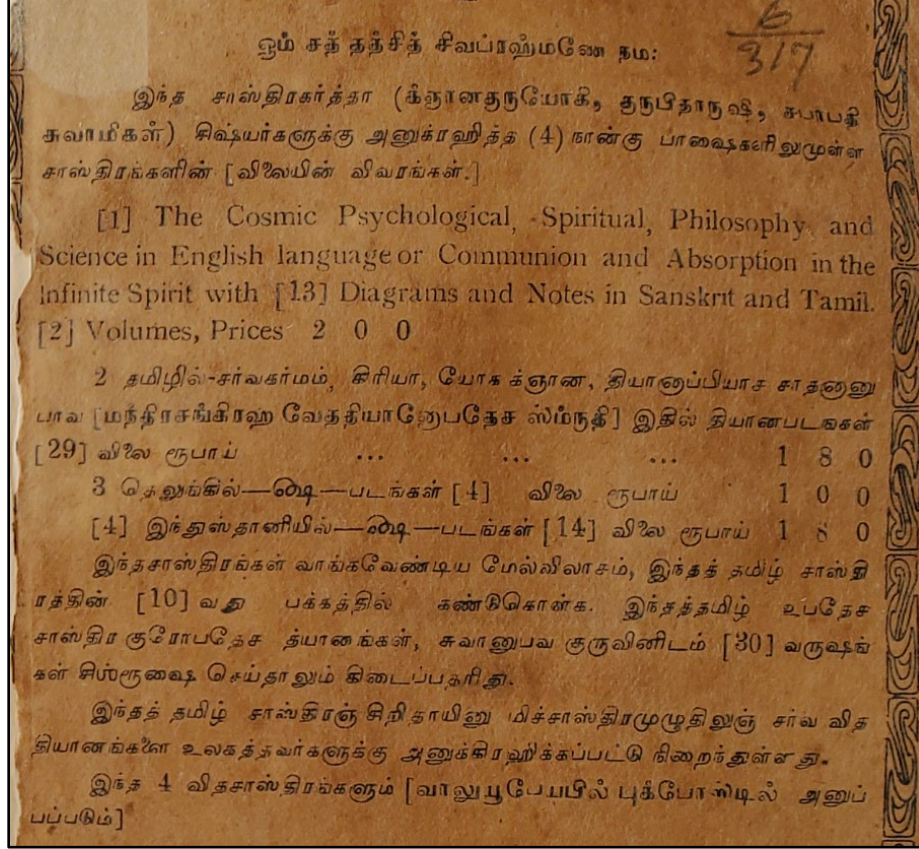


Figure Two. An advertisement found in the long edition of MCVTS (see below) that provides an example as to how CPSPS was integrated among Sabhapati's works in three vernacular languages (Tamil, Hindustani, and Telugu).

3. CTCSPV and the development of the Gamma Stream (γ)

Sabhapati's first full-length vernacular-language published work that is still extant was *Carvōpatēsa tatvañāṇa civarājayōka svayap pirammañāñānupūti vētapōtam* (CTCSPV), published in Madras in 1889 by the "Empress of India Piras" (Empress of India Press). A notice about this book had been included as early as 1884 as a detached insert in some copies of CPSPS, which explained the following:

Donations for Swami's Tamil Philosophy, coming out with about 50 practically explained Diagrams and whose publication is principally delayed in consequence of

want of funds, will be thankfully accepted on the addresses given above from those who like to assist for public Spiritual good and prosperity.³⁶⁵

Over four years of rigorous searching for Sabhapati's texts failed to bring this book to light in any library catalogues, either inside or outside of India, and I had given it up as either lost or delayed for several decades prior to the publication of MCVTS (see Section C.6 below).

However, I discovered in March of 2020 that at least eight copies (out of a total of twelve that were catalogued) of CTCSPV happened to survive at the former Meditation Hall of Om Prakash Swamigal in the Kandal area of Ooty, including Om Prakash's own personal copy. As a result, the funds must have been eventually secured for its publication after all, at least partially. The resulting work, over 130 pages plus prefatory and appended material, was divided into two principal parts (following T1 as a preface), a "A Ritual Section for the Realization of Daily Rites through the Exercise of Theory" (MpvI. *vivēkāppiyāsa nittiyakarmāṅupūti karmakāṅṭam*)³⁶⁶ and a "A Ritual Section for the Realization of Daily Rites through the Exercise of Action" (MpvI. *karmāppiyāca nittiyakarmmāṅupūti karmma kāṅṭam*).³⁶⁷ It appears that this work was originally intended to have additional parts (MpvI. *kāṅṭamkaḷ*), but these don't appear to ever have been published and the relevant information may have been folded over into MCVTS, published twenty-four years later.

CTCSPV was Sabhapati's first (still-extant) work composed almost entirely in Tamil, including even the page numbering in the Tamil script, the only one of Sabhapati's works to mark the pages in this traditional way. It therefore represents a critical piece of what I call the Gamma Stream (γ), or the traceable genealogy of his works designed specifically for South

³⁶⁵ CPSPS, detached insert printed prior to 1889 found in the copy held by the British Library.

³⁶⁶ CTCSPV, 7. The Sanskrit compound Karmakāṅṭam has a specific meaning in Vedic literature, which refers to sections (of the Veda) that pertain to ritual, as opposed to Jñānakāṅṭam.

³⁶⁷ CTCSPV, 67.

Indian and not Anglophone or North Indian audiences. An easy but useful distinction from other textual streams is that the first name of the author in the Gamma Stream is rendered neither as one of the myriad renderings of Sabhapati’s name in English nor as a Sanskritized or Hindi “Sabhāpati,” but rather it is given in Tamil, the transliteration of which would be “Capāpati” in the prevailing system, often with the epithets Cuvāmikaḷ, Svāmi (using characters derived from Grantha), or Yōkisvarar appended; in other words, the phoneme “ca” replaces “sa” according to Tamil convention. While Tamil is accordingly dominant, there are also some isolated instances of English terminology. Such phrases like “The Infinite Spiritual Phenomena,” “The Void Ether of Blissfulness,” “Fixing the mind in the centre seat of the skull,” and so on, are directly parallel to the kinds of English phrases used in CPSPS. This indicates a kind of harmonization between these two works and further confirms CPSPS’s role as an important “bridging” node in the vernacularization of Sabhapati’s works, even if CPSPS itself was primarily an English work and not fully vernacular. Many, though not all, of the instructions and diagrams also appear similar to those given in CPSPS, although it must be added that CTCSPV contains a vast array of stunning new visual material and yoga-related depictions, including the first known illustration of Agastya’s Ashram in the Pothigai Hills (see Chapter One).

SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF CTCSPV

1. [Illustration of Agastya’s Hermitage on the Potigai Malai – First Diagram]
2. “Let your mind realize some caution about this” (Tam. & MpvI. *itaikavaṇittuvā cittu aṛiyavum.*)
3. “Details of the rules for male and female students to keep the commands of Sabhapati Swami, the Guru Yogi of Gnosis” (*puruṣa stirī ciṣyarkaḷukku ṅāṅākuruyōki capāpaticuvāmikaḷ ākṅāpāṅa kaṭṭalaivivaram*)
4. “Details of the railway line by which one can come to the Hermitage of Konnur Meditation Hall” (*koṅṅūrmaṭālaya yāsramattiṛku varumpatiyāṅa reyilmārkkavivaram*)

5. “Hymn of praise to the guru, in the language of his students, about Sabhapati Swami, the Guru Yogi of Gnosis” (*ñānakuruyōkicapāpaticuvāmikaḷpēril ciṣyarkaḷpāṭiya kurustuti*)
6. “A life-sketch of Sabhapati Swami, a Lord of Yogis who is the Guru of Gnosis” (*ñānakururuṣiyōkīsvārar capāpaticuvāmikaḷiṇatu carittiraccurukkam*)
7. “Sabhapati Swami’s ‘Servant’s Hymn’, in the melody of the Ārapi mode, on the adoption of all ascetic practices for Sargurunatha Sivajnanabodha Rishi Yogishwara, a divine embodiment” (*capāpaticuvāmikaḷ pīrmaya caṅkurunāta civañāṇapōta ruṣiyōkīsvāra caṅkurumūrttikuceyta carvattiyākatatta aṭumaistuti ārapirākapaṇi.*)
8. “Sabhapati Yogishwara Swami’s blessed ‘Garland of Praise for Śiva who Dwells on Kailasa, with the Ornamentation of Śiva’s Jewels’, [composed] at the time of his vision on Holy Kailasa” (*śrīkailāca tericaṇakālattil capāpatiyōkīsvāra svāmikaḷ aruḷiya yōkapaṇipāṣā civāparaṇālāṅkāra kayilācavāca civastutimālā.*)
9. “Holy invocatory hymn of praise for Brahmeshwara by Sabhapati Swami, a Lord of Yogis and Rishis who is the Guru of Gnosis” (*ñānakuru ruṣiyōkīsvāra capāpaticuvāmikaḷ tirukkāppu pīrmēsvāraṣṭuti*)
10. “Verses to the Lord of All at the Abode of the Lord of All at the Konnur Meditation Hall of the Guru of All Gnosis” (*koṇṇūr carvakñānakurumaṭālaya carvēsvāra ālaya carvēsvārar patikam*)
11. “Poems of Praise” (*cārrukkavikaḷ*)
12. [Title Page]
13. “Hymn of praise to the guru” (*kurustuti*)
14. “Poems of praise” (*cārrukkavikaḷ*)
15. “Hymns of praise to the gods” (*tēvatāṣṭutikaḷ*)
16. “Hymns of praise to Brahman” (*pīrammastutikaḷ*)

“The Section of Analysis on the Expression of Thought and the Purification of Thought” (*cittappirakāsa, cittacutti vivēkakāṅtam*)

17. “The topic of the realization of indifference through the analysis of these reflections” (*taṅvicāraṇai vivēka viraktiyāṇupūti pīrakaṇam.*)
18. “The abode of blessed protection that removes the agency of the individual soul” (*jīvacivaṅ ceyalnīkkumaruḷnōkkumuraḷ.*)
19. “The truthful bliss of the love of devotion” (*paktiyaṅpiṇuṅmaikkaḷippu*)
20. “Details on the devotion that should be performed at a temple, on devotion in proximity to worldly life, and on the solitary devotions of the renunciate” (*kōyilil ceyyavēṅṅiyapakti, samsāra samētapakti, kanniyāci yēkānta paktikaḷiṇ viparaṅkaḷ.*)
21. “Second Diagram on what austerities householders and renunciates should perform and where they should dwell” (*kirakaṣṭtarkaḷum, kanniyācikaḷum tapaṅceyyavēṅṅiyataṅkum, vacikkavēṅṅiyataṅkum 2riya paṭam.*)

22. “Details on the examination of scripture, devotion, and religious duties to be performed at the temple” (*kōyililceyyum cāstiravicāraṇai, pakti, niṣṭaikaḷiṅ viparaṅkaḷ.*)
23. [Folded insert] “Details on the instruction for the practice of the ritual of steadfast composition in the gnosis of Brahman, which is Śivarājayoga” (*civañāṇayōka piramma ñāṇa niṣṭai camāti cātaṇai appiyāca upatēcavivaram*)
24. “Details on the examination of scripture, devotion, and religious duties to be performed in proximity to one’s family in houses in order to make manifest the rays of Lakshmi, the pleasure of Saraswati, and blessed expression of the Ishwara in each and every home” (*kirahaṅkaḷtōrum ilaṭcumīkaramum sarasvativilāsamum īsvaraṇaruṭpirakāsamum viḷaṅkumpaṭi kirahaṅkaḷil kuṭumpa camētamāyc ceyyum cāstiravicāraṇai, pakti, niṣṭaikaḷiṅ viparaṅkaḷ.*)
25. “Details on the examination of sacred texts, mental worship rites to Ishwara, and the steadfast devotion to Brahman to be carried out by renunciates” (*canniyācikaḷ ceyyum curutivicāraṇai, īsvara māṅasapūjai, pirammaniṣṭaikaḷiṅ viparaṅkaḷ.*)
26. “Humility of the author” (*avaiyaṭakkam*)
27. “Synopsis of the distinguishing features pronounced by the yogis of the three divine embodiments and students of this book” (*innūl māṅākkarkaḷ tirimūrttiyōkikaḷuraṭta ciṛappuppāyiram.*)
28. “Instruction on the blessed sign of truth in the mind, by the Lord of Yogis who is the Guru of Gnosis” (*ñāṅakuru yōkīsvaṛararuḷiya maṅa uṅmaikkuri upatēcam.*)
29. “Instruction on the small sign of the external condition and the sign of meditation on the internal auxiliaries” (*pahirpāva ciṅṅakkuri antaraṅkatiyāṅakkuri upatēcam.*)
30. “Instruction of truth on the Great Utterances” (*mahāvākkiyavuṅmai upatēcam.*)
31. “Synopsis—Brahman, in its own inherent being, always without beginning and transcendent = the subtle elements (*kuṛippu—atīta aṅātinittiya svayacupāva pirammam = taṅmāttiram.*)
32. “Instruction on the inherent nature of worldly life and its vice and virtue” (*pāpapuṅṅiya camcāra corūpa upatēcam.*)
33. “[Third or Fourth Diagram] for the instruction on the inherent nature of worldly life and its vice and virtue” (*pāpapuṅṅiyacamcāracorūpa upatēcattīrkuriya paṭam*)
34. “Sequence for the dissolution of worldly life and its vice and virtue, which is the the foundation for the emancipation of gnosis” (*ñāṅavīṭu astivāra pāpapuṅṅiya camsāra / layakkiramam*)
35. “The way in which there can be a sequence of dissolution for offspring by the spirit and one who is endowed with virtue” (*jīvaṅukkum puṅṅiyavatikkum uṅṭāṅa cantatiyiṅ layakkiramam eppaṭiyēnil.*)

36. “Instruction in the divine way that removes the path of falsehood”
(*poymmārkkān tavirttameymmārkkā upatēcam.*)
37. “Instruction for the cleansing of the city-dwellers” (*nākarīkaṅkaḷiṅ teḷivu upatēcam*)
38. “Instruction on the mystery of pregnancy and the embryo” (*kerpattir karuvuṛpatti irakaciya upatēcam*)
39. “Instruction on the mystery of unity and liberation as a singular likeness among the two types of ascetic gnostics” (*iraṅṅuvakai tapōṅṅaṅkaḷiṅ orumaya aiyikkiya mutti irakaciya upatēcam.*)
40. “Instruction on the mystery of the syllable Om” (*oṅkāra irakaciya upatēcam.*)
41. “Fifth Diagram” (*5-vatu paṭam*)
42. “Instruction on the mystery of the festivals of Brahman in the temple abodes of Śiva, Viṣṇu, and the Goddess” (*civa, viṣṇu, tēvi ālaya pīrammōrcava irakaciyaupatēcam.*)
43. “Instruction on the mystery of making evident the aspect of Ishwara [lit. “Ishwara-ness,” “lordship”] in every element of the five elements” (*pañcapūtāṅkaḷiṅ ovvoru pūtattilum īcuvarattuvam viḷaṅkum irakaciya upatēcam.*)
44. “Instruction in the mystery of making Ishwara evident as the form of truth in six religions” (*īcuvaraṅ ārumata uṅmaikkōlamāy viḷaṅkum rakaciya upatēcam.*)
45. “Instruction in the mystery of foreign renunciates’ form of pilgrimage, as belonging to the portrait of the form of pilgrimage of Sabhapati Swami, Guru of Gnosis and a Lord of Yogis” (*ṅṅakuru capāpati yōkīsvavarar yāttiraiḱōla paṭattirḱuriya paratēci canniyācikaḷ yāttiraiḱōla rakaciyoṅpatēcam.*)
46. “Instruction in the form of constant austerities to be performed in the company of one’s preferred relationships” (*pantu iṣṭacaṅkamāy ceyyum nittiya tapōkōla upatēcam.*)
47. “Instruction in the mystery of the actual nature of meditation and recitation on the five-syllabled [mantra]” (*pañcākṣara japattiyāṅṅa yatārṭta pāva irakaciyoṅpatēcam.*)
48. “Instruction on the mystery of the guru’s feet” (*kurupatarakaciya upatēcam.*)
49. “Instruction on the mystery of the four kinds of abodes” (*caturvita ālayaṅkaḷiṅ rakaciya upatēcam.*)
50. “Sixth Diagram” (*6-vatu-paṭam*)
51. “Seventh Diagram / A Diagram for the sake of instruction in the mystery of the steadfast nature of the yoga of gnosis, which has the nature of crystal glass as the nature of mind, the nature of knowing, and the nature of the five instruments and actions, of the eight inherent forms” (*7-vatu paṭam / aṣṭa corūpaṅkaḷiṅ maṅṅpāva arivupāva pañcakāraṅakāriyapāva spatāham [sic] sapāva ṅṅayōka niṣṭaipāvarahasciya upatēcattirḱuriyapaṭam.*)
52. “Lamp of truth on the meditation of Ishwara” (*īcurattiyāṅṅa uṅmai viḷakkam.*)

53. “Instruction on the mental inherent form as the sequence of dissolution and the sequence of creation of each inherent form among the eight inherent forms” (*aṣṭa corūpaṅkaḷiṅ ovvoru corūpattiṅ ciruṣṭikkirama layakkiramamaṅō corūpa upatēcam.*)
54. “Instruction on the inherent form that is known by the sequence of dissolution and the sequence of creation of each inherent form among the eight inherent forms, [as depicted in] the Seventh Diagram” (*7-vatu paṭattiṅ aṣṭa corūpaṅkaḷiṅ ovvorucorūpattiṅ ciruṣṭikkiramalayakkirama arivu corūpa upatēcam.*)
55. “Instruction in the inherent form of the meditations of the five actions and five things to be done among the five instruments of each inherent form among the eight inherent forms” (*aṣṭa corūpaṅkaḷiṅ ovvoru corūpattiṅ pañcakāraṅkaḷiṅ pañcakāriya pañcakiruttiyaṅkaḷiṅ corūpa upatēcam.*)
56. “Instruction in the inherent form of the seven “goose-airs” (*captahamsa*) of each inherent form among the eight inherent forms” (*aṣṭacorūpaṅkaḷiṅ ovvoru corūpattiṅ captahamsa corūpa upatēcam.*)
57. Instruction on the aim of the yoga of gnosis in causing the dissolution of the natures of mind, the natures of knowing, the natures of the instruments, the natures of actions, the natures of the goose-airs, and others of the eight inherent forms of the Seventh Diagram (*7-vatu paṭattiṅ aṣṭa corūpaṅkaḷiṅ maṅōpāvaṅkaḷ, arivupāvaṅkaḷ, kāraṅpāvaṅkaḷ, kāriyapāvaṅkaḷ, hamsapāvaṅkaḷ, mutaliyavaikaḷai layappaṭuttum ṅāṅayōka kurippu upatēcam.*)
58. “Instruction in the mystery of the acquisition of the three types of asceticism for the impression of the mantra for recitation” (*jeṅmāntira samskāra tirivita tapōppirāpti rakaciya upatēcam.*)
59. “Instruction on the mystery of the truth of the five things to be done for the greatness of the sacred cow-dung ash” (*pasmavipūti mahattuvattiṅ pañcakiruttiya uṅmai rakaciya upatēsam.*)
60. “Instruction on the mystery of pilgrimage for the highest aim, and civil pilgrimage” (*pāramārttika yāttirai, vivakārika yāttirai rakaciya upatēsam.*)
61. “Instruction on the mystery for the acquisition of strength at the house of happiness, the hermitage of ascetic practice” (*tapāsrama cukavāsa palappirāpti rakaciyōpatēcam.*)
62. “Instruction on the analysis of the mystery signs of the important characteristics and the purifications of thinking” (*mukkiyalaṭciya irakaciyakuṛippukaḷiṅ cittacuttikaḷiṅ vicāraṅai upatēcam.*)
63. “Instruction on the acquisition of the strength of one’s own experience of the form of Brahman” (*pirammākāra svāṅupava palappirāpti upatēcam.*)
64. “Instruction on the mystery of the correctness of the four castes and stages of life” (*caturvarṅāsirama yatārta rakaciyōpatēcam.*)
65. “Instruction on the mystery of the correctness of the four stages of life” (*catur āccīrma yatārta rakaciyōpatēcam.*)

66. “Instruction on the mystery of the reconciliation of uncertainty, which is the cessation of doubts at the state of the experience of liberation while alive for one who has good gnosis” (*cuññāṇi jīvaṇṇuttāṇupava nilaiyiṇcantēkanivartti caṅkaicamātāṇa rakaciya upatēcam.*)
67. “Instruction on the mystery of the five natures of objects in the verses of Advaita Vedānta” (*vētānta attuvaitapata pañca arttapāva rakasya upatēcam.*)
68. “Instruction on the mystery of the analysis of the cessation of all doubts” (*carvacantēka nivartti vicāraṇai rakasya upatēcam.*)
69. “Instruction on the mystery of the life of the world as the sprout of the truth of the body” (*tēkatattuvavampu samcāra vāḷkkai rakaciyoṇpatēcam.*)
70. “Instruction on the mystery of the acquisition of ascetic practice through a birth of [previous] action” (*kaṇma jeṇma tapōppirāpti rakaciya upatēcam.*)
71. “Eighth Diagram for the sake of instruction on the mystery of [previous] karma, birth, and gain through ascetic practice” (8-*vatu paṭam / kaṇmam, jeṇmam, tapappirāpti, rakasiya upatēsattirḷkuriya paṭam.*)

“The Section of Ritual on the Realization of Every Act” (*nittiyakarmṇānupūti karmmakāntam.*)

72. “Instruction on the mystery of the inherent forms as the nature of five kinds of shapes” (*pañcavakai kōlapāva corūpaṅkaḷiṇ rakaciya upatēcam.*)
73. “Principal formulation on the [*cakra*]-centers” (*ātārappiratāṇasaṅkalpam.*)
74. “Instruction on the mystery of the section on the meditation of the ceremonies.” (*aṇuṣṭṭāṇattiyāṇa piriviṇ rahaciyōṇpatēcam.*)
75. “Hymn of praise to the blessed guru made by his disciples” (*ciṣṣiyarkaḷ ceytaruḷiya kurustuti.*)
76. “A blessed speech of favor by Sabhapati Swami, Guru Yogi of Gnosis” (*ñāṇakuruyōki capāpaticuvāmikaḷiṇ aruḷāṇukkiraha urai.*)
77. “Ninth Diagram—Diagram on the ceremonies of daily action that have been graciously instructed” (9-*vatu paṭam – upatēcittaruḷiya nittiya karmāṇuṣṭṭāṇattirḷku paṭam.*)
78. “Instructions on the ceremonies of every purification, which are the details of the Ninth Diagram” (9-*vatu paṭattiṇ viparaṅkaḷākiya carvacuttiyāṇuṣṭṭāṇakaḷiṇ upatēcaṅkaḷ.*)
79. “Details on the directions for the sequence of ceremonies for the evacuation of excrement, cleanliness, and purification” (*malacuttiyāṇ cauca cuttiyāṇuṣṭṭāṇak kiramavitiviparam.*)
80. “Directions for meditation on the sun” (*cūriyattiyāṇaviti.*)
81. “Directions for the mental meditation on Saturn” (*māṇasa caṇiṣvarattiyāṇaviti.*)
82. “Details on the purification of the ten types of purification for the limbs” (10-*vita-aṅkacutti viparam.*)
83. “Details on the eleven kinds of purification of the qualities” (11-*vita-kuṇacutti viparam.*)

84. “Details on the one kind of happy rule” (1-*vita-cuha aracāṭci viparam.* - 110)
85. “Details on the twenty-four kinds of pure gnosis for people in the world” (24-*vita-cuttañāna camcāri viparam.*)
86. “Details on the eight kinds of manhood for pure judgment” (8-*vita-cuttavivahāra puruṣattuva vivaram.*)
87. “Details on the series of the eleven kinds of pure ascetic practice” (11-*vita-cutta tapōpattati viparam.*)
88. “Details on the pursuit of the inquiry into the daily practices of the rites for the practice of the seven kinds of constant worship rituals and yoga” (7-*vita-satā pūjāyōkāppiyāca cātañānitiyāṇuṣāṇa yaṇucantāna puruṣārta viparam.*)
89. “Details on the reflection of the five kinds of pure fear” (5-*vita-cuttapayavicāra viparam.*)
90. “Details on the three kinds of gnosis through analysis” (3-*vita-vicārañaiñāna viparam.*)
91. “Details on the four kinds of practice of the rites” (4-*vita-cātañāppiyāca viparam.*)
92. “Details on the experience of the three kinds of inherent experience” (3-*vita-svāṇupava aṇupava viparam.*)
93. “Details on the three kinds of Prabhu-hood through one’s own theurgy” (3-*vita cuvayamūrttikara piraput tuvaviparam.*)
94. “Details on the one kind of liberation while alive” (1-*vita-jīvaṇmukta viparam.*)
95. “Details on the father of the family of gnosis cultivating gnosis for the one tradition of ascetic practice” (1-*vita-tapōcāmpiratāya ṇāṇappayiriṭum ṇāṇakkutumpi viparam.*)
96. “Details on the method of student-hood by the six kinds of men and six kinds of women” (6-*vita-āṇpāl peṇpāl ciṣyattuvapattati viparam.*)
97. “Details on the six kinds of traditional succession of the guru” (6-*vita kurupāramparaiya viparam.*)
98. “Details on the consideration of the distinctive features of the five kinds of guru-hermitages” (5-*vita-kuruvāsrama ciṟappumatippu viparam.*)
99. “The blessed ‘Servants’ Hymn’, bloomed in the holy mouth of Sabhapati Swami, Guru of Gnosis and Lord of Yogis, at his abandonment of all” (*ṇāṇakuru capāpaticuvāmi yōkīsvarar tiruvāymalarntaruḷiya carvattiyāka tahatta yaṭumaistuti.*)
100. Details on the two kinds of cessation of the delight of the five hopes and the five sense-faculties” (2-*vita-paṅcēntiriyā cuhapañcācācūhanivartti viparam.*)
101. “Instructon on the details of the cessation of the thirteen kinds of obstacles and impediments to ascetic practice” (13-*vita-tapōvikṇa piratipantanivartti vipara upatēcam.*)
102. “Details on the experience of the inherent form of the glory of visible things and appearance of gnosis of syllables” (8-*vita-akṣara ṇāṇākṛuti kākṣi mākṣi svarūpāṇupava viparam.*)

103. “Details on the shape of the one kind of gnosis of one’s own Brahman as consisting of the shape known as Śiva’s phallus and its shape in the element” (1-*vita-taṅmāttira taṅatākāra arivākāra civaliṅkamayasvayap pīrammañāṅākāra viparam.*)
104. “Meditation on the experience of gnosis of one’s own undivided Brahman” (*akaṅṭa svayappīrammaha ñāṅāṅupavattiyāṅam*)
105. “Tenth Diagram, a diagram for the purpose of mental worship rites and devotion to the Lord of All in the shape of the undivided Dancer of singular nature, illustrious in the universe with his five acts” (10-*vatu-paṭam - visvavirāṭ pañcakiruttiya ēkapāva akaṅṭa naṭaṅa kōla carvēsvara māṅasa pūjā paktikkuriya paṭam.*)
106. “Details on the appearance of the gnosis of the pure Brahman consisting of Śiva’s phallus in the appearance alone of the manifest appearance of Brahman in the four kinds of his wisdom alone” (4-*vita-tatpōtamāttira pīrammappirakāsākāra ēka arivākāra civaliṅkamaya cuttapīramma ñāṅākāra vivaram.*)
107. “Details on the appearance of the pure, subtle wisdom of the undivided totality of the shape of the subtle manifestation of the 133 wisdoms of the rule of law of worldly life” (133-*vita-cañcāra vivahārapōtamāttira cūṭcumappirakācākāra akaṅṭacamaṣṭi cutta cūṭcumañāṅākāra viparam.*)
108. “Details on the one appearance of the pure, gross gnosis of the undivided totality in the appearance of the manifestation of the gross elements” (1-*vita-torā pōkamāttira stūlappirakācākāra akaṅṭacamaṣṭi cuttastūla ñāṅākāra viparam.*)
109. “Instruction on the mystery of the practice of the rites of equal flavor in the performance of thinking in the consideration of Vedānta on the steadfast composition of the yoga of gnosis” (*ñāṅayōka niṣṭaicamātiyīṅ vētāntaniyatikaḷaiyuṅ cintaṅaiceytaliṅ camarasa cātaṅāppiyāca rakaciya upatēcam.*)
110. “Instruction in the mystery of the marks of transcendent experience in the realm of action, devotion, yoga, and gnosis” (*karmākam, pakti, yōka, ñāṅa, atītāṅupava laṅkṣaṅa rakasya upatēcam.*)

4. RYB and the Crystallization of the Beta Stream (β)

The reception of the two lavishly-illustrated works CPSPS and CTCSPV must have prompted interest in a full-length Hindustani work that followers in North India could more readily consult. As mentioned in Chapter One, the Ur-account had been rendered into Urdu and, as mentioned in Section C.2 above, Marathi instructions were provided in the Second

Book of CPSPS, but no full-length works had been extant that would have been intelligible to native speakers of the “language of the North” (*vaṭamoli*), a generic categorization by South Indians to describe the general intelligibility among speakers of the Sanskrit-derived languages of North India, especially variants of Hindustani. This changed with the publication of RYB in 1892, marking the most important node of what I call the Beta Stream (β), or what could even be described more generally as the dissemination of a systematic work on Sabhapati’s philosophy and methods of Śiva’s Rāja Yoga in North India. As mentioned above, the full title, *Rājayoga brahmajñānānubhūti saṅgraha veda*, “A Compiled Scripture on Raja Yoga as the Perception of the Gnosis of Brahman,” bears some similarity to Ur-RYB as well as the Sanskritic title of CPSPS. The book itself was printed at the “Tattvavivecak Chāpkhānā” in Bombay and also contains a poem praising Sabhapati by Shri Jwala Prasad Mishra (Jvālāprasād Miśra, 1862–1916) of Moradabad, whom I noted in Chapter One was an important colonial figure in the development of Hindi literature.³⁶⁸

The text of RYB is divided into prefatory material and eight chapters (Hnd. *adhyāys*) ranging on subjects as varied as purifications (*śuddhis*), meditative absorptions (*dhyāns*), meditative cultivations (*bhāvanās*), and mantras, and also includes eight diagrams and a portrait of Sabhapati Swami that exactly matches one given in CTCSPV, demonstrating some continuity. Many of the same diagrams were also released with text in Tamil and Telugu (see Chapter Five), pointing to a certain model being followed across Sabhapati’s vernacular works at this time. An order form prefaced to RYB advertises the sale of CPSPS, in two volumes, and an invitation to remit payment to the address of M. Nagaruthanum Moodliar, Gnyan Guru Yogi Sabhapati Swami’s Son and Disciple” in Mylapore (see Chapter One,

³⁶⁸ Haramohana Lāl Sūda, *Bhāratendu maṅḍal ke samānāntara aur āpūrak murādābād maṅḍal* (New Delhi: Vāṇī Prakāśan, 1986), 78–84.

Section H). It also mentions Sabhapati's publication of a large nine-part book in the "Dravid language" (Hnd. *draviḍ bhāṣā*, here referring to Tamil), which must undoubtedly be CTCSPV;³⁶⁹ the division into nine parts either takes into account the text's smaller divisions or refers to unpublished parts or material that have not yet surfaced, some *khaṇḍas* of which are advertised elsewhere.

Since discovering the initial copy of RYB at the University of Chicago, I have discovered two more extant copies. The first, held at the Adyar Library and Research Centre, contains a stamp from the Youth Lodge, Theosophical Society, located on Sandhurst Road in Bombay. Another later stamp mentions that the book was gifted to the Adyar Library by the Theosophical World University in 1946. The stamps are interesting since it demonstrates that not only Sabhapati's English works but also his works in vernacular languages were circulating around at least some Theosophical lodges regardless of Henry Olcott's critical skepticism (see Chapter One, Section G.1). The other extant copy I have traced was preserved in the library of Om Prakash's former Meditation Hall in Ooty. An inscription of the book records that it was presented by Om Prakash Swamigal in the Nilgiris to his disciple, one Jashabhai Bhailal Bhai Patel of "Bhadrau," Baroda State, in present-day Gujarat (see Figure Three). This indicates, in juxtaposition to the spread among Theosophical lodges, that there was an additional dissemination of Sabhapati's works in North India among Sabhapati's "grand-disciples," or disciples of his immediate disciples, as late as the 1920s.

Further evidence for the dissemination of RYB among not only speakers of Hindustani but also his North Indian disciples more broadly is provided by an insert to at least one

³⁶⁹ RYB, *kai* (RYB uses the phonemes of the Devanagari script, beginning with *ka*, to paginate prefatory material instead of i, ii, iii, etc.).

edition of RYB that is entitled “Rules to be Observed by Disciples Seeking Initiation from Gnyan Guru Yogi Sabhapati Swami,” specifically Rule II, which states the following:

Persons becoming disciples shall have to purchase either before or at the time of Initiation, a copy of Guru Swami’s Philosophy in English, if they know the language for Rs. 2-8-0 only for both parts; or a copy of his Hind Philosophy, for Re. [*sic*] 1-0-0 only, which is easy and intelligible equally to Marathi and Gujarati speaking disciples as to Hindustanees.³⁷⁰

The set of rules is especially notable since the address it provides is not in North India but in the Madras Presidency, and further denotes the Meditation Hall in the village of Konnur as the “Head-Quarter.” Both this and the inscriptions in the Adyar Library copy of RYB demonstrate a rare but remarkable flow of teachings on yoga from the Tamil South to North India during the colonial period and the continued presence of the Beta Stream (β) well into the twentieth century.

³⁷⁰ This is the first page in the copy of RYB held by the Adyar Library & Research Centre.

This book is presented
by Shree Swamijee
Om Prakash of
Kandal Math on
Nilgiri mountain
in South India,
to his disciple
Jashabhai Bhailal Bhai
Patel
Bhadraw
Baroda State
Gujarat.
20/3/27

Figure Three. A handwritten dedication in a copy of RYB by Sabhapati's student Om Prakash Swamigal to one of his own disciples, Jashabhai Bhailal Bhai Patel of Gujarat.

As mentioned above, the contents of RYB are divided into eight main chapters (Hnd. *adhyāys*). A table of contents was printed at the end of the work, which I have reproduced and translated below from the original Hindustani to facilitate comparison with the rest of Sabhapati Swami's literature as outlined throughout this chapter.

Contents of RYB (translated from highly Sanskritized Hindustani)

1. “The auspicious feet [of the guru]” (Hi. *maṅgalācaraṇ*)
2. “Exaltation of Śivabodhajñāna Rishi, guru of the text’s author”
(*śāstrakarttāke guru śivabodhajñānaṣṭīkī mahimā*)
3. “Thanks to the author and appreciation for the text by Pandit Jwalaprasad Mishra” (*kartāko paṇḍit jvālāprasād miśrakṛta dhanyavād tathā śāstraprasaṅśā*)
4. “Portrait of the guru” (*guru nakśā*)
5. “Life of Sabhapati Swami, the Yogi who is the Guru of Gnosis” (*jñānagurū yogī sabhāpati svāmīkā caritra*)
6. “Diagram number seven” (*gintī (7) nakśā*)
7. “Introduction” (*bhūmikā*)

First Chapter (*pratham adhyāy*)

8. “Diagram number one” (*gintī (1) nakśā*)
9. “Purification of thought and purification of the spirit” (*cittaśuddhi aur ātmaśuddhi*)
10. “Description of the experience of gnosis of the inactive and active characteristics of the inherent natures of Brahmeśvara (*akṛtya vā kṛtya brahmeśvarasvarūpalakṣaṇ jñānānubhav varṇan*)
11. “Sequence for the purification of the body, limbs, and senses” (*śarīrāṅg īdriya śuddhibhāvakram*)
12. “Sequence for the purification or termination of the thirteen qualities of passion and aversion, and so on” (*triyodaś rāgadveśādiguṇ śuddhi vā nivṛtti bhāvakram*)
13. “Sequence of ritual experiences for the protection of the kingdom of the spirit’s happiness” (*āmasukharājya paripālan sādhanānubhavakram*)
14. “Sequence of ritual experiences for the situation of the householder in worldly life [to obtain] gnosis of the spirit” (*ātmajñān saṅsāragṛhasthiti sādhanānubhavakram*)
15. “Sequence of experiences of the eight auxiliaries of yoga for Puruṣa-hood and for the sake of the aims of human life” (*aṣṭāṅgayoga puruṣārtha puruṣatvānubhavakram*)
16. “Sequence of eleven customary actions, restraints, and experiences of ascetic practice” (*ekādaś tapo sāṅghapradāy kriyā niyamānubhavakram*)
17. “Sequence of ritual experiences on discerning the fear of the spirit” (*ātmabhay vicārānusaṅdhānānubhavakram*)
18. “Sequence of experiences on the ceremonies to discern pure gnosis”
(*śuddhajñānavicārānuṣṭānānubhavakram*)
19. “Sequence of ritual experiences on the meditation of the four kinds of inherent natures of Brahmeśvara” (*caturvidh brahmeśvar svarūpadhyān sādhanānubhavakram*)

20. “Sequence of experiences on the gnosis of the eyewitness by the resolute and integrated thoughts of the finite spirit” (*jīvātma abhed dṛḍhacitta sākṣātkārjñānānubhavakram*)
21. “Ritual experiences for the restraint of vice as an obstacle to austerity and the gnosis of devotion” (*bhaktijñān tapovighnapāpakarmanigraha sādhanānubhavakram*)
22. “Sequence of experiences for power in the cella [that grants] beneficial gnosis” (*sujñāna mūrtīghar prabhutvānubhavakram*)
23. “Sequence of experiences for gnosis of Brahman [that leads to] liberation while alive and compassion for animate beings” (*jīvakāruṇya jīvanmukta brahmajñānatvānubhavakram*)
24. “Sequence of ritual experiences and practices to be performed by farmers of the land and householders (*grhastha kṛṣibhūmivyavahāra sādhanābhyāsānubhavakram*)
25. “Sequence of ritual experiences for the service of a disciple to the lotus feet of the guru (*gurūcaraṇāravinda śiṣyasevā sādhanānubhavakram*)

Second Chapter (*dvitīya adhyāy*)

26. “Instruction on gnosis by means of contemplating on the sequence of the supreme Brahman, illusion, the faculties, and creation, and of one’s personal Brahman and the supreme Brahman” (*parabrahm, māyā, tatva, sṛṣṭi kramavicāraparabrahm svayabrahm jñānopadeś*)
27. “Instruction on the gnosis of illusion or the pure Brahman” (*māyā athavā śuddhabrahm jñānopadeś*)
28. “Instruction on the gnosis of Īśvara” (*īśvar jñānopadeś*)
29. “Instruction on the gnosis of the Śakti” (*śakti jñānopadeś*)
30. “Instruction on the gnosis of the self and of illusion” (*ātma aur māyā jñānopadeś*)
31. “Instruction on the gnosis of the animate, subtle, and inanimate” (*jīv, sūkṣam, aur jaḍ jñānopadeś*)
32. “Instruction on the gnosis of the pure world; instruction on the principles of the three impurities and the three qualities” (*śuddha jag jñānopadeś; trimal, triguṇ tattvopadeś*)
33. “Instruction on the principles of the four internal instruments, the principles, sheaths, and states, and the ten sense faculties” (*caturāntaḥkaraṇ, guṇakośāvasthā, daśeṅdriya tattvopadeś*)
34. “Instruction on the principles of the elements” (*bhūt tattvopadeś*)

Third Chapter (*trītiya adhyāy*)

35. “The dissolution of the principles in the twelve chakras—Instruction on the meditation of Mūlādhāra” (*tatvalay dvādaśacakra—mūlādhār dhyānopadeś*)
36. “Instruction on the meditation of Svādhiṣṭhāna” (*svādhiṣṭhān dhyānopadeś*)
37. “Instruction on the meditation of Maṇipūra” (*maṇipūrak [dhyānopadeś]*)
38. “Instruction on the meditation of Anāhata” (*anāhat [dhyānopadeś]*)
39. “Instruction on the meditation of Viśuddhi and Ājñā” (*viśuddhi aur ājñā [dhyānopadeś]*)

40. “Instruction on the meditation of the Place of the Bindu” (*bīdusthān* [*dhyānopadeś*])
41. “Instruction on the meditation of the Place of the Sound and the Digit” (*nād aur kalāsthān* [*dhyānopadeś*])
42. “Instruction on the meditation of the Lesser Supreme Place” (*tatparasthān* [*dhyānopadeś*])
43. “Instruction on the meditation of the Supreme Place” (*parasthān* [*dhyānopadeś*])
44. “Instruction on the meditation of the Supreme of the Supremes and the Om and Gāyatrī Mantra” (*parātpar aur praṇavagāyatrī* [*dhyānopadeś*])
45. “Instruction on the meditation of the Crevice of Brahman” (*brahmarandhra* [*dhyānopadeś*])

Fourth Chapter (*caturtha adhyāy*)

46. “Diagram number two” (*gintī* (2) *nakṣā*)
47. “Instruction on concentration for the sequence of the purification of all principles, ceremonies, homa, sacrifice, and so on; and the three markings of ash” (*sarvatatvaśuddhi anuṣṭhān homayāgādi kramatrisūṛṇ vibhūti dhāraṇopadeś*)
48. “Instruction on the praise for the guru, instruction on mantras for bathing, and instructions on the meditation on temple dwellings” (*gurustuti upadeś, snān mañtropadeś, aur ālayabhāv dhyānopadeś*)
49. “Instructions on mantras for water-consecration, for sipping consecrated water at pilgrimage baths, for purification at pilgrimage baths, for binding the directions, and for purification of postures” (*āsanaśuddhi, digbandhan, tīrthaśuddhi, tīrthācaman prokṣaṇ mañtropadeś*)
50. “Instruction on mantras for the ceremonies of touch, purification of the principles, depositing of the [mantras for the] hands, depositing of the [mantras for the] body parts, and gestures” (*sparśānuṣṭhān tatvaśuddhi aur karanyās aṅganyās mudrā mañtropadeś*)
51. “Instruction on meditation and seed mantras for deities and bodily receptacles for mantras (*devatā bījamañtra, aur śarīrālayamañtra dhyānopadeś*)
52. “Instruction on the recitation of the Gāyatrī at dusk, and instruction on the Vedic mantras for sipping consecrated water, for the sense faculty of touch, for ritual cleansing (Mārjana), breath-retention, and pardoning of sins (Aghamarṣaṇa)” (*saṅdhyāgāyatrī japaupadeś; aur ācaman, īdriyasparśa, mārjan, prāṇāyām, aghamarṣaṇ vedamañtropadeś*)
53. “Mantras for mental revolution [around a deity-shrine], for approaching [the deity], and for making an offering (*manasā parikramā, upasthān, samarpaṇam mañtrāḥ*)
54. “Instruction in the mantra of the instrument of the fire-offering (Agnihotra) and the oblation (Homa), in the mantra for the fire sacrifice (Havana), for the libation of water and sacrifice to the Fathers (Pitṛ), for the sacred thread (Yajñopavīta) at the neck, and in the mantra for the libation to the Fathers” (*agnihotra homakaraṇārtha mañtra; saṅdhyākāl havanamañtra; pitṛyajña tarpaṇam; kaṅthameṇ yajñopavīta; aur pitṛtarpaṇam mañtropadeś*)

55. “Mantra for the oblation of the food-offering (Bali) for the “All-Gods” Vaiśvadeva); and mantra for the gift of the [raw] food-offering (Balidāna); instruction in the mantras and sacrifices for the gods of the nine celestial bodies (Navagraha); and the pacification of sun and moon” (*bali vaiśvadeva homamantra; balidānamantra; navagrahadevatā yajñamantrapadeś; aur sūrya, caṅdra śānti*)
56. “Instruction in mantra for the pacification of Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, the ascending node, and the descending node; for the deities of the eight directions, and mantras for the sacrificial altars of all deities (*maṅgal, budh, guru, śukra, śani, rāhu, ketu śānti; aṣṭatikadevatā, aur sarvadevatā yajñaved mantrapadeśa*)
57. “Instruction in Vedic mantras, seed mantras for the deities of the principles, for the sacrificial altars of five-faced Viṣṇu, and for the supreme Śakti who is the goddess Parvatī” (*bijamantra tattvadevatā, aur pañcamukh viṣṇudevatā, aur parāśakti pārvatīdevī, yajñavedamantrapadeśa*)
58. “Instruction in sacrificial mantras for the goddess Sarasvatī, for the goddess Lakṣmī, and for the god Gaṇapati (*sarasvatīdevī, lakṣmīdevī, aur gaṇapatidevatā yajñamantrapadeś*)
59. “Instruction in sacrificial mantras for the gods of the ascendant zodiac signs (Lagnadevatā), for the lunar mansions (Nakṣatradevatā); for the expiation of the sacred thread (Prāyaścitta Yajñopavītam); and for the Sviṣṭakṛta oblation” (*lagnadevatā, nakṣatradevatā yajñamantrapadeś; prāyaścitta yajñopavītam; sviṣṭakṛdrom*)
60. “Mantra for the placing/tying on of the sacred thread” (*yajñopavītadhāraṇamantra*)

Fifth Chapter (*pañcam adhyāy*)

61. “Diagram number six” (*gintī (6) nakaśā*)
62. “Instruction in the sequence of the nine types of Haṭhayoga, the three types of pranayama; instruction in the yoga of the binding of the breath (*navavidh haṭhayog, trividh prānāyām kramopadeś-svar baṅdhan yogopadeś*)
63. “The Śiva portion and Śakti portion in Mūlādhāra” (*mūlādhār śaktibhāg aur śivabhāg*)
64. “The Śiva portion and Śakti portion in Svādhiṣṭhāna” (*svādhiṣṭhān [śaktibhāg aur śivabhāg]*)
65. “The Śiva portion as well as Śakti portion in Maṅipūraka and Anāhata; the Śakti portion in Viśuddhi” (*maṅipūrak aur anāhat śaktibhāg tathā śivabhāg; viśuddhi śaktibhāg*)
66. “The Śiva portion in Viśuddhi; the Śakti portion as well as the Śiva portion in the lotus of Ājñā; the Śakti portion in the place of the Bindu” (*viśuddhiśivabhāg; ājñākamal śaktibhāg tathā śivabhāg; vīdusthānaśaktibhāg*)
67. “The Śiva portion in the place of the Bindu; instruction in the yoga of binding the breath” (*vīdusthān śivabhāg; svās baṅdhan yogopadeś*)
68. “Instruction in the yoga of binding the subtle streams” (*vāsi baṅdhan yogopadeś*)

69. *prāṇ baṅdhan yogopadeś*)
70. “Instruction in the yoga of binding the primal sound (Nāda) (*nād baṅdhan [yogopadeś]*)
71. “Instruction in the yoga of binding the syllable ‘Om’” (Prāṇava) (*praṇava baṅdhan [yogopadeś]*)
72. “Instruction in the yoga of binding the gnosis of the Śakti” (*śaktijñān baṅdhan [yogopadeś]*)
73. “Instruction in the yoga of binding the gnosis of the digit of Īśvara” (*īśvarakalājñān baṅdhan [yogopadeś]*)
74. “Instruction in the yoga of binding the gnosis of the pure Brahman” (*śuddhabrahmajñān baṅdhan [yogopadeś]*)
75. “Instruction in meditation with pranayama of the Gāyatrī [mantra] of the syllable ‘Om’ and Brahman” (*brahmapraṇavagāyatrī prāṇāyām dhyānopadeś*)
76. “Instruction in meditation with pranayama of the seed [mantra] of the great five syllables” (*mahāpañcākṣar bīj prāṇāyām [dhyānopadeś]*)
77. “Instruction in meditation with pranayama of the great mantras of the Great Utterances (Mahāvākya)” (*mahāvākya mahāmantra prāṇāyām [dhyānopadeś]*)”

Sixth Chapter (*sastham adhyāy*)

78. “Diagram number four” (*gītī (4) nakśā*)
79. “Details on mental devotion and worship rites” (*mānasabhakti pūjā vivaraṇ*)
80. “A hymn of praise about the mental worship rites and meditative cultivation on Śiva’s phallus (Śivaliṅga)” (*śivalīḡabhāvanā mānasapūjā (stuti)*)
81. “Instruction for meditation through mental worship rites on the Lord of the Dance who is the Lord of All, unbroken and illustrious in the universe” (*akhaṇḍ viśvavirāṭ naṭeś sarveśvar bhāv mānasapūjā dhyānopadeś*)
82. “Hymn of meditation with qualities on the illustrious and universal Lord of All” (*virāṭ-viśva surveśvarkī saguṇ dhyān stuti*)
83. “Instruction on the hymn with qualities of the Illustrious Lord” (*virāṭeśvar saguṇastuti upadeś*)
84. “Instruction on the hymn without qualities of the Illustrious Lord” (*[virāṭeśvar] nirguṇastuti upadeś*)
85. “Instruction on the hymn of the pure Brahman who is the Illustrious Lord” (*[virāṭeśvar] śuddhabrahmastuti upadeś*)

Seventh Chapter (*saptam adhyāy*)

86. “Diagram number five” (*gintī (5) nakśā*)
87. “The sequence of practices for the rites of Śiva’s royal yoga of gnosis” (*śivarāja jñānayoga sādhanānubhavakram*)
88. “Instruction on the termination of the obstacles to austerities, having the form of sinful acts” (*pāpakarmākār tapoviḡhna nivṛtti upadeś*)
89. “Instructions on the mystery of the eyewitness of being and non-being in the yoga of gnosis” (*jñānayoga bhāvābhāv sākṣātkār rahasyopadeś*)

90. “Details on the cultivation of the first yoga of gnosis” (*pratham jñānayog bhāvanā vivaraṇ*)
91. “Details on the cultivation of the second yoga of gnosis” (*dvitīya [jñānayog bhāvanā vivaraṇ]*)
92. “Hymn of praise to the form/appearance of the attributes as they truly are, of the true form of one’s own Brahman, and of their observable form or appearance” (*svayabrahm samākār rahasyastuti; svayabrahmasvarūp yathārthalakṣaṇākār, aur lakṣyākār, stuti; śuddhabrahmākāramayasvarūp stuti*)
93. “Hymn to the establishment of the inherent nature of one’s own Brahman” (*svayabrahmasvarūp sthāpan stuti*)
94. “Details on the cultivation of the third and fourth yoga of gnosis” (*trītya aur caturtha jñānayog bhāvanā vivaraṇ*)
95. “Details on the cultivation of the fifth yoga of gnosis” (*pañcam jñānayog bhāvanā vivaraṇ*)
96. “Details on the cultivation of the sixth yoga of gnosis” (*ṣaṣṭham [jñānayog bhāvanā vivaraṇ]*)
97. “Details on the cultivation of the seventh yoga of gnosis” (*saptam [jñānayog bhāvanā vivaraṇ]*)
98. “Instruction on the great mantras of the Great Utterances (Mahāvākya); instruction on the great mantras of the establishment of the inherent nature” (*mahāvākya mahāmaṅtropadeś; svarūpasthāpan mahāmaṅtropadeś*)
99. “Instructions on the great mantras of the establishment of the characteristics of one’s own Brahman, and the establishment of one’s own object” (*svayabrahmalakṣaṇ sthāpan, aur svayalakṣya sthāpan, mahāmaṅtropadeś*)
100. “Instruction in the great mantras for the establishment of that which consists of one’s own Brahman, and for the establishment of one’s own experience that the experience of Brahman” (*svaya brahmamay sthāpan, aur brahmānubhav svānubhav sthāpan, mahāmaṅtropadeś*)
101. “Instruction on the hymn of the condition of unity with Brahman of the self and the establishment of the eyewitness of one’s own Brahman” (*svayabrahmasākṣātkār sthāpan-ātma-brahma aikya sthiti stuti upadeś*)
102. “Instruction on the condition of always experiencing the gnosis of Brahman” (*sadā brahmajñānānubhav sthityopadeś*)
103. “Instruction in the yoga of gnosis that is the unity of the individual with the Lord in [Śaiva] Siddhānta” (*siddhānta jīveśvar aikya jñānayogopadeś*)
104. “Instruction in the yoga of gnosis that is the unity of Brahman and the individual in Vedānta” (*vedānta jīvabrahma aikya [jñānayogopadeś]*)
105. “Instruction on the yoga of gnosis as the eyewitness of the non-dualism of isolation” (*kevalādvaita sakṣātkār [jñānayogopadeś]*)
106. “Instruction on the yoga of gnosis that is the condition of oneness of qualified non-dualism” (*viśiṣṭādvaita ekabhāv [jñānayogopadeś]*)
107. “Instruction on the yoga of gnosis as ‘Brahma is truth’ in pure non-dualism” (*śuddhādvaita brahmevasatyam [jñānayogopadeś]*)
108. “Instruction on the great ‘Tāraka’ mantra for Śiva and Viṣṇu” (*śiv viṣṇu tārak mahāmaṅtropadeś*)

109. “Instruction on the perspective, characteristics, and marks of all kinds of practices and rites” (*sarvavidh abhyās sādhanāke dṛṣṭi, lakṣaṇ, mudrā, upadeś*)
110. “Diagram number six” (*gintī (6) nakśā*)
111. “Details on the ten kinds of initiations of gnosis” (*dasāvidh jñānadīkṣā vivaraṇ*)

Eight chapter (*astam adhyāy*)

112. “Diagram number eight” (*gintī (8) nakśā*)
113. “Contemplation on obtaining the fruits of liberation through the actions of [mantra-]recitation and virtue, and obtaining a sorrowful birth through the actions of vice” (*pāpakarmadvārā duḥkh-jaṇma prāpti, puṇyajapakarma dvārā mokṣamukti phalaprāpti vicāraṇā*)
114. “Contemplation of the world-not-world that resides in the structure of the circle in the midst of the unbroken egg of Brahman and the outer egg of rounded shape” (*akhaṇḍ brahmāṇḍa bahirāṇḍa golākār madhyameṇ rahai maṇḍalākṛti aur usmeṇ rahai lokaṅkā vicāraṇā*)
115. “Instruction on the state of the ten coverings” (*dasāvareṇabhāv upadeś*)
116. “Instruction on homage to Śiva’s phallus and mental worship rites” (*mānasapūjā śivaliṅgārcanā upadeś*)
117. “Verses of blessing for the favor of the guru” (*guruanugraha āsīrvād ślok*)
118. “Exaltation of the book” (*grāṇthamahimā*)

5. The Pamphlets of Konnur Meditation Hall: CĀT, ANB, and CU

While RYB saw the formal coalescence and conclusion (at least in Sabhapati’s own lifetime) of the Beta Stream (β) in North India, the Gamma Stream (γ) continued to inspire new writings in South India that followed in the wake of the magisterial and visually-stunning CTCSPV (see Section B.3), first as a short trickle and then a culmination a couple decades later in a final deluge of new material in the Tamil language (MCVTS, See the following Section B.6). This short “trickle” consists of three short Tamil works, one of which was divided into at least four parts, all of which were published in Madras in the latter half of the 1890s and which refer to the Konnur Meditation Hall (Koṇṇūr Maṭālayam).

The first of these bears the title *Amcumati cūriyamūrttikup pōtitta cakalākama tiraṭṭu* (“A Compilation of All Agamas, as Taught by the Divine Embodiment of the

Beautiful and Benevolent Sun,” here abbreviated CĀT). The first part was published in 1894 and at least four parts, labeled Part I, Part I: A, Part I: C, and Part I: D, survive separately at the Library of the Tamil Nadu Archives in Egmore, Chennai. Large portions of these pamphlets were unfortunately eaten by bugs and, as a result, portions of the text are missing, although many portions are also still readable. Another copy of this text also survives in the British Library that is in much better condition and includes additional pages and sections.³⁷¹ It is labeled “Part I: A to E” on the title page but it appears to actually be a compilation of sections I: A through I: K, as a capital letter was printed on the lower right corner of each page that denoted a beginning of each new part. Even the British Library compilation is not complete, however, as a “final” sentence runs onto the next page, so it appears that there were additional pages or sections published or intended to be published that have since been lost.

It becomes clear when comparing the text of both the separate and compiled versions of CĀT that the separate pamphlet labeled “Part I” was actually “Part I: A,” and the work labeled “Part I: A” is actually “Part I: B.” The separate work labeled “Part I: C” is in fact Part I: C, but it is missing the first sixteen pages, and it also includes twelve additional pages of Part I: D. The separate work physically labeled “Part I: D” as a result begins on the thirteenth page of Part I: D and actually extends all the way to the eighth page of Part I: E. The extant separate works end here, while the compiled version extends for eighty more pages, excluding material printed on the back-cover page; and, as mentioned above, this version appears to terminate at what separately would be Part I: K. Despite these irregularities with the labeling of the sections, the four surviving separate parts of CĀT were submitted

³⁷¹ I am grateful to Philip Deslippe for photographing this copy for me that I had not been able to access on an earlier trip to the British Library.

individually to the Office of the Registrar of Books, Madras and formally registered, along with their date, quarter, and number of registration, under the category “Tamil—Religion”.³⁷²

The substance of these Tamil pamphlets differs from Sabhapati’s other works in its emphasis not on *yoga per se* but on Hindu ritual observances of holidays, arranged according to Tamil month, annual celebrations, and astrological events, some of which would have undoubtedly been celebrations intended for the general public. It is accordingly a valuable record of what kinds of rituals took place on a regular basis at the Konnur Meditation Hall. As alluded to in Chapter One (Section J), these included more prominent observances like Shivaratri (Mpv. *civarāttiri viratam*, < Skt. *śivarātri*) and Vinayaga / Ganesh Chaturthi (Mpv. *viṇāyakacaturtti*, < Skt. *vināyakacaturthī*), but also relatively less-common festivals and observances that may reflect Sabhapati’s travels outside of South India (e.g. “Dol” or “the Observance of Lord Kedar”). The principle headings include the following subjects:

Contents of CĀT

1. “Monthly worship rites to be carried out at shrines to Śiva” (Mpv. *civālaya mātapūjai*, < Skt. *śivālaya mātapūjā*)
2. “The Observance of Vinayagar’s Chaturthi”³⁷³ (Mpv. *viṇāyaka caturtti viratam*, < Skt. *vināyaka caturthī vrata*)
3. “The chaturthi observance for [removing] difficulties” (Mpv. *caṅkaṭa caturtti viratam*, < Skt. *saṅkaṭa caturthī vrata*)
4. “Arudra Darisanam,” lit. “Vision of Ārdrā [Nakṣatrā]” (Mpv. *āruttirā taricaṇam*, < Skt. *ārdrā darśana*)
5. “The (winter) solstice,” (Mpv. *caṅkirānti*, < Skt. *saṅkrānti*)
6. “Dol, or the Festival of the Holy Swing” (Bng., Tam., Mpv. [mixed] *tōḷ allatu tiruvūcaluṛcavam*)³⁷⁴
7. “Diwali (Narak Chaturdashi)” (Mpv. *tīpāvali (narakkā caturttaci)*, < Skt. *dīpāvali (naraka caturdaśī)*)

³⁷² Madras Record Office, *Classified Catalogue of Books Registered from 1890–1900 at the Office of the Registrar of Books* (Madras: Controller of Stationery and Printing, Madras, on Behalf of the Government of Madras, 1962), 157. Registration no. 208 was assigned to Part I: A, No. 15 to Part I: B, no. 16 to Part I: C, and no. 17 to Part I: D.

³⁷³ “Chaturthi” (Mpv. *caturtti*, < Skt. *caturthī*) is the fourth day of a lunar fortnight after a new or full moon.

³⁷⁴ This appears to be the festival of Dol Purnima (Bng. *dol pūrṇimā*) / Dol Yatra (Hnd. *dol jātrā*), often celebrated with a swinging palanquin.

8. “The Observance of Lord Kedar [of Kedārnāth tīrtha]” (Mpv. *kētārīsvavar viratam*, < Skt. *kedārīśvara vrata*)
9. “Rules for the Lamp of the Lunar Asterism of Krittika [Dīwālī or Dīpāvalī]” (Mpv. *kārttikai nakṣattira tīpaviti*, < Skt. *kṛttikā nakṣatra dīpavidhi*)
10. “The Instrument of Pradosham” (Mpv. *piratōṣakāraṇam*, < Skt. *pradoṣakāraṇa*)³⁷⁵
11. “The Observance of Monday [in the month of Karthika]” (Mpv. *cōmavāra viratam*, < Skt. *somavāra vrata*)
12. “The Festival of the Float” (Tel. and Mpv. *teppōrcavam*)
13. “Worship rites for the Vision of the Bliss of the Supreme Śakti” (Mpv. *parācatti ānanta taricaṇap pūjai*, < Skt. *parāśakti ānanda darśana pūjā*)
14. “The Observance of the Friday of Vinayagar (Mpv. *vināyaka cukkiravāra viratam*, < Skt. *vināyaka śukravāra vrata*)
15. “The Observance of Vinayagar’s Shasthi”³⁷⁶ (Mpv. *vināyakacaṣṭi viratam*, < Skt. *vināyakaṣaṣṭhī vrata*)
16. “The Observance of Angaraka’s Chaturthi” (Mpv. *aṅkarakacaturtti viratam*, < Skt. *aṅgārakacaturthī vrata*)
17. “The Observance of the Friday of Subramaniam” (Mpv. *cuppiraṇiyar cukkiravāraviratam*, < Skt. *subrahmaṇya śukravāravrata*)
18. “The Observance of Skanda’s Shasthi [sister or bride]” (Mpv. *skantacaṣṭi viratam*, < Skt. *skandaṣaṣṭhī vrata*)³⁷⁷
19. “The Observance of the Krittika [Nakshatra]” (Mpv. *kiruttikai viratam*, < Skt. *kṛttikā vrata*)
20. “The Observance of the Thiruvathira [Nakshatra]” (Mpv. *tiruvātirai viratam*, < Skt. *śrī ārdṛā vrata*)
21. “The Great Festival of the Five Actions” (Mpv. *pañcakiruttiya makōrcavam*, < Skt. *pañcakṛtya mahotsava*)³⁷⁸
22. “The Observance of Umamaheswara” (Mpv. *umāmakēśvara viratam*, < Skt. *umāmaheśvara vrata*)
23. “The Night of Shiva” (Mpv. *civarāttiri viratam*, < Skt. *śivarātri*)

Another notable aspect of CĀT are the advertisements (Tam. *viḷamparaṅkaḷ*) on the back-cover pages that promote the sale of other of Sabhapati’s works (see Figure Four),

³⁷⁵ Pradosham is a ritual generally held bimonthly on the thirteenth day of the lunar fortnight, and is still regularly observed at the Sabhapati Lingeshwar Koil today.

³⁷⁶ “Sasthi” (Mpv. *caṣṭi*, < Skt. *ṣaṣṭhī*) is the sixth day of a lunar fortnight after a new or full moon. It also can refer to the name of an important childbirth goddess who is honored on the sixth day of the lunar month, and the sixth day after childbirth.

³⁷⁷ See David Gordon White, *Kiss of the Yoginī: “Tantric Sex” in Its South Asian Contexts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 40–43.

³⁷⁸ The five actions are given in CĀT (page 38) as “creation” (Mpv. *ciruṣṭi*, < Skt. *sr̥ṣṭi*), “maintenance” (Mpv. *titi*, < Skt. *sthiti*), “destruction” (Mpv. *caṅkāram*, < Skt. *saṃhāra*), “the darkening of the soul by the deity” (Mpv. *tiropavam*, < Skt. *tirobhava*, lit. “disappearance,” “vanishing”), and “favor” (Mpv. *aṇukkīrahama*, < Skt. *anugraha*).

linking these manuals of observances to his wider corpus of literature, including on yoga. In addition to CĀT itself, other advertised works include ANB (see below, for six paisa), the two parts of CTCSPV (Mṣvī. *khaṇḍam*, advertised separately for one rupee, two annas each), and CPSPS (“Parts I & II complete,” for two rupees and twelve annas). There are also references to what appears to be material overlapping with some sections of CĀT, advertised separately, such as *Tīpāvali* and *Kētārīsvārar viratam* (see numbers 7 and 8 in the above list), for three paisa each. The point of contact given for ordering CĀT and ANB was one Munisami Naicker of Mylapore (Mayilai. Muṇicāmi Nāyakar), and for CTCSPV and CPSPS we find Murugesā Swami (Murukēca Cuvāmika) of Konnur Meditation Hall (Maṭālayam, Koṇṇūr Kirāmam; see Chapter One, Section H; K.2).

As mentioned in Chapter One, Sabhapati released another pamphlet the same year as the first sections of CĀT (1894). This work was *Aṭukkunilai pōtam*, “The Order of the State of Awakening” (ANB), a series of verses attributed to Agastya that appear to derive from extant manuscripts known by the same title. Sabhapati’s original edition of *Aṭukkunilai pōtam* appears to be no longer extant, although editions have since been published by other authors and publishers that allow for at least a general understanding of the text that Sabhapati had consulted, deepening our understanding of the mythos of Agastya he had presented in his works. A description in the advertisements to CĀT (see the above paragraph), where it is listed at a price of six paisa, also helps further our understanding of what this small work consisted of:

Agastya Muni composed his replies to questions asked by Pulastya Rishi, also of the honeyed Pothigai Hills, in the form of a poem (*pattiyam*) that is in this book called “Awakening to the Ordered State.” Pulastya wishes to attain to the perception of his

inherent nature (Mpv. *corūpānupūti*, < Skt. *svarūpānubhūti*) and to delve into the ordered states of reality (Mpv. *tattuvam*, < Skt. *tattva*) . . . There are the three voids (Tam. *muppāl*), the first void (Tam. *mutarṣpāl*), the contraction of the five elements (Tam. + Mpv. *aimpūtavoṭukkam*), the hexagon (Tam. + Mpv. *arukōṇam*), the beginning and the end (Mpv. *ātiyantam*, < Skt. *ādyanta*), the two heads (Tam. *irutalai*), the ruby (Mpv. *māṇikkam*, poss. < Skt. *māṇikyā*), the mute syllable [Om] (Tam. *ūmaiyeḷuttu*), the imperishable support (Tam. *cākātakāl*), the imperishable head (Tam. *cākāttalai*), he who extends the five faces (Mpv. + Tam. *pañcamukavīcaṇ*), the thousand-eyed Indra (Tam. + Mpv. *āyiraṅkaṇṇintiraṇ*), and so on. After understanding these many subjects he will have the mind of the lofty king of sages. This book takes up and shows the spoken answers as the bliss of his inherent nature (Mpv. *corūpānantam*, < Skt. *svarūpānanda*).³⁷⁹

An examination of another extant published edition of this poem shows that Pulastya is rhetorically asking “where” (Tam. *eṅkē*) the above cosmic principles are, most of which are reproduced verbatim in the advertisement and reflect various cosmological concepts entertained by the Tamil Siddhas, especially those reflected in the text *Tirumantiram*. It does not appear that there are direct answers given to Pulastya’s questions in the poem itself, which is only ten stanzas of eight lines each, so it is possible that Sabhapati’s edition may have included some general answers or commentaries to his questions, albeit in a condensed fashion since the library record at the Tamil Nadu Archives notes that the work was no more

³⁷⁹ Tam.: “*tenpotikai palastiyariṣi viṇava, akastiya muṇivar viṭaiyākak kūriya (aṭukku nilai pōtam) eṇṇum pattiya rūpamāyiyarri yuḷḷa ciṟiya nūl tattuvattiṅ aṭukku nilaikaḷai āyntarintu taṅ corūpānupūtiyai aṭaiyavēṇṇiyavar kiṇṇiyamaiyā tuṅarttu māru pulastiyar-muppāl, mutarṣpāl, aimpūtavoṭukkam, arukōṇam, ātiyantam, irutalai, māṇikkam, ūmaiyeḷuttu, cākātakāl, cākāttalai, pañcamukavīcaṇ, āyiraṅkaṇṇintiraṇ ittiyātipala viṣayaṅkaḷai yucarava, muṇintirar maṇam pūrittu corūpānantamāyc colliya viṭaikaḷai apputtakam eṭuttukkāṭṭum, vilai 6-pai.*”

than ten or twenty pages at most. The book was registered as no. 125 in the category “Tamil—Religion” in the Catalogue of Books, which states it was published in the first quarter of 1894.³⁸⁰

³⁸⁰ Madras Record Office, *Classified Catalogue of Books Registered from 1890–1900*.

விஸம்பரம்.

சதலாகமநீ தீரட்டு.—அம்சமதி யென்பவர் குரியநூல்
 திருப்பிப் போதித்தது. விலை பார்ட் (I) 3-பை, (I-a)
 3-பை, பார்ட் (I-b) 6-பை, (I-c) 6-பை. இது மாதிரி
 திரும் தெய்வர்ச்சியாக வெளியிடலாகும்.

அநீகநிலை போதம்.—இது தென்பொதிமை உலக
 திய ரிஷி வினவ, அகஸ்தியமுனிவர் விடையாகக் கூறிய
 சிறிய நூல் தத்துவத்தின் ஆரம்பநிலைகளை எடுத்துக்காட்
 டும். விலை 6-பை.

தீபாவலி பண்டுகை தேதாரிஸ்வரர் விரதம்—விலை
 3-பை.

வாலை மனோன்மணிப் பூகஜ சோடசம் (கடி)—குப்ப
 முனிவரால் அருளிச்செய்யப்பட்டது. விலை 3-பை.

ஒளொமொத்தமாய் வாங்குபவர்க்கு, 100-க்கு 20-ம், 10-
 க்கு ஒன்றுமாக கமிஷன்கொடுக்கப்படும்.

தினந்தோறும் காலை சேன்னை ஜனநேஷன் மென்
 டையிலும், மாலை சேன்னை குஜிலியிலும் விற்கப்படும்.

மயிலை, முனிசாயி நாயகர்,
 செ. 56-வது, காமிப்பிள்ளை வீதிக்குள்,
 சென்னை.

எனக்கு சபாபதியோகிஸ்வரரால் வெளியிடப்பட்ட
 சர்வோபதேஸை தந்துவருவான சிவராஜ யோகஜ் புதி
 போதம் என்னும் நூலில் பிரிவாகிய—

விவேககாண்டம்—விலை ரூ. 1-2-0 /
 கர்மகாண்டம்—விலை ரூ. 1-2-0

Parts I & II complete—Cosmic Psychological
 Spiritual Philosophy & Science—Price Rs. 2-12-0.

முருகேசகவாமிநகர், மடாலயம், கொண்ணூர்
 கோமம், பரங்கிமலை போர்டு.

Figure Four. Advertisements (vilamparaṅkaḷ) from CĀT that show the pamphlets from the Konnur Meditation Hall and CPSPS.

The last of the extant pamphlets of Konnur Meditation Hall published during the 1890s was released four years later, in 1898, and was entitled *Cātanāppiyāsānupava upatēcam* (< Skt. *Sādhanābhyāsānubhava upadeśa*, “Instruction on the Exercises and Practices of the Rites,” here abbreviated CU). It was published in Vellore, a city west of Chennai, by “Natasun & Co.” and “V.N. Press.” The library of the Tamil Nadu Archives appears to hold what is the sole surviving copy of this small work, of which there are eleven numbered pages. Some portions of the text have been eaten by bugs, but most of the text is still legible. The contents of the text were divided into the following main headings:

Contents of CU

1. “Instruction on the Order of Ceremonies that Must Be Carried Out in the Morning” (Mpv. + Tam. *kālaiyil ceyyavēṅṅiya aṇuṣṭānaviti upatēcam*)
2. “Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava Assignments of the Limbs and Assignments of the Arms” (Mpv. *caiva vaiṣṇava aṅkarnniyācam, karnniyācam*)
3. “Meditation on the Recitation of the Gāyatri [Mantra]” (Mpv. *kāyattiri jepattiyāṅam*)
4. “Instruction on the Ceremonies of Praise at Dusk” (Mpv. *cantiyāvantaṅa aṇuṣṭāna upatēcam*)
5. “Instruction on the Exercise and Rites of the Steadfast Composition that is the Yoga of the Gnosis of Brahman” (Mpv. *pirammakñāṅayōka niṣṭai camāti cātanā aṇupava upatēcam*)
6. “Instruction on the Practice of Mental Worship” (Mpv. *māṅasa pūjai appiyāca upatēcam*)
7. “Instruction on the Mantras for Recitation of Every Deity” (Mpv. *carvatēvatā jepamantiraṅkaṅ upatēcam*)
8. “Instruction on the Sacrifice and Meditation of the Nine Celestial Bodies” (Mpv. *navakkirakattiyāṅam yākam upatēcam*)
9. “Instruction on the Details of the Practice on the Mystery of the Characteristics of this Yoga of Knowledge” (Mpv. *inta pirakñāṅayōka lakṣiyarahasyāṅupava vipara upatēcam*)

It is clear from a survey of these contents that they represent topics that would later be treated in a remarkably expanded form in MCVTS (See Section C.7 below). In particular, here we find a wide array of mantras and the “assignment” (*nyāsa*) of deities to parts of the body (headings one through four above) as presented alongside instructions for the meditative

visualizations (*dhyāna*) that accompany Śiva's Rājayoga (in heading five termed *pirammakñānayōka niṣṭai camāti*, < Skt. *brahmajñānayoga niṣṭhā samādhi*, which is used synonymously for Śiva's Rājayoga in MCVTS) as well a sequence of triadic correspondences (heading nine).

6. Sabhapati's Literature in Telugu

Sabhapati Swami's hagiographical accounts in Tamil as well as MCVTS (see below) both record that he composed for Telugu-speaking audiences, meaning that his published material in Telugu was available for purchase prior to 1913, but other evidence demonstrates it was released at least thirteen years earlier, in 1900. An advertisement to MCVTS explicitly notes that Sabhapati Swami had composed his writings in four languages for his students, English (with notes in Sanskrit and Tamil, a reference to CPSPS), Tamil (most likely MCVTS itself), Telugu, and Hindustani (RYB). The Telugu work advertised was almost undoubtedly a work listed in the Madras Catalogue of Books under the title "Sarvavidha Vicharana Sadhana Abhyasa Anubhava, Sarva Tapa Dhyana Upadesa Sangraha Vidha" (Tel. conj. *Sarva vēda vicāraṇa sādhana abhyāsa anubhava, sarva tapa dhyāna upadēśa saṅgraha vēda*, abbreviated SVSAA), and its price was listed as one rupee. This work, authored by one "Brahma Gnana Guru Yogisvara Sabhapati Swami," was registered as No. 146 in the section of the catalogue called "Telugu—Religion," and its entry notes that it was published in the third quarter of 1900.³⁸¹ If this work is indeed the same as that advertised in MCVTS, then we can assume that it included four diagrams and that its price upon release was one rupee. Unfortunately further details about this work, such as its publisher or provenance, are still

³⁸¹ Madras Record Office, *Classified Catalogue of Books Registered from 1890–1900*, 210.

unknown, and it is unclear if there are any surviving copies anywhere in the world. Based on the advertisement in MCVTS, however, we can assume that its contents were generally parallel to those of CPSPS, RYB, or MCVTS.

While none of Sabhapati's complete works in Telugu appear to survive, multiple copies of a packet of ten diagrams containing parallel text in both Telugu and Tamil do survive at Om Prakash's ashram in Ooty.³⁸² Eight of these diagrams match those produced in RYB, as alluded to above, which contains either copies or the original versions of these illustrations but with the text not in Telugu and Tamil but in Hindustani. There is no date listed on these diagrams, but since they are stylistically closer to RYB rather than CPSPS, CTCSPV, or MCVTS, it is possible that they were produced in the 1890s or early 1900s. It is unclear if they were standalone diagrams for teaching or if they were intended to be published as the diagrams for Sabhapati's work in Telugu (e.g., SVSAA). If they were intended to be published in SVSAA, however, then the advertisement in MCVTS, which clearly notes that the work only had four diagrams, would be in error, so this seems unlikely. I would argue that it is therefore more likely that this set of diagrams, bound together by a string, were used as standalone teaching aids; eight different sets of such diagrams are advertised separately from Sabhapati's published books in the prefatory material to the copy of MCVTS held by the Adyar Library and Research Centre, so we know that such published material circulated separately.

³⁸² I am grateful to Isa Thompson for confirming that the text of these diagrams is indeed Telugu and not Kannada, given certain resemblances between the scripts. There was another locked cabinet of books at Om Prakash's ashram that I was unable to obtain access to at the time of writing due to having to terminate my field work early, so there is a slight possibility that Sabhapati's text in Telugu may survive either there or elsewhere, perhaps at the library of the Tamil Nadu Archives as listed under a different author.

Other isolated instances of Telugu are also scattered throughout some of Sabhapati's published works, especially CTCSPV, indicating that there were at least some readers to whom the Telugu script would be intelligible. For example, a short verse in Telugu was printed alongside it rendered in the Devanagari script in CPSPS.³⁸³ CTCSPV contains many more scattered instances of Telugu, especially on the margins of printed diagrams. These latter instances of Telugu are names that are almost definitely the signature of two different artists that illustrated most if not all of the diagrams, although the spelling of the names vary; they are Gu. Je. Subramanyaṃrājuḥuṣiṃḍi (also transliterated Gu. Je. Subramanyaṃrājuḥuṣiṃdhi, Gu. Je. Subramanyaṃrājuḥuṣinadi, and Gu. Je. Subramanyaṃrājuḥuṣinadi) and Gu. Je. Cemṅgalvarāyaṃrājuḥuṣinaddi.³⁸⁴

7. Sabhapati's Final Work, in Tamil: MCVTS

The last of Sabhapati Swami's known vernacular works published while he was alive was given the following extended title: *Carva māṇaca nittiya karmānuṣṭāṇa, carva tēvatātēvi māṇaca pūjāttiyāṇa, pirammakñāṇa rājayōka niṣṭai camāti, carva tīkṣākkramattiyāṇa, cātanā appiyāca kiramāṇucantāṇa, caṅkiraha vēta tiyāṇōpatēca smiruti* (< Skt. *sarva mānasa nitya karmānuṣṭhāna, sarva devatādevī mānasa pūjādhyāna, brahmajñāna rājayoga niṣṭhā samādhi, sarva dīkṣākramadhyāna, sādhanā abhyāsa kramānusaṃdhāna, saṃgraha veda dhyānopadeśa smṛti*), "Inspired Treatise on the Instructions of Meditation, as Compiled from the Scriptures, on Every Mental Ceremony to be Performed Daily, on a Mental Ritual Meditation for Every God and Goddess, on the Steadfast Composition in the Yoga of Kings that is the Gnosis of Brahman, on Every Meditation on the Sequences of Initiation, and on an

³⁸³ CPSPS, 25.

³⁸⁴ I am grateful again to Isa Thompson for transliterating these names of the artists from Telugu script.

Inquiry into the Sequence of the Practice of the Rites.” No date is given on the cover, but a label affixed to the copy held by the British Library notes that it was published on October 7, 1913. This accords with its entry in a catalogue published by the Madras Record Office, which notes its Registration number as 178 in the category of “Tamil—Religion” and dates its publication to the fourth quarter of 1913.³⁸⁵ The title in the Madras Record Office catalogue entry is shortened to “Mantira Sangraha Veda Dyanopadesa Smriti,” an Anglicization of *Mantira caṅkiraha vēta tiyāṅōpatēca smiruti*, which is a shortened or alternate title also given in the work itself (hence the abbreviation MCVTS). The main work was published by the Office of Shanmuga Vilasa Press (Ṣaṅmuka Vilāsa Piras Āpīc) in the Puttur (Puttūr) area of Tiruchirappalli (formerly Trichy), today an important metropolis in Tamil Nadu. Additionally, some of the prefatory material in the copy held by the Adyar Library and Research Centre was published by “Sivarahasyam Press, P. T.” in Madras. The initial price of the whole work was listed as one rupee.

As mentioned in Chapter One (Section A), at least three copies of MCVTS survive, although there are two variants, a short version and a long version. The two copies respectively held by the British Library and the library of the Tamil Nadu Archives (formerly the Madras Record Office)³⁸⁶ are identical short versions, both only around fifty pages long. The third extant copy, on the other hand, held by the Adyar Library and Research Centre in Chennai, is a longer version of about 130 pages and includes an important hagiographical account (T2, partially based on T1) and some additional advertisements for Sabhapati’s books

³⁸⁵ Madras Record Office, *Classified Catalogue of Books Registered from 1911–1915 at the Office of the Registrar of Books* (Madras: Controller of Stationery and Printing, Madras, on Behalf of the Government of Madras, 1965), 257.

³⁸⁶ This copy has since been digitized and is available at the Tamil Digital Library website (<https://www.tamildigitallibrary.in>).

as a preface. The table of contents (Tam. *aṭṭavaṇai*) affixed to both versions only reflects the contents of the short version and does not index the additional pages. As a result, it is very possible that the long version was released separately or did not circulate as widely; additional evidence for this is that it was the short version and not the long version that was registered with the colonial authorities at the Madras Record Office. In any event, the long version would have been known to the core of Sabhapati’s students and also constitutes an important record of his literature and instructions on ritual and yoga.

The contents are as follows, with an asterisk (*) denoting material that was only printed in the long version.³⁸⁷ Text in brackets denotes material not mentioned in the table of contents but that nevertheless forms an important section of the work (e.g., the diagrams and a few other sections, and the additional sections of the long version):

Contents of MCVTS (Adapted from the work’s *attavanai*, translated from Tamil)

1. [“First Diagram on the Succession of the Guru” (1-*vatu kurupāramparaiyapaṭam*).]
2. * [“Diagram of the Yogi Guru of Gnosis, Guru Father Rishi, Sabhapati Swami’s form of cave-dwelling fixed-mindedness” (Tam. & Mpv1. *kñāṇa kuruyōki, kurupitā ruṣi, capāpati cuvāmikaḷiṅ kuhāvāca niṣṭai kōla paṭam*).]
3. * [Advertisement for Sabhapati’s literature and “diagrams for the principles of meditation” (*tiyānatatva paṭaṅkaḷi*)]
4. [“Contents” (*aṭṭavaṇai*)]
5. “Summary in Tamil of the Sanskrit words of this compiled scripture” (*caṅkirahavētattiṅ camaskirata pataṅkaḷiṅ tamil urai*.)
6. “The way of performing the meditations of this compiled scripture” (*iccaṅkirahavētattiṅ tiyāṇaṅ ceyyum vitam*.)
7. “This compiled scripture and the question of its value” (*iccaṅkiravētam matippukkaṭāteṅal*.)
8. “Summary of the writers of this sacred text” (*iccurutiyyiṅ elattukaḷiṅ kurippu*.)
9. “Blessing” (*ācīrvātam*.)

³⁸⁷ A xerox copy of the longer version was made by the Adyar Library prior to laminating the original, and the position of several of the diagrams varies between the copy and the original, both of which I have consulted. The contents here of the longer version follows the original except when it is clear a diagram should be placed elsewhere in accordance with the shorter version and/or the contents of the text itself referencing the diagram (CTCSPV clearly shows that the diagrams were intended to be positioned near portions of the text that treat on a given diagram).

10. * [“Details on the diagram of the tradition of succession between guru and student on the mountain called Mount Agastya, the Southern Kailasa” (*takṣaṇakailāca akastiyācala parvata kuruciṣya pāramparaiya paṭattin viparam.*)]
11. “The life of the holy avatar of Yogi Guru of Gnosis, Guru Father Rishi Sabhapati Swami” (*kñāṇakuruyōki, kurupitāruṣi capāpati cuvāmikaḷatu tiru avutāra carittiram.*)
12. * [Alternate diagram of Sabhapati Swami in mountain caves with other yogis and the “seal of reality” (heavily faded), both also printed (separately) in CTCSPV)]
13. * [“Diagram of performing the instructions of the guru with the community of students” (*ciṣyarkaḷ caṅkattōṭu kuru upatēcañ ceyyum paṭam.*)]
14. [“Diagram pertaining to the ceremonies of action for Śaivas” (*caivāḷ karmāṇuṣṭāṇattirkuriya paṭam*); and “Diagram pertaining to the ceremonies of action for Vaiṣṇavas” (*vaiṣṇavāḷ karmāṇuṣṭāṇattirkuriya paṭam.*)]³⁸⁸
15. “On poems for style and the intention of the poems of this scripture” (*iccāstirakavikaḷ karuttu naṭaippākkaḷeṇal.*)
16. “The sayings of the guru and prayer for the student” (*ciṣyar pirārttanu kuruvākk.*)
17. “Hymn of Praise for the students” (*ciṣyarkaḷ stuti.*)
18. “This Compiled Scripture as a scripture on the mantra of Agastya’s hidden instruction” (*iccaṅkirahavētam akastiyar kuptōpatēca mantira vētameṇal.*)
19. “The truth of the two types of scripture” (*tuviṭavēta uṇmai.*)
20. “Aversion toward the divisions of caste” (*varṇapēta vēṇṭāmai.*)
21. “Reward of the non-division of caste” (*varṇayapēta palaṇ.*)
22. “Hymn of praise for the guru” (*kurustuti.*)
23. “How every person should do this meditation” (*ittiyāṇam yāvarkkum vēṇṭumeṇal.*)
24. “The manner of being a student” (*ciṣyarkaḷ yirukkum vitam.*)
25. “The reward for he who contemplates upon reading this instruction” (*ivvupatecappaṭi tiyāṇippa varkku palaṇ.*)
26. “Three small concentrations for the mind” (*maṇētiriciṇṇa tāraṇam.*)
27. “Instruction on all the ceremonies, mantras, and meditations” (*carvāṇuṣṭāṇa mantira tiyāṇa upatēcam.*)
28. “Instruction on the mantras for bathing” (*sṇāṇa mantira upatēcam.*)
29. “Instruction on the mantra for the three marks of ash” (*viṭuti tiricūrṇamantira [upatēcam].*)
30. “Instruction on the binding of the eight directions” (*aṣṭatikapantaṇa upatēcam.*)
31. “Instruction on the nine celestial bodies” (*navakkiraha upatēcam.*)
32. “Instruction on (mental) formulation” (*caṅkalpa upatēcam.*)
33. “Instruction on the sipping water that is beyond the range of the eyes (i.e., “invisible”)” (*ācamāṇṇiya purōkṣaṇā upatēcam.*)

³⁸⁸ These diagrams are not numbered but were probably intended to be the Second and Third Diagrams in the shorter version (which omitted the previous diagram of performing the instructions of the guru).

34. “Instruction on the sipping of water and the portion offered to a guest” (*arkkiya pāttiyayācamāṇya upatēcam.*)
35. “Instruction on the depositing [of mantras] on the arms” (*karnniyāca upatēcam.*)
36. “Instruction in the depositing [of mantras] on the limbs” (*aṅkānniyāca upatēcam.*)
37. “Instruction on the inherent form of the sixteen (lunar) digits” (*cōtacakalācuvarūpa upatēcam.*)
38. “Instruction on the Gāyatri mantra of Brahman” (*piramama kā:yattiri [sic] upatēcam.*)
39. “Instruction on the purification of the elements” (*putacutti upatēcam.*)
40. “Purification of the soul” (*ātamacutti upatēcam.*)
41. “Instruction on the world of virtuous ascetic practice” (*puṇayatapōlōka upatēcam.*)
42. “Instruction on the placement of the nine celestial bodies” (*navakkirahastāṇa upatēcam.*)
43. “Instruction in the gnosis of the nine [centers of] consciousness” (*navacaitanyakñāṇa upatēcam.*)
44. “Instruction on the sacred thread” (*jakñōpavittira upatēcam.*)
45. “Instruction on the Gāyatri [mantra] of Viṣṇu” (*viṣṇukāyattiri upatēcam.*)
46. “Instruction on the Gāyatri mantra of Śiva” (*civakāyattiri upatēcam.*)
47. “Instruction on the offering to the ancestors” (*pituratarppaṇa upatēcam.*)
48. “Instruction on the oblation at the time of feasting” (*pōjaṇakāla arppaṇa upatēcam.*)
49. “Instruction on the mantra for every time” (*catākālamantira upatēcam.*)
50. “Instruction on meditation for the indivisible, universal, and illustrious cultivation of every god and goddess” (*carvatēvatākkalīṇ tēvikaḷiṇ akaṇṭavisvavirāta pāvaṇai tiyāṇa upatēcam.*)
51. [“Fourth Diagram” (4-*vatu paṭam*).]
52. [“Fifth Diagram” (5-*vatu paṭam*).]
53. * [“Sixth Diagram” (6-*vatu paṭam*).]
54. “Instruction on the cultivation of the Lord of All (Sarveśvara)” (*carvēsvarariṇ pāvaṇai upatēcam.*”)
55. “Instruction on the cultivation of the Lady of All” (Sarveśvarī) (*carvēsvariṇiṇ pāvaṇai upatēcam.*”)
56. “Instruction on the worship rituals for the guru” (*kurupūjā upatēcam.*)
57. “Instruction on three assignments for the worship of Śiva” (*civapūjaikku muṇ niyāca upatēcam.*)
58. (“Instruction on three assignments for the worship of Viṣṇu”) (*viṣṇu pūjaikkumuṇ niyāca upatēcam.*)
59. “Instruction on Gāyatri [mantra] for the great names of Viṣṇu” (*viṣṇumahānāmakāyattiri upatēcam.*)
60. “Instruction on the inherent form of the Lord of All and the Lady of All” (*carvēsvarar carvēsvariṇiṇ cuvarūpa upatēcam.*)
61. “Instruction on the rules for worship rituals of all gods and goddesses” (*carvatēvatātēvikaḷiṇ pūjāviti upatēcam.*)

62. “Instruction on the meditation of the mantra for consecration” (*apiṣēka mantira tiyāṇōpatēcam.*)
63. “Instruction on the [mantras for] ornaments” (*alaṅkāra upatēcam.*)
64. “Instruction on the [mantras for] offering food” (*naivēttiya upatēcam.*)
65. “Instruction on the [mantras for] offering water, and so on” (*arkkiyāti upatēcam.*)
66. “Instruction on the [mantras for] incense and lamps” (*tūpatīpārātānā upatēcam.*)
67. “Instruction on the [mantras for] the sixteen acts of respect” (*cōṭacōpacāra upatēcam.*)
68. “Instruction [on the mantras] for the services of dusk” (*cāntiyōpacāra upatēcam.*)
69. “Instruction on the services of praise-hymns” (*stutiyōpacāra upatēcam.*)
70. “Instruction on the [mantras for] the praise for all gods” (*carvatēvatārccaṇā upatēcam.*)
71. “Instruction on the [mantras for] the praise of all goddesses” (*carvatēviyārccaṇā upatēcam*)
72. “Instructional hymns” (*stōttira upatēcam.*)
73. “Instruction [on mantras] for affirming reverence” (*namaskāra upatēcam.*)
74. “Instruction [on mantras] for prayer” (*pirārttanā upatēcam.*)
75. “Instruction [on mantras] for circumnambulation” (*piratahḥṣaṇa upatēcam.*)
76. “Instruction [on mantras] of praise for auspicious circumstances” (*maṅkaḷārātti upatēcam.*)
77. “Instruction on [mantras for] meditative formulation” (*caṅkalpattiyāṇa upatēcam.*)
78. “Instruction on the recitation of the five-syllabled mantra of the Lord of All” (*carvēsvarar pañcākṣarajapa upatēcam.*)
79. “Instruction on the five-syllabled mantra of the Lady of All” (*carvēsvari pañcāṭakṣara upatēcam.*)
80. “Instruction on the five-syllabled mantra of Viṣṇu” (*viṣṇu pañcākṣara upatēcam.*)
81. “Instruction on the eight-syllabled mantra of Viṣṇu” (*viṣṇu aṣṭākṣara upatēcam.*)
82. “Instruction on the five-syllabled mantra of the great Śiva and Śakti” (*mahācivacakti pañcākṣara upatēcam.*)
83. “Instruction on the five-syllabled mantra of the guru” (*kuru pañcākṣara upatēcam.*)
84. “Instruction on the five-syllabled mantra for every god and goddess” (*sarvatēvatātēvi pañcākṣara upatēcam.*)
85. “Instruction on the five- and sixteen-syllabled mantra of Gaṇapati” (*kaṇapati cōṭaca pañcākṣara upatēcam.*)
86. “Instruction on the six-syllabled mantra of Subrahmaṇya” (*cuppiramaṇiyar ṣaṭākṣara upatēcam.*)
87. “Instruction of meditation on the praise-hymn of prayer at the conclusion of meditation on mental worship rites” (*mānacapūjāt tiyāṇa camāpta pirārttanāstuti tiyāṇōpatēcam.*)

88. “Instruction on the mantra for general words of virtue” (*cāmāṇaya puṇṇiyāvacaṇamantira upatēcam.*)
89. “Instruction for the worship rites of Gaṇapati” (*kaṇapatipūjā upatēcam.*)
90. “Instruction for the worship rites using an earthen pot [for bathing an idol]” (*kalacapūjā upatēcam.*)
91. “Instruction for the worship rites of using the earthen pot at the consecration [of the idol] with the water-jar” (*kumpāpiṣēka kalacapūjā upatēcam.*)
92. “A gifted hymn of praise in thought, word, and deed from the students to the guru” (*ciṣyarkaḷ kuruvirku tirikaraṇa tattastuti.*)
93. “Benediction of the guru by his students” (*ciṣyarkaḷ kuruvālttu.*)
94. “The favor of instruction on Śiva’s Rājayoga, which is the gnosis of Brahman” (*pirammakñāṇa civarājayōka upatēcāṇukkiraham.*)
95. “Instruction of the guru and prayer for students” (*ciṣyarkaḷ pirārttaṇā kuru upatecam.*)
96. “Instruction of meditation on the ritual of stopping the mind” (*maṇatai niṛuttuñ cātaṇā tiyāṇa upatēcam.*)
97. [“Seventh Diagram” (7-vatu *paṭam*).]
98. “Instruction on stopping the mind in the crevice of Brahman” (*maṇatai pirammāntirattil niṛuttum upatēcam.*)
99. “Instruction on meditating on the mind as knowledge” (*maṇataiyarivāy tiyāṇikkum upatēcam.*)
100. “Instruction on the (meditative) cultivation of the channels” (*nāṭikaḷpāvaṇā upatēcam.*)
101. “Instruction on the (meditative) cultivation of self-gnosis within the channels” (*nāṭikaḷukkuḷ ātmakñāṇa pāvaṇā upatēcam.*)
102. “Instruction on the indivisible (meditative) cultivation” (*akaṇṭapāvaṇā upatēcam.*)
103. “Instruction on the composition that is the unity of Brahman with the self” (*āmapiramma aikyacamāti upatēcam.*)
104. “Instruction on the characteristics of the gnosis of the indivisible Brahman” (*akaṇṭa pirammakñāṇa lakṣiya upatēcam.*)

[Short version of MCVTS ends here]

105. * [“The Eighth Diagram’s second diagram on initiation and first diagram on initiation” (8-vatu *paṭattin* 2-vatu *tīkṣai paṭam*, 1-vatu *tīkṣaipāṭam*).]
106. * [“The Ninth Diagram’s third diagram on initiation and fourth diagram on initiation” (9-vatu *paṭattin* 3-vatu *tīkṣai paṭam*, 4-vatu *tīkṣaipāṭam*). (heavily faded)]
107. * [“The Tenth Diagram’s fifth diagram on initiation and the tenth diagram’s sixth diagram on initiation” (10-vatin 5-vatu *tīkṣaipāṭam*,—10-vatin 6-vatu *tīkṣaipāṭam*). (somewhat faded)]
108. * [“Eleventh Diagram for meditation on initiation” (11-vatu *tīkṣāttiyāṇa paṭam*) (somewhat faded)]
109. * [“(Twelfth) Diagram of the yoga of “not this” (Skt. *neti, na + iti*) for the faculties of the twelve chakras (Skt. *cakra*); and the yoga of “not this” as the

nature of isolation” (*ēkapāva nayitiyōka tuvātaca cakratatva nayitiyōka paṭam.*)³⁸⁹

110. * [“The Practice of Brimha Gnyana Raja Yoga Nishta Samadhi’s Initiational modes and processes of Practice” (in English).]
111. * [“Advice to the English knowing Gentlemen” (in English).]
112. * [“Instruction for the favor of meditation on every kind of initiation-sequence by the guru of this sacred text” (*iccāstira kuruvāl carvavita tīkṣākīrama tiyāṇāṇukkīraha upatēcam.*)]
113. * [“The way of the second part of the Twelfth Diagram on the twelve supports (Skt. *ādhāra*). (12-*vatu paṭattiṅ 2-vatu tuvātaca ātāra paṭappirakāram.*)]
114. * [“Instruction on the request of Guru Father Rishiswarar, having made a prayer for the rightful chief of the (Meditation Hall) of the Lord of All for All People, for acquiring his request” (*kurupitā ruṣīsvarar carvalōka carvēsvara ṅāyātipatīyīṭattil ceytu koṅṭa pīrārttanā viṅṅappa arjjimaṅuvu upatēcam.*)]
115. * [Request by a woman among the swami for following the commands of the guru in the service of a guru (*kurucēvaki kurākṅpālaṅa cuvāmiyārammāḷ viṅṅappam.*)]
116. * [“Guru Father Rishi’s poem on the mode of pursuing an experience of the rituals of the gnosis of Brahman” (*kurupitariṣiyiṅ parmmakṅāṅa camāti cātaṅāṅupava karuttunaṭaippā.*)]
117. * [“Guru Father Rishi’s perception of the experience of the inherent form of Brahman” (*kurupitāruṣiyiṅ pīrammacuvarūpāṅupavakkāksi.*)]
118. * [“Perception of the experience in meditation of the Great God who is the Lord of All (Sarvēsvara Mahādeva) (*carvēsvara mahātēvattiyāṅāṅupavakkāksi.*)”]
119. * [“On the sacred text of this Compiled Scripture as literature for meditation that is (designed) for daily effort and uninterrupted mental meditation” (*inta caṅkirahavētasmiruti tiṅantiṅaṅciravaṅa manana nitittiyācaṅa tiyāṅacāstirameṅal.*)]
120. * [“Instruction on the Thirteenth Diagram on the mental cultivation, worship rituals, and concentration for gods and goddesses in the thirteen pedestals (Skt. *ādhāras*, i.e. *cakras*)” (13-*vatu paṭappirakāram tiriyōtaca ātāra tēvatātēvi māṅacīkapāvaṅā pūjāttā:raṅāttiyāṅōpatēcam.*)]
121. * [“Thirteenth Diagram” on the meditation for the twelve pedestals (13-*vatu carvavita tuvātaca ātāratiyāṅapaṭām.*)]
122. * [“Meditation on the higher six pedestals” (*mēl āru ātā:rattiyāṅam.*)]
123. * [“Instruction on the mental worship ritual of the fire oblation” *māṅaca akṅi hōttira pūjā upatēcam.*]
124. * [“The way of the Fifteenth Diagram” (15-*vatu paṭappirakāram.*)]
125. * [“The Fifteenth Diagram on every kind of worship ritual for the fire oblation” (15-*vatu carvavita akṅihōttira pūjāpaṭam.*)]
126. * [“Instruction on the exercise and practice of the rite of the seven kinds of Haṭhayoga for the seven pedestals, as the way of the Thirteenth Diagram on

³⁸⁹ This diagram is not explicitly numbered but is the Twelfth Diagram given its order in the sequence and the contents that the text ascribes to it.

- Haṭhayoga” (13-*vatu haṭayōkappaṭappirakāram capṭta ātāra capṭtavita haṭayōkam cātaṇāppiyācāṇupava upatēcam.*)]
127. * [“Instruction on the mystery of devotion and meditation in the temple-abode in the body. Meditation on the worship rituals in the temple-abode of the body.” (*tēhālaya paktitiyāṇa rahasciyōpatēcam. tēhālaya pūjāttiyāṇam.*)]
128. * [“Diagram of meditation on the nature of the body as the nature of a temple-abode” (*carīramē ālayapā:va tiyāṇa paṭam.*)]
129. * [“Diagram of meditation . . . on the body as Śiva’s phallus.” (*carīramē civaliṅka . . . tiyāṇa paṭam*)]
130. * [“Decoding [some terminology]” (*piḷaitiruttal.*)]
131. * [Instruction in the meditation of cultivation for the five actions, the five powers, and the seat (Skt. *pīṭha*) of Gaurī, and the cultivation of the body as Śiva’s indivisible phallus of wisdom (*tēhamē akaṇṭa pirakñāṇa civaliṅka pāvaṇā pañcakrutya pañcacakti kaupīṭa pāvaṇāttiyāṇa upatēcam.*)]
132. * [“Instruction of meditation on the mystery of the Praṇava or syllable “Om” as a single syllable of sixteen (parts)]” *cōṭaca ēkāksara oṅkārap piraṇava civaliṅka rahasciyattiyāṇa upatēcam.*]
133. * [“Seventeenth Diagram . . . on the syllable Om” (17-*vatu paṭam . . . oṅkāra.*)]
134. * [“Garland of mantra-recitation for the Lord of All in the midst of Śiva’s phallus” (*civaliṅkamattiya carvēcuvarar japamantiramālā.*)]
135. * [“Garland of mantra-recitation for the Lady of All in the midst of Śiva’s phallus” (*civaliṅkamattiya carvēcvāri japamantiramālā.*)]
136. * [“Conclusion of the first part (of the work) in its entirety” (*pirata:mapā:ka:m campūrṇa camāttam.*)]

III. Sabhapati's Genealogy, Cosmology, and Philosophical Views

In this chapter I will describe how Sabhapati's cosmological system reflects a syncretic Tamil Śaiva worldview that is deeply embedded in the Vīraśaiva milieu in which his gurus operated their own "meditation halls" (Sabhapati's own translation for Tam. *maṭālayam*, < Skt. *maṭha* + *ālaya*; see Chapter One). By "syncretic" in this case I do not intend the adjective's frequent connotation as a haphazard hybridization of collected theories and doctrines, but rather a historical process specific to Tamil Nadu in which the soteriologies of monistic Vedānta and dualistic Śaiddhāntika philosophy were idiosyncratically and eclectically harmonized with the poetry and praxis of the Siddhas (Tam. *cittarkaḷ*) in the context of yogic experience. As was demonstrated in Chapter Two, the diversity of Sabhapati's literary corpus on this yogic experience of *samādhi*, or Śivarājayoga, spans local Tamil Śaiva vernacular milieus to works intended for pan-Indian and international audiences in English. As a result, I would argue that to adequately understand the full scope of his system of yoga it is critical to also analyze his cosmological and philosophical perspectives in the context of the genealogies of his teachers and the cultural setting of colonial-era India more broadly.

Sabhapati's literature outlines theories of a truly infinite proportion that describe a descent of "cosmic principles" (Skt. *tattvas*, which he translates as "faculties") that make up the universe as well as the individual's sense faculties. In this perhaps he is not so original as far as Indian philosophy goes, as this has been a feature since at least the development of Sāṃkhya philosophy and the Upaniṣads, despite a wide variety of different philosophical positions on the nature of monism and dualism, spiritualism and materialism. However, attempts to limit Sabhapati's work to more prevalent cosmological frames, such as that of

Advaita Vedānta or Śaiva Siddhānta, eventually fail to satisfactorily account for the range of doctrines he espouses. The one hundred and eight so-called “Yoga Upaniṣads,” the corpus of which Bouy has argued were compiled in South India around the eighteenth century, also would appear on the surface to be the best starting point for making sense of Sabhapati’s cosmology given its recourse to Vedantic terminology to describe his system of yoga (see Chapter Four).³⁹⁰ However, these texts do not account for other material that Sabhapati includes, such as the following: 1) his teachings on the cancellation of twelve Tantric *cakras* that equally facilitate a cancellation of the aforementioned cosmic principles and the attainment of Śivarājayoga, 2) his reverence for the mythos of Agastya and by extension the Tamil Siddhas (Cittars), 3) his detailed prescriptions on and mantras for the ritual worship of Viṣṇu and the Śakti in addition to Śiva and a whole host of other gods and goddesses, and 4) and the eccentricity of some of his limited engagement with other religions as well as Theosophy, Hindu reformist societies, and Atheism, which for Sabhapati is generally synonymous with a narrow view of scientific materialism.

One reason for the difficulty of categorizing his philosophy is that many of the nineteenth- to early twentieth-century Śaiva milieus that Sabhapati engaged have remained relatively uncharted by scholars, which is perhaps one reason he himself has not been considered by virtually any author writing on the development of Śaivism (or Indian philosophy more broadly, modern or classical for that matter). Alexis Sanderson in his masterful overview of the “Śaiva Age” does hint in a footnote at a notable synthesis that occurred many centuries earlier, in the ca. twelfth-century work *Tirumantiram*, attributed to

³⁹⁰ Christian Bouy, *Les Nātha-Yogin et les Upaniṣads* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1994).

Tirumūlar.³⁹¹ This is a work that in many instances bears striking resemblance to Sabhapati’s cosmology and teachings on yoga, even if it is to my knowledge never explicitly cited by him (see below and Chapter Four). This is perhaps not surprising considering his *paramparā*’s (see below) own indebtedness to the soteriology of the *Tirumantiram* and the Tamil Vīraśaiva position that Tirumūlar was actually a Vīraśaiva.³⁹² Yet the syncretic contents of the *Tirumantiram* and related forms of Tamil Śaivism, such as later successive waves of Tamil Vīraśaiva and Siddha authors who inspired Sabhapati’s own work, are seldom treated in scholarship on Śaiva philosophy. Sanderson’s comprehensive research on earlier developments of Śaiva philosophy and literature has, however, provided an important academic impetus to define and delineate this relative lack of material on what occurred “after the Śaiva Age,”³⁹³ and I anticipate that Sabhapati’s own interpretation of, and innovation upon, Śaiva philosophy and cosmology will accordingly emerge into much clearer focus as this broader trajectory of related currents begins to gradually attract more scholarly attention.

³⁹¹ See Alexis Sanderson, “The Śaiva Age— The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period,” in *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, ed. Shingo Einoo (Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 2009), 286n686. Elaine Fisher has argued that its contents reflect influence from Śrīvidyā, a “goddess-centered (Śākta) esoteric ritual tradition, whose origins have been definitively traced back so far as early second millennium Kashmir.” See Elaine Fisher, “A New Public Theology: Sanskrit and Society in Seventeenth-Century South India” (New York, Columbia University, 2013), 53, 229–30. For more information on this text, which has been translated but never critically edited, see Tirumūlar, *Tirumūlar Tirumantiram: mūlamum - viḷakka uraiyum*, ed. Nā. Māṅikkavācakan, Pattām Patippu (Cennai: Umā Patippakam, 2016); the Introduction in Tirumular, *Tirumantiram: A Tamil Scriptural Classic*, trans. B. Natarajan and N. Mahalingam (Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1991); Maithili Thayanithy, “The Concept of Living Liberation in the Tirumantiram” (PhD Thesis, Toronto, University of Toronto, 2010). A helpful translation of this text with multiple descriptions in English was released in multiple volumes by Babaji’s Kriya Yoga and Publications; see Tirumūlar, *The Tirumandiram*, trans. T. N Ganapathy et al., 10 vols. (Eastman, Quebec, Canada: Babaji’s Kriya Yoga and Publications, Inc., 2013).

³⁹² Srilata Raman, personal correspondence, 17 July 2020.

³⁹³ For example, see the schedule for “After the Śaiva Age: Transformation and Continuity in the Regional Śaivisms of South India,” Symposium, 47th Annual Conference on South Asia in Madison, Wisconsin, held on October 11, 2018 (available at https://www.academia.edu/37558595/After_the_Saiva_Age_Schedule).

In this chapter I will take a more limited approach to these broader questions of Śaiva genealogy in my focus on certain key sources for Sabhapati's philosophy and cosmology that were eventually translocalized across India as well as internationally. I will accordingly take Sabhapati's published literature and corroborative ethnographic data that I have obtained in Chennai as my main starting point, both of which help clarify the main philosophical currents that informed Sabhapati's main period of literary activity between 1880 and 1913. I have accordingly divided this chapter into four parts. In the first section I will delineate the milieus of his two guru *paramparās*, one explicitly linked to a celebrated Tamil Vīraśaiva *parampāra* that extends back to at least the seventeenth century, and another more or less mythological one that I interpret as primarily linked to the Tamil Siddhas and by extension the Tamil text *Tirumantiram*, mentioned above. In the second section I will describe some of the salient cosmological features of Sabhapati's system and his system of transmigrations. In the third section I will describe the connection of Sabhapati's cosmology with Tamil Śaiva religious milieus. In the fourth section I will note Sabhapati's doxographical engagement with other points of view such as other religions (including Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and even Atheism), reform societies, and early Theosophy, as such engagement serves to bring his own colonial-era views into sharper focus.

A. The Succession (paramparā) of Sabhapati's Gurus

As noted above, Sabhapati Swami's own inheritance of Śaiva (and to some extent also Vaiṣṇava and Śākta) doctrines and practices as expressed throughout his own published literature are informed by widescale developments subsequent to the "Śaiva Age," specifically developments in Tamil Śaivism from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Eric

Steinschneider in particular has skillfully analyzed early modern literary attempts to overcome rigid divisions between “warring sects,” that is, between teachers of a monistic Vedānta and a dualistic Saiddhāntika persuasion, or for that matter even between those of Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva persuasion.³⁹⁴ As Steinschneider narrates, a critical mediating factor between these “warring sects” was the spread of Vīraśaiva philosophical doctrines to Tamil Nadu. Vīraśaivas, or Vīramāheśvaras as they had previously been called in emic discourses, appear to originally have had an antipathy towards Vedānta but gradually came to accept it as a valid mode of framing religious soteriology.³⁹⁵ The context of this acceptance of Vedānta also allowed for the development of a system of yoga known as Śivayoga or “Yoga for Śiva,” which was exported from Kannada and Telugu-speaking milieus to (what is today) Tamil Nadu by at least the seventeenth century, if not earlier.³⁹⁶ Steinschneider in particular aims to show that “the polyvocality of Tamil Śaiva theology, literary culture, and sectarian identity compels us to reconsider the supposed unity of this tradition,”³⁹⁷ and this is certainly relevant to keep in mind when considering Sabhapati’s relationship to more dominant currents of Śaiva philosophy, whether Vedānta or Siddhānta. Indeed, by Sabhapati’s time this “polyvocality” had created enough space for a tenuous but remarkable synthesis between the monism of Vedānta and the dualism of Śaiva Siddhānta, often considered contrasting

³⁹⁴ Eric Steinschneider, “Beyond the Warring Sects: Universalism, Dissent, and Canon in Tamil Śaivism, ca. 1675–1994” (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2016).

³⁹⁵ See Steinschneider, “Beyond the Warring Sects,” 19–20. For more background on the Vīraśaivas and their relationship to Vedānta (especially outside of Tamil Nadu) see also Elaine M. Fisher, “Remaking South Indian Śaivism: Greater Śaiva Advaita and the Legacy of the Śaktiviśiṣṭādvaita Vīraśaiva Tradition,” *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 21, no. 3 (December 2017): 319–44; Jonathan Duquette, “Is Śivādvaita Vedānta a Saiddhāntika School? Pariṇāmavāda in the Brahmanīmāmsābhāṣya,” *The Journal of Hindu Studies* 8 (2015): 16–43; Rohini Bakshi, “The Vedānta of the Vīraśaivas” (talk by Jonathan Duquette), *Sanskrit Reading Room* (blog), May 23, 2018.

³⁹⁶ For the Sanskrit (and Kannada) Vīraśaiva perspective on Śivayoga see Seth Powell, “A Lamp on Śiva’s Yoga: The Unification of Yoga, Ritual, and Devotion in the Fifteenth-Century Śivayogapradīpikā” (PhD Prospectus, Harvard University, 2018), 7; 31n28.

³⁹⁷ Steinschneider, “Beyond the Warring Sects,” 21.

philosophical expressions, and with it space for new soteriological rationales for yogic practice. This synthesis did not start with Sabhapati but began several centuries earlier, as Raman notes the following:

The bringing together of the Vedānta and the Siddhānta as one continuum already begins with Aruḷṅanti Civācāriyār and is cemented in the commentaries on the *Civaññācittiyār* between the 15th–16th centuries. Integrated into its soteriology is the idea of a path of knowledge (*nāṇa*) called the *caṇmārkkam*, which by the late 14th-century integrates a yogic path ostensibly called the *aṣṭāṅgayoga* but in reality also incorporating other yogic modes within it.³⁹⁸

As a result, I would argue that Sabhapati is partaking in a wider centuries-old trend that was shared by some of his contemporaries like Chidambaram Ramalinga Swamigal and, as a result, his philosophical integration of these currents into his yoga is not as idiosyncratic as it may initially appear.

Steinschneider’s historical and literary analysis is not only relevant to Sabhapati’s work on a general philosophical level but is also directly intertwined with the yogi’s personal life and web of human relationships. The discursive currents that he analyzes throughout his dissertation includes one of Sabhapati’s two principle guru-lines (*paramparās*) from which he claims descent, that of Kumara Devar (Kumāratēvar) and his guru Perur Santhalinga Swamigal (Pērūr Cāntaliṅka Cuvāmikaḷ). As a result, while a comprehensive treatment of the wider picture of these many centuries of historical developments would require an additional research project in and of itself, we are fortunate that Sabhapati did provide some concrete

³⁹⁸ Srilata Raman, personal correspondence with the author, 17 July 2020, as taken from the thesis in her forthcoming book *The Transformation of Tamil Religion: Ramalinga Swamigal and Modern Dravidian Sainthood* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge), forthcoming.

details about his specific religious “credentials” that enable us to more properly contextualize him within the wider shifts taking place in modern Tamil Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava discourse, especially at the periphery where these discourses often intersected with Vīraśaiva and the remnants of Tamil Siddha milieus.

1. Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal in the line of Kumara Devar

As stated in Chapter One, CPSPS, T1, and T2 all clearly state that Sabhapati Swami’s first guru—and, as T1 and T2 add, his father’s guru—was Vedashreni Chidambara Periya Swamigal (Vētacirēṇi Citampara Periya Cuvāmikaḷ, d. 1858), a fact that his followers in Madras would have been readily able to verify (see Chapter One, Section C, for a treatment of their interaction). While today the site of a major campus of the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) and a thriving suburb near Chennai’s international airport, Vedashreni (an old name for Velachery)³⁹⁹ in Sabhapati’s time was a separate temple village that already been an important Śaiva religious site for at least almost a millennium.⁴⁰⁰ As cited in Sabhapati’s own literature, Velachery Chidambara Swami was the author of *Upatēca uṇmai*, or “*Instructive Truth*,” an as-yet-untranslated collection of 192 verses on Vedānta and Yoga published at least as early as 1881 and still in print today along with useful paraphrases and commentaries for each verse, which was originally composed in an archaic style of Tamil religious verse.⁴⁰¹ His earlier name was Veeraswamy Swamigal (Vīrācuvāmi Cuvāmikaḷ), but he is said to have received the name Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal upon his

³⁹⁹ Citampara Periya Cuvāmikaḷ, *Upatēca uṇmai, viḷakka uraiyuṭaṅ* (Vēḷaccēri, Chennai: Vēḷaccēri Makāṅ Patippakam, 2014), 15.

⁴⁰⁰ Em. Irājakōpāḷaṅ, *Vēḷaccēri tiruttalam* [“The Sacred Sites of Velachery”] (Chennai: A4 Āṅant, 2003).

⁴⁰¹ Citampara Cuvāmikaḷ, *Upatēcavuṇmai*, ed. Ciṅkāravēlu Piḷḷai (Koṇṇūr: Maṅḍōṇmaṅivilācavaccukkūṭam of Māṅikka Mutāḷiyār, 1881); for a current edition that contains a paraphrase (*urai*) and commentary (*viḷakkam*) for each verse see Citampara Periya Cuvāmikaḷ, *Upatēca uṇmai, viḷakka uraiyuṭaṅ*. The latter at the time of writing is available for purchase at Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal’s tumulus (*jīvasamādhī*).

initiation (Skt. *dīkṣā*) from his guru, Kuzhandaivel Swamigal (Kuḷantaivēl Cuvāmikaḷ).⁴⁰² Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal is sometimes confused in library records with another person, Thiruporur Chidambara Swamigal (Tiruppōrūr Cītambara Cuvāmikaḷ; see Section C below), but they are different individuals who nevertheless are part of the same line; beyond the later date of the former, a key distinction is that Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal, and not Thiruporur Chidambara Swamigal, authored *Upatēca uṇmai* despite the fact that the work is sometimes erroneously attributed to the latter in library catalogues.⁴⁰³

The most recent edition of *Upatēca uṇmai* emphasizes Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal’s connection with the ca. seventeenth-century CE Vīraśaiva author Kumara Devar. The edition offers a short life-sketch of Kumara Devar and Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal and also interprets one of the latter’s verses (189) as a praise of his guru Kumara Devar.⁴⁰⁴ This is the same Kumara Devar analyzed by Steinschneider, who notes that no fewer than sixteen individual works were attributed to him, “. . . including the *Cuttacātakam*, the *Attuvitavuṇmai*, and the purportedly autobiographical *Makārājātuṟavu* (*The Renunciation of the Great King*).”⁴⁰⁵ These along with some other Tamil works have been included in a publication entitled *Cāstirakkōvai* (*Series of Scriptures*), which was published at least as early as 1908,⁴⁰⁶ and possibly as early as 1871.⁴⁰⁷ Kumara Devar’s guru Perur Santhalinga

⁴⁰² Pā. Cu Ramaṇaṇ, *Cittarkaḷ vāḷvil*, vol. 2 (Ebook, Kindle Edition, 2018).

⁴⁰³ For example, the Roja Muthiah Research Library erroneously lists at least one copy of *Upatēca uṇmai* as the work of Thiruporur Chidambara Swamigal and not Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal, which has also been reflected in the library microfilm catalogues of the University of Chicago.

⁴⁰⁴ Cītampara Periya Cuvāmikaḷ, *Upatēca uṇmai* (2014), 12–14; 220–21.

⁴⁰⁵ Steinschneider, “Beyond the Warring Sects,” 20–21.

⁴⁰⁶ Śrī Kumāratēvar, *Tiruvāymalarnīṟai cāstirakkōvai*, ed. Caccitānantacuvāmikaḷ and Ārumukamutaliyār (Cenṇai: Manōṇmaṇivilāca Acciyantiracālai, 1908). This edition was at least partially reprinted in 1909. I am enormously grateful to Brinda at the library of Senthamil College for tracking down this publication for me and allowing me to photograph it.

⁴⁰⁷ Kumāratēvar, *Virutācalattil śrīperiyānāyakiyār varapiracātiyāy eluntaruḷiyirunta cāstirakkōvai*, ed. Ārumuka Mutaliyār, and Koṇṇūr Māṇikka Mutaliyār (Cenṇai: Parappiramamuttirākṣaracālai, 1871). As of present I have been unable to consult this edition to confirm its identity.

Swamigal also authored four major works, including *Vairākyā Catakam* (< Skt. *Vairāgya Śataka*, “One Hundred Verses on Dispassion”) and *Vairākyā Tīpam* (< Skt. *Vairāgya Dīpa*, “Lamp of Dispassion”),⁴⁰⁸ which as I noted in Chapter One (Section K) were recommended by one of Sabhapati’s students to Om Prakash Swamigal; there is thus evidence that Sabhapati and his students were directly familiar with the literature of both Kumara Devar and Santhalinga Swamigal. Many of these works have not been yet translated into English, and some remain fairly obscure. Since this dissertation is primarily focused on the “translocalization” of Sabhapati’s yoga, I will not here attempt to conduct a comparison of these works’ contents with Sabhapati’s own cosmological views on Vedānta and Siddhānta, although pursuing this kind of comparison in the future would undoubtedly help further situate Sabhapati’s position in the context of Tamil Śaiva literature.

While a full list of the swamis’ names between Kumara Devar and Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal is absent in the edition mentioned above, based on available data I have been able to populate the names of Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal’s line through his guru Kuzhandaivel to Thiruporur Chidambara Swamigal and even further to Kumara Devar and his guru Perur Santhalinga Swamigal (Pērūr Cāntaliṅka Cuvāmikaḷ), as well as Santhalinga Swamigal’s own guru Thuraiyur Sivaprakasa Swamigal (Turaiyūr Civappirakācuvāmikaḷ). The populated list of names is as follows:

1. Thuraiyur Sivaprakasa Swamigal (Turaiyūr Civappirakācuvāmikaḷ)
2. Perur Santhalinga Swamigal (Pērūr Cāntaliṅka Cuvāmikaḷ)
3. Kumara Devar (Kumāratēvar)
4. Thiruporur Chidambara Swamigal (Tiruppōrūr Citambara Cuvāmikaḷ)
5. Retty Chidambara Swamigal (Reṭṭi-Citamparacuvāmikaḷ)
6. Pazhani Swamigal (Paḷaṅicuvāmikaḷ)
7. Kuvalattu Swamigal (Kūvālattuccuvāmikaḷ)
8. Puliyur Swamigal (Puliyūrccuvāmikaḷ)
9. Mylapore Kuzhandaivel Swamigal (Mayilāppūr Kuḷandaivēl Cuvāmikaḷ)

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid. *Vairāgya Śataka* is also the title of a different work by the ca. fifth-century philosopher Bhartṛhari.

10. Muttaiya Swamigal (Muttaiyacuvāmikaḷ) and Vedashreni Periya Chidambara Swamigal (Vētacirēṇi Citampara Periya Cuvāmikaḷ)
11. Sabhapati Swamigal (Capāpati Cuvāmikaḷ), via Vedashreni Periya Chidambara Swamigal

The relationships between Thuraiyur Sivaprakasa Swamigal, Perur Santhalinga Swamigal, and Kumara Devar are all well-established in scholarship. The second part of the connection, from Kumara Devar to Kuzhandaivel, is provided in some editions of *Cāstirakkōvai*, the aforementioned collection of Kumara Devar’s works (see Figure One).⁴⁰⁹ The third part of the connection is inscriptional evidence that I have obtained at the tumulus of Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal’s guru Kuzhandaivel Swamigal in Mylapore (see Figure Two). The fourth part of the connection is Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal’s own literature that mentions his initiation by one Kuzhandai Velar (Kuḷandai Vēlar, another name for Kuzhandaivel Swamigal) in the line of Kumara Devar.⁴¹⁰ It is clear from this literature and on account of the Kumara Devar connection that Kuzhandaivel Swamigal mentioned in the collection of Kumara Devar’s works and Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal’s own guru Kuzhandaivel Swamigal were one and the same person.⁴¹¹ The fifth and final link pertains to the link between our Sabhapati Swami and Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal, which as I already mentioned is referred to throughout Sabhapati’s extant literature (especially CPSPS, CTCSPV, and MCVTS). Sabhapati’s opening pages of his Tamil work MCVTS (see Figure Three) confirms that his guru was none other than this same Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal:

⁴⁰⁹ Śrī Kumāratēvar, *Tiruvāymalarntaruḷiya cāstirakkōvai*.

⁴¹⁰ Citampara Periya Cuvāmikaḷ, *Upatēca uṇmai* (2014). This is also discernible when physically visiting the still-extant *jīva-samādhis* or “tumuli” of each— upon my visits to both (in 2018 and 2019) I noted a resonance on every level, from the rituals to the art to the attitude towards and integration of the Siddhas.

⁴¹¹ At least one independent account of Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal’s account also corroborates this: see Pā. Cu Ramaṇaṇ, *Cittarkaḷ vālvil*. The account clearly mentions that his guru Kuzhandaivel Swamigal was of Kumara Devar’s *paramparā* at Virudhachalam (Viruttācalam).

Sabhapati claims that he is the “student of Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal, author of *Upatēca uṇmai*, of the monastic line of Kumara Devar” (see Figure Three).⁴¹²

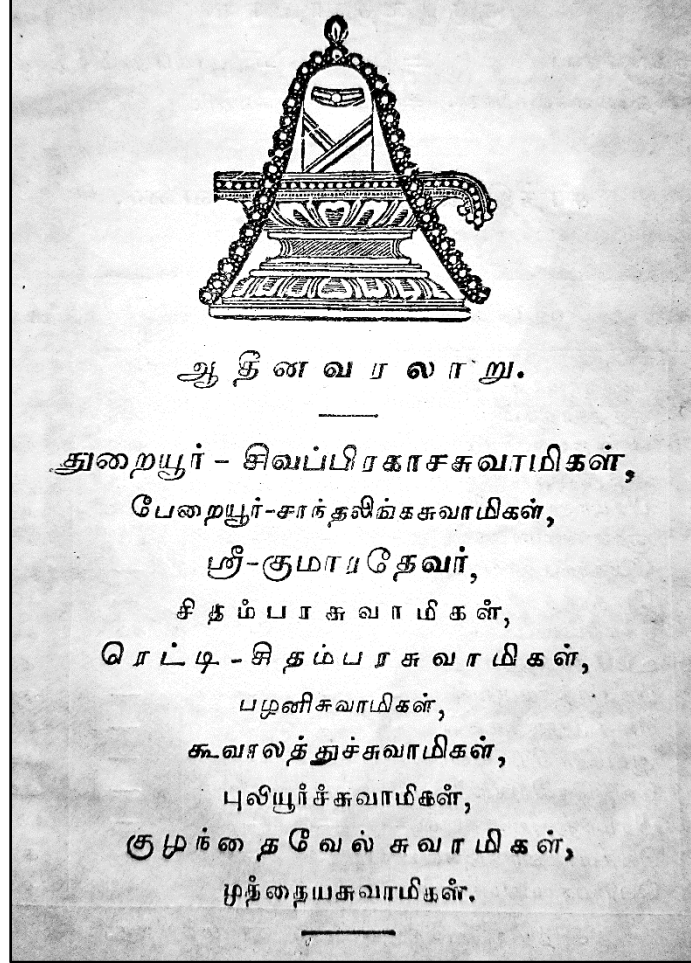


Figure One. A page from Śrī Kumāratēvar, *Tiruvāymalarntaruḷiya cāstirakkōvai* that lists the names as part of a “history of the monastery” (*āṇṇavaralāru*).

⁴¹² *kumāratēvar ātiṇa vētasirēṇi upatēca uṇmai cāstirakarttā citampara cuvāmikaḷiṇ ciṣyarum. . . .*”



Figure Two. An inscription at the tumulus of Mylapore Kuzhandaivel Swamigal (Mayilāppūr Kuḷandaivēl Cuvāmikal), the guru of Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal (Vētacirēṇi Citampara Cuvāmikal), that records his guru as Kumara Devar (Kumāratēvar) and another of his students as Muttaiya Swamigal (Muttaiyacuvāmikal). Photograph by Keith Cantú.

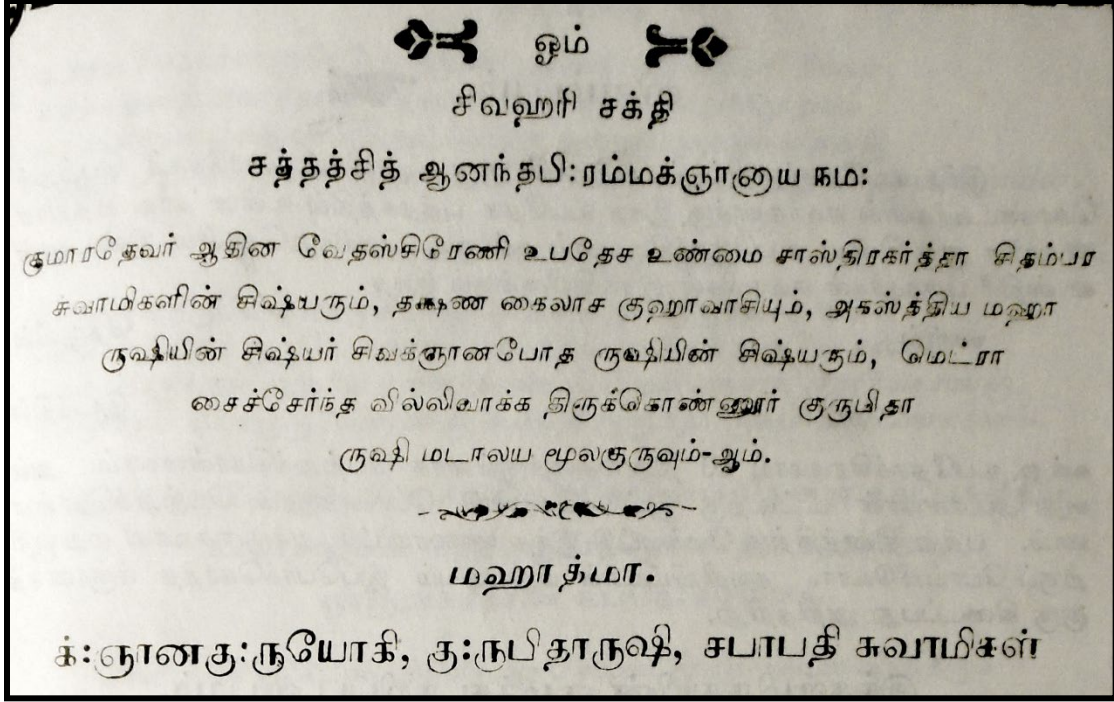


Figure Three. The opening praise of MCVTS that mentions Sabhapati as a student of both Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal (Vētacirēṇi Citampara Cuvāmikal) in the *āṭṭiṇam* of Kumara Devar (Kumārātēvar) as and Shivajana Bodha Rishi (Civañāṇabōta Ruṣi), the student of Agastya (Akasttiyar) (see Section A.2 below).

2. Shivajana Bodha and the “Tamil Siddha Cult”

As can be seen in Figure One and throughout Sabhapati’s literature, Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal is not the only guru whom Sabhapati Swami cites, as he always adds a second figure: Shivajana Bodha Yogishwarar (Civañāṇabōta Yogīśvar), also referred to as Shivajana Bodha Rishi (Civañāṇabōta Ruṣi). This latter figure is always mentioned in the context of the guru-succession (*paramparā*) of Agastya (Akattiyar, Akasttiyar; see Chapter One, Sections F and J for more details on Sabhapati’s claim to be a part of Agastya’s line). While next to nothing can currently be traced about Shivajana Bodha beyond what details Sabhapati himself gives, it is clear from the wood-cut prints and descriptions that he is supposed to be a representative from what would today be described as a Tamil Siddha

(Cittar, also commonly transliterated Siddhar) milieu.⁴¹³ The Pothigai Mountains are held even to this day to be sacred to the devotees of Agastya, who as I have already described in Chapter One have revered its highest peak, Mount Agastya or Agastyamalai as his embodiment for several centuries if not longer.⁴¹⁴ The mythology is rooted in the Puranic notion that Agastya needed to come to South India to “correct” the imbalance of so much ascetic *tapas* in the North, an idea that appears to have been reflected in the *Tirumantiram*.⁴¹⁵

The Tamil Siddhas have been the subject of a few book-length studies, of which one of the earliest appears to be by A.V. Subramania Aiyar, which includes sketches of some of the principle Siddha poets, starting with Tirumūlar.⁴¹⁶ However, at present R. Venkatraman’s work *A History of the Tamil Siddha Cult* is the most extensive study as far as their broader history and texts are concerned.⁴¹⁷ Venkatraman builds on a wide variety of primary and secondary sources, including Kamil Zvelebil’s more or less groundbreaking exploration into this subject from the perspective of Siddha poetry.⁴¹⁸ A few years after Venkatraman published his study, Zvelebil published a fascinating (if somewhat eccentric) work on the “Siddha preoccupation with medicine, healing and therapies, with sexual attitudes and yoga, as preserved and expressed in ancient texts composed in Tamil as well as the living practices of contemporary Siddha physicians.”⁴¹⁹ Richard Weiss’s more recent study is a more refined

⁴¹³ The Sanskrit word *siddha* is rendered *cittar* (*citta* + *-r* suffix, denoting a person) in Tamil on account of the lack of separate letters for voiced and aspirated consonants in Tamil. I have retained “Siddha” for the sake of consistency with Sabhapati’s non-Tamil literature.

⁴¹⁴ This is also asserted independently in the introduction to Tirumular, *Tirumantiram: A Tamil Scriptural Classic*, trans. B. Natarajan and N. Mahalingam (Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1991).

⁴¹⁵ Tirumūlar, *Tirumantiram: mūlamum - viḷakka uraiyum*, 148–9; Tirumular, *Tirumantiram: A Tamil Scriptural Classic*, 52 (Tantra Two, v. 337–8).

⁴¹⁶ A.V. Subramania Aiyar, *The Poetry and the Philosophy of the Tamil Siddhars: An Essay in Criticism* (Chidambaram: Manivasakar Noolakam, 1969). First published 1957.

⁴¹⁷ R. Venkatraman, *A History of the Tamil Siddha Cult* (Madurai: Ennes Publications, 1990).

⁴¹⁸ Kamil Veith Zvelebil, *The Poets of the Powers* (London: Rider, 1973).

⁴¹⁹ Kamil Veith Zvelebil, *The Siddha Quest for Immortality* (Oxford: Mandrake, 1996).

academic treatment of the range of topics covered by Zvelebil but, while extremely valuable in its own right and useful for its perspective on Agastya, is focused more or less exclusively on the political uses of Siddha traditions and their medical practices by Tamil nationalists and accordingly does not go into much detail about the Siddhas' cosmological beliefs or yogic practices as informed by Śaiva literature.⁴²⁰ More recently, R. Ezhilraman has produced a relevant thesis on the Siddhas that supplies very useful details about their connection to local temple cultures and also includes numerous images related to individual Siddhas and their rites of worship.⁴²¹ Numerous books published in Tamil also treat on various aspects of the Siddhas such as their yoga, medicine, and songs.⁴²² While outside of Tamil Nadu, scholars have also noted evidence of Siddha presence at Srisailam in Andhra Pradesh.⁴²³ Finally, David White has also treated on the Siddhas in his book on Tantric alchemy.⁴²⁴

Venkatraman divides the Tamil Siddhas into four overarching categories: 1) the Sanmārgasiddhas or “Siddhas on the right path” who followed the *Tirumantiram* and similar works that were adopted into the Śaiva canon;⁴²⁵ 2) the Nānasiddhas or “Siddhas of Gnosis” who considered “the physical body as perishable and the world as unreal”; 3) the Kāyasiddhas or “Siddhas of the Body” who aimed at “physical immortality, perpetuation of youth and acquisition of occult powers”; and 4) individuals whom Zvelebil has termed later

⁴²⁰ Richard S. Weiss, *Recipes for Immortality: Medicine, Religion, and Community in South India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁴²¹ R. Ezhilraman, “Siddha Cult in Tamilnādu: Its History and Historical Continuity” (PhD Thesis, Puducherry, Pondicherry University, 2015).

⁴²² For example, see Yōki Kailaṣnāt, *Cittar kaḷaṅciyam* (Ceṅṅai: Kaṟpakam Puttakālayam, 2017).

⁴²³ For the presence of Siddha iconography at Srisailam see Prabhavati C. Reddy, *Hindu Pilgrimage: Shifting Patterns of Worldview of Srisailam in South India* (New York: Routledge, 2014); and Robert N. Linrothe, ed., *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas* (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2006); see also P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, *Srisailam, Its History and Cult* (Guntur: Lakshmi Mallikarjunna Press, 1985).

⁴²⁴ David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 57–77.

⁴²⁵ For an example of this direction see also Maithili Thayanithy, “The Concept of Living Liberation in the Tirumantiram.”

“Siddha-like” poets who “have been ‘appended’ to the Siddha school by posterior generations, or who called themselves *cittar* (*siddhas*) without properly belonging to the esoteric group itself.”⁴²⁶ While any real distinction between Venkatraman’s first three categories are debatable, Sabhapati Swami and his guru Shivajnana Bodha Yogishwarar do appear to generally fit the fourth category. In other words, they are inheritors of the legacy of the medieval Siddhas while not necessarily being Siddhas themselves, although one of Shivajnana Bodha’s students did have the title Siddha (*cittan*) and the Siddhas (*cittarkaḷ*) are one of the four groups in Sabhapati’s hagiographical accounts who visit Agastya’s hermitage to catch a vision of Agastya (see Chapter One). In any case, Sabhapati Swami’s literature in various places expresses discernible tendencies toward each of the other three groups that Venkatraman outlines and is not easily mapped onto this scheme.

As noted in Chapter One (Section E), T2 records that Sabhapati not only learned yoga but also alchemy and related arts by his guru Shivajnana Bodha, but was instructed to keep these latter practices secret from the public. These arts stem from the teachings of Agastya, and indeed Sabhapati’s claim of being part of the *guru-paramparā* of Agastya himself, who assumes many forms and functions in Tamil literature (see Chapter One for a treatment of the details of the connection to Agastya that he claims). This connection inextricably links him to what are widely considered to be Siddha milieus, even if his literature is ultimately more reflective of a Vedāntic form of Śaiva Rājayoga and regardless of whether he actually practiced any of these techniques and arts apart from yogic meditation. Some aspects of his yogic practice, such as his descriptions of embodied initiations (*dīkṣā*) and sexual rites, do

⁴²⁶ Venkatraman, *A History of the Tamil Siddha Cult*, 8–9.

seem to point to some familiarity with Siddha practices, albeit framed in a more sanitized terminology (see Chapter Four).

B. The Main Features of Sabhapati's Embodied Cosmos

The “Introduction” to CPSPS states the overarching aim of Sabhapati’s philosophical literature, which he saw as a kind of spiritual “science”: “The object of this Philosophy and Science is to show the method by which the human soul is sure to *gain* success in Holding Communion with the Universal Infinite Spirit, and thereby to become the very I. Spirit itself.”⁴²⁷ Indeed, in all his works—both in English and in vernacular languages—Sabhapati’s main intention is to show the “method” of “Holding Communion,” which as I have already stated is his translation for *samādhi* (Mpv1. *camāti*), more literally a state of mental “composition” or “composure.” The method referred to is none other than Sabhapati’s system of the “Royal Yoga for Śiva” (Skt. *śivarājayoga*; Mpv1. *civarājayōkam*), which resonates with but is nevertheless distinct from the term Śivayoga as well as the name of its practitioners or *śivayogīs*, a common epithet of identity among early Vīraśaivas in Kannada milieus.⁴²⁸ While I will analyze the distinguishing features of Sabhapati’s method of Śivarājayoga in Chapter Four, it is important to emphasize at the outset that there is evidence for Śivarājayoga being distinct from Śivayoga (and Pātañjalayoga for that matter) in Tamil-speaking milieus at least as early as the ca. eighteenth-century poem *Cittarkaṇam*, or “The Troops of Siddhas,” composed by the Tamil poet Tāyumāṇavar.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁷ CPSPS, First Book, 29.

⁴²⁸ See Powell, “A Lamp on Śiva’s Yoga.” For another *bhakti* perspective see also Gil Ben-Herut, *Śiva’s Saints: The Origins of Devotion in Kannada according to Harihara’s Ragaḷeḷaḷu* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁴²⁹ See Nā. Katiraivēr Piḷḷai, *Tāyumāṇa cuvāmi pāṭalkaḷ: mūlamum uraiyum* (Ceṇṇai: Cantiyā Patippakam, 2010), 149–63; cf. Steinschneider, “Warring Sects,” 92–122. I am grateful to Srilata Raman for sharing with me this early source for Śivarājayoga that predates Sabhapati’s literature by around a century or more.

There is a broader philosophical postulate undergirding all of this, however, namely the existence of a “Universal Infinite Spirit”—with all of its so-called “faculties” or *tattvas*—from which all things arose and to which one can return and eventually become. The assertion of an Infinite Spirit from which faculties “emanate” or “descend” (to use Sabhapati’s own words) pervades Sabhapati’s literature and also informs his antagonism for Atheism, which to him is a “non-religion” that only recognizes the final faculty, that of elemental matter, as true (see Section D.8 below). In this section I will describe the philosophical and cosmological presuppositions as expressed in Sabhapati’s literature and connect it—insofar as possible—so similar assertions in other related currents of Indian and particularly Śaiva philosophy.

1. Śiva as the Infinite Spirit, Brahman, or Sarveśvara

The phrase “Infinite Spirit” (sometimes abbreviated “I. Spirit”), while it may appear eerily Hegelian,⁴³⁰ is Sabhapati’s English translation of choice for the Brahman of the Upaniṣads. This is made clear in CPSPS, in which footnotes are given for many English technical terms; for “Infinite Spirit” we most often find *pirmmam* noted in the Tamil script and *brahma* in Devanagari. However, the first invocation of “Infinite Spirit” in CPSPS is noted as *civamayappirmō* in Tamil and *śivamayabrahmo* in Devanagari, which could be literally rendered as the “Brahman which consists of Śiva.”⁴³¹ I do not think this is an accidental or mere passing gesture, as a consideration of Sabhapati Swami’s Tamil works

⁴³⁰ Although there is no concrete evidence, its use with “Finite Spirit” appears to have been a conscious (or unconscious) translation choice by Sabhapati’s editor Shrish Chandra Basu, who would have almost certainly been exposed to nineteenth-century translations of Hegel during his time at Government College Lahore and in the student circles he frequented. Swami Vivekananda would have also likely been exposed to Hegel during his education at St. John’s in Delhi, pointing to a wider philosophical interface among elite colonial-era authors of yoga; cf. White, David Gordon White, *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali*, 116–43.

⁴³¹ CPSPS, First Book, i.

reveals that Mahādeva (“The Great God”) or Śīva as Sarveśvara (“The Lord of All”) are used synonymously in those instances where “Infinite Spirit” or “Brahman” are mentioned in his English works. For example, in the English accounts of Sabhapati’s dream at the age of twenty-nine or thirty that led to his quest to find Agastya’s hermitage (see Chapter One, Section E), it is the “Infinite Spirit” that appears to him. In T1 of MCVTS, however, we find Sarveśvara (variously rendered *carvasvarar*, *carvēsvarar*, or *carvēcuvarar* in the Tamil script). While if left unclarified this compound could be a generic epithet for Brahman, a few sentences earlier we find the terminology clarified: Sabhapati’s severe devotion (Mpv1. *akōra tapam*) is to the “Lord of the Dance (Naṭēcar) as the Lord of All” (*carvēsvararākiya naṭēcar*), who is the presiding deity of Dandeeswarar Vedashreni Temple (Taṇṭīsvarar Vētacirēṇi Kōvil) where Sabhapati was said to remain for three days and nights in continual meditation when he was twenty-nine or thirty years old (see Chapter One, Section D). In other words, here Sarveśvara does not indicate an abstract “Infinite Spirit” but Śīva in his assumed form as the Lord of All. Despite this precedent for Brahman to be equated with Śīva, MCVTS makes it clear that Sabhapati’s philosophy does allow for Vaiṣṇava and Śākta paradigms that can equally lead to the experience of Śīvarājayoga, and it accordingly allows space for alternate cosmologies and provides devotional instructions, mantras, and visualizations for a wide range of deities outside the confines of what is typically considered to be Śaiva. In other words, Sabhapati’s synthesis is not exclusively limited to a Śaiva frame nor requires devotion to Śīva to accomplish; in this his approach is perhaps most similar to the *Tirumantiram*’s allowance for Vaiṣṇava and Śākta cosmological views.⁴³² Finally, some degree of inspiration from a local Tamil form of Śīva cannot be entirely discounted, although

⁴³² Sanderson, “The Śaiva Age,” 286n686.

evidence is lacking. Sarveśvara in Tamil (Carvēcuvarar) is sometimes conflated with Sarpeśvara (Carppēcuvarar, “The Snake Lord”) on account of the similarities in spelling between *pa* and *va* phonemes. The latter is a serpentine deity, a shrine I have personally visited at Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal’s tumulus. He is also depicted in some Śaiva temples in the environs of Chennai that Sabhapati would have undoubtedly known of, such as Marundeeswarar Temple in Thiruvanmiyur, a village adjacent to Velachery.

2. The Cosmogonic Separation of the “Faculties”

Sabhapati’s literature in English (VRY) as well as his trilingual work in English, Tamil, and Sanskrit (CSPS) present a dialogue between the Infinite Spirit (who, as we have seen above, is connected with Śiva’s identification with Brahman) and what he calls in at least one place the “Soul anxious of salvation” (MpvI. *mummukṣujīvātmā*, < Skt. *mumukṣujīvātmā*) and in other instances the “Finite Spirit” (*jīvātmā*). The connection in Sabhapati’s literature between “finite” (here *jīva*, more literally “individual life-form”) and “infinite” (an interpretation of Brahman’s quality as *parama*, or “supreme”) is not accidental, as the Infinite Spirit is not a principle abstracted or separate from the human “body” (MpvI. *tēkam*, < Skt. *deha*), but is in fact intertwined with the body itself along with its mental processes, emotions, and capacity for feeling. This is all explained in the context of “two main branches” of the “Raja Yogā [*sic*] system”: 1) the “knowledge of soul,” predicated upon removing the “doubts of faculties”; and 2) the “method by which the soul is enabled to hold Communion with, and thence become the Infinite Spirit.”⁴³³ In this section I will only describe the salient features of the first “branch” as the second branch will occupy Chapter

⁴³³ CSPS, First Book, 45.

Four given that it consists of the practical aspects of Sabhapati's yoga. It should be kept in mind while considering either branch that both engage the same cosmogonic principles and are intended to describe two motions of the same process, one "descending" toward finite matter and the other "progressing" toward infinite spirit.

Sabhapati's cosmogonic system, like many other systems of Indian philosophy, is predicated on the existence of *tattvas*, which he consistently translates as "faculties."⁴³⁴ The term *tattva* can have a variety of meanings that can be grouped under two semantic "clouds of meaning," so to speak. The first semantic cloud describes a "true or real state," "truth," or "reality" as a more or less abstract conception.⁴³⁵ The second cloud is undoubtedly connected to the first cloud but more specifically refers to a discrete "ground principle" of being (*Grundprinzip* in German),⁴³⁶ of which two common enumerations in Indian philosophy are twenty-five, as derived from Sāṃkhya, and thirty-six, as derived from the Śaivāgamas. Dominic Goodall has noted the following phenomenon of their expansion as it pertains to early Śaiva tantras, which also informs Sabhapati's own integration of the *tattvas* in a different way than what is understood in Sāṃkhya:

The tantras of the Śaiva Siddhānta modified [the structure of the twenty-five *tattvas* of Sāṃkhya] in two ways: they added principles to the top, demonstrating that the Sāṃkhyas had correctly grasped the nature of only the inferior levels of the universe, and they attempted to place worlds inherited from older Śaiva scriptures on the levels of these various principles (*tattva*). The latter change meant that *tattva* in some

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1899), 432

⁴³⁶ Otto Böhtlingk, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*, Dritter Theil (St. Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1882), 3.

contexts approximates to a ‘reality level’ of the universe in which various worlds are placed rather than a constitutive ‘principle’ of the universe.⁴³⁷

I would argue that it is in this same sense of “reality level” that Sabhapati uses the term. For Sabhapati, however, to merely intellectually map these levels of reality as a “cosmography” (*prakriyā*, to use Goodall’s translation) is not enough—one must conquer them as one would conquer a “kingdom,” to use Sabhapati’s own terminology. As Goodall makes clear, this attitude towards conquering the *tattvas* is not unique to Sabhapati but has a long history in Śaiva tantras, being at least as old as the *Mūlasūtra* layer of the ca. fifth- to sixth-century *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* and its notion of “*tattvajaya*, in other words a yogic conquest of the *tattvas* that extends the notion of *bhūtajaya*, ‘conquest of the elements’, that we find in *Yogasūtra* 3.43 to reach well beyond the ontological ladder of the Sāṅkhyas.”⁴³⁸ A similar form of conquest is also found in the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, which was commented upon by the ninth- to tenth-century Kashmiri philosopher Abhinavagupta.⁴³⁹ Indeed, Sabhapati claims that it is necessary to remove “nearly 1,008 doubts” about the *tattvas* “before we obtain the knowledge of Soul and Spirit.”⁴⁴⁰ To remove these doubts he offers three ways to explain these, 1) an “illustration by examples,” 2) a “detailed account of the introduction of the Infinite Spirit into the Finite Spirit,” and 3) the “emancipation of the Finite Spirit from this earthly bondage.”⁴⁴¹ Since these three ways reveal the bulk of Sabhapati’s cosmogonic

⁴³⁷ Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson, eds., “How the Tattvas of Tantric Śaivism Came to Be 36: The Evidence of the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*,” in *Tantric Studies: Fruits of a Franco-German Collaboration on Early Tantra*, Collection Indologie 131 (Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry and École française d’Extrême-Orient, 2016). 77–8.

⁴³⁸ Dominic Goodall, ed., *The Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā: The Earliest Surviving Śaiva Tantra*, Collection Indologie 128 (Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry and École française d’Extrême-Orient, 2015), 74.

⁴³⁹ Somadeva Vasudeva, ed. *The Yoga of Mālinīvijayottaratantra: Chapters 1–4, 7–11, 11–17*, Collection Indologie 97 (Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry and École française d’Extrême-Orient, 2004).

⁴⁴⁰ CPSPS, First Book, 45.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*

and philosophical presuppositions as expressed in his English literature (the Alpha stream), I will here explain them before considering in the subsequent section how they are represented in his vernacular literature (Beta and Gamma streams; see Chapter Two for a consideration of these different streams).

3. “Illustration by Examples”

The first way, the “illustration by examples” (his translation for MpvI. *tiruṣṭāntam*, < Skt. *dr̥ṣṭānta*), is relatively short. These examples are more like analogies, some of which are taken from other Indic texts. The first example is seeing the soul as a reflection of the Infinite Spirit, but that by the “curtain of delusion” one considers oneself to be separate until the curtain is removed. The second example is that of seeing the Finite Spirit as a merely the Infinite Spirit’s reflection in a mirror, without independent existence. The third and fourth analogies are mistaking the Finite Spirit for the Infinite Spirit the way someone would mistake a rope for a snake, or a block of wood for a thief, on a dark night. The fifth analogy is the imagination of one’s “conscious soul” to be separate from the Infinite Spirit as akin to a thirsty traveler thinking a “glittering mirage” in a “vast and sandy desert” to be a “pond of sweet water” on account of “delusion” (MpvI. *māyai*, < Skt. *māyā*). To this analogy the result of removing this delusion is also given: “when he holds deep communion with the [Infinite Spirit], he neither sees his soul nor is conscious of the attributes of the soul, such as intellect, memory, imagination, and ideas of sensation and perception, and finds himself absorbed in the I. Spirit.”⁴⁴² The sixth analogy is seeing the Infinite Spirit as akin to a sun that

⁴⁴² Ibid, 46.

“illuminates every object of this universe as long as it is in the heavens” but with “infinitely more luminous rays.”⁴⁴³

Sabhapati then adds three additional analogical examples, many of which resemble parallel analogies in Advaita Vedānta, to explain how “the pure essence of I. Spirit [Mpv]. *pirammam*, < Skt. *brahman*] becomes so many different objects.” The first additional analogy is seeing the Infinite Spirit as akin to a “brilliantly polished mirror stone [*sphaṭikam*, < Skt. *sphaṭika*, lit. “crystal,” “quartz”] in which many forms, figures, shapes and colours will be seen.” The second additional analogy is seeing the Infinite Spirit as akin to a metal such as gold from which many different ornaments and jewels are made, yet all from the same original metallic substance. The third and final additional analogy is perhaps the most striking, namely that the Infinite Spirit is like someone who constructs a building from an initial idea of it in his mind. Just as the idea of the building is what is transformed into the building, so Sabhapati argues that it is the “idea of separate existence has brought the separate existence into existence.”⁴⁴⁴ This latter category echoes the idealism of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, which was absorbed into Tamil Vīraśaivism as well as Tamil Advaita Vedānta by the seventeenth-century via its Tamil translation.⁴⁴⁵

4. From the Infinite to the Finite (and Back Again)

The second way of removing doubts about the *tattvas* is by understanding the “introduction of the Infinite Spirit into the Finite Spirit,” although Sabhapati in the actual section that describes this way makes an important switch from “Infinite Spirit” to the phrase

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ I am grateful to Srilata Raman for this insight (personal communication 17 July 2020).

“Universal Spirit,” which is marked as a translation of *civamayam* (Mpv1.) and *śivamaya* (Skt.), lit. “that which consists of (or is fully) Śiva.” Sabhapati states that this Universal Spirit “resides in your brain,” which is perhaps a surprisingly modern notion although it must be kept in mind that in subsequent pages it is clear that “brain” is sometimes Sabhapati’s translation of *kapāla*, lit. “skull” or “head” and also is used in the phrase “top of the brain” to describe the *brahmarandha*, or “crevice of Brahman.” However, there is evidence from his descriptions of the bodily attributions of the higher *cakras* as well as his critique on Atheism in Section D.8 that his use of “brain” can also mean the physical brain, not the brain as the organ from which thought originates. Sabhapati further defines this Universal Spirit as the “same Spirit which is everywhere invisible, omnipotent, all-knowing, all-seeing, perfectly pure and the only witness with 4 sorts of Brightness and 16 sorts of Rays,” the terms of which he describes in the pages that follow.

Perhaps most important for the subject of cosmogony, however, is Sabhapati’s division of this original Universal Spirit into two parts, what he terms 1) a Universal Infinite Spirit and 2) a Universal Finite Spirit. The first part, or the Universal Infinite Spirit, is Brahman, which is an “Impersonal God” and “Passive Principle” and does not create or act alone, but only witnesses such activity. The second part, or the Universal Finite Spirit, by contrast, is the “Personal God” and “Active Principle,” and is described as the “Creations and all the Souls of the creation, always acting and creating, preserving and destroying. . . .”⁴⁴⁶ This hierarchical distinction between the passive “Universal Infinite Spirit” and the active “Universal Finite Spirit” resonates with the Śaiva Saiddhāntika distinction between Śiva’s highest form Paramaśiva as “limitless, formless, undifferentiated” and Sadāśiva as the “body

⁴⁴⁶ CPSPS, First Book, 47.

of mantras with which Śiva acts in the world.”⁴⁴⁷ While Sabhapati explicitly takes issue with what he perceives as the dualism of Saiddhāntika doctrine (see Section C below), his cosmology is clearly informed by many of its principles.

⁴⁴⁷ Richard H. Davis, *Ritual in an Oscillating Universe: Worshiping Śiva in Medieval India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 185–86; see also 42–52.

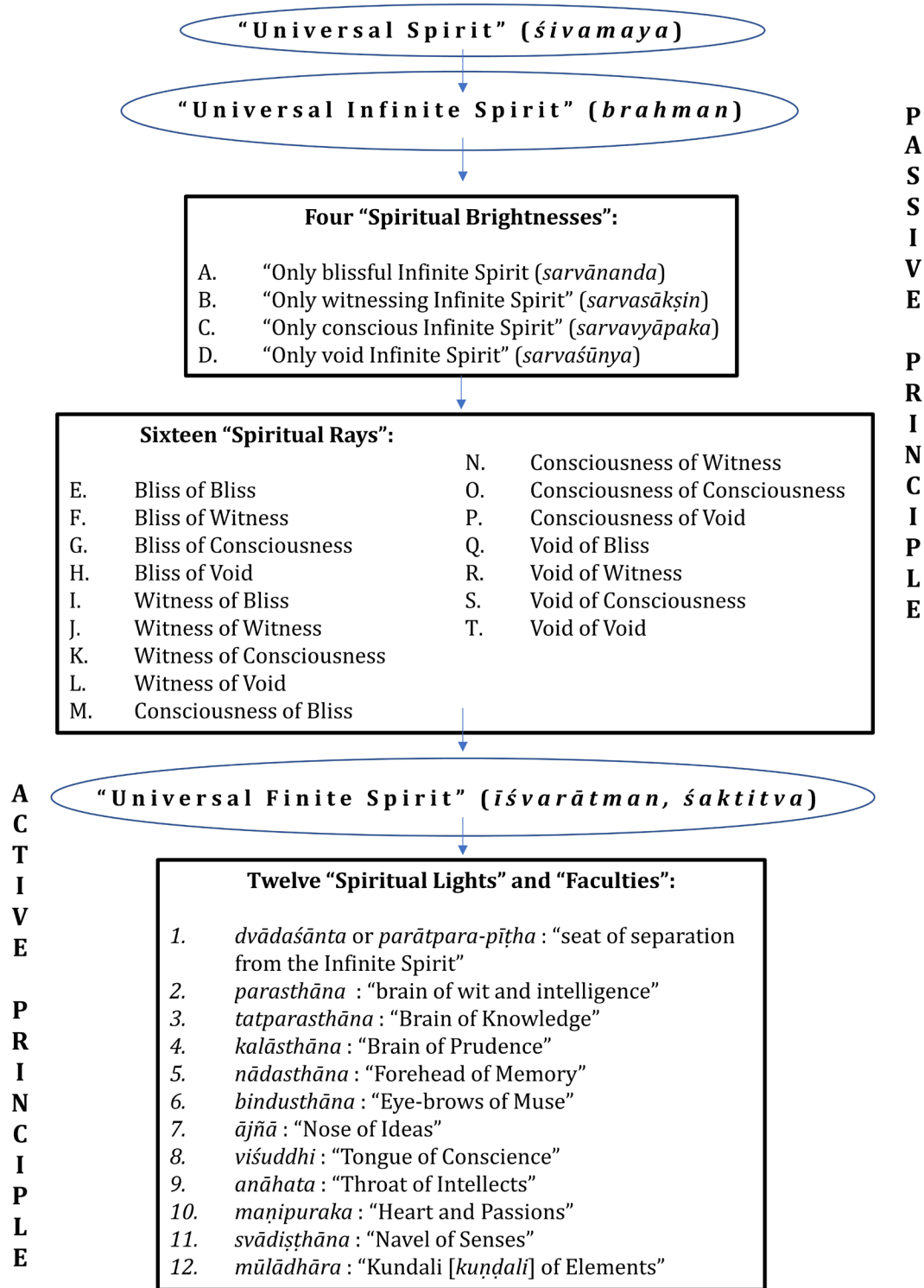


Figure Four. A diagram of the “descent” or “emanations” of the Universal Spirit in the “thirty-two faculties,” as outlined in VRY and CPSPS. The idiosyncratic translations of “Prudence” for *kalā*, “Memory” for *nāda*, and so on are not direct translations but rather an attempt to communicate the embodied characteristics and qualities of each *tattva* or *cakra* in question.

The Universal Infinite Spirit has what Sabhapati calls the “4 sorts of Brightness” or “4 Spiritual Brightnesses” (Mpv. *caturpīrmatāarakamayam*, < Skt. *caturbrahmatāarakamaya*, lit. “that which consists of the four stars of the Brahma”). These are later described, according to Sabhapati’s translation, as the “Infinite Spirit’s Brightness” of:

- 1) “Bliss” (Mpv. *sarvāṇantam*, < Skt. *sarvānanda*)
- 2) “Witness” (Mpv. *carvacākṣi*, < Skt. *sarvasākṣin*)
- 3) “Consciousness” (Mpv. *carvaviyāpakam*, < Skt. *sarvavyāpaka*)
- 4) “Void” (Mpv. *carvacūṅṅiyam*, < Skt. *sarvasūnya*)⁴⁴⁸

While three of the above brightnesses are relatively discernible from the original Sanskrit, “consciousness” for *vyāpaka* is irregular since a more direct translation of *vyāpaka* would be “pervader” or “emanator.” I would argue that this translation, as with some of Sabhapati’s other translations, is based on a secondary quality of *vyāpaka* as perceiving consciousness in all things rather than a translation based on its literal meaning. For example, when describing the “Eye to the Universe” (Skt. *brahmajñānadṛṣṭi*, lit. “sight of the gnosis of Brahman”) as a reward that one can attain through the practice of Śivarājyoga, he writes that the “very sight of that eye as it spreads throughout the Universe and sees everything personally as full of consciousness [Mpv.] *viyāpakamāttiram* [< Skt. *vyāpakamātra*] will be mere all pervading.”⁴⁴⁹ From this it can be inferred that the “Consciousness” of *vyāpaka* is the consciousness that the yogi, as a pervader, perceives with his or her spiritual sight or vision.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 67.

⁴⁴⁹ CPSPS, First Book, 87–88.

⁴⁵⁰ For more on this yogic power of the eye and its perception, see David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 154–61.

These “Brightnesses” are further endowed with the “16 Spiritual Rays” (MpvI. *sōṭasa* *īsvarakalāncam* [sic], < Skt. *ṣoḍaśa īsvarakalāṃśa*, lit. “the sixteen parts of the Lord’s digits”), an enumeration that most likely derives from the concept of the sixteen lunar *kalās* or “digits” in other tantric and alchemical works.⁴⁵¹ These sixteen rays are also present in RYB, but are instead located in the sixteenth *kalā* of the third *tattva* or principle, “*īśvara*” (see Figure Six). Sabhapati visually depicts the “Four Brightnesses” and the “Sixteen Rays” as descending into the head of a meditating yogi (see Figure Five).

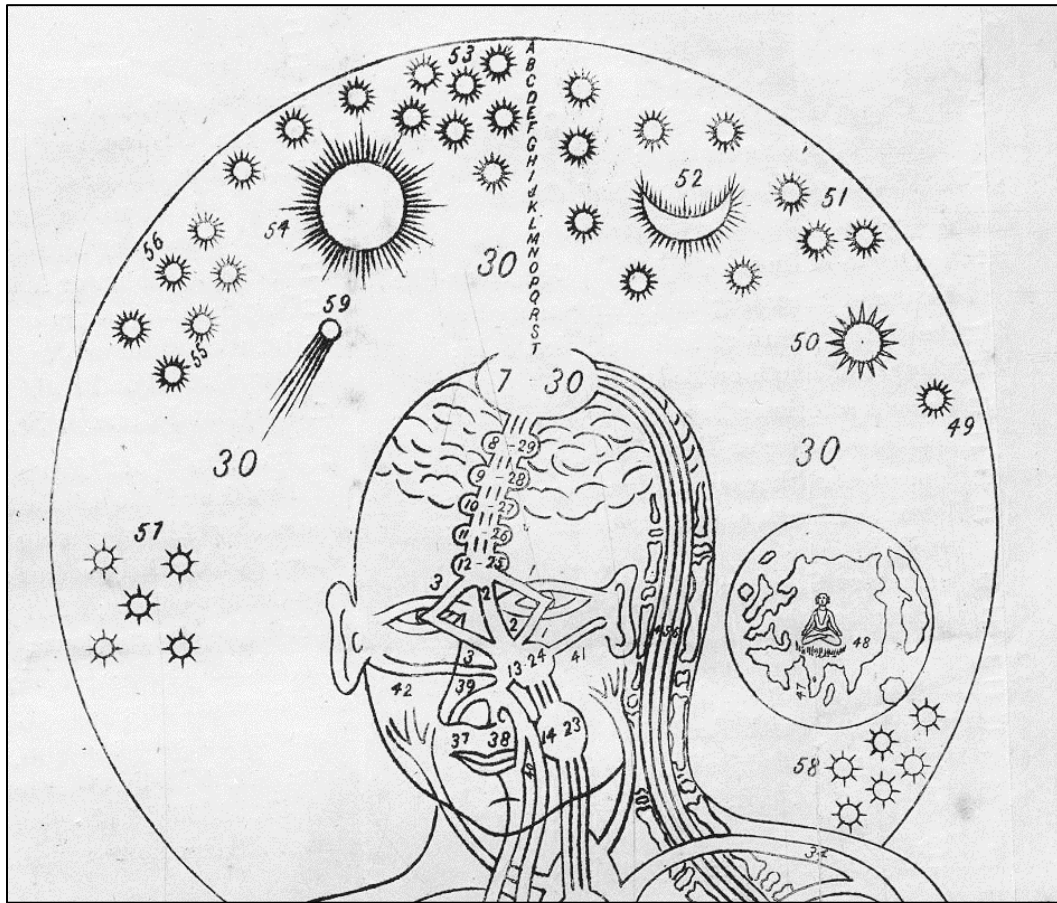


Figure Five. A portion of the first main diagram in the First Book of CPSPS, between page 24 and 25, entitled “The Posture of Brumha Gnyana Siva Raja Yoga Samadhi or Infinite Spiritual Comunion.” The letters (A through T) refer to the “Four Brightnesses” and the “Sixteen Rays,” and the numbers 7 to 12 are the higher six of the twelve “Spiritual Lights” or *cakras* (see Figure Four above).

⁴⁵¹ David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body*, 36–45. See also Manon Hedenborg White, *The Eloquent Blood: The Goddess Babalon and the Construction of Femininities in Western Esotericism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 157–95 for the way *kalās* were interpreted in the occultist Kenneth Grant’s literature.

The Universal Finite Spirit or Active Principle, by contrast, is endowed with “12 Spiritual Lights” (MpvI. *tuṅvātasayāttama corūpam*, < Skt. *dvādaśātmāsvarūpa*, lit. “the inherent form of twelve selves”), a solar number on account of its correspondence to the twelve months in a year. Each of these twelve “Lights” is a Tantric lotus (MpvI. *kamalam*, < Skt. *kamala*, lit. “lotus,” synonymous with the *cakra*), which in Sabhapati’s English works are also called “Kingdoms.” These lotuses are not just isolated *cakras* but are twelve cosmic “faculties” that form the very core of Sabhapati’s system of emanations, which are creative principles that structure the invisible and visible cosmos. Their role in cosmology is also clear in his reliance on them in a philosophical context in his apologetic critique of Atheism (see Section D.8 below).

From the top of the head to the “bottom of the spinal chord [*sic*]” (< Skt. *kuṇḍali*, lit. “that which is coiled”) they are as follows:

1. ***parātpara-pīṭha*** (lit. “place of that which is superior to the best” or “the supreme of the supreme”) or ***dvādaśānta*** (lit. “the end of the twelve”), called “self Consciousness and Wisdom” (< MpvI. *parātparātmakam*, < Skt. *parātparātmaka*)
2. ***parasthāna*** (lit. “place of the supreme”), called the “Brain of wit and intelligence” or the “soul of Wit” (MpvI. *parātmakam*, < Skt. *parātmaka*)
3. ***tatparasthāna*** or ***tatpara-pīṭha*** (lit. “place of the lesser supreme” or “seat of that which follows”), called the “Brain of knowledge” or “Soul of Knowledge” (MpvI. *tatparātmakam*, < Skt. *tatparātmaka*)
4. ***kalāsthāna*** or ***kalādhāra pīṭha*** (lit. “place of the digits” or “seat of the support of the digits”), called the “Brain of Prudence” or “Soul of Prudence” (MpvI. *kalātmakam*, < Skt. *kalātmaka*)
5. ***nādashthāna*** or ***nādashthāra pīṭha*** (lit. “place of the primal sound” or “seat of the support of the primal sound”), called the “Forehead of Memory” or “Soul of Memory” (MpvI. *nāātmakam*, < Skt. *nāātmake*).
6. ***bindusthāna*** or ***bindodhāra pīṭha*** (lit. “place of the primal drop”), called the “Eyebrows of Muse,” the “Soul of Muse” (MpvI. *vintātmakam*, < Skt. *bindvātmaka*)
7. ***ājñā*** (lit. “command,”), called the “nose of ideas,” “Spirit of Ideas and Ambition” (MpvI. *tirimalātmakam*, < Skt. *trimalātmaka*)
8. ***viśuddhi*** (lit. “purification”), called the “tongue of conscience” and “Spirit of Conscience” (MpvI. *tirikuṇātmakam*, < Skt. *triguṇātmaka*)
9. ***anāhata***, called the “throat of intellects” and “Spirit of Intellect” (MpvI. *antakkaraṇātmakam*, < Skt. *antaḥkaraṇātmaka*)

10. *maṇipuraka* (lit. “city of jewels), called the “heart of passions” “Spirit of Passions,” and “Soul of Notion” (Mpv. *irākakōsayavastātmakam*, < Skt. *rāgakośāvasthātmaka*)
11. *svādiṣṭhāna*, called the “navel of senses” and “Spirit of Senses” (Mpv. *intiriyātmakam*, < Skt. *indriyātmaka*)
12. *mūlādhāra* (lit. “root-support”), called the “*kuṇḍali* of elements”⁴⁵² “Spirit of Natures” (Mpv. *pūtātmakam*, < Skt. *bhūtātmakam*)

As is likely immediately evident to any Sanskritist, the names that Sabhapati gives for these *cakras* in English, such as “Spirit of Natures” for *mūlādhāra*, “Spirit of Senses” for *svādiṣṭhāna*, and so on, are not intended to be direct translations of the *cakra*, but are instead functional descriptions in that they either describe a part of the body at which a *cakra* resides or denote its sphere of activity that is to be refuted, negated, and/or “canceled” in yogic meditation (see Chapter Four). This is clear by comparing their names in English to the cosmic function that they correspond to in RYB, Sabhapati’s Hindustani text (see Figure Six), as well as Sabhapati’s Tamil work MCVTS. Additionally, in Sabhapati’s descriptions of these *cakras* he often goes into extended detail about their divisions and subdivisions, such his descriptions of the various parts of each sense-faculty (*śabda*, *sparśa*, *rūpa*, *rasa*, and *gandha*) in his section on the *svādiṣṭhāna* or “Soul of Senses,” which governs the ten *indriyas*.⁴⁵³

It is important to realize that these *cakras* are not only important to yogic practice but are a critical part of Sabhapati’s structure of the cosmos, and each also have what he calls “divine words” or cosmogonic phonemes associated (see Chapter Four). The role of the *cakras* and their phonemes in raising *kuṇḍalinī* has been treated by Padoux, who alluded to

⁴⁵² Sabhapati explains (CSPS, First Book, 126) that “Kundali” (< Skt. *kuṇḍalī*, “coil”) is so-called since it is the place where the subtle *nāḍīs* “join with the lingam and bend downwards to ascend upwards” (see Chapter Four). CSPS in at least one other place (First Book, 75) curiously refers to this location as the “bottom and centre of the Spiritual Organ of throwing Urine.”

⁴⁵³ VRY, 15–16; CSPS, First Book, 57–61.

their role in “cosmic resorption,” which is in the “reversed order” to “cosmic manifestation.”⁴⁵⁴ In Sabhapati’s literature both directions of this downward “manifestation” and upward “resorption” are made explicit, and in a few cases even referred to in adjacent sections in which teachings on manifestation immediately precede his yogic teachings on resorption.⁴⁵⁵ These instructions are predicated on a claim that the manifestation of these *cakras* causes “delusion” (< Skt. *bhrānti*) in that it veils the Infinite Spirit above from the Finite Spirit below, and as a result this delusion that can only be lifted through yogic practice that cancels each of them in succession.

⁴⁵⁴ André Padoux, *Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras*, The SUNY Series in the Shaiva Traditions of Kashmir (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 135n38.

⁴⁵⁵ For example, see CPSPS, First Book, 51–66 for “manifestation” and First Book, 75–80 for “resorption” along the same system of *cakras*. The second and third chapters of RYB also deal with manifestation (Hi. *parabrahm, māyā, tatva, ādi kram vicār*) and resorption (Hi. *tatvalay*), respectively, along this same model.

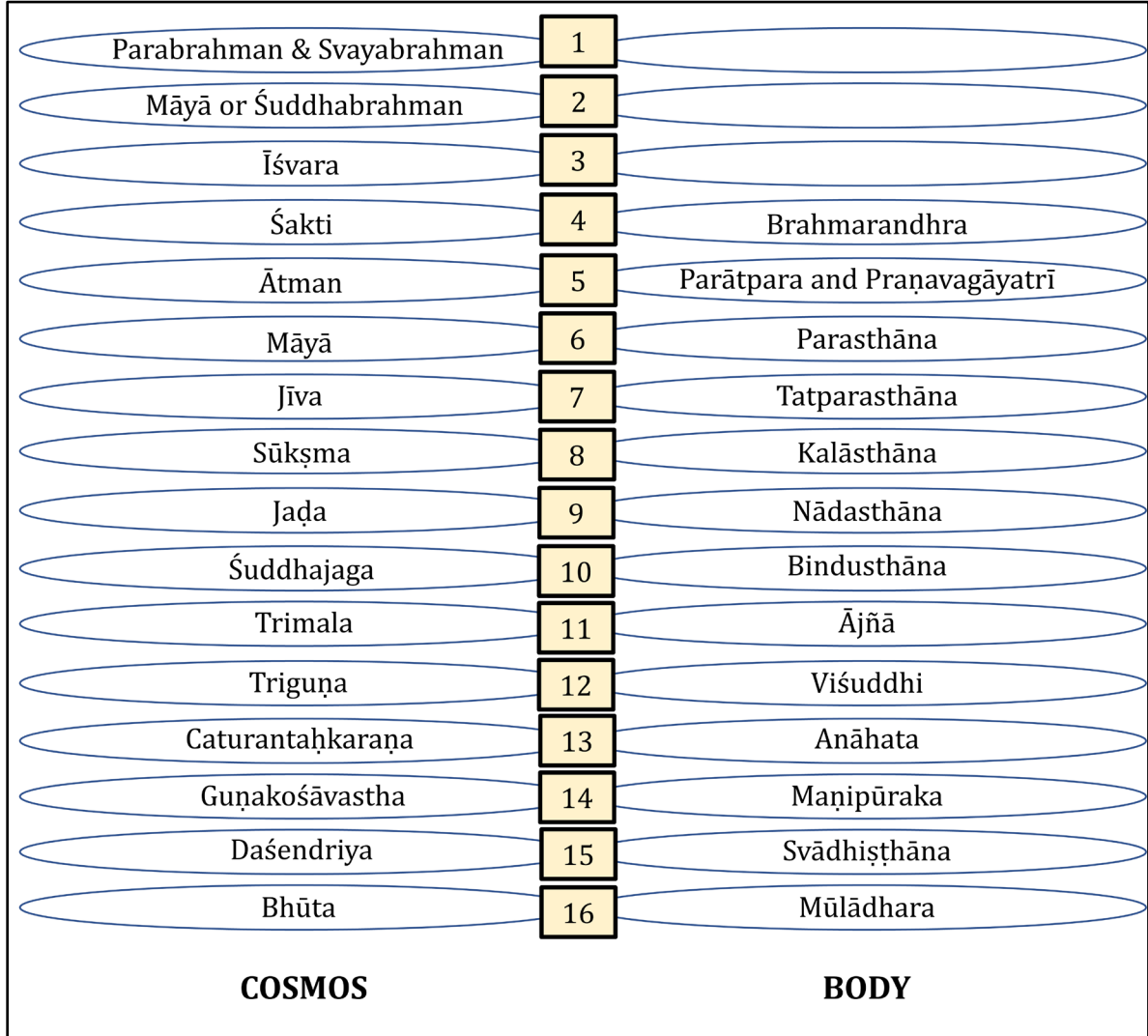


Figure Six. A diagram of the sixteen *tattvas* and their corresponding *cakras* outlined in RYB, much of which corresponds to the material given in VRY, CPSPS, and BRY.

Sabhapati’s cosmological system itself continued to evolve and expand over his publications, while his general framework based on *tattvas* and their bodily correlations remained constant. Both CPSPS and the Tamil work CTCSPV (1889), for example, also engage an alternate cosmological discourse of the practical identification with “seven Spiritual states” or *svarūpas* through meditation, but these are also explicitly linked to the earlier

framework of *tattvas* and *cakras* at various points (see Chapter Four). CPSPS and CTCSPV also provide numerous other diagrams and explanations of deities, worlds, temples, and other concepts that inhabit his yogic cosmos, but the principle framework is of the *tattvas* as *cakras* and the higher principles above the head.

By 1913, which saw the publication of MCVTS, Sabhapati would refer to as many as fourteen sites instead of the original twelve cited in his earlier works. While he retains a description of six lower and six higher *cakras*, he adds two additional parts of the “thousand-petaled lotus” that he calls *piraṇavastāṇam* (< Skt. *praṇavasthāna*, “place of the syllable Om”) and *pirammakñāṇātmakastāṇam* (< Skt. *brahmajñānātmakasthāna*, “place of the soul of the gnosis of Brahman), both of which are located between *kalāsthāna* and *nādashāna*.⁴⁵⁶ In MCVTS Sabhapati also revised his earlier bodily assignment of *maṇipūṛaka* to the heart and *anāhata* to the throat, which was somewhat irregular when compared to many other Tantras, including the *Śivasamhitā*. Sabhapati instead re-assigned *anāhata* to the heart, and make some other changes (see Figure Seven below for a comparison of these attributions).

⁴⁵⁶ MCVTS, 73.

<i>cakra</i> (or related site)	Bodily Location (VRY/CSPS)	Bodily Location (RYB)	Bodily Location (MCVTS)
<i>parātpara</i>	“Centre of the Skull”	<i>dvādaśānta</i> (“end of the twelve”) [bodily location not stated]	<i>pirammarantira ātistāṇam</i> (“beginning of the fontanelle”)
<i>parasthāna</i>	“Top of the Brain”	<i>mastakādi</i> (“beginning of the brain”)	<i>pirammarantira mattiyastāṇam</i> (“middle of the fontanelle”)
<i>tatparasthāna</i>	“Middle of the Brain”	<i>mastakamadhya</i> (“middle of the brain”)	<i>pirammarantira yantastāṇam</i> (“end of the fontanelle”)
<i>kalāsthāna</i>	“Bottom of the Brain”	<i>mastakānta</i> (“end of the brain”)	<i>sahasttirakamala ātistāṇam</i> (“beginning of the thousand-petaled lotus”)
[<i>praṇavasthāna</i>]	[not present]	[not present] ⁴⁵⁷	<i>sahasttirakamala mattiyastāṇam</i> (“middle of the thousand-petaled lotus”)
[<i>brahmajñānātmakasthāna</i>]	[not present]	[not present]	<i>sahasttirakamala yantastāṇam</i> (“end of the thousand-petaled lotus”)
<i>nādashthāna</i>	“Centre of the Forehead”	<i>lalāṭamadhya</i> (“middle of the forehead”)	<i>lalāṭa mattiyastāṇam</i> (“middle of the forehead”)
<i>bindusthāna</i>	“Centre between the two Eyebrows”	<i>bhrumadhya</i> (“middle of the brow”)	<i>puruvamattiyam</i> (“middle of the brow”)
<i>ājñā</i>	“Tip of the Nose”	[bodily location not stated; shown at the nose on Diagram 3]	<i>nācīkārantiram</i> (“the nostrils of the nose”)
<i>viśuddhi</i>	“Centre of the Tongue”	[bodily location not stated; shown at the throat on Diagram 3]	<i>kaṇṭham</i> (“throat”)
<i>anāhata</i>	“Centre of the Throat”	[bodily location not stated; shown at the heart on Diagram 3]	<i>hirutayam</i> (“heart”)
<i>maṇipuraka</i>	“Centre of the Heart”	[bodily location not stated; shown at the solar plexus on Diagram 3]	<i>unti</i> (“belly” or “navel”) ⁴⁵⁸
<i>svādiṣṭhāna</i>	the “Navel”	[bodily location not stated; shown at the navel on Diagram 3]	<i>nāpi</i> (“navel”)
<i>mūlādhāra</i>	<i>kuṇḍali</i> (five inches below navel)	<i>kuṇḍalishān</i> (“place of the <i>kuṇḍali</i>)	<i>kuṇḍali</i>

Figure Seven. A comparison of the *cakras* and assignment to places in the body from VRY (1880), CPSPS (1884/1890), RYB (1892), and MCVTS (1913); CTCSPV has been omitted since it depicts these *cakras* in diagram-form but does not present as clear an arrangement as in Sabhapati’s other works.

⁴⁵⁷ RYB refer to what he calls *praṇavagāyatrī*, but this is part of *parātpara* and not an independent extension of the *cakras*.

⁴⁵⁸ While the Tamil word *unti*, like *nāpi* (< Skt. *nābhi*), could be translated as “navel.”

Sabhapati’s cosmological system includes thirty-two *tattvas* in all in VRY, BRY, and CPSPS (four “Brightnesses,” sixteen “Spiritual Rays,” and twelve “Spiritual Lights” or “Faculties”; see Figure Four) and sixteen *tattvas* in RYB (Parabrahman/Svayabrahman, Māyā/Śuddhabrahman, Īśvara, Śakti, followed by the twelve “Spiritual Lights” using slightly different terminology; see Figure Five).⁴⁵⁹ According to Sabhapati, the *tattvas* gradually “descend” or “emanate” from the Infinite Spirit in the context of an embodied yogic physiology that is connected by what Sabhapati idiosyncratically translates as “pipes” or “organs” (MpvI. *vāci*, < Skt. *vāśi*, used synonymously with *nāḍī*, “stream” or “channel”), such as what he calls the “Becoming Spiritual Organ” (MpvI. *sūṣumṇaivāci*, < Skt. *sūṣumnāvāśi*, lit. “channel of Suṣumnā”). The agent that moves through these “pipes” is noted as *jñānākāśa* or *prāṇākāśa*, which plays a role in the cancellation of each *cakra* (see Chapter Four). This alternative cosmological system of thirty-two *tattvas* incorporates and adapts elements from other systems of *tattvas* as well as Tantric notions of subtle physiology. To facilitate an apprehension of its unique qualities I will briefly enumerate the more standard systems before describing how they contrast with Sabhapati’s own system.

The most well-known enumeration of *tattvas* is the system of classical Sāṃkhya as exemplified by the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, a work of seventy-three verses (called *kārikās* or “concise statements”) which we know was composed no later than the sixth century CE on account of a translation into Chinese.⁴⁶⁰ In this work twenty-five *tattvas* are enumerated as follows:

⁴⁵⁹ RYB, 21–33. The sixteen “rays” are part of the sixteenth digit of the third or Īśvara *tattva*.

⁴⁶⁰ Larson, *Classical Sāṃkhya*, 4.

1. *puruṣa* “consciousness”
2. *prakṛti* “primal nature or materiality”
3. *buddhi* “intellect or will”
4. *ahaṃkāra* “ego”
5. *manas* “mind”
buddhīndriyas “sense-capacities”
6. *śrotra* “hearing”
7. *tvac* “feeling”
8. *cakṣus* “seeing”
9. *rasana* “tasting”
10. *ghrāṇa* “smelling”
karmendriyas “action-capacities”
11. *vāc* “speaking”
12. *pāṇī* “grasping” / “apprehending”
13. *pāda* “walking” / “motion”
14. *pāyu* “excreting”
15. *upastha* “generating”
tanmātras “subtle elements”
16. *śabda* “sound”
17. *sparśa* “touch”
18. *rūpa* “form”
19. *rasa* “taste”
20. *gandha* “smell”
mahābhūtas “gross elements”
21. *ākāśa* “space” or “ether”
22. *vāyu* “wind”
23. *agni* “fire”
24. *ap* “water”
25. *pṛthivī* “earth”⁴⁶¹

In the classical system the goal of *puruṣa* is isolation (*kaivalya*) from *prakṛti* and the generation of the subsequent *tattvas* that comprise mental and sensible (un)reality, which on the surface ⁴⁶² The sets of *indriyas*, subtle elements, and gross elements that make up this “dance” of reality are further correlated as systems of five (i.e. *vāc* is linked to *śabda* and *ākāśa*, and so on). Sabhapati was aware of these lower *tattvas* and their correlations and

⁴⁶¹ The translations follow those given in Larson, *Classical Sāṃkhya*, 236; Gerald James Larson and Ram Shankar Bhattacharya, eds., “Philosophy of Sāṃkhya,” in *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), 49. See those sources for more detailed charts and analysis of these *tattvas* and their relationships.

⁴⁶² *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 78; see Larson, *Classical Sāṃkhya*, 275.

describes them in his literature, although they are not independent *tattvas* but are subordinated into his larger system of thirty-two *tattvas* as mapped on to the physiology of the subtle or yogic body.⁴⁶³

Sabhapati's systems also contrast with the more typical Śaiva enumeration of thirty-six, which became canonical in Śaiva tantras and as was also reflected in the *Tirumantiram*,⁴⁶⁴ although this latter text does refer to multiple sets of possible enumerations of the *tattvas*. Authors of early Śaiva tantras gradually, and with some variation, added eleven additional principles to the twenty-five *tattvas* known to Sāṃkhya; these were as follows: 1) Śiva, 2) Śiva's power or *śakti*, 3) Sadāśiva, 4) Īśvara, 5) (higher) *vidyā*, 6) *māyā*, 7) *kalā*, 8) (lower) *vidyā*, 9) *rāga*, 10) *kāla*, and 11) *niyati*.⁴⁶⁵ Numbers seven through eleven (*kalā*, *vidyā*, *rāga*, *kāla*, and *niyati*) came to be known as the five “jackets,” “cuirasses,” or “sheaths” (Skt. *kañcukas*), which separate the pure/transcendent and impure/manifest levels of being.⁴⁶⁶

Another important feature of Sabhapati's system(s) is that they map many but not all of the Sāṃkhyan and/or Śaiva *tattvas* onto the lower six faculties or *cakras* of what he terms the “Universal Finite Spirit.”⁴⁶⁷ Sabhapati's descriptions of Śivarājayoga accordingly have much in common with descriptions of other kinds of “tantric yoga” as framed according to

⁴⁶³ See VRY, 10–19.

⁴⁶⁴ See Tirumular, *Tirumantiram: A Tamil Scriptural Classic*, 411 (verse 2656); Tirumūlar, *Tirumūlar Tirumantiram: mūlamum - viḷakka uraiyum*, 1184 (verse 2656).

⁴⁶⁵ Goodall, “How the Tattvas,” 78. For their embodiment in some Śaiva traditions see also Davis, *Ritual in an Oscillating Universe*, 44–45; 52–53.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid. The chapter that Goodall cites is Raffaele Torella, “The Kañcukas in the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava Tantric Tradition: A Few Considerations between Theology and Grammar,” in *Studies in Hinduism II: Miscellanea to the Phenomenon of Tantras*, ed. Gerhard Oberhammer (Wien: Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998), 55–86.

⁴⁶⁷ See, however, Figures Nine and Ten below for an alternative way these *tattvas* are expressed in his Tamil work CTCSPV.

contemporary scholarly usage.⁴⁶⁸ A characteristic feature of tantric yoga in this context is the cultivation of—and in Sabhapati’s case, subsequent cancellation of—a “subtle body” or “yogic body.” These latter phrases are both common contemporary translations of *liṅgaśarīra* (lit. “mark[ed] body”) or *sūkṣmaśarīra* (“subtle body”), both terms of which were employed by Sabhapati in his literature and diagrams (see Chapter Four). The concept of the subtle body in Hinduism has roots in Upaniṣads like the *Bṛhaddāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* and the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, early Tantras like the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and *Sārdhatrisatikālottara*, medieval Tantric and yogic works like the *Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati*, *Netratrantra*, *Kubjikāmatatantra*, *Yogabīja*, *Śivasamhitā*, *Goraḥṣaśataka*, the Tamil *Tirumantiram*, and countless other Sanskrit and vernacular texts throughout South Asia.⁴⁶⁹

By the nineteenth century, however, descriptions of tantric yoga usually were standardized or simplified to include “wheels” or *cakras*, three principal “channels” or *nāḍīs* (*suṣumṇā*, *iḍā*, and *piṅgalā*), and the “power of she who is coiled” or *kuṇḍalinīśakti*.⁴⁷⁰ The Arthur Avalon collaboration between the Kolkata-based judge John Woodroffe and Indian scholars is perhaps the most well-known mediator of this popular standardization, which saw the model of “6+1” *cakras* presented in the *Kubjikāmatatantra* and Woodroffe’s much later classic *The Serpent Power* (itself a translation of *Ṣaṭcakraṇirūpaṇa*, also of relatively late

⁴⁶⁸ See, for example, the use of “tantric yoga” as a category of yoga in Mallinson and Singleton, *Yoga Body*, xvii–xx. While not entirely satisfactory, a similar phrase has been used to describe Sabhapati’s yoga since at least the 1970s, when a reprint of his work described his yoga as “Tantra Yoga” in the title: Maahatma Giana Guroo Yogi Sabhapaty Swami, *Vedantic Raj Yoga: Ancient Tantra Yoga of Rishies* (New Delhi: Pankaj Publications, 1977). This descriptor “Tantra Yoga” to my knowledge is not used in any of Sabhapati’s works published during his lifetime.

⁴⁶⁹ Mallinson and Singleton, *Yoga Body*, 171–227; White, *Kiss of the Yoginī*, 177–87;

⁴⁷⁰ For *kuṇḍalinī* in a Trika Śaiva perspective, see Lilian Silburn, *La Kuṇḍalinī, ou, L’énergie des profondeurs: étude d’ensemble d’après les textes du Śivaïsme non dualiste du Kaśmir* (Paris: Deux océans, 1983) or its English translation.

date) become the most readily recognizable by the public at large.⁴⁷¹ This enumeration of *cakras*, which correlates with descriptions given in the *Śivasamhitā* as well as Swami Vivekananda's lectures on *Rājayoga*, is typically given as follows:

1. *mūlādhāra* “root support” at the perineum
2. *svādhiṣṭhāna* “self-sovereignty” at the genitals
3. *maṇipura* (or *maṇipuraka*) “city of jewels” at the navel
4. *anāhata* “unstruck” at the heart
5. *viśuddhi* “complete purification” in the throat's region
6. *ājñā* “command” between the eyes
7. *sahasrāra* “thousand-fold” atop the head.⁴⁷²

As I will demonstrate in Chapter Four, Sabhapati's own system of “12 + 4” or sixteen *cakras*, which he usually calls lotuses (Mpv1. *kamalam*, < Skt. *kamala*), differs from this list in some respects while maintaining some of the names and characteristics of the lower six *cakras* above. Some of the higher eleven Śaiva *tattvas* additionally appear to be mapped onto Sabhapati's higher six faculties or *cakras*, such as *rāga* and *kalā*, but somewhat irregularly.

I would argue that the omission or subsummation of certain *tattvas* in Sabhapati's case (e.g. *sadāśiva*, *vidyā*, and *niyati*) reflects additional shifts and transformations of the Śaiva *tattvas* as they gradually departed the world of formal Sanskrit texts and entered vernacular yogic milieus, not only in Sabhapati's time but also in preceding centuries. Varying arrangements of *tattvas* were known to have circulated in premodern Tamil Vīraśaiva milieus, and these lists sometimes differed from formulations of the *tattvas* in other traditions of Vedānta and Śaiva Siddhānta.⁴⁷³ For example, Steinschneider has noted the presence of several additional stages in the ca. fifteenth-century text *Oliviloṭukkam* of Kaṇṇṭaiya Vaḷḷal through which the “soul comes to shed its ego-consciousness and ‘become

⁴⁷¹ Mallinson and Singleton, *Roots of Yoga*, 175–180; John Woodroffe, *The Serpent Power: Being the Shat-Chakra-Nirupana and Paduka-Panchaka: Two Works on Tantrik Yoga* (London: Luzac, 1919).

⁴⁷² Mallinson and Singleton, *Roots of Yoga*, 176–77.

⁴⁷³ Srilata Raman, personal correspondence (17 July, 2020).

the godhead’ (*civam āy*).”⁴⁷⁴ Several of these stages bear direct resonance to Sabhapati’s own formulation of *tattvas*, such as “seeing *parai*” (*parai taricaṇam*), “the state beyond bliss” (*āṇantātītam*), and “annihilation of the ego-consciousness” (*tarpōta oḷivu*).⁴⁷⁵ Steinschneider further notes that these stages resemble another “better-known list of soteriological stages known in Tamil as the ‘ten acts’ (*taca kāriyam*, Skt. *daśakārya*),” which were elaborated in the ca. fourteenth-century *Uṇmainerivilakkam* attributed to Umāpati Civācāriyar or Cīkālī Tattuvanātar and described elsewhere in Tamil Śaiva literature.⁴⁷⁶ Related stages were described in Cīkālī Cirrampalanāṭikaḷ’s *Tukaḷarupōtam*, which included a verse on *parai yōkam* “yoga for the supreme.” The cosmological importance placed on *parai* (< Skt. *parā*) in these texts resonates with Sabhapati’s own tripartite division of *parā* “supreme” in his elaboration of Śivarājyoga (see Figure Seven above, Section C below, and Chapter Four), which itself appears genealogically linked to the triad of goddesses (Parāparā, Parā, and Aparā) in the Trika Śaivism of Kashmir.⁴⁷⁷

Such innovations on these *tattvas*, understood by yogis as spiritual stages, were still happening in Sabhapati’s own lifetime; there is evidence that his Vīraśaiva guru Vedashreni

⁴⁷⁴ Eric Steinschneider, “Subversion, Authenticity, and Religious Creativity in Late-Medieval South India: Kaṇṇuṭaiya Vaḷḷal’s Oḷiviloṭukkam,” *Journal of Hindu Studies* 10, no. 2 (August 2017): 253.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 268–69n23.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid. These ten acts are *tattuva rūpam* (< Skt. *tattvarūpa* “form of the principles”), *tattuva taricaṇam* (< Skt. *tattvadarśana*, “vision of the principles”), *tattuva cutti* (< Skt. *tattvaśuddhi*, “purification of the principles”), *āṇma rūpam* (< Skt. *ātmarūpa*, “form of the self”), *āṇma taricaṇam* (< Skt. *ātmaradarśana*, “vision of the self”), *āṇma cutti* (< Skt. *ātmaśuddhi*, “purification of the self”), *civa rūpam* (< Skt. *śivarūpa*, “form of the godhead”), *civa taricaṇam* (< Skt. *śivadarśana*, “vision of the godhead”), *civa yōkam* (< Skt. *śivayoga*, “union with the godhead”), and *civa pōkam* (< Skt. *śivabhoga*, “enjoyment of the godhead”).

⁴⁷⁷ For these see Alexis Sanderson, “Mandala and Āgamic Identity in the Trika of Kashmir,” in *Mantras et diagrammes rituelles dans l’Hindouisme*, ed. Andre Padoux (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986), 169–214. As indicated above, the Tamil *parai* is a phonetic transformation of Parā, the principle goddess of the Trika, for which consult early Trika scriptures from the Siddhayogeśvarīmata onward through Trika/Pratyabhijñā literature in Kashmir. For an analysis of the historical contexts in which Kashmiri forms of Śaivism had a major influence on South India in the medieval period, see Whitney Cox, “Making a Tantra in Medieval South India: The Mahārthamañjarī and the Textual Culture of Cōḷa Cidambaram: Volume I” (Chicago, The University of Chicago, 2006), 14–17 and throughout.

Chidambara Swamigal engaged the *tanmātras*, or so-called “subtle elements,” and these Sāṃkhyan principles are then further reinterpreted and elaborated upon in Sabhapati Swami’s own work.⁴⁷⁸ At the present time of writing, such innovations in Śaiva yogic cosmology between the *Tirumantiram* of the ca. twelfth century, these premodern Tamil Śaiva texts in subsequent centuries, and Sabhapati’s late nineteenth-century literature still remain largely uncharted by scholars. There could be other texts, including the writings of Vīraśaivas or the extant songs of the Tamil Siddhas, which would show similar idiosyncrasies to Sabhapati’s own integration of the Sāṃkhyan and Śaiva *tattvas* into the Tantric *cakras* with their own subtle physiology and more precisely show their development.⁴⁷⁹

Sabhapati does not interpret these *cakras* as physical sites in the body—with the possible exception of *mūlādhāra*, which presides over the material elements—but rather these are part of the *liṅgaśarīra* (lit. “mark[ed] body”) or the *sūkṣmaśarīra* (translated by him as “sensual and mental body,” lit. “subtle body”), both of which are used synonymously. He also alludes to the attainment of a “Conscious and Finite Spiritual body” (*kāraṇaśarīra*) and an “Infinite Spiritual body” (*mahākāraṇaśarīra*), both of which appear to be superior to the *liṅgaśarīra* or *sūkṣmaśarīra*.⁴⁸⁰ In his main diagram accompanying VRY, the sensual and mental body is contrasted with the *sthūlaśarīra* (translated by Sabhapati as the “physical body, lit. “gross body”), from which the *liṅgaśarīra* or *sūkṣmaśarīra* arises through the

⁴⁷⁸ See Vētacirēṇi Citampara Cuvāmikaḷ, *Upatēcavuṇṇimaiyum Upatēcavuṇṇmaikkaṭṭaḷaiyum Tōttiramālaiyum Aṭaṅkiyirukkiṇratu*, ed. Tirumayilai Vaitiliṅkatēcīkar (Cēṇṇai: Cakalalālānilaiyaccukkūṭam, 1881), 52–3. For Sabhapati’s engagement see CPSPS, First Book, 61–66.

⁴⁷⁹ According to Srilata Raman (personal correspondence, 17 July 2020), Sabhapati Swami’s childhood friend and contemporary Chidambaram Ramalinga Swamigal also experimented with the levels of the *tattvas* so as to “create a Śaivite cosmogony which would supersede both that of the Tamil Śaivasiddhānta as well as that of the Vīraśaiva, placing his above both of the others.”

⁴⁸⁰ CPSPS, Second Book, 232.

practice of Śivarājayoga. The “mark” in the Sanskrit compound *liṅgaśarīra* refers to the marker of a person’s individuality in transmigration, a meaning that is certainly salient to Sabhapati’s literature given his attention to transmigration (see Section B.5 below).

Given that some of Sabhapati’s diagrams explicitly map the body onto Śiva’s *liṅga*, it is tempting to assume that Sabhapati also interpreted the compound *liṅgaśarīra* somewhat idiosyncratically as the body of Śiva’s *liṅga*, but I have found no evidence for this and it would be highly irregular. However, there is evidence that Sabhapati did allow for the yogi’s body to potentially assume the shape of *liṅgasvarūpa*, or the “inherent form of the *liṅga*,” during his prescribed meditations on what he idiosyncratically translates as the “shapes of God.”⁴⁸¹ The latter idea is especially prominent in Tamil Siddha cosmology, as reflected both in visual art as well as the *Tirumantiram*, where this notion is explicitly expressed in the following verse (v. 1726): *māṇṭar ākkai vaṭivu civaliṅgam*, “The human body is in the shape of Śiva’s phallus.”⁴⁸² It is therefore most likely that his diagrams depicting the body of the *yogī* in a similar shape as Śiva’s *liṅga* are intended to depict a meditational assumption of the *liṅgasvarūpa* and not the *liṅgaśarīra* as the body that transmigrates.

Finally, it must be mentioned that the Universal Spirit’s division into a cosmogonic pair (Universal Infinite Spirit and Universal Finite Spirit) may seem semantic, but it masks a critical point. We have already seen that the Universal Infinite Spirit is essentially another name for Śiva operating in his passive capacity as Brahman. However, Sabhapati’s division of this Universal Spirit into “active” and “passive” roles indicates one of two probable

⁴⁸¹ CPSPS, Second Book, 326. Sabhapati calls this the “Meditation of the Universal Self-Infinite Spiritual state or Shiva Linga Swarūp [*śivaliṅgasvarūpa*] (Mpv1. *pahirpāva antarpāva civaliṅka pahirpūjā antarpūjā*, < Skt. *bahirabhāva antarabhāva śivaliṅga bahirapūjā antarpūjā*, lit. [meditation on] the internal and external state and internal and external worship of the *liṅga*). The word “shapes” appears to be Sabhapati’s (or his editor’s) eclectic translation of *svarūpa*.

⁴⁸² Tirumūlar, *The Tirumandiram*, 1895–97. Tirumūlar, *Tirumūlar Tirumantiram: mūlamum - viḷakka uraiyum*, 746; Tirumūlar, *Tirumantiram: A Tamil scriptural Classic*, 270–71.

options: 1) that the Universal Finite Spirit could also be related to the Śakti or active feminine principle of creation, as made more explicit in other texts of Tantric philosophy that describe a kind of interplay (*līlā*) between Śiva and his Śakti as the source of the cosmos; or 2) that these two roles are part of Śiva’s own dual nature. As Padoux has pointed out, it is the first idea that is salient in Kashmir nondual Śaivism, where “Śiva assumes two aspects,” the first being an “utterly transcendent principle” and the second, or the Śakti, being the “source of the entire manifestation” and the “Word aspect of the primary principle.”⁴⁸³ This is corroborated by Sabhapati’s citation of the Indic terms from which he arrives at the interpretive translation “Active Principle,” which is described as not only *īśvarattuvam* (< Skt. *īśvaratva*, lit. “lordship”) but also *saktittuvam* (< Skt. *śaktitva*, “a state of power” or more colloquially “Śakti-ness”). Furthermore, the idea of a division of the ultimate Brahman into a Paraśiva and his *śakti* or *parai* (< Skt. *parā*, see above) is common to the Pratyabhijñā school as well as to Tamil Vīraśaivism, which is possibly the source of Sabhapati’s own cosmological division here.⁴⁸⁴

Other parts of his literature also variously reflect a division into Śiva and Śakti. A similar pairing is also reflected in his heavily Sanskritized Hindustani work (RYB), which mentions that each of the Tantric lotuses or *cakras* has a “division of Śiva” (Hi. *śivabhāg*) and a “division of Śakti” (Hi. *śaktibhāg*), albeit this division refers to the twelve faculties themselves and not the primal cosmogony.⁴⁸⁵ Sabhapati also instructs his followers to meditate upon the physical stone of Śiva’s phallus (Skt. *śivaliṅga*) as being joined to the

⁴⁸³ André Padoux, *Vāc*, 88–9.

⁴⁸⁴ I am grateful to Srilata Raman for this insight (personal correspondence, 17 July 2020), which alludes to a genre of texts known to Tamil Vīraśaivism in which “the reabsorption soteriologically happens when one crosses *parai* and then reaches Paraśiva who is beyond all the *tattvas*”; one such text to indicate this reabsorption is Cīkāḷi Cīrampalanāṭikaḷ’s *Tuḷaḷarupōtam*. As noted above, this is strikingly similar to Sabhapati’s descriptions of Śivarājayoga (see Chapter Four).

⁴⁸⁵ RYB, Fifth Chapter, 60–78. See also CPSPS, Second Book, 246–50.

“seat” (*pīṭha*, which refers to the sculpted *yoni* portion of a *liṅgam-yoni*) of Gaurī, or Parvatī, the consort of Śiva, which also reflects his attentiveness to the Śakti despite the fact that depictions of such a “joining” are considered to be rather late Tantric aniconographic developments in the material history of *śivaliṅgas*.⁴⁸⁶ Finally, the role of the Śakti in cosmogony is more explicitly reflected in a chart of familial relationships provided in his Tamil work CTCSPV that openly describes a “father” and “mother” that together create the individual (non-Universal) Finite Spirit or *jīvātman* (see Section B.3 below).

5. Emancipation and Transmigration

Another principle expression of Sabhapati’s cosmogonic system is found in the third way of removing doubts about the *tattvas*, namely the “emancipation of the Finite Spirit from this earthly bondage.” This is part of Sabhapati’s broader instructions on his idea of reincarnation, which he calls “transmigration” or “evolution,” instructions which were designed to encourage the student to “distinguish between the everlasting and transitory things and the momentary pleasures of this and of the heavenly world.”⁴⁸⁷ In a section entitled “Instructions on the mystery and theory of the successive emanation and evolution,” Sabhapati notes two kinds of evolution, “Progressive evolutions for the Meditations” and “Decreasing evolutions for the Vice and sin.”⁴⁸⁸ The first kind is what Eliade and many

⁴⁸⁶ CPSPS, First Book, 118. For a criticism of this view of the *liṅga* see Gritli v. Mitterwallner, “Evolution of the Liṅga,” in *Discourses on Śiva: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Nature of Religious Imagery* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1984), 26–7. For a counterpoint to Mitterwallner, see Hélène Brunner, “The Sexual Aspect of the Liṅga Cult According to the Saiddhāntika Scriptures,” in *Studies in Hinduism. II, Miscellanea to the Phenomenon of Tantras*, ed. Gerhard Oberhammer, Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, Nr. 28 (Wien: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998), 87–103.

⁴⁸⁷ CPSPS, First Book, 72.

⁴⁸⁸ CPSPS, Second Book, 405.

philosophers before him would have likely perceived as a form of “Eternal Return,” and is described by Sabhapati as follows:

From grass to herbs to trees; from trees to insects; from insects to fishes; from fishes to birds; from birds to beasts; from beasts to mankind; from mankind to Deotas [= Skt. *devatā*, a kind of “local deity”]; from Deotas to astral bodily deities; from deities to spiritual powers; from spiritual powers to the Infinite spirit, whence the emanation called the final salvation takes place.⁴⁸⁹

While the first evolution is accomplished by following out Sabhapati’s prescribed techniques of yogic meditation, the second evolution is caused by actions of vice, and is described as follows:

From deotas to men; from men to any of the abovementioned [*sic*] lower stages according to the degree of their sins, whence they have again to recover their stages as said above; the lowest stages of creatures if they become ferocious and more sinful are even transmigrated to the degraded stages of herbs and grass &c: with full capacity to revive the progressive state according to the scale of their vice and virtue.⁴⁹⁰

Sabhapati adds to the above a clarification that once the stage of deota/*devatā* is reached, there is no longer any decreasing evolution but only a “progressive state to attain its self universal Infinite Spiritual state.”⁴⁹¹ He closes his treatment on “evolution,” which bears some resemblance to the Platonic “Great Chain of Being,” by noting that transmigrations can

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

be grouped in three categories, which he calls “firmamental worldly divisions” that correspond to the three *guṇas* or “qualities”:

The souls of meditation are transmigrated into the worlds of silence and peacefulness [Mpv1.] *cattuvalōkam* [< Skt. *sattvaloka*,] The souls of virtue are transmigrated into the worlds of suffering and enjoyments [Mpv1.] *rajalōkam* [< Skt. *rajaloka*]. The souls of vice are transmigrated into the worlds of punishments and reformations [Mpv1.] *tamōlōkam* [< Skt. *tamoloka*]⁴⁹²

The addition in this final paragraph of a transmigration for “souls of virtue” is notable since it underscores Sabhapati’s belief that being “virtuous” or “good” is not good enough; meditation is required to enter the highest *sāttvika* world of “silence and peacefulness.”

The above system warrants further comparison with H.P. Blavatsky’s own later system of reincarnation that she adopted during a period between the publication of *Isis Unveiled* (1877) and *The Secret Doctrine* (1888), a period during which she met Sabhapati Swami, in November of 1879 (see Chapter One, Section G.1).⁴⁹³ While there is no evidence that Blavatsky obtained any of her teachings on reincarnation from Sabhapati, the topic could very well have arisen during their meeting and been thought-provoking for both parties.⁴⁹⁴ We know that her associate Henry Olcott possessed a copy of the first edition of VRY (1880), which mentions Sabhapati’s teachings on transmigration, but this work does not go into much detail about his views on the matter. On the contrary, the Second Book of CPSPS,

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ See Julie Chajes, *Recycled Lives: A History of Reincarnation in Blavatsky’s Theosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019) for an overview of Blavatsky’s views on transmigration. While she does not mention Sabhapati Swami, there is a substantial section of the views of other Indian authors she engaged.

⁴⁹⁴ For more on the broader context of these kinds of exchanges, of which Sabhapati was a part for a brief period, see Hans Martin Krämer and Julian Strube, eds., *Theosophy across Boundaries: Transcultural and Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Modern Esoteric Movement* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2020); and Erik Sand and Tim Rudbøg, eds., *Imagining the East: The Early Theosophical Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

published in 1890, contains the bulk of Sabhapati's doctrines on transmigration in English, and it is plausible that the success of Blavatsky's *The Secret Doctrine* prompted Sabhapati to articulate his own views on transmigration further since we know he was in contact with Theosophical circles in Bombay around this time, and also mentions Blavatsky and Olcott by name as well as "Theosophical Societies" in CPSPS (see Chapter One, Section G; and Section D.7 below).

Additionally, Sabhapati in at least three of his main works (CPSPS, RYB, and CTCSPV) included elaborate diagrams, each slightly different (see Figure Eight below for one example), which visually depict an individual's transmigration based on the karmic deeds of virtue or vice (*pāp-puṇya*). These diagrams are anthropomorphic and are part of a larger type of game sometimes called the "Board of Knowledge" (Hi. *gyān chaupar*). This game was also developed in Jaina, Vaiṣṇava, and even Muslim religious milieus and likely even provided the inspiration for the modern "Snakes and Ladders" board game.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹⁵ Andrew Topsfield, "The Indian Game of Snakes and Ladders," *Artibus Asiae* 46, no. 3 (1985): 203–26. The versions in Sabhapati's texts most closely resemble the Jaina examples in this article (see especially Topsfield's Figure 4) in that the squares are situated in an anthropomorphic form that includes a head and body.

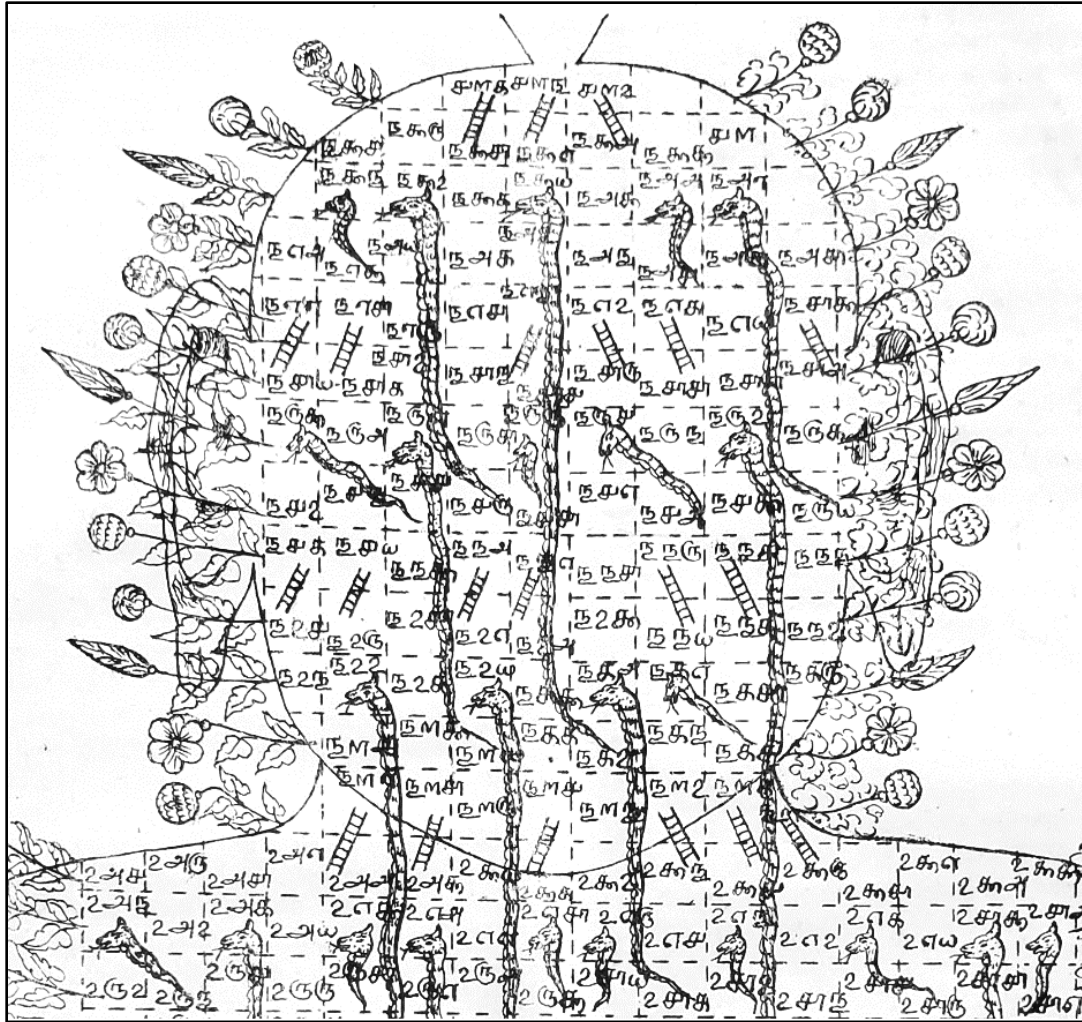


Figure Eight. Diagram Eight of CTCSPV that shows transigrations in a “Snakes and Ladders” form.

6. The Household of the Body’s Truth (*dehatattva*)

Sabhapati’s English-language works (the editions of VRY and CPSPS), the Bengali translation (BRY), and his Hindustani work (RYB) all participate in the philosophical system I have outlined in the previous section (B.2). However, his Tamil works (especially CTCSPV) provide a connected but nevertheless distinct cosmological scheme that is worth considering separately. A chart published in CTCSPV, entitled “Instruction on the mystery that is the sprout of truth in the body, [described in terms of] familial and domestic life” (Tam. *tēkatattuvavampu samcāra vāḷkkai rakaciyōpatēcam*). The phrase “truth of the body” (or

“reality of the body,” “doctrine of the body,” Mpvl. *tēkatattuvam*, < Skt. *dehatattva*) accords with what we saw in the previous section about the Universal Spirit residing in one’s body, specifically, the head (Skt. *kapāla*), which means that the rest of the universe is also embodied in the various networks of yogic physiology. This chart provides another way of seeing these correspondences as formulated in terms of domestic relationships rather than the list of “kingdoms” or *cakras*.

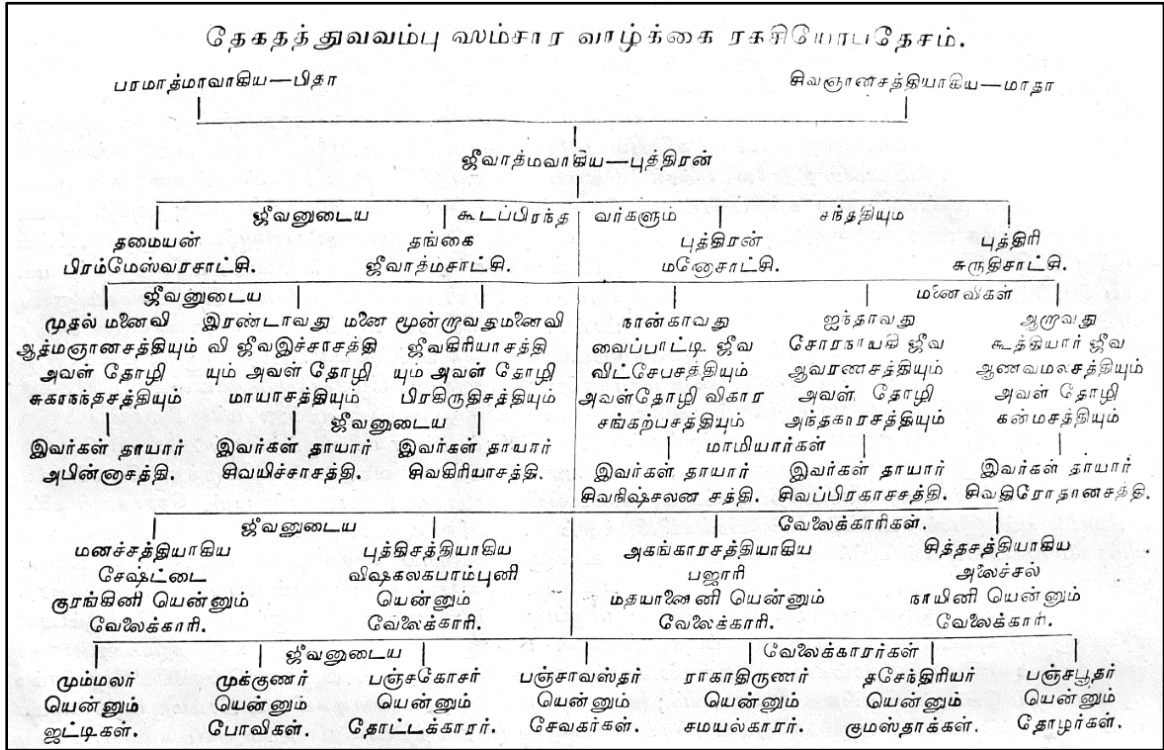


Figure Nine. The Chart from CTCSPV depicting the “truth of the body” (*dehatattva*).

a recurrent term we saw in Sabhapati's works in English (see Figure Four above). Also noted are two other "witnesses" described as the Finite Spirit's offspring, a son named the "witness of mind" (Mpv. *maṅōcāṭci*, < Skt. *manaḥsākṣin*) and a daughter named the "witness of sound" (Mpv. *curuticāṭci*, < Skt. *śrutisākṣin*), the latter of which perhaps has a scriptural connotation as a revelation obtained through hearing (*śruti* interpreted as sacred text).

This primal Śakti is further differentiated as six "wives" (Tam. *maṅaivikal*) of the Finite Spirit, each of whom represent a different "power" (Mpv. *catti*, < Skt. *śakti*):

- 1) "power of self-gnosis" (Mpv. *ātmañānacatti*, < Skt. *ātmajñānaśakti*)
- 2) "power of will" (Mpv. *iccācatti*, < Skt. *iccāśakti*)
- 3) "power of action" (Mpv. *kiriyācatti*, < Skt. *kriyāśakti*)
- 4) "power of extension" (Mpv. *viṭcēpacatti*, < Skt. *vikṣepaśakti*)
- 5) "power of covering" (Mpv. *āvaraṇacatti*, < Skt. *āvaraṇaśakti*)
- 6) "power of the impurity of self-importance" (Mpv. *āṅavamalacatti*, < Skt. *āṅavamalaśakti*)

Three of these wives, numbers four through six, are "concubines" or "mistresses" (Tam. *vaippāṭṭi*, *cōranāyaki*, *kūttiyār*) rather than wives proper, adding an interesting social dimension to these powers. These six are in turn accompanied by a "female companion" or "girlfriend" (Tam. *tōlī*) who each further clarifies the nature of the above powers, and are respectively as follows:

- 1) "power of happy bliss" (Mpv. *cukānantacatti*, < Skt. *sukhānandaśakti*)
- 2) "power of illusion" (Mpv. *māyācatti*, < Skt. *māyāśakti*)
- 3) "power of creation" (Mpv. *pirakiruticatti*, < Skt. *prakṛtiśakti*)
- 4) "power of change and imagination" (Mpv. *vikāra caṅkaṛpacatti*, < Skt. *vikāra saṅkalpaśakti*)
- 5) "power of darkness" (Mpv. *antakāracatti*, < Skt. *andhakāraśakti*)
- 6) "power of retribution" (Mpv. *kaṅmacatti*, < Skt. *karmaśakti*)

Finally, these "wives" also themselves have mothers, who are in turn the Finite Spirit's "mothers-in-law" (Tam. *māmiyārkaḷ*) and are also linked to the Śakti on account of their nature. They are ascribed to various powers of Śiva specifically, and are as follows:

- 1) “undivided power” (Mpv. *apinṇācatti*, < Skt. *abhinnaśakti*)
- 2) “power of Śiva’s will” (Mpv. *civayiccācatti*, < Skt. *śiveccāśakti*)
- 3) “power of Śiva’s action” (Mpv. *civakiriyācatti*, < Skt. *śivakriyāśakti*)
- 4) “power of Śiva’s motionlessness” (Mpv. *civaniṣcalaṇa catti*, < Skt. *śivaniścalana śakti*)
- 5) “power of Śiva’s expression” (Mpv. *civappirakācatti*, < Skt. *śivaprakāśaśakti*)
- 6) “power of Śiva’s disappearance” (Mpv. *civatirōtāṇacatti*, < Skt. *śivatirodhānaśakti*)

Towards the bottom of the chart we find two more sets of relationships to the Finite Spirit, “female workers” or “maidservants” (Tam. *vēlaikkārikaḷ*) and “male workers” or “manservants” (Tam. *vēlaikkārarkaḷ*). These are none other than the principle and recognizable *tattvas* of Sāṃkhya philosophy that emerge following “pure consciousness” (*puruṣa*) and “primordial materiality” (*mūlaprakṛti*), with the difference that Sabhapati’s list adds “thought” (*citta*) as a *tattva* in addition to “mind” (*manas*), omits the five subtle elements (*tanmātras*), and adds gendered qualities and creative names that were not present in the original enumeration of Sāṃkhya.⁴⁹⁶ The four “female workers” are as follows, described in Tamil in not-so-flattering animalistic terms in addition to their more technical Sanskrit referents:

- 1) “the she-monkey of mischief” (Tam. *cēṣṭtai kurāṅkiṇi*), as the “power of the mind” (Mpv. *maṇaccatti*, < Skt. *manaḥśakti*)
- 2) “the serpentess of tumult and poison” (Tam. *viṣakalakapāmpuṇi*), as the “power of the intellect” (Mpv. *putticatti*, < Skt. *buddhiśakti*)
- 3) “the cow-elephant whore in heat” (Tam. *paḷāri matayāṇaiṇi*) as the “power of the ego-making faculty” (Mpv. *ahaṃkāracatti*, < Skt. *ahaṃkāraśakti*)
- 4) “the stray bitch” or “wandering female dog” (*alaiccal nāyiṇi*) as the “power of thought” (Mpv. *cittacatti*, < Skt. *cittaśakti*)

Such an equation of *tattvas* with animals is not unique to Sabhapati but is also found in the *Tirumantiram*, where the *indriyas* are also compared to animals, including an elephant in

⁴⁹⁶ For an organized enumeration of the *tattvas* in Sāṃkhya see Gerald James Larson and Ram Shankar Bhattacharya, eds., “Philosophy of Sāṃkhya,” in *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, Vol. IV: Sāṃkhya: A Dualist Tradition in Indian Philosophy (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), 49.

rut.⁴⁹⁷ The manservants are six in number, and round out the lower *tattvas*, which are given personal suffixes in Tamil that turn them into the equivalent of a *bahuvrīhi* in Sanskrit:

- 1) The “man of the three impurities” (Tam. *mummalar* = Skt. *trimala*), called “the merchants” or “wrestlers” (Tam. *jaṭṭikaḷ*)
- 2) The “man of the three qualities” (Tam. *mukkuṇar* = Skt. *triguṇa*), called “the leaders” or “they who make things go” (Tam. *pōvikaḷ*)
- 3) The “man of the five sheaths” (Mpv. *pañcakōcar*, < Skt. *pañcakośa*), called “the gardeners” (*tōṭṭakkārar*)
- 4) The “man who feels passion and so on” (Tam. *rākātiruṇar*, partially < Skt. *rāgādi*), called “the cooks” (Tam. *camayalkārar*)
- 5) The “man of the ten sense-faculties” (Mpv. *tacēntiriyar*, < Skt. *daśendriya*), called “the clerks” (Tam. *kumastākkaḷ*)
- 6) The “man of the five elements” (Mpv. *pañcapūtar*), called “boyfriends” or “male companions” (Tam. *tōḷarkaḷ*)

These six “manservants” serve as an important connecting point between this Tamil *dehatattva* cosmology and Sabhapati’s descriptions of the twelve faculties or *cakras* in his English, Bengali, and Hindustani works. If one looks carefully, the order of these six “manservants” somewhat matches the order of the lower six *cakras*, with the exception of *anāhata* (see Section B.4 above):

manservant (CTCSPV)	cakra (CPSPS/VRY)	corresponding principles (both texts)
“merchants” or “wrestlers”	<i>ājñā</i>	the three impurities
“leaders”	<i>viśuddhi</i>	the three qualities
“gardeners”	<i>anāhata</i>	the five sheaths (CTCSPV) or the internal instrument (CPSPS/VRY)
“cooks”	<i>maṇipuraka</i>	the passions and so on
“clerks”	<i>svādhiṣṭhāna</i>	the ten sense-faculties
“boyfriends”	<i>mūlādhāra</i>	the five elements

Figure Eleven. A partial correlation of the “manservants” of CTCSPV with the lower six *cakras* and their locations in CPSPS and VRY.

⁴⁹⁷ Tirumular, *Tirumantiram: A Tamil Scriptural Classic*, 318–19 (verses 2023–6); Tirumūlar, *Tirumūlar Tirumantiram: mūlamum - viḷakka uraiyum*, 879–82 (verse 2656).

The higher *cakras* that correspond to *bindu*, *nāda*, *kalā*, *tatpara*, *para*, and *parātpara* are not directly reflected on the above *dehatattva* chart, but appear to be an alternate model of framing the same doctrine of the “descent” or “emanation” of Śiva’s powers into the internal body and external cosmos. The inclusion of multiple ways of framing this cosmology in his works could also reflect Sabhapati’s exposure to yogic teachings in North India during his travels (see Chapter One) and his attempts to reconcile disparate details.

While Sabhapati’s system of faculties is unique in its synthesis of Tamil familial roles and the Śaiva and Sāṃkhya systems of *tattvas*, the Sanskritic phrase *dehatattva* understood in more general terms is not limited to his Tamil literature or even Śaiva philosophy more broadly. Instead, *dehatattva* is a pan-Indian concept, being also prevalent in Bengali Tantric milieus where it is a *tatsama* from Sanskrit (Bng. *dehatattva*). For example, Carol Salomon has correctly noted that the doctrine is prevalent among the Bāuls of Bengal, who have harmonized Vaiṣṇava, Islamic Sufi, Buddhist Tantric, and other currents:

The Bāul saying, “Whatever is in the universe is in the receptacle [that is, the body],” sums up the doctrine of *dehatattva*, “the truth in the body.” The Bāuls, like other tantrics, take this saying literally and locate cities, mountains, rivers, pilgrimage places—virtually everything on the map—in the human body.”⁴⁹⁸

Hans Harder has additionally noted that this concept is present among the Maijbhandaris of Bangladesh, where it is interpreted even more directly in Sufi Islamic contexts.⁴⁹⁹ The link between these Bengali sources and Sabhapati’s similar use of *dehatattva* to describe his own embodied system of cosmogony appears to be linked to some kind of common denominator

⁴⁹⁸ Carol Salomon, “Bāul Songs,” in *Religions in India in Practice*, ed. Donald Lopez (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 193.

⁴⁹⁹ Hans Harder, *Sufism and Saint Veneration in Contemporary Bangladesh: The Maijbhandaris of Chittagong*. (Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2011).

that historically informed both. While there is evidence of cross-pollination in Sanskrit between these contexts (e.g., via texts like the *Kulaṛṇava Tantra*, and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*), the separation of language between vernacular Tamil and Bengali was such that by the modern period a translation of Sabhapati's own work into Bengali (BRY) was deemed necessary.

I would postulate based on the available evidence that the most likely historical link for these striking kinds of connections on *dehatattva* is Buddhist Tantra. Some of the earliest teachings on *dehatattva* in Bengali are documented in the Caryāpadas, medieval Buddhist songs about the universe in one's body, among many other topics, which were later interpreted by Sufi mediators. While the connections between Buddhist so-called *sahajiyā* or "innate" Tantra and Bengali conceptions of *dehatattva* have been relatively well-documented, especially by Bengali scholars,⁵⁰⁰ unfortunately little research has yet been done to trace Buddhist Tantric antecedents in Tamil vernacular yogic milieus that would enable such historical divergences and reformulations to be better understood via recourse to surviving texts and inscriptions. On the one hand, one possible link could be the yogic and/or Nāth traditions based in Srisailam (and more broadly across the Deccan) in the early centuries of the second millennium, which were heavily cross-pollinated with Buddhist Siddha traditions. We now have convincing manuscript and material evidence that the early roots of Haṭhayoga that later informed the Nāth Yogīs in both South and North India were at least partially cultivated in Buddhist Tantric milieus.⁵⁰¹ The Nāth Yogīs were also known to

⁵⁰⁰ See especially Ahmad Śarīph, *Bāul tattva* (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1973). A dated but still relevant discussion of this topic is found in Shashi Bhusan Das Gupta, *Obscure Religions Cults* (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969).

⁵⁰¹ James Mallinson, "Kālavāñcana in the Konkan: How a Vajrayāna Haṭhayoga Tradition Cheated Buddhism's Death in India," *Religions* 10, no. 4 (2019): 1–33.

have a presence in the city of Nagapattinam, a port city on the Bay of Bengal adjacent to the Nagore Dargah where Sabhapati resided for at least several months (see Chapter One). While the precise connections are elusive, the tumulus or *jīvasamādhi* of the Tamil Siddha Kōrakkar, traditionally held to be identical to the semi-legendary figure Gorākṣanātha, is located in North Poigainallur (Vaṭakku Poykainallūr), a mere four miles south of Nagore, and traditionally believed to be part of a wider network of Nāths in the region.⁵⁰² Additionally, a so-called “Cave of Kōrakkar” is located in Sathuragiri, one of Sabhapati’s stops according to his hagiographies. On the other hand, while the presence of Nāth yogic communities in Bengal remains a point of scholarly contention,⁵⁰³ there is no doubt that *dehatattva* nevertheless remains an important part of Bāul Fakiri *sādhana* that was to great extent derived from Buddhist Tantra; even the term itself greatly informed Vaiṣṇava, Sufī, and Śaiva and Śākta Tantric cosmology as expressed in music and literature.⁵⁰⁴

C. Sabhapati’s Connection with Tamil Śaiva Discourse

As mentioned in Section A, Sabhapati’s guru-*paramparā* explicitly connects his literature to Tamil Vīraśaiva circles, such as that related to the ca. seventeenth-century author Kumara Devar (Kumāratēvar) and his guru Perur Santhalinga Swamigal (Perūr Cāntaliṅka

⁵⁰² For one attempt to describe these connections between the Nāths of the North and of the South see R. Ezhilraman, “Siddha Cult in Tamiḷnādu: Its History and Historical Continuity” (PhD Thesis, Puducherry, Pondicherry University, 2015), 14–34

⁵⁰³ For an example of this contestation, see the lecture by Lubomír Ondračka, “Is the Bengali Nāth literature really Nāth?”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5-u6yjETgus>, sponsored by the Centre of Yoga Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).

⁵⁰⁴ Salomon, “Bāul Songs.” For some of these connections see also Keith Cantú, “Islamic Esotericism in the Bengali Bāul Songs of Lālan Fakir,” *Correspondences* 7, no. 1 (2019): 109–65; Carola Lorea, “Playing the Football of Love on the Field of the Body: The Contemporary Repertoire of Baul Songs,” *Religion and the Arts* 17, no. 4 (2013): 416–51; Jeanne Openshaw, *Seeking Bāuls of Bengal* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Glen Hayes, “The Necklace of Immortality: A Seventeenth-Century Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā Text,” in *Tantra in Practice*, ed. David Gordon White (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 308–26; and Rahul Peter Das, “Problematic Aspects of the Sexual Rituals of the Bāuls of Bengal,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112, no. 3 (1992): 388–432, among many others.

Cuvāmikal). This connection is clear from Sabhapati’s references to his gurus in his literature, especially CPSPS and his extant literature in the Tamil language. However, Sabhapati’s own teachings on Śivarājayoga also independently reflect a connection with a kind of Śaiva philosophy, including a Śivayoga or “Yoga for Śiva,” which is specific to South India. In other words, his literature did not appear in a vacuum and reflects developments in Tamil Śaivism in the centuries that follow what Alexis Sanderson has described as the “Śaiva Age.”⁵⁰⁵ While there are many specific developments that could be minutely traced by means of a comprehensive analysis of Sabhapati’s literature, in this section I will highlight three among the most evident: 1) the Tamil-specific development of Śivayoga (Tamil *civayōkam*) as reflected in texts like the *Oḷiviloṭukkam*, 2) the notion of a “doctrine of unity” (Tam. *aikkiyavātam*) that came to occupy a kind of inbetween zone between Vedānta (*māyāvātam*) and Śaiva Siddhānta (*caiva cittāntam*), and 3) a South India-specific idea of a “fourfold internal instrument” (*caturantaḥkaraṇa*).

The first aspect is the broader development of Śivayoga (Mpv1. *civayōkam*), which Sabhapati more often calls Śivarājayoga (*civarājayōkam*) but, in at least one instance in VRY, simply “Shiva Yoga” (Śivayoga), implying that the two for him were interchangeable. As I have pointed out in Section A and will return to in detail in the following chapter (Chapter Four), Śivayoga was also linked to a Kannada milieu via the Sanskrit text *Śivayogapradīpikā* and its reception history, but it is important to keep in mind that there were Tamil-specific developments that more clearly informed its philosophical development and context in Sabhapati’s literature.

⁵⁰⁵ Alexis Sanderson, “The Śaiva Age,” 41–351. I am grateful to Srilata Raman for allowing me to participate in a course she offered entitled “After the Śaiva Age” that helped make better sense of these developments between medieval Śaiva Siddhānta and the early modern Śaiva religious movements that informed Sabhapati’s literature.

One of the most important texts to anchor Sabhapati’s contextual understanding of Śivayoga and its accompanying cosmology was the aforementioned ca. fifteenth-century work *Oḷiviloṭukkam*, translated by Steinschneider as “The Subsiding [into the godhead] upon the annihilation [of the ego-consciousness],”⁵⁰⁶ or, translated another way, “the concealment (*oṭukkam*) in ceasing to be (*oḷivu*).” This text, attributed to one Kaṇṇuṭaiya Vaḷḷal, is principally known through its earliest commentary, attributed to the ca. seventeenth- to eighteenth-century Vīraśaiva thinker Thiruporur Chidambara Swamigal (Tiruppōrūr Citampara Cuvāmikaḷ). It was also later published by Chidambaram Ramalinga Adigal (Citampara Irāmaliṅka Aṭikaḷ), who as I mentioned in Chapter One is referred to in one of Sabhapati’s accounts as his childhood friend.⁵⁰⁷ The connection between Thiruporur Chidambara Swamigal and Sabhapati Swami is more explicit, however, as the former is in Sabhapati Swami’s own *guru-paramparā* (see Section A above). While an analysis of this text is outside the scope of this dissertation, it is clear that several of its concepts, such as the dissolution of the *tattvas*, the knowledge of the *parai* or supreme principle as “the fulfillment of Grace,” an emphasis on the dissolution of “I-ness” (Mṣvḷ. *tarṇpōtam*) that leads to a mingling with the supreme Śiva (*civam*, akin to Sabhapati’s *śivamaya*; see Figure Four above), and the emphasis on various states of “beyond” (*aṭitam*), are all also foundational themes that also inform the practice of Śivarājayoga in Sabhapati’s literature. As mentioned in the previous section, Sabhapati’s division of this supreme principle into his three highest *cakras* also resembles the Trika division of the goddess into three forms (Parāparā, Parā, and Aparā), and he may have also been inspired by this formulation during his travels in

⁵⁰⁶ For a treatment of this text see Eric Steinschneider, “Subversion, Authenticity, and Religious Creativity in Late-Medieval South India: Kaṇṇuṭaiya Vaḷḷal’s *Oḷiviloṭukkam*,” *Journal of Hindu Studies* 10, no. 2 (August 2017): 241–271.

⁵⁰⁷ Steinschneider, “Subversion.”

northwestern India and Kashmir (see Chapter One). At the same time, it is clear from his vernacular literature in Tamil that the main source of his inspiration was derived from an already extant corpus of Tamil Śaiva literature that included texts like *Oḷiviloṭukkam*.

The second and related Tamil Śaiva-specific factor is that Sabhapati's work is also a late reflection of the increasing "Vedānticization" of the Śaiva Siddhānta and Vīraśaivism that had already been taking place for at least three centuries prior to his publications.⁵⁰⁸ In other words, Sabhapati was not the first to equate the *jñāna* of Vedānta with the *jñāna* of Siddhānta, perhaps most succinctly expressed by what later came to be framed as an "equal flavor" or *samarasa* (Mpv1. *camaracam*), which we know Sabhapati was aware of given the title of his (now non-extant) first work in Tamil as well as its use in his other publications (see Chapter Two). Sabhapati was instead participating in a long tradition of discursive reconciliation that had led to aspects of Vedānta gradually informing Śaiva Siddhānta to the extent that, by the time Sabhapati was writing, there was practically little real distinction perceived between the two in at least some religious milieus.⁵⁰⁹ This was a notable development since "Neo-Saiddhāntika" works like the *Civakñāṇacittiyār*, one of the most important texts of Tamil Śaiva philosophy, refuted the view of Vedānta that "Brahma Jñāna is knowledge that the Ego is Brahman. And when the self becomes self, and enjoys the self in the self, and when such things as body, senses, prāṇa, lose their form and name, when the great elements are destroyed, and the self remains unchangeable, this knowledge is possible."⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁸ For the wider South Indian context of this development, see Elaine M. Fisher, "Remaking South Indian Śaivism: Greater Śaiva Advaita and the Legacy of the Śaktiviśiṣṭādvaita Vīraśaiva Tradition," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 21, no. 3 (December 2017): 319–44; also Alexis Sanderson, "The Śaiva Literature," *Journal of Indological Studies*, no. 24 & 25 (2012–2013) (2014): 83–91.

⁵⁰⁹ For the social and historical contexts of this see Sanderson, "The Śaiva Literature," 87; 87n356 and n357.

⁵¹⁰ J.M. Nallaswāmi Pillai, trans., *Śivajñāna Siddhiyār of Aruṇandi Śivāchārya* (Madras: Meykandan Press, 1913), 96, II.14; cf. Sanderson, "The Śaiva Literature," 86.

By Sabhapati’s time, however, an acceptable point of view emerged for Tamil Vedāntins and exponents of Siddhānta alike. This middle ground was likely inspired by the Vīraśaiva concept of *līṅgaikyabhāva* or “the state of being united with [Śiva’s] phallus” as well as the later *līṅgāṅgasamarasa* or “equanimity as an auxiliary of [Śiva’s] phallus”; both appear to have been states of interiorization that end in a unity or culmination with Śiva. The former concept, for example, is found in the *Śivayogapradīpikā* as *līṅgaikyādvaitabhāva*, “or the state of non-dual unity with [Śiva’s] phallus.”⁵¹¹ Among Tamil Vīraśaiva authors such as those in Sabhapati’s own *paramparā* (see Section A), however, this unity was more abstractly framed as *aikkiyavātam* (< Skt. *aikyavāda*), or the doctrine that one could achieve a kind of unity with Śiva. The main philosophical hurdle to overcome was the presence of the *āṇavamala*, or the “filth of particles,” which in more hardline expressions of Saiddhāntika doctrine always separated the *jīva* or individual from Śiva.⁵¹² By Sabhapati’s time, however, it was possible to relax this doctrine and the idea of *āṇavamala* no longer had the explanatory force it may have once had; as seen in Figure Six above, the assumed existence of the three *malas* (including *āṇavamala*) were a development linked to the *ājñācakra* and in the practice of Śivarājyoga were abolished relatively early in the schema of refutations and cancellations of the *cakras*. Sabhapati engages this discourse in his own literature, citing 1) “Atheism” (Mpv1. *nāstīkamata*, < Skt. *nāstīkamata*), 2) “Dualism or Manicheism” (Mpv1. *tuvaitamāyāsthāpanamata*, < Skt. *dvaitamāyāsthāpanamata*), 3) “Theism” (Mpv1. *caivacittāntamata*, < Skt. *śaivasiddhāntamata*), 4) “Vadantism” [*sic*] (Mpv1. *vētāntamata*,

⁵¹¹ ŚYP 3.63; see Sadāśivayogīśvara, *Śivayogadīpikā*, ed. Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpte (Ānandāśrama: Pune, 1907), 13; Sadasiva Yogindra, “Sivayogadīpika,” *The Brahmavādin* VIII, no. 12 (December 1903): 691. I am grateful to Seth Powell for pointing out the salience of this concept to the ŚYP. His forthcoming critical edition of this text may result in a change in the numbering or substance of this verse.

⁵¹² While *āṇavamala* is sometimes translated the “filth of materiality,” it didn’t have the same meaning, at least for Sabhapati, as physical materiality; see Chapter Six.

< Skt. *vedāntamata*), and finally 5) “Believing the Soul is ever and ever the very Universal Infinite Spirit or the Self” (Mṃvl. *aikkiyapirmmakñāṇa attuvaitamatam*, < Skt. *aikyabrahmajñāna advaitamata*).⁵¹³ For Sabhapati these are gradual stages, and he considered only the last (number five) to be “perfectly true” and to “prove with Head and Heart that truth.”⁵¹⁴

The third and final point is more technical than doctrinal, however, and can therefore serve as a check on the above broader philosophical commonalities which, as clear and historically traceable as they may be in Sabhapati’s case, must nevertheless to some extent remain imprecise and contextual. This is Sabhapati’s consistent and technical use of *caturantaḥkaraṇa* or “fourfold internal instrument” in his English, Tamil, and Hindustani works alike. As mentioned in Section B, the *antaḥkaraṇa* or “internal instrument” is an important concept in classical Sāṃkhya that has pervaded many systems of Indian thought since. In Sabhapati’s literature (see Figures Nine and Ten), however, one finds “thought” (*citta*) in addition to “mind” (*manas*), whereas only “mind” was present in the original categorization of the *antaḥkaraṇa* known to classical Sāṃkhya; *citta* was not considered as a separate part of the *antaḥkaraṇa*.⁵¹⁵ While this may strike a scholar of yoga philosophy as idiosyncratic, this idea of a “fourfold” *antaḥkaraṇa* is not Sabhapati’s own invention. Instead, the *caturantaḥkaraṇa* is a technical idea that is traceable in relevant texts of Tamil Śaiva philosophy, adding even more proof of Sabhapati’s indebtedness and inextricable connection to these milieus.

⁵¹³ I have retained Sabhapati’s idiosyncratic translations in English on account of their interpretive value for understanding how he viewed these doctrines. CPSPS, First Book, 148–52.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 152.

⁵¹⁵ Larson and Bhattacharya, eds., “Philosophy of Sāṃkhya,” 49 Gerald James Larson, *Classical Sāṃkhya: An Interpretation of Its History and Meaning* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979), 187–89.

For example, the ca. fourteenth-century text *Tuḱaḷaruḱpōtam* or “Knowledge that Severs Falsity,” attributed to one Cīrrampala Nāṭikal, offers instructions for the obtaining of Śiva (Tam. *civappēru*) and includes many topics that are clearly resonant with Sabhapati’s cosmological system, including “states” (Mpv. *avattai*, < Skt. *avasthā*) and stages of “blaming the elements” (Tam. *pūtap palippu*) and “feeling beyond the sense-capacities” (Tam. *poriyāra uṅartal*). However, whereas these three previous topics could be found in other Śaiva religious texts even outside of Tamil milieus, the *Tuḱaḷaruḱpōtam* also includes a section (verses 14–15) on the “purification of the internal organ” (Mpv. *antakkarācutti*, < Skt. *antaḱkarāṣuddhi*). This internal organ, as in Sabhapati’s literature, is not tripartite as in Sāṃkhya but rather is explicitly fourfold, and likewise consists of the “mind” (*manas*), “intellect” (*buddhi*), “thought” (*citta*), and the “ego-faculty” (*ahaṃkāra*), each of which are attributed to the *a*, *u*, *m*, and *bindu* of the *praṇava* or syllable Om.⁵¹⁶

In Sabhapati’s Tamil literature, as mentioned above, each part of the fourfold internal instrument is grouped together as four “female workers”: 1) “the she-monkey of mischief” (Tam. *cēṣṭtai kurāṅkiṇi*), as the “power of the mind” (Mpv. *maṅaccatti*, < Skt. *manaśakti*); 2) “the serpentess of tumult and poison” (Tam. *viṣakalakapāmpuṇi*), as the “power of the intellect” (Mpv. *putticatti*, < Skt. *buddhiśakti*); 3) “the cow-elephant whore in heat” (Tam. *pajāri matayāṅaiṇi*) as the “power of the ego-making faculty” (Mpv. *ahaṃkāracatti*, < Skt. *ahaṃkāraśakti*); and 4) “the stray bitch” (or “wandering female dog,” *alaiccal nāyiṇi*) as the “power of thought” (Mpv. *cittacatti*, < Skt. *cittaśakti*). This concept of a fourfold internal instrument is not limited to Sabhapati’s vernacular Tamil literature but is also embedded in his earliest English works that reached translocal audiences. For example, in VRY the

⁵¹⁶ Cīkālīc Cīrrampalanāṭikal, *Tuḱaḷaruḱpōtam* (Paruttittuṛai [Point Pedro], Sri Lanka: Kalānitiyantiracālai, 1950), 10–11.

“Sadurantakarana” (i.e. *caturantaḥkaraṇa*) is attributed to the “Ninth Kingdom” or *anāhata cakra* (see Figures Four and Six above), and is also at one point related to the emanation of the *maṇipūraka cakra* below, as in the following passage:

Consider that in the centre of the heart the above Jivatma [Skt. *jīvātmā*, < *jīvātman*] becomes the finite Spirit of Notions and Passions. These notions are either of Manantakarana,⁵¹⁷ Booddhi anta-karana (or intellectual ideas),⁵¹⁸ and Ahankar anta-karana (egotistic ideas),⁵¹⁹ chitta antukkarna (doubtful ideas).⁵²⁰

The concept of the fourfold internal instrument is also found in Sabhapati’s Hindustani work RYB, proving that it was considered a key point of Sabhapati’s cosmology that could be exported and “re-localized” for his readers in North India.⁵²¹ Just as in Sabhapati’s Tamil and English works where the four components of *manas*, *buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra*, and *citta* are clearly outlined, in RYB the *caturantaḥkaraṇ* is, in addition to being linked to the Sanskrit phonemes *sa* and *śa*, distinguished by the same four components: 1) “the emergence of the thought that is full of fabrication” (Hi. *saṃkalpamaya cittodaya*); 2) “the emergence of the mind full of doubts” (*saṃśayamaya, manodaya*); 3) the “emergence of the intellect full of stubbornness” (*niścayabuddhyodaya [sic]*); and 4) the “emergence of the ego-faculty full of self-illusions” (*abhimānamaya, ahaṅkārodaya*).⁵²²

The above proves that Sabhapati’s teachings reflect concepts from South Indian sources that are found embedded in his literature or “went along for the ride,” so to speak, as

⁵¹⁷ MpvI. *maṇḍōyantakarāṇam*, < Skt. *mano antaḥkaraṇa*.

⁵¹⁸ MpvI. *puttiyantakkarāṇam*, < Skt. *buddhyantaḥkaraṇa*.

⁵¹⁹ MpvI. *ahaṅkārayantakkarāṇam*, < Skt. *ahaṃkāraṇtaḥkaraṇa*.

⁵²⁰ MpvI. *cittayantakkarāṇam*, < Skt. *cittāntaḥkaraṇa*. This passage is found in VRY, 42. CPSPS in its version adds “with 5 Cosa [Skt. *kośa*], Avusta [*avasthā*], and 13 Guna [*guṇa*].”

⁵²¹ RYB, 29 (end of the second chapter).

⁵²² Ibid.

his teachings on Śivarājyoga were translocalized for pan-Indian audiences in English as well as relocalized for not only Hindustani-speaking audiences but also Bengali and Telugu audiences (see Chapter Two). This speaks to the importance, I would argue, of more deeply analyzing the contexts of Sabhapati's terminology, which often appears idiosyncratic on the surface but, upon a more critical inspection, connects to a wider Tamil Śaiva milieu that goes far beyond simply Sabhapati himself. I would posit, therefore, that it is reductive to assume that Sabhapati's terminology is automatically indicative of a kind of *post hoc* pan-Indian and colonial-era Neo-Vedānta,⁵²³ despite the fact that this is how many of his followers—his editor Shrish Chandra Basu foremost among them—sought to portray and package his teachings on the *cakras*, Tantric and yogic subtle physiology, and so on to an educated colonial audience. Instead, I would suggest that it is more productive to engage in a bit of textual excavation and first determine whether the sources for a given idea may also be located in extant Tamil Śaiva literature in the centuries preceding Sabhapati's publications. In those cases where no correlate is found, it does seem logical to proceed to the possibility that Sabhapati integrated a given idea from some kind of pan-Indian Advaita Vedānta textual milieu or other published source, or that it is his own syncretic innovation.

D. Sabhapati's Engagement with Other Religions, Societies, and Beliefs

Sabhapati's cosmological system, as outlined in preceding sections, is largely a reflection of a Hindu (and particularly Tamil Śaiva) worldview that integrates doctrines from the Vīraśaiva milieus of his gurus that harmonized the soteriologies of Vedānta and

⁵²³ This is also relevant to some extent to the consideration of Vivekananda's own "Neo-Vedānta"; see James Madaio, "Rethinking Neo-Vedānta: Swami Vivekananda and the Selective Historiography of Advaita Vedānta," *Religions* 8, no. 101 (2017).

Śaiddhāntika philosophy (see also Chapter Four for “yoga” as a goal described in the terminologies of both). The work of doxographers to represent and deconstruct other points of view is obviously nothing new in Indian philosophy, and the research of Bouthillette and Halbfass has analyzed the nuances of such engagement.⁵²⁴ Yet Sabhapati’s work also engages with other points of view that were dominant in the colonial period, making it of great interest to the philosophical discourses of early modernity, as also engaged to some degree by Steinschneider. This engagement, while relatively brief relative to the bulk of his literary contents, is most explicitly found in his trilingual work CPSPS, which includes engagement with Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, the Parsi religion or Zoroastrianism (as “Parsism”) and various societies (“Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj, Prarthana Samaj” and even a paragraph on “Theosophical Societies”). The fact that he takes special interest in Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam here was likely part of the nascent “world religions” discourse that included not only the emergence of the Theosophical Society but also the Parliament of the World’s Religions meeting in Chicago in 1893 within a few years of the publication of the Second Book of CPSPS.⁵²⁵ A separate section of CPSPS also offers a critique of Atheism, a recurrent theme in that work. These discourses were likely included at the behest of Sabhapati’s Hindu pan-Indian “Admirers” who helped to sponsor Sabhapati’s publication of CPSPS and appear to have been concerned with adapting his spiritual teachings more directly to prevailing social and political contexts. Additionally, a section of CTCSPV briefly engages other religions in the context of describing “the shape of the Lord in the truth of the six

⁵²⁴ Karl-Stéphan Bouthillette, *Dialogue and Doxography in Indian Philosophy: Points of View in Buddhist, Jaina, and Advaita Vedānta Traditions* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2020); Wilhelm Halbfass, *India and Europe: An Essay in Philosophical Understanding* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990), 349–69.

⁵²⁵ See Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions, or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

religions” (Tam. *īcuvaraṅ ārumata uṅmaikkōlamāy*). None of his works appear to explicitly address either Jainism or Judaism, whether out of lack of interest or Sabhapati’s own unfamiliarity with their doctrines. In this section I will summarize this interfaith engagement since it provides evidence that his cosmological views, although deep-rooted in the currents of Śaivism that I mentioned above, did not exist in a vacuum. His writing on the subject emerged at a time in which teachings from other religions and societies were also prevalent, and it is notable that Sabhapati or his editor felt the need or pressure to engage with these other worldviews to justify Sabhapati’s system of Śivarājayoga and the cosmology upon which it was based.

Before treating Sabhapati’s engagement with each religion or group individually, it is necessary to first point out that Sabhapati’s comparative engagement in CPSPS with each of the above religions is mapped onto a progressive sequence of self-realizations that he calls the “six sorts of truths of Adhikari” (Mpv. *atikāri*, < Skt. *adhikāritva*, lit. “authority”).⁵²⁶

These six truths are described as follows:

1. **“Hero”**: The Finite Spirit (*jīvātman*) is dwelling in the “delusion” of “separate real Self existence” from the Infinite Spirit.
2. **“Weapons”**: The Finite Spirit, engaging in the “fifteen sorts of the purifications of the Mind and Soul,” is able to burn down the “delusive curtain” of the Hero stage.
3. **“Enemies”**: The Finite Spirit, having destroyed the previous delusion, is disturbed by the “five vitals” and sensual phenomena, and if these are overcome then the Finite Spirit notices the “mental phenomena standing as Commander-in-Chief over a gigantic troop of hosts such as wrath, rage, revenge, anger, egotism, pride, arrogance, passions, &c.”
4. **“Ministers”**: The Finite Spirit becomes two kinds of “Ministers” or “Mediators,” of which the first kind is one’s own “Self-state” that is “situated in the centre seat of the brain,” and the second kind is the Infinite Spirit coming down in human form to persevere in the yoga of gnosis (*jñānayoga*) as the “Suthguru” (Satguru) or “Rishees [*ṛṣis*], Yogees [*yogins*], Gnyanees [*jñānins*], Christ, Mahomed [Muhammad], Budha [Buddha] and Zaraster [Zoroaster] as secondary indirect Spiritual Priests Ministers or Mediators.”

⁵²⁶ CPSPS, Second Book, 362–5.

5. **“Ruling Power”**: The Finite Spirit is constantly practicing seeing itself as “void, witnessing, conscious, and blissful” (*śūnya, sākṣin, vyāpaka,* and *ānanda*; these are the “Four Spiritual Brightnesses” of Brahman or “Passive Principle” in Figure Four above).
6. **“Spiritual Emperor”** or **“Success of Ever Being Your Own Self”**: The Finite Spirit overcomes both trinity (Mpv. *tiripuṭapētattuvam*, < Skt. *tripuṭabhedatva*) and duality (Mpv. *tuvitapētattuvam*, < Skt. *dvidhabhedatva*) and is finally “lost in the real existence of the Infinite Spirit” through attainment in “Gnyana Yogue Nirvikulpa Samadhī” (< Skt. *jñāna yoga nirvikalpa samādhī*).⁵²⁷

As you can see from the fourth truth above, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and the religion of the Parsis / Zoroastrianism all reach to this fourth truth but essentially stop there, which is one of Sabhapati’s major arguments for his doctrinal disagreement with these religions. However, his specific analysis of each religion (as well as societies that don’t map as neatly on this scheme) are worth separately analyzing since they draw out certain nuances of his own philosophical and cosmological system.

1. Sabhapati and Buddhism

Sabhapati’s engagement with Buddhism is relatively brief and positive, and he appears to have interacted with Buddhist monks in Rangoon, Burma (modern Yangon, Myanmar) as I already noted in Chapter One. Sabhapati explains that “Budha Rishee is still living in the sacred caves of Himalaya in deep Yogue Samadhī [*yoga samādhī*],” a similar claim to Agastya’s continued life in the Pothigai Hills in Chapter One.⁵²⁸ The reason for the Buddha’s travels to what Sabhapati calls the “other side of the Himalaya i.e., east not west with the truths of the secret doctrines of Hinduism” is linked to his idea that “Viasa Rishee

⁵²⁷ This use of allegorical language here, as with Sabhapati’s above discussion of the *tattvas*, serves to connect his ideas with other works relating to allegories of Vedānta, such as the eleventh-century *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamīśra; see Sita Krishna Nambiar, ed., *Prabodhacandrodaya of Kṛṣṇa Miśra* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971); Kṛṣṇamīśra and Matthew Kapstein, *The Rise of Wisdom Moon*, The Clay Sanskrit Library 52 (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

⁵²⁸ CPSPS, Second Book, 373–4.

[Vyāsa Ṛṣi] in India began to introduce the other minor doctrines in the Vedas.”⁵²⁹

According to Sabhapati, Vyāsa was warned by the Buddha that the “introduction of such doctrines will cause much confusion, difference of castes, creed, sect, religious, and divine truths in India,” but that Vyāsa didn’t listen. As a result, the Buddha set out to “reveal the truths of Vedantism in their true shape throughout those countries,” and Sabhapati notes that his teachings “admit the veracity of my two principles and other four truths,”⁵³⁰ which refers to the Universal Spirit and Finite Spirit and Sabhapati’s first four principles that he calls “hero, weapon, enemy and the minister” (see above). Sabhapati unfortunately does not appear to consider the Buddhist doctrine of *anātman*, or “not-self,” which contrasts with his own views on *paramātman* and *jīvātman* and would have made for a much more interesting dialogical engagement. Instead, Sabhapati simply blames the “Buddhist [*sic*] priests of middle ages” for misleading the people away from his original “secret truths.”⁵³¹ This is somewhat ironic given that some of Haṭhayoga’s principle roots are in medieval Buddhist Tantra and that the exponents of Buddhist Tantra believed they were faithfully interpreting Mahāyāna doctrines in a new frame.⁵³² Sabhapati’s work CTCSPV, however, mentions Buddhism (Tam. *pauṭtamataṃ*) in the context of one of six religions that contain the truth of the Lord (Īśvara). This work considers the Buddha as a great rishi who descended to the “northeast part of the

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ Sabhapati on this front may have been influenced, at least indirectly, by Rhys Davids and others in the Pali Text Society who were critical of native Buddhist customs in the colonial period; see Philip C. Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁵³² Ibid. For the Buddhist roots of Haṭhayoga see James Mallinson, “The Amṛtasiddhi: Haṭhayoga’s Tantric Buddhist Source Text,” in *Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions: Essays in Honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson*, ed. Dominic Goodall et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 409–425; and Jason Birch, “The Amaraughaprabodha: New Evidence on the Manuscript Transmission of an Early Work on Haṭha- and Rājayoga,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, no. 47 (2019): 947–77.

For an example of the kind of Indian Buddhism that was prevalent in the medieval period and how it had its roots in earlier Mahāyāna doctrine, see Vesna A. Wallace, *The Inner Kālacakratāntra: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Individual* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

world” (Tam. *ulakattiṅ vaṭakīla pākam*) as an avatar to “establish meditation on the state of formless gnosis” (Tam. *nirākāra ṅāṅapāva tiyāṅattai nilaināṭṭu*).⁵³³

2. Sabhapati and Christianity

As mentioned in Chapter One, Sabhapati’s hagiographical accounts record that he attended the Scottish-origin Free Church Mission School when he was a youth, meaning that he would have obtained a firsthand knowledge of Christian teachings from this denomination of Protestant Christianity even though he was raised by Śaiva parents in the service of his own guru to-be, Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal. In addition to these accounts of his own personal experience of missionary school, Sabhapati devotes over three full pages in CPSPS to reconciling his own philosophy with that of Christianity, which he describes as “the most extended religion” that consists of “all truths essential for the purification of the Mind and Soul, but irregularly.”⁵³⁴ He argues that Christianity professes the “first passive principle” and the “second active principle,” that is, the Universal Infinite Spirit (Brahman) and the Universal Finite Spirit (Īśvara and, by extension, the Śakti), and that it accepts his first four “truths” of the “hero, weapon, enemy, and the minister” (see above). Sabhapati admires Christianity’s doctrine of the soul being bound by “sin and vice,” although this binding in his view is not on account of disobeying God’s commandments as much as the result of one’s delusionary separation from the Infinite Spirit. Similarly, he admires what he sees as its doctrine of the world being a “delusion,” which is based not so much on an understanding of Christian doctrine as much as his personal interpretation of the verse “Ye are Gods” (see below). Despite this conciliatory tone, he argues that the religion “does not teach the way to

⁵³³ CTCSPV, 38.

⁵³⁴ CPSPS, Second Book, 374.

hold communion with me [the Infinite Spirit], which Christ, the incarnation of my Spiritual power, and his disciples, who established his true doctrines, did and got salvation.”⁵³⁵ He further offers a dissenting view on the “Judgment Day” or “Last Judgment,” a reference to the biblical book of Revelation attributed to St. John. This Judgment Day is typically interpreted in Protestantism as a future day when Jesus Christ will return to judge each and every soul. In contrast to most Protestant eschatologies, however, Sabhapati argues through the lens of his own doctrine of evolution and transmigrations (see Section B.5 above) that “Judgment day” is not some date “millions of years” from now, but actually “the very moment when Souls depart from their bodies.”⁵³⁶ This on the surface appears less in line with Protestantism than with the Catholic idea of Purgatory, which Protestants rejected. However, Sabhapati makes it clear that for him the real “judgment day” is karmic retribution, or an individual soul’s re-positioning, immediately after death, in a new form either higher or lower on *samsāra*’s board game of Snakes and Ladders (or in exceptional cases a liberation from the board altogether).

In addition to the above, Sabhapati’s apologetic engagement with Christianity is on three other fronts, namely 1) quotations from quite a few biblical passages (such as the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles of Paul, though he does not supply these references himself) that are intended to show that one’s so-called “self state” is the Infinite Spirit; 2) an interpretation of the “inward real meaning” of the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Ghost); and 3) a critique on the Christian view of creation *ex nihilo*.

The first opens with the assertion that “Ye are Gods” (a reference to Psalms 82:6, but also a verse cited by H.P. Blavatsky in *Isis Unveiled* to express a similar message of human

⁵³⁵ Ibid, 375.

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

divinity, which could have in turn inspired Sabhapati),⁵³⁷ which is then qualified by the idea that the “Soul” only seems limited in the body on account of its delusion, and that in reality the Infinite Spirit pervades it. The rest of the verses contain similar quotations and interpretations. Sabhapati then proceeds to interpret the Trinity as follows:

The Father means the whole of the unlimited Infinite Spiritual state throughout the Universe called God.

The Son means the whole of the unlimited Infinite Spiritual state that seems as limited in the body of every creature called the Soul.

The Holy Ghost means the power of absorptive state that reveals the secret and real truth that the Soul which seems as limited is not in reality so, but is the real unlimited self Infinite Spirit throughout the Universe by making the faculties of the Soul to be entirely lost in the Self Infinite Spiritual State.⁵³⁸

From the above assertions it is clear that Sabhapati is trying to bring the Christian doctrine of the Trinity in line with his own philosophical postulates by identifying the Father with the “Universal Spirit” (*śivamayam*), the Son with the “Universal Infinite Spirit” (Brahman), and the Holy Ghost (or Holy Spirit) with the individual soul or Finite Spirit’s experience of the “absorptive state,” which his Sabhapati’s translation for *samādhi*.

Sabhapati’s section on Christianity in CPSPS closes with an argument that the “creation is not created merely by the will of God as said in the Bible,” but that instead there is a “primary evolution” (the initial creation at the beginning of time) and “secondary evolution” (creations resulting from transmigration that have happened since the primary

⁵³⁷ See Chajes, *Recycled Lives*, 55–56. The verse in question reads, “I have said, Ye *are* gods; and all of you *are* children of the most High” (King James Version).

⁵³⁸ CPSPS, Second Book, 366–67.

evolution).⁵³⁹ Sabhapati is likely here referring to Purāṇic doctrines of primary creation at the beginning of a *kalpa*, or a “day of Brahmā,” and secondary creation at the beginning of a *yuga*, or “age.”⁵⁴⁰ In several Purāṇas the primary cause of creation is the god Brahmā, who in turn is divided into a primary and secondary cause: a supreme unmanifest form and a manifested form as the Trimūrti (often Brahmā as creation, Viṣṇu as preservation, and Śiva as dissolution, along with their *śaktis*).⁵⁴¹ Implicit in this creation is also a cosmic dissolution, called the “Maha Pralayakala” [*< Skt. mahāpralayakāla*, lit. “time of the great dissolution”], or what he calls the “active Godship taking rest and silence at the termination of every four Yoogums [*< Mpv. yukam*, *< Skt. yuga*].⁵⁴² The “active Godship” for Sabhapati is what he elsewhere calls the “Universal Finite Spirit” (*īśvarātman* or *śaktitva*; see Figure 3 above). This principle, embodied in the subtle physiology of the individual’s *cakras* and *tattvas*, accordingly not only sets creation at rest but also stirs creation to activity. However, this activity is not devoid of origin (*anādi*) but has an origin (*ādi*) to which there is a periodical reabsorption.⁵⁴³ At the same time, Sabhapati is clear that someday there will be a “final and real” time of dissolution in which the “active Godship” and its creation will permanently cease to exist.⁵⁴⁴ Sabhapati’s main concern here is mostly a criticism of the Christian doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* “out of nothing,” but his criticism also clarifies his relationship to Śaiva Siddhānta, which he called “Theism” (see Section C above). In other words, he allows that the “passive Godship” (or “Universal Infinite Spirit,” i.e. Brahman or

⁵³⁹ CPSPS, Second Book, 377.

⁵⁴⁰ For these definitions and their timeframes, especially in the context of *avatārs*, see Madeleine Biardeau and Charles Malamoud, *Le sacrifice dans l’Inde ancienne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976), 119–20.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² CPSPS, Second Book, 377.

⁵⁴³ This may be a response to the Śaiva Saiddhāntika position that Śiva is without origin (*anādi*); see

⁵⁴⁴ CPSPS, Second Book, 377.

its higher form, *śivamayam*; see Figure 3), being *anādi* or “without beginning,” survives beyond the *mahāpralaya* of the “active Godship” with its point of origin (*ādi*).

Sabhapati’s Tamil work MCVTS also contains a brief reference to Christianity, just as with Buddhism above, as of one of six religions that contain the truth of the Lord (Īśvara). Sabhapati specifically notes that the people from “countries in the western part of the world” (Tam. *ulakattiṅ mērpākatēcaṅkaḷ*) established a devotion (Skt. *bhakti*) of meditating on Jesus Christ in the shape of a “formless” or “invisible” (Skt. *arūpa*) being (Tam. *arūpākāramākap pāvittut tiyāṅikkum pakti*).⁵⁴⁵ Given the prevalence of physical forms of devotions in Catholicism, especially in India, such a description of Christianity as *arūpa bhakti* is likely based on Sabhapati’s own familiarity from childhood of Protestant forms of devotion that tend to favor aniconic representations of Christ.

3. Sabhapati and Islam

As mentioned in Chapter One, Sabhapati’s sources record that he spent several months to a couple of years in the port city of Nagore near Nagapattinam (Nākappattinam), where he interacted with fakirs at the Dargah or shrine of Shah al-Hamid Naguri (Shāh al-Ḥamīd Nagurī). While Sabhapati later turned more directly to Hinduism, his encounters and conversations at the shrine would have facilitated a general contextual understanding of Islam as mediated through Tamil regional forms of Sufism. In contrast to his treatment of Christianity, however, which as I noted spanned over three pages in CPSPS, explicit consideration of Islam (which he calls “Mahomedanism”) only gets half a page. Curiously, Sabhapati claims that Mohammad after his birth “came with some Caravan merchants to

⁵⁴⁵ CTCSPV, 38.

Punjab and there was initiated into Vedatic Yogue [*sic*] of Hinduism,” which could reflect his confusion of Muhammad with a Punjabi Sufi *pīr* such as Goga, for example.⁵⁴⁶ From there he “went to Palestine and gathered some truths there as regards Christianity and began to establish the truths learned from Christianity and Hinduism.”⁵⁴⁷ As far as the teachings of the “great Mahomed” are concerned, Sabhapati notes he “inculcated the doctrine of Hero, Weapon, Enemy and Minister” (four of six “truths” listed above) but that his followers have misrepresented his teachings on the “fifteen weapons of purifications of Mind and Soul” (see Chapter Four) and instead interpreted as literally referring to the use of “real weapons of polished iron” that are to be used in beheading physical enemies of Islam.⁵⁴⁸

His Tamil work MCVTS, just as with Christianity and Buddhism, describes Islam in a more positive light as one of six religions that contain the Lord’s truth (Tam. *uṇmai*). In this context Mohammad (Mōhamatu) is considered to have come in the shape of an avatar (Tam. *avatārakōlamāy*) from the “place of the middle portion of the virtuous world” (Tam. *pūlōkakaṇṭattiṇ mattiyakaṇṭa stāṇam*) to expound the mystery of “inebriation” (Tam. *mayakkam*) as the “inebriation of gnosis” (Tam. *ñāṇamayakkam*) out of a “desire for liberation” (Mpv1. *mōkṣakāmiyam*, < Skt. *mokṣakāmya*). Like Christianity, it also describes the Qu’ran (Tam. *korāṇ*) as teaching devotion for meditating on the Lord in a “formless” or “invisible shape” (Mpv1. *arūpākāram*, < Skt. *arūpākāra*).

⁵⁴⁶ CPSPS, Second Book, 378.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

4. Sabhapati and Zoroastrianism or “Parsism”

Another traditional religion that Sabhapati engages in his CPSPS is Zoroastrianism, specifically the religion of the Parsi community, which he calls “Parsism.”⁵⁴⁹ Sabhapati’s engagement with Zoroastrianism only spans between one and two pages, and likely emerges out of the context of his desire to attract followers in Mumbai and northwest India, although this interest could have also arisen in conversations in Lahore with members of the newly-founded Theosophical Society (see Chapter One).

Sabhapati’s apology is notable in its description of a mythological connection of both Parsis and Hindus to the “Aryans of Yore” when they were both settled together at a town he calls “Vedekia Puree” (< Videha Purī, most likely a spurious reference to the Videha Kingdom) on the Indus River and headed by one “Veda Deva Rishee” (Vedadevarṣi).⁵⁵⁰ Veda Deva Rishee in turn had two children, an elder son named “Vedha Dhatha” or “Vedha Dhata” (Vedadatta) and a younger son named “Vedha Dhesa” (Vedadeśa). The elder son settled west of the Indus and introduced a “new Sanskrit tongue” called “Zind” (Zend), which refers to commentaries to the Avesta, a collection of Zoroastrian sacred texts.⁵⁵¹ The younger son in turn came south and became the ancestor of the present-day Hindus.

⁵⁴⁹ For more on this community and its religious history see Michael Stausberg and Yuhon Sohrab-Dinshaw Vevaina, eds., *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism* (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 157–73; Helmut Humbach, “Miθra in India and the Hinduized Magi,” in *Études Mithriaques: Actes Du 2e Congrès International Téhéran, Du 1er Au 8 Septembre 1975* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 230–52.

⁵⁵⁰ CPSPS, Second Book, 378–9. The rest of the quotations in this section, unless otherwise noted, are from these pages.

⁵⁵¹ I am grateful to Mariano Errichiello for reading this section of Sabhapati’s work and offering his comments, some of which inform this section. He explains the following about Zend (email correspondence, 7/1/2020): “It is a Middle Persian term proceeding from the Avestan *zanti* ‘interpretation’ which refers to commentaries to the Avesta (collection of Zoroastrian sacred texts). However, in the 18th and 19th [centuries], Orientalists were referring to the term Zend as the holy Zoroastrian scripture, probably due to the assonance with Pazand (a writing system based on the Avestan script and used for Middle Persian language).”

The story doesn't end there, however, as the elder son Vedha Dhatha had a fifth descendent named "Parashara Maha Rishee" who "married the daughter of one of the Rishees of India and settled his Ashrumum [< Skt. *āśram*] in the caves of Kushachalum [Kuśācala, "the Kush Mountains"], now called the Hindu Kusha." Parashara was said to have "mastered the truths of the four Vedas" and to have initiated his followers into those truths as well as "Agni Hotra worship." This Parashara is almost certainly a reference to Parāśara, a well-known rishi in Hinduism who in the *Mahābhārata* epic is the son of Śaktri and Adṛśyantī, and the father of Vyāsa.⁵⁵² There is a connection of him with yoga as well; the *Parāśarasmti*, or "Recollection of Parāśara," includes an aphorism about yogis who pierce the orb of the sun, and he also offers a teaching on yoga to Janaka in the twelfth book (*parvan*) of the *Mahābhārata*.⁵⁵³

The twelfth descendent of this Parashara Maha Rishee was in turn none other than "Zhoraster" or Zoroaster, who "translated all the four Vedas of the Hindus into the Zend language." These Vedas were taken away by the "Rishies" and "Yogees" of both Hinduism and Zoroastrianism following an unspecified "change over the nations of the western world," and were hidden in the ashram hermitage of the Kush Mountains for preservation.

Sabhapati claims that the term "Parsee" (Parsi) comes from the name "Parashara" of Parashara Maha Rishee. The ethnic marker "Parsi" does not actually derive from a specific person, however, but refers to inhabitants of Pars, a region in Iran (from which the Hindustani adjective *phārsī* and English adjective Persian are ultimately derived).⁵⁵⁴ The above mythology therefore has no grounding in the historical development of the Parsi

⁵⁵² Søren Sørensen, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1904), 538.

⁵⁵³ See White, *Sinister Yogis*, 144–5.

⁵⁵⁴ Errichiello, email correspondence, 7/1/2020.

community, who fled to India between the eighth and tenth centuries following the Islamic conquest. However, the reference to the Kush Mountains does provide additional data for constructing the yogic mythology of Agastya’s hermitage; as I noted in Chapter One (Section H), the Kush Mountains (Tam. Kuṣācala) are one of the eleven mountain ranges from which the Gnostics (Ñāṇikal), the Rishis (Ruṣikal), the Siddhas (Cittarkal), and the Yogis (Yōkikal) were said to travel to Mount Agastya to catch the vision of Agastya that was said to occur only once every fifty years. As a result, the above mythology tells us that the other ten mountain ranges very likely had similar mythologies associated, some of which have likely been long forgotten or obscured.

In addition to the above mythological account, Sabhapati appends a short paragraph entitled “Instructions on the fire worship of Hindus and Parsees.” These instructions, which are more descriptive than practical, do not appear to come from a Parsi ritual context but are likely Sabhapati’s own invention, possibly to promote harmony between Parsis and Hindus and to encourage Parsis to embrace the “Universal truth, Church and Creed” predicated on Sabhapati’s Hindu yogic system. Earlier he had noted a commonality between the “Devata woaship” [*sic*] of the two religions, which is at least terminologically inaccurate since Parsis “clearly differentiate between Ahuras/Yazatas (positive divine entities) and Daevas (demons).”⁵⁵⁵ Yet these practices, five in number, perhaps intentionally do not include any worship to gods and goddesses but are meditations on the fire itself. They are as follows, with Sabhapati’s own idiosyncratic English followed by a transliteration of the accompanying Maṇipravāla phrases provided):

- 1) “The worship [lit. “meditation”] of the fire of satisfying Godly powers”
(MpvI. *tēvatārpaṇayāknītiyāṇ*, < Skt. *devatārpaṇāgnidhyāna*)

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

- 2) “The worship of the fire of good thoughts, good words and good deeds” (MpvI. *cuttakuṇavācā kiriyākṇitiyān*, < Skt. *śuddhaguṇavācākriyāgnidhyāna*)
- 3) “The worship of the fire of the purification of the Mind and Soul” (MpvI. *ātmamaṇocuttiyākṇitiyān*, < Skt. *ātmamanaḥśuddhyagnidhyāna*)
- 4) “The worship of the fire of absorption of the functions and faculties” (MpvI. *carvatattuvalayākṇitiyān*, < Skt. *sarvatattvalayāgnidhyāna*)
- 5) “The worship of the fire of the identification of the Soul and Spirit in deep meditation by holding communion with God” (*pirmmēsvarakñānākṇitiyān*, < Skt. *brahmeśvarajñānāgnidhyāna*)

The above descriptions are additionally accompanied by rewards for their practice, perhaps intended to provide additional incentive.

5. Sabhapati and “Samajees”

In additional to the religions above, Sabhapati also offered a scathing critique in CPSPS of Indian “Samajees” (< Hi. *samājī*, “a member of a society”), specifically Brahma Samaj (Brahma Samāj, the “Society of Brahman”), Arya Samaj (Ārya Samāj, the “Noble Society”), Prarthana Samaj (Prārthana Samāj, the “Society of Prayer”), and “others.”⁵⁵⁶ It is very likely that Sabhapati had his own former editor Shrishā Chandra Basu in mind as he wrote, dictated, or at least reviewed this section of his Second Book of CPSPS, which was published in 1890. As already mentioned in Chapter One (Section G), Sabhapati had delivered an address on the anniversary of the Lahore Arya Samaj in November of 1879. He had already met Shrishā Chandra by that time, who edited VRY (published in 1880) and would go on to join the Brahma Samaj in 1881, only to sever his ties with that society two years later, in 1883. Shrishā Chandra had also flirted with joining the Arya Samaj while still a student after attending lectures in Lahore by Dayananda Saraswati, but never joined and refused to sign their pledge form, although he continued to further his sympathetic interest in

⁵⁵⁶ CPSPS. Second Book, 381. It is possible that Sabhapati could have also had the Dev Samaj (Dev Samāj) in mind (see Chapter One).

the politics of Hindu reformation. Shrishā Chandra also joined the Theosophical Society after meeting Sabhapati Swami, a society that the swami considered separately (see the subsequent section). Given Shrishā Chandra's activities, it is interesting that Sabhapati by 1890 had distanced himself from all the above societies, many of which his own followers such as Shrishā Chandra had various degrees of relationship to or invested membership in. As I will argue, Sabhapati's perspective seems on the one hand designed to reflect his gradual disillusionment with the leadership of these societies and on the other hand intended to promote his own yogic system of initiation and "meditation halls" as a viable alternative to membership in these societies.⁵⁵⁷

Sabhapati opens his critique with the declaration that the above societies "were once nothing more than the Vedantic societies in the true shape" and that their leaders had established them to "extend this oriental and ancient Vedantic Yogue [*sic*] truth of Aryans of yore."⁵⁵⁸ In contrast to the above religions, he notes that these societies accept the truth of the "first passive" and "second active" principles as well as all six of the truths of "Adhikari" (see above). However, he laments what he perceives as "evil alternations and changes" introduced by the present members of these societies, specifically their denial of the doctrine of "punishment by transmigrations" and, even more "absurd" and "foolish," their denial that the "self nature of the Soul" is the "Infinite Spirit of everywhere (which it really was, is, and will be)." The source of the problem, Sabhapati argues, is "their belief in the seeming scientific and Atheistic studies of the western nations without practising or caring to comprehend what is the Vedantic Yogue Philosophy." As I shall show in a separate section

⁵⁵⁷ See Karl Baier, "Mesmeric Yoga and the Development of Meditation within the Theosophical Society," *Theosophical History: A Quarterly Journal of Research* XVI, no. 3 and 4 (October 2012): 156–7.

⁵⁵⁸ CPSPS, Second Book, 380.

below, this is just one example to a whole host of responses to a certain discursive current of Atheism that must have been beginning to spread in India around that time, and is a preoccupation that does not figure prominently (or at least as explicitly) in his other works.

Sabhapati continues his critique of “societies and samajees” on other fronts as well, and perhaps in no other section is he quite as explicit as to the social importance of his spiritual teachings. He pointedly asks members of these societies the following line of questioning as a kind of challenge:

Why for you pray? and to whom you pray? The Meditation of praying without understanding God’s nature (to whom the prayer is devoted) and the nature of the Soul (by whom the prayer is devoted) is as ignorant and senseless as that praise, which a man without knowing what for he praises and to whom he praises and who is it that praises, gives to a man whom he does not see, and knows not whether he exists or hears and what is his state . . .⁵⁵⁹

Sabhapati’s overarching critique in all of this is his perception that the leaders of these reform societies in his day had failed to delve deep into understanding “God’s nature,” that is, the interplay between the Infinite Spirit and the Finite Spirit, or between Brahman and the *jīvātman*, as predicated on the descent of the *tattvas* and their canceling and reabsorption through the practice of yoga (see Chapter Four). He goes on to emphasize that the “real Universal truth, church and creed is the Infinite Spirit or God or whole,” reiterating that there is actually “no such thing as Finite or Soul or part”—there is only a delusion of separateness prior to engaging in the rituals of purifications and yoga. This is made explicit in a later point, in which Sabhapati reiterates that all one has to do is to “understand that there is no

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., 381.

created thing and truly to cancel all seeming creations together with the seeming existing functions and faculties by the Vedantic Gnyana Yogue [= Skt. *jñāna yoga*] practice of this philosophy.”⁵⁶⁰

Beyond Sabhapati’s metaphysical instructions, however, there are also discernible forces and social implications. For example, it is clear that Sabhapati is advocating that members of these societies return to a more traditional mode of spiritual instruction in the guru-disciple model, a model that would have already been significantly declining in importance by the peak of the colonial period when Western forms of standardized education and the prospects of urban mobility were rapidly replacing the benefits of traditional apprenticeship under a renunciate guru. In other words, it is clear that the social worlds of colonial cities like Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, and Lahore would have encouraged or even necessitated the rise of religious communities and organizations that talked more in terms of “membership” and “pledge-forms” than “initiation,” for example, of which the Arya Samaj is perhaps the best-known textbook example.⁵⁶¹ At the same time, the old structures and politics of initiation and renunciation never really disappeared, and Sabhapati could also be read as criticizing these new societies for “outgrowing” their traditional religious source of authority.⁵⁶² This phenomenon is reflected in Sabhapati’s own words as follows:

. . . the members of different sorts of Societies and Samajees under different designations lead their meditation themselves in accordance with their untrue, unreal, misused, misled, misguided opinions without having Saniasee Sadhoos [= Skt.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 383.

⁵⁶¹ For the latter, see Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

⁵⁶² In this Sabhapati somewhat resembles Traditionalist reactions against modernity but coming from an Indian rather than Western voice; for more on this phenomenon see Mark Sedgwick, *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

sannyāsī sādhus] as their Spiritual preceptors to guide them in the proper channel.”⁵⁶³

As we saw in Chapter One, Sabhapati had taken his sannyasi vows from his guru Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal around the age of thirty. As a result, he would have thought of himself as an exemplary model of a “Sannyasi Sadhu” who would have been capable of guiding members of the “Societies and Samajees” in the proper way that he suggests.

At the end of this section in CPSPS he even summarizes his prescriptive guidance for members of these societies into four pithy steps as follows, which I have edited slightly for clarity:

- 1) Realize the nature of God, the Universal Infinite Spirit (Mpv. *pirmmēsvarasvarūpam*, < Skt. *brahmeśvarasvarūpa*), upon which the meditation is carried out.
- 2) Realize the nature of the Soul (*ātmavarūpam*, < Skt. *ātmavarūpa*), by which the meditation is carried out.
- 3) Make the Soul to lose its nature in God by means of purity, communion, concentration and absorption, through the Gnyan Yogue [*jñāna yoga*] practice with identification (Mpv. *ātma piramma aikkiyasvarūpam*, < Skt. *ātmabrahma aikyasvarūpam*).
- 4) Pray, meditate and make Manasa Puja [= Skt. *mānasa pūjā*, “mental worship rites”] through the piety of duality (Mpv. *ātmapirammesvara pakttisvarūpam*, < Skt. *ātmabrahmeśvara bhaktisvarūpa*) to get the grace of God and to obtain relief from sorrows, sins, and transmigrations.

While these prescriptions are intended to be more or less applicable to any reader, he closes his apology with the following blunt statement: “This is the initiation of mine come and learn.”⁵⁶⁴ This closing statement underscores the fact that, while Sabhapati’s books were intended to faithfully communicate his teachings and methods, there was still an additional component of personal instruction and initiation offered to serious students who took the time to “come and learn” from Sabhapati or his followers at their Meditation Hall.

⁵⁶³ Ibid., 384.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., 385.

7. Sabhapati and the “Theosophical Societies”

As treated in Chapter One, Henry Olcott and H.P. Blavatsky, the so-called “Founders” of the Theosophical Society, which had been established in New York City in 1875,⁵⁶⁵ first arrived in Bombay in February of 1879 and met with Sabhapati Swami nine months later after he and Olcott had addressed the same crowd in November of 1879. Both Olcott and Blavatsky had previously been corresponding with Dayanada Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, with whom they would break ties with in 1882.⁵⁶⁶ There is evidence that Olcott and Blavatsky in this earlier period of Theosophy’s history were searching for instruction in yoga to further their knowledge of “astral” travel (see Chapter Seven), although they shifted their focus after their falling out with Dayananda. They remained interested from the beginning, however, in assuming roles in reviving what they perceived to be the wisdom of the Aryas, or “Nobles.”⁵⁶⁷ While there is no evidence that Sabhapati Swami himself joined the newly-founded Society, he remained mostly sympathetic to this cause, and his editor Shrish Chandra Basu did join and remained a lifelong member.

In the First Book of CPSPS, published in 1884, Sabhapati mentions Blavatsky and Olcott by name in the context of a note of “Caution” that admonishes the reader to get over “*Shame and Pride*” that may prevent one from “going to *Gnyanis* and *Yógis*”:

⁵⁶⁵ Joscelyn Godwin, “Blavatsky and the First Generation of Theosophy,” in *Handbook of the Theosophical Current*, ed. Olav Hammer and Mikael Rothstein, Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion, 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 15–31.

⁵⁶⁶ Chajes, *Recycled Lives*, 29; Karl Baier, *Meditation und Moderne: Zur Genese eines Kernbereichs moderner Spiritualität in der Wechselwirkung zwischen Westeuropa, Nordamerika und Asien* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2009), 329–335.

⁵⁶⁷ At this early date (1880s–1900s) the adjective Aryan (< Skt. *ārya*) referred to an imagined construction of Indian philosophical heritage and did not yet have the racist connotations that it would acquire a half-century later under the Third Reich. Nevertheless, at that time it was salient to a budding colonial-era nationalism; *aryāvarta* or “cyclic home of the Aryas” had been cited at least as early as the “Laws of Manu” (*Manusmṛti* 2.22–23) and Sabhapati and his editor Shrish Chandra Basu do tend to conceptualize “India” more broadly as a cultural and geographical entity.

You must hear also Foreign Brother's and Sister's, (such as Col. Olcott's and Madame Blavatsky's) advices of Reviving our Beliefs on Aryan Forefather's Religious Spiritual Instructions and Gaining Success over the practices of those Ancestral Instructions, by being a member and biding [*sic*] thanks to such foreign successful advisers.⁵⁶⁸

The note celebrates these “ancestral Aryans” as “*Teachers and Gurus of any of the four Castes from whom to learn Spirituality*” (italics as original here and in all quotations in this section), meaning that for Sabhapati the adjective “Aryan” referred to a pan-Indian ancestral heritage that was not only limited to the Brahmin caste. The note further provides an important justification for Sabhapati's translationalization of his yogic knowledge to “*Foreigners or Non-Aryans,*” noting that the “ancestral Aryans” were “*Teachers to the Foreign nations of the World*” and not vice-versa, with “Hindu learned men of the present age becoming students and disciples to the *Teachers or Missionaries* from other shores.”⁵⁶⁹ A deep sense of loss pervades the tone of this note mingled with encouragement at the prospect of reviving ancestral teachings and spreading them throughout the world, as the following statement makes clear:

. . . we have *lost* already the ruling *powers* to the foreigners but we may have them as Brothers and Sisters from foreign Land, and try our best to give them every means of possible and practicable instructions of Spiritual truths what we hold of, enabling them to spread it in their own lands and also everywhere of the World if possible.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁸ CPSPS, First Book, 106–7.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

This openness to spreading yogic instructions to foreigners, expressed in 1884, over a decade before Swami Vivekananda's lecture at the Parliament of World Religions in 1896, is exemplary of a larger *Zeitgeist* of the late nineteenth century. Yogis and authors on yoga, like Sabhapati's editor Shrishya Chandra Basu who would go on to publish separately, were trying to revive teachings that were perceived to be in danger of dying out in the colonial period due to several factors, including conversion efforts undertaken by missionaries on the one hand, and on the other hand the advent of a Western-style standardized education for elites that for the most part dismissed local forms of knowledge like yoga and its accompanying cosmological system as mere superstition.

Sabhapati more directly engages what he calls "Theosophical Societies" in a separate section appended to his treatment of "Samajees" (see above). His consistent use of the plural form (rather than a singular, specific Theosophical Society) is itself interesting since it indicates that by 1890 he could imagine the presence of "Theosophical Societies" as a category that could encompass other groups of occultists who followed a similar line of thinking, both Indian and foreign, rather just the Theosophical Society founded in 1875. It is also notable that Sabhapati treats such societies in a separate section from his critique of the Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, and so on, but at the same time it is understandable; their doctrines on yoga and rebirth to a certain extent could more closely be framed as in alignment with his own, despite some clear differences on specific points.⁵⁷¹ Sabhapati's

⁵⁷¹ For some of the specifics of these exchanges, see Chajes, *Recycled Lives*, 160–83; and Karl Baier, "Theosophical Orientalism and the Structures of Intercultural Transfer: Annotations on the Appropriations of the Cakras in Early Theosophy," in *Theosophical Appropriations: Esotericism, Kabbalah and the Transformation of Traditions*, ed. Julie Chajes and Boaz Huss (Be'er Sheva, Israel: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2016), 309–54.

criticism of “Theosophical Societies” accordingly takes a warmer tone than with those other societies:

Ye brotherly members of the Theosophical Societies you all deal much in theoretical [*sic*] knowledge of Vedantism, Yogism, purification, benevolence, indistinction of caste and religion, brotherhood, search after the knowledge of God and search and love of the Psychic powers, good thoughts, good words and good deeds but not practical knowledge.⁵⁷²

His final point is reiterated in an injunction for these “brotherly members” to “follow the practical experience more earnestly than the theoretical [*sic*] knowledge.”⁵⁷³ This criticism of over-theorizing likely reflects a shifting interest among the early members of the Theosophical Society away from the occult practice of astral travel, which at least some members thought yoga could help facilitate, and toward an emphasis on theoretical speculation on Vedantic and Buddhist metaphysics, as Patrick Deveney and others have indicated.⁵⁷⁴

Another aspect of Theosophy that must have inspired Sabhapati was in his adoption of the rhetoric of a “Universal Church” and “Creed,” which he mentions throughout his works despite the apologetic engagement with the different religions above. Theosophy’s motto, “There is no religion higher than truth,” is certainly resonant with Sabhapati’s description of the ideal guru or spiritual preceptor: “*He has no castes, no sects, no sexes, no religion therefore men of castes, sects, sexes, religions must take him to be preceptor of all*

⁵⁷² CPSPS, Second Book, 385.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ John Patrick Deveney, *Theosophical History Occasional Papers, Vol. VI: Astral Projection or Liberation of the Double and the Work of the Early Theosophical Society* (Fullerton, CA: Theosophical History, 1997); see also Chajes, *Recycled Lives*, 29.

castes, all sects, all sexes, all religions and as a child of the world in General . . .” (emphasis original).⁵⁷⁵ Sabhapati, therefore, preached a universalist ideal of the guru despite the method to achieving this ideal being mostly framed in a Hindu soteriological context.

8. Sabhapati and Atheism

In addition to the religions and societies treated above, Sabhapati intersperses a pointed critique of “Atheism” throughout the two volumes of CPSPS, a critique that is minimized or even absent in his other works and appears to be a reaction to colonial-era secular attitudes inspired by his encounters with educated and urban elites, especially in developing areas of cities like Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. His critique is accordingly not so much aimed at modern revivals of an indigenous form of Cārvāka materialism, but at a worldview that had been imported from outside. At the same time, his discourse follows a long history of critiques against materialism (as it arose in India as well as outside) by religious authors, a discourse that, as Kraler has pointed out, would later be engaged by Swami Vivekananda in the context of his teachings on *ākāśa* (“space” or “ether”).⁵⁷⁶ Sabhapati specifically mentions the words “atheism” or “atheist” at least forty-five times in CPSPS, and even devotes over ten full pages to it in a section subtitled “Atheism condemned by the Practical proofs of reason and logic.”⁵⁷⁷ In that section he offers a string of synonymous concepts, namely “non-religion or atheism or naturalism or scientific untruism

⁵⁷⁵ CPSPS, Second Book, 220.

⁵⁷⁶ Magdalena Kraler, “Tracing Vivekananda’s Prāṇa and Ākāśa: The Yogavāsiṣṭha and Rama Prasad’s Occult Science of Breath,” in *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, ed. Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter (London: Palgrave Macmillan, Forthcoming). I am grateful to Magdalena for sharing with me an early draft of her paper, much of which should be read in conversation with Sabhapati’s own discourse in this chapter.

⁵⁷⁷ CPSPS, Second Book, 405–16.

or materialism of the present day,”⁵⁷⁸ all of which are subsumed under his criticism of “Atheism.” Perhaps the most generalized and socially descriptive of his arguments are as follows:

Therefore, ye! atheists! ye ? atheists ? do not be puffed up with vain egotism, pride, arrogance, self-conceit, ignorance, because you or your parents have amassed for you sufficient wealth to suitably preserve your material body, because you can dress well with beautiful vest in seasons cold and hot, because you can live in comfortable place, because you can command your brother-man, whom you in your ignorance and cruelty, have made your slave, because he cannot maintain himself, because he cannot dress well, cannot lodge in comfortable place in consequence of his not having arts of wit to amass money (to live virtuously) as you or your parents did, because you can temporarily enjoy joyfully in impure, unnatural, undivine, unholy, unsacred things . . .⁵⁷⁹

Sabhapati could be responding to a certain body of literature that he encountered on Atheism as well as to interactions he would have had with followers who likely expressed their own doubts about Sabhapati’s framework of emanations and evolutions when confronted with their own colonial-era education or books on philosophical and scientific topics acquired from overseas.

The term “Atheism” itself derives from the French *athéisme*, which in turn derived from Greek *átheos*, the privy prefix “a-“ being added to *theos*, or “God,” and gained currency as a concept in the context of seventeenth-century literary attempts to grapple with the Greek philosophies of Stoics and Epicureans who had distinctive views on the existence of God or

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 416.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., 413.

gods.⁵⁸⁰ In the eighteenth century, French thinkers such as Paul-Henri Thiry (Baron) d’Holbach (1723–1789) expanded these literary conceptions of Atheism to promote a “mechanistic” kind of materialism, as outlined in the two volumes of his *Système de la nature* (1770).⁵⁸¹ By the late nineteenth century British figures like Charles Bradlaugh (1833–1891), a contemporary of Sabhapati, were also self-appropriating and inverting the term “atheism” as an affirmation rather than a negation, such as in the following quote taken from Bradlaugh’s “Plea for Atheism”: “Atheism, properly understood, is nowise a cold, barren negative; it is on the contrary, a hearty, fruitful affirmation of all truth, and involves the positive assertion and action of highest humanity.”⁵⁸² For Bradlaugh, an affirmation of Atheism went hand in hand with an affirmation of the identity of “matter,” “substance,” and “existence,” expressed in logical principles and proofs that are presented in a similar format to Sabhapati’s own critique.⁵⁸³ While we do not know for sure if he read Bradlaugh, Sabhapati would have certainly taken issue with his identity of the above terms since matter is not an essential substance, and separate existence itself is simply an illusion brought about through the emanation of faculties from the infinite Spirit.

Sabhapati’s main treatment on Atheism is accordingly synonymous with his critique of “naturalism” or “materialism” in that he describes Atheists as people who “blindly say and believe that the last creations i.e. five vitals of the last Spiritual creation of the second active principle have the elements themselves to act what God, the Infinite Spirit, in his second

⁵⁸⁰ Christopher Brooke, “How the Stoics Became Atheists,” *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 2 (2006): 387–402. I am grateful to Joseph Blankholm for sharing with me the historical understanding of the origins of Atheistic philosophy that are reflected in this paragraph.

⁵⁸¹ Michael LeBuffe, “Paul-Henri Thiry (Baron) d’Holbach,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, 2020, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2020/entries/holbach/>.

⁵⁸² Charles Bradlaugh, “A Plea for Atheism,” in *A Few Words About the Devil, and Other Biographical Sketches and Essays* (New York: A.K. Butts & Co., 1874), 2.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, 11.

active principle can do.”⁵⁸⁴ Sabhapati’s terminology would be incomprehensible here unless one considers what the “five vitals” of the “second active principle” are in the context of his system of “emanation” and “evolution” of the *tattvas* (see Section B.4 above). The five vitals are the five elements (*bhūtas*), in the body located in the *mūlādhāra*, which Sabhapati calls the “kundali [*kuṇḍali*] of elements.” In other words, these elements are where Sabhapati locates material or physical reality. The idea that the Atheists of his day could take these physical elements, reframe them as the elements known to modern chemistry, and then argue that nothing else exists apart from them (no faculty of *manas* or mind, no faculty of *buddhi* or intelligence, or much less no Universal Finite or Infinite Spirit) is perhaps the biggest existential threat to Sabhapati’s cosmology that he spends hundreds of pages outlining in various ways in his literature. It appears simply inconceivable to Sabhapati that Atheists could “vainly maintain that the sensual and mental phenomena are the results of the unconscious movements of the brain” instead of realizing that such phenomena result from the emanations of the higher “eleven faculties” or *cakras* from the Universal Spirit through the active Universal Finite Spirit.⁵⁸⁵ Although Sabhapati places some of the highest of these other eleven faculties in the brain or head of the yogic body, such as the “crevice of Brahman” (*brahmarandhra*) or seat of the Universal Finite Spirit, their origin is not limited to the functions of the physical brain but are ultimately believed to be caused by the emanations of these faculties as part of his wider cosmological system. The section immediately previous to his main critique of Atheism describes this system of thirty-two emanations in a relatively succinct form, which to some extent can be read as his counterpoint to his construction of an antagonistic Atheist worldview, whether real or

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., 406.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

imaginary, that only accounts for the lowest of the emanations, that of physical matter or the elements.⁵⁸⁶

There is another related critique that Sabhapati offers, namely that the physical methods and instruments by which Atheists attempt to observe and analyze spiritual or subtle principles are inadequate. He writes that the Atheists judge “Spiritual things, that are imperceptible, invisible [*sic*], unseen, by the assistance of all the instruments of microscope, telescope &c: but which will surely be perceived visibly [*sic*] by the mental vision.”⁵⁸⁷

Sabhapati’s contention is accordingly that physical things are observed with physical instruments, but that spiritual things are observed by the “mental vision” that is cultivated through the consistent application of his prescribed practices; as a result scientists are misled in their endeavor to deny God by noting his absence in the world of matter. This notion of the “mental vision” of the yogi is linked to his promise that the yogi will obtain an “Eye to the Universe” (*brahmajñānadṛṣṭi*; see Section B.4 above).⁵⁸⁸ Sabhapati’s views were, of course, expressed prior to the spread of modern psychoanalysis as propounded by Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and more especially the analytical psychology of Carl Jung (1875–1961), both of whom would become famous around the world for their explorations into the powers of the mind and its relationship to the physical matter of the brain; it would have been interesting to know how Sabhapati would have responded to Freud’s theories on dream-interpretation or Jung’s theories on archetypes, for example.

While Sabhapati himself (or his editor) was mostly content to dismiss the Western philosophical and scientific literature of his day as narrowly focused on the world of matter,

⁵⁸⁶ CPSPS, Second Book, 403.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁸ For more on the wider theory of yogic perception that Sabhapati is probably contrasting with the science of physical optics, see White, *Sinister Yogis*, 154–61

he did attempt to engage with scientific materialist theories, albeit in a limited way. In a section of his Tamil work CTCSPV entitled “Instruction on the Divine Way, Having Left Behind the False Way” (Tam. *poymmārkkān tavirttameymmārkkā upatēcam*), which spans a few pages, Sabhapati attempts to link his doctrine of the seven *svarūpas* (lit. “inherent forms,” “essential natures”), which he translates as “Spiritual states” in CPSPS and links with his frameworks of *tattvas* outlined in Section B.4 above,⁵⁸⁹ with “seven types of elemental expansion” (Tam. *pirapañcam ēḷuvakaittākum*). These include 1) “Spirit or Space,” 2) “Presence and Atoms,” 3) “Power,” 4) “Essence,” 5) “Force and Motion,” 6) “Action and Creation” and 7) “Visible Show,” and he also mentions oxygen and nitrogen as invisible elements of life.⁵⁹⁰

It was left to one of Sabhapati’s followers, however, to take up the task even further to reconcile certain theories of Western science and philosophy that were prevailing in Sabhapati’s day with his own yogic cosmology. Ambikacharan Bandyopadhyay (Bengali: Ambikācaraṇ Bandyopādhyāy) supplied (1885) an additional introduction to Sabhapati’s work translated into Bengali (BRY), published by Shrishā Chandra Basu. In this piece he takes recourse to the opinions of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), William Hamilton (1788–1856), and Henry Longueville Mansel (1820–1871) in the context of such topics as “contraction and expansion,” the “relative realities” of time and space, the “negation of conceivability,” the “unconditioned consciousness,” the “inconceivable and imperceptible,” and “mechanical motion.” These are figures and ideas related to the worldview of what Asprem has called Victorian scientific naturalism,⁵⁹¹ and must have

⁵⁸⁹ CPSPS, Second Book, 212–16.

⁵⁹⁰ CTCSPV, 24–5.

⁵⁹¹ Egil Asprem, *The Problem of Disenchantment: Scientific Naturalism and Esoteric Discourse, 1900–1939*, SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions (Albany, NY: SUNY State University of New York, 2018), 67–72.

offered possibilities to Ambikacharan for a kind of reconciliation between Western science and Sabhapati's yogic system of emanation and evolution, however problematic or not from a contemporary scientific perspective. Chajes has shown that a similar sympathetic trend towards the scientists of her day, specifically those who espoused alternative approaches to Darwinian evolution, can be detected in the writings of H.P. Blavatsky, and this also applies to the writings of Swami Vivekananda and the Christian Science of Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910).⁵⁹² This approach may have inspired Ambikacharan, who like Shrishcha Chandra appears to have had connections to the Theosophical Society. Furthermore, many of the authors that Ambikacharan cited would also be engaged a couple decades later by the occultist Aleister Crowley (1875–1947) to justify his own teachings of yoga and ceremonial magic in a loosely scientific frame; Crowley, unlike Blavatsky, would however often praise the evolutionary approach of “Darwin’s bulldog” Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–1895) (see Chapter Seven).⁵⁹³

In addition to the lines of argument above, Sabhapati offers fifteen so-called “proofs” that the “untruths” of the “non-religions” of Atheism are “full of absurdities.”⁵⁹⁴ They are as follows, summarized from Sabhapati’s original, more lengthy arguments:

- 1) The elements, being of pure matter, cannot combine themselves into the eleven higher faculties nor can they be the “first principle” which is devoid of the twelve faculties.
- 2) The cause of death is not a material “suffocation” of elements, but a kind of bidding “farewell” on the part of the “spiritual chemist or the Alchemist” who had initially brought the eleven higher faculties into existence to act upon the “machine of the body.”
- 3) The elements do not create the “Spirits” of the higher eleven faculties but rather the “Spirits” create the elements; the force of the elements is like the “light of the gun powder” that vanishes upon combustion.
- 4) Force, or the “result of the combinations of such elements,” is not stopped on account of a portion of matter being taken away; instead, “Spirits create the

⁵⁹² Chajes, *Recycled Lives*, 132–59.

⁵⁹³ For Crowley’s response to Victorian scientific naturalism see Egil Asprem, “Magic Naturalized? Negotiating Science and Occult Experience in Aleister Crowley’s Scientific Illuminism,” *Aries* 8 (2008): 139–165.

⁵⁹⁴ CPSPS, Second Book, 408.

- faculties by resting in different places of matter” and thus need a material basis “to rest upon.” The faculties are no longer physically perceived when the material basis is “taken away or stopped or absorbed.”
- 5) If one supposes the eleven conscious faculties to be the “result of the force of combinations of unconscious elements,” how are they “Universally diffused” in the “body of every man,” which varies vastly from one to another?
 - 6) The “combination of elements” is temporary and transient and so cannot have the Infinite Spirit as its cause; no “internal or external combination of elements” takes place in the Infinite Spirit or the higher eleven faculties.
 - 7) When someone knows his true self to be the “first faculty” he is “not affected” by the other faculties, yet Atheists still believe the “unconscious elements” to be “the cause of the conscious eleven faculties,” which is “totally absurd.”
 - 8) When elements are combined by “material proofs and examples,” it creates a “different and separate thing from the original element without Spiritual power” but not a “new creation of elements or more creation of the same nature.”
 - 9) Combining these elements does give “motion” and “action” but not in a self-impelled way, and not the power of the “consciousness of eleven faculties.”
 - 10) There cannot be a “combination of elements without anyone to combine them,” that is, without the “Supernatural one Supreme being.” The elements cannot be “self masters for actions and motions,” since when a person dies the body is always dead with “self-existence, self-action, self-emotion, self-notion, self-creation” and the elements do not continue “with their combinations or forces as they once did.”
 - 11) The idea that “sensual and mental phenomena are nothing more than unconscious movement of the brain is quite absurd in theory and practice,” since the “self-consciousness which reveals as a wisdom that there is such thing as brain and faculties is unquestionably the above thing that commands over the unconscious movement of sensual and mental phenomena” by means of the brain.
 - 12) If the eleven faculties are “the result of the self combination of the unconscious matter” of the brain, how is it possible for one combination of the brain to “create contrary faculties one at the same time”?
 - 13) When a man begins to die, the “combinations of the matter of the organs of every part” decrease rapidly, while the “mental phenomena of the brain are augmenting.” This is because the “Spiritual conscious man, who had created that body by extending the eleven faculties at their destined seats to work the physical phenomena, in obedience with the appointed time by God, begins to draw with all the acquired treasure of sin and vice, those eleven faculties to enter another body.”
 - 14) If the elements were the “true Gods,” as Atheists suppose, then whatever “is consciously thought, spoken or done in accordance with . . . the unconscious material movement of the brain” would “never become the cause for pain, sorrow, repentance,” but this is not the case.

- 15) “If the eleven faculties are as actions, the body . . . must move to act first before the faculty,” and it is “quite absurd and ignorant . . . to think that action is cause and emotion is effect of cause.”⁵⁹⁵

As can be seen from the above, the arguments that Sabhapati proposes are predicated upon his system of the twelve faculties, of which the material elements are the lowest or twelfth faculty, associated with *kuṇḍali* and the *mūlādhāra cakra*. However, his interpretation of the Atheist argument more broadly is that it maintains that everything resides in matter, which according to Sabhapati is false since matter is not a cause but an effect—indeed, the final effect prior to death, dissolution or withdrawal back to the Infinite Spirit.

Sabhapati then offers four more proofs by which Atheists can have the truth revealed to them: 1) “the proof of the internal self conscious phenomena,” 2) “the proof of the internal mental phenomena,” 3) “the proof of the internal physical phenomena,” and 4) “the proof of the external phenomena by Yogue [=Skt. *yoga*] (in doing miracles) and Gnyana [=Skt. *jñāna*] (by sitting in trance, putting entire stop without remembrance of all the mental and physical phenomena several days and months together when yet living but not when dead).” He then offers an abbreviated set of instructions on a sequence of meditations to be engaged “in some lovely place where your mind may not have any disturbance either by any sound or shake of thought.”⁵⁹⁶

This sequence, which is related to his more specific practices of Śivarājayoga (see Chapter Four), begins with an examination of the flow of one’s thought and an attempt to trace the source of one’s “self consciousness,” which he elsewhere defined as the

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., 408–13.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., 414.

. . . seeing presence, knowing presence, understanding presence, and conceiving presence, both in the body and everywhere in the Universe as the only one aether-like, space-like, clear void sight and eye, which is the Universal Infinite Spirit or the God of Omni-presence as all witnessing, all knowing, all seeing, all understanding, and all conceiving in the body at the centre seat of the skull or Brahma, Rundhra, [*sic*, < Skt. *brahmarandhra*, “crevice of Brahman”] . . .⁵⁹⁷

Here the Tamil term that Sabhapati translates into “consciousness” is most likely *viyāpakam*, lit. “diffusion, universality, ubiquity,” which is a kind of abstract noun formed from the Sanskrit *vyāpaka*, “pervading, diffusive, comprehensive,” and in this context an attribute of Brahman or “passive principle” as *sarvavyāpaka* or “omnipresence” (see “C” on Figure 4).⁵⁹⁸

Perhaps most importantly, Sabhapati in this section allows that the “faculties come out from the brain,” a rare context in which he appears to use brain both in the sense that his Atheists use it (according to his previous critique) as well as the bodily region of the brain more generally (Skt. *kapāla*).⁵⁹⁹ However, he adds that the meditator will perceive that the “self consciousness is not in the brain,” but that it is “aloof” and “in the vacant void space between the skull and brain.” For Sabhapati, then, the physical brain does not create mental phenomena on its own (the position of his Atheists) but rather the brain “creates mental phenomena” when self-consciousness, as ultimately an emanation from the Infinite Spirit via the “self consciousness of eternal bliss” (Mpv1. *carvakñāṇānantam*, < Skt. *sarvajñānānanda*, lit. “the bliss of all gnosis”) and the “self consciousness of witness” (Mpv1. *carvaviyāpakakñāṇatiruṣṭi*, < Skt. *sarvavyāpakajñānadṛṣṭi*, lit. “gnostic vision of

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., 217–18.

⁵⁹⁸ See also CPSPS, First Book, 120 for a description of consciousness as “Universally pervading.”

⁵⁹⁹ CPSPS, Second Book, 414–5.

omnipresence”), rests upon the brain. In other words, for Sabhapati the creation of thought itself is predicated on an interplay between emanations from the Infinite Spirit, framed in his system of twelve faculties or *cakras*, and the physical location of the brain.

In the previous eight sections of Section D we have seen Sabhapati as perhaps his most argumentative and rhetorical, although it is important not neglect his overarching message. A concept of what he calls a “Universal truth, Church and Creed” for all castes permeates his literature, and it does not appear that he was overly concerned with proselytizing or converting huge swathes of the population to his brand of Hinduism. For example, he states with regard to Christianity that “even the present most ardent followers, without understanding the true meaning of the secret sentences spoken in parables, have attached unreal meaning to such sacred sentences in accordance with the material ideas.”⁶⁰⁰ His analysis of each religion is primarily in the context of determining whether or not they have the potential to show the practical method of what he termed “communion” with the Infinite Spirit, that is, Śivarājyoga. He believed that teachings from religions other than Hinduism may therefore contain “parables” or “sacred sentences,” but perceived the interpretation of these teachings to be mostly lost by their followers. I would argue that this brings Sabhapati’s interpretive frame more in line with contemporary research on perspectives on esotericism, and he may have acquired this perspective from his interactions with the founders of the Theosophical Society (see Chapter One and Chapter Seven).

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., 377.

IV. Sabhapati's System of Śivarājayoga

As outlined in the previous chapter, Sabhapati's descriptions of the "descent" or "emanations" of the *tattvas* are predicated upon a subtle physiology of *cakras* or "wheels." These are enlivened by the presence of a subtle principle that he variously refers to as *prāṇākāśa* ("vital æther"), *jñānākāśa* ("gnostic æther"), or simply *jñāna* ("gnosis") (see Chapter Six for his place in the contemporary discourse around "ether" or "æther"). These descriptions, however, are not just theoretical "maps" of the body but are intertwined with a wide variety of interconnected practices, including mental visualizations, the recitation of correspondent mantras and hymns that are to be chanted at certain times, as well as a whole host of other rites, meditations, and mantras. Since an analysis of all his practices would fill volumes, in this chapter I will limit my analysis to the main topic of relevance to this dissertation: Sabhapati's instructions on Śivarājayoga ("The Royal Yoga for Śiva"), a central part of which is a process by which these *cakras* are to be canceled out by means of meditative refutations so as to attain a state of "composure," or *samādhi*, which Sabhapati usually translates as "communion" or "ecstasy."

A. Sabhapati's Triad of Haṭhayoga, Haṭharājayoga, Śivarājayoga

The scholar Jason Birch has described how the term "Rājayoga" in its early history denoted a form of yogic *samādhi* that is characterized by the "absence of mental activity" (*cittavṛttirahitah*), but that it later came to denote a wide variety of practices that drew from textual sources as varied as the *Brahmāsūtra*, the Yoga Upaniṣads, and the Tantras.⁶⁰¹

⁶⁰¹ Jason Birch, "Rājayoga: The Reincarnations of the King of All Yogas," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 17, no. 3 (2013): 399–442; see also Jason Birch, "The Amaraughaprabodha: New Evidence on the

Sabhapati maintains this earlier meaning of Rājayoga as *samādhi*, which he qualifies throughout his works as *brahmajñāna śivarājayoga niṣṭhā samādhi*, “The unwavering composure that is the royal yoga for Śiva, which is the gnosis of Brahman.” However, as his texts were composed very late in the history of Rājayoga, he is also clearly drawing (consciously or not) upon a variety of innovative practices to help facilitate this *samādhi*, perhaps foremost among which are his techniques of “canceling” the Tantric *cakras* or “Twelve Spiritual Lights” of the Finite Spirit that are part of his cosmology (see Chapter Three and Section B below).

While Sabhapati’s understanding of Rājayoga as a qualified kind of *samādhi* does resonate with its definition in other medieval and early modern texts that treat on this subject, he departs from most if not all known systems in his distinction between three main kinds of yoga: 1) “Haṭhayoga,” 2) “Haṭha Rājayoga,” and 3) “Śivarājayoga.”⁶⁰² This triadic sequence contrasts, on the one hand, with the sequence of Mantrayoga, Layayoga, Haṭhayoga, and Rājayoga as found in some seminal medieval texts of yoga such as the *Amarauḥaprabodha* and the *Śivayogapradīpikā* (ŚYP),⁶⁰³ and on the other hand with the more contemporary

Manuscript Transmission of an Early Work on Haṭha- and Rājayoga,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, no. 47 (2019): 947–77; and Jason Birch, “Haṭhayoga’s Floruit on the Eve of Colonialism,” in *Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions: Essays in Honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson*, ed. Dominic Goodall et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2020). Birch elaborated on his research in his talk “Yoga on the Eve of Colonialism” for the Embodied Philosophy online conference “Yoga Reconsidered” (February 16–18, 2018), which I find compelling. He argued that the physical techniques of Haṭhayoga ultimately derive from Buddhist and Jaina Ascetic traditions, while the meditative techniques of Haṭhayoga derive from earlier Tantric traditions. One example of a meditative technique of Tantric provenance is Śambhavīmudrā, the “Seal of Śambhu, for which see Paul Muller-Ortega, “On the Seal of Śambhu: A Poem by Abhinavagupta,” in *Tantra in Practice*, ed. David Gordon White (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 573–586. T.K. Rajagopalan, a later author who engaged Sabhapati’s works, would connect this *mudrā* to what he interpreted (correctly or not) as Tārakāyoga, or the “yoga of the pupil of the eye.”

⁶⁰² MCVTS, 91/38–97/42.

⁶⁰³ For the *Amarauḥaprabodha* see Birch, “Haṭhayoga’s Floruit on the Eve of Colonialism,” 452–3; Birch, “The Amarauḥaprabodha,” 947–77. For threatment of this sequence in the *Śivayogapradīpikā* see Seth Powell, “A Lamp on Śiva’s Yoga: The Unification of Yoga, Ritual, and Devotion in the Fifteenth-Century Śivayogapradīpikā” (PhD Prospectus, Harvard University, 2018), 5–6, and his forthcoming dissertation.

dichotomy in modern yoga and Theosophy between Haṭhayoga and Rājayoga as “physical” versus “mental” methods of yoga, a dichotomy that did not address any “supplementary” form of Rājayoga (whether Śivayoga, as salient in the ŚYP, or Śivarājayoga as in the writings of Sabhapati Swami). Sabhapati’s triadic sequence is consistent and recurs throughout his published literature; he explicitly mentions the full sequence in at least two instances in both his English and Tamil works and also offers an entire separate chapter on Śivarājayoga in his Hindustani work (see Section B below).

While the phrase occurs in VRY, Sabhapati’s first use of the full classification is found in a section entitled “A Brief Sketch of Vedantism and Yoga” appended to the second and third editions of VRY (VRY2 and VRY3), respectively published in 1883 and 1895, and likely added by Shrishā Chandra Basu (see Chapter One for his editorial involvement). After noting that many kinds of yoga have been enumerated by “ancient authors,” such as “Karma Yoga or Hatha Yoga, Mantra Yoga, Raj Yoga,” Sabhapati says that only “Hatha Yoga and the Raj Yoga need to be mentioned here.”⁶⁰⁴ When asked to distinguish between the two, he notes the following: “Hatha Yoga is a process of physical training, in order to strengthen the will. The Raja Yoga is a process of pure mental training for the same purpose. The Hatha Yoga is the lowest, the Raja Yoga the middle, and the Shiva Raja Yoga (i.e., spiritual method) the highest.” He then goes on to describe Raja Yoga (not “Shiva Raja Yoga”) in terms of Patañjali’s “auxiliaries” or “limbs” (*aṅgas*) and divides it into three parts (see below).⁶⁰⁵ Interestingly, he does not continue this section with a description of Śivarājayoga but appears to be content to describe the “middle” process, or Rājayoga, after which the dialogue and the book concludes.

⁶⁰⁴ VRY2, 79.

⁶⁰⁵ VRY2, 80–1.

Three decades later, Sabhapati would elaborate in much more detail on this sequence of his three yogas in his Tamil work MCVTS, a translation of which is as follows (my personal translation from Tamil, using some of Sabhapati’s own terminology such as “Infinite Spirit” for Brahman, “Finite Spirit” for *jīvan* and “communion” for *samādhi*, more literally “composition” or “absorption” for the sake of consistency with his English cosmology outlined in Chapter Three):

[Hathayoga]

Listen, O students: Among the main yogas there are three kinds, the first of which is the “yoga of force” (Mpv. *aṭayōkam*, < Skt. *haṭhayoga*), being the binding of the breath (Mpv. *cuvācapantaṇam*, < Skt. *śvāsabandhana*). If the downward-flowing breath is stopped by means of inhalation, retention, and exhalation in the *suṣumnā*, *iḍā* and *piṅgaḷā* streams, and if there is a binding, arresting, or fixing of the upward-flowing [breath] in the *suṣumnā* pipe up to the fontanelle, there is a restraint of the vital-breath (Mpv. *pirāṇāyāmam*, < Skt. *prāṇāyāma*). With this the gnosis of the Infinite Spirit and release is impossible. [Instead,] the result of this is long life and the dissolution of the principles. This breath is the agent of the Finite Spiritual mind. Such a one is dissolved (Tam. *oṭuṅku*) in the gnosis of the universal void (Mpv. *carva cuṇyakñāṇam*, < Skt. *sarva śūnyajñāna*).⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁶ MCVTS, 92/39. Tam.: “(mutalāvatu) cuvācapantaṇamākiya aṭayōkamām. itil cuvācattai cuṣumṇā iḍā piṅkaḷā nāṭikaḷil atō:mukamāy pūraka kumpaka rēkṣakañ ceytu niṟuttalum, ūrt:tuvamukamāy cuṣumṇā nāṭiyil pirammarantira pariyantiram pantaṇa stampaṇa stāpaṇaṇ ceytu niṟuttalumākiya cuvācap pirāṇāyāmamām. itāl pirammakñāṇamum muktiyumaṭaiya oṇṇāvām. itiṅḷ āyul virttiyum tatva layamumuṇṭām, inta cuvācam maṇḍōjivattiṅ kāriyamām. itu carva cuṇyakñāṇattil oṭuṅkum.”

[**Hatha Rājāvoga**]

The second [kind of yoga], being the binding of the breath and the mind, is the “royal yoga of force” (Mpv1. *haṭa rājāyōkam*, < Skt. *haṭha rājāyoga*). Here the breath and the mind, going up to the nostrils from the coiled organ (Mpv1. *kuṇṭali*, < Skt. *kuṇḍali*) via the *suṣumnā*, *iḍā*, and *piṅgaḷā* streams, are joined together in the *suṣumnā* pipe that runs from the anus and is connected to the end of the fontanelle via the nostrils. In such a way these [the breath and mind] are arrested like a pillar [that is] devoid of stirring, moving, unsteadiness, wishing, doubting, thinking, or denying, and is without self-delusion. This is the dissolution of breath and mind (Mpv1. *cuvācamaṇōlayam*, < Skt. *śvāsamanolaya*), and their stopping is as the fullness of abiding in the joy of awakening and in ecstasy, being the vitality-restraint of breath and mind (Mpv1. *cuvācamaṇō pirāṇāyāmam*, < Skt. *śvāsamano prāṇāyāma*). By this the gnosis of the dissolution of mind (Mpv1. *maṇōlayakṅāṇam*, < Skt. *manolayajñāna*) is attained.⁶⁰⁷

[**Śivarājāvoga**]

The third [kind of yoga], being the subjugation of gnosis (Mpv1. *kṅāṇavaciyam*, < Skt. *jñānavaśya*), is the “Royal Yoga for Śiva” (Mpv1. *civarājāyōkam*, < Skt. *śivarājāyoga*). In Vedānta modes of knowledge and discourse it is defined as a kind of gnosis, being the nature of unified oneness between the self and Brahman, the

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid. Tam.: “(iraṇṭāvatu) cuvāca maṇōpantaṇamākiya haṭa rājāyōkamām. itil cuvācamum maṇamum kuṇṭaliyiliruntu cuṣumṇā iṭā piṅkaḷā nāṭikaḷ vaḷiyāy mēlcenru nācīkārantirattil cuṣumṇānāṭiyil cērntum ataippōṅru kutāviliruntu nācīkāyantirattil cērntum pirammarantira pariyantiram oru stampampōṅḷu stampittu acaivaṅru calaṇam caṅcalam, caṅkalpam vikalpam niṅaiṅṅu maṅṅappu kaṅṅaiyaṅru cuvācamaṇōlaya pōtāṅṅanta paravaca vācimayamāy niṅuttalākiya cuvācamaṇō pirāṇāyāmmākum. itiṅṅāl maṇōlayakṅāṅṅa maṅṅaiyalākum. . . .”

nature of non-duality, the nature of unity. In Saiddhāntika modes of knowledge and discussion it is defined as the dissolution of Brahman and the self, the nature of “I am a servant” (Skt. *dāso ‘ham bhāva*), the nature of duality, the nature of dissolution.

With steadfastness in the communion of meditation there is steadfastness in the communion of gnosis.⁶⁰⁸

From the above it is clear that Sabhapati intended Śivarājyoga a distinct category of practice apart from Haṭhayoga and Haṭharājyoga, and in this sense it is perhaps more akin to the Śivayoga of the ŚYP. However, there are also certain key differences with Śivayoga, such as the lists of *cakras* and other defining features; see Chapter Three, Section C for the ways in which Śivayoga could be distinguished from Śivarājyoga in Tamil literary discourse.⁶⁰⁹ As a result, Sabhapati’s interpretation of Haṭhayoga and Haṭharājyoga must first be analyzed to distinguish how Śivarājyoga differed in his view.

1. Sabhapati and Haṭhayoga, “the Yoga of Force”

Sabhapati’s first category, Haṭhayoga or the “Yoga of Force,” is a complex subject of research that continues to evolve as scholars continue to re-examine sources in Sanskrit literature and to compare these sources with ethnographic investigation.⁶¹⁰ Current consensus

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid. Tam.: “(*mūṅṅāvatu*) *kñāṅavaciyamākiya civarājayōkam itu vētānta vicāraṅai kñāṅappirakāram ātma piramma aikkiya ēkōhampāva, yattuvaita pāva, aikkiyapāva lakṣiyamāyūm, cittānta vicāraṅai kñāṅampirakāram ātma pirammalaya tāsōhampāva, tuvaitapāva, layapāva lakṣiyamāyūn tiyāṅa camāti niṣṭaiyilikkum kñāṅacamāti niṣṭaiyām.*”

⁶⁰⁹ Nā. Katiraivēr Piḷḷai, *Tāyumāṅa cuvāmi pāṭalkal: mūlamum uraiyūm* (Ceṅṅai: Cantiyā Patippakam, 2010), 149–63.

⁶¹⁰ For recent findings see James Mallinson, “The Amṛtasiddhi: Haṭhayoga’s Tantric Buddhist Source Text,” in *Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions: Essays in Honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson*, ed. Dominic Goodall et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 409–425; Jason Birch, “Haṭhayoga’s Floruit on the Eve of Colonialism,” in *Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions: Essays in Honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson*, ed. Dominic Goodall et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2020); James Mallinson and Mark Singleton, eds., *Roots of Yoga*, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin Books, 2017), xx–xxi. For current ethnographic observations see Daniela Bevilacqua, “Let the Sādhus Talk. Ascetic Understanding of Haṭha Yoga and Yogāsanaś” (forthcoming). For the connection between Haṭhayoga and

is that it emerged in a Buddhist Tantric milieu with the ca. eleventh-century text *Amṛtasiddhi*, but was formally codified by the ca. thirteenth-century *Dattatreya yogaśāstra*.⁶¹¹ As evident from his above definitions, Sabhapati’s own engagement with Haṭhayoga is predicated on the binding of the breath and the physical techniques of *prāṇāyāma*. Scholars today agree, however, that Haṭhayoga can refer to a much broader assortment of practices, some of which likely derive from ancient Indian practices of *tapas*, which in classical Sanskrit literature referred to a kind of ascetic heat produced through austerities carried out by various heroes, sages, or divine beings. In subsequent centuries Haṭhayoga was represented as an alternative to Pātañjalayoga, and by the nineteenth century it was viewed as largely synonymous with the “eight auxiliaries” or “limbs” (*aṣṭāṅga*) of Patañjali.⁶¹² At the time Sabhapati was writing, which was prior to its resurgence in the mid-twentieth century, Haṭhayoga was also stigmatized as “black magic” in at least some colonial-era milieus on accounts of its claim to produce powers or *siddhis*, as traceable in Theosophical literature, and numerous warnings were issued against its misuse without guidance from a guru.⁶¹³

Despite facing the colonial-era stigma against Haṭhayoga, Sabhapati’s multilingual work CPSPS does include a general section on Haṭhayoga entitled “Instructions on the Hata Yogue,”⁶¹⁴ a section which is relatively even-handed in its approach for the time. In this subject he warns against injury in case Haṭhayoga is wrongly practiced but also states that it

Indian alchemy, see David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁶¹¹ Mallinson, “The Amṛtasiddhi;” Mallinson and Singleton, *Roots of Yoga*, xxi–xxii.

⁶¹² Ibid. See also David Gordon White, *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography*, Lives of Great Religious Books (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

⁶¹³ Ibid. See Keith Cantú, “Haṭhayoga as ‘Black Magic’ in Early Theosophy and Beyond,” to be published in a forthcoming volume of proceedings from the ESSWE6 conference on “esotericism and deviance,” edited by Tim Rudbøg and Manon Hedenborg White.

⁶¹⁴ CPSPS, Second Book, 356–9.

is “perfectly harmless” when blended with “Shiva Raja Yogue.”⁶¹⁵ The practice is centered on a theory that breath arises as the syllable “Om” in the center of the heart and the *kuṇḍali* (i.e. the *mūlādhāra*, see below and Chapter Three), and that this breath can be manipulated to become like a “magnet” in the “centre seat of the skull” to “draw the Self Universal Infinite Spiritual aether” and thereby “spread the Infinite Spirit everywhere and in the three nerves as well.”⁶¹⁶ As we saw in Chapter Three, the “Universal Infinite Spirit” is Brahman or Śiva or Sarveśvara, construed as a “passive” principle. The three nerves, part of the “active” principle, are the *susūmnā*, *iḍā*, and *piṅgalā nāḍīs*.⁶¹⁷

The process by which this breath is manipulated includes two parts. The first part is an instruction to perceive exhalations (Skt. *recaka*) and inhalations (*pūraka*) in both: 1) the feminine *sthūla vāyu* and *sthūla svarūpa* associated with the Śakti and the “Onkara Pranava Nadhum [*< Skt. omkāra praṇava nāda*] of śiva, and 2) the masculine *sūkṣmā vāyu* and *sūkṣmā svarūpa* associated with Śiva and the same “Onkara Pranava Nadhum” but of *ham*. The combination of exhaling and inhaling air, the sounds of which together make *śivo ham*, “I am Śiva,” makes what Sabhapati calls the “embracing connection” or a “third air, which is as mild, absorptive, intoxicative, blissful, conscious air called Karana Vayu [Skt. *kāraṇa vāyu*, lit. “the wind of causation”], which forcibly penetrates up in the Spiritual organ [*susūmnā*] and hits the centre of the skull in the perceptible invisible unheard Onkara Pranava Nadhum of (Om) which is therefore called the blissful intoxicative absorptive establishing sound or common air in Karana Swarup [*kāraṇa svarūpa*].”⁶¹⁸ This mention of a *kāraṇa*

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., 356.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 358.

⁶¹⁷ For the history of these *nāḍīs* see Mallinson and Singleton, *Roots of Yoga*, 172–4.

⁶¹⁸ CPSPS, Second Book, 357. The *kāraṇa svarūpa* is also not one of the “Seven Spiritual States” or *svarūpas* detailed in CPSPS, 213–221, and its origin is obscure.

vāyu is somewhat irregular and it is not part of the more widespread list of ten yogic *vāyus* (*apāna*, *devadatta*, *dhanamjaya*, *kṛkara*, *kūrma*, *nāga*, *prāṇa*, *samāna*, *udāna*, and *vyāna*).⁶¹⁹ Some indication is given by a reference to number 39 of the main diagram that accompanies the First Book of CPSPS, but this simply describes it as the “Absorbing breath in the [Infinite] Spirit” in the legend.

The second part traces this above “embracing connection,” or union between the airs of Śiva and of Śakti, in detail. The union of these two, the *kāraṇa vāyu*, ascends the *suṣumnā* that is connected to the “wind pipe at the centre seat of the nostril,” and this *vāyu* is then divided into three equal parts that travel through the *idā*, *piṅgalā*, and *suṣumnā nāḍīs*. These are in turn each associated with what Sabhapati calls a “Mudra” (< Skt. *mudrā*, “seal”), a “Stambhana” (< Skt. *stambhana*, “fixing”), and a “state” (his translation of Skt. *svarūpa*, lit. “inherent form,” “essential nature”) (see Figure One below).⁶²⁰ The three parts of the *kāraṇa vāyu* enter the head and travel to the left, right, and center of the eyebrows, where they meet at the center and shift direction from facing downward (*adhomukha*) to upward (*ūrdhvamukha*). Once they meet, the *kāraṇa vāyu* “ascends up to the centre seat of the skull as absorptive, blissful and intoxicative states in three electric lines,” and then is completely absorbed in the “Self Universal Infinite Spirit” while “in the midst of three Infinite Spiritual aetherial holes.”⁶²¹

⁶¹⁹ Mallinson and Singleton, *Roots of Yoga*, 171–4. The term *kāraṇa* in a Tantric context can refer to the five deities Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara, and Sadāśiva, but this does not seem to fully account for this context either; see H el ene Brunner-Lachaux, Gerhard Oberhammer, and Andr e Padoux, eds., *T antrik abhidh anako sa: dictionnaire des termes techniques de la litt erature hindoue tantrique = a dictionary of technical terms from Hindu tantric literature = W orterbuch zur Terminologie hinduistischer Tantr en*, Beitr age zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, Nr. 35, 44, 76 (Wien: Verlag der O sterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000). 90–91.

⁶²⁰ For more on the significance of the *mudr as* in Ha thayogic and Tantric literature, see Mallinson and Singleton, *Roots of Yoga*, 228–58,

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*, 358.

<i>nāḍī</i>	Type of <i>stambhana</i> (“fixing”)	<i>mudrā</i>	<i>svarūpa</i>
<i>iḍā</i> (left channel)	<i>kumbhaka stambhana</i>	<i>khecarī mudrā</i>	<i>laya svarūpa</i> “absorptive state”
<i>susumnā</i> (center channel)	<i>sthāpana stambhana</i>	<i>bhūcarī</i> or <i>śiva mudrā</i>	<i>ānanda svarūpa</i> “blissful state”
<i>piṅgalā</i> (right channel)	<i>bandhana stambhana</i>	<i>śambhavī mudrā</i>	<i>bodha svarūpa</i> “intoxicative state”

Figure One. The attributions of the “wind of causation” (*kāraṇa vāyu*) in the three channels.

Sabhapati’s consideration of Haṭhayoga in his English works is not limited to the above section, and he mentions it in another short section of CPSPS that treats on the yogic auxiliaries of Patañjali’s ca. fifth-century CE *Yoga Sūtras* and their commentary, together which form the *Pātañjalīyogaśāstra* (PYŚ).⁶²² Sabhapati also engaged Patañjali’s teachings on yoga in an appendix to the second edition of VRY, edited by Shrish Chandra Basu.⁶²³ However, his allusions in CPSPS to Patañjali’s *aṣṭāṅga* (MpvI. *aṭṭāṅkam*) or “eight auxiliaries” or “eight limbs” in addition to *saṃyama*—without reference to Patañjali’s name—appear to be mediated at least partially by the second chapter (*paṭala*) of the ca. fifteenth-century text *Śivayogapradīpikā* (ŚYP) and/or the third “tantra” (*tantiram*) of the ca. twelfth-century *Tirumantiram*.⁶²⁴ He also would have come across these auxiliaries in the main work of his guru Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal, *Upatēca uṇmai* (see Chapter One

⁶²² For more on the history of this text see Philipp Maas, “A Concise Historiography of Classical Yoga Philosophy,” in *Periodization and Historiography of Indian Philosophy*, ed. Eli Franco (Vienna: Sammlung de Nobili, Institut für Südasiens-, Tibet- und Buddhismuskunde der Universität Wien, 2013), 57–58; David Gordon White, *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

⁶²³ VRY2, 80–81.

⁶²⁴ For an early translation of the ŚYP see Sadasiva Yogindra, “Sivayogadipika,” *The Brahmavādin* VIII, no. 8 (August 1903): 439–50 and in subsequent numbers of the journal. See also Seth Powell, “A Lamp on Śiva’s Yoga,” and his forthcoming dissertation and critical edition of this text. For treatment of Patañjali’s *āṅgas* in the Third *tantiram* of the *Tirumantiram* (verses 549–640 in the editions I have consulted) see Tirumūlar, *The Tirumandiram*, trans. T. N Ganapathy et al., 10 vols. (Eastman, Quebec, Canada: Babaji’s Kriya Yoga and Publications, Inc., 2013), Volume Three, 661–764; Tirumūlar, *Tirumūlar tirumantiram: mūlamum - viḷakka uraiyum*, ed. Nā. Māṇikkavācakan, Pattām Patippu (Ceṅṅai: Umā Patippakam, 2016), 244–85. Tirumular, *Tirumantiram: A Tamil Scriptural Classic*, trans. B. Natarajan and N. Mahalingam (Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1991), 86–100, verses 549–639.

for more on this guru and his text), which Sabhapati cites in the front matter of MCVTS.⁶²⁵ I have outlined Sabhapati’s list and descriptions of the auxiliaries as follows, along with their subdivisions (English translations are Sabhapati’s own):

- 1) “Eyamum” (Mpv. *iyamam*, < Skt. *yama*), which includes “five states of Purity and Holiness of Soul,” namely:
 - a. “Unmurdering” (Mpv. *najīvanācam*, < Skt. *najīvanāśa*).
 - b. “Not giving pains to other creations” (Mpv. *najīvahimsā*, < Skt. *najīvāhimsā*).
 - c. “Not speaking lies” (Mpv. *anyasattiyavākkōtayam*, < Skt. *anyasatyavākudaya*).
 - d. “Not stealing” (Tam. *tiruṭaramai*).
 - e. “Not coveting others property” (Mpv. *parastirī puruṣastiti ākiruṣṇa nayiccā*, < Skt. *parastrī puruṣasthiti ākarṣaṇa nayicchā*) or “preventing senses from vice” (Mpv. *intiriyaviṣayanācam*, < Skt. *indriyaviṣayanāśa*).
- 2) “Niyamum” (Mpv. *niyamam*, < Skt. *niyama*), which also includes five additional “states of Purity and Holiness of Soul,” namely:
 - a. “Devotion and Piety” (Mpv. *tapam*, < Skt. *tapas*).
 - b. “Purity of heart and body” (Mpv. *ācāracuttātma hirutayattuvam*, < Skt. **ācāraśuddhātmaḥṛdayatva*).
 - c. “Attaining knowledge of delusions and creations” (Mpv. *māyāvanityacekacīva paravicāraṇā* and *aṇāti nitya pirmañāṇavicāraṇā cintānā*, < Skt. **māyāvanityajagaccīva paravicāraṇā* and **anādi nitya brahmajñānavicāraṇā cintana*).
 - d. “Satisfaction, Patience and Bliss” (Mpv. *tirupti sāntānantam*, < Skt. *tyṭti śāntānanda*).
 - e. “Always Praying and Devoting” (Mpv. *īśvara pakti stuticintā*, < Skt. *īśvara bhakti stuticintā*).
- 3) “Asanum” (Mpv. *ācaṇam*, < Skt. *āsana*), which includes “10 sorts of posture . . . to hold Spiritual Communion steadily.”
 - a. *svastikāsana* (Mpv. *cuvattikāsaṇam*): “Sitting as legs and feet folded one upon another.”
 - b. *gomukhāsana* (Mpv. *kōmukācaṇam*): “Sitting in a cross folded legs or feet, catching the toes by two hands separately.”
 - c. *padmāsana* (Mpv. *patmāsaṇam*): “Sitting by crossly placing left foot on right thigh and right foot on left thigh.”
 - d. *vīrāsana* (Mpv. *vīrāsaṇam*): “Sitting on the right leg or foot and folding the left leg or foot on right thigh.”
 - e. *kesaryāsana* (Mpv. *kēsariyāsaṇam*): “Sitting squeezing legs so as to place to hands on their respective knees, seeing the tip of nose by two eyes steadily.”

⁶²⁵ Citampara Periya Cuvāmikal, *Upatēca uṇmai, viḷakka uraiyuṭaṇ* (Vēlaccēri, Chennai, India: Vēlaccēri Makāṇ Patippakam, 2014), 202–10. In this edition the relevant verses on the *aṣṭāṅga* are from 167 to 175.

- f. *bhadrāsana* (Mpv. *pattiramāsaṇam*): “Sitting squeezed two legs being tied stead fastly [*sic*] by two hands.”
 - g. *muktāsana* (Mpv. *muttāsaṇam*): “Sitting in a posture, so that the left leg folded and right leg lifted squeezedly, having paws on their respective knees.”
 - h. *mayurāsana* (Mpv. *mayūrāsaṇam*): “Sitting in a posture, so that two knees squeezed across, having two respective paws one on each.”
 - i. *sarvasukhāsana* (Mpv. *carvacuhāsaṇam*): “Doing Samādhi or Ecstasy of Communion in whatever comfortable, easy and suitable posture untroubled.”
 - j. *sahajapādāsana* and *sahajaśayanāsana* (Mpv. *sahajapātāsaṇam* and *sahajakṣaiyāsaṇam*): “Being in Ecstasy in Standing and in Lying posture.”
- 4) “Pránáyámum” (Mpv. *pirāṇāyāmam*, < Skt. *prāṇāyāma*), which includes “different sorts of pressing breath through Réchaka, Púraka, Koombaka [Skt. *recaka*, *pūraka*, *kumbhaka*] to help keep mind steadily fixed on certain attention which are the process of Hatta Yogue [Skt. *haṭhayoga*].”
 - 5) “Pretthiyáhárum” (Mpv. *pirattiyāhāram*, < Skt. *pratyāhāra*), a “state of enduring and removing all the internal and external sufferings and difficulties that rise from the practice of Yoga by forgetting himself.”
 - 6) “Sannyámum” (Mpv. *caṇyāmam*, < Skt. *saṇyama*), the “state of all cancelled consciousness of all internal and external faculties.”⁶²⁶
 - 7) “Dharanum” (Mpv. *tāraṇam*, < Skt. *dhāraṇā*) and
 - 8) “Thiyanum” (Mpv. *tiyāṇam*, < Skt. *dhyāna*), which are listed together as the “state of making deep Spiritual communion or Ecstasy with fixing mind in Throat, Heart, centre of Eye-brows Forehead, Navel, and in the centre of Skull or Brain.”
 - 9) “Samādhi” (Mpv. *camāti*, < Skt. *samādhi*), the “state of Holding Communion steadfastly and perfectly day and night together void of all Delusions and Emotions of faculties in deep Ecstasy as I. Spiritual Consciousness of Bliss in everywhere” (Mpv. *catāpirmmañāṇasamāti*, < Skt. *sadābrahmajñānasamādhi*).⁶²⁷

Sabhapati’s list of *yamas* and *niyamas* or “restraints” above may have either been composed from his memory or derived from an extant list in Tamil Maṇipravālam that was subsequently translated into English and also rendered in Devanagari for publication in CPSPS (see Chapter Two for these linguistic considerations). They differ slightly from the those

⁶²⁶ In Pātañjalayogaśāstra 3.4, *saṇyama* is treated as *dhāraṇa*, *dhyāna*, and *samādhi* taken together (*trayamekatra saṇyamah*). Sabhapati here lists it separately, perhaps on account of the fact that there are many *saṇyamas* are treated in Patañjali’s third or *vibhūtipāda*. See Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpṭe, trans., *Pātañjalayogasūtrāṇi* (Pune: Ānandāsramamudraṇālayā, 1919), 4.

⁶²⁷ This outline is derived from the list and descriptive paragraphs provided in CPSPS, First Book, 104–5.

originally given in the thirtieth and thirty-second *sūtras* of Patañjali’s *sādhana-pāda*, namely *ahiṃsā* “non-violence,” *satya* “truthfulness,” *asteya* “not stealing,” *brahmacarya* “celibacy,” and *aparigraha* “not possessing” (the five *yamas*); and *śauca* “cleanliness,” *santoṣa* “contentment,” *tapas* “asceticism,” *svādhyāya* “one’s own study,” and *īśvarapraṇidhāna* “the worship of Īśvara” (the five *niyamas*), although most are synonymous.⁶²⁸ They also differ slightly from the lists given in the *Tirumantiram* (Third Tantra, verses 553–57) and *Upatēca uṇmai* (verses 168–69), so may be derived from any combination of sources that variously interpreted the restraints of Pātañjalayoga.⁶²⁹

To make matters more confusing, an appended question-and-answer section was appended to the second edition of VRY (VRY2), entitled “A Brief Sketch of Vedantism and Yoga,” most likely added or edited by Shrish Chandra Basu, which lists the *yamas* and *niyamas* according to Patañjali’s terminology.⁶³⁰ Philological evidence suggests, however, that Sabhapati made more of a recourse to Tamil and Sanskrit hybrid vernacular sources for his teachings in CPSPS, the two volumes of which were not edited by Shrish Chandra (see Chapter Two). I would argue that the presence or relative absence of Shrish Chandra, who by 1883 (the publication date of VRY2) would have been certainly aware of translations of Patañjali from his involvement in educated circles and the Theosophical Society, likely accounts for the difference in lists between CPSPS and VRY2. The instruction on *āsana* given in “A Brief Sketch” also differs significantly from the list provided in CPSPS (see below); it

⁶²⁸ These translations of the *yamas* and *niyamas* follow those given in Jason Birch and Jacqueline Hargreaves, “The Yamas and Niyamas: Patanjali’s View,” *Yoga Scotland*, January 2016, 33.

⁶²⁹ Tirumular, *Tirumantiram: A Tamil Scriptural Classic*, 86–87; Citampara Periya Cuvāmikaḷ, *Upatēca uṇmai*, 202–4.

⁶³⁰ VRY2, 80.

merely states that one should adopt “any posture which is steady and convenient” and to “not change it at all,” and offers no specific postures.⁶³¹

More specific information on Sabhapati’s sources can be gleaned from the list of his *āsanas* in CPSPS, however, which lists postures that were not codified in the time of Patañjali but are relatively well-documented in extant sources of medieval Haṭhayoga.⁶³² As seen above, Sabhapati lists ten or eleven *āsanas* depending on how one counts (the last has two parts) along with short postural descriptions. These descriptions are somewhat vague, but this could be due to the fact that serious students would not have had to rely only on the book’s instructions but would be able to obtain in-person instruction from Sabhapati or one of his students at a meditation hall. One of the earliest sources for most of these *āsanas* that Sabhapati lists appears to be the *Tirumantiram*, which gives a list of at least nine (Mpv. *pattiram*, *kōmukam*, *paṅkayam*, *kēcari*, *cottiram*, *vīram*, *cukātaṇam*, and *svattikam*, in addition to *kukkuṭācaṇam*), many of which match or are synonyms (e.g. *paṅkayam* for *padmāsana*).⁶³³ Another source appears to be the ŚYP on account of many of the *āsanas* matching exactly while others (e.g. *mayurāsana*, *padmāsana*) are clear synonyms.⁶³⁴ Several of these *āsanas* were also mentioned in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.⁶³⁵ Only one of the postures is

⁶³¹ Ibid.

⁶³² For visual descriptions of some of these *āsanas* and references to them see M.L. Gharote et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of Traditional Asanas* (Lonavla, India: The Lonavla Institute, 2006).

⁶³³ It remains unclear what *cottiram* / *cottirācaṇam* (also translated “sothiram” refers to, although it may be a generic kind of *sthīrāsana*, or “fixed posture.” The editors of the most recent translation of the *Tirumantiram* note the following: “According to Aruṇai Vaḍivēlu Mudaliār, the āsana named sothiram may refer to *kukkuṭāsana*,” see Tirumūlar, *The Tirumandiram*, 677.

⁶³⁴ I am grateful to Jason Birch for his assistance in helping me to track down the origin of these *āsanas* and sharing with me sources that helped this section. For a detailed history of these *āsanas* as they are present in the ŚYP see Seth Powell, “Advice on Āsana in the Śivayogapradīpikā,” *The Luminescent* (blog), June 30, 2017, <https://www.theluminescent.org/2017/06/advice-on-asana-in-sivayogapradipika.html>.

⁶³⁵ Svātmārāma, *Haṭhapradīpikā of Svātmārāma*, ed. Swami Digambarji and Raghunatha Shastri Kokaje, Third Edition (Lonavla: Kaivalyadhama, 2016).

not a discernible match from either of these sources, namely Sabhapati's inclusion of both *sahajapādāsana* and *sahaśayanāsana* as together comprising his tenth *āsana*.

Sri Sabhapati Swami, CPSPS, 104–5.	Śivayogapradīpikā 2.14	Tirumantiram 3, verses 558–563	Haṭhapradīpikā 1.18–56	English translation
<i>svastikāsana</i> (Mpv. <i>cuvattikāsaṇam</i>)	<i>svastikāsana</i>	<i>svattikam</i>	<i>svastikāsana</i>	“Auspicious Posture”
<i>gomukhāsana</i> (Mpv. <i>kōmukācaṇam</i>)	<i>gomukhāsana</i>	<i>kōmukam</i>	<i>gomukhāsana</i>	“Cow-faced Posture”
<i>padmāsana</i> (Mpv. <i>patmāsaṇam</i>)	<i>ambujāsana</i>	<i>paṅkayam</i>	<i>padmāsana</i>	“Lotus Posture”
<i>vīrāsana</i> (Mpv. <i>vīrāsaṇam</i>)	<i>vīrāsana</i>	<i>vīram</i>	<i>vīrāsana</i>	“Hero Posture”
<i>kesaryāsana</i> (Mpv. <i>kēsariyāsaṇam</i>)	<i>kesaryāsana</i>	<i>kēcari</i>	<i>siṃhāsana</i>	“Lion Posture”
<i>bhadrāsana</i> (Mpv. <i>pattiramāsaṇam</i>)	<i>bhadrāsana</i>	<i>pattiram</i>	<i>bhadrāsana</i>	“Blessed Posture”
<i>muktāsana</i> (Mpv. <i>muttāsaṇam</i>)	<i>muktāsana</i>	[not present]	<i>siddhāsana</i> (?)	“Liberated Posture”
<i>mayurāsana</i> (Mpv. <i>mayūrāsaṇam</i>)	<i>ahibhujāsana</i> ⁶³⁶	[not present]	<i>mayurāsana</i>	“Peacock Posture”
<i>sarvasukhāsana</i> (Mpv. <i>carvacuhāsaṇam</i>)	<i>sukhāsana</i>	<i>cukātaṇam</i>	[not present]	“Most Comfortable Posture” / “Comfortable Posture”
<i>sahajapādāsana</i> and <i>sahajaśayanāsana</i> (Mpv. <i>sahajapātāsaṇam</i> and <i>sahajakṣaiyāsaṇam</i>)	[not present]	[not present]	[not present – <i>śavāsana</i> (?)	“Easy Standing Posture” and “Easy Lying Down Posture”

Figure Two. The list of Sabhapati’s eleven āsanās in CPSPS and their likely correlates in ŚYP, the *Tirumantiram*, and the *Haṭhapradīpikā*. English translations of āsanās found in ŚYP taken from Powell, “Advice on Āsana in the Śivayogapradīpikā.”

As for *prāṇāyāma*, Sabhapati (or his editor Shrish Chandra Basu) frames this auxiliary more explicitly as a practice of “Hatta Yogue” (Haṭhayoga), and he further notes

⁶³⁶ *ahibuja* literally means “snake-eater,” and only by extension “peacock.”

that he will drop consideration of it “lest the Public will be misled.”⁶³⁷ As a result, we unfortunately cannot know whether Sabhapati also derived his techniques on *prāṇāyāma* from the ŚYP, although I would argue that such a derivation is likely on account of his association of *prāṇāyāma* with Haṭhayoga, which completely makes sense if he derived some of his teachings from the PYS as mediated by either the ŚYP, the *Tirumantiram*, or another text on Haṭhayoga, a fact evident from the *āsanas* he cites, as shown above. In any event, Sabhapati does not deny the efficacy of Haṭhayoga but adds that it is not necessary to practice *prāṇāyāma* separately since the process of the “Siva Rāja Yóga” (i.e., Śivarājayoga) already includes it, since it will “suppress itself the Breath and its Emotion and devour it entirely after all without its existence ever, as the Magnet draws the Pins.”⁶³⁸ The allusion to a “Magnet” serves to link this statement with his instructions on Haṭhayoga that pertain to observing the ascent of the *kāraṇa vāyu*, mentioned above, so perhaps the earlier section is what Sabhapati was more interested in authorizing—or, perhaps more accurately, internalizing—as a prescribed practice of *prāṇāyāma*. The mention of a kind of magnetic energy is also probably connected to discourses around mesmerism happening in the Theosophical Society and, a decade later, in the works of Swami Vivekananda.⁶³⁹

Despite the lack of any direct emphasis on *prāṇāyāma* in his English works, it does figure prominently in the larger version of MCVTS. Sabhapati here describes certain

⁶³⁷ Ibid., 105.

⁶³⁸ Ibid.

⁶³⁹ Dominic S. Zoehrer, “From Fluidum to Prāṇa: Reading Mesmerism through Orientalist Lenses,” in *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, ed. Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020); Magdalena Kraler, “Tracing Vivekananda’s Prāṇa and Ākāśa: The Yogavāsiṣṭha and Rama Prasad’s Occult Science of Breath,” in *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, ed. Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter (London: Palgrave Macmillan, Forthcoming); Karl Baier, “Mesmeric Yoga and the Development of Meditation within the Theosophical Society,” *Theosophical History: A Quarterly Journal of Research* XVI, no. 3 and 4 (October 2012): 151–61.

techniques of Haṭhayoga at length, complete with descriptions and a numbered diagram (labeled Number 13 in MCVTS) that depicts the subtle physiology of yoga, complete with its *nāḍīs*, *cakras*, and so on.⁶⁴⁰ In this section he describes seven kinds of *prāṇāyāma*:

1. “the yoga of binding (*bandhanayoga*) that is the *prāṇāyāma* of the channel of the vital-breath” (MpvI. *cuvācavācip pirāṇāyāma pantaṇayōkam*).
2. “the yoga of binding that is the *prāṇāyāma* of the channel of channels” (*vācivācip pirāṇāyāma pantaṇayōkam*).
3. “the yoga of binding that is the *prāṇāyāma* of the channel of the vital breath (*prāṇa*)” (*pirāṇavācip pirāṇāyāma pantaṇayōkam*).
4. “the yoga of binding that is the *prāṇāyāma* of the channel of the drop (*bindu*)” (*pi:ntu:vācip pirāṇāyāma pantaṇayōkam*).
5. “the yoga of binding that is the *prāṇāyāma* of the channel of the sound (*nāda*)” (*nāta:vācip pirāṇāyāma pantaṇayōkam*).
6. “the yoga of binding that is the *prāṇāyāma* of the channel of the syllable Om” (*praṇava*) (*pirāṇavavācip pirāṇāyāma pantaṇayōkam*).
7. “the yoga of binding that is the *prāṇāyāma* of the channel of the digit (*kalā*)” (*kalāvācip pirāṇāyāma pantaṇayōkam*).⁶⁴¹

Some of these *prāṇāyāmas* notably accord with *haṭhayoga* as defined in Tantric Buddhist texts on the *sādhana* of “six-phased yoga,” such as the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* 3.123–136.⁶⁴² I have not yet been able to trace Sabhapati’s sevenfold classification of *prāṇāyāma*, but it may derive from local Tamil traditions of *haṭhayoga* prevalent among groups identifying as Siddhas or Swamigals (see Section 3 below).

While Haṭhayoga may be subordinate to Śivarājayoga according to Sabhapati’s division of three main yogas (see above), its sustained presence as a salient category in Sabhapati’s works—especially those composed in Tamil—indicates that its practice

⁶⁴⁰ For an overview and the broader history of this yogic subtle physiology, see Mallinson and Singleton, *Roots of Yoga*, 171–227. See also the forthcoming thesis of Magdalena Kraler for the practice among other modern yoga “pioneers.”

⁶⁴¹ MCVTS, 91.

⁶⁴² Vesna Wallace, “The Six-Phased Yoga of the *Abbreviated Wheel of Time Tantra (Laghukālacakratantra)* According to Vajrapāṇi,” in *Yoga in Practice*, ed. David Gordon White (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 220–21. Some degree of historical connection is all the more plausible given current scholarship that locates at least some of the roots of Haṭhayoga in Buddhist milieus; see James Mallinson, “The Amṛtasiddhi: Haṭhayoga’s Tantric Buddhist Source Text,” in *Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions: Essays in Honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson*, ed. Dominic Goodall et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 409–25.

continued as a valid type of yoga for those students for whom his works were written. Indeed, Om Prakash Swami, who tops the list in MCTVS of Sabhapati's prominent supporters, was known to have consistently practiced Haṭhayoga at his meditation hall in the village of Kandal, just outside of Ooty (see Chapter One), and his understanding of the practice would have been partially derived from Sabhapati's works.

2. Sabhapati and Haṭharājayoga, "the Royal Yoga of Force"

As seen in the quote above on the three types of yoga, Sabhapati's concept of Haṭharājayoga adds the binding of "mind" (Skt. *manas*) to that of "breath" (Skt. *śvāsa*), so as to accomplish the "dissolution of the mind." The inclusion of the prefix Haṭha- seems to imply that this yoga is essentially of the same type as his instructions on Haṭhayoga as treated above, except that here breath plays a subsidiary role and the focus is more directly on the mind (Skt. *manas*).

This distinction between Haṭha- and Haṭharājayoga also appears to have been Sabhapati's way of separately delineating his instructions on the four latter auxiliaries of Pātañjalayoga, namely *pratyāhāra*, *dhāraṇa*, *dhyāna*, and finally *samādhi*. In his appended text "A Brief Sketch of Vedantism and Yoga," mentioned above, he divides "Raja Yoga" into three parts: 1) *indriya-saṃyama*, which he calls "Subjugation of the senses," 2) *manosaṃyama*, which he calls "subjugation of the mind," and 3) *laya*, which he calls "absorption." *Saṃyama* in Patañjali's third section or "Vibhūtipāda" only refers to the three auxiliaries *dhāraṇa*, *dhyāna*, and *samādhi*, not *pratyāhāra* (see reference above). However, Sabhapati explicitly attributes *indriya-saṃyama* to *pratyāhāra*, so we can assume that *manosaṃyama* would refer to *dhāraṇa* and *dhyāna* and *laya* would refer to *samādhi*. For

pratyāhāra, he instructs the would-be yogi to “strongly *imagine* that you are out of the body and moving in *akas* [= Skt. *ākāśa*].” He then goes on to offer a short description of the results of this bewildering practice, as follows:

Practise this for months till you attain the power of throwing your body into catalepsy whenever you like. It will be easier if you begin step by step, e.g., will strongly that you will not *hear* any external sound, so much so that you should be able to make yourself deaf whenever you like. This is hard of course, but not impossible, and requires patience. Having subdued the ear, try to subdue in a similar way the senses of sight, taste, smell and touch.⁶⁴³

Unfortunately he ends “A Brief Sketch” with this instruction and does not treat on the other two *saṃyamas*.

In Sabhapati’s case, however his description of Haṭharājayoga is not limited to Pātāñjalayoga. In his work he introduces a kind of *prāṇāyāma* for both the breath (*śvāsa*) and the mind (*manas*) together, which underscores the salient distinction for him between *śvāsa*, ordinary “breath,” and *prāṇa*, a vital and more animate “breath” that in Sabhapati’s literature is sometimes compounded with *ākāśa* “ether” and used synonymously with *jñānākāśa* “gnostic ether” as principles that course through the body (see Section B below). Both breath and mind are to be “arrested” like “a pillar [that is] devoid of stirring, moving, unsteadiness, wishing, doubting, thinking, or denying, and is without self-delusion.”⁶⁴⁴ In this context it is notable that the binding, not only of breath and mind but also of the body’s fluidic correlate, semen (*bindu*), has been a defining feature of Tantric alchemy and Haṭhayoga for centuries. Such associations appear to have been first formulated in Sanskrit literature of relevance to

⁶⁴³ VRY2, 81.

⁶⁴⁴ MCVTS, 92/39.

Haṭhayoga in the *Amṛtasiddhi*, composed in a Buddhist Tantric milieu as mentioned above.⁶⁴⁵

Sabhapati appears to have been aware of the above connections between breath, mind, and semen, as he explicitly refers to it in a section designed to “show how to enjoy the I[nfinite]. Spiritual blissfulness in coition with females . . . or the Spiritual trance of blissfulness in the momentary blissful female enjoyments of Mental love and attraction on the beauties and attributes of Female and Male appearances.”⁶⁴⁶ In this section Sabhapati describes a “Generative Fluid . . . in both of the Males and Females” (Mpv1. *vintu*, < Skt. *bindu*), as the “Essence of Physical Creation or body as blissful bright fluid” of various qualities. The idea that both males and females can possess semen (usually Skt. *bindu*, *bīja*, or *vastu*) is not unique to Sabhapati but also occurs in other Tantric contexts, such as among the Bāul Fakirs of Bengal, although in this case Sabhapati is likely referring to menstrual blood since male/female sexual fluids were sometimes called the white and red *bindus*, respectively.⁶⁴⁷ In any event the Finite Spirit’s “Delusive Faculties” all stand upon this “Generative Fluid,” implying that it is the source of the *tattvas* of the Finite Spirit or *jīvātman* (see Chapter Three), all of which are unreal compared to the Infinite Spirit. Sabhapati then lists six kinds of “Coitional momentary blissfulnesses,” or in modern language, temporary forms of happiness during “ordinary” sex, which follow a certain fixed order:

⁶⁴⁵ For Tantric alchemy see David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). For the *Amṛtasiddhi* see James Mallinson, “The Amṛtasiddhi: Haṭhayoga’s Tantric Buddhist Source Text.” For the broader context of alchemical literature in India, see Dagmar Wujastyk, “Acts of Improvement: On the Use of Tonics and Elixirs in Sanskrit Medical and Alchemical Literature,” *History of Science in South Asia* 5, no. 2 (2017): 1–35.

⁶⁴⁶ CPSPS, Second Book, 143–8.

⁶⁴⁷ See Carol Salomon, *City of Mirrors: Songs of Lālan Sāi*, ed. Keith Cantú and Saymon Zakaria, South Asia Research (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 65n14 and Jeanne Openshaw, *Seeking Bāuls of Bengal*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 216–24.

1. the “momentary bliss of fixed attention on the ruinous false beauties of attracting appearance of the face,” which is thrown from the “brightness of Spiritual **Fixing** Bliss in the centre of the brain”
2. the “momentary bliss of sight on the ruinous false attributes of the bodily appearances,” which is thrown from the “rays of Spiritual **seeing** Bliss in the centre of the two eyes on eyebrows”
3. the “momentary bliss of emotional and actional embracing on the ruinous, vain false and lovely show of the joining appearances,” which is thrown from the “emotions and actions of Spiritual **embracing** bliss”
4. the “momentary Bliss of attraction and lovely absorption on the ruinous vain false idea of the pleasure by the pressure of breast to breast, touch to touch of the whole body of the mixing appearances,” which is thrown from the “attraction and love of Spiritual **absorbing** bliss in the centre of the Heart”
5. the “momentary imitating bliss on the ruinousness vain false state of imitating appearances,” which is thrown from the “force of throwing out its fluid state through the generative organ and becoming as **void** bliss in the centre seat of the Kundali [*kundali*]”
6. the “momentary bliss of Spiritual perfection and self state on the ruinous vain false truth of ascertaining [*sic*] appearance,” which is thrown from the “perfection and self state of **being** Spiritual bliss in the place from the bottom of the Kundali and up-to the top of Brahmmandhram [*brahmandhra*] through back-bone.”⁶⁴⁸

He states that these temporary experiences of bliss should be changed into six kinds of

“Spiritual everlasting blissfulness,” which are less descriptive than prescriptive:

1. “You must meditate as the Spiritual **fixing** bliss in the brain when you throw your attention on the beauties of the females or males attractive appearance”
2. “You must meditate as the Spiritual **seeing** bliss in the eyes when you throw your attention on the attributes of female’s or male’s bodily appearance”
3. “You must meditate as the Spiritual **embracing** bliss in the nose when you throw your attention on the false lovely show of female’s or male’s joining appearance”
4. “You must meditate as the Spiritual **absorbing** bliss in the heart when you throw your attention on the false form of female’s or male’s mixing appearance”
5. “You must meditate as the Spiritual **becoming** bliss in the Kundali when you throw your attention on the false state of imitating appearance”
6. “You must meditate as the Spiritual **being** bliss in the middle of the Kundali and Brahmmandhram through back-bone when you throw your attention on the false truth of females’ or male’s ascertaining appearance”⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁸ CPSPS, Second Book, 144–5. In the first point “Firing” is changed to “Fixing” in accordance with Sabhapati’s rubric. I have added boldface on the key terms that are repeated in both enumerations for ease of reading and comparison.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., 145–6.

Sabhapati’s overarching point is that one should “see those six sorts of blissfulnesses’ coitional sensual pleasures, not like those momentary blisses on their features and shapes, but like eternal and everlasting blisses.” In other words, one should mentally transmute the momentary experiences of bliss into an experience of the eternal sources from whence they derive. He is perhaps intentionally vague about whether he means that this transmutation should occur while one is actually engaging in physical attraction and sex or merely imagining it, although in any case he does state that this practice is to be engaged during a state of “enjoyment” of attractive “features and shapes.”⁶⁵⁰

Part of this practice is further designed to induce a kind of spiritual state of what he reductively translates as “Conscious sleeping” (MpvI. *jarkkiraturiya pīrmakñānamaya cuṣuptti avastā*, < Skt. *jāgraturiya brahmajñānamaya suṣupti avasthā*, lit. “the waking fourth state (*jāgat + turiya*) in sleeping that consists of the gnosis of Brahman”). These terms refer to three out of four or (sometimes) five technical “states” (*avasthās*) often found not only in the literature of Vedānta and yoga but also later Śaiva Siddhānta, including waking (*jāgrata*), dreaming (*svapna*), deep dreamless sleep (*suṣupti*), the fourth state (*turīya*), and that which is beyond the fourth state (*turīyātīta*).⁶⁵¹ Sabhapati also refers to them repeatedly in VRY and CPSPS. The general idea is that only yogis in their *samādhi* know how to access levels of consciousness beyond deep sleep, although here there is a kind of highest consciousness that arises in sleeping that results from the aforementioned practices.

While the above may seem tangential to yoga, for the Sabhapati it is directly relevant; he wraps up this instruction by saying that the “above secret practices” will help one to “gain

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., 147.

⁶⁵¹ See J.M. Nallaswāmi Pillai, trans., *Śivajñāna Siddhiyār of Aruṇandi Śivāchārya* (Madras: Meykandan Press, 1913), xxix.

the Rajayoga practice in getting absorption and ecstasy of Communion.”⁶⁵² While he could be implying Śivarājayoga here, the mental association makes it also relevant to his description of Haṭharājayoga as the binding of not just the breath but the mind as well (and in this case, also the “Generative Fluid” or *bindu*).

Another factor that is likely salient to Sabhapati’s distinction between Haṭhayoga and Haṭharājayoga is that Rājayoga in the colonial period was sometimes considered to be a “meditative” or “mental” yoga to still the mind in contrast to the physical techniques of Haṭhayoga. As De Michelis has noted, the Theosophical Society were likely “the first group to propogate this idea.”⁶⁵³ This demarcation between the physical techniques of breath-retention and mental practice was salient to Swami Vivekananda’s own reformulation in his published lectures *Rāja Yoga* (1896) of Rājayoga as the “cessation of the turnings of the mind” (Skt. *yogaścittavṛttinirodhaḥ*).⁶⁵⁴

Vivekananda was not the only reformer during this period, however, but was preceded by earlier reinterpretations of Rājayoga by Indian authors, such as Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi, who first published his *Rāja Yoga, or the Practical Metaphysics of the Vedānta*, in 1885 (eleven years prior to Vivekananda’s *Rāja Yoga*).⁶⁵⁵ Manilal Dvivedi’s friend in Bombay, the influential Theosophical author Tookaram Tatya, would reprint

⁶⁵² CPSPS, Second Book, 148.

⁶⁵³ Elizabeth De Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga: Patañjali and Western Esotericism*, Reprint (London: Continuum, 2008), 178–80.

⁶⁵⁴ De Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga*, 178–80.

⁶⁵⁵ Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi, *Rāja Yoga, or the Practical Metaphysics of the Vedānta, Being a Translation of the Vākyasudhā or Drigdrishyaviveka of Bhāratitirtha, and the Aparokshānubhūti of Shri Shankarāchārya, with an Introduction, Appendix Containing the Sanskrit Text and Commentary of the Vākyasudhā, and Notes Explanatory and Critical* (Bombay: “Subodha-Prakasha” Printing Press, 1885). Cf. Birch, “Rājayoga: The Reincarnations of the King of All Yogas,” 409.

Dvivedi’s translation specifically for a Theosophical audience three years later, in 1888.⁶⁵⁶ In their introduction and commentaries Rājayoga is framed as the culmination of the Vedāntic philosophy of Śāṅkara rather than the philosophy of Patañjali, as Vivekananda and subsequent authors would later frame it, although both frames are somewhat intertwined since the auxiliaries of Pātañjalayoga (as interpreted through the lenses of Vedānta) do figure into the text’s instructions.⁶⁵⁷

Manilal Dvivedi and Tookaram Tatya primarily derived their Vedāntic understanding of Rājayoga from the text *Aparokṣānubhūti*, a ca. twelfth- to fourteenth-century text that, as Birch notes, “is unique in using the term ‘rājayoga’ to denote a system of Yoga without the connotation of *samādhi*.”⁶⁵⁸ In Dvivedi’s translation of *Aparokṣānubhūti*, Rājayoga is explicitly defined as “mental *yoga*” and Haṭhayoga as “physical *Yoga*.”⁶⁵⁹ To make matters more confusing, however, Dvivedi adds a footnote present in both editions interpreting Rājayoga as the “attainment of the condition of eternal *Samādhi* or concentration or identification with the principle of the universe,” and this despite the fact (as Birch noted) the text itself does not support the connotation of Rājayoga as *samādhi*.⁶⁶⁰ In any event, Dvivedi’s interpretation of Haṭhayoga is that it “holds that the mind will be naturally and easily controlled by shutting up all the avenues of its communication with the external world—viz. the breath &c.”⁶⁶¹ By contrast, Rājayoga oxymoronically

⁶⁵⁶ Tookaram Tatya, *A Compendium of the Raja Yoga Philosophy, Comprising the Principal Treatises of Shrimat Sankaracharya and Other Renowned Authors*, Theosophical Publication Fund (Bombay: Subodha-Prakash Press, 1888).

⁶⁵⁷ See verses 118–28 for mention of the *aṅgas* of Patañjali.

⁶⁵⁸ Birch, “Rājayoga: The Reincarnations of the King of All Yogas,” 409.

⁶⁵⁹ Tookaram Tatya, *A Compendium of the Raja Yoga Philosophy*, 32.

⁶⁶⁰ Dvivedi, *Rāja Yoga, or the Practical Metaphysics of the Vedānta*, 28; Tookaram Tatya, *A Compendium of the Raja Yoga Philosophy*, 27.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*

holds and perhaps correctly holds—that the shortness of length of the breath, is but an indication of the State of the mind and that therefore instead of fruitlessly and unnaturally stifling this breath we had much better curb the cause of all this breath and everything viz. the giant *manas* or the mind.⁶⁶²

As a result, Dvivedi’s main argument for the higher position accorded Rājāyoga is that it addresses the mind directly, whereas Haṭhayoga only addresses its symptom: breath as an effect of and physical indication of the mind.

Sabhapati Swami himself would, at least by 1883 or 1884 (the first mention he makes of Haṭhayoga), contrast the meditative aspects of his third type of yoga Śīvarājāyoga with the physical breath techniques of Haṭhayoga, a distinction that would also indirectly apply to his mental methods of Haṭharājāyoga.⁶⁶³ However, as we see throughout his literature, he consistently described Śīvarājāyoga throughout his works in all languages as *niṣṭhā samādhi*, a “composure that is steadfast.” This *samādhi* is genealogically linked to Patañjali but, as I have demonstrated, has its own distinct definition as the “subjugation of gnosis” (MpvI. *kñāṇavaciyam*, < Skt. *jñānavaśya*) and accompanying ritual apparatus (the canceling of the Tantric *cakras* and so on, see Sections A.3 and B below) that was not present in Pātañjalayoga or the *Aparokṣānubhūti*. Sabhapati’s idea of “subjugation” does not imply that *jñāna* is a lower state to be subdued than, say, *vijñāna* or “consciousness,” but rather implies that the yogi who subjugates *jñāna* has also subjugated the supreme principle of the cosmos by uniting with (in the Vedānta view) and/or melting into (in the Saiddhāntika view) that which possesses *brahmajñāna* “Brahma’s gnosis” or *śivajñāna* “Śiva’s gnosis,” used synonymously in Sabhapati’s works. This gnosis is an experience that is perceived to be far

⁶⁶² Ibid.

⁶⁶³ MCVTS, 46–7.

beyond the stilling of mental processes, that is, beyond *manas* “mind” or *citta* “thought,” which are part of the fourfold internal instrument (Skt. *caturantaḥkaraṇa*) consisting of (in his interpretive translation) 1) “emotional faculties” (Skt. *citta*, lit. “thought”), 2) “mental faculties” (Skt. *manas*, lit. “mind”), 3) “faculties of volition” (Skt. *buddhi*, lit. “intelligence”), and 4) “faculties of pride and negligence” (*ahaṃkāra*, lit. the “ego-making” faculty).⁶⁶⁴ In Sabhapati’s earliest formulation this fourfold internal instrument was located in the “ninth kingdom” or lotus that is situated in the center of the throat. As a result, the turnings of mind and thought would have—at least theoretically—been subdued prior to one’s experience and subjugation of *jñāna*. By contrast, the *Aparokṣānubhūti* makes it relatively clear that its *samādhi*, mentioned in the context of the auxiliaries of Patañjali and the union with Brahman, is predicated on “forgetting the turnings [of the mind]” (Skt. *vyttivismaraṇa*). As a result, Sabhapati’s system of Śivarājayoga departs from the way Rājayoga was more typically understood by the global audiences who would, thanks to the spread of the Theosophical Society and later Swami Vivekananda’s lectures, interpret Rājayoga either through the lenses of Dvivedi and Tookaram Tatya’s editions and interpretations of *Aparokṣānubhūti* or Vivekananda’s *Rāja Yoga*. Indeed, Sabhapati’s delineation of a “middle” category between Haṭhayoga and Śivarājayoga, namely Haṭharājayoga, has much more in common with Rājayoga as presented by either Dvivedi or Vivekananda and could be viewed as an attempt by Sabhapati to address these emerging colonial-era interpretations of Rājayoga.

⁶⁶⁴ VRY, 13. This fourfold *antaḥkaraṇa* is one distinguishing feature of Sabhapati’s debt to Śaiva Siddhānta in South India; see Chapter Three.

3. Śivarājayoga, “Royal Yoga for Śiva”

Sabhapati’s third principal kind of yoga, Śivarājayoga, is the subjugation of gnosis (Mpv1. *kñānavaciyam*, < Skt. *jñānavaśya*). The word “subjugation” (Tam. *vaciyam*, < Skt. *vaśya*) can also imply a magical charm or influence that exerts control over an object, in this case over gnosis. As noted above and in Chapter Three, this yoga refers to the practice described in his English works as the Finite Spirit or *jīvātman*’s conquering of each of the twelve “kingdoms” or *cakras* in succession, which leads eventually to an identity with the Universal Infinite Spirit or Śiva. The emphasis on the subjugation of *jñāna* (“gnosis,” “knowledge”) is also important, as in some instances he refers to this yoga in abbreviated form simply as *jñānayoga*, which in that context does not simply refer to an intellectual understanding but the act of subjugating or controlling this gnosis. Sabhapati also gives an additional list of other synonyms for Śivarājayoga:

Infinite Spiritual Pranava Yoga [Skt. *praṇavayoga*], Nirākāra Yoga [*nirākārayoga*], Onkāra Yoga [*oṃkārayoga*], Brimha Gnyana Kala Yoga [*brahmajñāna kalāyoga*], Vāsi Yoga [Tam. *vāciyōkam*], Brimha Bāvana Yoga [*brahmabhāvanāyoga*], and Gnyana Lutchiadhiana Yoga [*jñānalakṣyadhyānayoga*], Brimha Gnyana Dhrishti Ubasana Raja Yoga [*brahmajñānadṛṣṭyupāsanaṛājayoga*] Parotchagnyana Siva Yoga [*parokṣajñānaśivayoga*], Surva siddhi Sorooba Yoga [*sarvasiddhi svarūpayoga*], Surva Surva sukthi Angsa Yoga [*sarva sarvaśakti aṃśayoga*], Surva Surva Sātchāthkara Maya Yoga [*sarva sarva sāṅṣātkāramayayoga*].⁶⁶⁵

Many of these names are either uncommon as types of yoga or appear to be more descriptive of various aspects of the practice. While largely forgotten today, however, they may have

⁶⁶⁵ CPSPS, First Book, 119.

been more salient in the milieus that Sabhapati frequented; for example, “Vāsi Yoga” continued to be salient as a synonym for Śivarājayoga over a century after Sabhapati’s last publication (see below).

According to Srilata Raman, “the compound Śivarājayoga appears to have emerged in Vīraśaiva circles, after the ca. seventeenth-century author Kumāratēvar definitely but perhaps even earlier, as a word to describe the process of Vīraśaiva worship and to distinguish it, clearly, from the Tamil Śaivasiddhānta’s *śivayoga*” (see Chapter Three, Sections A and C).⁶⁶⁶ As mentioned in the Introduction, one of the first mentions of it is in the poetry of the ca. eighteenth-century Tamil poet Tāyumāṇavar, where it is used in connection with the Tamil Siddhas. I agree with Raman’s position and would additionally argue that Sabhapati’s form of yoga appears to also be partially connected to the Śivayoga of the ŚYP, albeit with many technical changes introduced on account of its teachings being translated away from the world of Sanskrit (or Kannada, for that matter) and entering milieus that today we would consider more or less connected to the Tamil Siddhas.⁶⁶⁷ One notable change is Sabhapati’s departure from the Vīraśaiva idea of “six stages” (Skt. *ṣaṣṭhala*) of devotion or *bhakti*, as articulated by the ca. twelfth-century reformer Basava, toward a ritualized cancellation of the twelve Tantric *cakras* to obtain identity with Śiva and “divine pilgrimage.”⁶⁶⁸ As I have already pointed out (Section A.1), his hierarchy of yogas also departs from the ŚYP’s

⁶⁶⁶ Srilata Raman, personal email correspondence, 15 June 2020. I am grateful to Srilata for helping to confirm my suspicion that Śivarājayoga is not Sabhapati’s own invention but is part of the larger Vīraśaiva genre of Śivayoga.

⁶⁶⁷ On this text see Seth Powell, “A Lamp on Śiva’s Yoga: The Unification of Yoga, Ritual, and Devotion in the Fifteenth-Century Śivayogapradīpikā” (PhD Prospectus, Harvard University, 2018), and Powell’s forthcoming dissertation.

⁶⁶⁸ For Basava see R. Blake Michael, *The Origins of Vīraśaiva Sects: A Typological Analysis of Ritual and Associational Patterns in the Śūnyasampādane* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992); and Rao and Roghair, *Siva’s Warriors: The Basava Purana of Palkuriki Somanatha*; for their Śaiva philosophy more generally see Elaine M. Fisher, “Remaking South Indian Śaivism: Greater Śaiva Advaita and the Legacy of the Śaktiviśiṣṭādvaita Vīraśaiva Tradition,” *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 21, no. 3 (December 2017): 319–44.

fourfold system of Mantra, Laya, Haṭha, and Rāja, in which Śivayoga is equated with Rājayoga. In any event, Tamil Vīraśaiva attitudes on the reconciliation of Saiddhāntika or Advaita Vedānta soteriology, as analyzed and recorded by Steinschneider, are clearly reflected in Sabhapati’s above description of Śivarājayoga, despite the fact that in Sabhāpati’s English parlance the yoga was in its early formulation called “Vedantic Rajayoga” or “Vedhanta Siva Raja Yoga.”⁶⁶⁹

The full extent to which Kumara Devar and his line of students, including Sabhapati’s guru Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal and Sabhapati Swamigal himself, innovated upon Vīraśaiva forms of Śivayoga remains an open question that would benefit from a much more comprehensive analysis of their entire *paramparā*’s surviving literature that treats on topics relevant to yoga. However, there is a parallel titular phenomenon to this historical integration that can serve as a useful guide: Sometime prior to the nineteenth century, many figures who would today be considered as “Siddha” or “Siddhar” if they had lived in the medieval period, instead began to affix the title “Swamigal” (Tam. *cuvāmikaḷ*, < Skt. *svāmī* “Lord” + honorific Tamil *-kaḷ* suffix) to their names. The most notable example of this is Chidambaram Ramalinga Swamigal (1823–1874), whose work also reflects some degree of inspiration from Vīraśaiva movements.⁶⁷⁰ To my knowledge the historical dynamics of this shift from “Siddha” to “Swamigal” has not yet been analyzed in scholarship, although it could be more broadly located in Venkatraman’s “fourth category” of Siddhas who were only later added to the group or category, as mentioned in Chapter Three.

⁶⁶⁹ Eric Steinschneider, “Beyond the Warring Sects: Universalism, Dissent, and Canon in Tamil Śaivism, ca. 1675–1994” (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2016).

⁶⁷⁰ See Richard Weiss, *The Emergence of Modern Hinduism: Religion on the Margins of Colonialism* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017), and Srilata Raman, *The Transformation of Tamil Religion: Ramalinga Swamigal and Modern Dravidian Sainthood* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, Forthcoming).

On the topic of definitions, it is finally worth pointing out Śivarājayoga is known in Tamil as Civarājayōkam (= Skt. *śivarājayoga*), which today remains a localized genre of Tamil yogic practices that is associated not with Sabhapati Swami but with the *Tirumantiram*, Agastya, and the Tamil Siddhas. I have located at least two paperback books that deal with this subject, both of which I was able to relatively easily order online through Indian book dealers.

The first book, *Vāciyōkam eṇṇum civarāja yōkam*, equates Civarājayōkam with *vāciyōkam* “the yoga of streams” or “channels” in the very title, which Sabhapati himself also accepted as another name for Śivarājayoga (see above).⁶⁷¹ The Tamil word *vāci* in yogic contexts, including Sabhapati’s own literature, is used synonymously with *nāḍī*, a part of the body’s subtle physiology that in contemporary scholarship is often translated as “channel,” “nerve,” or “conduit.” However, in Sabhapati’s works *vāci* (transliterated in VRY as “vasee,” “vasees”) is translated as “pipe,” which is not an accident or mistranslation. Tamil dictionaries note that the Tamil word *vāci* is connected to a semantic range that includes both yogic “vital-air” and “musical pipe,” and this latter meaning appears to derive from a combination of the Tamil verb *vāci* “play a musical instrument” as well as the Sanskrit nouns *vāṃśa* “bamboo” and its derivative *vāṃśī* “bamboo flute.”⁶⁷² The idea of musical “pipes” naturally evokes the *prāṇākāśa* “vital ether” that Sabhapati instructs the yogi to manipulate and travel through these channels during meditation. This was undoubtedly imagined (at least indirectly) as a kind of subtle and malleable bamboo, more akin to the celebrated “pipes of Pan.” Steel pipes were invented in the early nineteenth century but likely were still not

⁶⁷¹ Eṇṇam Tammaṇṇa Ceṭṭiyār, *Vāciyōkam eṇṇum civarāja yōkam* (Chennai: Śrī Indu Paṭṭikēṣaṅs, 2016).

⁶⁷² Through the Sanskrit *vāṃśī* the word became Bengali *bāṃśī*, a common name used for the bamboo flute used in Bengali folk music and the word most commonly used for Krishna’s flute.

widespread in India at the time of Sabhapati’s writing, and the PVC pipes that we more readily imagine with the word “pipe” today were only invented in the 1930s.

The second book is a series of short compositions, some only one or two stanzas long, as well as two longer works, composed by one Sargurunathar Swamigal (Caṅkuruṇāta Cuvāmikaḷ (ca. 1878–1919), a Tamil yogi who is revered by his followers as the ninth avatar of Agastya; the eighth avatar was one Sri Muthukrishna Swami (Śrī Muttukkiruṣṇacuvāmi) who was believed to have lived 179 years in the Pothigai Malai.⁶⁷³ There is a striking resonance between the legends surrounding both these figures and that of Sabhapati Swami’s own guru Shivajnanabodha Yogishwara, specifically the connection with Agastya (see Chapters One and Three), and it is plausible—though not yet conclusive—that they shared a guru or that their lines were connected via Sabhapati’s student Om Prakash Swamigal (about whom see Chapter One, Section K.1 above).⁶⁷⁴

B. Śivarājayoga in Practice: From Purification to Non-Being

The techniques to achieve Śivarājayoga are found in various places throughout Sabhapati’s vividly illustrated body of work, and include meditatively inscribing and then refuting or “canceling” the twelve *caṅkras* of his cosmology, called “Kingdoms” in his English works, as illusionary parts of oneself that create a delusion of separation from Brahman and, by extension, Śiva. Sabhapati’s supplementary instructions on Śivarājayoga

⁶⁷³ Yōki Kailaṣṇāt, *Caṅkuruṇāta yōkam: śrīcaṅkuruṇāta svāmikaḷ aruḷiya civarāja yōkam, taṅarāja yōkam, yōkarāja yōkam, oṭṭirāja yōkam, yavarāja yōkam (mūlamum - uraiyum)* (Cēṅṅai: Kaṅpakam Puttakālayam, 2012). Prem Manavai and Padmashree Vijayakumar have created a documentary of this yogi entitled “The Failed Samadhi,” available on Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GNFAKlb6VZY>; I am grateful to Karisal Sathish for putting us in touch.

⁶⁷⁴ According to Karisal Sathish and Vijay Kumar’s research (email correspondence, 8 January 2021), Sabhapati’s student Om Prakash Swamigal mentions in one of his early publications that he met Sargurunathar personally in the Nilgiris. At present time of writing I am still trying to locate this reference.

also include fixing the mind upon the spine as a “pole” and imagining, in his language, the “head to be removed and its place occupied by the universally and in-all-creations pervading [Infinite]. spiritual void witnessing and blissful consciousness.” These pervading principles are the “Four Spiritual Brightnesses” of the Universal Infinite Spirit, which are *sarvānanda*, *sarvasākṣin*, *sarvavyāpaka*, and *sarvaśūnya* (see Chapter Three, Figure Four).⁶⁷⁵ In other words, therefore, the whole process is framed in Vedāntic terms as a removal of the delusion of separation between the Finite Spirit (Skt. *jīvātman*) and the Universal Infinite Spirit (*brahman*) so as to facilitate a reintegration with the Universal Spirit (Śiva; see Chapter Three for more on these terms and their Sanskrit correlates in Sabhapati’s literature), and also in Saiddhāntika terms as a dissolution (*laya*) of the Finite Spirit into Śiva, as salient to the definition of Śivarājyoga given in the quote in Section A above.

The process to achieve success in Śivarājyoga is multi-tiered and includes several steps over the course of which the yogi attains to various titles. After this consciousness is pervading and “universally spread,” one attains the first and second of several titles, which is “Bachelor of Practicing I. spiritual ecstasy” (Mṣvl. *pāvaṇā pīrmakñāṇapīrmaccāri*, < Skt. *bhāvanā brahmajñānabrahmacārī*) as well as a “Bachelor in the spiritual Pilgrimage.”⁶⁷⁶ This latter title, which he doesn’t provide a direct Sanskrit phrase for, refers to mastery of an experience of “divine pilgrimage” (Skt. *yātrā*) into a universe that is simultaneously external and internal to the body, which by this point in the practice of yoga is permeated by the gnosis of the Universal Infinite Spirit (*brahmajñāna*). Sabhapati’s own words on this pilgrimage is as follows:

⁶⁷⁵ CPSPS, First Book, 124.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid.

Now you should make a divine Pilgrimage in the universe of your body in order to find out how the I. Spirit ([Mpv1.] *cutta caitanniya pirmmakñānākāsamayam* [$<$ Skt. *śuddha caitanya brahmajñānākāsamaya*]), descends to the Kundalee [= Skt. *kuṇḍali*] through Sushoomna Nadi [= *suṣumnā-nāḍī*] or I. spiritual nerve and ascends up to Brahmarunthram [= *brahmarandhra*] or skull through Kumbaka-Nadi [= *kumbhakanāḍī*] or spinal cord; it is by this descent and ascent of the spirit the whole creation of your body is maintained till the time of death.⁶⁷⁷

As noted in Chapter Three, the embodied principles or, in his words, “faculties” (*tattvas*) of Sabhapati’s cosmology have emanated down from the Infinite Spirit to the elemental world, that is, physical (un-)reality. Now its perceived connection with bodily vitality becomes clear, which also serves to link the subtle body with the vital-breath or *prāṇa* (see below).

After further practice in understanding the ascent and descent of subtle principles and their infinite correlates, one becomes what he translates as the “practical Professor in Spiritual ecstasy” (Mpv1. *pāvaṇāpirmakñānapirmacārīrājayōka appiyāci*, $<$ Skt.

bhāvanābrahmajñānabrahmacārīrājayoga abhyāsī) or the “Pilgrim in the Divine Kingdom of Infinite spirit’s Ecstasy” (Mpv1. *civarājayōka pirmmakñānayāttiri*, $<$ Skt. *śivarājayoga brahmajñānayātrī*), the latter of which makes explicit reference to Śivarājayoga.⁶⁷⁸ At this point a list of “divine mantras,” which are more like qualities of the Absolute, are provided for recitation during one’s ascent from the *kuṇḍali* or *mūlādhāra*. Following success in the above practices one becomes a “knower of the principles” (*tattvajñānī*) and obtains a lengthy title that I will here shorten to what he called a “family-man of the knowledge of Truth or the

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., 124–5. Much of this bears relevance to the model of subtle pilgrimage as attested in Kubjikā sources; see Mark S. G. Dyczkowski, *A Journey in the World of Tantras* (Varanasi: Indica Books, 2004), 93–175 and Chapter Six.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., 127.

Soul” (*ñāṇōkirahastaṇ*, < Skt. *jñānagrhasṭha*, lit. “householder of gnosis”).⁶⁷⁹ After further examining delusions and “false dreams of faculties, happiness and worldly enjoyments,” one is able to renounce them and obtain the highest title: “Sanniasi Mowna Gnyani” (= Skt. *saṃnyāsī mauna jñānī*, “Sannyasi who is the Knower of Silence”) or “Brumma Gnyani” (= Skt. *brahmajñānī*, “Knower of Brahman”), who is the “spiritual man whom Maya or delusions will never assail.”⁶⁸⁰ As is evident, this list of titles follows three out of the four traditional “stages” (*āśramas*) of life as codified in the Dharmaśāstras, but ascribes to them a quality of yogic attainment rather than referring literally to their social, economic, and political functions.

The rewards of pursuing this practice to completion are nothing short of epic and occupy three full pages, including promises that the yogi will be no less than the “Universal Infinite Spirit,” the “Eye to the Universe” (Skt. *brahmajñānadṛṣṭi*, lit. “sight of the gnosis of Brahman”) the “Linga Sorúpam [Mpv1.] *linkacorūpam* [< Skt. *lingasvarūpa*, “inherent nature of (Śiva’s) phallus] embracing the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Earth and all their Creations,” a “perfect moral God, a perfect social God, a Yógi full of God,” a “witness to all the wisdom and notions of every Soul” and, among many other promises, a more obvious one, seemingly added as an afterthought, which simply promises success in the subject of Sabhapati’s books, namely Śivarājyoga itself: “the Infinite Spiritual Perfection of the Cosmic Psychological I. Spiritual Philosophy’s Védantic Brummagnyana Anubúthy Siva Raja Yoga Practice.”⁶⁸¹ Sabhapati also refers to the more typical list of the eight “Psychic powers” (his translation of *siddhi* in his hagiography (Mpv1. *aṣṭamāsitti*, < Skt. *aṣṭamāsiddhi*

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., 129.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁸¹ CPSPS, First Book, 87–89. Cf. VRY, 26–28.

/ *aṣṭasiddhi*), which he rejects in favor in favor of a vision of Śiva, and also refers to additional powers elsewhere in his literature.⁶⁸² Finally, he also includes a story of a “Yogi of his Ashram” (i.e., of Agastya Ashram; see Chapter One) who, upon passing through Mysore, displayed to the Nawab of the Deccan his power over weather and his power to create precious stones out of nothing. This seems to also—if indirectly—indicate the fruits of success in Śivarājayoga as mentioned above.

Sabhapati’s works, especially CPSPS, CTCSPV, and MCVTS, explicitly describe the practice of Śivarājayoga as being compatible with Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, or Śākta forms of devotion, and they accordingly provide mantras and diagrams for a whole host of forms of Viṣṇu and the Devī and/or many other deities that one can meditate upon and obtain “communion” with, not just Śiva. Sabhapati also states that this technique can be practiced by an individual of any caste, and is not exclusive to Brahmins or even Hindus; as we saw in Chapter Three, even Atheists, members of “Theosophical Societies,” and adherents to other religions were encouraged to orient themselves towards the practice of this yoga so as to dispel their doubts. Furthermore, many of his diagrams depict female devotees and his works explicitly include both women and men as being fully capable to carry out Śivarājayoga.

Sabhapati’s descriptions of the *tattvas* in the Alpha Stream, beginning with his English work VRY (1880),⁶⁸³ do include lengthy guided meditations on each *tattva*, but these practices of cancellation (*śuddhi*, lit. “purification,” see Figure Three), while not discounting their practical relevance, also seem to have a didactic function in that they enable the yogi to

⁶⁸² CPSPS, First Book, 4–5; VRY, iv. For the other powers see CPSPS, Second Book, 389–91. For more on the powers that yogis were believed to be able to obtain see Somadeva Vasudeva, “Powers and Identities: Yoga Powers and the Tantric Śaiva Traditions,” in *Yoga Powers: Extraordinary Capacities Attained Through Meditation and Concentration*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 264–302; David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

⁶⁸³ See Chapter Two for the division of Sabhapati’s works into several “streams.”

become intimately familiar with the attributions of his or her body’s subtle physiology.⁶⁸⁴ To some extent they are preparatory for the clearest synopsis of Sabhapati’s direct teachings on Śivarājyoga in English, which is separately given in a section aptly called “Instruction” that occupies around thirteen pages and refers to fixing the mind to a “straight pole” or “rocky pole” (see Appendix Three).⁶⁸⁵ In CPSPS (1884/90) this same section on Śivarājyoga, slightly modified, occupies about eleven pages.⁶⁸⁶ Sabhapati says that the yogi, after practicing the *sādhana* (MpvI. *cāṭanaī*), should “sing by silent meditation” a sequence of *ślokas* entitled “The Great Utterance, or Unity of abiding in the perception of the non-conceptual state of composure, the disembodied liberation of the gnosis of Brahman” (MpvI. *Mahāvākkīyāyāikkīya nirvikalpa vitēkamukta pīrmañāṇa camātiyāṇupūtistiti*, < Skt. *mahāvākyāyā nirvikalpa videhamukta brahmajñāna samādhyānubhūtisthiti*) that he included with the book in both Tamil and Devanagari script.⁶⁸⁷

The idea of “disembodied liberation” (*videhamukti*), which as Malinar and White have argued has roots in the Pātañjalayogaśāstra and was reflected in epics like the *Mahābhārata*, warrants interesting comparisons with *jīvanmukti*, “liberation in life,” a concept would go on to largely eclipse *videhamukti*.⁶⁸⁸ Sabhapati notably uses both compounds, however, albeit *videhamukti* only sparsely. He describes *jīvanmukti* as “full absorption even while in body” and uses it in the context of describing those rishis and yogis who would, in contemporary Tamil discourse, be considered Siddhas. These yogis “change

⁶⁸⁴ For more examples of this in Tantric literature see Gavin D. Flood, *The Tantric Body: The Secret Tradition of Hindu Religion* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006).

⁶⁸⁵ VRY, 33–46.

⁶⁸⁶ CPSPS, First Book, 105–116.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 90–96.

⁶⁸⁸ See White, *Sinister Yogis*, 112–14; Angelika Malinar, “Something Like Liberation: *prakṛtilaya* (Absorption in the Cause/s of Creation) in Yoga and Sāṃkhya,” in *Release from Life — Release in Life: Indian Perspectives on Individual Liberation*, ed. Andreas Biggar et al. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 129–56.

their body and *bless* it to become Swambhu Maha Lingam [Skt. *svayambhū mahāliṅga*, “the great phallus that is self-manifesting,”] and their spirit joins the Infinite Spirit.”⁶⁸⁹ The phrase *svayambhū mahāliṅga* (MpvI. *svayampu mahāliṅkam*) more explicitly refers to naturally-occurring *śivaliṅgas* found inside or under trees, such as the kadamba or burflower tree at the Meenaskhi Amman Temple in Madurai,⁶⁹⁰ or as self-manifesting geological phenomena. In pan-Indian contexts they often form part of “canonical” lists of important or famous Śaiva temple sites and their accompanying *śivaliṅgas*. I learned during my field work at the remnants of Sabhapati’s meditation hall in the Konnur/Villivakkam area of Chennai (currently named Sabhapaty Lingeswarar Koil), however, that the epithet *svayambhū* is not just for celebrated or famous sites but can also be applied to *liṅgas* that are present at more minor or lesser-known *jīvasamādhis* or “tumuli” relating to the Siddhas in Tamil Nadu. In any event, the presence of a *svayambhū liṅga* is considered highly auspicious and even a mark of distinction; the Dhandeeswaram Temple in Velachery (where Sabhapati was said to have obtained a vision; see Chapter One) for example advertises the fact that its *liṅga* is accordingly *svayambhū* or “self-manifesting.”

While the *liṅga* could also be interpreted as a kind of transmigrating subtle body (*liṅgaśarīra*) or even an inherent nature (*liṅgasvarūpa*) that the yogi obtains at death, the passage by Sabhapati quoted above implies that the body quite literally becomes part of the physical stone idol itself, conceived of as a universal symbol, thus granting the yogi a kind of immortal presence. CPSPS offers further clarification in its translation of this passage as “The Self divine Spiritual Universal fully pervaded Circle of stone to worship as Personal God.”

⁶⁸⁹ VRY, v.

⁶⁹⁰ See Trilochan Dash, *The Story of the Deities and the Temples in Southern Indian Peninsula* (Bhubaneswar: Soudamini Dash, 2010), 113–15.

Indeed, the common practice at “tumuli” of swamis in the same category as Sabhapati Swami and his *paramparā* (see Chapter Three) is to bury the yogi’s body following his state of final *samādhi* and to install a sacred *līṅga* over the interred body (see Chapter One). A notable example of this is the *līṅga* worshipped at the Sri Sabhapathy Lingeshwarar Koil, which is currently revered as the tumulus of Sabhapati Swami himself, although there unfortunately is still no conclusive proof of his body residing there.⁶⁹¹ When I asked Vinayagam Swamigal, the current trustee of the temple, what he thought *svayambhū līṅga* meant, he replied that it meant a “self-generated idol,” and that centuries-old Mahans like Sabhapati were known to “bring themselves to the earth and perform miracles and disappear into the lingam.”⁶⁹² The *līṅga* at Sri Sabhapathy Lingeshwarar Koil is believed to extend around seventeen feet deep into the ground, and during a previous excavation the word *līṅgeśvara* (Tam. *līṅkēsvar*) was found inscribed on the *līṅga*, which is how the temple acquired its name. Whether or not this was Sabhapati’s own *svayambhū līṅga*, it has nevertheless been associated with a human yogi named Sabhapati Swami by the caretakers of the shrine for at least a century now (see Chapter One, Section L).⁶⁹³

As seen in the quote above, however, *videhamukti* is accomplished at the final stage of Śivarājayoga while singing the above “Great Utterance.”⁶⁹⁴ Furthermore, many other instructions in CPSPS were also added that are of direct relevance to various aspects of the

⁶⁹¹ For more on this temple and the worship of the *līṅga* there as it was prior to the discovery outlined in this dissertation that it is likely a former meditation hall of Sabhapati Swami (for which see Chapter One), see Cuvāmi Pi. Pi. Ār. Hariharan, *Aruḷmiku śrī capāpati līṅkēsvar jīvacamāti ālayamstala varalāru* (Maṅavūr: Kaviṅar Murukānantam Accakam, 2017).

⁶⁹² Personal communication via WhatsApp with Vinayagam Swamigal of the Sri Sabhapathy Lingeshwarar Koil, 2 November 2011.

⁶⁹³ Hariharan Cuvāmikal, Interview at Aruḷmiku Śrī Capāpati Līṅkēsvar Jīvacamāti Ālayam, interview by Keith Cantú and Sivasakthi, Audio recording, July 2018.

⁶⁹⁴ *Mahāvākyas* taken more literally are the “great sayings” of the Upaniṣads as interpreted by authors of Vedānta, of which the most famous is *tattvamasi*, “that thou art.”

practice of Śivarājyoga, such as on music and mantra (see Chapter Five), the instruction on “coitional blissfulness” as mentioned above, various kinds of purification, and even initiations between guru and student (*dīkṣā*), uncannily translated as “mesmerism.”⁶⁹⁵ In any event, his instructions of Śivarājyoga all assume both familiarity and memorization of Sabhapati’s cosmological descriptions, meditations, and associated mantras upon which they are based (see Figure Three).

Sabhapati’s most notable work of the Beta Stream in Marathi and Hindustani, RYB (1892), also includes practices of “purification” (*śuddhi*, see Figure Three) and even devotes its entire seventh chapter (Hi. *saptamādhyāy*) to the subject of Śivarājyoga, called *śivarāja jñānayoga* or shortened to simply *jñānayoga*. The practice (*sādhan*) is to be observed at four o’clock in the morning by either men and women (*strī puruṣ*) of each household after waking from sleep and washing the hands and face.⁶⁹⁶ In contrast to his English work, Sabhapati here says that “there are seven methods to this practice of *śivarāja jñānayoga*.”⁶⁹⁷ The seven methods, framed as *bhāvanās* (lit. “mental cultivations”), each consist of a different “path” (*mārg*) that pertains to interacting with the subtle physiology of Tantric yoga, also depicted in a unique diagram (see Figure Four). As in Sabhapati’s Tamil works, he is clear that the act of penetrating what he calls the “mystery of the eyewitness of being and non-being” (*bhāvābhāv sākṣātkār rahasya*) is not only limited to a Vedāntic frame, and affirms that

⁶⁹⁵ For more on the integration of yogic ideas with mesmerism, see Karl Baier, “Mesmeric Yoga and the Development of Meditation within the Theosophical Society,” *Theosophical History: A Quarterly Journal of Research* XVI, no. 3 and 4 (October 2012): 151–61; Dominic S. Zoehrer, “From Fluidum to Prāṇa: Reading Mesmerism through Orientalist Lenses,” in *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, ed. Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

⁶⁹⁶ RYB, 90. “*isa kāraṇ siddhānta vedānta advaita brahmajñān jānneke nimitta jñānyog sādhanā hai.*”

⁶⁹⁷ RYB, 91: “*isa śivarāja jñānayogameṇ sapta prakār hai.*”

“Siddhānta, Vedānta, [and] Advaita have the goal of knowing the gnosis of Brahman, which is the practice of the yoga of gnosis.”⁶⁹⁸

Sabhapati’s Tamil works in the Gamma Stream also engaged the topic of Śivarājayoga, albeit a comprehensive treatment came relatively late. CTCSPV (1889), although it addresses many other subjects of relevance to cosmology and ritual practice, appears to have devoted only a single extended page in Tamil to the subject, and this page was most likely intended as an insert since its page number varies according to the copy, was folded in somewhat irregularly, and also included its own address at the bottom of the page (translation from Tamil): “Jnana Guru Yogi Sabhapati Swami of 73rd Number Konnur Village Guru Meditation Hall, Parangi Malai Post Office, Saidapet Taluk, Chingleput Zilla” (see Chapter One, Section K for this Meditation Hall).⁶⁹⁹ The insert, however, anticipated his subsequent Tamil work MCVTS (1913), which in the shorter version included a seven-page section entitled “Compiled instructions on the practice, ritual, and experience of the steadfast absorption of the royal yoga for Śiva, which is the gnosis of the Infinite Spirit.”⁷⁰⁰ This section refers to an included “Diagram Seven” to show various parts of the subtle body in visual form (see Figure Five). The longer version of MCVTS adds four additional diagrams as well as related section in English entitled “The Practice of Brimha Gnyana Raja Yoga Nishta Samadhi’s Initiational modes and processes of Practice, In Short Instruction” as well as further instructions on Haṭhayoga and a mental ritual of *agnihotra* or “fire sacrifice.”⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid.: “. . . *siddhānta vedānta advaita brahmajñān jānneke nimitta jñānyog sādhanā hai.*” It is unclear

⁶⁹⁹ *ñāṇakuruyoki capāpati cuvāmi 73-vatu nempar koṇṇūr kirama kurumaṭālayam, paraṅkimalai pōṣṭāpīcu, caitāpēṭṭai tālūkā, ceṅkalpaṭṭu jillā.* The number 73 refers to number of the adjacent village Villivakkam (which to this day overlaps with Konnur) in old survey records, as attested by extant village maps from that time period; see *No. 73, Villivakkam, Saidapet Taluk, Chingleput District, Traced from the Original Map of 1906*, 16 inches = 1 mile (Madras: Vandyke Survey Office, 1938).

⁷⁰⁰ MCVTS (short version), 38: “*parhmak ṅāṇa civarājayōka niṣṭā camāti appiyāca cātaṇā aṇupava upatē:cāṇuk:kiraham.*” The section on Śivarājayoga spans pages 38–44.

⁷⁰¹ MCVTS (long version), 45.

<i>cakras</i>	Sanskrit mantras	Functions (Sabhapati's "translation")
<i>mūlādhāra</i>	<i>oṃ namo śivāya namaḥ</i>	<i>bhūta-śuddhi</i> ("purification of elements")
<i>svādiṣṭhāna</i>	<i>oṃ brahmā, viṣṇu, rudra, maheśvara, sadāśiva namaḥ</i> (VRY); <i>nam</i> (CSPSP)	<i>indriya-śuddhi</i> ("purification of senses")
<i>maṇipuraka</i>	<i>oṃ ā ī ū e o</i> <i>śivāya namaḥ</i> (VRY); <i>mam - oṃ ā ī ū e o</i> <i>śivāya namaḥ</i> (CSPSP)	<i>rāgadveṣa-śuddhi</i> ("purification of passions")
<i>anāhata</i>	<i>auṃ hrīṃ śrīṃ aiṃ kliṃ</i> <i>saum nāmaḥ</i> (VRY); <i>auṃ śiṃ śivayavaśi-namaḥ</i> (CSPSP)	<i>antaḥkaraṇa-śuddhi</i> ("purification of intellect")
<i>viśuddhi</i>	<i>la-hum, va-hum, ra-hum, ya-hum, kha-hum, namaḥ</i> (VRY); <i>vam śivayavaśi-namaḥ</i> (CSPSP)	<i>triguṇa-śuddhi</i> ("purification of conscience")
<i>ājñā</i>	<i>yam śivayavaśi śivāya namaḥ</i>	<i>trimala-śuddhi</i> ("purification of ideas and ambition")
<i>bindusthāna</i>	<i>śiva caraṇa</i> (VRY) <i>oṃ śivāya guruve namaḥ</i> (CSPSP)	<i>vindumaya-śuddhi</i> ("purification of muse")
<i>nādasthāna</i>	<i>śiva śiva potṭ namaḥ</i> (VRY) <i>haṃ śiva śiva potṭ namaḥ</i> (CSPSP)	<i>nādamaya-śuddhi</i> ("purification of memory")
<i>kalāsthāna</i>	<i>śiva śiva śivā namaste namastu</i> (VRY) <i>ṣam śiva śiva śivā namaste namastu</i> (CSPSP)	<i>kalāmaya-śuddhi</i> ("purification of prudence")
<i>tatparasthāna</i>	<i>ahameva brahman, śiva śiva śiva śivā</i> <i>śiva śivaḥ aikyārpaṇa namaḥ</i> (VRY) <i>u śiva śiva śiva śivā śiva śiva śiva</i> <i>aikyārpaṇakaro namaḥ</i> (CSPSP)	<i>tatparamaya-śuddhi</i> ("purification of knowledge")
<i>parasthāna</i>	<i>śiva śiva śiva śiva śivaḥ namaḥ śambhu</i> <i>śivo 'ham</i> (VRY) <i>ā oṃ śiva śiva brahma brahma śivo</i> <i>'ham ekamevādvita tat-tvam-asi-ham</i> (CSPSP)	<i>paramaya-śuddhi</i> ("purification of wit or intelligence")
<i>dvādaśānta</i>	See full mantra in text.	Identity with Brahman / "purification of wisdom"

Figure Three. The mantras and purifications associated with each of Sabhapati's twelve *cakra*, which are to be gradually canceled as part of the preliminary process of Śivarājayoga (CSPSP, First Book, 80–86; VRY, 24–26). Many of Sabhapati's translations are non-literal and refer to technical principles in his cosmology (see Chapter Three). Mantras in VRY corrected from archaic transliterations based on the version from CSPSP. See Chapter Three for the way in which these further intersect with the broader cosmologies as outlined in his vernacular works in Tamil and Hindustani.

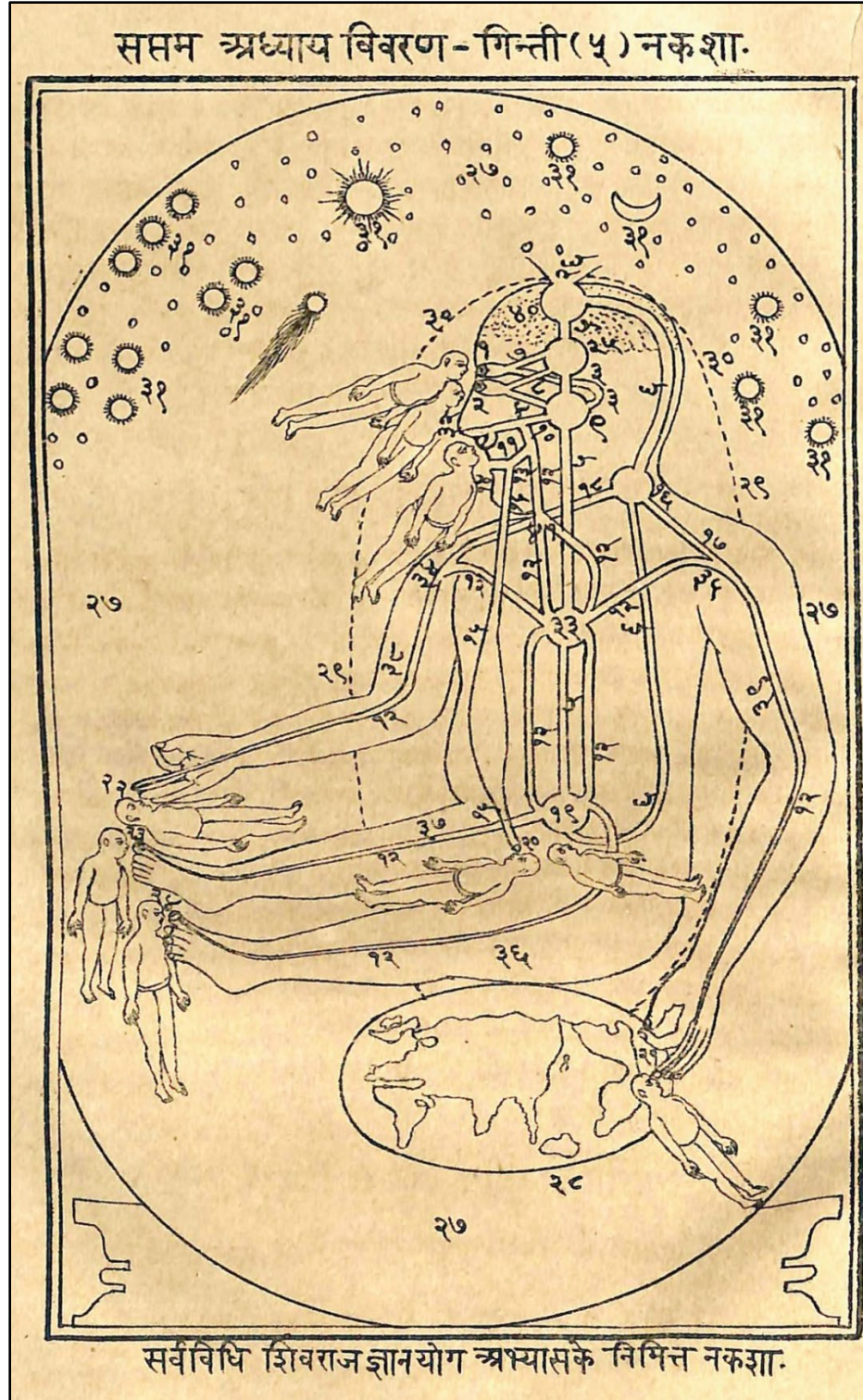


Figure Four. “Diagram Number Five, for the Description of Chapter Seven / A diagram for the purposes of practicing all types of Śivarāja Jñāna Yoga” (Hi. *saptam adhyāy vivaraṇ - gintī (5) nakṣā / sarvavidhi śivarāja jñānayoga abhyāske nimitt nakṣā*). This diagram is between pages 88 and 89 of RYB, immediately preceding the seventh chapter. From a copy held by the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Chennai.

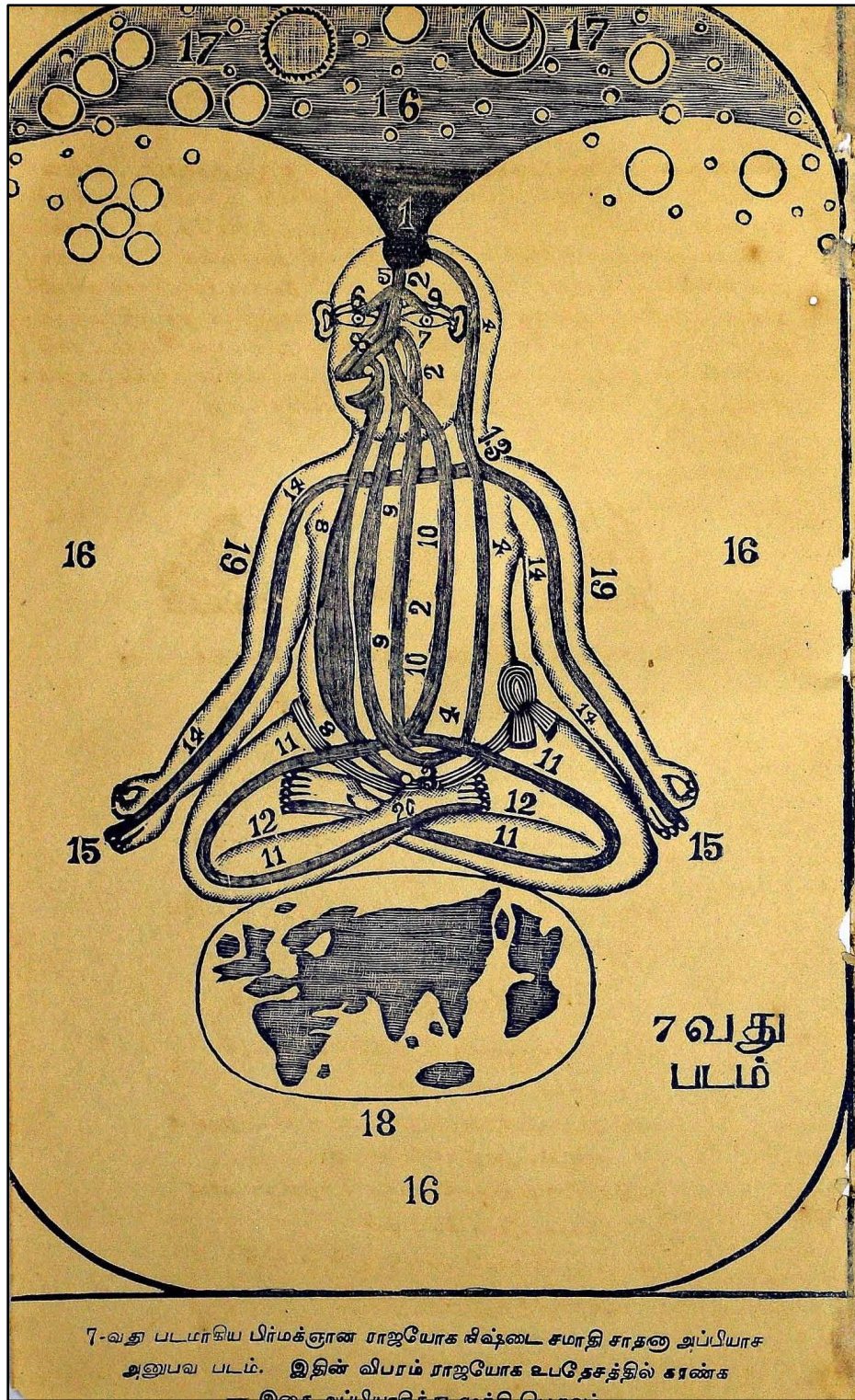


Figure Five. "The Seventh Diagram, being an image of the ritual, practice, and experience of the steadfast absorption of the Royal Yoga for Śiva, which is the gnosis of the Infinite Spirit." From a copy of MCVTS held by Saraswathi Mahal Library in Thanjavur.

Finally, it must be said that Sabhapati's techniques of Śivarājayoga are linked with Sabhapati's broader teaching of *jñānākāśa* or *prāṇākāśa* (analogized with a "serpent") rising along the central channel or *suṣumnā* from the *kuṇḍali* or "ring" to the *brahmarandhra*.⁷⁰² He writes the following at the end of his instructions on Śivarājayoga in CPSPS:

After succeeding in making the pole of your mind or eternal Divine Conscious Sight, straight and steady by the foregoing process, join the Conscious Sight of the two Eyes with the top of mind in the Brummarantha. Thus it forms a triangle whose vertex is the Mind, and the two keenness, that proceed from the eyes to join the former, are the two sides. Now drop these three Visions jointly as one Vision of conscious witnessing blissfulness to Kúndali and make itself rise like a serpent through Spinal Cord or backbone [*sic*] meeting it again in Birmharuntra.⁷⁰³

This description is somewhat similar to what John Woodroffe would popularize in his publication of *The Serpent Power*, an English translation and interpretation of the Sanskrit text *Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇa* that was first published in 1919.⁷⁰⁴ However, at least one Indian author has noted several differences between his and Sabhapati's interpretation of *kuṇḍalinī*, or "she who is coiled," such as the way that *kuṇḍalinī* descends and then re-ascends in the head.⁷⁰⁵ Although Sabhāpati uses the compound *jñānākāśa* rather than *kuṇḍalinī*, his description apart from this in accordance with the general tantric understanding that

⁷⁰² For scholarly treatments of this see Lilian Silburn, *La Kuṇḍalinī, ou, L'énergie des profondeurs: étude d'ensemble d'après les textes du Śivaïsme non dualiste du Kaśmir* (Paris: Deux océans, 1983); Mallinson et Singleton, *Roots of Yoga*, 178–83.

⁷⁰³ CPSPS, First Book, 114.

⁷⁰⁴ Arthur Avalon, *The Serpent Power, Being the Shat-Chakra-Nirūpaṇa and Pāduka-Panchakā* (Madras: Ganesh & Co., 1950 [1919]).

⁷⁰⁵ Arjan Dass Malik, *Kundalini and Meditation* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2002); see also T. K. Rajagopalan, *Hidden Treasures of Yoga: Revealing Certain Ancient and Secret Methods of Practical Mysticism* (Delhi, India: Oriental Book Centre, 2005), 21–3.

kuṇḍalinī descends at birth and lies dormant in the lower abdomen by yoga, rises to cranial vault (*brahmarandhra*), and then redescends to rise again until death. At the same time, Sabhapati is keen on the yogi manipulating this ascent and descent so as to become familiar with the process and competent of “divine pilgrimage,” described as follows:

Now you should make a divine pilgrimage in the universe of your body in order to find out how the *suddha chaitannya Brahma giyanakasha mayam* [Skt. *śuddhacaitanyabrahmajñānākāśamaya*, “that which consists of the gnostic æther of Brahman as pure consciousness”] descends to the kundli [*kuṇḍali*, “ring”] through sushoomana [*suṣumnā*] and ascends up to Brahmarantar [*brahmarandhra*] through *kumbhak* [*kumbhaka*, another word for *suṣumnā* on account of it being the *nāḍī* in which breath is arrested]. By this descent and ascent the whole creation of your body is maintained till the time of death. This practice will much help you in the Yogue.⁷⁰⁶

Sabhapati then goes on to explain more of the body’s subtle physiology and the motion of this *jñānākāśa*.

Another important feature of Sabhapati’s teachings on *kuṇḍalinī* is the way he uses *prāṇa* as a connecting link of sorts to integrate the physical spinal cord of the body with the spiritualized *suṣumnā* channel, an integration that is often assumed in Tantric texts but not always so clearly articulated. The connecting thread between the spine’s “physical” and purely “subtle” or “spiritual” aspects appears to be the vital-breath, or *prāṇa*, on account of the spinal cord being equated with what he calls the “Kumbaka-Nadi” (= Skt. *kumbhaka-nāḍī*). It appears to have this name since it is the site where the breath is arrested during retention (*kumbhaka*) in the context of *prāṇāyāma* (see his instructions on Haṭhayoga in

⁷⁰⁶ VRY, 38.

Section A.1 of this chapter). The left and right (in this case subtle) channels *idā* and *piṅgalā* are also equated with *recaka* “inhalation” and *pūraka* “exhalation,” and together with the spine comprise the “three Nadies or Organs of Rechek, Puruk, and Kumbuk Vasi.”⁷⁰⁷ At a certain point upon the upper end of the spinal cord, however, this *kumbhaka nāḍī* is “prolonged” as the *suṣumnā*, and the three channels as *nāḍīs* or “hollow nerves” “rise up through kumbaka nadi [*sic*] or backbone spinal cord which is the upward prolongation of the Sushumna as three visions running up as one.”⁷⁰⁸ These three *nāḍīs*, rising up together, are visually depicted in Sabhapati’s main diagram of the *liṅgaśarīra* or “body of the liṅga,” which in his Bengali translation is a synonym for *sūkṣmaśarīra* or “subtle body.” Since the *suṣumnā nāḍī* is also glossed as the “I. spiritual nerve,” that is, the nerve of Brahman, I would argue that Sabhapati conceived the breath by this point to be “spiritualized” and no longer physical breath in the spine. This is because it is no longer part of the *jīvātman* or Finite Spirit, and in any event it no longer resides in the *kuṇḍali* (i.e., the *mūlādhāra*), which is where Sabhapati locates the physical elements or faculties. This process of “de-physicalizing” the *prāṇa* may be therefore assumed to have started even before the *kumbhaka-nāḍī* is prolonged as the *suṣumnā*, possibly once the breath travels down from the nostrils to the *kuṇḍali* and ascends upward therefrom. In any event, it serves to connect the retention of *prāṇa* with the subjugation of *jñāna* and the accompanying rising of the *kuṇḍalinī* “serpent” in the context of Sabhapati Swami’s system of Śivarājyoga.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid., 126.

V. Aural and Visual Aspects of Sabhapati's Literature

In this chapter I will consider the aural and visual artistic aspects of Sabhāpati's texts and instructions, specifically the use of poetry and music, mantric chanting, and diagrams, all of which were integrated into his system of Śivarājayoga. I will base my claims on an evaluation of Sabhapati's corpus of literature (see Chapter Two) as well as my ethnographic engagement at the still-extant site of Sabhapati's former meditation hall in Konnur (today called Sabhapaty Swami Koil or Sabhapaty Lingeswarar Koil; see Chapter One), including a recorded interview with Narayanaswamy Raju, a singer and yogi.⁷⁰⁹ I would argue that, far from being marginal, these aesthetic aspects played a crucial role in Sabhapati's instructions. All his works to varying extents also include poetry, several of which include a reference to the appropriate musical mode or *rāga*, implying that these compositions were not just recited but also intended to be sung, at least on certain occasions. The recitation or chanting of mantras in his yogic instructions is also sometimes given a musical quality, the function of which appears to differ from the recitation of poetic compositions that appeared to have served either a more devotional (*bhakti*) or didactic purpose. Finally, Sabhapati's works are some of the first visual works on yoga following the advent of publishing; at least one diagram, and in most cases multiple diagrams, occupies each of Sabhapati's main (non-pamphlet) works, and most often these are numbered to directly correspond to ideas presented in the texts themselves.

⁷⁰⁹ Narayanaswamy Raju, Interview with Narayanaswamy Raju (Nārāyaṇacuvāmi Rāju), by Keith Cantú and Vinayagam, Audio and video recording, March 4, 2020.

A. *The Musicality of Lyrical Compositions in Sabhapati's Literature*

Anyone who picks up and begins to read one of Sabhapati's works, both in English and vernacular languages, will immediately encounter the presence of poems or metered prose compositions ("prose poems") that complement his standard writing in unmetred prose. Even his hagiographical accounts noted that he had the reputation of a poet and musician from an early age (see Chapter One, Section A). Sabhapati was said to have composed some of these poems, such as his "Garland of Praise for Śiva" (MpvI. "Civastutimālā," < Skt. "Śivastutimālā"),⁷¹⁰ during or following his own personal experiences in his career and travels as a yogi (see Chapter One). Others were composed to serve a didactic function, and still others were meant to be recited at certain phases during the experience of Śivarājayoga. Many of the poetic compositions written by Sabhapati during his experiences were assigned a musical mode and meant to be set to interpretive music.

Sabhapati's compositions have a clear affinity with an extant genre of songs that are colloquially known as "Siddha songs" (Tam. *cittar pāṭal*, pl. *pāṭalkaḷ*),⁷¹¹ many of which also intersect with or innovate upon the style of older or more traditional Tamil devotional songs such as those attributed to the ca. ninth-century Śaiva poet Māṇikkavācakar, including his celebrated work *Tiruvācakam*.⁷¹² They were likely also influenced by Tamil Śaiva poets such

⁷¹⁰ One of this composition's full titles (in Tamil) is *śrīkailācaterisaṅakālattil capāpati yōkīsvāracuvāmikaḷ aruḷiya yōkaparipāṣācivāparaṅālāṅkāra kayilācavāca civastutimālā*, "Garland of Praise for Śiva who Resides on Kailāsa,

⁷¹¹ For a published collection of the songs of the Siddhas, see Aru. Rāmanātaṅ, ed., *Cittar pāṭalkaḷ*, Eighteenth Edition (Ceṇṇai: Pirēmā Piracuram (Prema Pirasuram), 2017 (first published 1959).

⁷¹² For the first dedicated English translation of Māṇikkavācakar's compositions, see G.U. Pope, *The Tiruvācagam, or "Sacred Utterances" of the Tamil Poet, Saint, and Sage Māṇikka-Vācagar* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1900). For his hagiography (in Tamil) see Ci. Marutapiḷḷai Ācīriyar, ed., *Tiruvātavūraṭikaḷ Purāṇam* (Cuḷipuram, India: Pajāṇaiccapai, Vaḷakkamparai, 1982). For a selection of scholarly treatments on his life and works see Kamil Zvelebil, *Lexicon of Tamil Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); David Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myths: Sacrifice and Divine Marriage in the South Indian Śaiva Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980); Vedachalam Pillai and R.S. Nagapattinam, *Māṇikkavācakar Vālārum Kālamum: St. Manickavachakar His Life and Times* (Madras: South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, 1957);

as Thayumanavar (Tāyumāṇavar, 1705–1742) who preceded him by a century and possibly also his contemporary and childhood friend (if his hagiography is to be believed) Chidambaram Ramalinga Swamigal (Citampara Rāmalīṅka Cuvāmikaḷ, 1823–1874). The genre and musical structure of these songs allow for interpretive performances of compositions based on attention to metrical meter (Tam. *acai*) and rhythm (Skt. *tāla*).⁷¹³ Even though Sabhapati’s own compositions are no longer performed, they are likewise still able to be set to music and rhythm within this same interpretive frame, as with more popular Tamil compositions. I have confirmed this in my interview with Narayanaswamy Raju, who opened his interview by singing “Śiva’s Ancient Deeds” (Tam. “Civapurāṇam,” different from the Sanskrit text *Śivapurāṇa*), considered the first of Māṇikkavācakar’s *Tiruvācakam* (although it may have been composed later), and who spoke of his personal journey in learning the songs of the Siddhas.⁷¹⁴ The performance of Sabhapati’s own songs during his lifetime likely were mediated by similar performative contexts as the songs of the Siddhas, Tāyumāṇavar (see Chapter Three, Section B), and those of Māṇikkavācakar before them. They would also have been improvised upon by the creative impulse and skill of the singer. Singing these songs would also have required some degree of training in Tamil musical structure and meter, even if this was based on oral instructions or immersive experience in

C.V. Narayana Ayyar, *Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India* (Madras: University of Madras, 1974); Deborah Louise Waldock, “Text, Interpretation and Ritual Usage of Tamil Śaiva Poems” (PhD Thesis, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, McMaster University, 1995); and for his worship in contemporary *bhakti* contexts see C. J Fuller, *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India - Revised and Expanded Edition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018). I am grateful to the Oxford Bibliography on Māṇikkavācakar compiled by Leah Comeau (<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399318/obo-9780195399318-0159.xml>) for helping to compile some of these sources; see the bibliography entry for many more publications that deal with this important figure in Tamil Śaivism.

⁷¹³ For some useful performative and musicological considerations of Tamil poetry see Indira Viswanathan Peterson, *Poems to Śiva: The Hymns of the Tamil Saints* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 59–67; 76–82.

⁷¹⁴ Narayanaswamy Raju, Interview with Narayanaswamy, 2020. The Tamil text and English translation of this composition is found in Pope, *The Tiruvāçagam*, 1–7.

temple sites, especially since in the case of his longer compositions there is reference to the appropriate *paṇ* or *rāga* that a singer would need to be familiar with. Given Sabhapati's attention to poetry and song and the depiction of it as part of the guru's instructions (see below), it is likely that he would have also offered direct instruction in musical techniques.

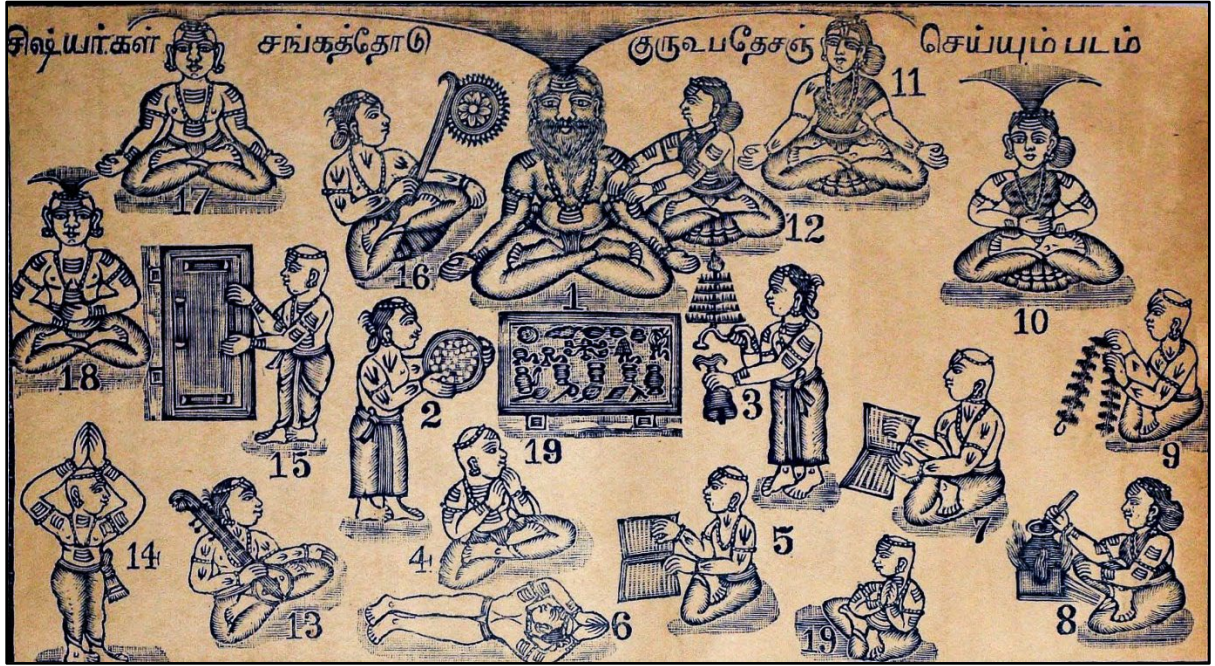


Figure One. “Diagram on the students and community (Tam. *caṅkam*, < Skt. *saṅgha*) carrying out the instructions (< Skt. *upadeśa*) of the guru” (Tam. *ciṣyarkaḷ caṅkattōtu kuru upatēcañ ceyyum paṭam*). The diagram was preserved in the longer versions of MCVTS held at the Adyar Library and the Saraswathi Mahal Library in Thanjavur.

There is also evidence from one of Sabhapati's diagrams (see Figure One) that his meditation halls would have welcomed the presence of music within the context of ritual practice, and that it formed part of Sabhapati's “curriculum” of sorts. This diagram, entitled “Image of the students and community carrying out the instructions of the guru” (Tam. *ciṣyarkaḷ caṅkattōtu kuru upatēcañ ceyyum paṭam*), is located in the longer version of MCVTS that prefixed an order form for his publications in other languages and for two additional diagrams the size of four pages (Tam. Eng. *4 pēj sais*). The image, a numerical diagram,

depicts activities that would have surrounded Sabhapati Swami while he was engaged in meditation. The numbers in the diagram refer to the following activities (my own translation from Tamil):

1. “Guru Father, Lord among Rishis” (Sabhapati Swami) (*kurupitaruṣisvarar*)
2. “A male student setting a sacrifice” (*naivēttiyam vaikkuñ ciṣyar*)
3. “A male student working the lamp and musical sound” (*tīpānāṭaṇai ceyyuñciṣyar*)
4. “A male student receiving instruction” (*upatēcamperuñciṣyar*)
5. “A male student contemplating scripture” (*cāstira vicāraṇai ciṣyar*)
6. “A male student attaining the feet [of the guru] (*caraṇamaṭainta ciṣyar*)
7. “A male student dispelling his own doubts” (*cantēkanivāraṇam ceytukoḷḷuñ ciṣyar*)
8. “A female student being a servant” (*pariccāraka ciṣyaputtiri*)
9. “A male student working on the flowers” (*puṣpa paṇivīṭai ciṣyar*)
10. “A female student in a state of composure (Skt. *samādhi*) with assistance from the guru” (*kurāṇukkirahacamātiyilirukkañ ciṣyaputtiri*)
11. “A female student receiving initiation from the guru” (*kurutīkṣaiyilirukkuñ ciṣyaputtiri*)
12. “A female student attending to the body of the guru” (*kuru carīrōpacārañ ceyyuñ ciṣyaputtiri*)
13. “A male student singing the gamut of the Vedas and the musical scale-types (Tam. *paṇ*) of the *Tēvāram*” (*vētacuram tēvārappanpāṭuñ ciṣyar*)
14. “A male student enacting praise for the guru” (*kurustuticeyyuñ ciṣyar*)
15. “A male student laying out the guru’s bed” (*kurucayaṇampōṭuñ ciṣyar*)
16. “A male student fanning the guru” (*kuruvukku viciṟuñ ciṣyar*)
17. “A female student receiving initiation from the guru” (*kurutīkṣaiyilirukkuñ ciṣyar*)
18. “A male student in a state of composure (Skt. *samādhi*) with assistance from the guru” (*kurāṇukkiraha camātiyilirukkuñ ciṣyar*)
19. “A male student making a gift out of his three constituents (body, speech, and mind) to the guru” (*kuruvīṟku tirikaraṇa tattañceyyuñ ciṣyar*).

As is evident from the above list, two of the students (numbers 3 and 13), depicted as male, are in charge of musical activities. One student (number 3) appears to have a more ritualistic role since he is holding a bell as well as a lamp. The other student (number 13), however, is seated and is holding what appears to be a tanpura, and the caption informs us that his is a more devotional role that included singing according to two different systems.

The *Tēvāram*, mentioned in Sabhapati’s key under this student (number 13), is a foundational part of the Tamil Śaiva *bhakti* literature of the Nāyaṇārs (“leaders,” “masters”)

and was believed to have been composed between the sixth and eighth centuries CE.⁷¹⁵ The foundation of its musical performance were “ancient Tamil scale-types” (Tam. *paṇ*, plural *paṇkaḷ*), which were traditionally “associated with particular times of day and particular moods” and were sung by singers who were called *ōtuvars*.⁷¹⁶

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries these ancient scales were gradually replaced by Carnatic *rāga* scales,⁷¹⁷ so it is possible that Sabhapati refers to *paṇ* out of tradition but that in practice the singer depicted in the diagram would have been singing forms of Carnatic *rāgas*. Some of Sabhapati’s poetic compositions do specify that they were to be sung in specific *paṇs*, but these also seem to be linked to Carnatic *rāgas* instead. For instance, Sabhapati composed a set of Tamil and (Tamilized) Sanskrit verses, entitled “The Hymn of Following: A Gift of the Abandonment of All” (Tam. *carvattiyākatatta aṭumaistuti*),⁷¹⁸ upon his abandonment of everything for his guru Shivajnanabodha Rishi Yogiswarar in the Pothigai Hills (see Chapter One). This composition is supposed to be performed in *ārapiṛākapaṇ*, that is, the *paṇ* of the *rākam* (Tam. *rākam* = Skt. *rāga*) of *ārapi*, which is a known Carnatic *rāga*. Another composition, published in CPSPS, was entitled “Garland of the Body” (Mpv. *aṅkamālai*, < Skt. *aṅgamālā*) and was to be sung in the *paṇ* of the Sahana *rāga* (Tam. *rākam – sahāṇā – paṇ*), also a known Carnatic *rāga*.⁷¹⁹ This latter composition is interesting as it also serves a Tantric function akin to the practice of “depositing” mantras (Skt. *nyāsa*) on various parts of the body, except instead of mantras one is to recite devotional statements while touching parts of the body. One of these statements,

⁷¹⁵ Peterson, *Poems to Śiva*, 3.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid., 59–62.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid., 59.

⁷¹⁸ CTCSPV, v.

⁷¹⁹ CPSPS, 33–35.

attributed to the ear (Tam. *cevi*), explicitly mentions “perceiving the gnosis of Śivarājayoga” (Tam. *civarājayōkaññamunāntu*).⁷²⁰

Sabhapati in the above diagram also alludes to his student singing the “gamut of the Vedas” (Mpv. *vētasuram*), which refers to the collection of seven musical notes (Mpv. *curam*, < Skt. *svara*), similar to the theory behind the *solfège* of Western music (i.e. “do re mi fa so la ti do” in the modern usage): 1) *sa* for Ṣadja (“Sixth-born”), 2) *ri* for Ṛṣabha (“Bull”), 3) *gā* for Gāndhāra (“Prince of the Gāndhāris”), 4) *ma* for Madhyama (“Middle”), 5) *pa* for Pañcama (“Fifth”), 6) *dhā* for Dhaivata (“Clever”), 7) *ni* for Niṣāda (“Rest”); then back to *sa* to complete the octave. Some of Sabhapati’s compositions, like the “Garland of Praise of Śiva” mentioned above, were to be sung in the “mode of the gamut of the vedas” (*vētasvara rākam*, < Skt. **vedasvararāga*).⁷²¹ Since the Carnatic *rāgas* are also based on the seven *svaras*, the compound *vedasvararāga* may be Sabhapati’s way of distinguishing the Tamil modes (*paṇ*) and Carnatic *rāgas* from Hindustani *rāgas*.

It is important to keep in mind that the wider context for Sabhapati’s incorporation of music in his literature and instructions is informed by the intersections between traditional temple culture and the environment of Sabhapati’s “meditation hall” as depicted above (see especially CTCSVPV for his visual instructions on temple worship). The performance of a wide variety of arts, especially singing but also dancing and ascetic practice, appears to once have been more common in Hindu temple settings in Tamil Nadu despite the fact that today it is sometimes frowned upon, especially in more modernized temple settings that primarily focus

⁷²⁰ Ibid., 33.

⁷²¹ CTCSVPV,

on the laity's participation in the rites of ritual worship (*pūjā*).⁷²² Sanderson has also noted this, writing that the role of temple “singers of sacred hymns” (*tiruppatiyampāṭuvār*) is attested from as early as the ninth century CE.⁷²³ A contemporary example of this is my experience while attending Shiva Ratri at Sabhapaty Swami Koil in Konnur, during which Narayanaswamy Raju sang compositions by Māṅikkavācakar in the inner sanctum during ritual *pūjā*. As Raju indicated in an interview, part of the justification of the presence of devotional songs during ritual *pūjā* is that it was believed to constitute the real “worship” (Tam. *ārccaṇai*, < Skt. *arcana*) of the deity in contrast to the recitation of mantras by the appointed ritual specialist (*pūjārī*).⁷²⁴ It is possible that this reflects an implicit tension between the magical efficacy ascribed to sacrificial mantras in a Tantric context and the *bhakti* of devotion towards a given deity, as well as an attempt to reconcile both through music, although it would be necessary to conduct more interviews to adequately understand this phenomenon. In any event the environment of openness to music at more established temples nearby would have undoubtedly informed the environment at Sabhapati's meditation halls, and singing songs was clearly viewed as complementary to Sabhapati's emphasis on the practice of Śivarājayoga (see Chapter Four).

B. Incantation of Musical Notes and Mantras

Sabhapati, in addition to lyrical songs and poetic compositions, also included instructions on the incantation of the musical *svaras* and Mantric seed-syllables (Skt.

⁷²² This is attested by Narayanaswamy Raju, whom I interviewed at Sabhapathy Swamy Koil (see below): Interview with Narayanaswamy Raju (Nārāyaṇacuvāmi Rāju), interview by Keith Cantú and Vinayagam, Audio recording, March 4, 2020.

⁷²³ Alexis Sanderson, “The Śaiva Literature,” *Journal of Indological Studies*, no. 24 & 25 (2012-2013) (2014): 89n366.

⁷²⁴ Interview with Narayanaswamy Raju, 2020.

bījamantra) to aid in the attainment of Śivarājayoga. While Sabhapati’s instructions on these incantations are distinct from lyrical compositions, his overarching musical theory informs and includes both branches, as I will indicate below. Sabhapati unfortunately does not provide a source for his musical theory as it relates to yoga, and as a result its origins are somewhat unclear. They may have been ultimately informed by the *Saṅgītaratnākara* (a ca. thirteenth-century Sanskrit text on music that includes similar cosmological descriptions and references to yoga),⁷²⁵ mediated by another Sanskrit or Tamil text on music, derived from his own experience of Siddha or Sufi devotional singing and oral instructions obtained during his travels, gathered from another as-yet-undiscovered source on music or mantra, or any combination of the above.

CPSPS provides the most readily accessible example of Sabhapati’s instructions on mantric incantation, which is as follows:

Now when you begin to sing in different ways in a sweet and charming tone, so as your mind to be absorbed in the solemn happiness and pleasure and in a great delight and blissfulness in the sweetness and the charm of singing, as you go on uttering in different styles and changes with the different musical sounds of your tone, having your absorbing muse presiding over Lyric songs, especially on the praise of God, let your mind be absorbed in the Zenith and Top of the charming sweetness of singing as they are simultaneously modulated so as to please the ears, and as the sound of Ah or *ākārasvaram*, E *ikārasvaram* of Oo or *ukārasvaram* of A or *ekārasvaram* of O or *okārasvaram* of Um and Num or *amkāra namkārasvaram* of O’m and Rum or

⁷²⁵Makoto Kitada and Śārṅgadeva, *The Body of the Musician: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Piṅḍotpatti-Prakarana of Śārṅgadeva’s Saṅgītaratnakara*, Worlds of South and Inner Asia, vol. 3 (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2012). I am grateful to Mark Singleton for pointing out this possible connection to me during a personal meeting.

oṅkāra, ramkārasvaram and of Na, Ma, C, Vau, Ya, Sau, Ree, Gau, Ma, Pa, Dha, Nee, Sau *na, ma, ci, va, ya, ca, ri, ka, ma, pa, ta, ni, ca, svarāṅkaḷ*, get absorption in its own charm and sweetness as these sounds are of Spiritual sounds .⁷²⁶

There are several aspects of the above quote worth analyzing. First is the reference to the “absorbing muse presiding over Lyric songs.” As I pointed out in Chapter Four, Sabhapati most often uses the English words “ecstasy” or “communion” to translate *samādhi*, not “absorption” as is probably the most common translation—if slightly misleading—of *samādhi* (lit. “composition,” “composure”) today. Instead, the English verb “absorb,” the noun “absorption,” and their derivatives, which together occur around 150 times in CPSPS, are almost always used to translate *laya* either on its own or as part of a compound. Based on this context as well as others, I would argue that *laya* not only has a technical soteriological meaning for Sabhapati as dissolution into Śiva, but can also imply a more general (but still cosmologically-related) absorption into bliss, in this case the bliss of music, which is naturally quite common across the spectrum of human experience.

Sabhapati’s use of the word “muse” (< Latin *musa*, Greek *mousa*, itself etymologically linked to the word “music”) is also intentional and a technical word in his literature, being the sixth of the twelve cosmological “faculties” (*tattva*) or “Kingdoms” (*kamala, cakra*, to use Sabhapati’s translation) that make up the Finite Spirit (*jīvātman*) (see Chapter Three for this cosmology); its location is between the eyebrows.⁷²⁷ This faculty is called the “place of the *bindu*” (Hi. *bindusthān*) or the “soul of the *bindu*” (MpvI. *vintātmakam*, < Skt. **vindvātmaka*), which is also the “generative fluid” in Sabhapati’s cosmology (see Chapter Four). Sabhapati states that in this faculty “spring up the powers of

⁷²⁶ CPSPS, Second Book, 155–56.

⁷²⁷ CPSPS, First Book, 53–54.

false imaginations, poetical conceptions and inventions of themes of all kinds,” and that the faculty has “the responsibility of regulating the emotional faculties of the mind . . . by removing the Curtains of its own Emotion or Losing the presence of its own Self [(Mpv1.] *āvaraṇacakti* [< Skt. *āvaraṇaśakti*]) or Hiding faculty, and Emotion of Doing creation [(Mpv1.] *vikṣēpacakti* [< Skt. *vikṣēpaśakti*]) or Creating faculty.”⁷²⁸ Sabhapati’s reference to “poetical conceptions” arising in this location confirms that the “muse” of Sabhapati’s musical theory is inextricably linked, as with everything else, to his cosmological system of the *tattvas* and *cakras*. This is further confirmed in a line of one his English poems entitled “Prayer to the Infinite Spirit,” which reads as follows: “I am not muse, nor the notes of thy voice / That make thee in poetical themes rejoice.” This line, which are words set in the voice of the Infinite Spirit, imply that this faculty of “muse” and the music that results therefrom are conceived by Sabhapati as part of the twelve faculties of the Finite Spirit or individual self (*jīvātman*) and not of the Infinite Spirit Brahman. At the same time, the Infinite Spirit can pervade or witness these faculties, and the yogi who has become this Infinite Spirit—one of the stated results of success in Śivarājayoga—would also obtain power over this faculty of muse and musical expression in general.

In the quote above we also find reference to the phonetic sounds that comprise lyrical music, which appears to be part of Sabhapati’s way of encouraging the reader or aspiring yogi to think beyond the bliss that arises from singing musical lyrics and to meditate on the sounds from which these lyrics are molded, which in turn correspond to cosmogonic inherent natures (Mpv1. *svarūpam* or *cuvarūpam*, < Skt. *svarūpa*, see Section C.2. below). The vowels (Skt. *svara*) are the obvious place to start, but this also includes the labial and nasal humming

⁷²⁸ Ibid., 54.

associated with *am*, *nam*, *oṅ*, and *ram*. This then gives way to the bliss of the Śaiva five-syllabled mantra (Skt. *pañcākṣaramantra*), in Tamil rendering *na, ma, ci, va, ya* (< Skt. *namo śivāya*), which are all integrated in the *praṇava* or syllable Om.⁷²⁹ We return finally to the “gamut of the Vedas” (*vedasvara*), which are what Sabhapati calls “Spiritual sounds” (*piraṇavasvarasaptalaya saṅkītam*, < Skt. **praṇavasvarasaptalaya saṅgīta*, lit. “music of the seven-fold absorption in the sounds of the syllable Om”). This seven-fold absorption in sound (Mṣvl. *saptalayam*) are the seven *svaras* plus their octaval resolution (Mṣvl. *ca, ri, ka, ma, pa, ta, ni, ca*, < Skt. *sa, ri, gā, ma, pa, dhā, ni, sa*; see Section A above).

⁷²⁹ For a useful translation of Tamil verses pertaining to these syllables, see G.U. Pope, *The Tiruvāçagam*, xxxix–xlii. For more analysis of the mantra in Tamil Śaiva-specific contexts see Mary Elizabeth Winch, “The Theology of Grace in Saiva Siddhanta, in the Light of Umapati Sivacharya’s Tiruarutpayan” (Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, McMaster University, 1975), 72–5.

Phonetic syllable (<i>kāra</i>)	Inherent natures (<i>svarūpa</i>) of the sounds (<i>nāda</i>) of the gnosis of the fragmented powers (<i>kalā</i>) ⁷³⁰ of the syllable Om
a (a)	<i>pirmasvarūpam (brahmasvarūpa)</i>
i (i)	<i>pirmasaktisvarūpam (brahmaśaktisvarūpa)</i>
u (u)	<i>ātmasvarūpam (ātmasvarūpa)</i>
e (e)	<i>mañōjīvasvarūpam (manojīvasvarūpa)</i>
o (o)	<i>īsvarasvarūpam (īsvarasvarūpa)</i>
am, nam (am, nam)	<i>maunasvarūpam (maunasvarūpa)</i>
oṃ, ram (oṃ, ram)	<i>śāntisvarūpam (śāntisvarūpa)</i>
na (na)	<i>curuṣṭīpīraṇavanātakalākñāṇasvarūpam (sṛṣṭīpraṇavanādakalājñānasvarūpa)</i>
ma (ma)	<i>titīpīraṇavanātakalākñāṇasvarūpam (sthitīpraṇavanādakalājñānasvarūpa)</i>
ci (śi)	<i>cañhārapīraṇavanātakalākñāṇasvarūpam (saṃhārapraṇavanādakalājñānasvarūpa)</i>
va (vā)	<i>turoṛpava pīraṇavanātakalākñāṇasvarūpam (tirobhavapraṇavanādakalājñānasvarūpa)</i> ⁷³¹
ya (ya)	<i>yaṇukkīrahapīraṇavanātakalākñāṇasvarūpam (anugrahapraṇavanādakalājñānasvarūpa)</i>
sa (sa)	<i>tatpīrmmakñāṇa svarūpam (tadbrahmajñānasvarūpa)</i>
ri (ri)	<i>śakti kñāṇa svarūpam (śaktijñānasvarūpa)</i>
ka (gā)	<i>ātmakñāṇasvarūpam (ātmajñānasvarūpa)</i>
ma (ma)	<i>māyākñāṇasvarūpam (māyājñānasvarūpa)</i>
pa (pa)	<i>jakaḥaṭapantakñāṇasvarūpam (jagajadabandhajñānasvarūpa)</i>
ta (dhā)	<i>tayākāruṇṇīyakīrupākñāṇasvarūpam (dayākāruṇṇīyakīrupājñānasvarūpa)</i>
ni (ni)	<i>nirākārakñāṇa svarūpam (nirākārājñānasvarūpa)</i>
sa (sa)	<i>cattiyapīrmmakñāṇasvarūpam (satyabrahmajñānasvarūpa)</i>

Figure Two. The correspondence of musical syllables with cosmological inherent forms as found in CPSPS, Second Book, 156–57 (Mpl. followed by Skt. in parentheses).

⁷³⁰ The term *kalā* literally means “digit,” “bit,” or anything tiny, often in reference to sixteen lunar *kalās* that are related to the waxing and waning moon. However, in Tantric Śaiva contexts it often refers to a “fragmented power” of Śiva, and this seems to be the sense that Sabhapati often uses the term; see Lilian Silburn, *Le Vijñāna Bhairava* (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1961), 18–19.

⁷³¹ Given the context I have interpreted *turoṛpava* as *tirobhāva* (Tam. *tiropāvam*), the fourth of the “five activities” (Skt. *pañcakṛtya*) of Śiva, the other four of which (Tam. *ciruṣṭi*, *stīti*, *saṃhāram* and *aṇukkīrahām*) are listed.

The above practice is framed as a kind of yoga, or more specifically, *nāṅāpīraṇavanātasvarākkirutipirmmesvarātmakñāṅa svarūpākāratiyāṅa yōkam* (< Skt. *jñānapraṇavanādasvarākṛtibrahmesvarātmajñānasvarūpākāradhyāṅayoga*), the “yoga of meditation on the shapes of the inherent natures, which is the gnosis of the self as the Lord who is Brahman, [as manifest in the] twenty-two syllables of the many notes and sounds of the syllable Om.”⁷³² “Twenty-two syllables” translates *ākṛti*, which has the general meaning of “form,” “figure,” “appearance” but also can mean a poetic meter with twenty-two syllables per line as well as the number twenty-two, the same total number of syllables that Sabhapati gives in this principal section on mantra and music. Success in this yoga of soundscapes leads to two visions, the “vision of the gnosis of the principles” (MpvI. *tatvakñāṅaterisaṅgam*, < Skt. *tattvajñānadarśana*) and the “vision of the inherent natures of the gnosis of the Lord’s syllable Om” (MpvI. *īsvarapīraṇavakñāṅa svarūpaterisaṅgam*, < Skt. *īsvarapraṇavajñāṅa svarūpadarśana*). The first vision links this practice to Sabhapati’s instructions on the “gnosis of the principles” (MpvI. *tatvañāṅa*, < Skt. *tattvajñāṅa*) found in VRY and CPSPS, and includes the knowledge of cosmological principles that anticipates the practice of Śivarājyoga.

A final point to consider are the gender roles to be assumed during the musical incantation of the above syllables. The singer should perceive him or herself (since Sabhapati also accepted female students) as feminine, namely as the “personal Godly Spirit or Soul as wife.” The attitude is clarified as being like a “sincere wife when embracing her husband begs and requests in a mournful style for Grace of love and deliverance [*sic*] from her desires of jewels &c. for release from her poverty for holding continual communion and for

⁷³² CPSPS, Second Book, 157.

becoming one in mind.” The assumption of a feminine role in *bhakti* traditions is not unique to Sabhapati, and also occurs in Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava contexts as well as among the Bāul Fakirs of Bengal.⁷³³ While in this context it may reify a gendered social norm of a colonial-era Tamil wife requesting assistance from her husband, it also underscores a broader point that I have already discussed in the context of Sabhapati’s cosmology: the Finite Spirit or *jīvātman* that contains the faculty of “Muse” along with its power of music is conceived as feminine, being part of the Universal Finite Spirit or Śakti, while the Infinite Spirit is conceived as masculine. To some degree this accords with the theory of the goddess Vāc (the “Word,” cognate with “vox,” or voice), who was “conceived from the very beginnings as a creative power, the ‘mother of the gods’.”⁷³⁴ The Universal Spirit (*śivamayam*), by contrast, includes both these masculine and feminine components and could be said to be an androgynous Godhead like the *civam* of Tamil Śaiva works; see Chapter Three, Section C).

Sabhapati’s texts contain many more instructions on *mantras*, but not all of them are to be intoned or sung with the bliss of “Muse” as outlined above or even spoken, but silently recited in the mind. For example, the section following the one outlined above contains vivid descriptions on how each of the twelve faculties or Tantric *cakras* or lotuses (Mṣvl. *kamalam*, < Skt. *kamala*) are “created as puffing and swelling as bubbles.”⁷³⁵ Each of these lotuses have what Sabhapati calls “Divine words” (Mṣvl. *pījamantiram*, < Skt. *bījamantra*, lit. “seed-mantras” or “seed-spells”). There are five such words (or, perhaps more properly,

⁷³³ See Carol Salomon, *City of Mirrors: Songs of Lālan Sāi*, ed. Keith Cantú and Saymon Zakaria, South Asia Research (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 86–92; Carola Erika Lorea, “Pregnant Males, Barren Mothers, and Religious Transvestism: Transcending Gender in the Songs and Practices of ‘Heterodox’ Bengali Lineages,” *Asian Ethnology* 77, no. 1 & 2 (2018): 169–213; Barbara A. Holdrege, *Bhakti and Embodiment: Fashioning Divine Bodies and Devotional Bodies in Kṛṣṇa Bhakti*, Routledge Hindu Studies Series (London; New York: Routledge, 2015).

⁷³⁴ André Padoux, *Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras*, The SUNY Series in the Shaiva Traditions of Kashmir (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), x.

⁷³⁵ CPSPS, Second Book, 158.

“seed-syllables”) in the case of the “Kundali [Skt. *kuṇḍali*] of elements or Mooladharum [*mūlādhāra*].” Each of these words have what Sabhapati translates as “Spirit” (MpvI. *tēvatamsam*, < Skt. *devatāṃśa*, lit. “part of a deity”), which dwells in what he calls a “bubble” (an idiosyncratic translation of *kamala*, lit. “lotus”): the Spirit of *om* creates ether in the center, and the spirits of *va*, *ca*, *śa*, and *sa* respectively create air, fire, water, and mud (i.e. earth). These words create five faculties (*tattvas*) that accordingly contain “sins, vices, impurities and unholiness” which “must be purified by silent and dumb meditation” (MpvI. *maunajapatiyāṇam*, < Skt. *maunajapadhyāna*, lit. “meditation of silent [mantra]-recitation). The impurities arise on account of *māyā*, what Sabhapati translates as “delusion,” which is analogized with “impure water.” The “pure water,” by contrast, is the divine word or seed-spell of each Spirit that, when daily recited by the yogi, can wash away the impurity and cause the *tattva* to eventually be re-absorbed into the Infinite Spirit. These considerations show that the power of speech has two aspects for Sabhapati: on the one hand, speech (including musical expression) is linked to a cosmogonic and creative process that leads to gnosis of the *tattvas*, while on the other hand silence is linked to reabsorption of these *tattvas* into the infinite, which eventually leads to the *samādhi* of Śivarājyoga. In other words, in Sabhapati’s system the yogi has the capacity to wield the powers of both expression and non-expression according to the specifics of a given practice, enabling him or her, like the epic *kavirāj* or poet-king, to dispel the delusions of *māyā*.

C. The Form and Function of Sabhapati’s Visual Diagrams

In addition to the presence of aural artistic forms, Sabhapati’s literature also included a wide variety of visual diagrams. These diagrams are, for the most part, not merely aesthetic

or ornamental depictions, but have a pedagogical quality that connects them to Sabhapati's instructions on Śivarājayoga and related religious subjects. Artistic depictions of yoga and meditating yogis and siddhas have a long and rich history in South Asia, as demonstrated in the art historical record.⁷³⁶ There are many different types of these depictions, however, and most of Sabhapati's diagrams would fall into the general categories of what Debra Diamond and other art historical contributors to the Freer and Sackler Galleries have described as the "Cosmic Body" and the "Subtle Body," which depict the universe in the form of a deity or the subtle physiology of yoga.⁷³⁷ Sabhapati also includes diagrams, especially in his work CTCSPV, that would fall in line with the genres of "Portraying the Guru," "Austerities," "Meditation" and the "Landscapes of Yoga." Prior to Sabhapati's time these paintings were produced on paper, often in watercolor, and by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they were also released on scrolls.⁷³⁸ Sabhapati may have been the first to fully explore the potential of incorporating these diagrams into printed books using what appear to be woodblock prints, which in some cases were colorized after publishing. Another of Sabhapati's innovations was to number these diagrams and connect the number to descriptive material in his printed text, which does not appear to have been a feature of yogic diagrams prior to the late nineteenth century or even afterwards; most verbal descriptors for yogic diagrams prior to this time were labeled with words on the painting itself, if words were present at all. Examples of numerical diagrams may have been shown to Sabhapati during his education in colonial Madras or by Theosophical admirers and followers in Lahore and

⁷³⁶ See, for example, Debra Diamond, ed., *Yoga: The Art of Transformation* (Washington, D.C: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2013); Robert N. Linrothe, Debra Diamond, and Rubin Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.), eds., *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas* (New York : Chicago: Rubin Museum of Art ; Serindia Publications, 2006).

⁷³⁷ Debra Diamond, ed., *Yoga: The Art of Transformation* (Washington, D.C: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2013), 160–71.

⁷³⁸ *Ibid.*, 166.

Bombay, who could have further encouraged him to depict his ideas with numeric references for the sake of clarity.

Sabhapati's impulse to visually catalogue the yogic body may have also been inspired by advancements in anatomy in Madras, which were early relative to most of India; only Calcutta appears to have an earlier tradition. Madras Medical School was opened by one Dr. William Mortimer (1782–1842) in 1835, forty-five years prior to Sabhapati's first publication, and was open to Indian students by 1842. By 1850 it was granted a charter to become Madras Medical College, and women were first admitted in 1875.⁷³⁹ Dr. Mortimer, who was the surgeon of the Presidency General Hospital of Madras and Superintendent of the Madras Medical School, was known to use “pasteboard models” to depict anatomy in his lectures, and an early textbook was produced entitled *Mortimer's Manual of Anatomy*, first published in 1842.⁷⁴⁰ While *Mortimer's Manual* does not contain pictures, it does contain detailed descriptions for the time of the body's anatomy, including the brain and its nerves, and was explicitly designed for “Indo-British” and “Native youths” entering the medical profession.⁷⁴¹ While much of this anatomy would have been unknown to Sabhapati, aspects of this knowledge would have undoubtedly “trickled out” of the academy and informed his and his followers' general understanding of the body. Some of Sabhapati's diagrams (see below) also depict rudimentary anatomical details that are not found in earlier visual depictions of yoga, and he uses the English terms “brain” and “spinal cord” with some basic degree of understanding as to what they are, despite being somewhat antipathetic to Western

⁷³⁹ Tony George Jacob, “History of Teaching Anatomy in India: From Ancient to Modern Times,” *Anatomical Sciences Education* 6, no. 5 (September 2013): 353–54.

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 354.

⁷⁴¹ W. Mortimer, *A Manual of Anatomy with The Elements of Physiology and Pathology; Compiled for the Use of the Students of the Subordinate Branch of the Medical Service Attending the Medical School.* (Madras: E. Marsden at the Male Asylum Press, 1842), 139–56.

scientific materialism (unlike some of his followers or interpreters, e.g. Ambikacharan Bandopadhyay in his prologue to BRY; see Chapter Six, Section A.3).

Another interesting point of comparison is with the development of medieval and early modern Western alchemical diagrams. As Barbara Obrist has demonstrated, the visualization of alchemical procedures was a “relatively late phenomenon” that emerged in full force in the early fifteenth century, when “illustrations no longer merely punctuated alchemical texts but were organized into whole series and into synthetic pictorial representations of the principles governing the discipline.”⁷⁴² She further noted that visualization can have both verbal forms (e.g., lists and tables) and non-verbal forms (e.g., shapes and depictions of people and objects), which is a distinction also salient to Sabhapati’s visual material. A gradual proliferation of pictorial forms can be independently perceived throughout the span of Sabhapati’s corpus of literature itself, and with it a subordination of the written text to the presence of pictorial forms. What begins as a single diagram in his first work (VRY) that is only seldom alluded to expands into as many as seventeen diagrams by his last work (MCVTS). Additionally, in his later texts the diagrams to a large extent become the foundation of the text itself, most of which is devoted to simply clarifying the diagrams rather than vice-versa (i.e., the diagrams clarifying or adding visual descriptions to the text).

In the parts of this section that follow I will analyze the phenomenon of visual diagrams in Sabhapati’s works, first by giving an overview of their presence in Sabhapati’s literature and second by examining the idea of *svarūpa* in his diagrams, which offers one lens for an interpretation of his visual aesthetics.

⁷⁴² Barbara Obrist, “Visualization in Medieval Alchemy,” *Hyle – International Journal for Philosophy of Chemistry* 9, No. 2 (2003): 131.

1. An Overview of Diagrams in Sabhapati's Literature

A discerning eye will note subtle changes and developments in Sabhapati's diagrams throughout his publications in English, Tamil, Hindustani, Bengali, and Telugu between 1880 and 1913. In many ways the differences in these diagrams reflect, in a parallel way, the various streams of his literature as analyzed in Chapter Two, and they also help clarify the date-ranges and linguistic contexts of various streams.

Sabhapati's first diagram, published in 1880 and extant in color (see Figure Three for a replica), would become the principal diagram of the Alpha Stream, and was included in all subsequent reprintings and translations, albeit in subsequent printings the diagram only survives in black and white. Numbers given on the diagram connect to numeric references in the text of VRY itself, which were carried over to CPSPS, although no separate key or legend is provided in VRY as with CPSPS. The diagram was first entitled "The Posture of Samathy or Trance through Vadantic Yogue practice by The Madras Yogi Sabapathy Svamy [& How sth]oolsarir becomes the lingasarir. Mitra Vilas Piras, Lahore" (see Figure Three).⁷⁴³ While the preposition "by" is ambiguous in this diagram, its later version (see below) makes it clear that the posture is not depicting an abstract yogi but actually Sabhapati Swami himself in his "Posture" of *samādhi*. Also, according to Orsini, Mitra Vilas Press was founded in Lahore in 1861 by one Pandit Mukund Ram (1831–1897), the son of a Kashmiri Brahmin priest from Srinagar.⁷⁴⁴ Given that some of Sabhapati's cosmology derives from Tamil Vīraśaiva sources and the *Tirumantiram*, which itself had borrowed from earlier Kashmiri Śaiva milieus (see Chapters Three and Four), it is fascinating to entertain the possibility that these embodied ideas, albeit in greatly modified form, returned full circle between Tamil Nadu and

⁷⁴³ The missing text (added in brackets) can be filled in thanks to the third edition of VRY (VRY3).

⁷⁴⁴ Francesca Orsini, *The History of the Book in South Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

Kashmir—for one of the first times in over a millennium—via the medium of printed diagrams.

The archaic transliterations of “Samathy” for *samādhī* and “Vadantic” for Vedantic are also notable and underscore the relative lack of standardization for Sanskrit transliterations at that early date. By the third edition (VRY3, published in 1895) the caption was slightly changed, and “Samathy” corrected: “The pasture [*sic*] of Samādhi or Trance through Vadantic Yoga-practice by The Madras yogī Sabapathy Sivamy & How sthoolsarir becomes the lingasarir.” The stated depiction of the diagram remains constant, however, namely how the “sthoolsarir” (= Skt. *sthūlaśarīra*) becomes the “lingasarir” (= *liṅgaśarīra*), which connects back to the “gross” or material body becoming the “marked” or transmigrating subtle body through the process of Śivarājayoga (see Chapter Three). This caption was translated in the Bengali translation of VRY2 (BRY; see Chapter Three), with *liṅgaśarīra* being replaced by Bng. *sūkṣma śarīr* (< Skt. *sūkṣmaśarīra*).



Figure Three. A hand-painted replica by Sai Sampath, a local Chennai artist, of the original diagram in VRY (1880), with minor corrections in Photoshop by Keith Cantú to make a few details match closely.

THE POSTURE OF BRUMHA GNYANA SIVA RAJA YOGA SAMADHI OR INFINITE SPIRITUAL COMMUNION.



SURVANOOSODHA
AKUNTAKARA
AUNUNDHA
BRUMHA MAYUM.

SURVAVIVAPITHA
KANTAKARA
MAUYA JEEVA
JATAKARA
SAUTCHI
VIVAPAKA
SOONIA
EESWARA
MAYUM.

THE UNIVERSAL
INFINITE SPIRITUAL
PASSIVE IMPERSONAL
GODSHIP.

We are one in thy Universal
Infinite Spirit but not two as
the Spirit and Soul or as
Paramathma and Jeevathma
or we are Akamavadhwitha
Brumhum.

This is the only Truth.

THE
UNIVERSAL
FINITE SPIRITUAL
ACTIVE PERSONAL
GODSHIP.

We are wonderfully
made Oh God the
Infinite Spirit! in the
differing Finite Spirit's
wisdom Thou hast made
them All or the Dwitha
Bhadha Athma Eeswa-
ra Surva Thuthwum.

This is the only Delu-
sion.

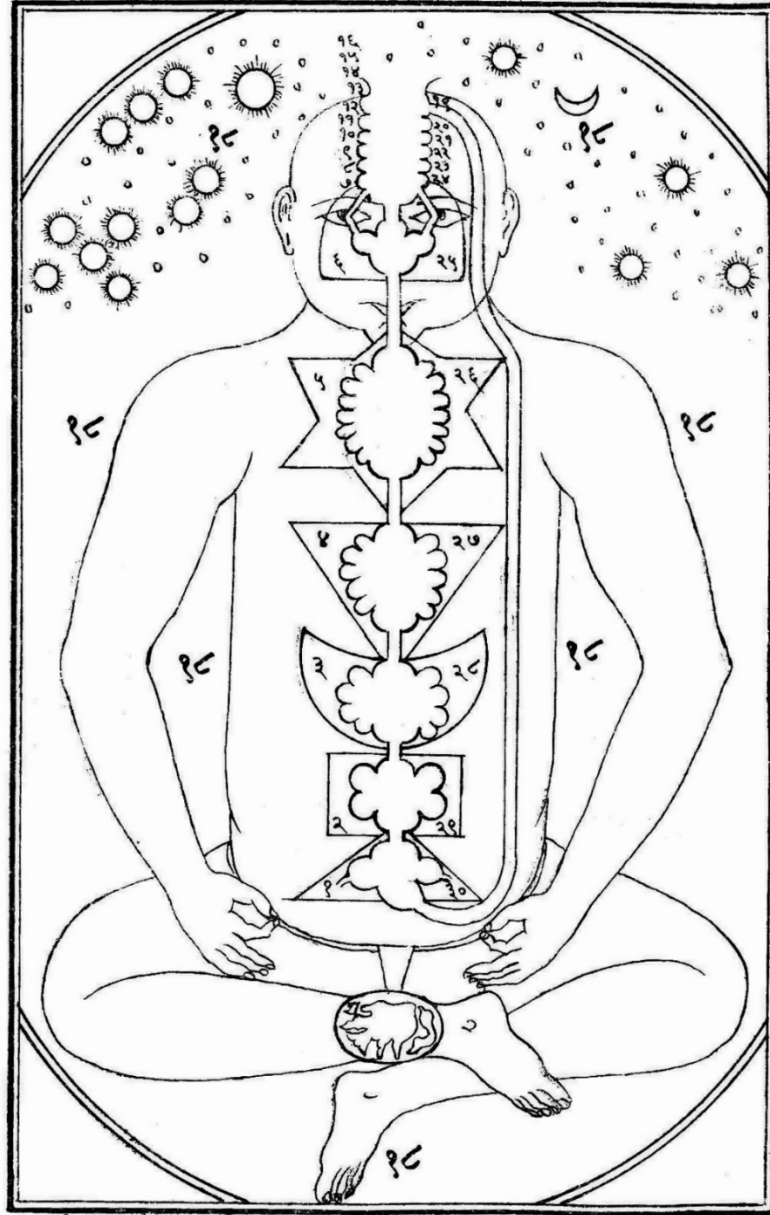
BRUMMAGNYANA MAVUNA GURU SABHAPATHY SHYAMI YOGISVER. AUTHOR OF "THE COSMIC PSYCHOLOGICAL SPIRITUAL PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE, OR VETHANTA BRUMMAGNYANA RAJA YOGA ANUBHUTHI, BEING PERFECT SPIRITUAL COMMUNION WITH THE HOLY AND DIVINE INFINITE SPIRIT."

The state of Soul and Body being as I. Spiritual Body or Brumhakara Linga Sarcorum.

- | | | |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| A=The only blissful Infinite Spirit; | F=The Spirit of bliss of witness; | K=The Spirit of witness of consciousness; |
| E=The only witnessing Infinite Spirit; | G=The Spirit of bliss of consciousness; | L=The Spirit of witness of void; |
| O=The only conscious Infinite Spirit; | H=The Spirit of bliss of void; | M=The Spirit of consciousness of bliss; |
| V=The only void Infinite Spirit; | J=The Spirit of witness of bliss; | N=The Spirit of consciousness of witness; |
| E=The Spirit of bliss of bliss; | J=The Spirit of witness of witness; | (Continued to the other Side) |

Figure Four. The new version of the VRY diagram on the posture of samādhi, published in CPSPS, First Book (1884). Notice the addition of a legend at the bottom as well as the inclusion of new anatomical details, such as the brain and lungs, which were absent in the original diagram.

नकशा (१) एक.
 प्रथम, द्वितीय और तृतीय अध्यायोंका विवरण.



षोडश मनो आत्म शुद्धि, तत्त्व ज्ञान और द्वादश चक्र लय ध्यानके निमित्त नकशा.

Figure Five. A diagram in RYB (1892) entitled “Diagram Number Five, for the Description of Chapters One, Two, and Three / A diagram for the sixteen self-purifications of the mind, the knowledge of the principles, and meditation on the dissolution of the *cakras* (Hi. *nakṣā* (1) *ek* / *pratham*, *dvitīya* aur *tṛtīya* *adhyāyōṅkā* *vivarāṇ* / *ṣoḍaśa* *mano ātmaśuddhi*, *tatvajñān* aur *dvādaś* *cakra layadhyānke* *nimitta* *nakṣā*.)

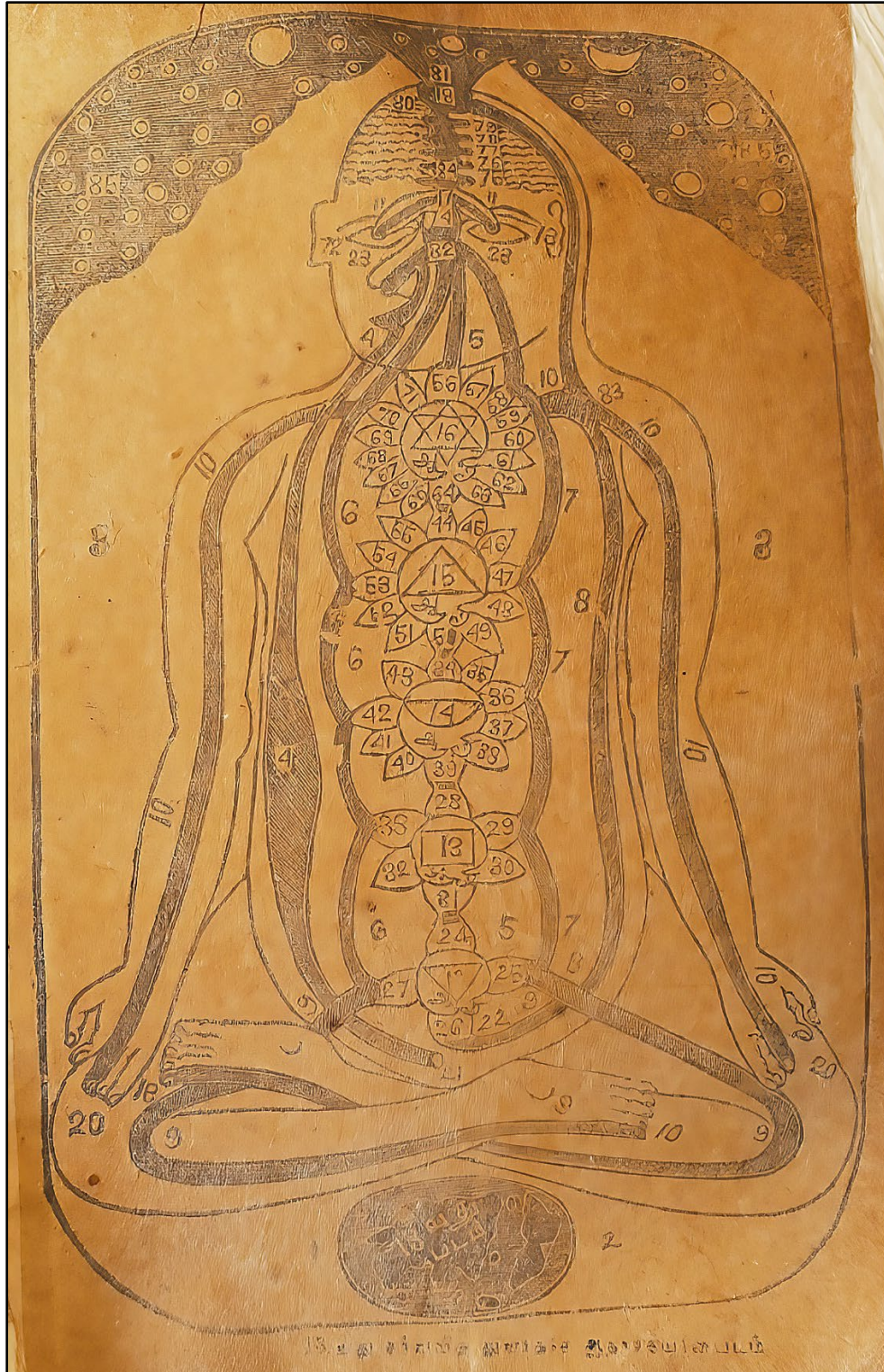


Figure Six. A diagram in MCVTS (1913) that depicts the same content as Figures Three through Five. Here the lotuses are numbered in more detail and the brain is also anatomically depicted as simple wavy lines. I am grateful to Scott Wilde for restoring this image from a distorted laminated version photographed by Keith Cantú at the Adyar Library and Research Centre.

The First Book of CPSPS, partaking in the Alpha Stream, included a new version of this same diagram of Sabhapati Swami, albeit greatly expanded and with a numeric key or legend added to the bottom (see Figure Four).⁷⁴⁵ This new version is much more intricate in terms of the detail of the subtle channels or *nāḍīs*, and also contained rudimentary anatomical depictions of the lungs and the brain, among other organs, that may have been the result of the spread of ideas from Dr. Mortimer’s anatomical textbook and/or reflect the general increase in anatomical understanding in Madras during this period (see above). The diagram’s title was also changed to “The Posture of Brumha Gnyana Siva Raja Yoga Samadhi [Skt. *brahmajñāna śivarājayoga samādhi*] or Infinite Spiritual Communion.” A subtitle was also provided, which reads as follows: “Brummagnyana Mavuna [Skt. *brahmajñāna mauna*] Guru Sabhapathy Swami Yogisver. Author of “The Cosmic Psychological Spiritual Philosophy and Science, or Vethanta Brummagnyana Raja Yoga Anubhuthi [*vedānta brahmajñāna rājayoga anubhūti*], being Perfect Spiritual Communion with the Holy and Divine Infinite Spirit.” In addition to the included key, the entire First Book (as with VRY) relies on this diagram and provides numeric references to it throughout the text in boldface.

Another notable change is that the lower six lotuses in the original VRY diagram appear to be depicted more like twisted “knots” (*granthi*) than lotuses or “kingdoms” (see Chapter Three), while the diagram in CPSPS shifts to depict these centers as more spherical. By contrast, the corresponding diagram in RYB (1892) depicts these lotuses as different shapes with protruding curved petals of various numbers that correspond to a given *cakra*. The position of Sabhapati’s lower lotuses in all of these are notable in that they seem to best

⁷⁴⁵ CPSPS, First Book, 24–5.

match, whether coincidentally or not, the list of the lower centers given in the *Netra Tantra*, chapter seven, verses 27–29, which like Sabhapati’s system has twelve centers.⁷⁴⁶ The main difference seems to be that Sabhapati makes no distinction between *granthis*, *cakras*, and *adhāras*, but collapses and combines earlier distinctions between them into his system of twelve. As a result, despite visual differences between his various diagrams, they do refer to the same principles in his cosmology. At the same time, localized tendencies could play a role: his earliest diagram (Figure Three), published in Lahore, depicts the centers as resembling knots although they are listed as “kamalums” (< MpvI. *kamalam*, Skt. *kamala*, “lotus”) or “kingdoms” (no Sanskrit equivalent given); the second diagram (Figure Four), published in Madras, depicts the centers as spheres, also listed as “kamalums” but in the context of more anatomical detail; and the third diagram (Figure Four), published in Bombay, depicts the lotuses (explicitly identified as *cakras* and not *kamalas*) with petals. His Tamil work MCVTS would combine many of the previous elements in its diagrams (see Figure Six), although never returning to his original diagram’s style of depicting the centers as resembling knots.

The version of the diagram in CPSPS also contains instructions on how the diagram is to be colorized, which indicates that some diagrams that are not in color had the potential to be colorized, if not by Sabhapati’s publisher, by the owner of the book him or herself. The legend refers in passing to the method being that of “glazing,” which in the early 1920s was defined as “a method used in oil painting by which a brilliancy of finish is obtained by means

⁷⁴⁶ Pt. Vrajavallabh Dwivedi, ed., *Netratnam, with the Commentary Udyota of Kṣemarājācārya* (Delhi: Parimal Publications, 1985), 57; Gavin Flood, Bjarne Wernicke-Olesen, and Rajan Khatiwoda, eds., *The Lord of Immortality: An Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation of the Netra Tantra, Vol. I, Chapters 1-8.*, Tantric Studies Series (London: Routledge, forthcoming); see also Diamond, *Yoga: The Art of Transformation*, 166–7.

of a coat of a bright but transparent colour applied over another colour having much less brilliancy but much more body.”⁷⁴⁷ While Sabhapati’s other diagrams as extant in his publications are for the most part not colorized, there is some evidence for this kind of glazing subsequent to publication. One of the original copies of CTCSPV, held in the archives of Om Prakash Swamigal in Kandal, Ooty (see Chapter One, Section K), does contain a colorized diagram of Sabhapati Swami, whereas the other copies do not. This indicates that copies obtained directly from the publisher were likely not immediately colorized, but that they were sometimes colorized either by Sabhapati Swami’s students prior to distribution or by the new owner of the book.

Around the late 1880s to early 1890s, which saw the publication of CTCSPV (1889), the Second Book of CPSPS (1890), and RYB (1892), the number of diagrams in Sabhapati’s literature starts to rapidly expand. CTCSPV contains at least nine diagrams (Tam. *paṭam*, pl. *paṭaṅkaḷ*, lit. “pictures”) numbered as such, in addition to several unnumbered smaller drawings, and is notable for its inclusion of images that depict the social lives of yogis, rituals to be performed at temples and temple architecture, as well as much more attention to what has been called the “landscapes of yoga” (see Figures Seven and Eight).⁷⁴⁸ The Second Book of CPSPS also contains ten new diagrams in addition to the portrait of Sabhapati Swami published in its First Book and the posture of *samādhi* that formed part of the Alpha Stream, mentioned above. RYB contains eight numbered diagrams (Hi. *nakṣā*, < Persian *naghshe*) in addition to a different portrait of Sabhapati Swami, and some of its diagrams are connected in design to the diagrams found in the Second Book of CPSPS, albeit drawn differently. The

⁷⁴⁷ Arthur Seymour Jennings, *Paint & Colour Mixing: A Practical Handbook* (London: E. & F.N. Spon, 1921), 138–42.

⁷⁴⁸ Diamond, *Yoga: The Art of Transformation*, 180–202.

diagrams from RYB, in addition to other diagrams not included in that book, were also rendered with Tamil and Telugu scripts although with the same drawing as a base and survive in separate packets, bound by a simple string, which are held at the library of Om Prakash Swamigal in Kandal, Ooty. This tends to offer material support to an advertisement found in some surviving copies of MCVTS that many of the diagrams were available for order as stand-alone documents from Sabhapati's published books. Since no copies of Sabhapati's Telugu work SVSAA (1890) appear to survive, there is no way of knowing of these diagrams also formed part of this book, although that also appears likely.

Sabhapati's publications in the 1890s, mostly of pamphlets for the Konnur Meditation Hall, were much smaller works and are exceptional in that they do not contain any diagrams or additional visual material apart from text. After a relative absence of publications in the decade of the 1900s, the artistic content of Sabhapati's works only re-emerged after two decades, with the publication of MCVTS in 1913, the long version of which contains seventeen numbered diagrams (also called Tam. *paṭam*, "picture," but mostly numbered diagrams), a couple of which appear to be missing or duplicated in extant versions, as well as a new bearded portrait of Sabhapati and a few other small visual images. At seventeen diagrams, MCVTS is the most image-heavy out of any of Sabhapati's works, and seems to reflect the culmination in Sabhapati's works away from what Obrist has noted above in the context of alchemy as a shift from the pictorial representation of text to textual representation of pictures. The diagrams are further presented in a new style that is unique to this Tamil work's own yogic instructions and contextual audience, and in some cases are much more playful and experimental in their shape and design.



Figure Seven. A depiction in CTCSPV (1889) of Sabhapati Swami, his ritual implements, three of his students (including, notably for the time, a female student in the center), and a scribe.

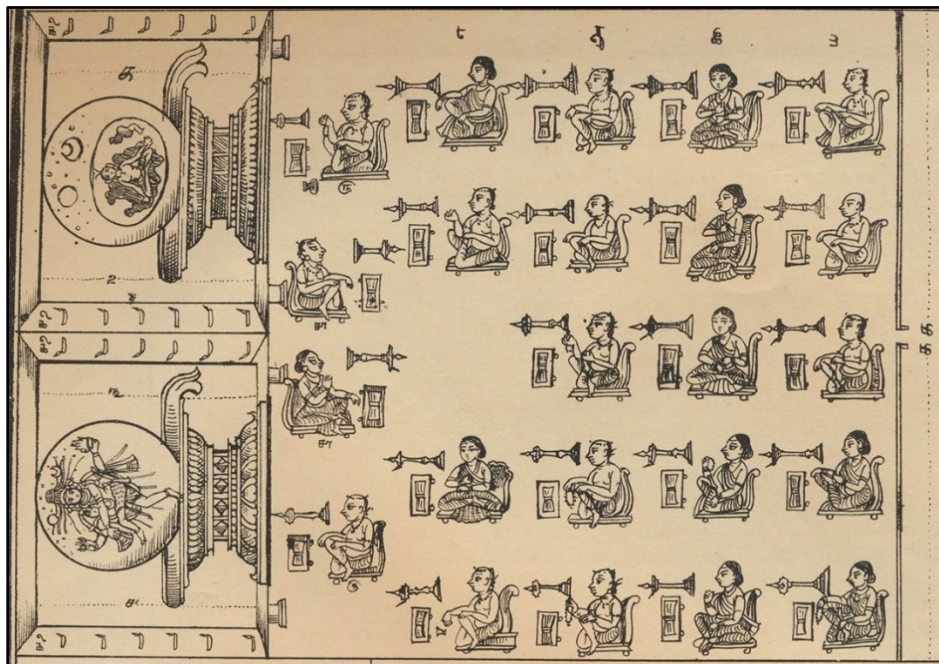
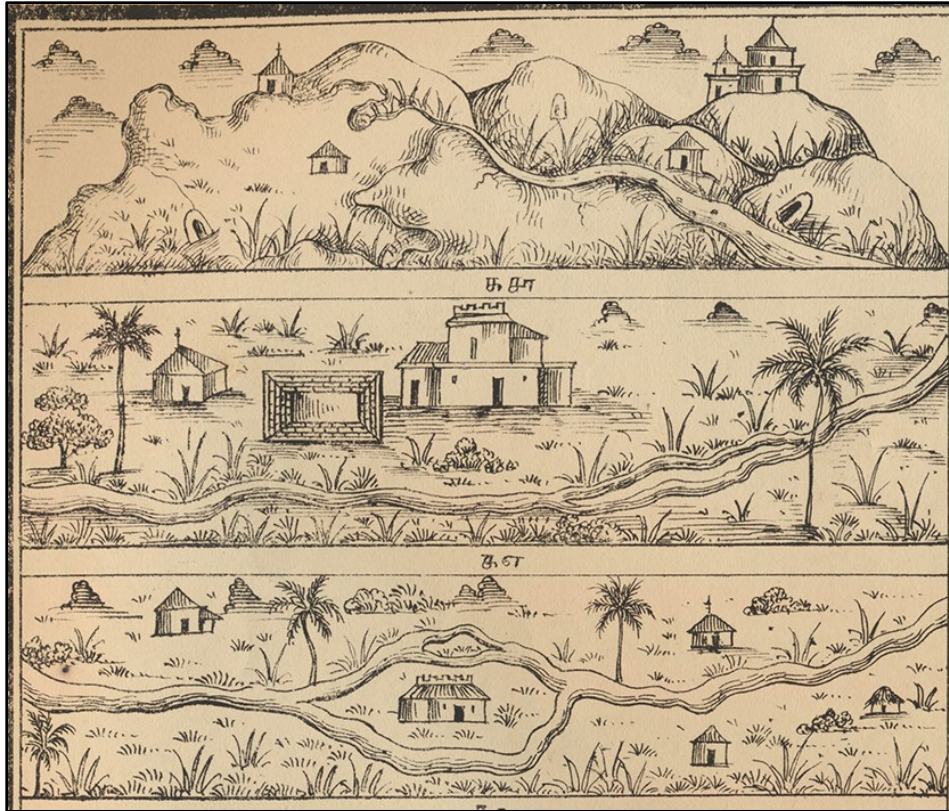


Figure Eight. A depiction in CTCSPV (1889) of the landscapes of yoga (different areas where *maṭālayams* or what he called “meditation halls” can be found), and an example of the training, meditative, and postural activity that would happen at these meditation halls.

2. *Svarūpa* and the Yogic Function of Sabhapati's Diagrams

In this final section I will give an example to show how Sabhapati's diagrams are employed in his literature, and will also note the salience of the term *svārūpa* to his visual aesthetics more generally. As noted in Chapter Four, Sri Sabhapati Swami's literature contains detailed yogic practices that are designed to subjugate gnosis (*jñāna*). While the central practice is the refutation of twelve lotuses or *cakras*, Sabhapati also introduces the notion of various "inherent natures" or "essential forms" (*svārūpas*), which he variously glossed in English as "spiritual visions," "spiritual states," or "spiritual phenomena."

The term *svārūpa* in the context of yoga philosophy can be traced back to the Pātañjalayogaśāstra (comprising the *sūtras* and their *bhāṣyas* "commentaries"), where it came to denote the primary condition of yoga as isolation (*kaivalya*) following the cessation of the turnings of the mind (*yogaś cittavṛtti nirodhaḥ*).⁷⁴⁹ For example, verse 1.3 reads (my translation): "Then the condition (*avasthānam*) of the beholder (*draṣṭṛ*) is in its inherent nature (*svārūpa*)" (*tadā draṣṭuḥ svarūpe 'vasthānam*).⁷⁵⁰ The *bhāṣya* adds the term *kaivalya* in the locative, but curiously leaves *svārūpa* without a gloss,⁷⁵¹ and seems to indicate a condition in which the being or object is "isolated" (or, alternatively, "whole"), somewhat linked to the goal of Pātañjalayoga itself (*kaivalya*). The term *svārūpa* has accordingly been translated often as "essential nature" or "inherent form," and largely treated as a tangential

⁷⁴⁹ See Patañjali and Philipp André Maas, *Samādhipāda: das erste Kapitel des Pātañjalayogaśāstra zum ersten Mal kritisch ediert*, Geisteskultur Indiens Texte und Studien 9 (Aachen: Shaker, 2006), 4–7 for a critical edition of the Sanskrit text and commentary of the first pada only; and David Gordon White, *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography*, Lives of Great Religious Books (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 10–15 for the various ways this verse has been interpreted and translated by scholars. See also Gerald Larson, *Classical Yoga Philosophy and the Legacy of Samkhya* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2018).

⁷⁵⁰ Patañjali and Maas, *Samādhipāda*, 7–8. I am indebted to Seth Powell for pointing out the direct relevance of this early reference to *svārūpa* in Pātañjalayoga.

⁷⁵¹ *svārūpapraṭiṣṭhā tadānīm cicchaktir, yathā kaivalye. vyutthānacitte tu sati tathāpi bhavanti na tathā*
Loose translation: "At that time, just as mental power (*citiśakti*) in isolation is established in its inherent nature (*svārūpa*), so, however, when the mind has emerged [from *samādhi*] it is not present."

clarifier rather than a technical term in and of itself. In Patañjali’s day the term *svarūpa* probably was also informed by Sāṃkhya, although the term *rūpa* does not occur together with the reflexive prefix *sva* in Īśvarakṛṣṇa’s *Sāṃkhyakārikā*.⁷⁵² The term *drāṣṭṛtvam* “beholding-ness” is present, however, and applied abstractly in verse 19 of *Sāṃkhyakārikā* as an epithet of the Puruṣa, the aloof *tattva* (separate from the other twenty-four) who is also called *jñāḥ* “the knower.”⁷⁵³ Since *drāṣṭṛ* is a synonym for the Puruṣa of Sāṃkhya and Pātañjalayoga philosophy, *drāṣṭṛtvam* would imply the condition of being the Beholder or Puruṣa. By extension it would also refer to the state of being of “pure content-less consciousness,” to quote Larson’s translation of the *bhāṣya* to verse 1.3 of the *Yoga Sūtra*.⁷⁵⁴

While the Pātañjalan interpretation of *svarūpa* is probably lurking in the background, I do not believe it fully accounts for Sabhapati’s frequent usage of the term and its technical definition appears tangential at best when considering the literature of Sabhapati. For example, Sabhapati also applies this term to divine bodies or forms (e.g. *liṅgasvarūpa*, “the inherent nature of [Śiva’s] *liṅga*”), as is commonly the case in Tantric, philosophical, and devotional Hindu literature (e.g. *brahmaśvarūpa*, and less frequently *devīśvarūpa*, and the *svarūpa* of Kṛṣṇa). His hagiographical account (the Ur-account, see Chapter One) even quotes Mahādeva as saying the following: “Consider the Lingam [*liṅga*] to be nothing more than my Universal Infinite Spiritual circle or Brahmasarōopa [*brahmasvarūpa*] itself. He who thinks so receives Brahmajyāna [*brahmajñāna*].”⁷⁵⁵ Throughout both VRY and CPSPS he also

⁷⁵² The term *rūpa* (“form”) alone, however, does occur numerous times, perhaps most notably in verse sixty-three which treats of *prakṛti*’s seven forms (*buddhi* or *mahat* “intelligence”, *ahaṅkāra* “ego,” and the five *tanmātras* “subtle elements”).

⁷⁵³ Gerald Larson, *Classical Samkhya: An Interpretation of its History and Meaning*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1969, 265.

⁷⁵⁴ Gerald James Larson and Ram Shankar Bhattacharya, eds., “Yoga: India’s Philosophy of Meditation,” in *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2011), 77.

⁷⁵⁵ VRY, ii.

mentions a wide variety of *svarūpas*, including *śivaliṅgasvarūpa* (“the inherent nature of Śiva’s phallus”), *śuddhacaitanyākāśasvarūpa* (“the inherent nature of the æther of pure consciousness”), *jñānasvarūpa* (“the inherent nature of gnosis”), *jñānākāśasvarūpa* (“the inherent nature of gnostic ether”), *brahmānandasvarūpa* (“the inherent nature of the bliss of Brahman”), *saccidānandasvarūpa* (“the inherent nature of being, consciousness, and bliss”), and many others. His “Four Brightnesses” of Brahman (see Chapter Three) also possess *svarūpas*, such as *sākṣisvarūpa*, “the inherent nature of the eyewitness.”

Sabhapati’s general usage for the most part seems to be an idealized “thing-in-itself,” similar to the Kantian “Ding an sich.” Sabhapati’s Bengali translator and interpreter Ambikacharan Bandopadhyay certainly interpreted it in such a way, and related it to a cosmic substance that lies beyond the multiplicity of forms (translation my own from original Bangla):

That which we call “things” or “categories” in this universe, therefore, are only the fabricated shapes (*racita ākār*) of qualities (*guṇ*) and powers (*śakti*). The substance, however, which becomes constrained under the influence of the powers of the qualities of these forms (*rūpas*), becomes manifest in the transformation of forms, and we are not able to understand anything about what this inherent nature (*svarūp*, < Skt. *svarūpa*) of substance is. The actual nature of this substance has become completely covered due the influence of these powers of the qualities, and we only have the perception of its degenerated nature. However, they who are knowers of the principles (*tattva-jñānīgaṇ*) have determined that, if there is a break (*birām*) in the

continuity of the powers of the qualities, the left-over thing that remains is eternal essence (*bastu*, = *vastu*).⁷⁵⁶

However, the term *svarūpa* also had an additional salience in Tantra that also informs its usage in Sabhapati’s literature, not just as a Bengali phenomenon but also an idea that also has roots in Tantra more widely (including Buddhist Tantra). Upendranath Bhattacharya, in his famous compendium of Bāul songs, noted the following (translation my own from the original Bengali/Bangla):

To speak of “form” (*rūp*), one understands there to be an external shape. One calls this form, resorting to that which has its own individual existence within this form, the “inherent nature” (*svarūp*). We find mention of this *rūp/svarūp* in many Bāul songs. At its core their practice (*sādhanā*) is a crossing over from form to inherent nature—having converted a material body into an immaterial one, there is a perception of the highest principle (*param-tattva*) within the body. Having made the body the central principle, there is a mystery that is inherent in their practice of converting form into inherent form. It can generally be said that *this* is the Indian practice of Tantra (*tāntrik-sādhanā*). This is the cornerstone (*bhitti-prastar*) of Hindu Tantric practice, Buddhist Tantric practice, Buddhist-Sahajiyā practice, Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā practice, Bāul practice, and the practices of the Nāth Siddhas.⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵⁶ BRY, 6–7. Original Bengali: “*sutarām ei brahmāṇḍa madhye āmrā yāhā kichu padārtha baliyā dekhitechī tāhā kebal guṇ o śaktir racita ākār mātra. kintu eirūp guṇ-śaktir prabhābe ye drabya niyata-i rūp haite rūpāntare pratibhāt haiteche, sei drabyer svarūp ki tāhā āmrā kichu bujhite pāri nā. guṇ-śaktir prabhābe drabyer prakṛta bhāb samācchādita rahiyaiche, tāhār bikṛta bhābei kebal āmādigēr upalabdhi haiteche. ataeba tattva-jñānigaṇ eirūp siddhānta kariyāchen ye guṇ-śaktir niḥśeṣe birām haile yāhā kichu abaśiṣṭa thāke tāhāi nitya bastu.*”

⁷⁵⁷ Upendranāth Bhaṭṭācārya, *Bāṅglār bāul o bāul gān* (Calcutta: Orient Book Company, 1981), 357–58. Original Bengali: “‘*rūp*’ balite bāhīr ekṭā ākār bujhāy, ār ei rūpke āśray kariyā ei rūper abhyantare uhār ye nijasva baiśiṣṭya bartamān, tāhāke ‘*svarūp*’ balā yāy. bahu bāulgāne āmrā ei rūp-svarūper ullekḥ dekhi. mūlatah tāhāder sādhanā haiteche rūp haite svarūpe uttīrṇa haoyā—*prakṛta dehake aprākṛte pariṇata kariyā deher madhye paramatattver upalabdhi karā.*”

As we have seen, Sabhapati in his own literature describes a *sādhana* of refuting and canceling the Tantric *cakras* and the multiplicity of forms that they encompass, an action that was predicated on the idea that, as Upendranath Bhattacharya noted, one can cross over from illusionary form (*rūpa*), or the *nāmarūpa* of the Buddhists, to the inherent nature (*svarūpa*) of Śiva or Brahman.

Sabhapati describes this in his own terminology of the *tattvas* as follows, notably also using *rūpa* (in compound with *nāmarūpa*, making its connotation clear):

Tattvas or *maya tatva*, *nishchaya*, *nam arupa*, *sthula sarira Utpatti sthapitum*,⁷⁵⁸ by the intervention of *aggayanam* [*ajñāna*, “ignorance”];—which established the separate existence of the finite spirit called *jivatmeegum* [*jīvātmikā*, “individual self”]. Thus it hath fallen from its original truth into twelve sorts of spiritual reflections; by passing through twelve stages or *dwadasha tattwa utpatti* [*dvādaśatattvotpatti*, “the emergence of the twelve *tattvas*”]. From these twelve came forth *shahasra thatwa Utpatti* [*sahasratattvotpatti*, “the emergence of the one thousand principles,” i.e. the multiplicity of forms].⁷⁵⁹

I would argue therefore that Sabhapati’s visual diagrams, predicated on the sense-capacity of sight (*rūpa*), are similarly designed to lead the viewer to a realization of the inherent forms that lie beyond name and form, which these diagrams are limited by but nevertheless attempt to transcend. Diamond explains this as follows:

⁷⁵⁸ Skt. *māyātattvaniścayanāmarūpasthūlaśarīrotpannasthāpita*, lit. “the establishment of the emergence of the principle of illusion’s (*māyatattva*) resolve, name and form (*nāmarūpa*), and the material body (*sthūlaśarīra*). The corresponding passage in CPSPS is “the Creations of *Twelve faculties*,” Tam. *māyātattvaniscaya nāmarūpacarvacarīravutpannastāpitam*.

⁷⁵⁹ VRY, 33.

If we understand the work of representation as the attempt to make something visible, the representation of yogic insight is a paradoxical challenge. Beyond the comprehension of ordinary individuals, ultimate reality can be perceived only by advanced adepts . . . artists rose to this challenge when they represented masters of yoga embodying the universe.⁷⁶⁰

While in Sabhapati's case most of the diagrams are not idealized representations of masters of yoga but pedagogical in scope, I would posit that the same paradigm applies to his work.

Apart from his more general usage of *svarūpa*, Sabhapati also developed a technical formulation of specific *svarūpas* that were depicted diagrammatically (see Figure Nine).

These seven *svarūpas*, which he calls the “seven spiritual states of God,” are as follows:

- 1) *brahmamayajñānasvarūpa* in the universe and the “centre seat of the skull.”
- 2) *īśvaramayakalāsvarūpa* in the “brain.”
- 3) *śaktimayapraṇavasvarūpa* which “runs downwards from the Kundali up to the Brain.”
- 4) *ātmamayanādasvarūpa* which “runs upwards from the Kundali up to the Brain.”
- 5) *māyāmayaprāṇasvarūpa* which “runs from the Brain to the centre seat of the Nose.”
- 6) *jīvamayavāsīsvarūpa* “which runs from the centre seat of the Nose downwards up to the end of the middle fingers of the hands and toes of the legs.”
- 7) *sūkṣmamayaśvāsasvarūpa* which “runs from the end of the middle fingers of the hands and from the toes of the legs upwards to the centre seat of the nose.”⁷⁶¹

The yogi is instructed to formulate meditations in the mind through processes of *bhāvanā* (MpvI. *pāvaṇā*), which Sabhapati translates as “Formation,” more literally a kind of “cultivation,” here used in a technical sense as the meditative assumption of a specific form to the exclusion of anything else. The meditations of these *svarūpas* are as follows (first

⁷⁶⁰ Diamond, *Yoga: The Art of Transformation*, 160.

⁷⁶¹ CPSPS, First Book, 213–17.

Sabhapati’s own translation, followed by Sanskrit and Hindustani [corrected from CPSPS], then Maṇipravālam, and then a more literal translation):

1. on being exclusively the “Infinite Spiritual Vision” (Skt. *brahmajñānadṛṣṭimātrādhyāna*, Mpvl. *pirammakñāṇa tiruṣṭimāttira tiyāṇam*, lit. “meditation on the vision of the gnosis of the Brahma itself”);
2. on being “Sights and Lights” (Skt. *nānadṛṣṭiprakāśākārajñānadṛṣṭidhyāna*, Mpvl. *nāṇātirusṭi pirakācākārakñāṇatirusṭi tiyāṇam*, lit. “meditation on the vision of gnosis in the shape of the expression of many sights”);
3. on being the “sound of letters only” (Skt. *akṣarākārajñānadṛṣṭidhyāna*, Mpvl. *aṭṣarākārakñāṇatirusṭi tiyāṇam*, lit. “meditation on the sight of gnosis in the shape of phonemes”);
4. on being the “sound of Words or Mantras of two or more letters” (Skt. *bījamantrākārajñānadṛṣṭidhyāna*, Mpvl. *pījamanttirākārakñāṇatirusṭi tiyāṇam*, lit. “meditation on the sight of gnosis in the shape of seed-syllable mantras”);
5. on being “divine forms, appearances, thoughts and powers” (Skt. *devatābhāvanākāra*, *saṃkalpastutimānasapūjākārasarvasiddhibhāvanākāra*, *sarvatattvabhāvanākārajñānadṛṣṭidhyāna*, Mpvl. *tēvatā pāvaṇākāra caṅkalpastutimāṇasa pūjākāra carvacitti pāvaṇākāra carvatatva pāvaṇākārakñāṇatirusṭi tiyāṇam*, lit. “meditation on the sight of gnosis through cultivating the local gods, cultivating all the powers in mental worship through hymns and intentional thought, and cultivating all the principles”);
6. on being the “absorption of the Mind in the Infinite Spirit” (Skt. & Hi. *brahmajñānadṛṣṭimeṇ manolayābodhānandākārabhāvanājñānadṛṣṭidhyāna*, Mpvl. *pirammakñāṇa tiruṣṭiyil maṇōlayapōta āṇantākārapāvaṇākñāṇatirusṭi tiyāṇam*, lit. “meditation on the sight of gnosis through cultivating the form of bliss in the mental awakening of absorption in the sight of the gnosis of Brahman”);
7. on being “the absorption of the Breath in the Infinite Spirit” (Skt. & Hi. *brahmajñānadṛṣṭimeṇ śvāsalayabodhānandākārabhāvanājñānadṛṣṭidhyāna*, Mpvl. *pirammakñāṇatirusṭiyil cuvācalayapōta āṇantākārapāvaṇākñāṇatirusṭi tiyāṇam*, lit. “meditation on the sight of gnosis through cultivating the form of bliss as the breath’s awakening of absorption in the sight of the gnosis of Brahman”).⁷⁶²

These are then related to the “Fifteen Sorts of the Purifications of the Mind & Soul,” which are also described in his Hindustani work RYB. It is clear that the intended purpose of meditating on these *svarūpas*, which run the gamut of phenomenological existence, is precisely to move the yogi beyond the *rūpa* or *nāmarūpa* of the *tattvas* so as to experience the nature of these *tattvas* as mere emanations of the *liṅgasvarūpa* or *brahmasvarūpa* (used

⁷⁶² CPSPS, Second Book, 216–17.

synonymously), which itself is beyond comprehension. As I shall demonstrate in the next chapter (Chapter Six), these *svarūpas* were also engaged by Sabhapati in his Tamil work CTCSPV where they were correlated with English terminology pertaining to the Victorian naturalist worldview.

In concluding this section, I hope that I have clearly demonstrated that the use of diagrams to depict Śivarājayoga, either directly or tangentially, underscores the pedagogical and practical nature of Sabhapati's diagrams when considered more broadly. While on the one hand they certainly illuminate Sabhapati's literature and make it more aesthetically appealing, on the other hand they were clearly designed as guides of sorts to assist the yogi in cultivating various embodied forms until such cultivation was ultimately no longer necessary. In today's world of saturated visual images reaching us from every angle and screen imaginable, the intended depth of such visual depictions and the obvious care in their preparation warrants further reflection and analysis.

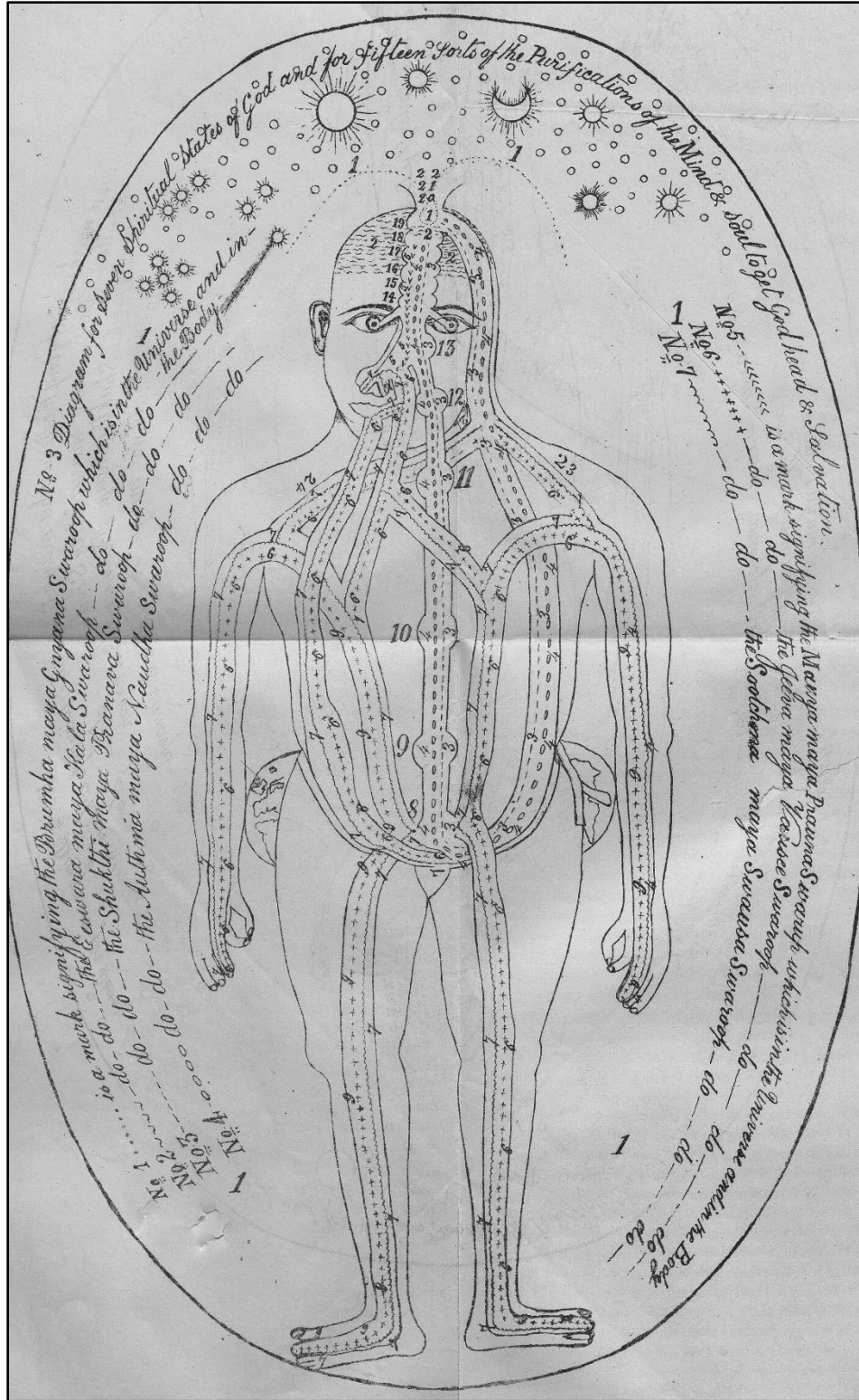


Figure Nine. A diagram published in CPSPS, Second Book (1890), entitled “No. 3 Diagram for Seven Spiritual States of God [svārūpas] and for fifteen sorts of the Purifications of the Mind & Soul to get Godhead and Salvation.”

VI. Sri Sabhapati Swami and the “Science” of Śivarājyoga

The previous chapters have foregrounded the historical, philosophical, technical, and artistic aspects of Sabhapati Swami’s system of Śivarājyoga, but little attention has been paid to how the system was believed to have functioned, or even the question of whether it was meant by its author to work at all. By “work” I mean whether there is any theoretical justification that the yogi, by following out the instructions in these manuals, could even partially experience the many sensations and effects that are outlined throughout Sabhapati’s literature of yoga. It doesn’t take a “Lord of Yoga” to realize that closing the eyes, assuming certain postures, and breathing in a controlled way can bring calm and provoke certain physiological changes, otherwise modern postural yoga would not be a billion-dollar global industry. However, what of Sabhapati’s seemingly extravagant claim that the successful practice of Śivarājyoga will grant you “one eye to the universe . . . embracing the sun, moon, stars, the earth, and all their creations within the universal circle of your Linga Sorup [*liṅgasvarūpa*],” of which the illusionary body is the mere pedestal (*gaurīpīṭha*, Tam. *āvūṭaiyār*)?⁷⁶³ Soteriological claims and promises of special powers (*siddhis*) or experiences (*anubhavas*) like this, however, are commonplace in Indian yogic literature, and Sabhapati’s literature is no exception.⁷⁶⁴ Yet their extravagance would lead many people even in his own day to doubt the validity of these promises, as did Henry Olcott when confronted with Sabhapati’s claim that he flew to Mount Kailāśa (see Chapter One). At the other end of the

⁷⁶³ VRY, 27.

⁷⁶⁴ Somadeva Vasudeva, “Powers and Identities: Yoga Powers and the Tantric Śaiva Traditions,” in *Yoga Powers: Extraordinary Capacities Attained Through Meditation and Concentration*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 264–302; David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

spectrum, the Indologist Max Müller was simply content to consider Sabhapati's flight as an unverifiable "miracle" and say little more.⁷⁶⁵

Adequately addressing the yogis' soteriological truth claims and doubts on a rational, often Lockean basis (see below) would itself necessitate a separate book-length treatment on the ontological basis of yoga, not to mention religion more broadly, and in any case would also necessitate careful forays into the uncomfortable and controversy-generating realms—from an academic standpoint, at least—of apologetics and ahistoricity. At the same time, it is impossible to ignore that Sabhapati Swami's literature emerged at a time in which theories of Western science had been sweeping through the colonial urban centers of India, not just Madras but also Calcutta and Bombay, and that Sabhapati and his own students understandably reacted to and engaged, to a lesser or greater extent, these theories, especially those that dealt with questions of sense-perception and physics; it would have indeed been odd at that time for them *not* to react to these strange, new ideas in some way.

The scientific authors that Sabhapati and his interpreters engaged for the most part participate in what Asprem has usefully framed as the "Victorian naturalist" worldview.⁷⁶⁶ Subsequent discursive responses to and critiques of these authors led to a wide range of implications for a variety of fields such as biology and evolutionary psychology, although much if not all of their work is of course in the ancient past as far as science goes and is discredited or superseded today. My point is that the Victorian naturalist worldview ought to be contextualized as an historical movement not only in Europe but also within India itself at a certain time, just as one can historically contextualize Vedānta or Vīraśaivism. While its

⁷⁶⁵ F. Max Müller, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* (London; New York; Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899), 462–4.

⁷⁶⁶ Egil Asprem, *The Problem of Disenchantment: Scientific Naturalism and Esoteric Discourse, 1900–1939*, SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2018).

origin was foreign and its outgrowth made possible by aggressive colonial-era knowledge structures that largely dismissed or minimized traditional Indian modes of knowledge, it nevertheless provoked a wide-ranging discourse on “scientism” (i.e. that “science” which is deprecated or would not be considered as such today) that authors or inheritors of these traditional modes of knowledge felt comfortable accessing and responding to in compelling and creative ways. At the same time, Sabhapati was also entering this discourse with his own presuppositions based on the history of Indian perspectives on the “positive sciences,” in this case theoretical analysis based on observation, which is also important to consider.⁷⁶⁷ I would argue that this engagement is important for academics to record and acknowledge, especially as yoga is concerned, and that examples in Sabhapati’s literature are some of the oldest records available in extant publications on yoga as expressed by Indian yogis or their followers.⁷⁶⁸

In this chapter I therefore wish to suspend argument on the epistemological verifiability or falsifiability of Sabhapati’s yogic system to focus on what I consider to be two much more interesting questions from an academic perspective, namely: 1) how Sabhapati and his Bengali interpreter Ambikacharan Bandopadhyay engaged the Western “science” of Victorian naturalism and framed their theory on “ether” and “æther” (*ākāśa*); and 2) how advancements in the philosophy of mind and neurological foundations of sense-perception compare with Sabhapati’s own theories of confusion (*bhrānti*). The first question will warrant a thematic analysis of Sabhapati’s literature and of the perspective of one of his

⁷⁶⁷ See Brajendranath Seal, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* (London: Longmans, Green, 1915).

⁷⁶⁸ For other engagement on this theme see Joseph S. Alter, *Yoga in Modern India: The Body between Science and Philosophy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004); Magdalena Kraler, “Tracing Vivekananda’s Prāṇa and Ākāśa: The Yogavāsīṣṭha and Rama Prasad’s Occult Science of Breath,” in *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, ed. Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter (London: Palgrave Macmillan, Forthcoming). Neither of these sources consider “science” as present in the works of Sabhapati Swami, however.

main interpreters, and thus is historical in scope. The second question is more experimental and has required some assistance from extant scholarship related to the growing field of cognitive science of religion (CSR) on what kinds of subjective changes in perception (if any) could potentially result by following his specific instructions. To answer these questions, in the first section I will outline Sabhapati's views on cosmology and discourse on "pure ether" or *śuddhākāśa*, and also analyze Ambikacharan's engagement with the Victorian naturalist worldview. In the second section I will analyze Sabhapati's theories of *bhrānti* "confusion" and *kalpanā* "imagination," scholarship on the brain's relationship to associative or "indexical" correspondences, and what Sabhapati calls a "divine pilgrimage in the universe of your body,"⁷⁶⁹ the latter of which also bears historical relevance to parallel and later occult interpretations of his work (see below and Chapter Seven).⁷⁷⁰

As a humanities scholar with no training in the contemporary sciences, psychological or otherwise, my principal aim in engaging this discussion of "science" in the context of Sabhapati's Śivarājayoga is not to make a claim as to whether his system of yoga is "true" or "false" from a scientific or epistemological point of view. Instead, I wish to make his theories more accessible, on the one hand, to historians of either yoga or physical sciences who may be interested in analyzing how Victorian "scientific" material was interpreted in primary sources on yoga, and on the other hand to cognitive scientists and psychologists who may be interested in evaluating alternative theories of mind that likely vary from prevailing contemporary conceptualizations of sense-perception and experience.

⁷⁶⁹ VRY, 38.

⁷⁷⁰ A similar model of pilgrimage is attested in Kubjikā sources; see Mark S. G. Dyczkowski, *A Journey in the World of Tantras* (Varanasi: Indica Books, 2004), 93–175.

A. Sabhapati and his Interpreters' Views on Victorian Science

1. Sabhapati Swami and "Science"

As treated in Chapter Three (Section D.8), Sabhapati Swami and some of his early "Admirers" expressed a negative attitude towards what they called "the Atheism," and by extension Western scientific materialism, which is a discourse that doesn't emerge in his literature until 1884 with the publication of the First Book of CPSPS. However, the reason for this attitude should be contextualized. First, Sabhapati was not entirely anti-Western, since as noted in Chapter Two (also see Chapter Seven) he was profusely complimentary of Helena Blavatsky and the Theosophical Society despite never joining and he also engaged in conversation with Indian domiciled authors such as John Campbell Oman. Western-educated Indians like Shrish Chandra Basu also flocked to him, and his views (at least initially) turned them into overweening "Admirers." Nor can he be said to have been entirely anti-science, since his main critique of science was inextricable from his criticism of "Atheism," namely that the perspective only acknowledged the reality of physical phenomena. To some extent this was a valid critique on account of the Victorian period's obsession with mechanistic theories of the universe and rejection of subjective differences in perception; if sciences of the mind or brain (e.g. psychology, neuroscience) or sciences of what Sabhapati would have considered to be subtle energy (e.g. quantum physics) had been invented yet, his view may have been very different. It appears that Sabhapati came to advocate what could fairly be called a "Traditionalist" outlook on yoga compared to the relative openness of Vivekananda, in that the former believed that the views of the Indian yogis, specifically those of Agastya's

Hermitage (see Chapter One), were superior to anything that the Atheism or scientific materialism of the modern world had to offer.⁷⁷¹

Sabhapati's literature does, however, reflect some limited engagement with the scientific views of his day, most explicitly in his cosmology. As mentioned in Chapter Three, his main critique of "the Atheism," whether his own caricature or based on interactions he had with students, was predicated on their refusal to look beyond the "twelfth kingdom" of the elements or physical world as situated in the *mūlādhāra cakra* or lotus of the *kuṇḍali*. Sabhapati simply could not fathom an atheistic rejection of such a vast world that to him undeniably existed beyond the material elements, not only in the inner recesses of the mind but also in what ostensibly lies beyond mind or thought (*manas* and *citta*).

While his apologetic engagement with Atheism was predicated on the perceived limitations of its materialism, he did nevertheless allow for a terminological harmony between the English terms that Victorian scientists and philosophers were familiar with and the Hindu terms of his own Tamil and Sanskrit-based cosmology. In Sabhapati's Tamil work CTCSPV, for example, he expressed a much more open perspective on the relativization of terminology and noted that "the companions of the world's other religion (*anṇiyamatam*) are united in the language of those religions with the companions of the Hindu religion (*intumatam*)."⁷⁷² He then went on to outline the following points, worth quoting in full (English words as present in the original text are underlined):

⁷⁷¹ A modern trend among yogis towards "Traditionalism" in India remains an interesting and largely unexplored subject. For Traditionalism in the West and also the Sri Lankan Tamil art historian A.K. Coomaraswamy, see Mark J. Sedgwick, *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). For a survey of Vivekananda's own response to scientific theories of evolution, see D. H. Killingley, "Yoga-Sūtra IV, 2–3 and Vivekānanda's Interpretation of Evolution," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 18, no. 2 (June 1, 1990): 151–179; and for the Theosophical relationship to these views in terms of reincarnation, see Julie Chajes, *Recycled Lives: A History of Reincarnation in Blavatsky's Theosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

⁷⁷² Tam. *ulakattiṅ anṇiyamatat tōlarkaḷum ammatapāṣaiyaikkarkum intumatat tōlarkaḷum*. CTCSPV, 26.

Oh! Listen, oh my students of the highest trifold divine image (*trimūrti*)! The expansion of the cosmos is of seven types. First: Infinite Spiritual Phenomena, or the pure expansion in the shape of the knowledge of the happiness and bliss of unity that is absolutely interwoven (*carvāṅucūta*, < Skt. *sarvānususyūta*); this is Spirit or Space, and is “brilliance” (*caitaṅṅiyam*, < Skt. *caitanya*). Within this is the emergence of 2nd) Spirit or Spiritual Phenomena, or the absolute intimate expansion of the pure Lord in the shape of the fragmented powers of the bliss of wishful thinking. This is Presence and Atoms, which is “divine presence” (*caṅṅitāṅam*). Within this is the emergence of 3rd) Finite Spiritual Phenomena, or the expansion of the absolute pervading pure Śakti in the form of the syllable Om (*piraṅavākāra*, < Skt. *praṅavākāra*), which is the bliss of the imagination. This is Power, which is “power” (*catti*, < *śakti*). Within this is the emergence of 4th) Conscious Spiritual Phenomena, or the expansion of the absolute witness (*carvacākṣi*, < Skt. *sarvasākṣin*) as the self (*āṅma*, < Skt. *ātman*) in the shape of the cosmic sound (*nāta*, < Skt. *nāda*), which is the bliss of absolute awakening. This is Essence, which is “existence” (*cattu*, < Skt. *sat*).⁷⁷³ Within this is the emergence of 5th) Mental Spiritual Phenomena, or the expansion of the absolute pervader (*carvaviyāpakam*, < Skt. *sarvavyāpaka*) as absolute ignorance (*aṅṅāṅam*, < Skt. *ajṅāna*), which is the individual (*jīvam*, < Skt. *jīvan*) consisting of the illusion (*māyā* = Skt.) of the shape of the syllable Om. This is Force and Motion, which is “strength and speed” (*valivum vicaiyum*, < Skt. *bala* and *√vij*). Within this is the emergence of 6th) Sensual Spiritual Phenomena, or the subtle

⁷⁷³ This is reminiscent of existentialist philosophy with its equation of existence and essence, although most strands of European existentialist thought, with a notable exception being George Berkeley (1685–1753), would not necessarily admit the phenomenal world as illusionary or ultimately immaterial, as Sabhapati does.

expansion (*cūṭcumappirapañcam*, < Skt. *sūkṣmaprapañca*) of the absolute void (*carvacūṇṇiyam*, < Skt. *sarvaśūnya*), which is in the shape of the subtle channel (MpvI. *vāci*) of absolute misconceptualization of self (*apimāṇa*, < Skt. *abhimāna*). This is Action and Creation, which is “motion and production” (*acaivum ceykaiyum*). Within this is the emergence of 7th) Elemental Physical Phenomena or Material Phenomena, or the quintuple elemental expansion of the absolute appearance (*carvatōṛram*), which is the appearance in the shape of breath (*cuvāsa*, < Skt. *śvāsa*) of the absolute binding of the noose of desire (*ācāpācapantam*, < Skt. *āśāpāśabandha*), the attached fruits of action and virtue (*tontakuṇakarma*), birth (*jeṇma*, < Skt. *janma*), and sorrow (*tukka*, < Skt. *duḥkha*). This is Visible Show, which is “appearance” (*tōṛram*). Elemental Physical Phenomena is consequently like the expansion of the five elements in the sequence of creation (*ciruṣṭikiramam*, < Skt. *ṣṛṣṭikrama*). It is the seventh as well as what are beyond it, since within its cause is the growth of the [other] six kinds of inherent natures (*corūpam*, < Skt. *svarūpa*) that are united as one and have been created by authority—in its growth it is expressed as its own emergence. It is possible for one to touch and perceive this seventh inherent nature, endowed with form (*rūpacorūpam*). However, it is not possible to touch with the hands or perceive those [other] six kinds of inherent natures, which are formless (*arūpacorūpaṅkaḷ*), with the outer eye (*purakkaṇ*), except for with the eye of knowledge (*arivukkaṇ*). Two types of nature (*iyarḱai*) are Oxygen, which is a

formless (*arūpa*) cosmic expansion of the five elements, and Nitrogen, which is a cosmic expansion of the five elements that has a uniting form (*cērkkairūpa*).⁷⁷⁴

While the above sequence of philosophical gobbledygook may be obscure, some interesting information can nevertheless be gleaned from it. First, the seven types of “Phenomena” are consistent with Sabhapati’s doctrines on the seven *svarūpas* that I have treated in the context of visual diagrams in the previous chapter (Chapter Five). This further confirms that Sabhapati’s theory of the seven *svarūpas*, as reflected visually and published a year later in the Second Book of CPSPS, was fully intended to be a theory of cosmogonic emanation that would have complemented his system of the thirty-two *tattvas* (see Chapter Three). These *svarūpas* culminated in the seventh *svarūpa* of the “Visible Show,” his translation of Tam. *tōrram*, lit. “appearance,” which Sabhapati held to be the world perceptible to the senses.

While this seventh *svarūpa* is technically labeled *sūkṣmamayaśvāsasvarūpa*, or the “inherent nature of the breath that consists of the subtle,” it also was thought to encompass the material

⁷⁷⁴ CTCSPV, 26–27. Tam.: “ō! eṅkaḷaittaṭuttāṅṭu uyyumpaṭi carvarakaciyaṅkaḷaiyum upatēcakkiramamāy aṅukkirahikkuṅ carḷkurunātaṅē! ulakattiṅ aṅṅiyamataṭ tōḷarkaḷum ammatapāṣaiyaikkarkum intumatat tōḷarkaḷum — pirapaṅca tōrramum, atōrramum, tirusyamum, atirusyamum, sparicikkattakkatum, sparicikkattakātatum, aruvamum, uruvamumākiyatukaḷ paṅcapūtap pirapaṅca cutantaratilunṭāy, ciruṣṭi layakkiramamuṭaiyatenrum, atiṅ acaiviṅ vilakārattāl īsvaraṅ aṅṅmattuvaṅkaḷāy viḷaṅkalumaṅṅri vēraṅṅiyatāyumu atarkuk kāraṅamāyumu īsvarattuvam, aṅṅmattuvam, tattuvamutaliya tillaiyenrum eṅkaḷ puttiiyai mayakkukinraṅar. avaikaḷiṅ teḷivai yaṅukkirahittal vēṅṅumeṅa — o! eṅatu uttama tirimūrtti ciṣiyarkaḷē kēḷuṅkaḷ — pirapaṅcam ēḷuvakaittākum: mutalāvatu. — Infinite Spiritual Phenomena carvāṅucūta ēkacukānanta ṅāṅākāra cuttappirapaṅcam, itu Spirit or Space caittaṅṅiyamākum, itil utayam; (2-vatu) Spirit or Spiritual Phenomena carva antaryāmiva caṅkalpāṅanta kalākāra cuttēsvara pirapaṅcam, itu Presence and Atoms caṅṅitāṅamākum itil utayam; (3-vatu) Finite Spiritual Phenomena carvaviyāpti kalpitāṅanta piraṅavākāra cuttaccaktippirapaṅcam, itu Power cattiyākum, itil utayam; (4-vatu) Conscious Spiritual Phenomena carvacāḷṣi carvapōtāṅanta nātākāra aṅṅmappirapaṅcam, Essence cattākum, itil utayam; (5-vatu) Mental Spiritual Phenomena carvaviyāpaka carva aṅṅāṅa piraṅavākāramāyāmaya jīvappirapaṅcam, itu Force and Motion valivum, vicaiyumākum, itil utayam; (6-vatu) Sensual Spiritual Phenomena carvacūṅṅiya carva apimāṅa vāciyākāra cūṅcumappirapaṅcam itu Action and Creation acaivum ceykaiyumākum, itil utayam; (7-vatu) Elemental Physical Phenomena or Material {27} Phenomena carvatōrra carva ācāpācapanta tontakuṅakarma jeṅma tukka cuvāsākāra tōrra paṅcapūtappirapaṅcam, itu Visible Show tōrramākum, ākaiyāl Elemental Physical Phenomena paṅcapūtappirapaṅcamāṅatu ciruṣṭikiramattil ēḷāvātāyumu itaṅ kaṭitāmāyūṅ kāraṅamāyumuḷla āṅuvakai corūpavirtti ēkamaya atikārattāl unṭākkappattātāyumu avvirttiyil taṅatu urpattiyaiḷ koṅṭātāyumu viḷaṅkuvatu. inta ēḷāvatu rūpacorūpaṅ kāṅavum sparicikkak kūṅiyatuvumāṅatu anta āṅuvakai arūpacorūpaṅkaḷum arivukkāṅṅāṅaṅṅri maṅṅra puṅṅakāṅṅāl kāṅavum, kaiyāl sparicikkavūṅ kūṅātatu. itu Oxygen iyarkai yarūpapaṅcapūtappirapaṅcam, Nitrogen cērkkairūpa paṅcapūtappirapaṅcamēṅṅum iraṅṅtu vakaittām.

world as “permeating everywhere in the Universe and in the bodies of all the creations and which appeareth to be as Dhasa Indria Authmakum (*daśendriyātmaka*, “having the nature of the ten sense-capacities”) and Puncta Bhuthathmakum (*pañcabhūtātmaka*, “having the nature of the five elements”).⁷⁷⁵

Notably, however, Sabhapati ascribes “Presence and Atoms” not to this seventh *svarūpa* but to the second highest *svarūpa* (see Figure One), which indicates that atoms, though held by the Victorian physicists of his day to be physical and mechanistic, were interpreted by Sabhapati as being subtle or idealized particles that were beyond the materiality of the five material elements. This bears some resonance with the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theory that atoms are “eternal, ultimate, indivisible, and infinitesimal,” which may be the (unstated) philosophical ground for Sabhapati’s perspective.⁷⁷⁶ While Democritus had theorized the presence of atoms as early as the fifth-century BCE, the theory of their presence as usually understood today was formulated by John Dalton (1766–1844), who died less than fifty years before Sabhapati’s works were published and on a different continent entirely; Western theories on the “atom” were accordingly still on the cutting-edge of Indian thought, even in cities. Sabhapati’s idealized interpretation of the “atom” also accords with his cosmological placement of the *āṇavamala* or “filth of materiality” (Skt. *āṇava* < *aṇu*, a kind of “particle” also usually translated “atom” today). As we have seen (Chapter Three), Sabhapati attributed the three *malas*, including *āṇavamala*, to the seventh or *ājñācakra*, far above the *kuṇḍali* that represents the material elements—this representation is made clear in Sabhapati’s critique of Atheism. While Sabhapati does not elaborate on this distinction, this

⁷⁷⁵ CPSPS, Second Book, 216.

⁷⁷⁶ See Seal, *The Positive Sciences*, 99. For a broader survey of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school, see Amita Chatterjee, “Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy,” in *The Oxford Handbook of World Philosophy*, ed. William Edelglass and Jay L. Garfield (Online, 2011).

all provides evidence that he made a distinction between the “materiality” of an “atom” (*aṇu*) and the “materiality” of the physical elements, and that perhaps in his literature “materiality” is not even a good translation for *āṇava*, but rather something like “particularity,” as in coalescing into “particles.” In other words, the *aṇu* of the *āṇavamala*, like the “atom” of the Western philosophers presented here, was conceived to be a more spiritual substance apart from the five elements, perhaps on account of the fact that no one in medieval to early modern India (or Europe for that matter) could at that time have claimed to have physically seen or perceived one. As seen in the quote above, an element of “physical phenomena” was physical precisely because it could be perceived by the senses and that it possessed form (*rūpa*), while the higher “phenomena” or *svarūpas* were formless (*arūpa*). Since “atoms” in Sabhapati’s time were only just beginning to be perceived by physical instruments such as the microscope, a fact possibly unknown to Sabhapati, they could still be relegated to the position of a spiritualized and formless substance that they had had in earlier systems of Indian philosophy prior to their interaction with the physical elements.⁷⁷⁷

At the same time, Sabhapati’s explicit mention in English of oxygen and nitrogen in the quote above reflects the fact that earlier distinctions between “form” (*rūpa*) and “formless” (*arūpa*) as mapped onto the “physical” vs. “subtle” dichotomy were beginning to break down and be challenged by the discovery of substances that were not possible to see or feel, but which were beginning to be perceived by technological advancements in scientific instruments. Oxygen was independently discovered by both Joseph Priestly (1733–1804) and Carl Wilhelm Scheele (1742–1786) around 1774, and nitrogen was discovered by Daniel Rutherford (1749–1819) two years earlier in 1772, so the presence of these chemical

⁷⁷⁷ Seal, *The Positive Sciences*, 98–103, 117–21.

elements had already been pervading the discourse on “air” for about a hundred years prior to Sabhapati’s literature. Indeed, Sabhapati wasn’t the first author on yoga to engage the findings of chemistry in his writings, as the compound carbon dioxide (CO₂) also figured into the discourse of the Bengali physicist N.C. or Nobin Chander Paul (Nabīn Candra Pāl), who had written about it in the context of *prāṇāyāma* three decades earlier.⁷⁷⁸ However, Sabhapati may have been the first yogi to include consideration of these elements in a practical work, and this was almost certainly their first mention in an Indic vernacular work on yoga. The context of the quote indicates that he felt compelled to address such exceptional cases; oxygen and nitrogen were formless (*arūpa*) but still had to be classified as physical phenomena since they did not evidently possess any spiritual qualities. It appears that “air” was somewhat of a special case even in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika discourse, which is likely salient to Sabhapati’s perspective on oxygen; while atoms could not exist in an “uncombined state in creation,” the structure of air was nevertheless believed to be “monatomic in structure, *i.e.* to consist of masses of atoms in a loose uncombined state.” In other words, air—and in this context also oxygen and nitrogen—has qualities that connect the physical combinations of elements to the formless atoms beyond what Sabhapati called the “visible show” (Tam. *tōrram*). Air’s intermediary quality makes this point relevant to his broader discourses on yoga and use of the compound *prāṇākāśa* to denote a kind of “ether of the vital-breath” that courses through the yogi’s body (see Chapter Four).

⁷⁷⁸ N.C. Paul, *A Treatise on the Yoga Philosophy* (Benares: E.J. Lazarus and Co., 1882). First published 1851. See also treatment of N.C. Paul in Magdalena Kraler, “The Prāṇāyāma Grid – Defining the Place of Yogic Breath Cultivation within Discourses of Modern Yoga,” *Journal of Yoga Studies*, Forthcoming.

“Phenomena” (CTCSPV)	“Other Religion” (CTCSPV)	Translation in Tamil	Associated <i>svārūpa</i> (CPSPS, Second Book)
Infinite Spiritual Phenomena	Spirit or Space	<i>caitaṇṇiyam</i>	<i>brahmamayajñānasvarūpa</i>
Spirit or Spiritual Phenomena	Presence and Atoms	<i>caṇṇitāṇam</i>	<i>īśvaramayakalāsvarūpa</i>
Finite Spiritual Phenomena	Power	<i>catti</i>	<i>śaktimayapraṇavasvarūpa</i>
Conscious Spiritual Phenomena	Essence	<i>cattu</i>	<i>ātmamayānādasvarūpa</i>
Mental Spiritual Phenomena	Force and Motion	<i>vali and vicai</i>	<i>māyāmayaprāṇasvarūpa</i>
Sensual Spiritual Phenomena	Action and Creation	<i>acai and ceykai</i>	<i>jīvamayaavācīsvārūpa</i>
Elemental Physical Phenomena or Material Phenomena	Visible Show (including Oxygen and Nitrogen)	<i>tōṛram</i>	<i>sūksmamayaśvāsasvarūpa</i>

Figure One. The “Phenomena” compared with the principles from the “Other Religion” (by which Sabhapati means materialistic philosophy as expressed in English), as well as equivalents in Tamil and their associated *svārūpa* suitable for meditative cultivation (*bhāvanā*).

There are two main points to consider here. First, while Sabhapati’s emanationist framework has little to do with “science” as viewed by scientists either now or even in his time, he was one of the first yogis—if not the first—to even gesture in his own literature toward integrating the Victorian materialism he was confronted with and subordinating it to his own system. The integration of “science” into discourses on yoga would later become the norm with Swami Vivekananda, Swami Kuvalyananda, and many others, although some authors such as N.C. Paul (mentioned above) had already expressed an independent interest in analyzing yoga through a scientific frame.⁷⁷⁹ Second, Sabhapati’s engagement also reveals that there was not yet wide agreement in India on what the word “science” really meant, anyway, and that scientific ideas could be classed as a religious philosophy or opinion (Tam. *matam*) as in the quote above. Indeed, the textual vehicle for the sciences in premodern India, which were mostly categorized under various *śāstras* or *śrutis*, are sometimes synonymous in

⁷⁷⁹ Alter, *Yoga in Modern India*; see also Kraler, “Tracing Vivekananda’s Prāṇa and Ākāśa.”

Sabhapati's literature with science itself; "Science" or "Science and Philosophy" are translations of *śāstra* (Mpv1. *sāstiram*), and "science" is also used to translate the first *śruti* (Mpv1. *sruti*) that Sabhapati was said to have published in Tamil.⁷⁸⁰

Additionally, strategies of subordination and of supersession are a staple feature of many South Asian cosmological systems (including, perhaps most notably, the way Śaiva cosmologers subordinated Sāṃkhya itself), and this shows that similar strategies were initially salient to a Tamil Śaiva encounter with Victorian physical science. I would posit that the benefit to more deeply analyzing Sabhapati's integration of these terms into his Tamil system, which were printed in English, is not only the excavation of a kind of obscure colonial-era philosophical syncretism at work. Instead, the integration of these terms also furthers our ability to interpret what precisely was meant by Sabhapati's sometimes difficult Tamil and Sanskrit complex concepts that were in wider circulation during his lifetime. The history of Western philosophical and scientific concepts (e.g. "atoms" and "oxygen" as expressed in English) has been treated much more comprehensively in scholarship than these Sanskrit and Tamil cosmological concepts to date. As a result, Sabhapati's allowance for these subordinate analogies allow his more difficult Tamil and Sanskrit terms to be mapped onto terms with more stable meanings, such as "oxygen," which has a much more limited connotative value than, say, *vāyu* or *prāṇa*. While these terms are not directly comparable or possible to equate, the general use of analogies accordingly helps clarify his own theoretical rationales (whether logical or not) for Śivarājyoga and its emanationist cosmology as it was expressed in local, vernacular languages such as Tamil, Hindustani, and Bengali.

⁷⁸⁰ CPSPS, First Book, 4; 30.

2. Sabhapati Swami and the Pure Æthers

The remarks on cosmological levels above could naturally lead one to further question the nature of the higher six phenomena that Sabhapati postulates, and more specifically the theoretical substance (if any) that informed his belief in them. As noted in Chapter Four, Sabhapati often invoked the quintessential element *ākāśa* “space,” “sky,” “spirit,” which he himself (and possibly inspired by his editor Shrish Chandra Basu) often translated into English as “æther” or “ether.” This is the most obvious substance that informs his theory of levels of reality beyond the “Visible Show” (Tam. *tōṛram*), while at the same time his idea of *ākāśa* is multilayered and warrants further analysis. In this section I shall first note the possible logic for his translation and then distinguish between at least three different kinds of *ākāśa* in Sabhapati’s literature, the analysis of which will show that two of these kinds are genealogically distinct from the deprecated scientific theory of “ether.”

Several scholars have noted that Theosophical authors and Swami Vivekananda would draw connections at the end of the nineteenth century between the idea of *ākāśa* and the now-deprecated luminiferous “ether” of Western scientists.⁷⁸¹ However, as noted throughout this dissertation, Vivekananda’s most famous works were first published over fifteen years after Sabhapati’s lectures, and Sabhapati’s own links with Theosophy were historical but tenuous at best since he himself never joined, and was initially rejected at least partially on account of an unrealistic vision (see Chapter One). An influence cannot be entirely ruled out as there is evidence for earlier engagement with *ākāśa* as ether in Theosophical literature, however, and the most obvious connection is Sabhapati’s editor

⁷⁸¹ David Gordon White, *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography*, Lives of Great Religious Books (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 129–30; Anna Pokazanyeva, “Mind within Matter: Science, the Occult, and the (Meta)Physics of Ether and Akasha,” *Zygon: Journal of Religion & Science* 51, no. 2 (June 2016): 318–346; Kraler, “Tracing Vivekananda’s Prāṇa and Ākāśa.”

Shrish Chandra Basu. At the same time, Shrish Chandra did not join the Theosophical Society until a year after meeting Sabhapati and publishing the first edition of his lectures. However, even in Theosophical contexts not all yogis or pandits agreed on the nature of this substance. For example, Sabhapati's contemporary Rama Prasad Kashyap (Rāma Prasāda Kaśyapa), an Indian Theosophist who was president of a Theosophical branch in Meerut, explicitly and strongly differentiated the “ether” (*ākāśa*) of Indian metaphysics and the “ether” of the Western scientists as early as 1890. He wrote, speaking of the *mahābhūta* or great element of *ākāśa*:

The word *ākāśa* is generally translated into English by the word ether. Unfortunately, however, to modern English Science sound is not known to be the distinguishing quality of ether. Some few might also have the idea that the modern medium of light is the same as *ākāśa*. This, I believe, is a mistake. The luminiferous ether is the subtle *taijas tattva* [*taijas tattva*, “the principle of fire,” related to the sense-capacity of sight], and not the *ākāśa*. All the five subtle *tatwas* might no doubt be called ethers, but to use it for the word *ākāśa*, without any distinguishing epithet, is misleading. We might call *ākāśa* the sonoriferous ether, the *vayu* the tangiferous ether, *apas* the gustiferous ether, and *prithivi* the odoriferous ether. . . . The luminiferous ether is supposed by Modern Science to be Matter in a most refined state. It is the vibrations of this element that are said to constitute light.⁷⁸²

Rama Prasad curiously does not reject the Western idea of ether as a salient idea, but only notes that *ākāśa* is specific to “sound” in Indian metaphysics whereas the Western theory of

⁷⁸² Rāma Prasād, *The Science of Breath and the Philosophy of the Tatwas: Nature's Finer Forces*, (London, Calcutta, and New York: The Theosophical Publishing Society, 1890), 1–2.

ether is dependent on light, a quality of sight.⁷⁸³ As a result, he argued that to use the idea “without any distinguishing epithet” is misleading.

Sabhapati’s literature, however, appears to be somewhat removed from these discourses since he also had a distinct view of *ākāśa* that did not neatly map onto the ether of the Western scientists at the time, nor in his writings did he attempt to draw such a correlation. Even Sabhapati’s brief treatment of Western cosmology in CTCSPV (see previous sub-section) makes no mention of such a connection. He did posit “ether” as a translation for *ākāśa* in VRY, but then again Shrish Chandra Basu also quoted Socrates, Plato, Plotinus, and Proclus in an appended section of Sabhapati’s work in the second edition onward,⁷⁸⁴ and ostensibly was also familiar with Aristotle from his education in Lahore. As a result, there is no reason to believe that Sabhapati’s translation of “ether” could not also have derived from the works of Greek philosophers whom Shrish Chandra knew of in translation, philosophers who also posited “æther” (Greek *aithēr*) as a quintessential element. At the very least the classical idea of the element “æther” should also be considered as part of Sabhapati’s or Shrish Chandra’s logic of translating *ākāśa* as ether or æther, with the modern scientific discourses also lurking in the background and likely providing additional encouragement for Sabhapati and Shrish Chandra to do so.

Regardless of whether “ether” as a translation was inspired by the science of the times, Greek philosophical literature in translation, or a combination of both, however, Sabhapati’s use of *ākāśa* contains its own logic that warrants analysis on its own terms. Sabhapati’s earliest lectures in 1880 mention “ether” five times and “æther” nine times, always in the explicit context of a translation of the term “akas” and plural “akashes” (i.e.

⁷⁸³ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁴ VRY2, 77–78.

ākāśa), and this would become a standard translation in all his subsequent reprints and editions of his literature in English. Despite a one-to-one translation of “æther” or “ether” for *ākāśa*, it is critical to keep in mind that not all Sabhapati’s contextual usages of *ākāśa* imply the same meanings. In his earliest lectures, for example, at least three different contextual meanings of *ākāśa* can be distinguished:

1. The physical or gross element (*bhūta*) of *ākāśa* as operative in the physical body (*sthūlaśarīra*); this is ultimately linked to the idea of the element *ākāśa* in Sāṃkhya cosmology as mediated by Tamil Śaivism, and which gives “care and arrogiam [*arogyā*, immunity from disease] to the body.”⁷⁸⁵
2. The subtle element (*tanmātra*) of *ākāśa*, related to the sense-capacity of sound and the subtle body (*sūkṣmaśarīra*), also linked to Sāṃkhya cosmology as mediated by Tamil Śaivism.⁷⁸⁶
3. A spiritual principle called “pure æther” (*śuddhākāśa*) that courses in the subtle channels of the body of causation (*kāraṇaśarīra*), which he variously refers to alone and in compound as *prāṇākāśa* (lit. “æther of the vital-breath”), *ātmaprāṇākāśa* (lit. “æther of the self’s vital-breath”), *jīvātmaprāṇākāśa* (lit. “æther of the individual self’s vital-breath”), *jñānākāśa* (“æther as gnosis”), or simply *jñāna* (“gnosis”).⁷⁸⁷

These distinctions are based on Sabhapati’s own delineation in some of his works of a threefold hierarchy of *ākāśas* that range from the most physical to the most subtle, and by

⁷⁸⁵ VRY, 17–18.

⁷⁸⁶ VRY, 15. The term *ākāśa* is there not mentioned but rather the “sense of hearing or *Shabda Indriyam* [*śabdendriya*],” which we know is linked to *ākāśa* in classical Sāṃkhya, see Gerald James Larson, *Classical Sāṃkhya: An Interpretation of Its History and Meaning* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979).

⁷⁸⁷ VRY, 10.

extension from the most impure to the purest. For example, in VRY these three different *ākāśas* are outlined as follows, this time from purest to most impure:

mahakash [*mahākāśa*] of karana sareer [*kāraṇaśarīra*] (the essential, spiritual faculties); ghatacash [*ghaṭākāśa*] of sukshma sareer [*sūkṣmaśarīra*] or (the subtle mental faculties); and mathakasha [*maṭhākāśa*] of sthoolasareer [*sthūlaśarīra*] (or gross material corporeal faculties).⁷⁸⁸

As is evident above, the first and purest *ākāśa* is the *mahākāśa* of *kāraṇaśarīra*, or “the great æther of the body of causation.” The term *mahākāśa* appears in the Gauḍapāda’s *kārikā* or “concise statement” on the *Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣat* and its commentary attributed to Śaṅkara (III. 3–5), where it refers to the *ākāśa* that exists outside the “pot” (Skt. *ghaṭa*) of the human body.⁷⁸⁹ Sabhapati’s classification attributes this *ākāśa* to the *kāraṇaśarīra*, which in Vedānta was viewed as an “embryo or source” of the body that exists with Brahman.⁷⁹⁰ The second and third editions of VRY also include the following passage alluding to this notion of the body as a “pot” as derived from an excerpted translation of the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*: “As the *akas* (ether) is outside and inside of every object, similarly this self-existing, all-witnessing spirit dwells inside and outside of all.”⁷⁹¹ This inclusion of portions of the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, however, was undoubtedly added later by Shrish Chandra Basu and

⁷⁸⁸ VRY, 41.

⁷⁸⁹ See Swāmi Nikhilānanda, trans., *The Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad with Gauḍapāda’s Kārikā and Śaṅkara’s Commentary* (Mysore: Sri Ramakrishna Ashrama, 1949), 149–52

⁷⁹⁰ M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1899), s.v. “*kāraṇaśarīra*.”

⁷⁹¹ VRY2, 75. Shrish Chandra Basu nowhere states the authorship of the section where this verse is found, entitled “Search after Knowledge of Spirit,” which would lead one to think it was composed by Sabhapati Swami and translated later by Shrish Chandra for this edition. The section is, however, not composed by Sabhapati Swami but is a direct translation from the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, chapter 14, comprising verses 107 to 140 in the ubiquitous translation by Arthur Avalon (the collaboration between John Woodroffe and other Indian scholars). See Chapter Two for the place of this section in the textual corpus of VRY.

could be seen as tangential or ancillary to the main uses above in Sabhapati's work, so will not be further considered here.

The second kind of *ākāśa* mentioned is the *ghāṭākāśa* of the *sūkṣmaśarīra*, or “the potted-æther of the subtle body.” In the commentary to the *Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣat* mentioned above this refers to the æther in the pot (Skt. *ghaṭākāśa*) of the human body; when the body is destroyed, it merges with the “great æther” (*mahākāśa*) outside. Sabhapati uses *sūkṣmaśarīra* synonymously with *liṅgaśarīra* (see the caption to Sabhapati's main diagram in bry), the “mark(ed) body” that transmigrates upon the physical body's death, and which Sabhapati also says can be cultivated prior to death through the practice of Śivarājyoga (see Chapters Three and Four). For Sabhapati this *ākāśa* would refer to the so-called *sūkṣmabhūtas*, or “classes of subtle matter,” that are related to the sense-capacities as *tanmatras*.⁷⁹²

The third kind of *ākāśa*, the *maṭhākāśa* of *sthūlaśarīra* or “the domiciled (or hut-like home-like) æther of the material body.”⁷⁹³ References to this *ākāśa* in these terms are not as common as the above two, although it makes sense following the analogy of the pot (*ghaṭa*). While there can be an *ākāśa* both inside and outside the pot, the pot nevertheless must be made out of something or located physically within some sort of domestic sphere. For Sabhapati this *ākāśa* refers to its role in the combinations of the gross elements (*mahābhūtas*), in which it manifests sound.⁷⁹⁴

While the meanings of Sabhapati's *sthūla* and *sūkṣma* attributions of *ākāśa* are well-documented both in scholarship on Sāṃkhya and Vedānta, in Sabhapati's case the nature of

⁷⁹² Seal, *The Positive Sciences*, 86.

⁷⁹³ See James Thomas Molesworth, *A Dictionary, Marathi and English*, Second Edition (Bombay: Bombay Education Society's Press, 1857), s.v. *mahākāśa*.

⁷⁹⁴ Seal, *The Positive Sciences*, 87.

the third or “pure *ākāśa*” is also salient to the “hydraulics” of Haṭhayoga and *prāṇa*, not as a physical air but as a spiritual principle (*prāṇākāśa*). This principle courses both inside and outside the body in a non-physical, subtle form, somewhat akin to the *bindu* of the Tantric Buddhists (see Chapter Four).⁷⁹⁵ These “pure æthers” preside over six subtle “streams” (Tam. *vāci*, synonymous with *nāḍī*), which preside over “three different functions of our body, spirit, and mind” and the “three qualities” (*sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*):

The Shuddha Akases [*śuddhākāśa*] running through the three divisions of the Sukhmana [*sukhmanā*], preside over three different functions of our body, spirit, and mind. The first presides over our sensations and has the name of *Adhomukh Idakala Vasi Kamyamala antarmukh mano Dhrishti*;⁷⁹⁶ the third presides over five elements of nature and receives the name of *Adomukh Pingla Vasi Anavamal antarmukh buddhi Dhrishti*;⁷⁹⁷ the second presides over notions and is called the *Adhomukh Sukhmana Vasi Maya mal anter mukh chitta dhrishti*.⁷⁹⁸ . . . (a.) The fourth presides over *intellects* and is called *Urdhmukh Rechak Chandrakala Vasi Antermukh tamoguna dhrishti*;⁷⁹⁹ (b.) the fifth presides over *consciousness* and is called *Urdh mukh*

⁷⁹⁵ For the “hydraulics” of Haṭhayoga in the context of Indian alchemy, see White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). See also James Mallinson and Mark Singleton, eds., *Roots of Yoga* (London: Penguin Books, 2017).

⁷⁹⁶ Skt. *adhomukheḍākalāvāṃśikāmyamalāntarmukhamanodṛṣṭi*, lit. “the downward vital channel of the fragmented power of Idā, the impurity of desire (*kāmyamala*), which is the mental sight that sees within itself.” These references to the functions of the subtle body can be translated and interpreted in multiple ways. Sabhapati is attributing the three principle channels of the subtle body to the three “impurities” or “filths” (Skt. *mala*) of Śaiva Siddhānta and to the “mind” (Skt. *manas*), the “intellect” (*buddhi*), and “thought” (*citta*), here idiosyncratically glossed as mind, body, and spirit.

⁷⁹⁷ Skt. *adhomukhapiṅgalavāṃśyāṇavamalāntarmukhabuddhidṛṣṭi*, lit. “the downward-facing vital channel of Piṅgalā, the filth of material particles (*āṇavamala*), which is the sight of the intellect that absorbs in itself.”

⁷⁹⁸ Skt. *adhomukhapiṅgalavāṃśyāṇavamalāntarmukhabuddhidṛṣṭi*, lit. “the downward vital channel of Suṣumnā, the impurity of desire (*kāmyamala*), which is the sight of thought that becomes within itself.”

⁷⁹⁹ Skt. *ūrdhvamukharecakacandrakalāvāṃśiantarmukhatamogunadṛṣṭi*, lit. “the upward-facing vital channel of the fragmented power of Idā in inhalation, which is the vision within of the quality (*guna*) of darkness (*tamas*).”

*Kumbhak agni kala vasi antermukh Satwa guna dhrishti,*⁸⁰⁰ the sixth is termed *Urdh mukh Purak Surya, Kala vasi antar mukh Raja guna Dhrishti*⁸⁰¹ and presides over ideas. Therefore my *Shuddha Akash Sarup* [*śuddhākāśasvarūpa*] descends and ascends in two forms. First the direct downward *Triune Divine Presence* of always acting, as creating, preserving, and destroying, i.e., *Adhomukh trijiva Tri pranatmak Vritti akash of Shrishti, Shthiti and Sanghar.*⁸⁰² The second *Direct Triune Divine Presence* of always non-acting as blessing, embracing, and becoming or *Urdh mukh Trijiva Tripranatmaklaya akash of Trorpan, Anugrahum yaikyam.*⁸⁰³

The principal distinction to be made is that the physical element (*mahābhūta*) *ākāśa* is not conceived as a spiritual or subtle substance, while both *ākāśa* as the “subtle element” (*tanmātra*) and the “pure æthers” (*śuddhākāśas*), consolidated as an “inherent nature of pure æther” (*śuddhākāśasvarūpa*) in the quote above, are undoubtedly subtle and beyond as causative (i.e., linked to *kāraṇaśarīra*). However, I have already demonstrated in my analysis of Sabhapati’s cosmology (see Chapter Three) that the subtle element (*tanmātra*) and physical element (*bhūta*) of *ākāśa* are limited to the lower eleventh and twelfth *cakras*, respectively, and there is no indication of them circulating around the body as the pure *ākāśas* do, as evident in the quote above. I would argue that this distinction is likely behind

⁸⁰⁰ Skt. *ūrdhvamukhakumbhakāgnikalāvāṃśyantarmukhasattvagūṇadr̥ṣṭi*, lit. “the upward vital channel of the fragmented power of fire in breath-retention, which is the vision within of the quality (*guṇa*) of goodness (*sattva*).”

⁸⁰¹ Skt. *ūrdhvamukhapūrakasūryakalāvāṃśyantarmukharajogūṇadr̥ṣṭi*, lit. “the upward vital channel of the fragmented power of the sun in exhalation, which is the vision within of the quality (*guṇa*) of activity (*rajas*).”

⁸⁰² Skt. *adhomukhatrijivatriprāṇātmakavyddhyākāśa* of *sṛṣṭisthitisamhāra*, lit. “the downward expanding æther, which is the three spirits of the vital-air of the three individual spirits, of creation, maintenance and destruction.”

⁸⁰³ Skt. *ūrdhvamukhatrijivatriprāṇātmakalayākāśa* of *tirobhāvānugrahaikya*, lit. “the upward dissolving æther, which is the three spirits of the vital-air of the three individual spirits, of concealment, bestowing favor, and unity.”

Sabhapati’s use of the clarifying adjective *śuddha*, “pure” for his third kind of *ākāśa*, which logically implies there must also be impure æthers (*aśuddhākāśas*).⁸⁰⁴

Sabhapati’s third use of *ākāśa* probably derived from an as-yet-unknown source on Tantric metaphysics or was his own innovation based on a combination of sources, both oral and textual. As pointed out in Chapter Four, in contrast to some other Tantric systems, for Sabhapati—as well as for some medieval Buddhists—it is not *kuṇḍalinī* that rises as the *cakras* are cancelled; his use of the word *kuṇḍali* “ring” only refers to the *mūlādhāra cakra* or associated bodily organs, which is where Sabhapati locates the physical elements or faculties (including “gross” or physical æther or *ākāśa*).⁸⁰⁵ Instead, what rises is this *jñānākāśa*, *ātmapraṇākāśa*, or simply *jñāna*—a kind of “gnostic æther” or “vital æther” that is linked to the breath but converted into something more subtle on account of the breath’s entrance into the *nāḍīs* or subtle channels. Sabhapati does refer in CPSPS to the flow of *ākāśa* as rising like a “serpent” in such a way as to make his conception consistent with the idea of *kuṇḍalinī* conceived more generally, but the distinction is nevertheless striking when compared to the general conception of *kuṇḍalinī* itself rising, not as any kind of “pure æther” or *śuddhākāśa*.⁸⁰⁶ In any event, Sabhapati’s descriptions of *śuddhākāśa* take the definition of “ether” or “æther” far outside of any comparable theories circulating in Western science during that time, and also are to be contrasted with the treatment of it by Swami Vivekananda

⁸⁰⁴ This bears some relevance to the way in which the pure and impure worlds were separated in Śaiva Saiddhāntika discourses by five or six *kañcukas* or “sheaths”; see Chapter Three and David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body*, 214; Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson, eds., “How the Tattvas of Tantric Śaivism Came to Be 36: The Evidence of the Nīsvāsatattvasaṃhitā,” in *Tantric Studies: Fruits of a Franco-German Collaboration on Early Tantra*, Collection Indologie 131 (Pondicherry, India: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 2016).

⁸⁰⁵ See David Gordon White, *Kiss of the Yoginī: “Tantric Sex” in Its South Asian Contexts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 230–33.

⁸⁰⁶ For an interpretation and comparison of Sabhapati’s teachings on *kuṇḍalinī* with those of the Arthur Avalon collaboration, see Arjan Dass Malik, *Kundalini and Meditation* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2002).

and the Theosophical Society (although inspiration the other way around, i.e., of Sabhapati's literature on Vivekananda, Henry Olcott, and H.P. Blavatsky, cannot be entirely ruled out).

3. Ambikacharan and the Naturalistic Cosmology of Yoga

As noted in the previous section, Sabhapati's limited engagement with Western viewpoints was first published in 1889 (CTCSPV), with a few minor references in 1884 and to greater extent 1890 (CPSPS, First and Second Book). There was no substantial engagement with science or Western viewpoints in his first lectures, published in 1880 (VRY), although he does translation *ākāśa* as "ether" or "æther" and there was some limited comparative philosophical engagement with Vedānta in an appended section to the second and third editions of VRY, published in 1883 (VRY2), likely authored or at least heavily edited by Shrish Chandra Basu; this, however, does not extend in any significant way to science. The lack of engagement with Western science in VRY and its subsequent reprints created a vacuum that must have inspired Ambikacharan Bandopadhyay, the translator of BRY (1885, sponsored by Shrish Chandra Basu himself), to write a Bengali prologue (Bng. *abatarāṅikā*) in which he strikes a discursive balance between what he called the "modern Western theoretical pandits" (Bng. *ādhunīk pāścātya tattvabīśārad paṇḍitgaṇ*) on the one hand, and on the other hand the "noble rishis" (Bng. *aryaṣiṅgaṇ*), synonymous with yogis and knowers of the principles (*tattvajñānins*), who had discovered the experiential secrets of what the Western pandits only had intellectual knowledge of.⁸⁰⁷

⁸⁰⁷ For the discourse around the term "noble" in the Arya Samāj see Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). It was a term also salient to Shrish Chandra Basu's writings for the *Arya* journal published in Lahore, which may have been where Ambikacharan encountered it.

Ambikacharan’s prologue to BRY opens by comparing fluctuations in religious duty (*dharma*) among human societies to waves of water, noting that the profound teachings on the *brahmajñāna* of Rājayoga have sunk to the bottom in these waves just as something physically heavy would sink to the bottom while something light could float and survive. Notably, he recognizes that no book of its kind has circulated in vernacular languages to date and that studying it will “allow one to practice and understand what yoga is even without the instruction of a guru.”⁸⁰⁸ He also anticipates a skeptical response on the part of his educated Bengali audience, noting that Rājayoga has been clearly expressed in the book but that “many doubts may arise for communities of readers (*pāṭhak maṇḍalī*) on this topic of the highest religion of humanity.”⁸⁰⁹ He then goes on to analyze the etymology of *dharma* and explain the motivation of the noble rishis in cultivating the arts and prescribing methods of yoga for humanity.

Ambikacharan next describes four kinds of yoga in succession: 1) the “yoga of gnosis” (*jñānyog*, < Skt. *jñānyoga*), 2) the “yoga of meditation” (*dhyānyog*, < Skt. *dhyānyoga*), 3) the “yoga of devotion” (*bhaktiyog*, < Skt. *bhaktiyoga*), and 4) the “yoga of action” (*karmayog*, < Skt. *karmayoga*). While each has its own specific quality, Ambikacharan’s entire prologue is really predicated on information that he supplies first in the section on *jñānyog* and continues to develop throughout his exposition. These four yogas are comparable to Swami Vivekananda’s well-known tetrad of *jñānyoga*, *karmayoga*, *bhaktiyoga*, and *rājayoga* that he would formulate a decade later, although notably Vivekananda would employ *rājayoga* while Ambikacharan used *dhyānyog*. De Michelis in

⁸⁰⁸ BRY, 2. Bng.: “*ihā pāṭh karile gurupadeś byatirekeo yog ye ki tāhā bujhite o karite para yay.*”

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid. Bng.: “*kintu ihāi ye mānaber uccatam dharmme, tadviśaye pāṭhak maṇḍalīr madhye aneker-i saṁśay janmite pāre.*”

her survey argues that Vivekananda derived his system, which she points out later became a “core teaching of Modern Yoga,” from Keshubchandra Sen’s fourfold classification of devotees: the “Yogi” (*yogī*) the “Bhakta” (*bhakta*) the “Jnani” (*jñānī*) and the “Sebak” (*sebak*, < Skt. *sevaka*).⁸¹⁰ While this influence is certainly likely, it still does not account for Vivekananda’s adoption of *rājayoga* in place of simply *yoga* (or *dhyānayoga* for that matter, which as *dhyānyog* had more salience in Bengali vernacular milieus); the former may have been adopted from either Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi translation of the *Aparokṣānubhūti* (see Chapter Four) or inspired from Ambikacharan’s own use of Rajayoga in BRY.⁸¹¹ Further evidence that Vivekananda engaged Ambikacharan’s translation is offered by the fact that he had stayed at Sabhapati’s editor Shrish Chandra Basu’s house prior to his American lecture tour,⁸¹² and, given his interest in Rājayoga and work in Kolkata, Shrish Chandra or one of his Bengali followers would almost certainly have made him aware of this translation.⁸¹³ As we shall see below, Ambikacharan’s prologue also brings Patañjali’s emphasis on yoga as the stilling of the turnings of the mind to the forefront, whereas Patañjali is virtually absent from Sabhapati’s early lectures, which could also be yet another thread that points to

⁸¹⁰ Elizabeth De Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga: Patañjali and Western Esotericism*, Reprint (London: Continuum, 2008), 87. I am grateful to Magdalena Kraler for pointing this claim out to me.

⁸¹¹ The compound *dhyānyog* in Bengali is diffused in folk songs, such as in a song attributed to Lālan Fakir (although it may not be authentic) *tumi eso he prabhu nirañjan* “Come thou, oh Stainless Lord.” The second *antarā* of this song is *dhyānyoge tomāke dekhī / tumi sakhā āmi sakhī / mama hṛdaye o mandire thāki / dāo oi arūp darśan* “I see you in the yoga of meditation / you are the male and I the female companion / I remain here in my heart and the temple / Grant me the formless vision.” The compound *rājayoga*, however, is much more rarely used in vernacular sources (if present at all).

⁸¹² Phanindranath Bose, *Life of Sris Chandra Basu* (Calcutta: R. Chatterjee, 1932), 134.

⁸¹³ We know that Swami Vivekananda privately circulated Shrish Chandra Basu’s translation of the *Śivasamhitā* (his earlier, unexpurgated translation) to advanced disciples, so was familiar with his work in general; see Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Heaven’s Bride: The Unprintable Life of Ida C. Craddock, American Mystic, Scholar, Sexologist, Martyr, and Madwoman* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 126–27. I am grateful to Karl Baier for sharing this source with me.

Vivekananda's willingness to treat Rājayoga largely as a Pātañjalan mental science of stilling the mind.⁸¹⁴

In any event, Ambikacharan in his treatment of *jñānyog* draws a contrast between the outer world or the universe (*bāhya-jagat bā birāt-deha*) and the inner world or the human body (*antarjagat bā mānab-deha*). It is here that he then outlines a cosmological theory that he will later compare with the Western pandits, and one worth quoting in full for the sake of clarity on his position when engaging his later integration of their theories:

It is acknowledged by all that all of creation exists by means of substance (*drabya*, < Skt. *dravya*), qualities (*guṇ*, < Skt. *guṇa*), and actions (*kriyā*), and the yogis who are the knowers of the principles have these kinds of teachings. Among them the principle of substance is permanent, that is, that substance is present when non-existence is absent. Qualities stay absorbed in substance, and only when they come to be expressed does the power of action (*kriyā-śakti*) arise within them. Substance is singular, beyond the intelligence, situated indivisibly amid a continuous interval. The three kinds of qualities are *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. Power (*śakti*) moves by means of them. There are two kinds of power: “activity” (*prabṛtti*, < Skt. *pravṛtti*) and “cessation” (*nibṛtti*, < Skt. *nivṛtti*). If, by the influence of the powers of the qualities, the flowing of the momentum of activity starts, these two types of the power of action (*kriyāśakti*) emerge. The powers of the qualities (*guṇ-śakti*), becoming constantly possessed of being while in the nature of substance and while being driven by means of internal qualities, have developed, thanks to these two powers of action, into many different shapes with the aim of accomplishing different powers. Creation,

⁸¹⁴ De Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga*; Jason Birch, “Rājayoga: The Reincarnations of the King of All Yogas,” *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 17, no. 3 (2013): 399–442.

maintenance, and change in this whole universe, consists of gross, subtle, and eternal shapes by means of all these powers. All actions are also performed. Atoms (*paramāṇu*), being ejected under the influence of a power's momentum, are all brought together on one side by the concealing power (*ābaraṇ śakti*, < Skt. *āvaraṇaśakti*), and then assume a form or shape. Atoms on the other side, after they all are separated by the power of casting forth (*bikṣepa śakti*, < Skt. *vikṣepaśakti*), develop into a multitude of forms. These [atoms], becoming newly united yet again, acquire their manifestation in the shape of other substances (*padārtha*). That which we call “things” or “categories” in this universe, therefore, are only the fabricated shapes (*racita ākār*) of qualities (*guṇ*) and powers (*śakti*). The substance, however, which becomes constrained under the influence of the powers of the qualities of these forms, becomes manifest in the transformation of forms, and we are not able to understand anything about what this inherent nature (*svarūp*, < Skt. *svarūpa*) of substance is. The actual nature of this substance has become completely covered due the influence of these powers of the qualities, and we only have the perception of its degenerated nature.⁸¹⁵

⁸¹⁵ BRY, 6. Bng. “*drabya guṇ o kriyā dvārāi ye samuday sṛṣṭi ihā sakalei svīkār karen, ebaṃ tattvajñānī yogidigero eirūp upadeś. ihādiger madhye drabyatattva nitya, arthāt yāhār kakhan abhāb hay nā tāhāi drabya. guṇ sei drabye līn haiyā thāke, yakhan tāhā haite prakāś pāy, takhan-i tāhāte kriyā-śaktir ābirbhāb hay. drabya ekmātra, buddhir atīta, ananta abakāś-madhye aparicchinna bhābe abasthita. guṇ tin prakār satva rajaḥ ebaṃ tamaḥ. ihādiger dvārā śakti cālita hay. śaktir dui prakār gati — prabhṛtti o nibṛtti. guṇ-śaktir prabhābe prabhṛtti beg prabhāhita haite ārambha haile, ābaraṇ bikṣep ei dui prakār kriyāśakti samudbhūta hay. guṇ-śakti, drabyer nitya sattāy sattabatī haiyā ebaṃ abhyantarik guṇer dvārā cālita haiyā ei dui kriyā-śakti sahakāre bhinna bhinna kriyā sampādanārthe bahubidh ākāre pariṇata haiyāche. sei sakal śaktir dvārā sthūl sūkṣma ananta ākār biśiṣṭa ei biśva saṃsāre sṛjan poṣaṇ paribarttan. prabhṛti sakal kriyā sampādita haiteche. śaktir beg-prabhābe niḥṣṛta paramāṇu sakal ekdike ābaraṇ śaktir dvārā saṃśliṣṭa haiyā rūp bā ākār dhāraṇ kariteche. apar dike bikṣep śaktir prabhābe paramāṇu sakal biśiṣṭa haiyā rūpāntare pariṇata haiteche. tāhārā punarbbār nūtan bhābe saṃśliṣṭa haiyā anya padārther ākāre prakāś pāiteche. sutarām ei brahmāṇḍa madhye āmrā yāhā kichu padārtha baliyā dekhitechi tāhā kebal guṇ o śaktir racita ākār mātra. kintu eirūp guṇ-śaktir prabhābe ye drabya niyat-i rūp haite rūpāntare pratibhāt haiteche, sei drabyer svarūp ki tāhā āmrā kichu bujhite pāri nā. guṇ-śaktir prabhābe drabyer prakṛta bhāb samācchādita rahiyāche, tāhār bikṛta bhābei kebal āmādiger upalabdhi haiteche.”*

The above can be summarized in a point that Ambikacharan continually makes recourse to in his prologue, namely that essential substance cannot be perceived on account of the motion of qualities (*guṇ*) and powers (*śakti*). This is not only salient to the external world but also to the “I” (Bng. *āmi*, Skt. *aham*) of the human body, since “those qualities in the universe are all situated in the body” (Skt. *brahmāṇḍe ye guṇāḥ sarve śarīreṣu vyavasthitāḥ*), especially since the body’s link with the external universe is nutrition (*anna*) as well as the physical substances of semen and menstrual blood (*śukra śoni*).⁸¹⁶ Ambikacharan claims that this notion is summarized by the modern knowers of the principles (*ādhunik tattva-jñānī gaṇ*) as “Internal is the typical of the external.”⁸¹⁷

The crux of the connection between the internal and external is perception, the understanding of which is the work of *jñānyog*. After noting how knowledge pervades the physical and subtle bodies during various states of waking (*jāgradabasthā*), dreaming (*svapnābasthā*), and deep, dreamless sleep (*gabhīr niḥsvapna-nidrākāl*, i.e., Skt. *suṣuptyavasthā*), Ambikacharan outlines a second postulate that he will return to in his engagement with the Western pandits:

It can be said that the entirety of the intelligence, memory, thought, and the knowledge of the ego, are the instrument of the internal organ (*antaḥkaraṇ-yantra*). And the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, skin, and so on are called the instrument of the sense-capacities of knowledge (*jñānendriya-yantra*). When knowledge is situated in

⁸¹⁶ BRY, 8. This is also related to a similar saying among the Bāul Fakirs of Bengal: *ya āche brahmāṇḍe tāi āche ei deha bhāṇḍe*, “whatever is in the universe is in the receptacle of the body;” see Keith Cantú, “Islamic Esotericism in the Bengali Bāul Songs of Lālan Fakir,” *Correspondences* 7, no. 1 (2019): 140–41.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid. This phrase would occur six years later in Kaviraj Russick Lall Gupta, *Science of Sphygmica or Sage Kanad on Pulse, An English Translation with Sanskrit Passages* (Calcutta: S.C. Addy, 1891), 47. Here it is mentioned in connection with the “great Rishi-physician Susruta,” providing further evidence that the author of this prologue was the same Ambikacharan as the translator of the Bengali edition of *Suśrutasamhitā*.

the instrument of the internal organ and remains to think concentratedly, then the instrument of the sense-capacities of knowledge, despite being in the knowledge of external substance [i.e., cognizing the outside world], does not receive expression, or the nature of its expression becomes diminished. When it [knowledge], is attached concentratedly to the external world by means of the instrument of the sense-capacities of knowledge, then the actions of the instrument of the internal organ are not expressed, or rather its power of action (*kriyā-śakti*) becomes diminished. Knowledge, therefore, becomes contracted and expanded as it is kept controlled or bound amid the internal organ of knowledge and the external sense-capacities of knowledge.⁸¹⁸

Ambikacharan’s treatment of the sense-capacities, which in his case correspond to those outlined in Sāṃkhya, is predicated on the idea of a tripartite distinction between the actor, that which is to be enacted, and the object of the action, which is a theme that Sabhapati himself also returns to and one that was also salient to Tamil discourses on Śivayoga and Śivarājayoga (see Chapter Three). Ambikacharan declares that even the notion of the ego or “I” is only a feeling (*bhāb*, < Skt. *bhāva*), since it varies according to perceived distinctions between “self” and “other.”

The next yoga that Ambikacharan treats is *dhyānyog*, or the “yoga of meditation,” which continues this discourse on “knowledge” (*jñāna*) in the previous section on *jñānyog* but expands it to speak of its role as a “link” or “connection” (*saṃyog*, < Skt. *saṃyoga*) by

⁸¹⁸ BRY, 9–10. Bng.: “*buddhi, smṛti, citta, ahaṃjñān ihādiger samṣṭike antaḥkaraṇ-yantra balā yāy. ebaṃ cakṣu, karṇa, nāsikā, jihvā, tvak ihādigake jñānendriya-yantra bale. jñān, yakhan antaḥkaraṇ-yantra abasthita haiye ekāgrabhābe cintā karite thāke, takhan jñānendriya-yantra sattveo bāhya padārtha jñānete prakāś pāy nā, athabā prakāś-bhāber hrās hay. yakhan jñānendriya-yantrer dvārā bāhya jagate ekāgrabhābe saṃyojita hay, takhan antaḥkaraṇ yantrer kriyā prakāś pāy nā, athabā tāhār kriyā-śakti hrās haiyā yāy. ataeba jñān antaḥkaraṇ-yantrer o bāhya-jñānendriya-yantrer madhye yantrita bā baddha thākiyā ākuñcita o prasārta haiteche.*”

means of which the sense-capacities (*indriya*) can express their sense-objects (*biṣay*, < Skt. *viṣaya*). He then argues, however, that knowledge also has a power latent in and of itself that can only be accessed when it is not joined, that is, focused on, these sense-capacities with their cosmic motion of qualities (*guṇ*) and powers (*śakti*). Ambikacharan then offers a critical discursive move by weaving his cosmological theory with Pātañjalayoga and linking it with Sabhapati's *rājayoga* as expressed in his lectures, which is a step that Sabhapati himself did not take in his earliest lectures:

The power of knowledge is “thought” (*cintā*). The turnings of thought (*citta-bṛtti*, < Skt. *cittavṛtti*) is called thinking (*cintā*). “Thinking” is a special state of knowledge (*jñāna*). If “thinking,” therefore, or the turnings of thought, can be completely removed, then knowledge also becomes deprived of its power. The knowers of the principles call the removal of this turning of thinking or turning of thought “yoga.” “Yoga is said to be free from thinking, or the abandonment of all thinking.”⁸¹⁹ [Also] within that book: “Yoga is the cessation of the turnings of thought.”⁸²⁰ . . . The Royal Yoga (*rājayog*) has the inherent nature of the art of becoming free from the influence of the qualities and powers, and the necessary yogic auxiliaries are especially described in this book. The ultimate fruit of this practice of yoga is composure (*samādhi*).⁸²¹

⁸¹⁹ This is a Sanskrit verse idiosyncratically rendered in Bengali script: *sarva cintā parityāgānniścinto yoga ucyate*. A double consonant is added after a muted *r* according to traditional orthography (e.g. *sarvva* for *sarva*), which I have mostly omitted from the above transliteration.

⁸²⁰ This is also a Bengali rendering of Sanskrit: *yogaścitta-vṛtti nirodhaḥ*, the famous verse from the second verse of the first *pāda* (*samādhipāda*) of the Pātañjalayogaśāstra; see Patañjali und Philipp André Maas, *Samādhipāda: das erste Kapitel des Pātañjalayogaśāstra zum ersten Mal kritisch ediert*, Geisteskultur Indiens Texte und Studien 9 (Aachen: Shaker, 2006), 4–7 for a critical edition of the Sanskrit text and commentary; and White, *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali*, 10–15 for the various ways this verse has been interpreted and translated.

⁸²¹ BRY, 13–14. Bng.: “*jñāner śakti — cintā. citta-bṛttikeo cintā bale. citta, jñāner ekṭi abasthā biṣeṣ. sutarām cintā bā citta-bṛttike niḥśeṣe barjjita karite pāriḷei jñān, śakti-barjjita haila. ei cintā bṛtti bā citta-bṛttir*

Ambikacharan goes on to explain the nature of this *samādhi* as a knowledge that consists purely of a consciousness (*cetan*) in which the qualities (*guṇ*) and powers (*śakti*) are absent. Notably, he compares it also to the “nothing” or “void” (*śūnya*) of the Buddhists, in a clear nod to those in his educated Bengali audience who would have likely been aware of the Tantric Buddhist legacy in Bengal.⁸²² In closing his treatment of *dhyānyog* Ambikacharan quotes both the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* 2.2.8 and *Bhagavadgītā* 6.22 in Sanskrit (in Bengali script), highlighting his remarkable ability to weave Sanskrit passages into his cosmological engagement.

Ambikacharan’s next section, on *bhaktiyog*, is striking for its initial absence on the surface of what is usually thought in contemporary terms to be *bhakti* or devotion. Instead, he simply continues the logical progression of his last two sections, reiterating his perspective that “the human body or human instrument is an imitation of the cosmic body (*birāṭ-deha*) or cosmic instrument (*birāṭ-yantra*).”⁸²³ On the one hand, the cosmos could be said to “wake up” at the time of creation (*syṣṭi kāl*), just as a human being wakes during the relevant state (*jagradabasthā*, < Skt. *jagratavasthā*), an awakening in which knowledge expresses the body “with consciousness up to the tip of the fingernails.”⁸²⁴ On the other hand, when all the cosmic powers of nature are withdrawn then the universe could be said to be in a state of sleep (*nidrābasthā* or *suṣuptikāl*), absorbed in its own nature just as when a person sleeps. It is here that Ambikacharan begins to explicitly integrate the theories of the “Western pandits,” noting that the “activity” of awakening and the “cessation” of sleeping is what the “modern

*barjjanke-i tattva-jñānīrā yog balen. ‘sarbba cintā parityāgānniścinto yoga ucyate.’ granthāntare ‘yogaścitta-
bṛtti nirodhaḥ.’ . . . guṇ-śaktir prabhāb rahiter kauśal-svarūp rājyog, prayojanīya yogānga sameta ei granthe
biṣeṣ rūpe barnita haiyāche. ei yogābhyāser caram phal samādhi.*

⁸²² One of the earliest cosmological accounts extant in Bengali is the medieval text *Śūnya Purāṇa*, attributed to one Rāmāi Paṇḍit, which in some of its recensions also included Islamic references.

⁸²³ BRY, 15. Bng. “*jagatke birāṭ-deha bā birāṭ-yantra balā yāy, mānab deha bā mānabyantra tāhār anukaraṇ.*”

⁸²⁴ Ibid., 15. Bng. “*ānakhāgra dehake sacetan bhābe prakāś kare.*”

scientists” (*ādhunik baijñānikerā*) call “contraction and expansion” (Ambikacharan uses the English words and also offers the Bengali equivalents *saṃkoc* and *prasāraṇ*).⁸²⁵

Ambikacharan then applies the same logic of microcosm and macrocosm to other scientific concepts such as “space” and “time,” and by extension a philosophical idea of “will” or “volition.” When the microcosmic body awakes and the knowledge of the ego is expressed to the consciousness, then memory arises and is internally expressed by the “Conception of Space” (given in English, correlated with *sthānrūp*) and the power of expansion is called and perceived as the “Conception of time” (also given in English, correlated with *kāl*). Ambikacharan leaves little to the imagination in terms of his sources, and even provides the following two quotes in footnote to these concepts, one by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and one by the British naturalist Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), the latter of whom he will continue to engage throughout the rest of the prologue:

[Kant] says that Time and space are “a priori laws or conditions of the conscious mind.” MR. Spencer says, “Our conception of space (and time) are produced by some mode of the unknowable; complete unchangeableness of our conception of it, simply implies a complete uniformity in the effect, wrought by this mode of the unknowable upon us.”⁸²⁶

Following the rise of memory, both desire and an orientation towards action arise, the motion of which is called “will” or “wish” (*icchā*). Ambikacharan also applies these concepts to

⁸²⁵ Ibid., 16. Bng. “*ādhunik baijñānikerā ihāke saṃkoc o prasāraṇ* (Contraction and expansion) *baliyā thāken*.

⁸²⁶ [The first quote refers to a theory of mind developed by Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), for which see Andrew Brook, Julian Wuerth, and Edward N. Zalta, “Kant’s View of the Mind and Consciousness of Self,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2020 Edition), 2020, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2020/entries/kant-mind/>. The second quote, by Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), is taken from his *First Principles* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1862), 231.

macrocosmic terms, noting that when the universe awakes from its state of dissolution (*pralaya*) then “the memory of she who has the form of the world’s germ (*jagater aṅkur-rūpiṇī*) arises in that womb which has the form of ego-knowledge.”⁸²⁷ This knowledge expands into the form of a circle (*maṅḍalākār*), which is expressed in the cosmic body in the form of a vacuum (*abakāś*) called “Space” (given in English).⁸²⁸ As this cosmic memory expands, then “Time” (given in English, with correlate *kāl*) is given expression, and Ambikacharan here provides a footnote referencing Spencer’s *First Principles* (see below) to the effect that both time and space are “relative realities.” At this point the macrocosmic “desire” is expressed in terms of a variety of Bengali synonyms, each with different shades of meaning: desire (*bāsanā*),⁸²⁹ volition (*saṅkalpa*), or longing (*ākāṅkṣār*), and when these are stimulated then the motion gives rise to “will” (*icchā*).⁸³⁰ Under this desire and volition “billions of types of powers who take their form at will” are manifested in Space, including as “the actions of creation, maintenance, upholding, the processes of change (*paribarttita karan*), and so on.”⁸³¹ Ambikacharan then makes his critical pivot toward a rationale for *bhakti*, noting that “all these powers are what have been described in the scriptures of the nobles as local gods (*debatā*, < Skt. *devatā*).”⁸³² In other words, Ambikacharan espouses the strikingly contemporary perspective that religious devotion for local deities, in this case as

⁸²⁷ BRY, 17. Bng. “*prakṛti-yantre ahaṃ-jñān prakāś haibāmātra, sei ahaṃ-jñānrūp garbhe jagater aṅkur-rūpiṇī smṛtir uday hay.*” On the awakening from *yoganidrā* see also White, *The Alchemical Body*, 215–16; David Gordon White, “The Yoga of the Mahāyogin: Reflections on Madeleine Biardeau’s ‘Cosmogonies Purāṇiques,’” unpublished paper.

⁸²⁸ Ibid., 17–18.

⁸²⁹ The semantic range of *bāsanā* is broader than erotic “desire” (*kām*). In the songs of Ambikacharan’s contemporary Lālan Fakir and among contemporary Bāul Fakirs, the term more often connotes what in English would be called the “heart’s desire” or “heartfelt purpose” (e.g. *maner bāsanā*).

⁸³⁰ BRY, 18.

⁸³¹ Ibid. Bng. “*koṭi koṭi prakār icchā-rūpiṇī śakti . . . sṛjan, poṣaṇ, dhāraṇ ebaṃ paribarttita karan prabhṛti kriyār dvārā ei biśva-saṃsārer byāpār samasta sampādan kariteche.*”

⁸³² Ibid. Bng. “*sei sakal śakti āryyaśāstre debatā baliyā barnita haiyāche.*”

present in the Hindu scriptures, at least partially if not entirely developed out of a reverence for the powers of nature (e.g. worship of personifications of the wind, fire, rain, and so on).⁸³³

Ambikacharan in the final part of his section on *bhaktiyog* outlines the mechanistic quality of yogic devotion, noting that the yogis, who understood both the human body's states and powers as well as those that unite within this cosmic instrument of the Lord (*īśvar*), “turned to the form of scripture, mantras, and sacrifices to carry out the stimulation of all the powers.”⁸³⁴ He then defines this androgynous Lord as “the individual's father (*pitā*), mother (*mātā*), support (*dhātā*), master (*bhartā*), motion (*gati*), and seed (*bīj*),” quoting the *Bhagavadgītā* in a footnote.⁸³⁵ Devotion (*bhakti*) is the “link” (*saṃyog* again) between individual consciousness (*jīb-cetan*) and divine consciousness (*īśvar-cetan*), and operates by means of “favor” (*anugraha*) or “affection” (*sneha*). While this may appear imprecise to a contemporary reader, it is important to keep in mind that for Ambikacharan this is not simply a vague emotional state but rather a mechanistic process tied to the laws of nature; *bhakti* “is a special activity or motion of feeling” that is endowed with “velocity” (*veg*, < Skt. *vega*) in a

⁸³³ This idea also bears relevance to the idea of “daemons” as shared by a wide variety of cultures, both independently originated and spread via myths and legends, for which see David Gordon White, *Daemons Are Forever: Contacts and Exchanges in the Eurasian Pandemonium* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2021).

⁸³⁴ BRY, 18–19.

⁸³⁵ The verse Sabhapati quotes is 9.17–18 (90–3) in the edition of Franklin Edgerton, which has the following translation:

“I am the father of this world,
The mother, the establisher, the grandsire,
The object of knowledge, the purifier, the sacred syllable *om*,
The verse of praise, the chant, and the sacrificial formula;
The goal, supporter, lord, witness,
The dwelling-place, refuge, friend,
The origin, dissolution, and maintenance,
The treasure-house, the imperishable seed.”

Transliteration from BRY: “*pitāhamasya jagato mātā dhātā pitāmahaḥ / vedyam pavitra monkāra ṛk sāma yajurevaca // gati vartā prabhuh sākṣī nivāsaḥ śaraṇam suhṛt / prabhavaḥ pralayaḥ sthānam nidhānam bīja mavyayam.*”

given direction towards a part or whole of the macrocosmic Īśvara. In a normal individual this velocity is restrained or blocked by competing emotions that possess their own velocities, although if this devotion were to somehow be unrestrained then it would be so strong that it could even destabilize the entirety of nature. For this reason Ambikacharan instructs the reader to train the entirety of the sense-capacities, which as we have seen are predicated on knowledge (*jñāna*), to continually perceive the “glory of the limitless deity with its cosmic form (*birāṭrūpī anantadeber mahimā*),” which will cause both “the world as the identity of name and form (*nām rūpātmak jagat*)” and the self to be forgotten. As before, the path for this is yoga as framed in Patañjalan terms, with the addition of “inner longing for the Lord” (*īśvara praṇidhānādvā*).⁸³⁶ However, Ambikacharan notably departs from the Patañjalan view of “isolation” (*kaivalya*) in speaking of an “equilibrium” (*sāmyabhāb*) of internal and external knowledge that leads to “release” (*mocan*).⁸³⁷ His overall idea is that knowledge, if unrestrained in its impartial devotion, facilitates an equilibrium between the individual cosmos and universal cosmos that simultaneously collapses the turnings of the thought in the individual and the motion of the powers and qualities in the external universe.

Ambikacharan’s section on the last yoga of his tetrad, or the “yoga of action” (*karmayog*), opens with a reference to the “ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of that

⁸³⁶ This is a Bengali rendering of Sanskrit: *īśvarapraṇidhānādvā*. This is from the twenty-third verse of the first *pāda* (*samādhipāda*) of the Pātañjalayogaśāstra; see Patañjali and Philipp André Maas, *Samādhipāda*, 34–5. The term *praṇidhāna* can also mean “abstract contemplation” or “great effort” (here for Īśvara), but I have here favored the mention of *abhidhyāna* in the commentary attributed to Vyāsa (which may be Patañjali himself) which refers to a kind of meditative or inner longing.

⁸³⁷ Ambikacharan writes the following (BRY, 21): “If the thought becomes deposited (*praṇihita*, past participle of *praṇidhāna*) in the Lord, then the thought becomes composed in that self which consists of the knowledge of the cosmos. Yet when the work (*kārya*) of one, namely the inner, has commenced, afterwards there is an equilibrium (*sāmyabhāb*) of external and internal knowledge. When the work of the other, the external, has commenced, then afterwards one will, either gradually or in another life, receive an equilibrium of internal and external knowledge.” Bng. “*īśvare citta praṇihita haile, birāṭer jñānmay ātmāte citta samāhita hay. tabe ekṭir kāryya antare ārabdha haiyā pare bāhya o antare jñāner sāmyabhāb hay. aparṭir kāryya bāhire ārabdha haiyā kramaśaḥ bā janmāntare antare o bāhye jñān sāmyabhāb prāpta hay.*”

Upaniṣadic scripture called the *Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā*,⁸³⁸ where it is Sri Krishna (Śrī Kṛṣṇa), the knower of the principles, the great Lord of Yoga, who is called the Lord (Īśvara).”

Ambikacharan’s mention of Kṛṣṇa, as well as his inclusion of a poem following his prologue that references the ca. 15th-century reformer Caitanya Mahāprabhu, is significant because the original lectures by Sabhapati Swami do not reference the *Bhagavadgītā* nor make any recourse to Vaiṣṇava doctrines, not even Tamil ones, much less references specific to Bengali and Gauḍiyā Vaiṣṇavism.⁸³⁹ Sabhapati’s later works (especially from 1889 onwards), however, do include Viṣṇu, the Goddess (Devī), and other deities as divine principles who are compatible with the practice of Śivarājyoga, so there was probably no perceived incompatibility for Ambikacharan to integrate these references that would be familiar to his local Bengali audience.

In any event, the section on *karmayog* is considerably shorter than the other sections and references the yogis’ prescription of different types of devotion and methods of worship in the Vedas and Tantras (*tantraśāstra*) for those who are not capable of concentrating Narayana (Nārāyaṇ, an epithet of Viṣṇu) directly. Using this logic of devotional (and by extension moral) relativity, Ambikacharan claims the following that helps transition to his discourse on the “Western pandits” directly:

The yogis who are the knowers of the principles, in thoroughly discussing the nature of this human instrument or cosmic instrument in the perspective of science (*bijñān*), have prescribed all these methods. Their opinions are said to be harmonious with

⁸³⁸ The *Bhagavadgītā* is technically not an Upaniṣad, but here is probably referred to as one on account of its religious and philosophical importance, or perceived resemblance thereto. The *Bhagavadgītā* forms part of the *Mahābhārata* epic, although scholars do continue to debate whether it was composed contemporaneously with the rest of the epic or added later.

⁸³⁹ For the latter see Barbara A. Holdrege, *Bhakti and Embodiment: Fashioning Divine Bodies and Devotional Bodies in Kṛṣṇa Bhakti*, Routledge Hindu Studies Series (New York: Routledge, 2015).

science and therefore they can be called free from confusion (*abhrānta*). The conduct, behavior, and so on that they have ascertained as well as their methods for society are also conducive to scientific duties (*baijñānik dharma*).⁸⁴⁰

In other words, the noble rishis or yogis had themselves analyzed the “human instrument” (*mānab-yantra*, < Skt. *mānavayantra*) in their own experiments, and the moral conduct that they had prescribed is scientific in the sense that it was based on their understanding of the “nature” (*prakṛti*) of the human being, however limited or dated from a modern perspective. Ambikacharan stops short of explicitly noting what would undoubtedly be a controversial corollary to this line of thought if logically extended, namely that the yogis’ traditional prescriptions for conduct and behavior, if they are indeed based on science, could also potentially be deemed irrelevant or outdated when confronted by contemporary and future advancements in the scientific understanding of human nature. While he does not consider this possibility, he does express a karmic theory that repeated actions leads to “practice” (*abhyās*), and that practice leads to “impressions” (*saṃskār*) and that a change in these impressions’ “radiance” (*prabhā*) or “self-nature” (*svabhāb*) will lead to a change in one’s “mental state” (*bhābāntar*).⁸⁴¹

The above descriptions of yoga, apart from a few scattered references to Western theories, are mostly rooted in a blend of Patañjalan, Vedāntic, and Tantric theories on cosmology and perception. However, they are necessary to consider since they are critical to Ambikacharan’s subsequent and final section after treating his tetrad of yogas, in which he transitions to make extensive quotations in English from the “modern Western theoretical

⁸⁴⁰ BRY, 21. Bng. “*tattvajñānī yogīgaṇ mānab-yantra o birāt yantrer prakṛti bijñān-dṛṣṭite paryyālocanā kariyā sei sakal prañālī abadhāraṇ kariyāchen. baliyāi tāhādiger mat bijñān saṅgata sutarām abhrānta balā yāy. ebaṃ tāhādiger nirṇīta ācār byabahār prabhṛti samāj prañālīo sei baijñānik dharmmer anukūl.*”

⁸⁴¹ BRY, 22.

pandits” (*ādhunik pāścātya tattvabiśārād paṇḍitgaṇ*), by which he primarily means the philosophical naturalist Herbert Spencer and authors quoted in Spencer’s book *First Principles*, first published in 1862.

Ambikacharan’s engagement with these Western pandits begins with a consideration of the importance of both “religion” (which he translates with the Bengali word *dharma* according to standard Bengali usage even today) and “science” (which he translates into *bijñān*, another common translation in Bengali). The following engagement provides a good example Ambikacharan’s engagement in general, which is often based on a quote in English, either followed or preceded by a summary of it in Bengali, and an interpretation of its meaning in the light of his yogic understanding of *jñāna* as expressed in the preceding sections (words given in English underlined to distinguish my own translation into English from Bengali):

H. Spencer says that religion (*dharma*) and science (*bijñān*) should remain consistent with each other. When science surpasses [its limits], religion can no longer remain. His opinion on this subject is like this: “Thus the consciousness of an inscrutable power manifested to us through all phenomena, has been growing ever clearer; and must eventually be freed from its imperfections. The certainty that on the one hand such a power exists, while on the other hand its nature transcends intuition and is beyond imagination, is the certainty towards which intelligence has from the first been progressing. At this conclusion science inevitably arrives as it reaches its confines; while to this conclusion Religion is irresistibly driven by criticism.”⁸⁴² The meaning being expressed by this saying is that the inconceivable power that expresses

⁸⁴² This quote is in Spencer, *First Principles*, 108.

the world is unexplainable and, since it is determined that it is unexplainable, both religion (*dharmā*) and science (*bijñān*) are to be enacted. Later, in another place, he says, “Is it not just possible that there is a mode of Being transcending Intelligence and will, as these transcend mechanical motion? It is true that we are totally unable to conceive any such higher mode of being, but this is not a reason for questioning its existence, it is rather the reverse. Have we not seen how utterly incompetent our minds are to form even an approach to a conception of that which underlies all phenomena? Is it not proved that this incompetency is the incompetency of the conditioned to grasp the unconditioned?”⁸⁴³ Here the meaning being expressed is that the essence which is beyond the intellect, and which is the constituent-matter (*upādāna*) of the world-substance distinguished by name and form, is beyond all states; therefore our (restrained) state of knowledge-power (*jñānśakti*) is unable to grasp it.⁸⁴⁴

In other words, Ambikacharan takes Spencer’s somewhat agnostic position to imply that the Absolute cannot be grasped by means of the current restrained state of our knowledge. He

⁸⁴³ This quote is in *Ibid.*, 109.

⁸⁴⁴ BRY, 22–3. English and Bng. “H. Spencer *mahāśay balen ye dharmma o bijñān sāmāñjasyabhābe thākā ucit. bijñān atikram kariyā dharmma thākite pāre nā. tadviśaye tāhār mat eirūp*, — Thus the consciousness of an inscrutable power manifested to us through all phenomena, has been growing ever clearer; and must eventually be freed from its imperfections. The certainty that on the one hand such a power exists, while on the other hand its nature transcends intuition and is beyond imagination, is the certainty towards which intelligence has from the first been progressing. At this conclusion science inevitably arrives as it reaches its confines; while to this conclusion Religion is irresistably driven by criticism. *ei uktir dvārā ei abhiprāy prakāś pāiteche ye jagat prakāśak acintya-śakti durjñeya, ihāke durjñeya baliyā siddhānta karā, dharmma ebañ bijñāna ubhayer-i karttabya pare anyatra baliyāchen*. Is it not just possible that there is a mode of Being transcending Intelligence and will, as these transcend mechanical motion? It is true that we are totally unable to conceive any such higher mode of being, but this is not a reason for questioning its existence, it is rather the reverse. Have we not seen how utterly incompetent our minds are to form even an approach to a conception of that which underlies all phenomena? Is it not proved that this incompetency is the incompetency of the conditioned to grasp the unconditioned? *esthale ei abhiprāy prakāś pāiteche ye, ye buddhir atīta bastu nāmrūp-biśiṣṭa jagat padārther upādān haiyāchen tini sarbbābasthār atīta baliyā āmādiger (yantrita) abasthāpanna jñānśakti tāhāke dhāraṇā karite pāre nā.*”

then provides a similar perspective from a different thinker, Henry Longueville Mansel (1820–1871), as quoted in Spencer’s work:

Mr. Mansel states this in the following way, in relation to the determination of the inherent nature of this constituent-matter of the world and the inherent nature of the eternal substance, which is beyond all states: “The absolute and infinite are thus like the inconceivable and imperceptible, names indicating, not an object of thought or consciousness at all, but mere absence of the conditions under which consciousness is possible.”⁸⁴⁵ Here the meaning being expressed is that the names “absolute” (*svayam pūrṇa*)⁸⁴⁶ and “infinite” (*ananta*) [indicate] that which is beyond knowledge or thought. If conditioned by states or conditioned by existence, the action of the power of knowledge is merely the absence of a state or of existence.⁸⁴⁷

The above passages are lengthy but critical to Ambikacharan’s sustained argument, which is predicated on the idea of an “absence” of a state, which at the end of his prologue (see below) he equates with what in the Western method (*upāy*) is called the “negation of thought.”⁸⁴⁸ To this end he also quotes an assertion by Sir William Hamilton (1788–1856), namely that “the absolute is conceived by a negation of conceivability.”⁸⁴⁹

⁸⁴⁵ This quote, attributed to Henry Longueville Mansel (1820–1871), was referenced in Spencer, *First Principles*, 87, which is likely where Ambikacharan read it. It was published in Henry Longueville Mansel, *The Limits of Religious Thought Examined in Eight Lectures, Preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year M.DCCC.LVIII*, Fourth Edition (London: John Murray, 1859), 63 (in Lecture III).

⁸⁴⁶ The phrase *svayam pūrṇa* can also be translated as “complete-in-itself.”

⁸⁴⁷ BRY, 24. English and Bng. “*sarbbābasthār atīta, jater upādān svarūp sei nitya bastur, svarūp nirṇay sambandhe* Mr. Mansel *eirūp baliyāchen* — “The absolute and infinite are thus like the inconceivable and imperceptible, names indicating, not an object of thought or consciousness at all, but mere absence of the conditions under which consciousness is possible”. *ihāte eirūp abhiprāy prakāś karitechēn ye svayam pūrṇa ananta, ei nām-i jñān bā cintār atīta. kebal yerūp abasthāpanna bā bhābāpanna haile jñān śaktir kriyā hay, sei abasthār bā bhāber abhāb mātra.*

⁸⁴⁸ BRY, 29.

⁸⁴⁹ This quote, attributed to Hamilton, was referenced in Spencer, *First Principles*, 75, 87, and 91–2, which is also likely where Ambikacharan read it. The ideas are found expressed in his “Refutation of the Various Doctrines of the Unconditioned, Especially of Cousin’s Doctrine of the Infinito-Absolute,” first published in the

Ambikacharan’s engagement is not limited to questions on the existence of the Absolute or an absolute substance, however, as he appears more concerned with the implications on the above idea of “negation” for the function of consciousness itself from both a Western and yogic perspective, as inspired by both Sabhapati Swami’s work that follows the prologue as well as Patañjali. His prologue is possibly the first publication in Bengali (or in any Indian vernacular language) in which Western views on consciousness were treated to any substantial extent in a comparative frame with yogic views on thought (Bng. *cintā*, Skt. *citta*). The substance of his engagement on this topic will therefore be given below in full as follows:

Mr. Spencer says, “our consciousness, of the unconditioned, being literally the unconditioned consciousness, or raw material of thought, to which in thinking we give definite forms, it follows that an ever present sense of real existence is the very basis of our intelligence.”⁸⁵⁰

The meaning of this is that knowledge, if it is devoid of all existence and that which is conditioned by states, can be called the knowledge of the essence (*bastu*) that is beyond existence. Secondly, in this place the meaning of the word “consciousness” has been rendered in such a way to mean knowledge-in-itself (*svayaṃ-jñān*) or the constituent-matter of thought (*cintār upādān*), that is, that which we develop into special forms at the time of thinking. By this it is ascertained that the perception (*anubhūti*) of the power of knowledge’s actual being (*sattā*) is constantly present internally.

Edinburg Review for October, 1829; see O.W. Wight, *Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, Bart*, Third Edition (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1855), 441–83.

⁸⁵⁰ This quote is in Spencer, *First Principles*, 96.

It was already demonstrated how the celebrated Spencer says that “to which in thinking we give definite forms,”⁸⁵¹ that is, at the time of thinking we grant distinct shapes to it (knowledge). The word “we” signifies the existence of the state of an ego (*ahaṃ bhāb*). If what was said earlier is acknowledged about the state of the ego being the conductor (*paricālak*) of knowledge, then it must be acknowledged that it [i.e., the state of the ego] must be something that consists of a being that is different than knowledge. However, Mr. Spencer and Mr. Mansel and many others acknowledge in unison that knowledge has a distinct state or existence because the state of the ego is expressed within knowledge. What has been said above is inconsistent [with their ideas] as a result.⁸⁵² They say this only on account of the absence of stability in perception.⁸⁵³

The last sentence on the “absence of stability in perception” is the most critical for our understanding of Ambikacharan’s view and critique. One of his key points is that Spencer and Mansel and the other modern Western pandits who are “investigators into the principles

⁸⁵¹ Ibid.

⁸⁵² This passage presents some ambiguity in translation. What Ambikacharan appears to be saying is that both he and Western scientists agree that knowledge can be distinguished from the state of the ego, but that the difference is *how* it is distinct; Ambikacharan views the ego as the conductor (*paricālak*) of knowledge and therefore separate, while (in his view) Spencer and Mansel would see the state of the ego as separate on account of its emergence concurrently within the thought-processes of knowledge itself.

⁸⁵³ BRY, 24–5. English and Bng. “Mr. Spencer *balen* [Bng. “says”] our consciousness, of the unconditioned, being literally the unconditioned consciousness, or raw material of thought, to which in thinking we give definite forms, it follows that an ever present sense of real existence is the very basis of our intelligence. *abhiprāy ei ye, jñān, sakal bhāb barjjita haile ye abasthāpanna haṃ tāhāi bhābāṭita bastur jñān balā yāy. esthale dvitīya consciousness śabder eirūp artha karā haiyāche yathā — svayam-jñān, cintār upādān, arthāt cintā karibār kāle āmrā yāhāke biśeṣ biśeṣ ākāre pariṇata kari. ihāte siddhānta haiteche ye āmādigar jñān-śaktir abhyantare prakṛta sattār anubhūti nitya bartamān rahiyāche. itipūrbbe pradarśan karā haiyāche ye Spencer mahāśay balen ye “to which in thinking we given definite forms” arthāt cintākāle āmrā yāhāke (jñānke) biśeṣ ākāre pradān kari, “āmrā” śabdaṭi ahaṃ bhāber jñāpak. pūrbbokta ukti svīkār karile ahaṃbhāb jñāner paricālak, sutarām jñān apekṣā bhinnasattā-biśiṣṭa kichu baliyā svīkār karite haṃ. kintu Mr. Spencer o Mr. Mansel prabhṛti anekei ekbākye svīkār kariyāchen ye ahaṃbhāb jñānete prakāś pāy, sutarām jñāner abasthā bā bhāb biśeṣ. ataeba pūrbber uktiṭi asaṃlagna haiteche. erūp uktir kāraṇ kebal anubhūtir sthīratār abhāb.”*

of the self' (*ātmatattvānusandhyāyī*) provide factual information yet are nevertheless unable to experience some things clearly on account of a “fault of perception” (*anubhūtir doṣ*).

The fault of perception is related to subject and object, and Ambikacharan does recognize that both Spencer and Mansel gesture to this problem and try their best to express it, quoting Spencer’s assertion as follows: “clearly a true cognition of self implies a state in which the knowing and known are one, in which subject and object are identified; and this Mr. Mansel rightly holds to be the annihilation of both.”⁸⁵⁴ He also notes that both Spencer and Mansel have “spoken in agreement with the noble knowers of the principles, in that, if the self is to be known, then the existence of both knowledge (*jñān*) and the knower (*jñātā*) and the proven (*prameya*) and the prover (*pramātā*) is destroyed,”⁸⁵⁵ although he does note that Mansel has not addressed whether or not anything remains following the destruction of both knowledge and knower or proof and prover.⁸⁵⁶ This leads Ambikacharan to make his own intervention into this discourse, citing the existence of a third state between subject and object:

By means of power itself, the knowledge of the three states (*tin bhāb*) is expressed: the prover (*pramātā*), that which is proven (*prameya*), and proof (*pramāṇ*); or the knower (*jñātā*), that which is known (*jñeya*), and knowledge (*jñān*); or the actor (*karttā*), that which is enacted (*karma*), and action (*kriyā*).⁸⁵⁷ “Proof” can be called that by which the prover is expressed in the prover’s inherent nature (*svarūp*) in connection (*sambandhe*) to what is proven; and that by which what is proven is

⁸⁵⁴ This quote is in Spencer, *First Principles*, 65–66.

⁸⁵⁵ BRY, 26. Bng. “*ubhayēi āryya-tattvajñān-sammata prakṛta kathāi balilen, ye ātmāke jānīte gele jñān o jñātā, pramātā o prameya, ei ubhay bhāb-i dhvaṃsa hay.*”

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁷ This is related to what Merleau-Ponty called a “phenomenology of perception”; see Maurice Mealeau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de La Perception* (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1945).

expressed in the inherent nature of that which is proven in connection to the one who proves. In other words, it is not only the existence of both the knower and that which is known that is expressed through knowledge. The connecting thread (*sambandha-sūtra*), by which are connected the knower and that which is known, is also a connecting thread that consists of a form of an action as expressed in knowledge, such as when the essence of that which is known becomes a sense-object of sight. If this happens then knowledge, having concentrated on the existence of the act of seeing, expresses the essence of that which is known in connection with the knower. If the sense-object is one of hearing then knowledge, having concentrated on the existence of the act of hearing, also expresses the essence of that which is known.⁸⁵⁸

While the above discussion of agency may appear confusing or technical, Ambikacharan’s general point is the need for more focus on the processes of perception (*anubhūti*) that inform various actions and the claims on reality that result from the limitations of the existence of the ego or “nature of ‘I’” (*ahaṃ-bhāb*). This includes a recognition of the dependence of proof upon the person who is proving (the “prover”) and that which is proven, the dependence of knowledge upon the knower and that which can be known, and the dependence of sound upon the hearer and that which can be heard.⁸⁵⁹ Ambikacharan argues in the first case that “proof” of the reality or existence of anything will always to some degree be conditioned by the inherent nature (*svarūp*) of the person who is doing the act of

⁸⁵⁸ BRY, 27. Bng. “śaktir dvārā haiyāi pramātā prameya pramāṇ, bā jñātā jñeya jñān, bā karttā karmma o kriyā jñān ei tin bhābe prakāś pāy. yaddvārā pramātā prameya-sambandhe prāmātā-svarūpe prakāś pāy, ebaṃ yaddvārā prameya pramātā-sambandhe prameya-svarūpe prakāś pāy, tāhāke pramāṇ balā yāy. arthāt jñātā ebaṃ jñeya ei duiṭi mātra bhāb-i ye jñāne prakāś pāy emata nahe. jñātā ebaṃ jñeya ye sambandha-sūtre paraspar grathita, sei kriyārūp sambandha-sūtra-o jñāne prakāś pāy arthāt jñeya bastu yadi darśaner biṣay hay. tāhā haile jñān darśan-kriyār bhāb dhāraṇ kariyā jñeya bastuke jñātār sambandhe prakāś kare. yadi śraṇaner biṣay hay, tabe jñān śraṇan-kriyār bhāb dhāraṇ kariyā jñeya bastuke prakāś kare.”

⁸⁵⁹ These are also categories salient in Tamil discourses on Śiva Siddhānta and present in the main body Sabhapati Swami’s work (see Chapter Three).

proving, which is also to some degree connected to what is able to be proven—no object of perception can be completely considered in isolation from the person who is perceiving. The logic of this is not merely intended to invite the reader to appreciate the entire scope of the spectrum of reality and our perception of it, but to go a step further and collapse the individual’s conditioned distinction between subject and object. This is made clear in Ambikacharan’s following claim:

The Western pandits have not been capable of concentrating (*dhāraṇā karā*) on this existence. If they were to suddenly give up their aforementioned [inquiry] and become engaged in internally experiencing, under the influence of willpower (*icchā-śakti*), the existence of the prover and that which is proven, then certainly the prover and that which is proven would become devoid of existence. However, they instead focus on the existence of that knowledge which is impelled by means of power, and the velocity of this power does not stop even once.⁸⁶⁰

In other words, Ambikacharan’s critique is that Spencer, Mansel, and the rest are only focusing on the effects of existence, namely the “qualities” and “powers” by which the cosmos is continually maintained and enlivened; in his view they should devote more time to analyzing the problems of perception and the cause behind knowledge (*jñāna*) being restrained in the individual. This is then reconciled with his understanding of the purity of knowledge when considered beyond the active motion of the cosmos, an understanding that itself is predicated upon a harmonization between Sabhapati’s discourse on the “gnosis (or

⁸⁶⁰ BRY, 28. Bng. “*pāścātya paṇḍitgaṇ ei bhāb dhāraṇā karite samartha han nāi. tāhārā icchā-śaktir prabhābe pramātā o prameya bhābke sahasā barjjan pūrbhak antare anubhab karite prabytta haile, pramātā prameyer bhāb barjjita haila baṭe, kintu ye śakti-dvārā cālita haiyā jñān ei bhāb dhāraṇ kare, sei śaktir beg ek kālē nibṛtta haila nā.*”

knowledge) of Brahman” (*brahmajñāna*) and Patañjali’s doctrine of stilling the turnings of the mind. He closes his prologue with the following statement:

The regulated state of knowledge is the binding of the individual (*jīber bandhan*). If one is able to even once stop the velocity of power, and release knowledge from this restrained state, then that existence which is free from impurity (*nirmal*), unmoving (*niścal*), and perpetual (*nitya*) will yet emerge in knowledge. The Western pandits have mentioned their method (*upāy*) as the negation of thought, that is, the non-existence of the turnings of thought (*cintā bṛttir abhāb*), and the noble knowers of the principles have also given instruction on this aim as the cessation of the turnings of thought (*cittabṛtti nirodha*). However, this cannot happen all at once—practice and skill are needed. This skill is yoga. Only the noble ones, they who know the principles, know it.⁸⁶¹

In other words, the process of yoga for Ambikacharan is not only a spiritual quest but also a scientific one as a process that can reduce limitations on knowledge and reconcile problems of perception. Further, implicit in Ambikacharan’s treatment is that the practice of yoga, although its origin may be specific to the “noble rishis,” is not itself specific to any culture or religion; the Western pandits and Bengali readers alike are invited to practice it and discover what lies beyond the turnings of thought. As we shall see in Chapter Seven on occultist reception history of Sabhapati’s works, Ambikacharan’s writing could also be contextually situated as an Indian perspective on a broader trend in which some occultists from the

⁸⁶¹ Ibid. Bng. “jñāner yantrita abasthāi jīber bandhan. śaktir beg ek kāle nibṛtta kariyā jñānke yantrita abasthā haite mocan karite pāre, tabe sei jñāne nirmal niścal nitya bhāber uday hay. pāścātya paṇḍitgan ye negation of thought arthāt cintā bṛttir abhāb-i tāhār upāy baliyā ullekh kariyāchen, āryyatattvajñānīgan-o sei abhiprāye cittabṛtti nirodher upadeś diyechen. kintu tāhā sahasā haite pāre nā — abhyās o kauśal prayojan. sei kauśal — yog. tāhā kebal āryyatattva jñānirāi jānen.”

founding of the Theosophical Society (in 1875, which he references in prologue) onward, such as Helena Blavatsky and Aleister Crowley, would be interested in similar questions about the Victorian framework of the universe and engage similar discourses.⁸⁶²

B. A Theory of Illusions: Discovery of the Default Mode Network (DMN)

In the previous section I demonstrated how Sabhapati Swami as well as his own interpreters engaged or, in the case of *ākāśa*, did not significantly engage aspects of Victorian naturalistic theories to clarify their ideas. While a historical discussion of science in Sabhapati's work would largely conclude with the date of his last publication in 1913, the history of Western science did not of course conclude but continued to develop and evolve into contemporary understandings that many hold true all around the globe today, not just in the "West," however construed. In this section I will gesture toward a contemporary development that at once informs and provides critical updates to the scientific engagements by Sabhapati and Ambikacharan Bandopadhyay. Our understanding of physical matter, the brain's relationship to thinking, and the perception of phenomena has had almost a century and a half to develop since Herbert Spencer published *First Principles*, for example. Advancements in cognitive science of religion (CSR) in particular provides an entirely new lens with which to analyze the building blocks behind Sabhapati's experience of yoga.⁸⁶³ This dissertation is primarily historical and the full coverage of this topic would necessarily

⁸⁶² On the Theosophical reception of science see Chajes, *Recycled Lives*; For Crowley see Egil Asprem, "Magic Naturalized? Negotiating Science and Occult Experience in Aleister Crowley's Scientific Illuminism," *Aries* 8 (2008): 139–165.

⁸⁶³ For one of the most prominent examples, see Ann Taves, "Reverse Engineering Complex Cultural Concepts: Identifying Building Blocks of 'Religion,'" *Journal of Cognition and Culture* 15 (2015): 191–216. For a different approach as applied to the topic of near-death experiences, see Jens Schlieter, *What Is It like to Be Dead? Near-Death Experiences, Christianity, and the Occult*, Oxford Studies in Western Esotericism (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

be vast and require extended participation on the part of scholars in the physical and mental sciences. As a result, I will here only indicate a few theoretical aspects of what I find to be the most salient possibilities for further research in this vein.

Sabhapati uses the Sanskrit words *bhrānti* “confusion,” which he translates “delusion” (from root *bhram* “to wander”), *kalpanā* “imagination” (from root *klp* “to produce,” “to be adapted”), and *māyā* “illusion,” and he also considers various “states” (*avasthās*) of consciousness (e.g. *jagratavasthā* “the waking state,” *svapnāvasthā* “the dreaming state,” and so on). These are critical to his theory of Śivarājyoga, yet all are notably rooted in a single problem: the limited nature of human perception. For Sabhapati this is clearly a religious question, as it was for many in Europe and North America too at the time of his writing and remains so even today. In Sabhapati’s time both clinical and analytical psychology as we know it today were not even on the map as fields, and Western scientists were also only beginning to take the question of human perception more seriously. Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) published his *The Interpretation of Dreams* in 1899, twenty years after Sabhapati’s first lectures; Carl Jung (1875–1961) published his *Psychology of the Unconscious* in 1912. Even William James (1842–1910), who was one of the first philosophers and psychologists to examine the question of religious experience in any rigorous detail, had only delivered his lectures that became *The Varieties of Religious Experience* between 1901 and 1902, also over two decades after Sabhapati’s own lectures. My point in this chronology is not to show that Sabhapati Swami’s works are on even close to the same philosophical or psychological plane as these authors, as their primary concern is religious and not scientific, but rather to demonstrate that deeper questions about the mind

and its fluctuations at the time in which Sabhapati was writing were, at least in India, still squarely situated within the domain of yoga.

This situation has since shifted, and such questions are now predominantly the purview of science in both India and the West. Despite a radically different focus, a reading of Sabhapati's system of yoga side-by-side with philosophical theories of mind found in accessible works like Philip Gerrans's *The Measure of Madness: Philosophy of Mind, Cognitive Neuroscience, and Delusional Thought* (2014) is at once thought-provoking and indicative of the cognitive problems that Sabhapati and his interpreters attempted to address in his literature via traditional means, yet could not fully address for want of additional data on the brain and its thought-processes.⁸⁶⁴ Empirical developments over the past century and a half have gradually provided a wealth of data on the brain and its processes that in Sabhapati's day would have been considered unimaginable. For example, the past few decades has witnessed the discovery of the Default Mode Network (DMN), which "was discovered serendipitously when investigators began noticing that specific, reproducible brain regions were more active during passive control tasks than during active tasks targeted by the experimenters."⁸⁶⁵ This discovery alone proves that the brain has certain regions that oversee functions like day-dreaming or simulation-based processes, functions which Sabhapati could only analyze symptomatically as the phenomenon of what he called "imaginary show."

⁸⁶⁴ Philip Gerrans, *The Measure of Madness: Philosophy of Mind, Cognitive Neuroscience, and Delusional Thought*, *Life and Mind: Philosophical Issues in Biology and Psychology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2014).

⁸⁶⁵ Randy Buckner, "The Brain's Default Network: Origins and Implications for the Study of Psychosis," *Dialogues in Clinical Neuroscience* 15, no. 3 (2013): 351–358.

Despite these remarkable developments, justifiable questions can still be raised as to the extent that contemporary cognitive scientific concepts can really explain systems of perception that predate modern psychology and neuroscience. I would posit that the language of Sabhapati's literature is especially suited for such analysis, however, while acknowledging the problems, such as the impossibility of ever fully understanding authors who are no longer alive or how to precisely apply foreign etic terminology to a system that had its own emic coherency. There is also, of course, the colonial legacy of the coercive imposition of Western scientific rationalism on traditional knowledge structures.⁸⁶⁶

While acknowledging the above problems, Sabhapati's system is an unusual case. Whereas most post-Vedic and medieval systems of yoga are much more ambiguous and would require significantly more cultural and historical contextualization and guesswork to subject to scientific speculation, early modern works on yoga like his and Swami Vivekananda's after him reflect a unique historical moment in which attempts were made by practitioners to simultaneously describe their systems in Sanskrit, regional South Asian languages, *and* English. As a result, linguistically hybrid works like those of Sabhapati can form a kind of "Rosetta Stone" in which philosophical lexicons of terms can illuminate not only their original South Asian definitions but also the ways in which these terms were translated in a nineteenth-century English-language context. Often the terms used in the works of Sabhapati Swami, like English "delusion" for Sanskrit *bhrānti* as mentioned above, serve to reveal the connotative value attached to an otherwise multivalent word (e.g., *bhrānti* originally simply meant "wandering or roaming about" but in the later language came to have a negative sense of "perplexity," "confusion," "doubt," or "error.") In other words, the

⁸⁶⁶ Joseph S. Alter, *Yoga in Modern India: The Body between Science and Philosophy* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004).

provided English translation allows for a clearer reading of a cognitive effect being described, regardless as to whether it fully matches up with either earlier definitions of a term as contextualized by scholars of post-Vedic or classical yogic traditions or the corresponding word in English. As for the colonial legacy, both Sabhapati Swami and Ambikacharan Bandopadhyay engaged Western viewpoints, which opens the door to an informed discourse that seems only fair to continue and not merely to leave isolated in a textual museum of sorts.

With the above caveats in mind, in this sub-section I wish to highlight Gerrans's theory of what he calls "mental delusions" and its relation to both decontextualized processing and the aforementioned DMN, a contemporary neurological framework that I would argue produces many of the symptoms that inform Sabhapati Swami's consistent preoccupation with "confusion" (*bhrānti*) and "fabricated thought" (*kalpanā*). The subjective nature of the DMN also serves to directly connect it to both Sabhapati's and Ambikacharan's preoccupation with the "I"-ness of experience. As Gerrans observes, "it seems that 'mine-ness' of experience, actual or simulated, is a cognitive achievement mediated by the ventromedial prefrontal cortex [which is] a hub of the default network."⁸⁶⁷ Sabhapati similarly characterizes subjective confusion, fabricated thought, and illusion as the result of subjective ego-making faculties (*ahaṃkāra*). The term "illusion" also serves to connect this discourse to clinical psychology and psychotherapy.

Perhaps most importantly, Gerrans claims that mental delusions are not necessarily based on empirical or rationally "doxastic" beliefs (similar to Sperber's idea of "reflective beliefs"),⁸⁶⁸ but rather are also symptomatic of a failure on the part of our brain's "decontextualized processing," which put simply are those processes in our brain that keep us

⁸⁶⁷ Gerrans, *The Measure of Madness*, 82.

⁸⁶⁸ Dan Sperber, "Intuitive and Reflective Beliefs," *Mind & Language* 12, no. 1 (March 1997): 67–83.

aware that an imagined narrative is not really happening. In other words, the DMN allows for our brain's capacity of simulation when we read a novel, watch a movie, or have a dream, while decontextualized processing is a continual process in our brain that checks the DMN's capacity for imaginative stimulation and serves the important function of keeping us from falling headfirst for a simulation as a real event. For example, decontextualization would be the processing that prevents us from believing the ghost in a scary movie or story around the campfire to be a ghost in "real life." Notably, decontextualized processing is for the most part, excluding accounts of "lucidity" in dreams for the present, disabled during our dream state (what Sabhapati would call the *svapnāvasthā*, "state of dreaming," which is found in the Upaniṣads and not original to Sabhapati Swami) and during a state of dreamless deep sleep (what he would call *susuptyavasthā*), while it is fully active during the waking state (*jagratavasthā*).

In contrast to decontextualized processing, as Gerrans demonstrates, the DMN is a neurological network that "represents personally relevant information as narrative elements," and "such narrative elements are not always assembled into full-scale narratives . . . but their cognitive nature is to be the building blocks of a story assembled from subjective experience."⁸⁶⁹ Gerrans calls these building blocks "default thoughts." The DMN and decontextualized processing, which as mentioned above keeps our mental simulations in check, are *anticorrelated*, meaning that the less active decontextualized processing is, the more that default thoughts become extremely salient or cognitively compelling, and thus subjective delusions are generated.⁸⁷⁰ In other words, activity in one diminishes activity in the other and vice-versa. As Gerrans puts it, when someone suffers from mental illusions

⁸⁶⁹ Gerrans, *The Measure of Madness*, xv.

⁸⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 84.

then their “ability to subject a default thought to decontextualized evaluation is compromised.”⁸⁷¹

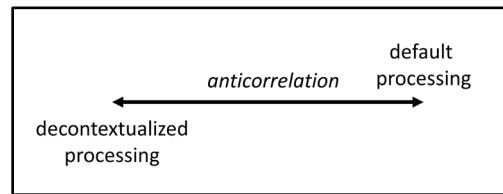


Figure 2. The anticorrelation of decontextualized and default processing.

The default thoughts of the DMN match the phenomena that Sabhapati Swami describes by his use of the term *kalpanā*, which he variously translates into English as “false appearance or show” and “imagination.” The power of *kalpanā* describes our mind’s tendency to create false assumptions of reality and the self, which in today’s context clearly takes us right into the domain of contemporary psychotherapy. For example, Sabhapati’s earliest work offers a metaphor that reveals his view of illusion in connection with the *kalpanā* and by extension *māyā*:

In a dark night it is very easy for a man to mistake a rope in the way for a snake, and a block of wood for a thief and a robber, but no sooner he comes to examine than he discovers the delusion, so is the relation between Jivatma [*jīvātmā*, “individual soul”] and Parmatma [*paramātmā*, “supreme soul”]. In a vast and sandy desert the thirsty traveler often thinks the glittering mirage to be a pond of sweet waters while in reality there is no such thing but the delusion or *maya* [*māyā*], similarly a man thinks his conscious soul to be separate from Parmatma; but when he holds deep communion with him he neither sees his soul nor is conscious of the attributes of the soul; such as intellect, memory, imagination, and ideas of sensation and perception; and finds

⁸⁷¹ Ibid.

himself absorbed in the Infinite Spirit. As the sun illuminates every object of this universe as long as it is in the heavens; or as long as the earth or the universe lasts, so the infinitely more luminous rays of the eternal and everlasting Spirit shed their glory over every soul. From the above examples it will be clear how the self-luminous Infinite Spirit or *Brahmchaitanyam* [*brahmacaitanya*] seems to be all sorts of *Kalpana rupam* [*kalpanā-rūpam* “false appearance of show”] through the introduction of *Bhranti* [*bhrānti* “delusion”].⁸⁷²

Despite the religion-specific terminology of *jīvātman* and *paramātman*, for which any other salient relationship in which feelings of unity (e.g. a “oneness with nature”) could be substituted, Sabhapati seems to be describing in allegorical terms what Gerrans calls a subjective state in which default thoughts and associated patterns of thinking become “extremely salient.” This state of patterned association makes it difficult for other information to attract processing resources, and “leaves the subject at the mercy of entrenched patterns of association in her default system.”⁸⁷³ It is important to stress that none of the above examples of delusion are necessarily the result of faulty empirical beliefs or rational judgments, but stem instead from an altered perception of reality that is an effect of one’s sense-perceptual and environmental conditions. For example, the reflection in the mirror genuinely appears to be real due to a trick of light, the rope is mistaken for a snake due a lack of vision in the dark, and the mirage in the desert is automatically generated out of thirst for water. In other words, each of these examples of mental illusions contain factors that automatically increase the salience of default thoughts and reduce decontextualized

⁸⁷² VRY, 89. These kinds of examples are also found in the writings attributed to Śaṅkarācārya; see Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty, *Dreams, Illusion, and Other Realities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 125–26.

⁸⁷³ Gerrans, *The Measure of Madness*, 40.

processing without invoking empirical belief. This is an important distinction, as Gerrans astutely notes that “the conceptualization of delusion may not map directly to folk psychological or clinical conceptions of delusions as irrational beliefs.”⁸⁷⁴ As seen in the above quote, Sabhapati’s own “folk psychological” conceptions of the delusion of separateness from the supreme spirit or cosmos (*paramātmān*) are predicated on an uncontrolled subjectivity that many clinical therapists or neuroscientists would today argue results from default thinking. As a result, his “conceptualization of delusion” comes surprisingly close to the theory of mind Gerrans is proposing. At the same time, it is notable that for Sabhapati it would be the faculty of decontextualized processing, that is, knowing that the rope is a rope and not a snake, that serves as the key to experiencing the effect of his yogic soteriology, and not the illusions of the DMN. The theory is predicated on the supposition that one can remove subjective illusions by negatively reducing one’s world to nothing else but this unity, or rather that the melting into Śiva as alternately described in Śaiva Siddhānta is nothing more than decontextualization taken to its logical extreme.

Despite these similarities, it is on the theory of *kalpanā* that Gerrans and Sabhapati would appear to part ways. For Sabhapati the key is to harness the mind’s intrinsic power of visualization by means of meditative cultivation (*bhāvanā*) to simultaneously invoke and banish each aspect of the self that binds one in a state of confusion (*bhrānti*) or illusion (*māyā*). In other words, the purpose of invoking all these default thoughts of one illusory lotus (i.e., part of the self’s embodied cosmology, see Chapter Three) after another in the process of Śivarājayoga is ultimately to realize one’s perception as just that, clouded by mental illusions. Sabhapati’s claim of yogic power is much more expansive and far reaching

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid.

than a mental health “breakthrough” of contemporary psychotherapy. Gerrans understandably does not come close to treating on how a release from subjective delusions could in any shape or form lead to a trance-like experience of the “self-luminous Infinite Spirit” or some cognate religious experience as recounted by William James or another author. Indeed, the mechanics of decontextualized processing and de-simulation (or in today’s colloquial language, “de-programming” or “reverse brainwashing”), if intentionally pursued, would arguably mitigate such an ecstatic state and could logically lead instead to agnostic or atheistic skepticism. One answer to this dilemma seems to be Sabhapati’s megalomaniacal attempt to obtain control over both decontextualized processing and default thoughts in the meditative ascents and descents of Śivarājyoga.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, The Sanskrit-based ritual technique to accomplish Śivarājyoga is characterized by the activation and deactivation of twelve kingdoms, lotuses, or *cakra* and four superseding states. Sabhapati is clear that these “kingdoms” are ultimately illusionary, that is, nothing more than what today could be called the simulations of default thoughts, as evident from quotes like the following: “As I pass from one kingdom to another my attributes are changed, and various faculties are created which have no independent existence but seem only reflections of my spirit” (1880). Compare this with Gerrans’s evolution-based ideas of “mental time travel” and “simulation” that allows us to “preview possible scenarios and experience characteristic emotions before committing to action.”⁸⁷⁵ I would argue that Sabhapati’s instructions are designed to harness what in cognitive terms is called the “simulation” feature of the Default Mode Network, and then use it to project centers of various bodily faculties (e.g. senses, emotions, tendencies, thoughts) onto the

⁸⁷⁵ Gerrans, *The Measure of Madness*, 67.

human body. Once concretized through meditative routinization and internal rituals,⁸⁷⁶ these faculties then actually rather than formulaically serve as a metarepresentation of the DMN's control over a given bodily process. It is impossible to fully speculate what this hotwiring of the DMN would accomplish from a cognitive point of view, as experiments would be necessary to judge, but I would argue that is highly improbable that Sabhapati would have gone through all the trouble to outline his elaborate and technical system without an assumption that *some* kind of mental change would result by carrying out his instructions. Determining whether such a change would be clinically substantial or not is, however, currently outside the scope of the humanities to conclude.

Finally, I would posit that the use of associative correspondences or “indexical experiences,” that is, an experience that points to a symbolized object of some kind, is one possible key to the functionality and social attractiveness of Sabhapati's system. Gerrans writes the following about the DMN's ability to simulate or engage in the “mental time travel” of the imagination:

Mental time travel involves the explicit simulation of essentially indexical experiences as part of the process of high-level cognitive control. This is a consequence of the fact that the default circuits on which it depends are densely connected to emotional and motivational systems.”⁸⁷⁷

While Gerrans doesn't write about individuals who may be actually aiming to cultivate “indexical experiences” rather than have unwanted experiences of them, Sabhapati's visual diagram-based system of correspondences (see Chapter Five) aims to cultivate these kinds of

⁸⁷⁶ For the significance of these rituals in contemporary sociological theory, see Randall Collins, *The Micro-Sociology of Religion: Religious Practices, Collective and Individual* (State College, PA: The Association of Religion Data Archives at The Pennsylvania State University, 2011).

⁸⁷⁷ Gerrans, *The Measure of Madness*, 79.

experiences in the prospective yogi who follows his instructions. This is also a feature that connects his system to the wider Tantric literature of South Asia in which correspondences such as mantric alphabets and seed syllables (*bīja*) and the depositing of mantras on the body (*nyāsa*) play such an important role.⁸⁷⁸ It is significant that Gerrans argues that rational belief is not always the operative factor in generating mental delusions, which also serves to at least partially explain the fundamental irrationality of such Tantric correspondences. In other words, the functionality of these correspondences and the indexical experiences they could be said to generate rests upon on the assertion that is not necessary to empirically *believe* that “x” is “y,” only to train the brain to *associate* or *correspond* “x” with “y.”

Gerrans claims that the activation of those neurological regions that govern the DMN “leaves the subject at the mercy of entrenched *patterns of association* in her default system” (emphasis added).⁸⁷⁹ While in most clinical contexts these patterns of association are deemed to be haphazard or random, it is clear in reading Sabhapati’s own work that such patterns of associative correspondences were intended to be memorized and internalized, and lists of such correspondences between mantras, astrological data, and gods and goddesses are a recurrent feature of his works in vernacular languages, especially RYB and MCVTS. If it is possible, therefore, to 1) internalize these “patterns of association” through intense mnemonic activity and repeated ritualized inscription, and then also to 2) discover a means to activate and deactivate the processes that control default thinking at will, then according to Gerrans’s theory of anti-correlation such an activity would automatically revert the mind to those patterns of association that had been previously assembled or “programmed” in the memory. To the extent that these patterns of association are all-encompassing, this activation

⁸⁷⁸ André Padoux, *Comprendre le tantrisme: Les sources hindoues* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2010).

⁸⁷⁹ Gerrans, *The Measure of Madness*, 40.

of the DMN would feasibly generate comparable symptoms to the kind of “composure” (*samādhi*) that Sabhapati describes in which the universe seems inextricably interconnected, or at the very least help explain his more limited theory of “divine pilgrimage” within one’s body.⁸⁸⁰

Sabhapati’s latter theory of “divine pilgrimage” will also prove relevant to the historical discussion of the next chapter (Chapter Seven), namely what modern occultists found relevant or compelling about Sabhapati’s literature. Henry Olcott and Helena Blavatsky, who met with Sabhapati personally (see Chapter One), were interested in discovering Indian parallel techniques in yoga for what has been variously called “astral projection,” the “liberation of the double,” or “rising on the planes.”⁸⁸¹ It could be argued that this process is predicated on an applied internalization of these same rubrics of “indexical” or associative correspondences, which were one of the most important “components” of medieval and early modern Western esotericism “considered as a form of thought,” as Antoine Faivre has claimed, although of course they also occur in contexts outside of esotericism.⁸⁸² For example, the cognitive effects of activating these networks of correspondences has already been analyzed in detail in a recent article by Egil Asprem on the “esoteric imagination,” which includes mention of occult interest in yoga and the *tattvas* and

⁸⁸⁰ VRY, 38.

⁸⁸¹ John Patrick Deveney, *Theosophical History Occasional Papers Vol. VI: Astral Projection or Liberation of the Double and the Work of the Early Theosophical Society* (Fullerton, CA: Theosophical History, 1997).

⁸⁸² Antoine Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism*, SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 10–11: “The entire universe is a huge theater of mirrors, an ensemble of hieroglyphs to be decoded. Everything is a sign; everything conceals and exudes mystery; every object hides a secret. The principles of noncontradiction and excluded middle of linear causality are replaced here by those of the included middle and synchronicity. We can distinguish two kinds of correspondences. First, those that exist in nature, seen and unseen, e.g., between the seven metals and the seven planets, between the planets and the parts of the human body or character (or of society). This is the basis of astrology—correspondence between the natural world and the invisible departments of the celestial and supercelestial world, etc. Next there are correspondences between Nature (the cosmos) or even history and revealed texts.”

which is highly relevant to the context of Sabhapati's literature.⁸⁸³ My point in bringing these experimental theories up here is to highlight the fact that Sabhapati's instructions on Śivarājyoga are a site in which the practical employment of correspondences is a bridge to a similar tendency in Western esotericism and later modern occultism,⁸⁸⁴ not only on a phenomenological but also a historical level; this makes future analysis in this direction of research of great comparative importance. The methods employed in such techniques continue to be evaluated through the lenses of cognitive science, albeit without considering Sabhapati's notable, if as-yet-obscure, contributions to this discourse to date.

⁸⁸³ Egil Asprem, "Explaining the Esoteric Imagination: Towards a Theory of Kataphatic Practice," *Aries* 17, no. 1 (2017): 17–50.

⁸⁸⁴ For the contours and contrast between Western esotericism and modern occultism, see Wouter J. Hanegraaff, ed., "Occultism," in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

VII. Sabhapati Swami and Modern Occult Interpreters⁸⁸⁵

In this final chapter I will summarize how Sabhapati Swami and his works were interpreted in milieus of modern occultism and related currents at the turn of the twentieth century.⁸⁸⁶ As I have already treated in Chapter One (Section G.1), Sabhapati met with Helena P. Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Henry S. Olcott (1832–1907), the founding members of the Theosophical Society (TS), during his lifetime, although there is no evidence that Sabhapati himself joined the TS. Other occultists, the most notable of which are Franz Hartmann (1838–1912), Aleister Crowley (1875–1947), as well as the mental healer and charlatan William Estep (1896–1967) a generation later, do not appear to have met Sabhapati physically yet continued to engage his work both during his lifetime and in subsequent decades.⁸⁸⁷ In a strange case of circularity, Sabhapati’s own student Om Prakash Swamigal even joined the Latent Light Culture, an Indian occult society known for incorporating Aleister Crowley’s teachings on Thelema, the organizational structure of Freemasonry, and

⁸⁸⁵ Some of the material in this chapter can be found in a much more condensed form in Keith Cantú, “Sri Sabhapati Swami: The Forgotten Yogi of Western Esotericism,” in *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, ed. Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 347–73, which itself was based on a conference paper delivered at the annual American Academy of Religion meeting in San Antonio in 2016.

⁸⁸⁶ For more on the contours of the phrase “modern occultism” see Wouter J. Hanegraaff, ed., “Occult/Occultism,” in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 884–89; and Henrik Bogdan and Gordan Djurdjevic, eds., *Occultism in a Global Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2013). For the broader context of India-specific exchanges happening during this time see Gordan Djurdjevic, *India and the Occult: The Influence of South Asian Spirituality on Modern Western Occultism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁸⁸⁷ See Karl Baier, “Theosophical Orientalism and the Structures of Intercultural Transfer: Annotations on the Appropriations of the Cakras in Early Theosophy,” in *Theosophical Appropriations: Esotericism, Kabbalah and the Transformation of Traditions*, ed. Julie Chajes and Boaz Huss (Be’er Sheva, Israel: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2016), 309–54; its first mention in academic scholarship was Karl Baier, *Meditation und Moderne: zur Genese eines Kernbereichs moderner Spiritualität in der Wechselwirkung zwischen Westeuropa, Nordamerika und Asien* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2009). Other works engaging this engagement from the perspective of the *cakras* include Kurt Leland, *Rainbow Body: A History of the Western Chakra System from Blavatsky to Brennan* (Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2016); and Phil Hine, *Wheels Within Wheels: Chakras Come West* (London: Twisted Trunk, 2018). For a condensed treatment that builds on Baier’s work and cites unpublished diary entries and a published letter by Sabhapati referenced in Chapter One see Cantú, “Sri Sabhapati Swami: The Forgotten Yogi of Western Esotericism.”

methods of New Thought. In this chapter I will treat each of these engagements in turn so as to stress the specificity of each interaction; though all of these figures have ties to occultism, their motivations and the way they approached Sabhapati's literature were all quite different.

Lingering in the background behind this discussion is the spectre of Orientalism, or in this context the exoticization of various aspects of Indian teachings, especially yoga, ultimately for the political purposes of paving the way for colonial rule and expansion. As I have already treated in a separate chapter and will also emphasize in the sections that follow, however, the reception history of Sabhapati Swami's literature is somewhat complicated by the fact that a primary intent of some occult authors—at least as explicitly stated—was to learn and disseminate techniques that were deemed objectively efficacious, and not to intentionally exoticize or inscribe difference.⁸⁸⁸ This is perhaps most exemplified by the negative attitude towards “Oriental” fascination with yoga in Crowley's *Eight Lectures on Yoga*, who humorously stated the following:

There is more nonsense talked and written about Yoga than about anything else in the world. Most of this nonsense, which is fostered by charlatans, is based upon the idea that there is something mysterious and Oriental about it. There isn't. Do not look to me for obelisks and odalisques, rahat loucoum, bul-buls, or any other tinsel imagery of the Yoga-mongers. I am neat but not gaudy. There is nothing mysterious or Oriental about anything, as everybody knows who has spent a little time intelligently in the continents of Asia and Africa. I propose to invoke the most remote and elusive of all Gods to throw clear light upon the subject—the light of common sense.⁸⁸⁹

⁸⁸⁸ For more on this topic see Cantú, “Sri Sabhapati Swami: The Forgotten Yogi of Western Esotericism.”

⁸⁸⁹ Aleister Crowley, *Eight Lectures on Yoga* (Scottsdale, AZ: O.T.O. in association with New Falcon Publications, 1985 [1939]).

Statements like the above by Crowley demonstrate that not all authors on yoga partook in the same Orientalist project—if they partook in Orientalism at all. Perhaps it is therefore more useful to speak of several “Orientalisms,” not all of which are necessarily negative, thus discursively distinguishing: the political “Orientalism” of Edward Said from the mystical pole-star “Orientalism” of Henry Corbin;⁸⁹⁰ the “Orientalism” of Indologists as examined by David Smith;⁸⁹¹ “Theosophical Orientalism” as analysed by Karl Baier, Wouter Hanegraaf, and Christopher Partridge;⁸⁹² and perhaps even a thelemic “Orientalism” that also partakes in a kind of period-specific “anti-Orientalism” (as evident by Crowley’s quote above). Another approach is to see the integration and appropriation of Sabhapati’s teachings by occultists as part of a broader and more neutral phenomenon of “translocalization” (see Introduction).

A. Sabhapati and Theosophy

The Theosophical “founders” Blavatsky and Olcott, along with other prominent supporters such as William Quan Judge (1851–1896), held a public meeting to establish the TS at Blavatsky’s New York apartment in 1875. Both Blavatsky and Olcott arrived in Bombay (today Mumbai) a few years later, on February 16, 1879.⁸⁹³ As I have already

⁸⁹⁰ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Henry Eugène Corbin and Nancy Pearson, *The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism* (New Lebanon, New York: Omega Publications, 1994).

⁸⁹¹ David Smith, *Hinduism and Modernity*, Religion in the Modern World (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003).

⁸⁹² Baier, “Theosophical Orientalism”; Wouter Hanegraaff, “Western Esotericism and the Orient in the First Theosophical Society,” in *Theosophy across Boundaries: Transcultural and Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Modern Esoteric Movement*, ed. Hans Martin Krämer and Julian Strube (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2020), 29–65; Christopher Partridge, “Lost Horizon: H.P. Blavatsky and Theosophical Orientalism,” in *Handbook of the Theosophical Current*, ed. Olav Hammer and Mikael Rothstein, Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion, v. 7 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2013), 309–33.

⁸⁹³ Joscelyn Godwin, “Blavatsky and the First Generation of Theosophy,” in *Handbook of the Theosophical Current*, ed. Olav Hammer and Mikael Rothstein, Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion, v. 7 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2013), 15–31; Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 307–31. For more on Blavatsky’s engagement with India, specifically in the context of reincarnation, see Julie Chajes, *Recycled Lives: A History of Reincarnation in Blavatsky’s Theosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

treated in Chapter One, Olcott recorded that he and Blavatsky met Sri Sabhapati Swami on November 8, 1880 in Lahore after each one individually had delivered an address to the same crowd the previous day, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the Arya Samaj in Lahore, a branch of the reformist society founded by Dayananda Saraswati (Dayānanda Sarasvatī, 1824–1883).⁸⁹⁴ However, soon after Olcott and Blavatsky met Sabhapati they had a falling out over his description of a vision, first mentioned in the Ur-account, of flying to visit Mahādeva on Mount Kailāśa. While there is no evidence that he himself joined the TS, Sabhapati by all indications retained positive feelings for Blavatsky and Olcott and even published a letter in the newspaper *Amrita Bazar Patrika* that spoke highly of the meeting and of Blavatsky in particular. He also later appeared as a significant figure in early Theosophy via a translation into German by the occult author Franz Hartmann (see Section B below), and to a much lesser extent via a translation of portions of his biographical account into French by the President of Le Disciple Branch of the Theosophical Society in Paris, Paul Gillard (d. 1901).⁸⁹⁵

Olcott at least initially engaged Sabhapati’s work positively, and it is notable that the only surviving copy of the first edition of Sabhapati’s published lectures (VRY) was Olcott’s personal copy and bears his signature. He appears to have been especially interested in Sabhapati’s diagram of the *liṅgaśarīra* (see Chapter Five), and perhaps most notably makes

⁸⁹⁴ For sources specific to this region that treat on the Arya Samaj, Dayananda Saraswati and their relation to modern Hindu reformist movements see Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-century Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); also J. Barton Scott, *Spiritual Despots: Modern Hinduism and the Genealogies of Self-Rule* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016).

⁸⁹⁵ Paul Gillard, “Le Pas Décisif,” *Le Lotus Bleu: Revue Theosophique Mensuelle* 8, no. 1 (1897): 20–24. I am grateful to Julian Strube for sharing with me more sources on Paul Gillard and his connection to French *fin de siècle* esoteric milieus.

the explicit connection between this visual diagram and the Theosophical interest in the “projection of the double”:

Look, if you please, at this engraving. It is from a little work published two years ago at Lahore by Sabhapathy Swami. It represents the system of psychic development, by *Raj Yoga*. Here is traced a series of lines and circles upon the naked body of a man sitting in the posture of *Padmāsana*, and practicing *Yoga*. The triple line passes down the front of the head and body, making the circles at certain points—*viz.*, over the *vomer*, or nasal cavity, the mouth, the root of the throat, the heart, the umbilicus and the spleen. The artist, to bring the whole system into one view, traces for us the parts of the line and circles that would be out of sight, such as that over the lower end of the spinal column, the line of the spine, and over the cerebellum and cerebrum, until it unites with the front line. This is the line travelled by the will of the *Yogi* in his process of psychic development. He, as it were, visits each of the centres of vital force in turn, and subjugates them to dependence upon the will. The circles are the *chakras*, or centres of forces, and when he has traversed the entire circuit of his corporeal kingdom, he will have perfectly evolved his inner self—disengaged it from its natural state of commixture with the outer shell, or physical self. His next step is to project this “double” outside the body, transferring to it his complete consciousness, and then, having passed the threshold of his carnal prison-house, into the world of psychic freedom, his powers of sight, hearing, and other senses are indefinitely increased, and his movements no longer trammelled by the obstacles which impede those of the external man. Do not understand me as saying that this is the only

method of psychic evolution; there are others than Patanjali's, and some better ones.⁸⁹⁶

While Olcott conflates Sabhapati's method of yoga with Pātañjalayoga (see Chapter Four for notable differences), it is important that he brings up the idea of projecting a "double" outside the body. We know that the cultivation of such techniques was a main priority of the early Theosophical Society, and as we shall see the author Franz Hartmann also engaged this question.⁸⁹⁷

Despite this interest in Sabhapati's subtle physiology and techniques of "divine pilgrimage," he remained skeptical and an intriguing response to Olcott's rejection of Sabhapati can be traced in later editions of Sabhapati's works. For example, later reprints of his 1880 work adds the following editorial footnote, presumably written by Basu, in the part of Sabhapati's account that mentions this vision:

This need not have been in the physical body of the Rishis; they might have flown towards the holy mountain in their Mayavi Rupa Kama Rupa [*sic*] (astral body), which to our author (who certainly is not an Adept in the sense the Theosophists use the word) must have been as real as if he had travelled through air in his physical body.⁸⁹⁸

A second note also adjusts the identities of the Rishies (Skt. *ṛṣi*), who are changed from sages of the *Mahābhārata* epic to "Brothers of the Theosophical Society."⁸⁹⁹ The Bengali translation of the account of Sabhapati's vision (BRY) appears to emphasise that Sabhapati was describing a state of *samādhi* and not a physical flight.

⁸⁹⁶ Henry S. Olcott, *Theosophy: Religion and Occult Science* (London: George Redway, 1885), 151–53.

⁸⁹⁷ For an overview of astral projection in Theosophy see John Patrick Deveney, *Theosophical History Occasional Papers Vol. VI: Astral Projection or Liberation of the Double and the Work of the Early Theosophical Society* (Fullerton, CA: Theosophical History, 1997).

⁸⁹⁸ VRY3, iv; VRY2, 15.

⁸⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

The above commotion over his vision did not daunt Sabhapati, who appeared content to continue his work with new networks of students (as stated above) outside the aegis of the Theosophical Society. At the same time, he also continued for at least a decade to “persuade all his disciples to join the Theosophical Society,”⁹⁰⁰ despite the fact, as mentioned above, that there is no record of Sabhapati himself ever joining the Theosophical Society. Olcott for his part continued to maintain a sceptical distance from Sabhapati for the remainder of his life and discouraged people from “running after Yogis, Gurus, and Hermetic Brotherhoods of sorts,” also noting that “. . . while it is kind of [Sabhapati] to advise people to join the Theosophical Society, I should like to see his credentials before undertaking to believe that he ever went into or came out of Agasthya’s Ashrum.”⁹⁰¹ The invoking of “Hermetic Brotherhoods” by Olcott in connection with Sabhapati is intriguing since that is language that Sabhapati never himself used to describe his “Meditation Halls” or social networks of yogis. Olcott was likely referencing his awareness of the fact that Sabhapati’s work was also starting to circulate among the leadership of the Hermetic Brother of Luxor.⁹⁰²

Sabhapati largely disappeared from subsequent Theosophical discourse in the twentieth century, and there is no record of popular later authors such as Annie Besant (1847–1933) and C.W. Leadbeater (1854–1934) engaging his work to any significant extent, although Besant did refer to Agastya, which may have been at least partially inspired by Sabhapati’s reverence for the same (see Chapter One). Despite this absence from most of

⁹⁰⁰ M. Muncherjee Shroff, “The Work in Bombay,” Supplement to *The Theosophist: A Magazine of Oriental Philosophy, Art, Literature and Occultism* XI (April 1890): cxxiv.

⁹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰² Patrick D. Bowen, “‘The Real Pure Yog’: Yoga in the Early Theosophical Society and the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor,” in *Imagining the East: The Early Theosophical Society*, ed. Tim Rudbøg and Erik Reenberg Sand (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 143–65. For more on this society see Joscelyn Godwin, Christian Chanel, and John P. Deveney, eds., *The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor: Initiatic and Historical Documents of an Order of Practical Occultism* (York Beach, ME: S. Weiser, 1995).

Theosophy's subsequent history, his work today continues to be engaged by contemporary Theosophists on account of its teachings on the *cakras* and relevance to discourses on the phenomenon of "astral projection," as mentioned above.⁹⁰³

B. Franz Hartmann and Sabhapati in German Translation

Despite Sabhapati's disappearance from the mainstream of Theosophical literature, he did appear as a significant figure in German-speaking Theosophical circles via a translation by the Bavarian occult author and "Wild West" doctor Franz Hartmann (1838–1912), an enigmatic author who translated most of VRY into German (FH1, FH2) and published it near the end of his life.⁹⁰⁴ Hartmann led a colorful life and traveled widely, from Mexico to Texas and Colorado, from Germany and Austria to Adyar, Chennai in India. Hartmann's work is also one of the first to partake in a broader trend during this period of perceiving an identity between yoga and ritual magic, and published widely on both topics.⁹⁰⁵ Specifically, one of his views was an equation respectively between Rājāyoga (German *Radscha Yoga*), Haṭhayoga, and Tantra on the one hand and White Magic (*weiße Magie*), Black Magic (*schwarze Magie*) and Sorcery (*Hexerei*) on the other.⁹⁰⁶

⁹⁰³ Kurt Leland, *Rainbow Body: A History of the Western Chakra System from Blavatsky to Brennan* (Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2016);

⁹⁰⁴ I am grateful to Bill Breeze for sharing the first edition of Hartmann's translation with me. For more on Hartmann and his sojourn in the United States, Mexico, and India see Richard Kaczynski, *Forgotten Templars: The Untold Origins of Ordo Templi Orientis* (United States: Published for the author, 2012); Sven Eek, *Damodar and the Pioneers of the Theosophical Movement* (Adyar, Madras: Vasanta Press, 1978).

⁹⁰⁵ For more on this phenomenon see Suzanne Newcombe, "Magic and Yoga: The Role of Subcultures in Transcultural Exchange," in *Yoga Traveling: Bodily Practice in Transcultural Perspective*, ed. Beatrix Hauser, Transcultural Research– Heidelberg Studies on Asia and Europe in a Global Context (New York: Springer, 2013), 57–79; Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 64–70; for the contours of "modern ritual magic" see Egil Aspren, "Contemporary Ritual Magic," in *The Occult World*, ed. Christopher Partridge (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2014).

⁹⁰⁶ Franz Hartmann, *Radscha Yoga Hatha Yoga und Tantrika oder Weiße und schwarze Magie und Hexerei*, ed. Johannes Fähmann (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Bücher der Schatzkammer, 1990); For Hartmann's best known work on magic, see Franz Hartmann, *Magic: White and Black; The Science of Finite and Infinite Life*,

There are at least two notable features of Hartmann’s engagement with Sabhapati. First is his willingness to translate what we have seen (see Chapter Five) in the caption of Sabhapati’s first diagram (*lingaśarīra*) as *Astralkörper*, “the Astral Body.” As I mentioned above, this reflects an early priority of members of the Theosophical Society—including Henry Olcott himself—to see comparable techniques of astral projection in Indian methods of yoga.⁹⁰⁷ As we see from subsequent reprints of Hartmann’s translation by the Theosophical Society, however, a curious footnote was added to clarify that this must have been Hartmann’s guarded interpretation, omitting the fact that Olcott also made a similar assertion. The footnote reads as follows: “Franz Hartmann in some places intentionally confused the terms ‘Etheric’ and ‘Astral Body’ since he had qualms about publishing the mystery of the Etheric Body too early.”⁹⁰⁸ Assumed differences between the “Etheric” and “Astral” bodies would continue to be formulated in later Theosophical discourses on the subtle body in the Esoteric Section, which could have been what the footnote refers to.

Containing Practical Hints for Students of Occultism (Boston: by the Author, 1885). For some of the first examples of yoga being equated with magic (although in a stigmatizing way) see Keith Cantú, “Haṭhayoga as ‘Black Magic’ in Early Theosophy and Beyond,” in *Proceedings of the ESSWE6 Conference on Esotericism and Deviance*, ed. Tim Rudbøg and Manon Hedenborg White (Leiden: Brill, Forthcoming).

⁹⁰⁷ One of the main non-Indic sources for astral projection was the concept of a “Scin Laeca” or “shining body” that also appeared in Edward Bulwer-Lytton’s popular occult novel *A Strange Story* (1862).

⁹⁰⁸ “Franz Hartmann hat ab und zu mit Absicht die Begriff: Äther- und Astralkörper verwechselt, weil er Bedenken hatte, die Geheimnisse des Ätherkörpers zu früh zu veröffentlichen.”

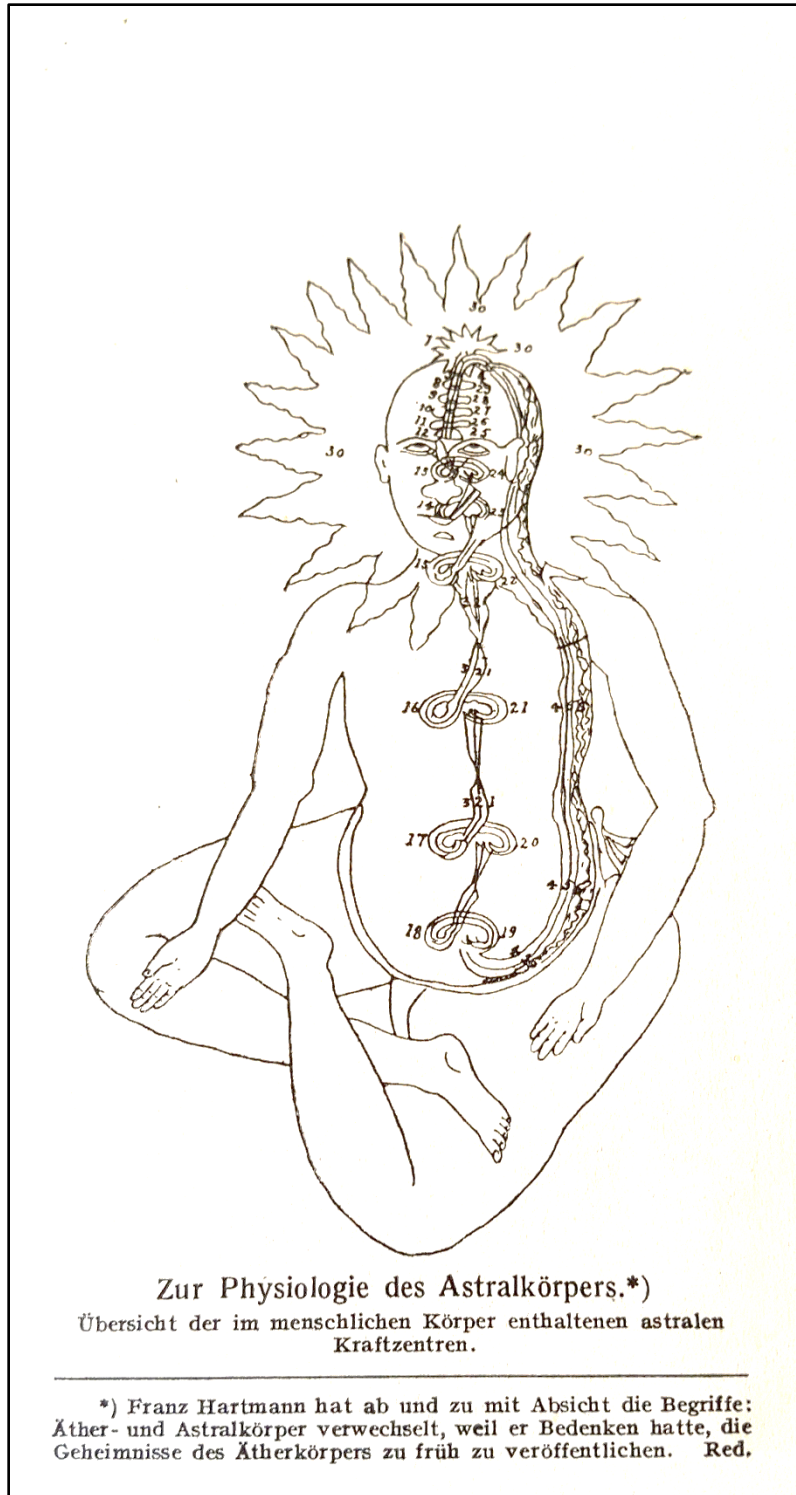


Figure One. “Zur Physiologie des Astralkörpers,” published in a later edition of Franz Hartmann’s work (FH3) and prompting a note by the later Theosophical publishers on the distinction between the “etheric” and “astral” bodies.

A second interesting point of engagement is Franz Hartmann's own footnotes that he interspersed throughout Sabhapati's text, which provides one a window into how Hartmann as a reader engaged Sabhapati's ideas and literature. For example, he cites authorities as varied as H.P. Blavatsky,⁹⁰⁹ the *Bhagavadgītā*,⁹¹⁰ the Upaniṣads,⁹¹¹ the biblical gospels of John,⁹¹² Matthew,⁹¹³ Luke,⁹¹⁴ the *Tattvabodha*,⁹¹⁵ the Christian mystic Meister Eckhart,⁹¹⁶ Jakob Böhme,⁹¹⁷ and Swami Vivekananda.⁹¹⁸ The diversity of Hartmann's references speaks to his interpretive frame and also the ability of occultists to connect disparate ideas to a certain trajectory that was intended to overcome polarization into one religion or another; this, perhaps, was one of the main contributions (for better or worse, depending on one's opinion) of Theosophy.

C. Sabhapati and the Thelema of Aleister Crowley

The continuing practice of certain aspects of Sabhapati's yoga has perhaps most tangibly survived in another occult current that is historically related but nevertheless distinct from that of Theosophy and the works of Franz Hartmann, however. This current is Thelema, a modern religio-philosophical tradition inseparable from its founding "prophet" Aleister Crowley.⁹¹⁹ Crowley's engagement of Sabhapati's works has been ignored to date apart from

⁹⁰⁹ FH2, 16n, 21n (including a work to her work *The Voice in the Silence*).

⁹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 18–19n, 27n, 33n, 52n.

⁹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 33n.

⁹¹² *Ibid.*, 19n, 23n, 43n.

⁹¹³ *Ibid.*, 28n, 33n.

⁹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 34n.

⁹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 54n, 57n, 63.

⁹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 59–60n, 82.

⁹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 60n.

⁹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 75–6n.

⁹¹⁹ For examples of both etic and emic scholarly sources that in various ways record the historical continuity of Thelema and the Ordo Templi Orientis from Crowley's death into the present day, see Henrik Bogdan and

what I have summarized in a recent chapter containing some of the information that follows in modified form.⁹²⁰ Like Hartmann above, Crowley also was an instrumental figure in promoting a perceived identity between yoga and ceremonial or ritual magic.⁹²¹

In his witty “Autohagiography” Crowley wrote that he first became attracted to Sabhapati’s writings following his travels in 1901 to Ceylon (modern Sri Lanka), where he visited his friend Allan Bennett (1872–1923), a fellow initiate in the Victorian magical order the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.⁹²² Bennett was to some extent proficient in Pali and Sanskrit and interested in yogic meditation as an unpublished 1901 diary held by the Warburg Institute shows, and he later became the second European to receive a Theravada Buddhist ordination, and the first in Burma (modern Myanmar).⁹²³ Crowley and Bennett had

Martin P. Starr, eds., *Aleister Crowley and Western Esotericism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); the articles in Manon Hedenborg White, ed., “Special Issue: Rethinking Aleister Crowley and Thelema,” *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 21, no. 1 (2021); Richard Kaczynski, Frater Iskandar, and Frater Taos, eds., *Success Is Your Proof: One Hundred Years of O.T.O. in North America, a Festschrift in Honor of Hymenaeus Beta, Celebrating Thirty Years of Leadership* (New York: Sekmet Books, 2015); Martin P. Starr, *The Unknown God: W.T. Smith and the Thelemites*, 1st ed (Bolingbrook, Ill: Teitan Press, 2003); Manon Hedenborg White, *The Eloquent Blood: The Goddess Babalon and the Construction of Femininities in Western Esotericism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2020); Hymenaeus Beta, ed., *The Equinox. The Review of Scientific Illuminism: The Official Organ of the O.T.O. Volume III, Number 10* (New York; York Beach, ME: 93 Publishing, by special arrangement with Samuel Weiser, 1990); J. Gordon Melton, “Thelemic Magick in America,” in *Alternatives to American Mainline Churches*, ed. Joseph Henry Fichter and William Sims Bainbridge (New York, N.Y: Unification Theological Seminary, 1983), 67–87; Israel Regardie, *The Eye in the Triangle: An Interpretation of Aleister Crowley* (Phoenix, AZ: Falcon Press, 1986 [1970]).

⁹²⁰ Keith Cantú, “Sri Sabhapati Swami: The Forgotten Yogi of Western Esotericism.” Henrik Bogdan had earlier alluded to this connection in Aleister Crowley, David Curwen, and Henrik Bogdan, *Brother Curwen, Brother Crowley: A Correspondence* (York Beach, ME: Teitan Press, 2010).

⁹²¹ Aleister Crowley, “Postcards to Probationers,” in *The Equinox: The Official Organ of the A. .A. . the Review of Scientific Illuminism*, vol. I:2 (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1909), 196–200; see also Singleton, *Yoga Body*, 65–6.

⁹²² Aleister Crowley, *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley: An Autohagiography*, ed. John Symonds and Kenneth Grant (New York: Hill and Wang, 1970), 252–58; Richard Kaczynski, *Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley*, Rev. and expanded ed (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2010), 93–97; Marco Pasi, *Aleister Crowley and the Temptation of Politics* (Durham, UK: Acumen, 2014), 12; Gordan Djurdjevic, *India and the Occult*, 37. For more on the innovative nature and history of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn see Alison Butler, *Victorian Occultism and the Making of Modern Magic: Invoking Tradition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Ellic Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order, 1887–1923* (New York: S. Weiser, 1978).

⁹²³ Following the schism of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, Bennett took orders as a Theravada Buddhist monk and relocated first to Ceylon and later Akyab in Burma (modern Sittwe, Myanmar. For more on

also studied yoga together during this visit with Ponnambalam Ramanathan (1851–1930), a Tamil Sri Lankan author and Solicitor-General of Ceylon, and during this time Crowley began to use the name Abhāvānanda, “the Bliss of Non-being.”⁹²⁴ The two eventually parted ways, and Crowley continued his fascination with the goddess Bhavānī, to whom he even offered a sacrificial goat in a temple in Madurai after discreetly obtaining entrance, citing inspiration from Richard Burton’s illicit entry into the Kaaba at Mecca.⁹²⁵

The information given in Crowley’s *Confessions* and diary entries is corroborated by the writings of Gerald Yorke (1901–1983), who wrote in his marginal notes to his copy of Kenneth Grant’s *Aleister Crowley and the Hidden God* that Crowley told him he “did get Tantrik knowledge from Subhupati Swami [*sic*] in Madras.”⁹²⁶ While Sabhupati’s yoga could certainly be considered to be a kind of Tantric yoga,⁹²⁷ there is nevertheless no further proof that Crowley himself ever personally considered Sabhupati’s knowledge as “tantric,” or that

Bennett’s acceptance of Theravada Buddhism, see John L. Crow, “Allan Bennett & the Emergence of Buddhism in the West,” *Insight: The Journal of the Theosophical Society in England* 49, no. 3 (Autumn 2008): 30–33 and his forthcoming publication co-authored with Elizabeth Harris *The Life of Allan Bennett, Bhikkhu Ananda Metteyya*; Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994, 369–375). The 1901 diary proves that Bennett (and possibly Crowley) experimented with writing Sanskrit using Devanagari script. While there is no evidence that Crowley ever learned more than a basic knowledge of Sanskrit, he did confess that he picked up conversational Hindustani (a precursor to modern Hindi and Urdu) during his Himalayan mountain-climbing expeditions; Crowley, *The Confessions*, 260.

⁹²⁴ For more on this historical figure see M Vythilingam, *The Life of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan*, 2 vols. (Colombo: Ramanathan Commemoration Society, 1971).

⁹²⁵ Crowley, *The Confessions*, 255–60; Crowley et al., *Brother Curwen, Brother Crowley*. For a comprehensive treatment of Crowley’s wider travels in India see Tobias Churton, *Aleister Crowley in India: The Secret Influence of Eastern Mysticism on Magic and the Occult* (Rochester, Vermont: Inner Traditions, 2019). Animal sacrifices, while today rarer, were once relatively common in India’s temples, especially to Tantric deities such as forms of Kali.

⁹²⁶ Crowley et al., *Brother Curwen, Brother Crowley*, xxxiv. For more on Yorke’s relationship to Crowley and turn towards Buddhism see Gerald Yorke et al., *Aleister Crowley, the Golden Dawn and Buddhism: Reminiscences and Writings of Gerald Yorke* (York Beach, ME: Teitan Press, 2011). For Yorke’s later relationship with B.K.S. Iyengar and the British yoga scene, see Suzanne Newcombe, *Yoga in Britain: Stretching Spirituality and Educating Yogis* (Bristol: Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2019), 28–38.

⁹²⁷ For some contours of what constitutes Tantric yoga, see Mallinson and Singleton, *Roots of Yoga*; André Padoux, *Comprendre le tantrisme: Les sources hindoues* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2010) and its shortened English translation André Padoux, *The Hindu Tantric World: An Overview* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2017).

they physically met in Madras or elsewhere.⁹²⁸ Instead, Crowley elsewhere stated that he was exposed to the “writings” of Sabhapati Swami during his aforementioned journeys in Madurai through a man who “spoke English well and was himself a great authority on Yoga.”⁹²⁹ This is verified in a letter from Crowley to David Curwen (dated September 11, 1945), in which he recounts that he “was only at Madura for three days and was nobody’s pupil.”⁹³⁰ Despite Crowley’s denial of receiving any instruction in his letter to Curwen, Crowley elsewhere does indicate that he received a teaching on yogic meditation at Madurai. In his commentary to H. P. Blavatsky’s *The Voice in the Silence* (1899) he writes that he got a “certain point in the body suitable for meditation” from his “guru in Madura [Madurai].”⁹³¹ The identity of this guru has unfortunately not been possible to determine at present, but it may have been the same person who introduced him to the literature of Sabhapati Swami.⁹³² In any event, in the same commentary Crowley also counts Sabhapati’s name among teachers “who know their subject from experience”—high praise coming from Crowley, who was often quick to disparage or roast religious authors whom he disliked.⁹³³

⁹²⁸ It is probably Kenneth Grant (1924–2011) who most helped transform Crowley’s image into a *tāntrika*, albeit one who in Grant’s view (correctly or incorrectly) did not fully realize the importance of female sexual fluids, which he called “kalas” (< Skt. *kalā*, lit. “(lunar) digit,” “fragmented power”); see Manon Hedenborg White, “The Other Woman: Babalon and the Scarlet Woman in Kenneth Grant’s Typhonian Trilogies,” in *Servants of the Star & the Snake: Essays in Honour of Kenneth & Steffi Grant*, ed. Henrik Bogdan (London: Starfire Publishing Ltd., 2018); and Hedenborg White, *The Eloquent Blood*, 157–93.

⁹²⁹ Crowley, *The Confessions*, 255.

⁹³⁰ Crowley, Curwen, and Bogdan, *Brother Curwen, Brother Crowley*, 49.

⁹³¹ Aleister Crowley et al., *Commentaries on the Holy Books and Other Papers: The Equinox, Volume Four, Number One* (York Beach, ME: S. Weiser, 1996), 301.

⁹³² It is possible though not conclusive that both the man who “spoke English well” and Crowley’s “guru”-who-is-not-a-guru was one Karunananda Swami, who collaborated with the Latent Light Culture and commented upon Crowley’s commentary “The Voice in the Silence” as advertised in *The Kalpaka*, although more research would be needed to determine this. I am grateful to Henrik Bogdan and Munish Kumar for sharing with me various aspects of this possibility.

⁹³³ Crowley et al., *Commentaries on the Holy Books*, 291.

A good indication of Crowley’s engagement with the practical teachings of Sri Sabhapati Swami can be gleaned through an examination of references to Sabhapati throughout his published works and diary entries. Most of these references are in the context of instructions of A·A·:, a thelemic magical teaching order that he co-founded in 1907 with George Cecil Jones (1873–1960), and which is still extant today.⁹³⁴ This order consists “of Eleven Grades or Degrees” that have been mapped onto a system of correspondences related to the Qabalah of Jewish mysticism, specifically the so-called *sefirot* of the “Tree of Life” as outlined in a published lists of tables called “Book 777” (see Figure Two), which also includes the symbolism of Daoism, Egyptian deities, and many other religions.⁹³⁵ Various of these grades include instructions that allude to Sabhapati’s teachings alongside teachings from Crowley’s other sources on yoga. These include the Pātañjalayogaśāstra,⁹³⁶ the works

⁹³⁴ For a historical summary of this order and its relationship with Crowley’s student Karl Germer and the Brazilian occultist Marcelo Motta see Keith Readdy, *One Truth and One Spirit: Aleister Crowley’s Spiritual Legacy* (Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2018); and for the late twentieth century James Wasserman, *In the Center of the Fire: A Memoir of the Occult, 1966–1989* (Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2012). The two most important publications of the A·A·: to date have been J. Daniel Gunther, *Initiation in the Aeon of the Child: The Inward Journey* (Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2009) and J. Daniel Gunther, *The Angel and the Abyss: Comprising The Angel and the Abyss and The Hieroglyphic Triad, Being Books II & III of The Inward Journey* (Lake Worth: Ibis Press, 2014). There are other claimants to A·A·: (especially in the United States) who have taken issue with Gunther’s writings, such as a group affiliated by the College of Thelema and promoted by the author David Shoemaker. The order as outlined by Readdy, however, is officially recognized by Ordo Templi Orientis at present and in any event has been the most proactive with publishing Crowley’s literature, such as Aleister Crowley et al., *Magick: Liber ABA, Book Four, Parts I–V*, 2nd rev. ed (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1997), which contains the only known emic engagement with Sabhapati’s teachings in recent decades (see below).

⁹³⁵ Crowley et al., *Commentaries on the Holy Books*, 9. This “Book 777” is an occult “dictionary” of comparative attributions modeled on the alphabetical paths of the *Sefer Yeşira* and the ten *sefirot* of the Tree of Life; see Anonymous [Aleister Crowley], *777 vel Prolegomena Symbolica ad Systemam Sceptico-Mysticæ Viae Explicandæ, Fundamentum Hieroglyphicum Sanctissimorum Scientiæ Summæ* (London and Felling-on-Tyne: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd., 1909). For the innovative engagement of Jewish and Christian Qabalah among occultists see Liz Greene, *Magi and Maggidim: The Kabbalah in British Occultism, 1860–1940* (Ceredigion, Wales: Sophia Centre Press, 2012); for the medieval context specific to Judaism see Elliot R Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

⁹³⁶ The Pātañjalayogaśāstra is a term used by scholars to refer to the ca. 4th- early 5th-century CE *Yoga Sūtras* of Patañjali along with their commentary or *bhāṣya* attributed to Vyāsa, which Philipp Maas has argued is a pseudonym for Patañjali himself (see also Chapter Four). In Crowley’s day, and indeed prior to the twenty-first

of Swami Vivekananda,⁹³⁷ oral teachings he and Bennett received from Ponnambalam Ramanathan as mentioned above, teachings on the *tattvas* as derived from the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn and the translation by Rama Prasad (Rāma Prasād Kaśyapa) of the medieval text *Śivasvarodaya*,⁹³⁸ and colonial-era translations on Haṭhayoga such as the *Haṭhapradīpikā* and Shrish Chandra Basu’s earlier translation of the *Śiva Saṃhitā*, to name a few of the most prominent sources.⁹³⁹ The widely-disseminated instruction “Liber O vel Manus et Sagittae,” attributed to the grade of Neophyte, refers in a footnote to the methods of Sabhapati Swami alongside mention of “progress by slaying the Cakkrāms,” teachings that appear to have been later published in a separate instruction entitled “Liber Yod.”⁹⁴⁰ Sabhapati’s *Om* (i.e., VRY) is also mentioned in conjunction with the physical longevity of

century, however, they were usually considered to be separate authors. For a critical edition of the first *pāda* of Patañjali’s work see Patañjali and Philipp André Maas, *Samādhīpāda: das erste Kapitel des Pātañjalayogaśāstra zum ersten Mal kritisch ediert*, Geisteskultur Indiens Texte und Studien 9 (Aachen: Shaker, 2006); for a biography of the text see David Gordon White, *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography*, Lives of Great Religious Books (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019). For prominent examples of Crowley’s engagement with Patañjali in a syncretic frame that also included Jewish Kabbalah and Daoism see the first part of Crowley et al., *Magick*; and Crowley, *Eight Lectures on Yoga*.

⁹³⁷ The most notable work engaged by Crowley was Swami Vivekananda, *Rāja Yoga: Conquering the Internal Nature* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896). Crowley especially adopted Vivekananda’s typology of the four types of yoga: “Karma Yoga [*karmayoga*],” “Bhakti Yoga [*bhaktiyoga*],” “Raja Yoga [*rājayoga*],” and “Gnana Yoga [*jñānayoga*]” and attributed these to the lower grades in the A.·A.· system, significantly also adding Haṭhayoga; cf. Aleister Crowley, ed., “Liber XIII vel Graduum Montis Abiegni: A Syllabus of the Steps upon the Path,” in *The Equinox, Volume I, Number III* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1910), 3–8. For the roots of this fourfold typology as interpreted by Vivekananda see De Michelis, *A History of Modern Yoga*, 123–25. A similar typology of four yogas that may have inspired Swami Vivekananda’s own usage was also used a decade earlier in Ambikacharan’s Bengali introduction to BRY (see Chapter Six).

⁹³⁸ For more on this figure and text see See Keith Cantú, “Haṭhayoga as ‘Black Magic’ in Early Theosophy and Beyond”; Magdalena Kraler, “Tracing Vivekananda’s Prāṇa and Ākāśa: The Yogavāsīṣṭha and Rama Prasad’s Occult Science of Breath,” in *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, ed. Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021); see also Egil Aspren, “Explaining the Esoteric Imagination: Towards a Theory of Kataphatic Practice,” *Aries* 17, no. 1 (2017): 17–50.

⁹³⁹ For a summary of these sources see Cantú, “Haṭhayoga as ‘Black Magic’ in Early Theosophy and Beyond.” For the engagement of these translations by Carl Kellner see Karl Baier, “Yoga within Viennese Occultism: Carl Kellner and Co.,” in *Yoga in Transformation: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Karl Baier, Philipp A. Maas, and Karin Preisendanz (Vienna: Vienna University Press, 2018), 183–222; for Theodor Reuss see my forthcoming article “The ‘Mystic Anatomy’ of Theodor Reuss,” based on a paper presented at the Ascona conference hosted by Academia OTO.

⁹⁴⁰ Aleister Crowley, ed., “Liber Tav [Yod] svb figvrā DCCCXXXI,” in *The Equinox, Volume I, Number VII* (London: Wieland & Co., 1912), 93–100.

yogis in “The Temple of Solomon the King,” a serialized essay authored by the British military strategist John Frederick Charles Fuller (1878–1966), one of the original “aspirants” to the A∴A∴ alongside Crowley.⁹⁴¹ Fuller also published his own modified version of the yogic teachings in “The Temple of Solomon the King,” in which the same reference to Sabhapati is given, after he and Crowley had a falling out.⁹⁴²

⁹⁴¹ A few years earlier Fuller had also written a book on the spiritual interpretation of Crowley’s poetry that was included as part of the A∴A∴ curriculum: Capt. J.F.C. Fuller, *The Star in the West: A Critical Interpretation upon the Works of Aleister Crowley* (London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., 1907). For Fuller’s contributions to military history and for his controversial authoritarian and fascist sympathies during World War II see Brian Holden Reid, *J. F. C. Fuller: Military Thinker*, Reprinted, Studies in Military and Strategic History (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990).

⁹⁴² Kaczynski, *Perdurabo*, 234. J.F.C. Fuller, *Yoga: A Study of the Mystical Philosophy of the Brahmins and Buddhists* (London: William Rider & Son, Limited, 1925), 69n2.

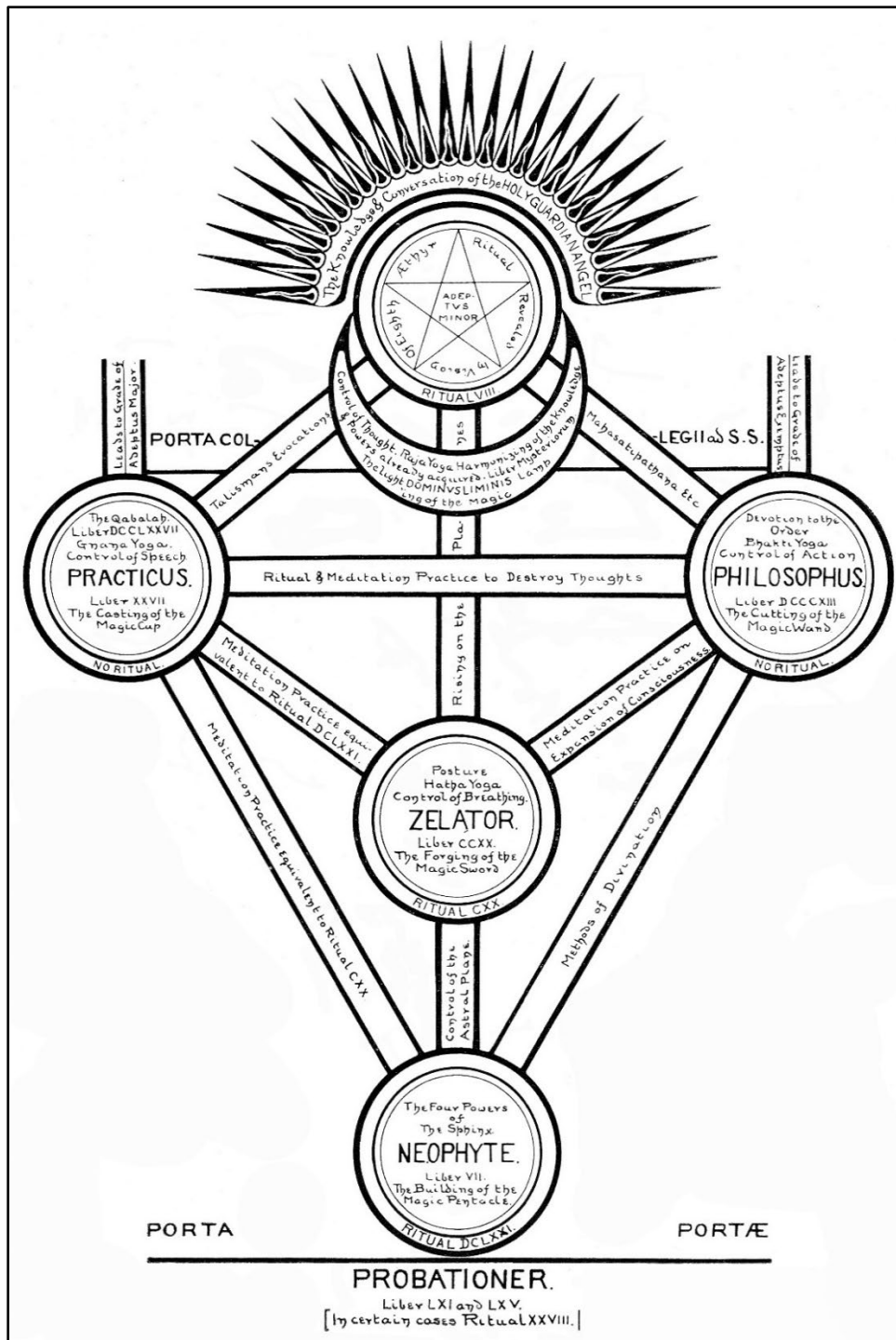


Figure Two. An image from “Liber XIII” (1910) that includes the lower degrees of A∴A∴, which culminate in the “Knowledge and Conversation of the Holy Guardian Angel.” The meditation related to Sabhapati’s Śivarājayoga (Liber HHH, SSS) was part of the task of the Zelator, the *sefira* also attributed to Haṭhayoga and the “Forging of the Magic Sword.” Several of the other yoga categories appear to derive from Crowley’s engagement with Vivekananda’s work. Image from a high-definition scan of *The Equinox* that was uploaded at <https://keepsilence.org/the-equinox/index.htm>, used here with permission from Scott Wilde who scanned and cleaned up the image.

Crowley's most direct engagement with Sabhapati's work, however, is found in a typescript to Crowley's March-April 1905 diary, which Hymenaeus Beta (Bill Breeze) published as a footnote in the second revised edition to Crowley's *Magick: Book Four*.⁹⁴³ In the diary entry, Crowley summarises a passage from VRY that was reprinted in all subsequent English editions of this work. The passage reflects a practical and explicit instruction on the method of Sabhapati's Śivarājyoga:

Draw the light of your two eyes internally to *kuṇḍali* [i.e., *kuṇḍalinī*, for Sabhāpati located at the base of the spine] by *iḍā* and *piṅgalā* respectively. Imagine the mind as a straight pole *brahmarandhra-kuṇḍali* and the consciousness at the bottom of this pole. Take hold of the consciousness by the two keennesses of your eyes and pull it slowly up Keep consciousness in *brahmarandhra* for 20 min. more. Then drop and lift it through *suṣumnā* so fast that it takes less than 1 sec.⁹⁴⁴

Crowley incorporated these notes, adding references to thelemic metaphysics derived from the text of *The Book of the Law* (1904), and synthesized them into an instruction entitled "S.S.S.," which forms the third chapter of a small book of meditations called *Liber HHH*.⁹⁴⁵ The title of this instruction is at once cleverly esoteric and exoteric: "S.S.S." refers to a repetition of the Hebrew letter *shin*, here denoting the element fire, as well as most probably to Sri Sabhapati Swami. *Liber HHH* was prescribed as part of the task of the Zelator, while

⁹⁴³ Crowley et al., *Magick*, 780.

⁹⁴⁴ The original passage Crowley commented on is found in VRY, 35–36; cf. also CPSPS, First Book, 112–14.

⁹⁴⁵ Aleister Crowley, ed., "Liber HHH svb figvrâ CCCXLI," in *The Equinox, Volume I, Number VII* (London: Wieland & Co., 1912), 93–100. For an analysis of this ritual see Djurdjevic, *India and the Occult*, 49–52.

the Practicus was expected to “pass in the meditation practice S.S.S., in Liber HHH.”⁹⁴⁶ Part of this practice was related to a technique of “Rising on the Planes,” which was a technique to obtain “control of the Astral plane” that employed different techniques than Theosophy.⁹⁴⁷ Perhaps most strikingly, the S.S.S. meditation includes imagining the spinal cord as a *liṅga* while the *yoni* is the “cavity of the brain,” which as we have seen is where Sabhapati locates various parts of the *brahmarandha* or “crevice of Brahman.”

While this meditation and its publication may seem obscure, its presence in Crowley’s literature has striking implications: any aspirants who have seriously pursued the system of A.:A.: from the early twentieth century to the present, both male and female, and from a wide variety of countries and cultural contexts all around the world, and even relatively famous Thelemites and aspirants to A.:A.:, like the Cal-Tech rocket-scientist Jack Parsons (1914–1952) and Leila Waddell (1880–1932),⁹⁴⁸ would have eventually been expected to demonstrate proficiency in a technique of yoga that derives from a passage given in the text of VRY presented here in this book. The practice of this ritual is not exclusive to the order A.:A.:, either, as many members of the Ordo Templi Orientis (O.T.O.), a social and fraternal “research organization” that Crowley assumed the leadership of in 1912, have also historically been (and are still today) intimately familiar with Crowley’s literature. Those in

⁹⁴⁶ Aleister Crowley, ed., *Liber Collegii Sanctii sub figurâ CLXXV, Being the Tasks of the Grades, and Their Oaths, Proper to Liber XIII, the Publications of the A.:A.: in Class D from B to G* (1910); these were later published in Crowley et al., *Commentaries on the Holy Books and Other Papers*.

⁹⁴⁷ For an analysis of this technique in Crowley’s literature and its precedents in a practice in the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn of scrying the *tattvas*, see Egil Asprem, “Explaining the Esoteric Imagination: Towards a Theory of Kataphatic Practice,” *Aries* 17, no. 1 (2017): 17–50.

⁹⁴⁸ For more on Leila Waddell and other female Thelemites see the results of “The Thelemic Women’s History Project” headed by Manon Hedenborg White and the forthcoming book *Women of Thelema: Selected Essays*, edited by Manon Hedenborg White and Christian Giudice (Kamuret Press, 2021). For Jack Parsons and his connection to L. Ron Hubbard, the founder of Scientology, see Henrik Bogdan, “The Babalon Working 1946: L. Ron Hubbard, John Whiteside Parsons, and the Practice of Enochian Magic,” *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* 63, no. 1 (2016): 12–32; for a popular source on Parsons see John Carter and Robert Anton Wilson, *Sex and Rockets: The Occult World of Jack Parsons* (Los Angeles, CA: Feral House, 2005).

the O.T.O. or even unaffiliated readers of Crowley's works who are even remotely interested in the practice of "Thelemic Magick" would likely come across this meditation eventually in their engagement with his writings or in social conversations, and as a result could feel compelled to practice the meditation on an individual basis. This also includes underground celebrities with known connections to Crowley's work such as the filmmaker Kenneth Anger (b. 1927) and the guitarist Jimmy Page (b. 1944).

The Tamil author and former Accountant-General of Madras, T. K. Rajagopalan, also independently commented upon this passage in the 1940s, just prior to Indian independence.⁹⁴⁹ Rajagopalan linked the passage to "Tāraka Yoga," or the "Yoga of the Pupil of the Eye" as a phase of "Amanaska Yoga,"⁹⁵⁰ citing a similar technique given in part of the first and second *brāhmaṇams* (1.2–2.4) of the *Maṇḍalabrāhmaṇopaniṣad*, one of the so-called "Yoga Upaniṣads."⁹⁵¹ Another author named Arjan Dass Malik (1938–2006), a former civil servant in the North Indian state of Haryana, was also enamoured of the technical dynamics at play in the above passage, noting that Sabhāpati's inclusion of both upwards and downwards flows of "consciousness" is significant. More specifically, Malik asserted that the swami "correctly mentions that the Kundalini having reached the top of the brain first descends to the *Ajñā* [i.e., the *ājñā cakra*] and later on ascends from the *Ajñā* to the top of the brain."⁹⁵²

⁹⁴⁹ T. K. Rajagopalan, *Hidden Treasures of Yoga: Revealing Certain Ancient and Secret Methods of Practical Mysticism* (Delhi, India: Oriental Book Centre, 2005 [1945]), 76–80.

⁹⁵⁰ For an evaluation of the contours of Amanaska see Jason Birch, "The Amaraughaprabodha: New Evidence on the Manuscript Transmission of an Early Work on Haṭha- and Rājayoga," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, no. 47 (2019): 947–77; and Jason Birch, "Rājayoga: The Reincarnations of the King of All Yogas," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 17, no. 3 (2013): 399–442; see also David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 316–17 and *Amanaskayoga* 1.50–98.

⁹⁵¹ For an analysis of the later date of many of these so-called Upaniṣads see Christian Bouy, *Les Nātha-yogin et les Upaniṣads* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1994).

⁹⁵² Malik, *Kundalini and Meditation*, 43.

It is important to keep in mind that Crowley’s legacy was not merely limited to occultism in Europe, North America, and Australia, but also informed teachings in India itself. In Chapter One I treated one of Sabhapati’s main students, Om Prakash Swamigal, who headed a meditation hall in the Kandal area of Udthagamandalam (Ooty). In a strange example of circularity, Om Prakash Swamigal became a member of Latent Light Culture, a still-extant occult society originally based in Tinnevely (modern Tirunelveli, Tamil Nadu), India that in its early days engaged Crowley’s writings.⁹⁵³ While many of Om Prakash Swamigal’s teachings reflect engagement with techniques on Haṭhayoga that derive from his gurus and not the Latent Light Culture, there is some limited evidence that he did incorporate these techniques into his work. For instance, in his book *Śrīsatsampāṣiṇi* he alludes to “Mesmerism, Hypnotism, Magnetism . . . Personal Magnetism, Will Force . . . [and] Mirror Practice.”⁹⁵⁴

D. William Estep and “Super Mind Science”

Almost two decades after Crowley published his interpretive meditation on Sabhapati’s technique of Śivarājayoga, Sabhapati’s work CPSPS was separately reprinted in two volumes by another author named William Estep (October 8, 1896–1967). The work was entitled *Esoteric Cosmic Yogi Science, or Works of the World Teacher* (WE) and was published out of Excelsior Springs, Missouri in 1929 by his own society “The Super Mind Science Publications,” which can be situated in the American movements known as “New

⁹⁵³ Henrik Bogdan, “Reception of Occultism in India: The Case of the Holy Order of Krishna,” in *Occultism in a Global Perspective*, ed. Henrik Bogdan and Gordan Djurdjevic (London: Routledge, 2013), 177–201; Śrī Ti. Ku Piḷḷai, *Nīlakiri, utakamaṅṅalam, tirukkāntal śrī takṣiṅāmūrtti maṅṅam lōkōpakāra vityātāṅṅa capai stāpakar acalapīṅṅam śrīmat ompirakāsa cuvāmikaḷ carittirac curukkam* (Tirupparāyṅṅurai: Śrīmat Citpavānanta Cuvāmikaḷatu muṅṅṅurayūṅṅaṅṅ kūṅṅiyatu, 1957), 31.

⁹⁵⁴ Ōm Pirakāca Cuvāmikaḷ, *Śrīsatsampāṣiṅṅi* (Nīlakiri: Śrī Carasvati Ācramam, 1915), 72.

Thought” or “mental healing.”⁹⁵⁵ As treated in Chapter Two, the volumes contain the full English text of CPSPS and its diagrams (though shrunk to size), although they are stripped of their contents in Tamil and Devanagari scripts. Estep also placed his own photo in the opening pages of the book and otherwise made it difficult for the reader to easily determine whether the books were Estep’s own work or whether they were Sabhapati’s. He claimed to be a direct disciple of Sabhapati Swami, although there is no validation of this claim in Sabhapati’s own published writings.

In fact, an analysis of Estep’s life reveals a long history of fraudulence and legal troubles, and it is therefore possible that he merely sought to profit from Sabhapati’s teachings on yoga without any actual philosophical interest or substantial engagement with his techniques or method, unlike what we saw with Hartmann and Crowley above. While it was indeed commonplace for modern occultists to lead relatively marginal or checkered lives and market esoteric teachings in the form of books or lectures to support their livelihoods in the absence of conventional employment, by the end of his life Estep had far surpassed the limit of mere innocuous entrepreneurial tendencies to the point of being thrown in jail for criminal manipulation (see below).

William Estep was born in Virginia to Edmond Osborn Estep (July 1856–1936) and Violet Estep *née* Fauber (April 1860–1942), who were married in 1883.⁹⁵⁶ His father

⁹⁵⁵ For more on New Thought see Wouter Hanegraaff, “New Thought Movement,” in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, ed. Wouter J Hanegraaff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 861–65; Catherine L. Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 394–97; Charles Braden, *Spirits in Rebellion: The Rise and Development of New Thought* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963).

⁹⁵⁶ The information that follows was obtained by creating a family tree for William Estep on Ancestry.com and discovering the salient details, which are well-recorded, and supplemented by investigation into newspaper archives that also mention his and his wife’s names. I am grateful to Philip Deslippe for encouraging me to use this method to learn more about his life and to the user Marc Demarest for uploading many details about Estep’s life to Ancestry.com.

Edmond was a day laborer from Virginia, who by the time of William's birth had relocated to rural Cabin Creek, a district southeast of Charleston in Kanawha County, West Virginia.⁹⁵⁷ William was the third-oldest child and had two older brothers, one younger sister and one younger brother.⁹⁵⁸ To my knowledge nothing has been published on Estep's early life (or personal life at all) to date, but extant records do enable one to piece together a bit of his later history.

At some point, prior to 1928, William met his future wife Dora Estep *née* Maxwell (c. 1893–August 30, 1956). Dora's family was from Tennessee but had relocated to Missouri, and by 1928 her address was listed in the town of Excelsior Springs, Missouri, east of Kansas City, which is the same town where the “Super Mind Science” reprints of Sabhapati's book (WE) were published a year later, in 1929. The reason that 1928 is a critical year is that extant steamship records and newspaper articles prove that both William and Dora had traveled to India, where they publicly converted to Hinduism and attracted considerable attention (see Figure Three).⁹⁵⁹ One article compared Dora's conversion to Nancy Ann Miller of Seattle, who converted upon her marriage to the Maharaja of Indore, Tukoji Rao,⁹⁶⁰ although Dora's case was different since William and Dora, both a non-Hindu couple, undertook the conversion together. What is interesting, however, is that her return immigration document does not list her as married but as “single” (i.e., not married), which could either mean that the marriage would not have been recognized by the immigration authorities or even that the

⁹⁵⁷ “Twelfth Census of the United States” (1900), West Virginia, Kanawha County, Cabin Creek District.

⁹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁹ On July 29, 1928, the Esteps arrived in Cardiff England from New York City on the steamship *George Washington*. See also “American Hindoo Converts Would Spread Religion Here,” *The Indiana Gazette*, November 21, 1928; and “List of United States Citizens (for the Immigration Authorities), S.S. Ile de France Sailing from Le Havre, November 28th, 1928, Arriving at the Port of New York, December 4th, 1928.,” 1928.

⁹⁶⁰ “Daughter Is Born to ‘Maharanee’; Former Nancy Miller and Husband, Ex-Maharajah of Indore, Are at Chateau Near Paris,” *The New York Times*, January 29, 1929.

entire marriage and conversion was a ruse to begin with.⁹⁶¹ The article on their marriage also confirms the source for Estep's alias "Mahatma Gotam Rishi," which he claims in WE.

Either concurrent with or prior to this journey to India, William's parents and possibly some of his siblings too had moved from West Virginia to the Columbia City neighborhood of Seattle, where their house still stands on Hudson Street; his father Edmond was listed as a landscape gardener.⁹⁶² At the same time, William had established Super Mind Science with an address not in Seattle but in Excelsior Springs, Missouri, the location associated with his wife Dora on a steamship record.⁹⁶³ It is clear that both William and Dora used the Super Mind Science imprint together to market an occult correspondence course of instruction, and his publications included a variety of works such as *The Path of Light*, *Mysteries of God and Man*, *Threads of Wisdom*, and *The White Prophecy*, and three years later (in 1932) he would publish *Eternal Wisdom & Health*, a work of over 700 pages on mental healing that also included an exegesis of certain books of the Bible and claimed to present "Super Mind Science" as the "restored message of Jesus Christ."⁹⁶⁴ Curiously, none of these later publications seem to focus at all on Sabhapati Swami's teachings in CPSPS and reprinted in WE, and as a result the publication seems to be somewhat of an anomalous outlier. There is evidence that the American yogi Deva Ram Sukul tried to publish Sabhapati's work as well around this period but to no avail; it is possible that the impulse

⁹⁶¹ "List of United States Citizens," 1928.

⁹⁶² His parents are listed at this address in Seattle Washington City Directory 1928, 629, in Ancestry.com, *U.S. City Directories, 1822–1995* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011. The same address is attached to William Estep's name in a steamship record, proving that he associated it with his residence too.

⁹⁶³ "List of United States Citizens," 1928.

⁹⁶⁴ Professor WM. Estep, *Eternal Wisdom and Health with Light on the Scriptures* (Excelsior Springs, MO: Super Mind Science Publications, 1932), 10.

behind both publications came from a similar motivation and that Deva Ram Sukul abandoned the publication once Estep's efforts eventually were successful.⁹⁶⁵

William Estep continued to lecture and promote his lectures on success and health in association with Super Mind Science, and at one point even called his institution a "Super-Mind Science Church" and established "chapels" in various cities. By the 1950s he had moved to Texas, where a dark underbelly to his New Thought prosperity gospel was exposed; William Estep the "Confidence Man" was convicted in Abilene of mail fraud and income tax evasion in Austin.⁹⁶⁶ Estep died in 1967, and throughout this later period up to the end of his life there does not appear to be any further engagement with the literature or yogic practice of Sabhapati Swami.

⁹⁶⁵ I am grateful to Philip Deslippe for sharing with me helpful information and a document that shows Deva Ram Sukul was proposing to publish Sabhapati's works. Sukul instead published a work *Seven Class Lessons on Raja Yoga and Vedanta Philosophy* (New York, NY: Yoga Institute of America, 1936).

⁹⁶⁶ "Confidence Man Back Into Prison," *Abilene Reporter News*, January 31, 1962. His fraud ran even deeper than mere tax evasion, however, and the *San Antonio Express* newspaper ran a three-part series in January of 1954 that exposed this "Healer's" fraudulent activities in connection to his new venture, the "Atomotor Manufacturing Company, Inc.," which marketed a "fuelless engine" that was capable of curing cancer; see Charles Ross, "S.A. 'Healer's' Activities Exposed," *San Antonio Express*, January 26, 1954, sec. Front Page.

American Hindoo Converts Would Spread Religion Here

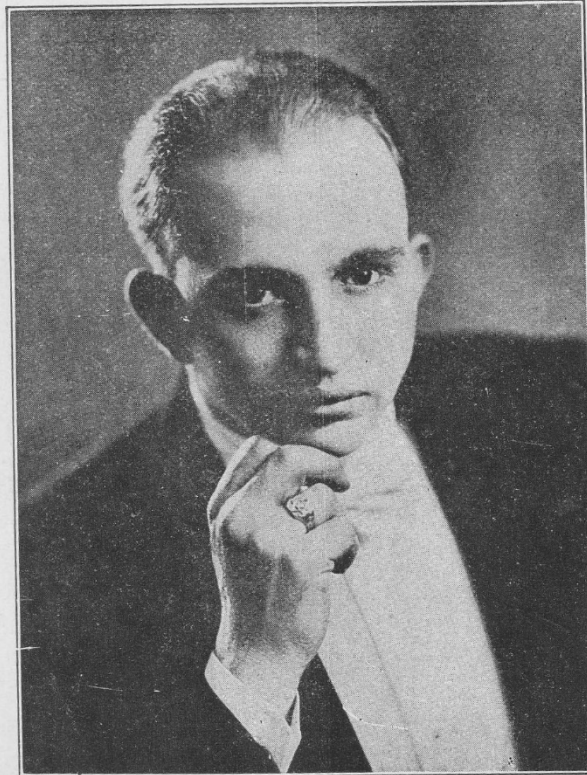
KANKHAL, India, Nov. 20.—(INS) —Prof. William Estop, of Philadelphia, and Miss Dora Maxwell, of Indianapolis, Ind., who followed the example of Nancy Ann Miller, wife of the former Maharajah of Indore, in renouncing christianity and embracing Hindooism so they could be married to each other in that faith, may go to the United States for converts to Hindoo religious philosophy.

Prof. Estop and his bride, privileged as priest and priestess to preach Hindoo philosophy, are today upon a lecture tour in the United Provinces. Before their departure they were married with full, ancient Hindoo ritual under the Hindoo names of Gantama and Yabai.

Swamiji Yogiraj, chief priest of Kankhal, who was responsible for their initiation into their adopted religion, performed the ceremony which attracted attention in India second only to that of the marriage of Miss Miller and the former Maharajah of Indore.

Figure Three. A newspaper article published just prior to William Estep's publication of Sabhapati's book (WE), showing that he took the Hindoo name "Gantama" (*sic*) for Gautama, rendered Gotam in WE.

ESOTERIC COSMIC YOGI SCIENCE
—OR—
WORKS OF THE WORLD TEACHER
By



PROF. WM. ESTEP
TITLED
Mahatma Gotam Rishi
Initiate of the Sonatan Dhrama India
Founder of
SUPER MIND SCIENCE

Figure Four. The portrait of William Estep published in the opening pages of his reprint of Sabhapati's work CPSPS (WE), published with its subtitle "Esoteric Cosmic Yogi Science."

Conclusion: Translocal, Local, Mesolocal and Beyond

As should be evident from the above chapters, Sabhapati's teachings on Śivarājayoga remained simultaneously relegated to local Tamil religious spheres and diffused in translocal occult milieus for almost a century and a half. As a result, their history at both the translocal and local levels remains discrete and trackable relative to many other modern traditions of yoga that became "globalized," so to speak, in the mid- to late twentieth century. The contents of his literature and visual diagrams, like a time-capsule of sorts gathering dust in library archives and private bookcases, additionally afford scholars the ability to better access and understand the religious history of a vast and under-studied network of locations and places (e.g. Velachery, Sathuragiri, Courtallam, Papanasam, Pothigai Malai, among many others) that were considered important sacred sites prior to the colonial period and up to the present day. In other words, I wish to emphasize that further examination into the life and teachings of this yogi continues to reveal so much more even outside of just this single figure, including an interconnected web of personal relationships and publication history, translocal flows and interactions with occultists and others, sacred places and temples, and philosophical, religious, and scientific engagement. If this dissertation has focused on Śivarājayoga as the main connecting thread given its importance to Sabhapati himself, it is by no means the only aspect of this yogi worthy of further research. In concluding, however, I will cite two overarching scholarly assumptions among many that this research at once complicates and enriches.

On the translocal end of the spectrum, Sabhapati's techniques and works lived on in the writings of certain authors with ties to occultism, some of whom like Blavatsky, Olcott, and Crowley are undoubtedly quite famous (or infamous). At the same time, Sabhapati never

appears to have been picked up as a major figure outside of these niche occultist circles in the translocalized yoga that we most readily recognize today (see the Introduction). This is also a fact worth considering, which raises deeper questions about the nature of fame and the kind of translocal figures that both scholars and popular authors care to remember and write biographies and monographs about. One way to investigate these questions is to consider the translocalization of Sabhapati's Śivarājyoga among occultists as a secondary diffusion in and of itself, meaning that aspects of his works have trickled into popular culture without much knowledge of Sabhapati as a personality *per se*. For example, while Crowley acknowledged Sabhapati by name in several instances, subsequent readers of Crowley after his death (e.g. the occultists Kenneth Grant, John Symonds, and Gerald Yorke, all of whom personally knew Crowley and helped manage his literary estate) were less inclined to research this personality and were more concerned with other meditative practices that may be linked to Sabhapati's system but only indirectly. This has led to what Leland in the Theosophical context has called "source amnesia," in which a practice lives on without much idea of where it originally came from.⁹⁶⁷ This is where a history of religions approach can contribute to a much deeper understanding of some of these teachings that would have been more immediately known to say Crowley, Hartmann, Blavatsky, Estep, and others, but forgotten by their readers and people who follow or historically followed their prescribed practices. It also invites a more serious and rigorous historical examination of many other

⁹⁶⁷ Kurt Leland, *Rainbow Body: A History of the Western Chakra System from Blavatsky to Brennan* (Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2016).

such sources on yoga that occultists consulted, many of which continue to be neglected by scholars on account of their perceived inauthenticity or lack of cultural relevance.⁹⁶⁸

At the other end of the spectrum, the local contexts in which Sabhapati lived and operated continued to change and evolve but never disappeared. In these contexts, however, his published works were mostly forgotten while Sabhapati's identity as a great saint (Tam. *periyā mahān*) of a prominent *paramparā* continues to be remembered and revered. Examples of such contexts include the remnants of Konnur Meditation Hall (see Chapter One; today called Sri Sabhapathy Lingeshwarar Koil) and Om Prakash Swamigal's own extant meditation hall and library in the Kandal village outside Udhagamandalam (Ooty), which also includes a primary school bearing his name. In the latter case Sabhapati Swami himself is not remembered, although he was mentioned in Om Prakash Swamigal's biographical account published in the mid-twentieth century, a text that remains accessible and of which dozens of copies survive. In both these cases, however, Sabhapati's decline in prominence seems to coincide directly with the ascent of another yogi who could more effectively bridge the translocal need at that period with a more solid grounding in the modern discourses of the age. Swami Vivekananda's subsequent fame swept through South India in 1893 with his visit, and the first Ramakrishna Mission in Tamil Nadu was established in Madras in 1897. The impact of these developments is more directly felt in the literature of Sabhapati's students, and seems to have been initially harmonious and compatible; an author who offered a dedication to Om Prakash Swamigal's biography signed his affiliation with the Ramakrishna Mission and lent his support to Om Prakash Swamigal's

⁹⁶⁸ For more on this question see Keith Cantú, "'Don't Take Any Wooden Nickels': Western Esotericism, Yoga, and the Discourse of Authenticity," in *New Approaches to the Study of Esotericism*, ed. Egil Asprem and Julian Strube, Supplements to Method & Theory in the Study of Religion (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 109–26.

efforts. At the same time, however, the subordinating and eclipsing tendency continued in subsequent decades and today most scholars of Hinduism are expected to know about the Ramakrishna Mission while Om Prakash's ashram has been relegated to the shadows of a forgotten time. The Dravidian language movement in the early twentieth century, with its emphasis on a return to "pure Tamil" (Tam. *centamiḷ*) as devoid as possible of Sanskrit, also would have rendered Sabhapati's heavily Sanskritized works obsolete and archaic. Despite these changes in the Tamil religious landscape, Sabhapati will likely continue to be remembered as one of the first "modern gurus" who, like others both before and after his lifetime, created a Hindu consensus of sorts that united teachings from disparate Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, and Śākta temple traditions.

This dissertation's findings at the "mesolocal" or pan-Indian level, however, may very well add the most striking complexity to contemporary research on yoga. On account of the advent of railroads and printing technology, a method of Śivarājyoga that had been relegated to relatively obscure Tamil Vīraśaiva lineages of gurus prior to the nineteenth century exploded across India in a matter of decades in languages as diverse as Hindustani, Bengali, Telugu, English, and many others. In other words, Sabhapati's system of Śivarājyoga, as cultivated and developed in South India, was at the forefront of a pan-Indian translation enterprise decades prior to subsequent modern yogis from the South like Tirumalai Krishnamacharya (1888–1989) and Seetharaman Sundaram (1901–1994).⁹⁶⁹ It cannot be doubted, of course, that Sabhapati was also inspired and influenced by his journeys

⁹⁶⁹ For Krishnamacharya see Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 175–210; David Gordon White, *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 197–223; and many others. For Sundaram see Singleton, *Yoga Body*, 125–29 and the forthcoming dissertation of Magdalena Kraler.

in Lahore and beyond, as well as by his interlocutors and supporters across North India as well as abroad. These interactions as well as the ways in which his literature was regionalized to fit various linguistic and local religious paradigms provide meaningful data that has the potential to vastly expand our understanding of how yoga was perceived in the colonial period as well as its subsequent developments post-Independence. If the past is any indication of the present, similar developments in the world of yoga may just be continuing to happen before our very eyes, that is, if we are only willing to take a closer look.

Primary References⁹⁷⁰

- Admirer, An. “The Madras Yogi Sabhapaty Swami.” *The Theosophist: A Monthly Journal Devoted to Oriental Philosophy, Art, Literature and Occultism: Embracing Mesmerism, Spiritualism, and Other Secret Sciences* 1, no. 6 (March 1880): 145–47.
- “American Hindoo Converts Would Spread Religion Here.” *The Indiana Gazette*. November 21, 1928.
- Anonymous. *The Secret of Longevity and Verses by Yogi Sabhapathy Swami*. Coimbatore: K.N. Easwariah at the Literary Sun Press, 1895.
- Anonymous [Aleister Crowley]. *777 vel Prolegomena Symbolica ad Systemam Sceptico-Mysticae Viae Explicandae, Fundamentum Hieroglyphicum Sanctissimum Scientiae Summae*. London and Felling-on-Tyne: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd., 1909.
- Another Hindu Theosophist. “Do the Rishis Exist?” *The Theosophist: A Magazine of Oriental Philosophy, Art, Literature and Occultism* 4 (May 1883).
- Āpte, Hari Nārāyaṇa, trans. *Pātañjalayogasūtrāṇi*. Pune: Ānandāsramamudraṇālayā, 1919.
- Avalon, Arthur. *The Serpent Power, Being the Shat-Chakra-Nirūpana and Pāduka-Panchakā*. Madras: Ganesh & Co., 1950. First published 1919.
- Bary, R.C. *The Prayer Book of the Aryans, Being a Translation in English of Sandhia and Gayutree, with Original Mantras in Sanscrit, as Well as Rules for Their Observance, with Scientific Explanation*. Lahore: R.C. Bary, printed at the “Arya Press,” 1883.
- Beta, Hymenaeus, ed. *The Equinox. The Review of Scientific Illuminism: The Official Organ of the O.T.O. Volume III, Number 10*. New York: 93 Publishing, 1989.
- Blavatsky, H.P. “A Hindu Professor’s Views on Indian Yoga.” *The Theosophist: A Magazine of Oriental Philosophy, Art, Literature and Occultism* II, no. 7 (April 1881): 158–59.
- Blavatsky, Helena, and Henry Olcott, eds. “The ‘Trieste [sic] on Vedantic Raj Yoga.’” *The Theosophist: A Magazine of Oriental Philosophy, Art, Literature and Occultism* I, no. 7 (April 1880): 190.
- Bose, Phanindranath. *Life of Sris Chandra Basu*. Calcutta: R. Chatterjee, 1932.
- Braidwood, Rev. John. *True Yoke-Fellows in the Mission Field: The Life and Labours of the Rev. John Anderson and the Rev. Robert Johnston, Traced in the Rise and*

⁹⁷⁰ I have retained the original romanizations and vernacular diacritics (where applicable) of Sabhapati’s name on all books he authored on account of wide variation in library catalogues and archives. Some of the sources in this list may also be considered secondary sources in some contexts but were considered primary for the purposes of this dissertation.

- Development of the Madras Free Church Mission.* London: James Nisbet & Co., 1862.
- Caldwell, Robert. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages.* Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. London: Trübner, Ludgate Hill, 1875.
- . *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevely, in the Presidency of Madras, from the Earliest Period to Its Cession to the English Government in A.D. 1801.* Madras: E. Keys, at the Government Press, 1881.
- Ceṭṭiyār, V. Cuppiramaṇiya. Interview with V. Cuppiramaṇiya Ceṭṭiyār. Interview by Keith Cantú and Vinayagam. Audio recording, August 17, 2019.
- Chandru, Justice K. “Thiru Sabanatha Oli Sivachariyar v/s The Commissioner, H.R. & C.E. Department & Others,” n.d.
- Cīkālīc Cīrampalanāṭikaḷ. *Tukaḷaru pōtam.* Paruttitturai (Point Pedro), Sri Lanka: Kalānitiyantiracālai, 1950.
- Civāṇantapōtam.* Ceṇṇai: Manonmaṇivilācam Accukkūtam, 1897.
- “Confidence Man Back Into Prison.” *Abilene Reporter News.* January 31, 1962.
- Crowley, Aleister. *Eight Lectures on Yoga.* Scottsdale, AZ: O.T.O. in association with New Falcon Publications, 1985. First published 1939.
- . *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley: An Autohagiography.* Edited by John Symonds and Kenneth Grant. New York: Hill and Wang, 1970.
- Crowley, Aleister, ed. “Liber HHH sub figvrâ CCCXLI.” In *The Equinox, Volume I, Number VII*, 93–100. London: Wieland & Co., 1912.
- . “Liber Tav [Yod] svb figvrâ DCCCXXXI.” In *The Equinox, Volume I, Number VII*, 93–100. London: Wieland & Co., 1912.
- . “Liber XIII vel Graduum Montis Abiegni: A Syllabus of the Steps upon the Path.” In *The Equinox, Volume I, Number III*, 3–8. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1910.
- . “Postcards to Probationers.” In *The Equinox, Volume I, Number II*, 196–200. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1909.
- Crowley, Aleister, Mary Desti, Leila Waddell, and Hymenaeus Beta. *Magick: Liber ABA, Book Four, Parts I–IV.* Second revised edition. York Beach, ME: S. Weiser, 1997.
- Crowley, Aleister, David Curwen, and Henrik Bogdan. *Brother Curwen, Brother Crowley: A Correspondence.* York Beach, ME: Teitan Press, 2010.

- Crowley, Aleister, H.P. Blavatsky, J.F.C. Fuller, and Charles Stansfeld Jones. *Commentaries on the Holy Books and Other Papers: The Equinox, Volume Four, Number One*. Edited by A.:A.: [sic]. York Beach, ME: S. Weiser, 1996.
- Cuvāmikaḷ, Capāpati. *Carva māṇaca nittiya karmānuṣṭāṇa, carva tēvatātēvi māṇaca pūjāttiyāṇa, pīrammakñāṇa rājayōka niṣṭai camāti, carva tīkṣākkramattiyāṇa, cātaṇā appiyāca kiramāṇucantāṇa, caṅkiraha vēta tiyāṇōpatēca smiruti*. Tiruccirāppaḷli: Ṣaṇmukavilās Piras, 1913.
- Cuvāmikaḷ, Nāṇakuruyōki Capāpati. *Carvōpatēsa tatvañāṇa civarājayōka svayap pīrammañāṇāṇupūti vētapōtam*. Madras: Empress of India Piras [Press], 1889.
- Cuvāmikaḷ, Citampara. *Upatēcavuṇmaiyum*. Edited by Ciṅkāravēlu Piḷḷai. Koṇṇūr: Māṇikkamutaḷiyār’s Maṇōṇmaṇivilācavaccukkūṭam, 1881.
- Cuvāmikaḷ, Citampara Periya. *Upatēca uṇmai, viḷakka uraiyuṭaṇ*. Vēḷaccēri, Chennai, India: Vēḷaccēri Makāṇ Patippakam, 2014.
- Cuvāmikaḷ, Vētacirēṇi Citampara. *Upatēcavuṇmaiyum upatēcavuṇmaikkaṭṭaḷaiyum tōttiramālaiyum aṭaṅkiyirukkiṇratu*. Edited by Tirumayilai Vaitiliṅkatēcīkar. Cēṇṇai: Cakalalālānilaiyaccukkūṭam, 1881.
- Cuvāmikaḷ, Hariharaṇ. Interview at Aruḷmiku Śrī Capāpati Liṅkēsvar Jīvacamāti Ālayam. Interview by Keith Cantú and Sivasakthi. Audio recording, July 2018.
- Cuvāmikaḷ, Hariharaṇ. Interview at Aruḷmiku Śrī Capāpati Liṅkēsvar Jīvacamāti Ālayam. Audio recording, 12 August 2018.
- Cuvāmikaḷ, Ōm Pirakāca. *Śrīsatsampāṣiṇi*. Nīlakiri: Śrī Carasvati Ācramam, 1915.
- . *Śrī satsampāṣiṇi*. Madras: The Eveready Press, 1939.
- “Daughter Is Born to ‘Maharanee’; Former Nancy Miller and Husband, Ex-Maharajah of Indore, Are at Chateau Near Paris.” *The New York Times*. January 29, 1929.
- Dvivedi, Manilal Nabhubhai. *Rāja Yoga, or the Practical Metaphysics of the Vedānta, Being a Translation of the Vākyasudhā or Drigdrishyaviveka of Bhāratitirtha, and the Aparokshānubhuti of Shri Shankarāchārya, with an Introduction, Appendix Containing the Sanskrit Text and Commentary of the Vākyasudhā, and Notes Explanatory and Critical*. Bombay: “Subodha-Prakasha” Printing Press, 1885.
- Dwivedi, Pt. Vrajavallabh, ed. *Netratantram, with the Commentary Udyota of Kṣemarājācārya*. Delhi: Parimal Publications, 1985.
- Estep, Professor WM. *Eternal Wisdom and Health with Light on the Scriptures*. Excelsior Springs, MO: Super Mind Science Publications, 1932.
- Fuller, Capt. J.F.C. *The Star in the West: A Critical Interpretation upon the Works of Aleister Crowley*. London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., 1907.

- . *Yoga: A Study of the Mystical Philosophy of the Brahmins and Buddhists*. London: William Rider & Son, 1925.
- Gillard, Paul. “Le Pas Décisif.” *Le Lotus Bleu: revue Theosophique mensuelle* 8, no. 1 (1897): 20–24.
- Gunther, J. Daniel. *Initiation in the Aeon of the Child: The Inward Journey*. Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2009.
- . *The Angel and the Abyss: Comprising The Angel and the Abyss and The Hieroglyphic Triad, Being Books II & III of The Inward Journey*. Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2014.
- Gupta, Kaviraj Russick Lall. *Science of Sphygmica or Sage Kanàd on Pulse, An English Translation with Sanskrit Passages*. Calcutta: S.C. Addy, 1891.
- Hariharan, Cuvāmi Pi. Pi. Ār. *Aruḷmiku śrī capāpati liṅkēsvar jīvacamāti ālayamstala varalāru*. Maṇavūr: Kaviñar Murukāṇantam Accakam, 2017.
- Hartmann, Franz, trans. “Aus dem Leben des indischen Mahātmā Jñāna Guru Yogī Sabhapatti Svāmī.” In *Neue Lotusblüten*, 1:259–70. Leipzig: Jaeger’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1908.
- . *Die Philosophie und Wissenschaft des Vedanta und Rāja-Yoga oder Das Eingehen in Gottheit von Mahātmā Jñāna Guru Yogi Sabhapatti Svāmī aus dem Englischen übersetzt von Franz Hartmann*. Leipzig: Jaeger, 1909.
- Hartmann, Franz. *Magic: White and Black; The Science of Finite and Infinite Life, Containing Practical Hints for Students of Occultism*. Boston: by the Author, 1885.
- . *Radscha Yoga Hatha Yoga und Tantrika oder Weiße und schwarze Magie und Hexerei*. Edited by Johannes Fährmann. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Bücher der Schatzkammer, 1990.
- Hunt, Miss Chandos Leigh. *Private Instructions on the Science and Art of Organic Magnetism*. Third Edition. London: Printed for the authoress by G. Wilson, 1885.
- Kailaṣnāt, Yōki. *Carḥkurunāta yōkam: śrīcarḥkurunāta svāmikaḷ aruḷiya sivarāja yōkam, taṇarāja yōkam, yōkarāja yōkam, oṭṭirāja yōkam, tavarāja yōkam (mūlamum - uraiyum)*. Ceṇṇai: Kaṇpakam Puttakālayam, 2012.
- . *Cittar kaḷaṅciyam*. Ceṇṇai: Kaṇpakam Puttakālayam, 2017.
- Kasyapa, Pandit Rama Prasad. *Occult Science, The Science of Breath*. Second Edition. Lahore: R.C. Bary & Sons, Printed at the “New Lyall Press,” 1892.
- Kumāratēvar, Śrī. *Tiruvāymalarntaruḷiya cāstirakkōvai*. Edited by Caccitānantacuvāmikaḷ and Ārumukamutaliyār. Ceṇṇai: Manōṇmaṇivilāca Acciyantiracālai, 1908.

- . *Virutācalattil śrīperiyānāyakiyār varapiracātiyāy eluntaruḷiyirunta cāttirakkōvai*. Edited by Ārumuka Mutaliyār, and Koṇṇūr Māṇikka Mutaliyār. Cennai: Parappiramamuttirākṣaracālai, 1871.
- “List of United States Citizens (for the Immigration Authorities), S.S. Ile de France Sailing from Le Havre, November 28th, 1928, Arriving at the Port of New York, December 4th, 1928.” n.d.
- Madras Record Office. *Classified Catalogue of Books Registered from 1890–1900 at the Office of the Registrar of Books*. Madras: Controller of Stationery and Printing, Madras, on Behalf of the Government of Madras, 1962.
- . *Classified Catalogue of Books Registered from 1911–1915 at the Office of the Registrar of Books*. Madras: Controller of Stationery and Printing, Madras, on Behalf of the Government of Madras, 1965.
- Malik, Arjan Dass. *Kundalini and Meditation*. Delhi; Borehamwood: Motilal Banarsidass; Motilal, 2002.
- Mansel, Henry Longueville. *The Limits of Religious Thought Examined in Eight Lectures, Preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year M.DCCC.LVIII*. Fourth Edition. London: John Murray, 1859.
- Marutapillai Āciriyaṅ, Ci., ed. *Tiruvātavūraṭikaḷ purāṇam*. Cuḷipuram, India: Pajāṇaiccapai, Vaḷakkamparai, 1982.
- Mavalankar, D.K. “The Philosophy and Science of Vedantic Raja Yoga.” Edited by Helena Blavatsky and Henry Olcott. *The Theosophist: A Magazine of Oriental Philosophy, Art, Literature and Occultism* 5, no. 6 (March 1884): 146.
- Mitra, Vihari Lala, trans. *The Yoga Vasishtha Mahārāmāyana of Valmiki*. Vol. II. Calcutta: Kahinoor Press, 1893.
- Müller, F. Max. *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*. London: Longmans, Green, 1899.
- Muthalali, Koshi. “Proceedings of the Tahsildar of Saidapet Taluk, Ref: Transfer of Registry-Saidapet Taluk 71, Konnur Village Patta Nos. 54 and 68.” Unpublished legal document, 1936.
- Nambiar, P.K., and N. Krishnamurthy. *Census of India 1961 Volume IX, Madras, Part XI-D: Temples of Madras State, 1. Chingleput District and Madras City*. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1965.
- Narayanaswamy Raju. Interview with Narayanaswamy Raju (Nārāyaṇacuvāmi Rāju). Interview by Keith Cantú and Vinayagam. Audio and video recording, March 4, 2020.
- Nāzir, Ghulām ‘Abdu’l-Qādir. *Bahār-i-a’zam jāhī*. Translated by S. Muhammad Husayn. Madras: University of Madras, 1950.

- Nikhilānanda, Swāmi, trans. *The Māndūkyopaniṣhad with Gaudapāda's Kārikā and Śankara's Commentary*. Mysore: Sri Ramakrishna Ashrama, 1949.
- Olcott, Henry S. *Old Diary Leaves. Second Series 1878–83*. London and Madras: The Theosophical Publishing Society and the Theosophist Office, 1900.
- . “The Fourth Anniversary Address.” In *A Collection of Lectures on Theosophy and Archaic Religions, Delivered in India and Ceylon by Colonel H.S. Olcott, President of the Theosophical Society*, 18–25. Madras: A. Theyaga Rajier, 1883.
- Oman, John Campbell. *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India, Being a Revised and Enlarged Edition of “Indian Life, Religious and Social,” Comprising Studies and Sketches of Interesting Peculiarities in the Beliefs, Festivals and Domestic Life of the Indian People; Also of Witchcraft and Demoniacal Possession, as Known amongst Them*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908.
- . *Indian Life, Religious and Social*. First Edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1889.
- . *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India: A Study of Sadhuism, with an Account of the Yogis, Sanyasis, Bairagis, and Other Strange Hindu Sectarians*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905.
- Pāṇini. *The Ashtadhyayi. Translated into English by Srisa Chandra Vasu*. Benares: Published by Sindhu Charan Bose, at the Panini Office, 1897.
- Pargiter, F. Eden, trans. *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1904.
- Patañjali, and Philipp André Maas. *Samādhipāda: das erste Kapitel des Pātañjalayogaśāstra zum ersten Mal kritisch ediert*. Geisteskultur Indiens Texte und Studien 9. Aachen: Shaker, 2006.
- Paul, N.C. *A Treatise on the Yoga Philosophy*. Benares: E.J. Lazarus and Co., 1882.
- Piḷḷai, Nā. Katiraivēṟ. *Tāyumāṇa cuvāmi pāṭalkaḷ: mūlamum uraiyum*. Ceṇṇai: Cantiyā Patippakam, 2010. First published 1937.
- Pillai, J.M. Nallaswami, trans. *Sivagnana Botham of Meikanda Deva*. Tinnevely: The South Indian Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, 1984.
- . *Śivajñāna Siddhiyār of Aruṇandi Śivāchārya*. Madras: Meykandan Press, 1913.
- Piḷḷai, Śrī Ti. Ku. *Nīlakiri, utakamaṅṭalam, tirukkāntal śrī takṣiṇāmūrtti maṭam lōkōpakāra vityātāṇa capai stāpakar acalapītam śrīmat ompirakāsa cuvāmikaḷ carittirac curukkam*. Tirupparāytturai: Śrīmat Citpavānanta Cuvāmikaḷatu munnuraiyuṭaṅ kūṭiyatu, 1957.
- Pope, G.U. *The Tiruvāçagam, or “Sacred Utterances” of the Tamil Poet, Saint, and Sage Māṇikka-Vāçagar*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1900.

- Prasád, Ráma. *The Science of Breath and the Philosophy of the Tatwas: Nature's Finer Forces*. London: The Theosophical Publishing Society, 1890.
- Probsthain & Co. *Probsthain's Oriental Catalogue, No. XXVIII. Indian Literature: Art and Religion*. London: Probsthain, 1913.
- Rajagopalan, T. K. *Hidden Treasures of Yoga: Revealing Certain Ancient and Secret Methods of Practical Mysticism*. Delhi, India: Oriental Book Centre, 2005. First published 1945.
- Rāmanāṭaṅ, Aru., ed. *Cittar pātalkaḷ*. Eighteenth Edition. Ceṅṅai: Pirēmā Piracuram (Prema Pirasuram), 2017.
- Ross, Charles. "S.A. 'Healer's' Activities Exposed." *San Antonio Express*. January 26, 1954, sec. Front Page.
- Sadāśivayogīśvara. *Śivayogadīpikā*. Edited by Hari Nārāyaṇa Āpṭe. Ānandāśrama: Pune, 1907.
- "Sadhu Srila Srikrishnaveni Amma vs The State Rep. By Its Secretary." Legal document, 18 March, 2015.
- Sharīf, Ja'far. *Islam in India or the Qānūn-i-Islām*. Translated by G.A. Herklots. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921.
- Shroff, M. Muncherjee. "The Work in Bombay." *Supplement to The Theosophist: A Magazine of Oriental Philosophy, Art, Literature and Occultism* XI (April 1890): cxxiii–cxxiv.
- Sivananda, Swami, and Swami Venkatesananda. *Sivananda's Lectures: All-India Tour*. Rishikesh: Sivananda Publication League, 1951.
- Spencer, Herbert. *First Principles*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1862.
- Sūda, Haramohana Lāl. *Bhāratendu maṅḍal ke samānāntara aur āpūrak murādābād maṅḍal*. New Delhi: Vāṅī Prakāśan, 1986.
- Sukul, Deva Ram. *Seven Class Lessons on Raja Yoga and Vedanta Philosophy*. New York: Yoga Institute of America, 1936.
- Superintendent, The. *A Manual of Instructions for Conducting Resettlements in the Madras Presidency (Under the Simplified System)*. Madras: The Superintendent, Government Press, 1937.
- Svami, Sabhapatti. *Die Philosophie und Wissenschaft des Vedānta und Rāja-Yoga oder das Eingehen in Gott*. Übersetzt von Franz Hartmann. Leipzig: Theosophisches Verlagshaus, 1926.

- Svāmikaḷ, Nāṇakuru Yōkīsvara Capāpati. *Koṇṇūr kñāṇa kurumaṭālaya tapācīrmattiṇuṭaiya ṇāṇakuru yōkīsvara capāpati svāmikaḷ aṇukkirkitta cātanāppiyāsāṇupava upatēcam*. Vellore: Natasun & Co.—V.N. Press, 1898.
- Svāmī, Mahātmā Jñānaguruyogī Sabhāpati. *Rājayoga brahmajñānānubhūti saṅgraha veda*. Mumbai: Tattvavivecaka Chāpakhānemem Chāpe, 1892.
- Svāmī, Sabhāpati. *Yogī sabhāpati svāmīke hālāt*. Bareilly [Barelī]: The Rohilkhand Theosophical Society, 1883.
- Svāmī, Śrīmat Sabhāpati. *Bedāntadarśan o rājayog*. Translated by Śrī Ambikācaraṇ Bandyopādhyāy. Kalikātā: Śrī Aghoranāth Barāt, Bengali year 1292 [1885].
- Svātmārāma. *Haṭhapradīpikā of Svātmārāma*. Edited by Swami Digambarji and Raghunatha Shastri Kokaje. Third Edition. Lonavla: Kaivalyadhama, 2016.
- Swami, Maahtma [sic] Giana Guroo Yogi Sabhapaty. *Vedantic Raj Yoga: Ancient Tantra Yoga of Rishies*. New Delhi: Pankaj Publications, 1977.
- Swami, The Mahatma Giana Guroo Yogi Sabhapaty. *Om. A Treatise on Vedantic Raj Yoga Philosophy*. Edited by Siris Chandra Basu. Lahore: “Civil and Military Gazette” Press, 1880.
- Swami, The Mahatma Jnana Guru Yogi Sabhapaty. *The Philosophy & Science of Vedanta and Raja Yoga*. Second Edition. Lahore: R.C. Bary at the „Arya Press“ by Ram Das, 1883.
- Swami, Sabhapaty. *The Philosophy and Science of Vedanta and Raja Yoga*. Edited by Siris Chandra Vasu. Reprint of the Second Edition. Bombay: C.P. Mandali, 1950.
- Swami, The Mahatma Jnana Guru Yogi Sabhapaty. *Om. The Philosophy & Science of Vedanta and Raja Yoga*. Edited by Srish Chandra Vasu. Third Edition. Lahore: R.C. Bary & Sons, 1895.
- Swamy, Sabhapaty. “The Madras Yogi Sabhapaty Swamy, Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott at Lahore.” *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, November 16, 1880.
- Swami, Sabhapaty, and Wm. Estep. *Esoteric Cosmic Yogi Science, or, Works of the World Teacher*. Excelsior Springs, MO: Super Mind Science Publications, 1929.
- Tāsar, Aruṭkavī Śrī Tēvī Karumārī. *Vilvāranyat tala purāṇac curukkam*. Villivākkam, Ceṇṇai: Ilaiṇar Aruṭpaṇi Maṇṇam, 2000.
- Tatya, Tookaram. *A Compendium of the Raja Yoga Philosophy, Comprising the Principal Treatises of Shrimat Sankaracharya and Other Renowned Authors*. Theosophical Publication Fund. Bombay: Subodha-Prakash Press, 1888.
- Tirumular. *Tirumantiram: A Tamil Scriptural Classic*. Translated by B. Natarajan and N. Mahalingam. Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1991.

- Tirumūlar. *The Tirumandiram*. Translated by T. N Ganapathy, T. V Venkataraman, T.N. Ramachandran, KR. Arumugam, P.S. Somasundaram, and S.N. Kandaswamy. 10 vols. Eastman, Quebec, Canada: Babaji's Kriya Yoga and Publications, Inc., 2013.
- . *Tirumūlar Tirumantiram: mūlamum - viḷakka uraiyum*. Edited by Ṇā. Māṇikkavācaṇ. Pattām Patippu. Ceṇṇai: Umā Patippakam, 2016.
- Theosophist [Anonymous]. “Un Yogui.” *Le Lotus Bleu: revue Theosophique mensuelle* 8, no. 1 (1897): 18–20.
- Vandyke Survey Office. “No. 71, Konnur, Saidapet Taluk, Chingleput District, Traced from the Original Map of 1906.” 16 inches = 1 mile. Madras: Vandyke Survey Office, 1938.
- Vandyke Survey Office. “No. 73, Villivakkam, Saidapet Taluk, Chingleput District, Traced from the Original Map of 1906.” 16 inches = 1 mile. Madras: Vandyke Survey Office, 1938.
- Vivekananda, Swami. *Rāja Yoga: Conquering the Internal Nature*. London: Longmans, Green, 1896.
- Wight, O.W. *Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, Bart*. Third Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1855.
- Yogi, G. Sabhpathi. *Aṭukkunilai Pōtam*, Publisher unknown, 1894.
- Yogindra, Sadasiva. “Sivayogadipika.” *The Brahmavādin* VIII, no. 12 (December 1903): 681–91.
- Yogiswer, The Mahathma Brumha Gnyana Mavuna Guru Sabhpathy Swamy. *Om. The Cosmic Psychological Spiritual Philosophy and Science of Communion with and Absorption in the Infinite Spirit, or Vedhantha Siva Raja Yoga Samadhi Brumha Gnyana Anubuthi, First Book*. Madras: The Hindu Press, 1884.
- Yogiswer, The Mahathma Brumha Gnyana Mavuna Guru Sabhpathy Swamy. *Om. The Cosmic Psychological Spiritual Philosophy and Science of Communion with and Absorption in the Infinite Spirit, or Vedhantha Siva Raja Yoga Samadhi Brumha Gnyana Anubuthi, Second Book*. Bombay: Karnatak Press, 1890.
- Yōkīsvārar, Ṇānakuru Capāpati. *Ancumati cūriyamūrttikup pōtitta cakalākama tiraṭṭu. itil civālayamātapūjai, viṇāyakacaturtti, caṅkaṭacaturtti, . . . tira āṭaṅkiyirukkiṅraṇa*. Part I. Madras: Printed by N. Kupusawmy Chettiar at the Duke of Edinburgh Press, 1894.
- Yōkīsvārar, Ṇānakuru Capāpati. *Ancumati cūriyamūrttikup pōtitta cakalākama tiraṭṭu. itil caṅkirāntti, tiruvūcaluṛcavam, tīpāvali (naraka caturttaci) aṭaṅkiyirukkiṅraṇa*. Part I-A. Madras: Printed by N. Kupusawmy Chettiar at the Duke of Edinburgh Press, 1894.

Yōkīsvarar, Nānakuru Capāpati. *Amcumati cūriyamūrttikup pōtitta cakalākama tiraṭṭu. itil tēppōrcavam, navarāttiri viratam, parācatti ānanta taricaṇap pūjai āṭaṅkiyirukkiṇraṇa*. Part I-C. Madras: Printed by C. Murugesu Mudalyar at the Hindu Theological Press, 1894.

Yōkīsvarar, Nānakuru Capāpati. *amcumati cūriyamūrttikup pōtitta cakalākama tiraṭṭu. itil vināyakar, cuppiramaṇiyar, cukkīravāram, caṣṭi, aṅkarakacaturtti, tiruvātirai viratam mutaliyavai āṭaṅkiyirukkiṇraṇa*. Vol. Part I-D. Madras: Printed by C. Murugesu Mudalyar at the Hindu Theological Press, 1894.

Yorke, Gerald, Keith Richmond, Timothy D'Arch Smith, Clive Harper, David Tibet, and Aleister Crowley. *Aleister Crowley, the Golden Dawn and Buddhism: Reminiscences and Writings of Gerald Yorke*. York Beach, ME: Teitan Press, 2011.

Secondary References

Advaita Ashrama. *Reminiscences of Swami Vivekananda: New & Enlarged Edition*. Kolkata: The Ahyaksha, Advaita Ashrama, 2018.

Aiyar, A.V. Subramania. *The Poetry and the Philosophy of the Tamil Siddhars: An Essay in Criticism*. Chidambaram: Manivasakar Noolakam, 1969.

Albanese, Catherine L. *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.

Almond, Philip C. *The British Discovery of Buddhism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Alter, Joseph S. *Yoga in Modern India: The Body between Science and Philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Anonymous. *Who Was Who. Volume I, 1897–1915: A Companion to Who's Who Containing the Biographies of Those Who Died during the Period 1897–1915*, Seventh Edition (London: A. & C. Black, 2014).

Asprem, Egil. "Contemporary Ritual Magic." In *The Occult World*, edited by Christopher Partridge. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2014.

———. "Explaining the Esoteric Imagination: Towards a Theory of Kataphatic Practice." *Aries* 17, no. 1 (2017): 17–50.

———. "Magic Naturalized? Negotiating Science and Occult Experience in Aleister Crowley's Scientific Illuminism." *Aries* 8 (2008): 139–65.

———. *The Problem of Disenchantment: Scientific Naturalism and Esoteric Discourse, 1900-1939*. SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions. Albany, NY: SUNY State University of New York, 2018.

- Baier, Karl. *Meditation und Moderne: zur Genese eines Kernbereichs moderner Spiritualität in der Wechselwirkung zwischen Westeuropa, Nordamerika und Asien*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2009.
- . “Mesmeric Yoga and the Development of Meditation within the Theosophical Society.” *Theosophical History: A Quarterly Journal of Research* XVI, no. 3 and 4 (October 2012): 151–61.
- . “Theosophical Orientalism and the Structures of Intercultural Transfer: Annotations on the Appropriations of the Cakras in Early Theosophy.” In *Theosophical Appropriations: Esotericism, Kabbalah and the Transformation of Traditions*, edited by Julie Chajes and Boaz Huss, 309–54. Be’er Sheva, Israel: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2016.
- . “Yoga within Viennese Occultism: Carl Kellner and Co.” In *Yoga in Transformation: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Karl Baier, Philipp A. Maas, and Karin Preisendanz, 183–222. Vienna: Vienna University Press, 2018.
- Bakshi, Rohini. “The Vedānta of the Vīraśaivas.” *Sanskrit Reading Room* (blog post), May 23, 2018.
- Bayly, Susan. *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society 1700–1900*. Cambridge South Asian Studies 43. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Ben-Herut, Gil. *Śiva’s Saints: The Origins of Devotion in Kannada According to Harihara’s Ragaḷegaḷu*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Bevilacqua, Daniela. “Let the Sādhus Talk. Ascetic Understanding of Haṭha Yoga and Yogāsanas.” Unpublished paper.
- Bhaṭṭācārya, Upendranāth. *Bāṅglār bāul o bāul gān*. Calcutta: Orient Book Company, 1981.
- Biardeau, Madeleine, et Charles Malamoud. *Le sacrifice dans l’Inde ancienne*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976.
- Bingenheimer, Marcus. *Island of Guanyin: Mount Putuo and Its Gazetteers*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Birch, Jason. “Rājayoga: The Reincarnations of the King of All Yogas.” *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 17, no. 3 (2013): 399–442.
- . “Haṭhayoga’s Floruit on the Eve of Colonialism.” In *Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions: Essays in Honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson*, edited by Dominic Goodall, Shaman Hatley, Harunaga Isaacson, and Srilata Raman. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

- . “The Amaraughaprabodha: New Evidence on the Manuscript Transmission of an Early Work on Hatha- and Rājāyoga.” *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, no. 47 (2019): 947–77.
- Birch, Jason, and Jacqueline Hargreaves. “The Yamas and Niyamas: Patanjali’s View.” *Yoga Scotland*, January 2016.
- Bogdan, Henrik. “Reception of Occultism in India: The Case of the Holy Order of Krishna.” In *Occultism in a Global Perspective*, edited by Henrik Bogdan and Gordan Djurdjevic. London: Routledge, 2013.
- . “The Babalon Working 1946: L. Ron Hubbard, John Whiteside Parsons, and the Practice of Enochian Magic.” *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* 63, no. 1 (2016): 12–32.
- Bogdan, Henrik, and Gordan Djurdjevic, eds. *Occultism in a Global Perspective*. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Bogdan, Henrik, and Martin P. Starr, eds. *Aleister Crowley and Western Esotericism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Böhtlingk, Otto. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*. Dritter Theil. St. Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1882.
- Bouthillette, Karl-Stéphan. *Dialogue and Doxography in Indian Philosophy: Points of View in Buddhist, Jaina, and Advaita Vedānta Traditions*. Dialogues in South Asian Traditions: Religion, Philosophy, Literature, and History. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2020.
- Bouy, Christian. *Les Nātha-yogin et les Upaniṣads*. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1994.
- Bowen, Patrick D. “‘The Real Pure Yog’: Yoga in the Early Theosophical Society and the Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor.” In *Imagining the East: The Early Theosophical Society*, edited by Tim Rudbøg and Erik Reenberg Sand, 143–65. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Braden, Charles. *Spirits in Rebellion: The Rise and Development of New Thought*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963.
- Bradlaugh, Charles. “A Plea for Atheism.” In *A Few Words About the Devil, and Other Biographical Sketches and Essays*. New York: A.K. Butts, 1874.
- Briggs, George Weston. *The Religious Life of India: Gorakhnāth and the Kānpaṭa Yogīs*. Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1938.
- Brook, Andrew, Julian Wuerth, and Edward N. Zalta. “Kant’s View of the Mind and Consciousness of Self.” In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Winter 2020 Edition)*, 2020. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2020/entries/kant-mind/>.

- Brooke, Christopher. “How the Stoics Became Atheists.” *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 2 (2006): 387–402.
- Brunner, H el ene. “The Sexual Aspect of the Liṅga Cult According to the Saiddh antika Scriptures.” In *Studies in Hinduism. II, Miscellanea to the Phenomenon of Tantras*, edited by Gerhard Oberhammer, 87–103. Beitr age zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, Nr. 28. Wien: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998.
- Brunner-Lachaux, H el ene, Gerhard Oberhammer, and Andr e Padoux, eds. *T antrik abhidh anako sa: dictionnaire des termes techniques de la litt erature hindoue tantrique = a dictionary of technical terms from Hindu tantric literature = W orterbuch zur Terminologie hinduistischer Tantren*. Beitr age zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, Nr. 35, 44, 76. Wien: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000.
- Buckner, Randy. “The Brain’s Default Network: Origins and Implications for the Study of Psychosis.” *Dialogues in Clinical Neuroscience* 15, no. 3 (2013): 351–58.
- Butler, Alison. *Victorian Occultism and the Making of Modern Magic: Invoking Tradition*. Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Cant , Keith Edward. “‘Don’t Take Any Wooden Nickels’: Western Esotericism, Yoga, and the Discourse of Authenticity.” In *New Approaches to the Study of Esotericism*, edited by Egil Asprem and Julian Strube, 109–26. Supplements to Method & Theory in the Study of Religion. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- . “Ha hayoga as ‘Black Magic’ in Early Theosophy and Beyond.” In *Proceedings of the ESSWE6 Conference on Esotericism and Deviance*, edited by Tim Rudb g and Manon Hedenborg White. Leiden: Brill, Forthcoming.
- . “Islamic Esotericism in the Bengali B ul Songs of L lan Fakir.” *Correspondences* 7, no. 1 (2019): 109–65.
- . “Shrish Chandra Basu and Modern Occult Yoga.” In *Occult South Asia*, edited by Karl Baier and Mriganka Mukhopadhyay, forthcoming.
- . “Sri Sabhapati Swami: The Forgotten Yogi of Western Esotericism.” In *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, edited by Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter, 347–73. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.
- Carter, John, and Robert Anton Wilson. *Sex and Rockets: The Occult World of Jack Parsons*. Los Angeles, CA: Feral House, 2005.
- Ca top dhay, Śr r m nanda. “B mand s Basu.” *Prab s * 30, 2nd khaṇḍa, 3 (January 1339 [1932]): 400–408.

- Chajes, Julie. *Recycled Lives: A History of Reincarnation in Blavatsky's Theosophy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Chatterjee, Amita. "Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy." In *The Oxford Handbook of World Philosophy*, edited by William Edelglass and Jay L. Garfield. Online, 2011.
- Churton, Tobias. *Aleister Crowley in India: The Secret Influence of Eastern Mysticism on Magic and the Occult*. Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2019.
- Civañānam, Ma. Po. *The Universal Vision of Saint Ramalinga: Vallalar Kanda Orumaippadu*. Translated by R. Ganapathy. Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1987.
- Collins, Randall. *The Micro-Sociology of Religion: Religious Practices, Collective and Individual*. State College, PA: The Association of Religion Data Archives at The Pennsylvania State University, 2011.
- Comeau, Leah. "Māṇikkavācakar." In *Oxford Bibliographies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399318/obo-9780195399318-0159.xml>.
- Corbin, Henry Eugène, and Nancy Pearson. *The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism*. New Lebanon, New York: Omega Publications, 1994.
- Cox, Whitney. "Making a Tantra in Medieval South India: The Mahārthamañjarī and the Textual Culture of Cōḷa Cidambaram: Volume I." PhD dissertation. The University of Chicago, 2006.
- Crow, John L. "Allan Bennett & the Emergence of Buddhism in the West." *Insight: The Journal of the Theosophical Society in England* 49, no. 3 (Autumn 2008): 30–33.
- Crow, John L., and Elizabeth J. Harris, eds. *The Life of Allan Bennett, Bhikkhu Ananda Metteyya*. Volume 1 of *Allan Bennett, Bhikkhu Ananda Metteyya: Biography and Collected Writings*. Sheffield, UK: Equinox Publishing, forthcoming.
- Cuvāmināṭaṅ, Pi. *Caturakiri yāttirai / Sadhuragiri yaththirai*. Chennai: Vikaṭaṅ Piracuram, 2014.
- Dabral, Shivaprasad. *Shri Uttarakhand Yatra Darshan*. Narayankoti: publisher unknown, 1960.
- Das Gupta, Shashi Bhusan. *Obscure Religions Cults*. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969.
- Das, Rahul Peter. "Problematic Aspects of the Sexual Rituals of the Bāuls of Bengal." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112, no. 3 (1992): 388–432.
- Dās, Śrījñānendramohan. *Baṅger bāhire bāṅgālī (uttar bhārat)*. Kalikātā: Śrī Anāthanāth Mukhopādhyāy, Bengali year 1322 [1915].

- Dash, Trilochan. *The Story of the Deities and the Temples in Southern Indian Peninsula*. Bhubaneswar: Soudamini Dash, 2010.
- De Michelis, Elizabeth. *A History of Modern Yoga: Patañjali and Western Esotericism*. London: Continuum, 2008.
- Deslippe, Philip. “From Maharaj to Mahan Tantric: The Construction of Yogi Bhajan’s Kundalini Yoga.” *Sikh Formations* 8, no. 3 (2012): 369–87.
- Deveney, John Patrick. *Paschal Beverly Randolph: A Nineteenth-Century Black American Spiritualist, Rosicrucian, and Sex Magician*. SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997.
- . *Theosophical History Occasional Papers Vol. VI: Astral Projection or Liberation of the Double and the Work of the Early Theosophical Society*. Fullerton, CA: Theosophical History, 1997.
- Diamond, Debra, ed. *Yoga: The Art of Transformation*. Washington, D.C: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2013.
- Djordjevic, Gordan. *India and the Occult: The Influence of South Asian Spirituality on Modern Western Occultism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Djordjevic, Gordan, and Shukdev Singh, trans. *Sayings of Gorakhnāth: Annotated Translation of the Gorakh Bānī*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Doniger O’Flaherty, Wendy. *Dreams, Illusion, and Other Realities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Duquette, Jonathan. “Is Śivādvaita Vedānta a Saiddhāntika School? Pariṇāmavāda in the Brahmamīmāṃsābhāṣya.” *The Journal of Hindu Studies* 8 (2015): 16–43.
- Dyczkowski, Mark S. G. *A Journey in the World of Tantras*. Varanasi: Indica Books, 2004.
- . *The Doctrine of Vibration: An Analysis of the Doctrines and Practices of Kashmir Shaivism*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989.
- Edgerton, Franklin. *The Bhagavad Gītā*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952.
- Eek, Sven. *Damodar and the Pioneers of the Theosophical Movement*. Adyar, Madras: Vasanta Press, 1978.
- Eliade, Mircea. *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*. Translated by Willard Trask. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958.
- Ernst, Carl. “Situating Sufism and Yoga.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Third Series* 15, no. 1 (April 2005): 15–33.
- . “The Islamization of Yoga in the Amrtakuṇḍa Translations.” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 13, no. 2 (2003): 199–226.

- Ezhilraman, R. "Siddha Cult in Tamiḷnādu: Its History and Historical Continuity." PhD Thesis, Pondicherry University, 2015.
- Fabricius, Johann Philipp. *J. P. Fabricius's Tamil and English Dictionary*. Fourth Edition. Tranquebar, Tamil Nadu, India: Evangelical Lutheran Mission Pub. House, 1972.
- Faivre, Antoine. *Access to Western Esotericism*. SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Fisher, Elaine M. "A New Public Theology: Sanskrit and Society in Seventeenth-Century South India." PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 2013.
- . "Remaking South Indian Śaivism: Greater Śaiva Advaita and the Legacy of the Śaktiviśiṣṭādvaita Vīraśaiva Tradition." *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 21, no. 3 (December 2017): 319–44.
- . "The Tangled Roots of Vīraśaivism: On the Vīramāheśvara Textual Culture of Srisailam." *History of Religions* 59, no. 1 (2019): 1–37.
- Flood, Gavin D. *The Tantric Body: The Secret Tradition of Hindu Religion*. London: I.B. Tauris; Distributed in the U.S. by Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Flood, Gavin, Bjarne Wernicke-Olesen, and Rajan Khatiwoda, eds. *The Lord of Immortality: An Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation of the Netra Tantra, Vol. I, Chapters 1-8*. Tantric Studies Series. London: Routledge, forthcoming.
- Foxen, Anya P. *Biography of a Yogi: Paramahansa Yogananda and the Origins of Modern Yoga*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- . *Inhaling Spirit: Harmonialism, Orientalism, and the Western Roots of Modern Yoga*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Fuller, C. J. *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India - Revised and Expanded Edition*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018.
- Fuller, C. J., and HariPriya Narasimhan. *Tamil Brahmins: The Making of a Middle-Class Caste*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Garrett, H.L.O., ed. *A History of Government College, Lahore, 1864–1914*. Lahore: "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1914.
- Gerrans, Philip. *The Measure of Madness: Philosophy of Mind, Cognitive Neuroscience, and Delusional Thought*. Life and Mind: Philosophical Issues in Biology and Psychology. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2014.
- Gharote, M.L., V.K. Jha, Parimal Devnath, and S.B. Sakhalkar, eds. *Encyclopedia of Traditional Asanas*. Lonavla, India: The Lonavla Institute, 2006.
- Glover, William J. *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

- Godwin, Joscelyn. “Blavatsky and the First Generation of Theosophy.” In *Handbook of the Theosophical Current*, edited by Olav Hammer and Mikael Rothstein, 15–31. Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion 7. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- . *The Theosophical Enlightenment*. SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Godwin, Joscelyn, Christian Chanel, and John P. Deveney, eds. *The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor: Initiatic and Historical Documents of an Order of Practical Occultism*. York Beach, ME: S. Weiser, 1995.
- Goodall, Dominic, ed. *The Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā: The Earliest Surviving Śaiva Tantra*. Collection Indologie 128. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry and École française d’Extrême-Orient, 2015.
- Goodall, Dominic, and Harunaga Isaacson, eds. “How the Tattvas of Tantric Śaivism Came to Be 36: The Evidence of the Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā.” In *Tantric Studies: Fruits of a Franco-German Collaboration on Early Tantra*. Collection Indologie 131. Pondicherry, India: Institut Français de Pondichéry and École française d’Extrême-Orient, 2016.
- Greene, Liz. *Magi and Maggidim: The Kabbalah in British Occultism, 1860–1940*. Ceredigion, Wales: Sophia Centre Press, 2012.
- Guenzi, Caterina. *Le Discours du destin: La pratique de l’astrologie à Bénarès*. Paris: CNRS Editions/Bibliothèque de l’Anthropologie, 2013.
- Halbfass, Wilhelm. *India and Europe: An Essay in Philosophical Understanding*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. “New Thought Movement.” In *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, edited by Wouter J Hanegraaff, 861–65. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- . “Occult/Occultism.” In *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, edited by Wouter J Hanegraaff, 884–89. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- . “Western Esotericism and the Orient in the First Theosophical Society.” In *Theosophy across Boundaries: Transcultural and Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Modern Esoteric Movement*, edited by Hans Martin Krämer and Julian Strube, 29–65. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2020.
- Harder, Hans. *Sufism and Saint Veneration in Contemporary Bangladesh: The Majbhandaris of Chittagong*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2011.
- Hayes, Glen. “The Necklace of Immortality: A Seventeenth-Century Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā Text.” In *Tantra in Practice*, edited by David Gordon White, 308–26. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

- Hedenborg White, Manon. *The Eloquent Blood: The Goddess Babalon and the Construction of Femininities in Western Esotericism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- . “The Other Woman: Babalon and the Scarlet Woman in Kenneth Grant’s Typhonian Trilogies.” In *Servants of the Star & the Snake: Essays in Honour of Kenneth & Steffi Grant*, edited by Henrik Bogdan. London: Starfire Publishing Ltd., 2018.
- Hedenborg White, Manon, ed. “Special Issue: Rethinking Aleister Crowley and Thelema.” *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 21, no. 1 (2021).
- Hedenborg White, Manon, and Christian Giudice, eds. *Women of Thelema: Selected Essays*. n.p.: Kamuret Press, 2021 (forthcoming).
- Hikosaka, Shu. “The Potiyil Mountain in Tamil Nadu and the Origin of the Avalokiteśvara Cult.” In *Buddhism in Tamil Nadu: Collected Papers*, 119–41. Chennai: Institute of Asian Studies, 1998.
- Hine, Phil. *Wheels Within Wheels: Chakras Come West*. London: Twisted Trunk, 2018.
- Holdrege, Barbara A. *Bhakti and Embodiment: Fashioning Divine Bodies and Devotional Bodies in Kṛṣṇa Bhakti*. Routledge Hindu Studies Series. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Howe, Ellic. *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order, 1887–1923*. New York: S. Weiser, 1978.
- Humbach, Helmut. “Miθra in India and the Hinduized Magi.” In *Études Mithriaques: Actes Du 2e Congrès International Téhéran, Du 1er Au 8 Septembre 1975*, 230–52. Leiden: Brill, 1978.
- Hussain, Syed Sultan Mahmood. *50 Years of Government College Lahore (1864–1913)*. Lahore: Izhar Research Institute of Pakistan, 2005.
- Inden, Ronald B. *Imagining India*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.
- Irājakōpālaṅ, Em. *Vēḷaccēri tiruttalam*. Chennai: A4 (Āṇant), 2003.
- Jacob, Tony George. “History of Teaching Anatomy in India: From Ancient to Modern Times.” *Anatomical Sciences Education* 6, no. 5 (September 2013): 351–58.
- Jain, Andrea R. *Selling Yoga: From Counterculture to Pop Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Jennings, Arthur Seymour. *Paint & Colour Mixing: A Practical Handbook*. London: E. & F.N. Spon, 1921.
- Jones, Kenneth W. *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976.
- Kaczynski, Richard. *Forgotten Templars: The Untold Origins of Ordo Templi Orientis*. United States: Published for the author, 2012.

- . *Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley*. Revised and Expanded edition. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2010.
- Kaczynski, Richard, Frater Iskandar, and Frater Taos, eds. *Success Is Your Proof: One Hundred Years of O.T.O. in North America, a Festschrift in Honor of Hymenaeus Beta, Celebrating Thirty Years of Leadership*. New York: Sekmet Books, 2015.
- Killingley, D. H. “Yoga-Sūtra IV, 2–3 and Vivekānanda’s Interpretation of Evolution.” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 18, no. 2 (June 1, 1990): 151–79.
- Kitada, Makoto, and Śārṅgadeva. *The Body of the Musician: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Piṇḍotpatti-Prakaraṇa of Śārṅgadeva’s Saṅgītaratnakara*. Worlds of South and Inner Asia, Welten Süd- und Zentralasiens; Mondes de l’Asie du Sud et de l’Asie Centrale 3. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2012.
- Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Edward Cameron Dimock, and Tony Kevin Stewart. *Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja: A Translation and Commentary*. Harvard Oriental Series 56. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1999.
- Kraler, Magdalena. “The Prāṇāyāma Grid – Defining the Place of Yogic Breath Cultivation within Discourses of Modern Yoga.” *Journal of Yoga Studies*, Forthcoming.
- . “Tracing Vivekananda’s Prāṇa and Ākāśa: The Yogavāsīṣṭha and Rama Prasad’s Occult Science of Breath.” In *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, edited by Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter, 373–99. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.
- Krämer, Hans Martin, and Julian Strube, eds. *Theosophy across Boundaries: Transcultural and Interdisciplinary Perspectives on a Modern Esoteric Movement*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2020.
- Larson, Gerald James. *Classical Sāṃkhya: An Interpretation of Its History and Meaning*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979.
- . *Classical Yoga Philosophy and the Legacy of Samkhya*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2018.
- Larson, Gerald James, and Ram Shankar Bhattacharya, eds. “Philosophy of Sāṃkhya.” In *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, IV, Sāṃkhya: A Dualist Tradition in Indian Philosophy: 43–103. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987.
- . “Yoga: India’s Philosophy of Meditation.” In *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, XII. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2011.
- LeBuffe, Michael. “Paul-Henri Thiry (Baron) d’Holbach.” In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, Spring 2020.
<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2020/entries/holbach/>.

- Leland, Kurt. *Rainbow Body: A History of the Western Chakra System from Blavatsky to Brennan*. Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2016.
- Linrothe, Robert N., Debra Diamond, and Rubin Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.), eds. *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art and Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2006.
- Lorea, Carola Erika. “Playing the Football of Love on the Field of the Body: The Contemporary Repertoire of Baul Songs.” *Religion and the Arts* 17, no. 4 (2013): 416–51.
- . “Pregnant Males, Barren Mothers, and Religious Transvestism: Transcending Gender in the Songs and Practices of ‘Heterodox’ Bengali Lineages.” *Asian Ethnology* 77, no. 1 & 2 (2018): 169–213.
- Lorenzen, David N, and Adrián Muñoz. *Yogi Heroes and Poets: Histories and Legends of the Nāths*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2011.
- Lucia, Amanda J. *White Utopias: The Religious Exoticism of Transformational Festivals*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2020.
- Maas, Philipp. “A Concise Historiography of Classical Yoga Philosophy.” In *Periodization and Historiography of Indian Philosophy*, edited by Eli Franco, 53–90. Vienna: Sammlung de Nobili, Institut für Südasiens-, Tibet- und Buddhismuskunde der Universität Wien, 2013.
- Madaio, James. “Rethinking Neo-Vedānta: Swami Vivekananda and the Selective Historiography of Advaita Vedānta.” *Religions* 8, no. 101 (2017).
- . “Transformative Dialogue in the Yogavāsīṣṭha.” In *In Dialogue with Classical Indian Traditions: Encounter, Transformation and Interpretation*, edited by Brian Black and Ram-Prasad Chakravarthi, 107–29. London: Routledge, 2019.
- Mahmood, Saba. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Makdisi, Saree. *Making England Western: Orientalism, Race, and Imperial Culture*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Malinar, Angelika. “Something Like Liberation: Prakṛtilaya (Absorption in the Cause/s of Creation) in Yoga and Sāṃkhya.” In *Release from Life—Release in Life: Indian Perspectives on Individual Liberation*, edited by Andreas Biggar, Rita Krajnc, Annemarie Mertens, Markus Shüpbach, and Heinz Werner Wessler, 129–56. Bern: Peter Lang, 2010.
- Mallinson, James. “Kālavañcana in the Konkan: How a Vajrayāna Hāthayoga Tradition Cheated Buddhism’s Death in India.” *Religions* 10, no. 4 (2019): 1–33.

- . “The Amṛtasiddhi: Hāthayoga’s Tantric Buddhist Source Text.” In *Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions: Essays in Honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson*, edited by Dominic Goodall, Shaman Hatley, Harunaga Isaacson, and Srilata Raman, 409–25. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- . *The Khecarīvidyā of Ādinātha: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of an Early Text of Hathayoga*. Routledge Studies in Tantric Traditions Series. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- . “The Nāth Saṃpradāya.” *Brill Encyclopedia of Hinduism* 3 (2011): 407–28.
- Mallinson, James, and Mark Singleton, eds. *Roots of Yoga*. London: Penguin Books, 2017.
- Masuzawa, Tomoko. *The Invention of World Religions, or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Mealeau-Ponty, Maurice. *Phénoménologie de la perception*. Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1945.
- Melton, J. Gordon. “Thelemic Magick in America.” In *Alternatives to American Mainline Churches*, edited by Joseph Henry Fichter and William Sims Bainbridge, 67–87. New York, NY: Unification Theological Seminary, 1983.
- Michael, R. Blake. *The Origins of Vīraśaiva Sects: A Typological Analysis of Ritual and Associational Patterns in the Śūnyasampādane*. 1. ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992.
- Mitterwallner, Gritli v. “Evolution of the Liṅga.” In *Discourses on Śiva: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Nature of Religious Imagery*, 12–37. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1984.
- Molesworth, James Thomas. *A Dictionary, Marathi and English*. Second Edition. Bombay: Bombay Education Society’s Press, 1857.
- Monier-Williams, M. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1899.
- Mortimer, W. *A Manual of Anatomy with The Elements of Physiology and Pathology; Compiled for the Use of the Students of the Subordinate Branch of the Medical Service Attending the Medical School*. Madras: E. Marsden at the Male Asylum Press, 1842.
- Muller-Ortega, Paul. “On the Seal of Śambhu: A Poem by Abhinavagupta.” In *Tantra in Practice*, edited by David Gordon White, 573–86. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

- Nambiar, P.K., and N. Krishnamurthy. *Census of India 1961 Volume IX, Madras, Part XI-D: Temples of Madras State, 1. Chingleput District and Madras City*. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1965.
- Nambiar, P.K., and K.C. Narayana Kurup. *Census of India 1961 Volume IX, Madras, Part XI-D: Temples of Madras State, v Kanyakumari & Tirunelveli*. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1968.
- Nambiar, Sita Krishna, ed. *Prabodhacandrodaya of Kṛṣṇa Miśra*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971.
- Narayanan, Vasudha. “Religious Vows at the Shrine of Shahul Hamid.” In *Dealing with Deities: The Ritual Vow in South Asia*, edited by William P. Harman and Selva J. Raj, 65–85. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006.
- Narayana Ayyar, C.V. *Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India*. Madras: University of Madras, 1974.
- Newcombe, Suzanne. “Magic and Yoga: The Role of Subcultures in Transcultural Exchange.” In *Yoga Traveling: Bodily Practice in Transcultural Perspective*, edited by Beatrix Hauser, 57–79. New York: Springer, 2013.
- . *Yoga in Britain: Stretching Spirituality and Educating Yogis*. Bristol: Equinox Publishing, 2019.
- Obrist, Barbara. “Visualization in Medieval Alchemy.” *Hyle—International Journal for Philosophy of Chemistry* 9, no. 2 (2003): 131–70.
- Olivelle, Patrick. *The Early Upaniṣads*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Openshaw, Jeanne. *Seeking Bāṅḷs of Bengal*. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 60. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Orsini, Francesca. *The History of the Book in South Asia*. Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Osborne, Samuel. “Woman Becomes First in India to Climb Sacred Mountain Agasthyakoodam after Ban on Females Lifted.” *Independent*, January 16, 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/agasthyakoodam-climb-mountain-woman-first-india-sacred-dhanya-senal-kerala-a8731146.html>.
- Padoux, André. *Comprendre le tantrisme: Les sources hindoues*. Paris: Albin Michel, 2010.
- . *The Hindu Tantric World: An Overview*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2017.
- . *Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras*. The SUNY Series in the Shaiva Traditions of Kashmir. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990.
- Pālacuppiramaṇiyaṅ, Ci. *Tamiḷ ilakkiya varalāru*. Ceṅṅai: Maṇamalarp patippakam, 1998.

- Partridge, Christopher. “Lost Horizon: H.P. Blavatsky and Theosophical Orientalism.” In *Handbook of the Theosophical Current*, edited by Olav Hammer and Mikael Rothstein, 309–33. Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion 7. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Pasi, Marco. *Aleister Crowley and the Temptation of Politics*. Durham, UK: Acumen, 2014.
- Peterson, Indira Viswanathan, ed. *Poems to Śiva: The Hymns of the Tamil Saints*. Princeton Library of Asian Translations. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Pillai, Vedachalam, and R.S. Nagapattinam. *Māṇikkavācakar vālārum kālamum: St. Manickavachakar His Life and Times*. Madras: South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, 1957.
- Pokazanyeva, Anna. “Mind within Matter: Science, the Occult, and the (Meta)Physics of Ether and Akasha.” *Zygon: Journal of Religion & Science* 51, no. 2 (June 2016): 318–46.
- Powell, Seth. “A Lamp on Śiva’s Yoga: The Unification of Yoga, Ritual, and Devotion in the Fifteenth-Century Śivayogapradīpikā.” PhD dissertation, Harvard University, forthcoming.
- . “A Lamp on Śiva’s Yoga: The Unification of Yoga, Ritual, and Devotion in the Fifteenth-Century Śivayogapradīpikā.” PhD prospectus, Harvard University, 2018.
- . “Advice on Āsana in the Śivayogapradīpikā.” *The Luminescent* (blog), June 30, 2017. <https://www.theluminescent.org/2017/06/advice-on-asana-in-sivayogapradipika.html>.
- Raman, Srilata. *The Transformation of Tamil Religion: Ramalinga Swamikal and Modern Dravidian Sainthood*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, Forthcoming.
- Ramaṇaṇ, Pā. Cu. *Cittarkaḷ vālvil*. Vol. 2. Ebook (Kindle Edition), 2018.
- Rao, Velcheru Narayana, and Gene H. Roghair. *Siva’s Warriors: The Basava Purana of Palkuriki Somanatha*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016. First published 1990.
- Readdy, Keith. *One Truth and One Spirit: Aleister Crowley’s Spiritual Legacy*. Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, an imprint of Nicolas-Hays, 2018.
- Reddy, Prabhavati C. *Hindu Pilgrimage: Shifting Patterns of Worldview of Srisailam in South India*. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Regardie, Israel. *The Eye in the Triangle: An Interpretation of Aleister Crowley*. Phoenix, AZ: Falcon Press, 1986. First published 1970.
- Reid, Brian Holden. *J. F. C. Fuller: Military Thinker*. Studies in Military and Strategic History. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990.

- Ros, Alejandra. "Translocalization." In *Encyclopedia of Global Religion*, 1:1301–2. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2012.
- Roy, Asim. *The Islamic Syncretistic Tradition in Bengal*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1983.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- Salomon, Carol. "Bāul Songs." In *Religions in India in Practice*, edited by Donald Lopez, 187–208. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- . *City of Mirrors: Songs of Lālan Sāi*. Edited by Keith Cantú and Saymon Zakaria. South Asia Research. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Sand, Erik, and Tim Rudbøg, eds. *Imagining the East: The Early Theosophical Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Sanderson, Alexis. "The Śaiva Age—The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period." In *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, edited by Shingo Einoo, 41–351. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 2009.
- . "The Śaiva Literature." *Journal of Indological Studies*, no. 24 & 25 (2012–2013) (2014): 1–113.
- Śarīph, Ahmad. *Bāul tattva*. Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1973.
- Sastry, P.V. Parabrahma. *Srisailam, Its History and Cult*. Guntur: Lakshmi Mallikarjunna Press, 1985.
- Schlieter, Jens. *What Is It like to Be Dead? Near-Death Experiences, Christianity, and the Occult*. Oxford Studies in Western Esotericism. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Schmidt, Leigh Eric. *Heaven's Bride: The Unprintable Life of Ida C. Craddock, American Mystic, Scholar, Sexologist, Martyr, and Madwoman*. New York: Basic Books, 2010.
- Scott, J. Barton. *Spiritual Despots: Modern Hinduism and the Genealogies of Self-Rule*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016.
- Seal, Brajendranath. *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*. London: Longmans, Green, 1915.
- Sedgwick, Mark. *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Shearer, Alistair. *The Story of Yoga from Ancient India to the Modern West*. London: C. Hurst, 2020.
- Shulman, David Dean. *Tamil: A Biography*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016.

- . *Tamil Temple Myths: Sacrifice and Divine Marriage in the South Indian Śaiva Tradition*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Silburn, Lilian. *Le Vijñāna Bhairava*. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, 1961.
- Singh, Mohan. *Gorakhnath and Mediaeval Hindu Mysticism*. Lahore: Dr. Mohan Singh, Oriental College, Lahore, 1936.
- Singleton, Mark. *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Singleton, Mark, and Ellen Goldberg, eds. *Gurus of Modern Yoga*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Smith, David. *Hinduism and Modernity*. Religion in the Modern World. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003.
- Sørensen, Søren. *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1904.
- Sperber, Dan. “Intuitive and Reflective Beliefs.” *Mind & Language* 12, no. 1 (March 1997): 67–83.
- Starr, Martin P. *The Unknown God: W.T. Smith and the Thelemites*. Bolingbrook, IL: Teitan Press, 2003.
- Stausberg, Michael, and Yuhan Sohrab-Dinshaw Vevaina, eds. *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism*. Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2015.
- Steinschneider, Eric. “Beyond the Warring Sects: Universalism, Dissent, and Canon in Tamil Śaivism, ca. 1675–1994.” PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2016.
- . “Subversion, Authenticity, and Religious Creativity in Late-Medieval South India: Kaṇṇṭaiya Vaḷḷal’s Oḷiviloṭukkam.” *Journal of Hindu Studies* 10, no. 2 (August 2017): 241–71.
- Strube, Julian. “Yoga and Meditation in Modern Esoteric Traditions.” In *Routledge Handbook of Yoga and Meditation Studies*, edited by Suzanne Newcombe and Karen O’Brien-Kop, 130–46. Routledge: London, 2021.
- Sukthankar, Vishnu S. *The Āraṇyakaparvan (Part 1), being the Third Book of the Mahābhārata the Great Epic of India*. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute: Poona, 1942.
- Talbot, Ian. *Punjab and the Raj, 1849–1947*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1988.
- Taves, Ann. “Reverse Engineering Complex Cultural Concepts: Identifying Building Blocks of ‘Religion.’” *Journal of Cognition and Culture* 15 (2015): 191–216.

- Thayanithy, Maithili. "The Concept of Living Liberation in the Tirumantiram." PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2010.
- Topsfield, Andrew. "The Indian Game of Snakes and Ladders." *Artibus Asiae* 46, no. 3 (1985): 203–26.
- Torella, Raffaele. "The Kañcukas in the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava Tantric Tradition: A Few Considerations between Theology and Grammar." In *Studies in Hinduism II: Miscellanea to the Phenomenon of Tantras*, edited by Gerhard Oberhammer, 55–86. Wien: Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998.
- Urban, Hugh B. *Magia Sexualis: Sex, Magic, and Liberation in Modern Western Esotericism*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006.
- . "The Yoga of Sex: Tantra, Orientalism, and Sex Magic in the Ordo Templi Orientis." In *Hidden Intercourse: Eros and Sexuality in the History of Western Esotericism*, edited by Wouter J. Hanegraaff and Jeffrey J. Kripal, 401–43. Aries Book Series 7. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Vasudeva, Somadeva. "Powers and Identities: Yoga Powers and the Tantric Śaiva Traditions." In *Yoga Powers: Extraordinary Capacities Attained Through Meditation and Concentration*, edited by Knut A. Jacobsen, 264–302. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Vasudeva, Somadeva, ed. *The Yoga of Mālinīvijayottaratantra: Chapters 1–4, 7–11, 11–17*. Collection Indologie 97. Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry and École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2004.
- Venkatraman, Ramaswamy. *A History of the Tamil Siddha Cult*. Madurai: Ennes Publications, 1990.
- Vythilingam, M. *The Life of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan*. 2 vols. Colombo: Ramanathan Commemoration Society, 1971.
- Waldock, Deborah Louise. "Text, Interpretation and Ritual Usage of Tamil Śaiva Poems." PhD Thesis, McMaster University, 1995.
- Wallace, Vesna A. *The Inner Kālacakratantra: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Individual*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- . "The Six-Phased Yoga of the *Abbreviated Wheel of Time Tantra* (*Laghukālacakratantra*) According to Vajrapāṇi." In *Yoga in Practice*, edited by David Gordon White, 204–22. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Wasserman, James. *In the Center of the Fire: A Memoir of the Occult, 1966–1989*. Lake Worth, FL: Ibis Press, 2012.
- Weiss, Richard S. *Recipes for Immortality: Medicine, Religion, and Community in South India*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

- . *The Emergence of Modern Hinduism: Religion on the Margins of Colonialism*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017.
- White, David Gordon. *Daemons Are Forever: Contacts and Exchanges in the Eurasian Pandemonium*. Silk Roads. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2021.
- . *Kiss of the Yoginī: “Tantric Sex” in Its South Asian Contexts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- . *Sinister Yogis*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- . *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- . “The Yoga of the Mahāyogin: Reflections on Madeleine Biardeau’s ‘Cosmogonies Purāṇiques.’” Unpublished paper, n.d.
- . *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography*. Lives of Great Religious Books. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Winch, Mary Elizabeth. “The Theology of Grace in Saiva Siddhanta, in the Light of Umapati Sivacharya’s Tiruarutpayan.” McMaster University, 1975.
- Wolfson, Elliot R. *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Wujastyk, Dagmar. “Acts of Improvement: On the Use of Tonics and Elixirs in Sanskrit Medical and Alchemical Literature.” *History of Science in South Asia* 5, no. 2 (2017): 1–35.
- Zoehrer, Dominic S. “From Fluidum to Prāṇa: Reading Mesmerism through Orientalist Lenses.” In *The Occult Nineteenth Century: Roots, Developments, and Impact on the Modern World*, edited by Lukas Pokorny and Franz Winter, 85–111. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.
- Zvelebil, Kamil Veith. *Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- . *Lexicon of Tamil Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- . *The Poets of the Powers*. London: Rider, 1973.
- . *The Siddha Quest for Immortality*. Oxford: Mandrake, 1996.

Appendix One: A Translation of an Excerpt of T2 (in MCVTS)

A. Excerpt of T2 (English Translation)⁹⁷¹

Om, reverence to Shiva and Hari (*civahari*, < Skt. *śivahari*), and Shakti (*cakti*, < Skt. *śakti*).

An account of the blessed incarnation of Jnana Guru Yogi, Guru Father Rishi, Sabhapati Swami

who is the author of this book on the Collected Instructions of the Scriptures

composed by his student Shiva Jnana Prakasha Yogishwara,

One who has received the isolated state (*kaivallyam*) from experience in the practice of all the instructions of this aforementioned guru swami

{3} Within the southern part of India, in Tondayan Chakravartin's (Tonṭayān Cakkiravartti) city of Tondama (Tonṭamā Nakaram), in the city of Chennai, his father Gurunatha Bakthar (Kurunāta Pakttar), superior in learning and of a renowned family of gurus who mark their foreheads, was in the service of an ancient and excellent sacred shrine. His wife was named Punyavathi (Puṇṇiyavati). The commands of Gurunatha Bakthar's guru Vedashreni Chidambara Swamigal (Vētacirēṇi Citampara Svāmikal), author of *The Truth of Instruction (Upatēca Uṇmai)*, were carried out by Gurunatha Bakthar along with Kumbalinga Acharya of Mylapore (Tirumayilai Kumpaliṅka Ācāriyai) at the location of the auspicious Vedashreni. The creator of this work *Compiled Instructions*, the Jnana Guru Yogi, Guru Father Rishi, Sabhapati Swami (Capāpati Cuvāmikal), was incarnated at Natesamurthy Shivakami Amman Metalworks in Vedashreni. The year was 1828, the month of Markazhi (December–January), the lunar mansion of Thiruvathirai, at the time of the Celestial Great Period (*tivyā mahāmukūrttam*), on an auspicious day of Mars. At the time there were six planets in the Elevated Position (*uccastāṇam*), two planets in the Position of Speech (*vākkustāṇam*), and one planet in the Position of Happy Heat (*sukatapastāṇam*).

In childhood he was renowned as being foremost in good virtue, devotion, benevolence to creatures, kindness to living beings, perception and intelligence, service to sadhus, charity, helpfulness to others, purity of speech, engagement in the Puranas and scriptures, the knowledge of six languages, pilgrimage, non-attachment towards all, and in every ascetic practice of dispassion. By age twenty he was fully competent in English, {4} had read the whole Bible and had examined the truth of the Christian religion. Up to age twenty-five he had a great job. Afterwards, quitting this and leaving for Rangoon, he investigated the truth of the Buddhist religion while carrying on a large business, by means of

⁹⁷¹ I have personally translated this material from T2, a Tamil hagiographical account of Sabhapati's life prefaced to the longer version of MCVTS, published in 1913 (see Chapter Two). The account was written by one Shiva Jnana Prakasha Yogishwara (Civakṇāṅappirakāca Yōkīsvara), a student of Sabhapati's about whom nothing is known at the time of writing. I have here omitted the many "prose poems" and excerpts from Sabhapati's songs that are scattered throughout this account to focus on the account itself; these poems and compositions will be translated for the relevant volume of Sabhapati's collected works.

spiritual company (< Skt. *satsaṅga*) with exquisite Burmese monks and the use of the Pali language. Realizing that the Buddhist religion, Hindu religion, and Vedanta are one and the same, he was disenchanted with this business and renounced it as illusory.

Leaving that business and returning to Chennai, he sustained himself by his ancestral property and special goods and, becoming the student of Vedashreni Chidambara Swami, the author of the guru-sayings called *The Truth of Instruction*, obtained through him the knowledge of the principles of all scriptures. He desired after this unity to understand the truth of Muhammad, and for this visited the tumulus (< Skt. *samādhi*) of Nagur Mira Sayappu Andavar (Nākūr Mīrā Cāyappu Āṅṭavar). There, having spiritual company with the people of the Islamic religion, he learned the truths of Muhammad and the Qur'an. Again returning to the city of Chennai, he performed the worship of the Lord of the Dance as the Lord of the Universe in mental meditation, together with severe asceticism (*akōra tapam*, < Skt. *aghora tapas*). After obtaining the knowledge of the Four Vedas, the Seven Scriptures, the Sixty-four Arts, and the knowledge of all the Upaniṣads and the Gita, he considered the world's Christian religion, Buddhist religion, and Islamic religion and moreover these religions' entire mysteries, truths, discourses, rites, and exercises to be pieces of the Hindu religion. He therefore felt that evidently the Hindu religion is the father-religion of the world, and the Sanskrit language of the Hindu Vedas is the mother-tongue of the world.

Up to his twenty-eighth year it was as follows: "I have been able to engage in the knowledge and examination of all scriptures, yet I have not obtained the gnosis of experience through this knowledge and examination. What will I do? If I do not even know what not beyond the range of sight (< Skt. *aparokṣa*), what is the use of this knowledge of what is beyond the range of sight (< Skt. *parokṣa*)?"

Even though I have received analytical knowledge by means of Sāṃkhya's knowledge of what is beyond sight, and have obtained analytical knowledge near the guru of the knowledge of teaching, the knowledge of simplicity, the knowledge of time, the knowledge of dispassion, I have not obtained that gnosis through experience and ritual which is the permanent knowledge, being the experience of what is not beyond the sight. What will I do? I therefore desire to become liberated while alive (< Skt. *jīvanmukta*), as the highest gnosis of Brahman."

He was like someone whose reflection is afflicted and who is sorrowful, and like someone who has a singular concern as well as faith, devotion, and detachment. He was at the feet of him whose three impurities are perfected and, desiring liberation, he was praying with all his soul toward, and meditating upon, the Lord of All (Carvēcuvāra, < Skt. *sarveśvara*).

At the age of thirty, one day at midnight the Lord of All appeared in his dream and said: "O crest-jewel among devotees, since I have called you out as my messenger, I will give you the name Azhaitthat Kondamurthy (*aḷaittāṭkoṅṭamūrṭti*). I honor your adherence to devotion (< Skt. *bhakti*). {5} You, becoming free, will receive liberation (< Skt. *mukti*) on the southern Kailasa mountain called Agastyachala ("Agastya's Mountain"), through the discipline of an experienced guru. After going to him and revering him, remain hidden and study with him in your dreams and while being awake. Disregarding himself and the world, and resting his mind in the milk of Śiva, he perceived the favor of Śiva's work and composed the song of praise called "Stottiyārppaṅṅpā."

Having reached the fullness of gnosis through learning (< Skt. *vidyā*), gnosis through reflection (< Skt. *vicāraṇa*), and gnosis through experience while near Vedashreni

Chidambara Swamigal, he was ever in composure (< Skt. *samādhi*). His vision of engaging the Lord in a dream was expressed to his mother Punyavathi while he was paying respects to her. That mother, being submerged in composure and the bliss of Brahman by means of the gnosis of Brahman, said: “O my son, from the day you were incarnated in my womb, you were highly fortunate to not desire to be ensnared in illusion (< Skt. *māyā*). Today, receiving renunciation (< Skt. *sannyāsatva*), as one who is liberated by the gnosis of Brahman and as one who is the path to receiving liberation, your self (*ātman*) is the same as my self, by virtue of becoming the gnosis of Brahman. Take your leave from me and go to your guru. We will see each other there.”

Upon acknowledging that order, he reached Chidambara Swamigal at the midnight watch, and he solemnly put on red ochre clothes and a tied forelap (*laṅkōṭu*) from the worship rites (*pūjai* < Skt. *pūjā*). After that he came to the sacred site of Vedashreni, which was his family clan’s (*kulam*, < Skt. *kula*) and his own divine, sacred place (*teyvastalam*, < Skt. *divyasthala*). In that sacred place’s locale of Taṅṭapāṅīsvara (< Skt. Daṅḍapāṅīsvara, “The Lord in whose Hand is a Staff”), over three days, during both the day and night, he remained in meditation (*tiyāṇam*, < Skt. *dhyāna*). On the third day at night, a splendor of radiance (*cōtippirakācam*, < Skt. *jyotiḥprakāśa*) appeared at the place of the phallus (*liṅkam*, < Skt. *liṅga*) “We are called out for truth. What is this? Recite your composition of a “Garland as a Hymn of Mercy” at all sacred places, and afterwards go to the place of the guru.” Upon hearing that, he uttered the “Garland of Mercy” (Tam. “Kirupāstippāmālai”) while full of bliss and ecstasy. {6} [. . .]

{7} After this he went to all the sacred places in the lands of the Toṅṭa, Cōḷa, Koṅku, Pāṅṭiyan, and Cēra, and here and there recited his five-stanza and ten-stanza “Garland Hymn of Mercy.” While ascending Agastya’s Mountain, which is the mountain of Southern Kailasa situated between the Nilgiris and Mahendragiri, he desired to break through the jungle and the place frequented by animals that surrounded the mountain. Not knowing the path, and eating only fruits and edible roots, he didn’t know which place the guru was. After tottering with fatigue, he was lying down at the base of a tree. At that time Shivajnanabodha Rishi (Civakṅāṅapō:taruṣi, < Skt. *śivajñānabodha ṛṣi*),⁹⁷² Agastya Rishi’s righteous student on Agastya’s Mountain and the twenty-fourth Guru Father (< Skt. *guru pitā*), was in mystical communion (*samādhi*). He perceived the Lord of All as making known the following in the vision of his gnosis: “Oh servant of mine, your devotee Azhaitthat Kondamurtthy has come. Make him to be your own student.” After knowing everything, he called and sent out for his principle student Chitthanai, the Supreme Guru Yogi (Paramakuruyōkicit:ta:ṅai). After he arrived and his fatigue was treated, he took him along to the place of the guru. After paying obeisance to that Shivajnanabodha Rishi, he sung this “Servant’s Hymn” (*aṭumai stuti*).

He expressed this hymn like a servant, and Shivajnanabodha Rishi became his guru. Shivajnanabodha gave to his student the name “Yogi who is the Guru of Gnosis” (*ṅānakuruyōki*, < Skt. *jñānaguruyogī*). He went on to spend twelve years with that guru. He was even in a cave, and while eating bulbs, roots, and so on, he received all the instructions (*upatēcaṅkaḷ*, < Skt. *upadeśa*), experienced all the rites (*cātaṅaikaḷ*, < Skt. *sādhana*), and obtained every experience (*aṅupavam*, < Skt. *anubhava*). He obtained the fullness of experience in mantra, concentration (*tāraṅā*, < Skt. *dhāraṅā*) of vigor (*vaya* < Skt. *vayas*), and the yogas of devotion (*paktiyōkaṅkaḷ* < Skt. *bhaktiyoga*). He obtained the power (*citti*, <

⁹⁷² Sabhapati sometimes irregularly uses a colon (: in his typography to break up syllables, which I have retained for this translation and in the original.

Skt. *siddhi*) and experience of all yogas by means of the binding (*pantaṇa*, < Skt. *bandhana*) of the exhalation (*rēcaka*, < Skt. *recaka*), inhalation (*pūraka*, as Skt.), and retention (*kumpaka*, < Skt. *kumbhaka*), and by the arresting (*stampana*, < Skt. *stambhana*), fixing (*stāpaṇa*, < Skt. *sthāpaṇa*), and the six acts (*ṣaṭkiriyaikaḥ*, < Skt. *ṣaṭkriyā*) of the foremost yogas of the breath (*cuvācam*, < Skt. *svāsa*) and vital channel (*vāci*, < Skt. *vāṃśi*), the life-breath (*pirāṇam*, < Skt. *prāṇa*), the point (*vintu*, < Skt. *vinḍu*), the sound (*nātam*, < Skt. *nāda*), the syllable Om (*piraṇavam*, < Skt. *praṇava*), and the digit (*kalā*, = Skt.). He experienced a vision of all the principles (*tattuva taricaṇam*, < Skt. *tattvadarśana*), the divine natures of visible appearance, splendor, the womb, and power and energy (*kākṣi*, *mākṣi*, *yākṣi*, *kukṣi*, *citti cakti*). Having refuted all of these through his guidance, [his] isolated non-dual self was united to Brahman by the experience of the steadfast communion with Brahman (*pirammaniṣaṭai camātiyaṇupavam*, Skt. *brahmaniṣṭhā samādhyānubhava*), which is the Yoga of Kings for Śiva as Brahman (*civapiramma rājayōka*). While being in the most excellent and {8} fully developed, unwavering, and superior composure, he said, “I am neither the gnosis of thinking or the gnosis of happiness. I possess every nature and am Brahman itself.” One day his guru, Shivajnanabodha Rishi, was remaining in his unwavering communion (*nirvikalpa camāti*, < Skt. *nirvikalpa samādhi*) while facing outward towards the door of his cave. While he was sitting on the banks of the Thamirabarani River (Tāmpiraparāṇi Nati), his first student Paramaguruyogi Siddhijnani (Paramakuruyōki Cittikṇāṇi) and his second student Jnanaguruyogi Sujnani (Kṇāṇakuruyōki Cukṇāṇi) were remaining opposite to him, and he was facing these two people. His command was as follows: “Oh students and sons, this friend dwelling on our mountain in the wilderness in a cave has understood all ascetic practice (*tapam*, < Skt. *tapas*). After receiving the grace of the Lord, the grace of every energy (*cakti*, < Skt. *śakti*), and the divine eyes of the guru, he has obtained every energy, power, and divine nature. We have brought him to liberation as a person who has gnosis of Brahman and who is liberated while living.

The Lord by his grace is protecting the world, and from the day this person came near to us his *dharma* has been attaining to these things. They who are like us are as Mahatmas, and we therefore wish to protect their souls through compassion (*kāruṇya* = Skt.) to the sentient beings of the world. As we attain we wish to become a guide for them to attain. It is therefore our duty out of this supreme desire (*parāmārttika*, < Skt. *paramārthika*) to assume the forms of gurus to help others (*parōpakāram*, < Skt. *paropakāra*). For four hundred and thirty-eight years I, being seated majestically as the disciple of Agastya who is the Lord of the Great Rishis (Akastiya Mahārṣīśvara), have caused compassion to sentient beings, compassion to help others, the protection of every soul, and the protection of the soul of the universe to arise in my mind.

You, becoming a Yogi Guru of Gnosis, have obtained from me the fullness of all investigation and experience of the rites (*cātaṇāṇupavam*, < Skt. *sādhānānubhava*), and you have obtained the production of new sacred writings (*cāstiraṅkaḥ*, < Skt. *śāstra*) and sacred writings yet to be carried out. In this manner it has all been like something you experienced, but in what manner have you obtained it? You obtained all this experience even during your conduct (*viyavahāra*, < Skt. *vyavahāra*), attainment (*ārūṭa*, < Skt. *ārūḍha*), [experience of] the innate (*cahaja*, < Skt. *sahaja*), wandering (*cañcāra*, < Skt. *saṃcāra*), conceptualizing, and so on, and while you were always in a state of composure free from conceptuality, or in the composure of the experience of your own Brahman. Count me, then, as someone worthy to praise you. It is you who are competent to express the expression of Agastya who is the

Lord of the Great Rishis, and you are “Isanazhaitthatkondanar” (Īcaṇaḷaittātḱoṇṭaṇar), the sign of the drawing out of the Protector of the Soul of the Universe. You know six languages. I command you therefore to complete this work of helping others. However, you must not reveal our utmost secrets, the foremost among them being alchemy (*vātam*, < Skt. *vāda*), mercury (*kavunam*), medical arts (*kalpam*, < Skt. *kalpa*), the entrance into other bodies (*parakāyappiravēcam*, < Skt. *parakāyapraveśa*), the magical ointment (*añcaṇam*, < Skt. *añjana*), powers (*sitti*, < Skt. *siddhi*), energy (*cakti*, < Skt. *śakti*), theurgy (*mūrttikaram*, < Skt. **mūrtikara*),⁹⁷³ increasing the life-force (*āyurvirutti*, < Skt. *āyurvṛddhi*), the power of the eight acts (*aṣṭakiriyācitti*), and the eight powers (*aṣṭacitti*), to the people of the world. Instead, [you should reveal] the forms of teaching on exercises (*aṇupavaṅkaḷ*, < Skt. *anubhava*) of devotion (*pakti*, < Skt. *bhakti*), meditation (*tiyāṇam*, < Skt. *dhyāna*), knowledge (*ñāṇam*, < Skt. *jñāna*), and ritual (*cātaṇam*, < Skt. *sādhana*), which are for the benefit of the soul, for reaching the desires of now and the hereafter, and for desirelessness. After making a new sacred text with the sequence of instructions (*upatēcakkiramam*, < Skt. *upadeśakrama*) and a path of initiation (*tikṣāmārkkam*, < Skt. *dīkṣāmārga*), and displaying every reflection, ritual, and all exercises in the form of pictures, you should send it to be printed. Worship (*pūjai*, < Skt. *pūjā*) is to be performed in the same way by people of every caste (*carvavarṇastarkaḷ*, < Skt. **sarvavarṇastha*). It is your duty to go and assist the people in this way and then return to me. {9} However, if there are arguments then you must not do a given work, because people always receive curses and there is confusion. In such a way everything will come to pass for your growth and the earth will be fruitful.”⁹⁷⁴ This Yogi who is the Guru of Gnosis, Sabhapati Swami, then left that hermitage and visited the Malayali, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindustani, Bengali, Nepali, Punjabi, Rajputhani, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Multani, and Himachali lands. He composed stanzas of praise (*patikam*, < Skt. *padika* = *pada*) about every sacred site and brought forth his “Kirupā Stauttiyamālai” after obtaining sight of the deity at sacred sites (*stalaricaṇaṅkaḷ*, < Skt. *sthaladarśana*), bathing in rivers (*natisnāṇam*, < Skt. *nadīsnāna*), and going on pilgrimage to sacred sites (*stalatīrttayāttirai*, < Skt. *sthalatīrthayātra*) in various places.

In each respective country and language, and also in the English language, he set forth the wisdom of the sacred scriptures (*cāstirapōṭaṇai*, < Skt. **śāstrabodhana*) on the nature of things (*tattuvam*, < Skt. *tattva*) in the form of lectures (*piracaṅkaṅkaḷ*, < Skt. *prasaṅga*; *pra* + √*sañj*) and in images about the nature of things (*tattuvapaṭaṅkaḷ*, < Skt. *tattva* + Tam. *paṭam*, “picture”).

He revealed the experiences of practicing the rites (*cātaṇāppiyācāṇupavaṅkaḷ*, < Skt. **sādhanābhyāsānubhava*) of the steadfast absorption in the gnosis of Brahman (*pirammañāṇaṇiṣṭai camāti*, < Skt. **brahmañāṇaṇiṣṭhāsamādhi*) by means of print, primarily in the languages of Sanskrit, Urdu, Hindustani, Bengali, Telugu, Marathi, Dravidian Tamil, and English, as well as in images that depict the experience of these rites, which include actions, inquiries, and acts of worship (*kiriyaṇucantāṇapūjaikaḷ*, < Skt. **kriyānusamdhānapūjā*) toward all the gods and goddesses (*carvatēvatātēvikaḷ*, < Skt. *sarvadevatādevī*), and for the performance of daily ceremonies (*nittiyakarmānuṣṭāṇaṅkaḷ*, < Skt. **nityakarmānuṣṭhāna*) by means of a sequence of instructions (*upatēcakkiramam*, < Skt.

⁹⁷³ Sanskrit / Maṇipravāla compounds that are uncommon or have a technical Tamil significance that is unique to the yogic contexts of Sabhapati’s work are given an asterisk (*).

⁹⁷⁴ āyīṇum vātatiṇṭal enta kāriyamuṅ ceyyoṇṇātu yeṇēṇil carvattirāḷ cāpaṅkaḷ perirukkiṇṇamaiyaraḷ, yatiṇṭal-etuvum viruttikku vārāvām. palaṇaittarāvām.

upadeśakrama). This knowledge about the natures of all things (*carvatattuvaññāṅkaḷ*, < Skt. **sarvatattvajñāna*), devotion (*pakti*, < Skt. *bhakti*), yoga (*yōka*), and gnosis (*ññāṅkaḷ*, < Skt. *jñāna*) are to be engaged in (*aṇukkirahittu*, < Skt. *anugrahīta*) by people of any of the four castes (**catur varṇastarkaḷ*, < Skt. **caturvarṇasthā*) as well as by both men and women. He (Sabhapati) established four hundred and sixty-four meditation societies (*tiyāna capaikaḷ*, < Skt. *dhyāna sabhā*) in various places of India (*hintutēcam*) for his students to carry out the practice of the rites.

He afterwards met with his childhood friend, the composer of the *Tiruvārūpā*, the gracious [Chidambara] Ramalinga Swami (Irāmaliṅka Svāmi), full of ascetic worship, in Vadalur (Vatalūr).

After again returning to the northern part [of India] and departing for the north side of the Himalayas (Himāñcal), he bathed in Manasarovar, that pool which is the source of the Indus River and the Brahmaputra River. With the help of three rishis he obtained a vision of the holy Kailasa. He set forth the “Garland of the Praise of Mercy” (*kirupāstauttiyamālā*, < Skt. *kṛpāstutyamālā*) in one hundred and eight verses (*slōkam*, < Skt. *śloka*) in the form of an homage (*arccaṇārūpam*, < Skt. *arcan*) in Sanskrit terminology (*paripāśai*, < Skt. *paribhāṣā*) of “having shape” (*cākāra*, < Skt. *sākāra*) and “shapeless” (*nirākāra* = Skt.) about the Lord of Kailasa (Kailācēsvarar, < Skt. Kailāśēsvara). {10}

After paying respects to these three rishis and standing before them, they asked, “Oh Yogi Guru of Gnosis! What do you want?”

He said, “I don’t want anything—I only want the liberation of unity (*aikya mukti* = Skt.)”

Praising him as free from desire (*niṣkāmmiyam*, < Skt. *niṣkāmya*), they said, “You have been elevated by your guru into the liberation of unity. You have been elevated as a “Guru Father Rishi” (Kurupitā Ruṣī) by those of your hermitage (*ācīrma*, < Skt. *āśrama*) who are those Beloved by the Guru.” After speaking they then vanished as they entered the sky (*kaka:ṇa*, < Skt. *gagana*).

He afterwards went into the southern region of the Himalayas, specifically to catch a sight of places and to bathe in rivers at Pasupatinath, Kedarnath, Bhadrinath, Jwalamukhi, Triloknath, Bhutanath, the source of the Ganges, the source of the Yamuna, Amarnath, and Manikaran. While he was in Kashmir his guru Shivajnana Bodha Rishi was at Agastya’s Hermitage, and Agastya who is the Lord of the Great Rishis was going to come to his hermitage, as he does once in every fifty years, to grant the Beloved Students of the Guru a brief period to have a vision of him. The Yogi Guru of Gnosis [Sabhapati Swami] realized this by means of his method of initiation (*tīkṣākīrama*, < Skt. *dīkṣākrama*) into the sight of the gnosis of Brahman (*pirammaññā tiruṣṭi*, < Skt. *brahmajñānadṛṣṭi*), in his formulated sight of gnosis, and through the sight of gnosis. Both merged with each other, and he perceived the connection. Agastya Rishi came within his vision and said, “You must come and join us at our hermitage.” Bewildered by this command (*ākñā*, < Skt. *ājñā*), he came from his place to the three banks [along the Ganges] of Rishikesh, Haridwar, and then Vindhyachal. After coming to Vedashreni via Kishkindha and Srisailam, he worshipped with a poem of praise. {11} Afterwards he came to Chidambaram and spoke forth a song of praise (“Citampara ēkārcçaṇaippā”).

After that, he visited Thirukkadaiyur, Tirupperunturai, Rameswaram, Madurai, Courtallam and then came to the mountain called “Agastya’s Mountain,” which is his guru’s

hermitage and the Kailasa of the South. Having worshipped his teacher's feet, he made the "Poem of Keeping the Teacher's Command" ("Kurākñāparipālaṅappā").

In this way he was with the teacher in the composure that is free from conception in the year 1880 on the day of the full moon in the asterism of Chaitra (April/May, i.e. Chitra Pournami), when the planets and lunar nodes, the pole star, and the houses, were in their highest positions. Then the most auspicious Agastya who is the Lord of the Great Rishis had entered his soul, filled with Brahman, in his pure and formulated body (*cuttakalpa carīram*, < Skt. **śuddhakalpaśarīra*). He understood in his interior vision at the time of his coming that the Gnostics (Ñāṅikaḷ, < Skt. *jñānin*), the Hearers (Ruṣikaḷ, < Skt. *ṛṣi*), the Accomplished Ones (Cittarkaḷ, < Skt. *siddha*), and the Yoked Ones (Yōkikaḷ, < Skt. *yogin*) had gathered together on Agastya's Mountain. They came by means of flight (lit. "entering the sky") and in many other ways from the ascetic hermitages of the eleven mountain ranges, namely the Himalayas (Himāñcalam), Kush Mountain (Kuśācala) Mount Abu (Apā:calam), Vindhya Mountain (Vintācalam), Kishkindha Mountain (Kiṣkintācalam), the Holy Kailasa Mountain (Śrī Kailācam), Bala Mountain (Pā:lācalam), Udhaga Mountain (Utakācalam) and Velliangiri (Veḷḷiyañ:ri) in the Nilgiris (Nīlakiri), Mahendragiri, and Kandy Mountain of the Mountains on Lanka. These Mahatmas of asceticism had been wanting a vision of Agastya, and as a result the rest of the people of the world were also not obtaining a vision.

In the year 1880, on the day of the full moon in the asterism of Chitra, at the time of sunrise, just as with the vision before his very eyes of Shiva on holy Kailasa, the twenty-four Mahatmas who are the Guru's Beloved, with their students encircling them at their side and performing the sixteen acts of reverence (*cōṭacōpacāram*, < Skt. *ṣoḍaśopacāra*), came within and beneath him. They were continually reciting praises and the collections of the Vedas, and their students were making the sounds of the conch and the lion's roar (*ciṅkunātañcānkunātam*, < Skt. **siṃhanādaśaṅkhanāda*). The Goddesses of Power (*caktitēvikaḷ*, < Skt. *śaktidevī*) were waving their chowries (*kṣamaram*, < Skt. *chāmara*) and fans (*viciri*, possibly < Skt. √*vij*) to the great rishi Agastya, the undivided Whirler of the Teacher's Wheel (*kurucakkiravartti*, < Skt. **gurucakravartin*), accompanied by his retinue (*āravāram*, < Skt. *ārava*), with his threefold mark (*tiripuṅṭaram*, < Skt. *tripuṅḍra*) and his mark on the lower neck (*kantatilakam*, < Skt. **skandhatilaka*). He was ornamented by a necklace of rudraksha seeds (*ruttirākṣaciramālā*, < Skt. *rudrākṣamālā*), a collar (*kaṇḍamālā*, < Skt. *kaṅṭhamālā*), an armlet (*pujamālā*, < Skt. *bhujamālā*), and a bracelet (*kaṅkaṇamālā* = *Skt.), {12} and was wearing red ochre and golden robes, a girdle of ascetics, and had a crown of dreadlocks (*jaṭamakuṭam*, < Skt. *jaṭamakuṭa* or *jaṭamukuṭa*) with matted hair (*kapirṇam*, possibly < Skt. *kapardin*) falling upon his feet. He was holding in his hands a magical wand (*cukkumāntaṭi*), a yogic staff (*yōkataṅṭu*, < Skt. *yogadaṇḍa*), a water vessel (*kamaṅṭalam*, < Skt. *kamaṅḍalu*), a bag (*jōḷṇā*, < Hi. and Bng. *jholā*, likely < Skt. *jyaulikā*), and a pouch filled with the ashes of cow-dung (*vipūticañci*, < Skt. **vibhūticañca*), and he was wearing a yoga strap (*yōkappaṭṭai*, < Skt. *yogapaṭṭa*). He came to the entry-way of his cave, and then was at the base of the tree of sixteen qualities (*cōṭcakaḷāviruṅṣam*, < Skt. *ṣoḍaśakaḷāvṛkṣa*) that he himself had created, which is his same size, and which is comprised of sixteen kinds of branches, leaves, blossoms, and fruits. He was lying on a tiger skin (*viyākirācaṅam*, < Skt. *vyāghrāsana*), a dark sheet (*kiruṣṇācaṅam*, < Skt. *kṛṣṇāsana*), a thick blanket of jewels (*rattiṅajamakkālācaṅam*, < Skt. *ratna* + a compound of Hi. *jama* + Skt. *kālāsana*), a skin of musk deer (*kastūri mirukācaṅam*, < Skt. **kastūrimṛgāsana*), a mat made from tree bark (*mara uriyāl tiṅṭu*), and a sheet made from golden fabric (*pītāmparattāl*

mettai, < Skt. *pītāmbara* + Tam. *mettai*). He then rose and sat upon the lion-throne (*cimahācaṇa*, < Skt. *siṃhāsana*) of the Whirler of the Teacher's Wheel.

On the very first day after this vision was finished, the students who are the Beloved of the Guru of his hermitage discussed these states of happiness, and afterwards received them. After discussing these happy states with the Mahatmas of the [above] hermitages, he gave a blessing to everyone who was there. Then they who reside at his hermitage came and the Mahatmas created a hymn of praise. At that time this Guru Father Rishi also made a hymn of praise (“Kurupitāruṣiyāl akastiyar taricaṇakālastauttiyam”).

On the second day, everyone's doubts concerning all the sacred scriptures were removed. On the third day, the benefit of new instruction was conferred upon all. On the fourth day the Wish-granting Cow (*kāmatēnu*, < Skt. *kāmadhenu*), all the Goddesses of Power, and the enjoyment of the offering to the guru (*kuruppiracāta*, < Skt. *guruprasāda*), which is the consumption of the nectar of the immortality of the gods, were graciously granted to his students and to the Mahatmas who had come. On the fifth day he entered the cave and, while keeping his own body (*carīram*, < Skt. *śarīra*), became the undivided soul of the Infinite Spirit (*akaṇṭātma pīrammam*, < Skt. **akhaṇḍātmabrahma*). All the Mahatmas took their leave from the {13} Guru's Beloved Ones, and each of them returned to their respective hermitage.

One day at an auspicious time this Yogi Guru of Gnosis, after having his vision of Agastya, was in the company of his guru and the twenty-four of the Guru's Beloved Ones of this hermitage. He was atop this mountain, where there is a confluence of the Thamirabirani River, the Siddhi River, and the Amrita River. Having reached this triple-braided confluence of liberation (*mukti tirivēṇi caṅkam*, < Skt. *mukti trivenī saṅga*), he bathed there. After concluding his mantra-recitation (*jepa*, < Skt. *japa*) and austerities (*tapam*, < Skt. *tapas*), exercising his devotion (*niṣṭai*, < Skt. *niṣṭhā*), and begging, he was entirely in a state of communion when the title of the sacred name “Rishi who is the Father of Gurus” (Kurupitāruṣi) was bestowed upon this Yogi Guru of Gnosis.

In this manner he dwelt for a period of two years in the hermitage's cave, and afterwards at his guru's command again set out for the Nilgiris for a few days before descending and embarking on a pilgrimage to all the sacred sites in the northern regions. He showed favor there to the people of all places, and printed his sacred writings in various languages. He then approached the city of Chennai and came to Holy Konnur in Villivakkam. In ancient times Agastya established a pilgrimage bathing site of Agastya and a temple of Agastya at a forest of bael trees (*vilvavaṇam*, < Skt. *bilvavana*) where he slew the asuras Vatapi and Ilvala. He instituted a large pool, called the Pool of Sacrifice (Yākakuṇṭam, < Skt. *yajñakuṇḍa*), and performed a sacrifice (*yāka*, < Skt. *yajña*) upon coming to Holy Konnur. He approached the large pool, and was in his gnostic vision of the past, present, and future (*tirikāla ṅāṇatiruṣṭi*, < Skt. *trikārajñānadrṣṭi*) while on the ground in steadfast devotion. While in his steadfast devotion, he also established a hermitage and meditation hall (*maṭālayam*, < Skt. **maṭhālaya*) after a short time. He dwelled there in that place and made sacrifices at the great lake called the Pool of Sacrifice. On the ground at the north side of this Pool of Sacrifice was where the Lord of All (Carvēsvara, < Skt. Sarveśvara) had given the vision of his dance (*naṭaṇam*, < Skt. *naṭana*) of five activities (*pañcakiruttiam*, < Skt. *pañcakṛtya*) to Agastya, and where his disciples had gone to perform worship rites to 1,008 lingas and 108 shaligrams.

In Konnur, which arose as Great Vishnu (Mahāviṣṇu) gave his disk to the Sun (Sūryaṇa), [Sabhapati] established the Guru Father Rishi college for instruction in the class of Agastya. He facilitated the establishment of 1,008 lingas and the establishment of 108 shaligrams there, and then went to Sri Kashi and resolved to perform the same rites at the abode of the Lord of All and the Lady of All (Carvēsvari, < Skt. Sarveśvarī), where the Lord of All has made an established custom of performing the dance of his five activities on every full moon (*paurṇimāi*, < Skt. *pūrṇimā*). He created and graciously bestowed a revealed an instructive scripture, recollected teaching, and sacred writing in the Dravidian language of Tamil, and in it he showed the performance of acts, the gnosis of yoga, and all kinds of austerities, practices of the rites, exercises, and knowledge of all the principles of being, as well as through forty diagrams of the principles of being and in diagrams of meditation (*tiyāṇapaṭaṅkaḷ*). This was given the name *Collected Instructions of the Vedas: Every Discourse and Ritual Exercise* (*carva vicāraṇā cātaṇāṇupava caṅkiraha vētōpatēcam*, < Skt. *sarva vicāraṇā sādhanānubhava saṅgraha vedopadeśa*) by the Guru's Beloved Ones who remain at his hermitage. Afterwards all those Mahatmas, joining together, gave him the title "Guru of Indivisible Gnosis who is the Whirler of the Wheel" (*akaṅṭha kṛāṇakuru cakkravartti*, < Skt. *akhaṅḍa jñānaguru cakravartī*).

He then resolved to create the meditation hall called Guru Father Rishi's Meditation Hall, a pilgrims' bathing site (*tirttam*, < Skt. *tīrtha*) for an abode of the gods, for an abode of the Lord of All, and a pilgrims' bathing site for the giver of liberation. The foundation of the place was to be five lingas, namely the Linga that is the Nature of Brahman (Birammapā:valiṅkam, < Skt. Brahmabhāvaliṅga), the Linga that is the Nature of the Lord of All (Carvēsvarapā:valiṅkam, < Skt. Sarveśvarabhāvaliṅga), {14} the Linga that is the Nature of the Lady of All (Carvēsvaripā:valiṅkam, < Skt. Sarveśvarībhāvaliṅga), the Linga that is the Nature of the Guru (Kurupā:valiṅkam, < Skt. Gurubhāvaliṅga), and the Linga that is the Nature of Vishnu (Viṣṇupā:valiṅkam, < Skt. Viṣṇubhāvaliṅga). The Rishis and Mahatmas in his guru hermitages established halls in towns or mountains for the Lord of All, and gave holy names to these sacred sites, such as the fivefold celestial linga that is the highest image of the radiance of the universe as the five deities, the five faces in the form of one, who is the Lord of the Dance of the Five Activities; and the highest goddess who is the radiance of the universe as the fivefold goddess with the five faces in the form of one, who is the Lady of the Dance of the Five Activities. [. . .]

He spent a little time in each place also, including this Holy Konnur Meditation Hall and Hermitage of Austerities, the Nilgiri Hermitage of Austerities, and the Hermitage of Austerities of the mountain and cave on Mount Agastya, realizing the steadfast devotion of experiencing the non-conceptual composure of the gnosis of Brahman.

In the various lands of India he has been given the following names and titles by his students: 1. Guru of the Gnosis of the Universe (Jakatñāṅakuru, < Skt. Jagatjñānaguru), 2. Guru of the Meditation of Liberation (Muktitiyāṅakuru, < Skt. Muktidhyānaguru), 3. Composer of the Revelation of the Rites of the Gnosis of Devotion (Paktiñāṇa cātaṇai curutikarttā, < Skt. Bhaktijñāna Sādhanā Śrutikartā), and 4. The Guru who has Descended for the Upliftment of Religion (Matōttāraṇa avutāraguru, < Skt. *matoddhāraṇāvatāraguru*). He obtained great renown as he received these holy names.

B. Excerpt of T2 (Original Tamil)

ஓம் சிவஹரி சக்தி பிரம்மணேநம:

இந்த சாஸ்திரோபதேச சங்கிரஹ வேதசாஸ்திர கர்த்தாவாகிய

க்ஞானகுருயோகி, குருபிதாருஷி சபாபதி சுவாமிகளது

திரு அவுதார சரித்திரம்.

இஃதை ஹை குருசுவாமிகளின் சர்வோபதேச சாதனானுபவ கைவல்லியம்பெற்ற

சிவக்ஞானப்பிரகாசயோகீஸ்வர

சிஷ்யராலியற்றியது.

{3} இந்துதேச தட்சண காண்டத்தில், தொண்டயான் சக்கிரவர்த்தியின் தொண்டமா நகரத்தில், சென்னைபுரியில், தனத்தில், தேவாலய ஜீர்ணோத்தாரண பணியில், கல்வியில், சிரேஷ்டராய் விளங்கிய குருகுல திலகராகிய குருநாத பக்த்தாராம் பதிக்கும், புண்ணியவதி என்னும் சதிக்கும் குருநாத பக்த்தரால் திருவேத சிரேணி ஷேத்திரத்திற்காக, திருமயிலை கும்பலிங்க ஆசாரியைக் கொண்டு, குருநாத பக்த்தரின் குருவாகிய (உபதேசவுண்மை) சாஸ்திரகர்த்தா வேதசிரேணி சிதம்பர ஸ்வாமிகளின் ஆக்ஞாபிரகாரம். நடேசமூர்த்தி சிவகாமியம்மன் வார்ப்படம் வேதஸ்ரேணியில் செய்தருளிய ஆறுக்கிரகம் உச்சஸ்தானத்தில், இரண்டு கிரகம் வாக்குஸ்தானத்தில் ஒரு கிரகம் சுகதபஸ்தானத்திலுள்ள காலமாகிய 1828 வருஷம் மார்கழி மாதம் திருவாதிரை நட்சத்திர தீவ்ய மஹாமுசுட்த்தகால மங்கள் சுபதினத்தில் இந்த சங்கரகவேதோபதேச, சாஸ்திர கர்த்தாவாகிய ஞானகுருயோகி குருபிதாருஷி சபாபதி சுவாமிகள் திருவவுதாரஞ் செய்தனர்.

இவர் பாலபக்குவத்திலேயே, சத்குணத்தில், பக்தியில், பூததயாளத்தில், ஜீவகாருண்யத்தில் புத்திகோசரத்தில், சாதுசேவையில், தர்மகுணத்தில், பரோபகாரத்தில் சுத்தமான வாக்குக் கிரியையில், சாஸ்திரபுராண சிரவணத்தில் ஆறு பாஷா வித்தையில், யாத்திரையில், சர்வவிராகத்தில், சர்வதபோவைராக்கிய சாதனையில், மகா சிரேஷ்டராய் விளங்காநின்று (20) வயதுக்குள் இங்கிலிஷில் {4} புரோபசராய், பைபில் முழுதும் வாசித்து கிருஸ்துமதவுண்மை ஆராய்ந்தும் (25) வயது வரையிலும் பெரிய உத்தியோகத்திலிருந்தும். பின்பு அதை விட்டு விட்டு ரங்கோனுக்கும் போய் பாரியவர்த்தக்ஞ்செய்துக்கொண்டும் பவத்தமத உண்மையை யரிய பர்மாதேச பொங்கிகள் சத்சங்கத்தால் பாலிபாஷையினால் ஆராய்ந்து பவத்தமதமும் இந்துமத வேதாந்தமும் ஒன்றெனத்தெரிந்துக்கொண்டும், இந்த வர்தகம் மாயையில் விரத்திசெய்கின்றதென்று வெருத்து. அவ்வர்த்தகத்தை நீக்கி சென்னைபுரிக்கு வந்து தன் பிதூராஜித விசேஷ சொத்தால் ஜீவித்துக் கொண்டும் தன் குருவாகிய உபதேசவுண்மை சாஸ்திர கர்த்தாவேதஸ் சிரேணி சிதம்பர ஸ்வாமிகளுக்கு சிஷ்யராய் அவரிடம் சர்வ சாஸ்திர தத்துவகிஞானமடைந்து அவர் ஐக்கியமான பிறகு மகமத் உண்மையை அறியவேண்டுமென்று நாசுப் மீரா சாய்ப்பு ஆண்டவர் சமாதிக்ஞ்சென்று அங்கு மகுமத் மதஸ்தான்களோடு சத்சங்கம் செய்து மகமத் குரான் உண்மைகளை அறிந்து பின்னும் சென்னை புரிக்கு வந்து சர்வேஸ்வரராகிய நடேசர் உபாசனை மானசேக தியானத்தில் அகோர தபம் செய்துகொண்டும், சதுர்வேத, ஷட் சாஸ்திர 64 கலைக்கிஞான சர்வ உபநிஷதம் கீதைகளின் கிஞானமடைந்து, இந்த உலகத்தின் கிருஸ்துமதம் பவத்த மதம், மகமத் மதங்களாகிய இந்த மதங்களுக்கு மேலாக சகல ரஹஸ்யங்களையும், உண்மைகளையும் விசாரணைகளையும் சாதனைகளையும் அனுபவங்களையும் உடையது இந்த இந்துமதம் ஆகையால்

இந்துமதம் ஜெகத் பிதா மதமாயும் இந்துவேத சமுஸ்கிருத பாவை ஜெகத் மாதா பாவையாயும் விளங்குகின்றதென்று உணர்ந்தனர்.

இந்த தனது (28-வது) வயது வரையிலும் சர்வ சாஸ்திர விசாரணை கிஞானத்தில் வல்லனாயினேனே யன்றி அந்தந்த விசாரணைக்கியானங்களுக்குரிய அனுபவக்கிஞானம் அடைந்திலேனே, என் செய்வேன் அபரோகூக்கிஞானியானவனல்லேனே என்ன பிரயோஜனம் இந்த பரோகூக்கிஞானம். நான் அடைந்த விசாரணைக்கிஞானமாகிய சாங்கிய பரோகூக்கிஞானத்தால் குருவிநிடம் விசாரணைக்கியானம் கிரஹிதக்யானம், தெளிவுக்கியானம், யுகக்கியானம் நிஷ்சமிஸ்சியக்கியானம் யடைந்தேனேயன்றி அனுபவ அபரோகூ ஸ்திரக்கியானமாகிய சாதனா அனுபவ கிஞானம் யடைந்திலேனே என் செய்வேன் எவ்வண்ணமுசுப்பிரம்மக்கியானியாய் ஜீவன் முக்தன் ஆகவேண்டுமென்றும் வியாசூல விசார விசனத்தோடும் கவலை யேக்கத்தோடும் சிரத்தா பசுதி வைராக்கியத்தோடும் இருவினயொப்பு, மூம்மல பரிபாகசத்தினி பாதமும்: மூம்ஸுத்வபக்குலத்தோடும், தன் யாத்மாந்த சர்வஸ்வரரை ப்ராத்தனை செய்துத் தியானித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கும், தன் (30-வது வயதாகிய ஓர் தின் இராத்திரி உச்சிகாலத்தில் தன் சொற்பனத்தில் சர்வேசுவரர் தோன்றி ஓ பக்த சிரோம்மணியே உன்னை யழைத்தாட்கொள்ள வந்தபடியால் உனக்கு (யழைத்தாட்கொண்டமூர்த்தி) என்னும் நாமமிட்டேன், உன் பக்திக் {5} கிரக்கமுள்ளேன், நீ முக்தனாகி முக்திபெற அகஸ்தியாசல தக்ஷணகைலாஸ பர்வதத்தில் உனக்கனுபவ குருவை நியமித்தேனவிடஞ் செல்லெனத் திருவாய் மலர்ந்தருளி மறைந்தனர் அப்பொழுத சொநபனாவஸ்தைபோய் ஜாக்கிராவஸ்தையடைந்து சரவப்ரக. ரையற்று தன்னையும் உலகத்தையும் மறந்து தன் சித்ததைச் சிவனபால்வைத்து இவ்வனுக்கிரஹஞ் சிவஞ்செயலென உணர்ந்து ஸ்துதித்தனர் [. .] என்று ஸ்துதித்து-வேதஸ்சிரேணி சிதம்பர சுவாமிகளிடம் பூர்ணவித்தியா க்ருநனத்தையும்; விசாரணை க்ருானத்தையும்; அனுபவக்ருானத்தையுமடைந்து சதா சமாதியிலிருக்கும், தன் மாதாவாகிய புண்ணியவதியை நமஸ்கரித்து தன் சொற்பனத்திலீசுவரனனுக்கிரஹித்த காஷியைத் தெரிவிக்க அந்த மாதா பர்ம்ம க்ருானியாகையால் ப்ரஹ்மானந்த பரவசத்தில் மூழ்கி ஓ புத்திரா நீ அவதரித்த என்கெஃப்பமின்றே கிருதார்த்தமாயிற்று நீ மாயையிற் சிக்கவேண்டாம், இன்றே சந்நியாசித்துவம்பெற்று ப்ரஹ்மக்ருானி முக்தனாய் முக்திபெறக்கடவாய், உன்னாத்மமு மென்னாத்மமும் ஒரே பிரம்மக்ருானமாகையால், அங்கிருவருந்தரி சித்துக்கொள்வோம் நீ என்னிடத்து விடைபெற்று கு:ருவிடஞ் செல்லென, அவ்வாக்கையை சிரசிற்கொண்டு அர்த்தஜாமத்தில் சிதம்பர ஸ்வாமிகளிடம் பெற்று பூஜைபிலிருந்த காவிவஸ்திரம், லங்கோடு கப:ர்ணமணிந்து, அத்துடனே தன் குலத்திற்கு ஆத்மார்த்ததேயவஸ்தலமாகிய திருவேதசிரேணி க்ஷேத்திரத்திற்கு வந்து யந்தஸ்தல தண்டபாணீஸ்வரருக்கெதிரில் மூன்றுதினம் இராத்திரி பகல் ஒரே தியானத்திலிருந்துவிட்டார் மூன்றாம் நாளிராத்திரி அந்த லங்கத்தினிடம் சோதிப்பிரகாசம் தோன்றி அசர்ரவாக்காய், (நாம் உம்மையழைத்தாட்கொண்டோம்) ஏன் ஸ்தலங்கள்தோரும் கிருபாஸ்துதி கருத்து நடைப்பா மாலைச்சாற்றி பின்னர் குருவிடம் போகுக) என்றதைத்தான் கேட்டு யானந்த பரவசனாய் (கிருபாஸ்திப்பாமாலை) சாற்றினர் [. .] {6}

{7} அதின் பிறகு தொண்டநாட்டின் சோழநாட்டின் கொங்குநாட்டின் பாண்டியநாட்டின் சேரநாட்டின் ஸ்தலங்கள்தோருஞ்சென்று ஆங்காங்கு பஞ்சபதிக, பத்தும்பதிக: கிருபாஸ்துதிப்பாமலை, சாற்றிவிட்டு நீலகிரிக்கும் மஹேந்திரகிரிக்கும் மத்தியிலுள்ள இகஸ்தியாசல தக்ஷணகைலாச பர்வதமேறிச்செல்லுங்காலத்தில் அப்பர்வதம் அடர்ந்த காடும் மிருகசஞ்சாரமுடையதாகையால் மார்க்கம் தெரியாமல் கனிகளையும் கிழங்குகளையும் புசித்தலைந்து குருவிருக்குமிடந்தெரியாது ஓர் மரத்தடியில் ஆயாசத்:தாடு படுத்திருந்தனர் அப்பொழுது அகஸ்திய ருஷியின் நேர் சிஷ்யராகிய அகஸ்தியாசல பர்வதத்தில் (24 வது குருபீடமாகிய (சிவக்ருானபோ:தருஷியின் சமாதி லக்ஷியத்தில் நானடுமைகொண்ட (அழைத்தாட்கொண்டமூர்த்தி) வருகிறான் அவனை சிஷ்யராக்கிக்கொள் யென்று சர்வேஸ்வரன் தெரிவிக்க தன் க்ருானதிருஷ்டியில் யாவும் தெரிந்துகொண்டு தன் பிரதம சிஷியனாகிய (பரமகுருயோகிசித்:த:னை) யிவரை யழைத்துவரயனுப்ப, யவர் வந்து யிவர் யாயாசத்தை தீர்த்து

யிட்டுக்கொண்டுபோய் குருவிடம் விட்டனர் அச்சிவக்ஞானபோத ருஷியை நமஸ்கரித்து (அடுமை ஸ்துதி பாடினர்.) [. .]

இவ்வித ஸ்தௌத்தியத்தோடு யடுமைப்பட்டவுடனே குருவானவராம் சிவஞானபோடரிஷி யானவர் இந்த சிஷ்யருக்கு ஞானகுருயோகி என்னுந்திருநாமமிட்டனர், பின்பு அந்த குருவோடு (12) வருஷ காலம், அவர் குறையிலேயே, கந்தமூலாதி பக்ஷணை செய்துகொண்டு சர்வ உபதேசங்களைப்பெற்று சர்வ சாதனைகளையும், சர்வானுபவமடைந்து, மந்திர, வய தாரணா, பக்தியோகங்களில் பூர்ணானுபவப்பெற்று சுவாசம் வாசி, பிராணம், விந்து, நாதம், பிரணவம், கலா முதலிய யோகங்களின் ரேசக, பூரக கும்பக பந்தன, ஸ்தம்பன ஸ்தாபன ஷட்கிரியைகளால் சர்வ யோகானுபவ சித்தியடைந்து சர்வ தத்துவ தரிசனம் காஷி, மாஷி, யாஷி, குஷி, சித்தி சக்தி மூர்த்தீகரங்களையனுபவித்து நயதியால் நிவாரணஞ் செய்து கேவவாத் துவைத ஆத்ம பிரம்ம ஐக்ய சிவபிரம்ம ராஜயோக பிரம்மநிஷ்டை சமாதியனுபவத்தால் சித்துக்ஞானியல்லாதசுக்ஞானியாய நாஹஞ்சர்வம் எத்பிரகாரமயம் அஹஞ்சவப்பிரம்மம்) என்னும் சுவானுபவ வரிஷ்ட்ட {8} பக்குவ நிர்விகல்ப காவட்ட சமாதியிலிருக்கும் சமயத்தில், ஓர் தினந், தன்குருவான, சிவக்ஞானபோத ருஷியானவர், தன் நிர்விகல்ப சமாதியில் நின்று ப:ஹிர் முகப்பட்டு, தன் குறை வாசலிலிருக்கும், தாம்பிரபரணி நதிதீர்த்திலுட்கார்ந்து கொண்டிருக்கும்பொழுது பிரதமசிஷ்யர் (பரமகுருயோகி சித்திக்ஞானியும்) துவீதிய சிஷ்யர் (க்ஞானகுருயோகி சுக்ஞானியும்) அவரெதிரில் நின்றுக்கொண்டிருக்கும்பொழுது இவ்விருவரையும் நோக்கி ஓ சிஷ்யபுத்திரர்களே கேள்ர் நாம் யிம்மலைவாச வனாந்திரமத்தில் குறை வாசத்தில் சர்வதபம் புரிந்து, ஈசுவரனருளையும் சர்வ சக்தியினருளையும், குரு கடாஷத்தையும் பெற்று சர்வ சக்தி சித்தி மூர்த்தீகரமடைந்து, பிரம்மக்ஞானியாய், ஜீவன் மூக்தராய் முக்திக்காளானோம்.

நாம் ஒருவரே நம்மடுக்கும் இதுகளையடைவது தம்மமன்று, ஈசுவரன் தன்னருளாலுலகத்தை ரக்ஷிக்கின்றனர், மஹாத்மக்களாகிய நம்போலியர்கள், ஜீவ காருண்னியத்தாலுலகத்தவர்களுக்கு ஆத்மரக்ஷகஞ் செய்யவேண்டுமாகையால், நாமடைந்தவாறாயவர்களமடையச் செய்யவேண்டும், யிந்த பராமார்த்தீக, பரோபகாரம் குருமூர்த்தங்களாகிய நம்முடைய கடமையாகையால். இந்த ஜீவகாருண்யபரோபகார காருண்ய சர்வாத்மரக்ஷக ஜகத்தாத்ம ரக்ஷக உத்தாரணம் என் மனதில் நான் அகஸ்திய மஹா ருஷீஸ்வருக்கு சிஷ்யராகிய இந்த (438) வருஷகாலமாய் வீற்றிருக்கின்றது, ஆகையால் (க்ஞானகுருயோகி) யாகிய நீ என்னிடஞ் சர்வ விசாரணை, சாதனானுபவம், பூர்ணமாயடைந்துவிட்டாய், நூதன சாஸ்திரோத்பத்தி சாஸ்திர கர்த்தவ்வியமுமடைந்தாய், இங்ஙனம் யனுபவிப்பதுபோல் எங்ஙனமும், வியவஹார, ஆருட, சஹஜ, சஞ்சார, சவ்விகல்ப⁹⁷⁵ முதலிய காலத்திலும் சதா நிர்விகல்ப சமாதியில் சதா சுவப்பிரம்மானுபவ சமாதியிலிருக்கும் அனுபவ முமடைத்தாய், ஆகையால் என் எண்ண முடிக்கதக்கவனும், அகஸ்திய மஹாருஷீஸ்வரரின் பிரகாசத்தை பிரகாசிக்க⁹⁷⁶ச்செய்யுமதிகாரி நீயே, உன்னை ஜகதாத்மரக்ஷக உத்:ரண நிமித்தியம் (ஈசனழைத்தாட்கொண்டனர்) நீ ஆறு பாஷை தெர்ந்தவன் ஆகையால் நான் ஆஞ்ஞாபிக்கும் இந்த பரோபகார கிரியை முடிக்குக, ஆனாலும் நம்முடைய யதிரஹஸ்யங்களாகிய, வாதம், க:ஷனம், கல்பம், பரகாயப்பிரவேசம், அஞ்சனம், சித்தி, சக்தி, மூர்த்தீகரம், ஆயுர்விருத்தி அஷ்டடக்கிரியாசித்தி அஷ்டசித்தி முதலியதுகளை உலகத்தவர்களுக்குத் தெரிவிக்காமல், ஆத்ம லாபத்திற்கும், இஹபரகாம்ய நிஷ்காம்யத்திற்குமுறிய பக்தி தியான ஞான சாதனானுபவங்களை போதனாருபமாயும். உபதேசக்கிரமமாயும், தீக்ஷாமார்க்கமாயும் இந்த சர்வ விசாரணை, சாதனை, யனுபவங்களை, படங்களில் காட்டி நூதன சாஸ்திரஞ்செய்து அச்சிபடுக்கொடுப்பதாயும், சர்வவர்ணஸ்தர்களுஞ் சமமாய் பூறை செய்வதுமாகிய இந்த பரோபகாரத்தைசெய்துகொண்டும் என்னிடம் வந்து கொண்டும் போய்க்கொண்டுமிருக்கக்கடவாயென்று ஆக்ஞா பித்தபிரகாரம். {9} ஆயினும் வாதத்தினால் எந்த

⁹⁷⁵ சவ்விகல்ப] em. சவ்விரல்ப.

⁹⁷⁶ பிரகாசிக்க] em. இரகாசிக்க.

காரியமுஞ் செய்யொண்ணாது யேனெனில் சர்வத்திராள் சாபங்கள் பெற்றிருக்கின்றமையால், யதினாலேதுவும் விருத்திக்கு வாராவாம். பலனைத்தராவாம்.

(இஞ்ஞானகுருயோகி சபாபதி சுவாமியானவர்) அவ்வாசிர்மமலையைவிட்டு மலையாளம், தமிழ், தெலுங்கு, கன்னட, மஹாராஷ்ட்ரி, குஜராட்டி ஹிந்துஸ்தானி, பெங்காலி, நேபாளம், பஞ்சாப், ரஜபுட்டானா, காஷ்மீர், சிந்து, முல்தான் ஹிமாஞ்சலம், முதலியதேசங்களுக்குச்சென்று ஆங்காங்கு ஸ்தலதரிசனம், நதிஸ்னானம், ஸ்தல தீர்த்தயாத்திரை செய்துகொண்டே அந்தந்த ஸ்தலங்கள் பேரில் பதிகங்கள்பாடி (கிருபா ஸ்தௌத்தியமாலை) காற்றிக்கொண்டே அந்தந்த வூரிலும் அந்தந்த பாஷையிலும் இங்கிலீஷ் பாஷையிலும் பிரசங்க ரூபமாய் தத்துவபடங்களில்காட்டி தத்துவ சாஸ்திரபோதனை செய்துகொண்டும், நித்தியகர்மானுஷ்டானங்களின் சர்வதேவதாதேவிகளின் கிரியானுசந்தானபூஜைகளின் பிரம்மஞானவிஷ்டை சமாதியின் சாதனாப்பியாசானுபவங்களை உபதேசக்கிரமமாய் சதுர் வர்ணஸ்தர்களுக்குள் ஸ்திரீபுருஷர்களுக்கும் அனுக்கிரஹித்து சர்வதத்துவஞானங்களையும், பக்தி, யோக, ஞானங்களையும் விசாரணை, சாதனை அனுபவரூபமாய் படங்களோடு சமஸ்கிருதம், உருது, ஹிந்துஸ்தானி, பெங்காலி, தெலுங்கு, மஹாராஷ்ட்ரி, திராவிட தமிழ், இங்கிலீஷ் முதலிய பாஷைகளில் செய்து அச்சிட்டு வெளிப்படுத்தியும், ஹிந்துதேசத்திற்குள் தன் சிஷ்யர்கள் அப்பியாச சாதனைசெய்ய (464) தியான சபைகளை ஆங்காங்கு ஸ்தாபித்தனர். பின்பு திருவருட்பாசெய்தருளிய தன் பாலயிஷ்டரும் தபத்தொழருமான இராமலிங்க ஸ்வாமியை வடலூரில் சந்தித்தனர் பின்பு உத்திரகாண்டம் மறுபடியுஞ்சென்று ஹிமாஞ்சல் வடபாசிசதிபட்டுக்குப்போய் சிந்து நதிக்கும், பர்மபுத்திரா நதிக்கும் உத்பத்திதடாகமாம் மானசராவர தடாகத்தில் ஸ்னானஞ்செய்து, மூன்று ருஷிகள் உதவியினால் பூ:கைலாசதரிசனம்செய்து கைலாசேஸ்வரர் பேரில் சமஸ்கிருத பரிபாஷையால் சாகார, நிராகார, அர்ச்சனாரூப (108) ஸ்லோகத்தால் (கிருபாஸ்தௌத்தியமாலா காற்றினர். [. . .])

{10} அந்த மூன்று ருஷியை நமஸ்கரித்து எதிர்நிற்க ஒ ஞானகுருயோகியே உனக்கு என்னவேண்டும் கேளென்ன எனக்கு ஒன்றும் வேண்டாம் ஐக்ய முக்தியொன்றே வேண்டுமென்ன இவர் நிஷ்காம்மியத்தை மெச்சி உன் குருவால் நீ ஐக்கிய முக்திக்காளாய்விட்டாய் உன் ஆசீர்ம குருபீடிகளால் உன்னை குருபிதா ருஷ்யாக்குவரென்றியம்பி கக:எப்பிரவேசமாய் மரைந்தனர். பிறகு யிவர் ஹிமாஞ்சல் தக்ஷணபாசிசத்திலுள்ள, பசுபதிநாத், கேதாரநாத், பத்திரிநாத், ஜுவாலாமுகி திரிலோகநாத், பூதநாத் கெங்கோத்பத்தி, யமுனோத்பத்தி, அமர்நாத், மனிகர்ணிகா முதலிய க்ஷேத்திர தரிசனம், நதிஸ்நானம் செய்து காஷ்மீரத்திலிருக்கும் பொழுது அகஸ்தியராஸ்ரமத்திலிருக்குந் தன் குருவாகிய சிவஞானபோதருஷியானவர் (50) வருஷத்திற்கு ஒருவிசை, அகஸ்திய மஹாருஷீஸ்வரர், தன் ஆஸ்ரம சிஷ்யகுருபீடஸ்தர்களுக்கு வந்து தரிசனங்கொடுக்குஞ்சமயம் வந்துவிட்டமையால், தன் பிரம்மஞான திருஷ்ட தீக்ஷாகிரமத்தால் அவர் ஞான திருஷ்டியை இந்த ஞானகுருயோகி ஞானதிருஷ்டியில் கலப்பித்ததை யிவரறிந்து இருவருங்கலந்தவுடன் அகஸ்தியருஷி தரிசனந்தரவருஞ்சங்கதியை தெரிவித்து நீ வடனே நம்மாஸ்ரமம் வந்துசேர்க்கடவாயென்று ஆக்ஞாபித்தவுடனே தன்னிடத்திலிருந்த மூன்று கரைக்குடுகையக்கொண்டு ருஷிகேசம் ஹரத்துவாரம் விந்தாசலம் வந்து பின்பு கிஷ்கிந்தா, ஸ்ரீ சைலம் வேதசிரேணி வந்து ஒரு ஸ்தௌத்தியப்பாவாலர்ச்சித்தனர்.

{11} பிரகு, திருக்கடையு, திருப்பெருந்துரை, ராமேஸ்வரம், மதுரை, குற்றாலம், பாபநாசம் தரிசித்து தன்னுடைய குருவினாஸ்ரமமாகிய தக்ஷணகைலாசமாகிய அகஸ்தியாசலபர்வதத்திற்கு வந்து தன் குருபாதம் வணங்கி குராக்ஞபரிபாலனப்பா செய்தனர். [. . .]

இவ்வண்ணம் குருவோடு தான் நிர்விகல்ப சமாதியிலிருந்துகொண்டிருக்குஞ்சமயத்தில் 1880 வருஷம் சித்திராபௌர்ணமி தினம் நவக்கிரகங்கள், தூர்வம், வாஸ்த்து, சுக உச்சகாலத்தில் ஸ்ரீலக்ஷ்மி அகஸ்தியமஹாருஷீஸ்வரர் தன் விரம்மமயாத்மாவை தன் சுத்தகல்ப சர்ரத்தில் பிரவேசிக்கச்செய்து தரிசனந்தர வருங்காலமறிந்து, ஞானிகள், ருஷிகள், சித்தர்கள், யோகிகள் ஹிமாஞ்சலம், குஷாசலம், அபா:சலம் விந்தாசலம், கிஷ்கிந்தாசலம், ஸ்ரீ கைலாசம், பா:லாசலம் நீலகிரி, உதகாசலம், வெள்ளியந்ரி, மஹேந்திரகிரி, லங்காசலகண்டிகிரி யென்னு ஏகாதச பர்வத தபாசீர்மங்களிலிருந்து தக்ஷணகைலாச

அகஸ்தியாசல பர்வதத் திற்கு க:க:னப்பிரவேசமாயும், மற்றயனேகவிதமாயும், வந்துசேர்ந்தனர் (இந்த அகஸ்தியர் தரிசனம் தபோமஹாத்மாக்களுக்கன்றி, மற்ற உலகத்தவர்களுக்கு கிடைப்பதில்லை.)

1880 வருஷத்தில் சித்திரா பெளர்ணமி தினத்தில் சூர்யோதயகாலத்தில் சாக்ஷாத் ஸ்ரீகைலையில் சிவதரிசனம்போன்று தன்கீழுள்ள (24) குருபீடிகளும் யவர்சிஷ்யவர்க்கங்களும் புடைசூழ்ந்து சோடசோபசாரஞ்செய்யவும், வந்த மஹாத்மாக்கள், வேத:கோ:ஷம், ஸ்தௌத்தியஞ்செய்துவர, இவர்களின் சிஷ்யவர்க்கங்கள் சிங்குநாதஞ்சங்குநாதஞ்செய்ய, சக்திதேவிகள் ஷமரம் விசிரிபோட அகண்ட குருசக்கிரவர்த்தியாம் ஸ்ரீ அகஸ்தியமஹா ருஷீஸ்வரர் ஆரவாரத்துடன், திரிபுண்டாம்,⁹⁷⁷ கந்ததிலகம், ருத்திராக்ஷசிரமாலா, கண்டமாலா, புஜமாலா, கங்கணமாலா, {12} தரித்தும் காவிகாபீதாம்பரம் சிரசிலணிந்தும் லங்கோடு கபிர்ணத்தோடும் ஐடமகுடத்தோடும் பாதரகையின்பேரில், சக்குமாந்தடி, யோகதண்டு கமண்டலம் ஜோல்ணா. விபூதிசஞ்சி கையிலேந்தி யோகப்பட்டை மாரிலிணிந்து வந்து தன் குறை வாசலில் தன்னால் சிருஷ்டிக்கப்பட்ட ஒரே திம்மை, பதினாறுவித கிளைகள், இலைகள், புஷ்பங்கள், கனிகள் உடைய சோட்சகலாவிருக்ஷத்தடியில் வியாகிராசனம் கிருஷ்ணாசனம் ரத்தினஜமக்காளாசனம், கஸ்தூரி மிருகாசனம், மர உரியால் திண்டு பட்டுபீதாம்பரத்தால் மெத்தை முதலியதுகளாலமைத்த உயர்ந்த குருசக்கிரவர்த்தி சிமஹாசனத்தின் பேரிலுட்கார்ந்தனர்.

தான் தரிசனந்தந்த அந்த முதலி தினத்தில் தன்னாசிரம் குருபீடிகள், சிஷ்யவர்க்கங்கள் ஷேமங்களை விசாரித்துப்பி பற்றயாசிரமங்களின் மஹாத்மாக்களின் ஷேமங்களை விசாரித்து, சர்வத்திறாள்களையும் ஆசீர்வாதஞ்செய்தனர் அப்பொழுது அந்த யாசீர்மஸ்தர்களும், வந்த மஹான்களும் ஸ்துதித்தனர் அந்த காலத்தில் இந்த குருபிதாருஷியும் ஸ்துதித்தனர். [. .]

இரண்டாம் நாளில் சர்வத்திறாள் சர்வ சாஸ்திர சம்சய நிவாரணஞ்செய்து, மூன்றாம் நாள் சர்வத்திராளுக்கும் நூதன உபதேசானுக்கிரஹஞ்செய்து, நான்காம் நாள், காமதேனுவைக்கொண்டு சர்வசக்திதேவிகளைக்கொண்டு தேவாமிருத போஜ:ன குருப்பிரசாத பிசுஷயை தன் சிஷ்யர்களுக்கும், வந்த மஹான்களுக்குஞ்செய்தருளிவித்து ஐந்தாம் நாள் குறைப்பிரவேசமாகி, சரீரத்தை வைத்துவிட்டு அகண்டாத்ம பிரம்மமாயினர், வந்த மஹான்களெல்லோரும் இவ்வாசீர்ம குரு {13} பிடிகளிடத்தில் விடைபெற்று, அவாளவாளாசீர்மத்திற்குச் சென்றனர்.

இந்த ஞானகுருயோகி அகஸ்தியர் தரிசனஞ்செய்து குரு சங்கத்திலிருக்கு:பொழுது ஓர் தின புண்யகாலத்தில் இந்த யாசீர்ம (24) குருபீடிகளும், இப்பர்வத:த்தின்பேரில், தாம்பிரபரணிநதி, அமிருதநதி, சித்திநதி சங்கமமாகி முக்தி திரிவேணி சங்கத்தில் கூடி ஸ்நானஞ்செய்து, ஜெபதபமுடித்து நிஷ்டை புரிந்து பி:சுஷயெய்தபின் யவர்களொருங்கச் சம்மதித்து இந்த ஞானகுருயோகிக்கு குருபிதாருஷி என்னும் திருநாம பட்டங்கொடுத்தனர், இவ்வாறு இரண்டு வருஷ காலமவ்வாசீர்ம கு:ஹாவாசியாயிருந்த பின்னர் குராக்கையால், மறுபடியும் புரப்பட்டு நீலகிரியில் கொஞ்சநாளிருந்து கீழிரங்கி உத்திரகாண்ட சர்வஸ்தல்யாத்திரை செய்து சர்வத்திறாளுக்கும் யனுக்கிரஹித்து, அந்தந்த பாலைகளில் சாஸ்திரமச்சீட்டும், சென்னைபுரிக்கடுத்த வில்லிவாக்க திருக்கொண்ணூராம் வில்வவனத்தில் ஆதியில் அகஸ்தியர் வாதாபி, வில்வாபியசுராளைக்கொண்டு அகஸ்தியாரலயமும், அகஸ்திய தீர்த்தமும் ஸ்தாபித்து இப்பேரேரி யெ:ன்பதில் யாககுண்டம் எர்படுத்தி யாகஞ்செய்துபோன திருக்கொண்ணூரிற்ருவந்து பேரேரிக்கு யடுத்த நிலத்தில் நிஷ்டையிலிருக்கும்பொழுதஹு தன் திரிகால ஞானதிருஷ்டியில், தான் நிஷ்டையிலிருக்குமிடம் அகஸ்தியருஷி கொஞ்சகாலம் மடாலயயாசீர்மம் எற்படுத்தி, வசித்துபோனயிடமாயும், பேரேரி அவர் யாகஞ்செய்தயாக குண்டமாயும் இந்த யாககுண்டவடபுறநிலத்தில் அகஸ்தியருக்கு சர்வேஸ்வரர் தன் பஞ்சகிருத்திய நடன தரிசனம் கொடுத்ததாயும், 1008 லிங்கங்களை 108 சாலிக்கிராமங்களை தன் சிஷ்யர்கள் பூஜித்து போனதாயும்.

⁹⁷⁷ திரிபுண்டாம்] alt. திரிபுண்டரம்.

மஹாவிஷ்ணு சூர்யனுக்கு சக்கிரங்கொடுத்ததாயும் தோன்றயக்கொண்ணூரில் அகஸ்தியவர்க்க குருபிதாருஷி மடாலயம் ஸ்தாபித்து யதில் (1008) லிங்கப்பிரதிஷ்டைசெய்ய (108) சாலிக்கிராமபிரதிஷ்டைசெய்ய சதுர்வாணஸ்தர்களும் ஸ்ரீகாசியைப்போன்று சமமாய் பூஜிக்க சர்வேஸ்வர சர்வேஸ்வரியாலய நிறணயஞ் செய்தனர். சர்வேஸ்வரர் பிரதி பெளர்ணிமையில் பஞ்சக்கிருத்தியனடனஞ்செய்யும் ஏற்பாடுஞ்செய்தனர், கர்மக்கிரியா யோகக்ஞான சர்வவித தபங்களையும், சாதனாப்பியாசங்களையும், அனுபவங்களையும், தத்துவக்ஞானங்களையும் (40) தத்துவபடங்களில், தியானபடங்களில் காட்டி உபதேசானுக்கிரஹமாய் தமிழ் திராவிட பாதையில் சுருதி ஸ்மிருதி சாஸ்திரஞ்செய்தருளி (சர்வ விசாரணா சாதனானுபவ சங்கிரஹ வேதோபதேசம்) என்னும் சாஸ்திர நாமந்தன்னாசீர்ம குருபீடஸ்தர்களால் தரப்பட்ட நாமத்தோடு அச்சிடப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது இதுவுந்தவிர அந்த மஹாத்மாக்களனைவரும் ஒருங்கே சேர்ந்து இவருக்கு (அகண்ட க்ஞானகுரு சக்கிரவர்த்தி) என்னும் பட்டமும் கொடுத்தனர்.

இவர் நிர்ணயஞ்செய்த மடாலயத்திற்கு குருபிதாருஷி மடாலயம், தேவாலயத்திற்கு சர்வேசுவாரலயம் தீர்த்தத்திற்கு மோக்ஷதயக:தீர்த்தம், மூலஸ்தான {14} பஞ்சலிங்கங்களாகிய பிரம்மபா:வலிங்கம், சர்வேஸ்வரபா:வலிங்கம், சர்வேஸ்வரிபா:வலிங்கம். குருபா:வலிங்கம் விஷ்ணுபா:வலிங்கங்களுக்கு பஞ்சபரத்துவலிங்கம், உச்சவழர்த்திக்கு விஸ்வவிராட் பஞ்சதேவதா பஞ்சமுக எகரூப பஞ்சகிருத்திய நடேஸ்வரர், உச்சவதேவிக்கு விஸ்வவிராட் பஞ்சதேவி பஞ்சமுக எகரூப பஞ்சகிருத்திய நடேஸ்வரி, இந்த யாலயநிர்ணயஸ்தலத்திற்கு சர்வேஸ்வரகிரிபுரி, என்னுந்திருநாமங்களை தன் குராஸ்ரமங்களிலுள்ள மஹாத்மருஷிகள் கொடுத்தனர். [. .]

இவரும் இந்த திருக்கொண்ணூர் மடாலய தபாசீர்மத்திலும் நீலகிரி தபாசீர்மத்திலும் தன் குருவின் அகஸ்தியாசல பர்வத குறை தபாசீர்மத்திலும் கொஞ்சம் கொஞ்சங்காலமாங்காங்கு பிரம்மக்ஞான நிர்விகல்ப சமாதி நிஷ்டை புரிந்து வருகின்றனர். இதன்றியும் இந்த ஹிந்துதேச சிஷ்யர்களால், ஆங்காங்கு கொடுக்கப்பட்ட நாமங்களாகிய 1. ஜகத்ஞானகுரு, 2. முக்திதியானகுரு, 3. பக்திஞான சாதனை சுருதிகர்த்தா, 4. மதோத்தாரண அஷுதாரகுரு என்னும் திருநாமங்களையும் பெற்றுவிளங்குகின்றார்.

Appendix Two: A Lexicon of Some Common Terms and Variants

Sanskrit nominal form	Devanagari	VRY (archaic roman transliteration)	CPSPS (Tamil transliteration)	CPSPS (Tamil script)
agni	अग्नि	agni	akṇi	அக்னி
atīta	अतीत	ateeta, ateetam	atītam	அதீதம்
adhomukha	अधोमुख	Adhomukh	atōmukam	அதோமுகம்
anubhava	अनुभव	Anbhawam, anubhavam	aṇupavam	அனுபவம்
antaḥkaraṇa	अन्तःकरण	antakarna, antakarana	antakarāṇam	அந்தகரணம்
antaḥkaraṇaśuddhi	अन्तःकरण-शुद्धि	antakarana Shuddhi	antakarāṇacutti	அந்தகரணசுத்தி
abhimāna	अभिमान	Abhimanam	apimāṇam	அபிமானம்
amṛta	अमृत	Amritum	amirtam	அமிர்தம்
aṣṭamāsiddhi	अष्टमासिद्धि	Ashtama Siddhis	aṣṭamā sitti	அஷ்டமா சித்தி
ahaṅkāra	अहंकार	Ahankar	akaṅkaram	அகங்காரம்
ākāśa	आकाश	Akash	ākācam	ஆகாசம்
ātmaka	आत्मक	atmak	ātmakam	ஆத்மகம்
ātmaprāṇākāśa	आत्म-प्राणाकाश	Atma Pran akas	ātmapiṛāṇākācam	ஆத்மபிராணாகாசம்
ātman	आत्मन	atma	ātmā	ஆத்மா
ānanda	आनन्द	anunda, anundum, anandam	āṇantam	ஆனந்தம்
ānandātīta	आनन्दातीत	Ānundateetum	āṇantātītam	ஆனந்ததீதம்
āpa	आप	apa, uppa	appu	அப்பு
āvaraṇa	आवरण	Avarna	āvaraṇam	ஆவரணம்
āvaraṇaśakti	आवरणशक्ति	Avarna Sakti	āvaraṇacakti	ஆவரணசக்தி
āśrama	आश्रम	Ashrum, Ashram	ācramam	ஆசிரமம்
indriya	इन्द्रिय	indriyam	intiriyam	இந்திரியம்
indriyaśuddhi	इन्द्रियशुद्धि	Indriya Shuddhi	intiriyacutti	இந்திரியசுத்தி
īśvara	ईश्वर	Eshwara, Eeshwara	īsvara	ஈஸ்வர
upāsana	उपासन	upasna, upasana	upācaṇam	உபாசனம்
ūrdhvamukha	ऊर्ध्वमुख	Urdh mukh, urdhmukh	ūrtamukam	ஊர்த்முகம்
kamala	कमल	kalamam, Kamalum, etc.	kalamam	கமலம்
karma	कर्म	karma, karmas	karmam	கர்மம்
kalā	कला	calā, cala, kala	kalā	கலா
kalpanā	कल्पना	kalpana, kulpana, etc.	kalpanā; karpaṇai	கல்பனா; கற்பனை
kuṇḍalī	कुण्डली	koondli, kundlee, etc.	kuṇṭali	குண்டலி
kumbhaka	कुम्भक	kumbhak, koombhak	kumpakam	கும்பகம்

guru	गुरु	guru, guroo	kuru	குரு
gṛhastin	गृहस्तिन्	Grihastee, grihusti	kirahastarkaḷ	கிரஹஸ்தர்கள்
cittaśuddhi	चित्तशुद्धि	chitta shuddhi	cittasutti	சித்தஸூத்தி
japa	जप	jap, japa	japa	ஐப
jīvātman	जिवात्मन्	jivatma	jīvātmā	ஜீவாத்மா
jīvanmukti	जीवन्मुक्ति	Jivanmookti	jīvanmukti	ஜீவன்முக்தி
jñāna	ज्ञान	giyan, giyana, giana	kiñāṇa	க்ஞானம்
jñānaśāstra	ज्ञानशास्त्र	Giyan Shastras	ñānacāstiraṅkaḷ	ஞானசாஸ்திரங்கள்
jñānākāśa	ज्ञानाकाश	giyanakasha, giana akasha, etc.	ñānākācam	ஞானாகாசம்
tattva	तत्त्व	tattwa, tatwam, tatva	tattvam	தத்துவம்
tattvaśāstra	तत्त्वशास्त्र	Tatwa Shastras	tatvasāstiram	தத்துவஸாஸ்திரம்
darśana (1)	दर्शन	Darshanas	taricaṇaṅkaḷ	தரிசனங்கள்
darśana (2)	दर्शन	darshonum	taricaṇam, tericaṇam	தரிசனம், தெரிசனம்
dvādaśānta	द्वादशान्त	Twatasantum	tuvātasāntam	துவாதஸாந்தம்
dhyāna	ध्यान	dhyānam, dhyan, dhyaana	tyāṇam, tiyāṇam	த்யானம், தியானம்
nāḍī	नाडी	nadee	nāḍi	நாடி
paramaguruyogīṛṣi	परमगुरुयोगी ऋषि	Param Guroo Yogi Rishi	paramakuruyōki riṣi	பரமகுருயோகி ரிஷி
paramabrahman	परमब्रह्मन्	Param Brahma	parappiramman	பரப்பிரம்மம்
brahmacaitanya	ब्रह्मचैतन्य	brahmachaitunium, etc.	pirummacaitaṇṇiyam	பிரும்மசைதன்னியம்
brahmajñāna	ब्रह्मज्ञान	brahmagiyaana, brahma giana	pirmakkiñāṇa	பிரும்மகியானம்
brahmajñānī	ब्रह्मज्ञानी	brahmagiyaani, brahmagiyanis	pirummakkiyāṇi	பிரும்மக்கியானி
brahman	ब्रह्मन्	brahman, bramhum, etc.	pirammam	பிரம்மம்
brahmarandhra	ब्रह्मरन्ध्र	brahmarantar, brahma rantar	pirummarantaram	பிரும்மரந்திரம்
bhakti	भक्ति	bhakti, bhukti	pakti	பக்தி
bhaktiśāstra	भक्तिशास्त्र	Bhakti Shastras	paktisāstiram	பக்திஸாஸ்திரம்
bhrānti	भ्रान्ति	bhranti, bhranty	pirānti	பிராந்தி
manas	मनस्	mano, manas	maṇō	மனோ
mumukṣu	मुमुक्षु	Moomookhshoo	mumukṣu	மும்முஸு
mūrti	मूर्ति	Murti	mūrṭti	மூர்த்தி
mokṣa	मोक्ष	moksh	mōkṣam; mōṭcam	மோக்ஷம்; மோட்சம்
maunāṭīta	मौनातीत	(only present in CPSPS)	mauṇāṭitam	மௌனாதீதம்
sattvaguṇabhojana	सत्त्वगुणभोजन	Satwa guni Bhojan	mitasatvakuṇapōjaṇam	ஸிதஸத்வகுணபோஜனம்
samādhi	समाधि	samadhi, Smādhi	camāti	சமாதி

sākṣyāṭīta	साक्ष्यातीत	Sakshiateetum	cākṣiyāṭītam	சாட்சியாதீதம்
suṣumnā	सुशुम्ना	sushoomana, sushoomna, etc.	suṣumunā	ஸுஷுமுனா
svarūpa	स्वरूप	saroop, sarup, sorup, soroop	corūpam	சொரூபம்
śāntāṭīta	शान्तातीत	Shantateetum	cāntāṭītam	சாந்தாதீதம்
śāstra	शास्त्र	Shastras	sāstiram / sāstiraṅkaḷ	ஸாஸ்திரம்
śivadarśana	शिवदर्शन	darshonum of Mahadeva	civataricaṇam	சிவதரிசனம்
śivarājayoga	शिवराजयोग	Shiva Yoga, Shiva Raja Yoga	civañña rājayōkam	சிவஞான ராஜயோகம்
śivamaya	शिवमय	Shivmayam	civamayam	சிவமயம்
śivasāyujya	सायुज्य	(only present in CPSPS)	civacāyujjīyam	சிவசாயுஜ்ஜியம்
śūnyāṭīta	शून्यातीत	Soonneateetum	cunṇiyāṭītam	சுன்னியாதீதம்
śruti	श्रुति	Shruti; Soorooti	sruti	ஸ்ருதி
yoga	योग	Yoge, Yogue	yōkam	யோகம்
yogin	योगिन्	Yogee, Yogis	yōki	யோகி
līṅga	लिङ्ग	lingam, lingum	liṅkam	லிங்கம்
līṅgaśarīra	लिङ्गशरीर	lingasarir	liṅkacarīram	லிங்கசரீரம்
līṅgasvarūpa	लिङ्गस्वरूप	linga sorup, linga soroop	liṅkacorūpam	லிங்கசொரூபம்
veda	वेद	veda, Vedas	vētam	வேதம்

Appendix Three: A Passage on the “Pole” of Śivarājayoga

Search after the Infinite Spirit, and its powers which seem to descend and ascend in circle or NISHKAMYA BRAHMAGGIYANA BHAVANA, UPASANA SHIVA RAJAYOGA SADHANA,⁹⁷⁸ *or* PAROKHSHA GIANANOOBHAVUM⁹⁷⁹ AND PAROKHSHA GIANA YOGA ANOBHAVUM.⁹⁸⁰

(*Caution.*—before you enter in this practice is it absolutely necessary that you discard shame and pride which prevent you from going to Gianees and Yogees;⁹⁸¹ also you must have full faith and belief in the practice and allow no doubts to enter your mind; as the success in samadhi will show you the truth of this doctrine.)⁹⁸²

Sit for ten minutes steadily in a posture that may be the least inconvenient that is in the sukhasanum,⁹⁸³ and the squatting is the best one; and if it be not very difficult at the outset the beginner might commence at once to habituate himself to sit in the posture represented in the diagram, or in Padmasanum.⁹⁸⁴ Then imagine*⁹⁸⁵ that you throw, or draw within the real and actual light of your two eyes internally to Koondali, which will appear the acute and keen divine sight; here the *sushoomana* vessel joins the *lingam* and ascends upwards through the backbone. The sight must be thrown in such a way that the keenness of these two sights or the imaginary gyanam or consciousness of these two eyes should descend through the right and left side holes of the *sushoomana* to the lowest point of kundalee. By

⁹⁷⁸ “niskhama Brahmaggiyana bhavana, upasana shiva Rajayoga sadhana”] < Skt.

niṣkāmyabrahmajñānabhāvanopāsana śivarājayogasādhanā निष्काम्यब्रह्मज्ञानभावनोपासन शिवराजयोगसाधना; lit. “the cultivation (*bhāvana*), the contemplative worship (*upāsana*), and the practice (*sādhana*) of the Royal Yoga for Śiva, and which is the gnosis of Brahman that is free from self-interest.” “*The First Practical Instruction in Sitting Posture of Ecstasy of attaining the Godhead of being the Infinite Spirit and its Infinite Spiritual Divine Vision or Holy Sight as Actively with powers descending and as Passively without Powers ascending in circular Form,*” Tam. *niṣkkāmmiya pirmaññāpāvaṇṇōpāsanaivarājayōkasātāṇā* நிஷக்காமிய பிரமாண்பாவணோபாஸனாசிவராஜயோகஸாதனா CPSPS.

⁹⁷⁹ “Parokhsha giananoobhavum”] < Skt. *parokṣajñānānubhava* परोक्षज्ञानानुभव; lit. “the experience of the gnosis that is beyond sight.” This and the next phrase are subsumed into the quote given in the previous footnote.

⁹⁸⁰ “parokhsha giana yoga anobhavum”] < Skt. *parokṣajñānayogānubhava* परोक्षज्ञानयोगानुभव; lit. “the experience of the yoga of gnosis that is beyond sight.”

⁹⁸¹ “Gianees and Yogees”] “*Gyanīs and Yōgīs*” CPSPS.

⁹⁸² CPSPS here adds a much more lengthy note of “Caution” that includes much more social and political commentary, including a brief nod to H.P. Blavatsky and Henry Olcott and a discourse on the importance of Indian teachings. It then adds additional processes and practical instructions, including a consideration of the place of practice.

⁹⁸³ “sukhasanum”] < Skt. *sukhāsana* सुखासन; lit. “the posture of happiness.” “*Sugasanum,*” Tam. *cukāsaṇam* சுகாஸனம் CPSPS. Normally this is considered to be any pose that is easy to adopt, but CPSPS specifies, like the text in VRY also alludes to, that this is the “*Squatting posture of any kind,*” to be adopted in case one’s assumption of *padmāsana* is unsuccessful.

⁹⁸⁴ “Padmasanum”] < Skt. *padmāsana* पद्मासन; lit. “the posture of the lotus.” “*Pathmāsānum,*” Tam.

patmāsāṇam பத்மாஸனம் CPSPS. Almost a full page of additional text is here inserted in CPSPS.

⁹⁸⁵ [footnote from VRY, omitted in CPSPS:] * Here imagine or consider means a positive assertion which will end in the practical success and truth.

the keenness of sight is meant that indescribable something that seems to proceed from the eyes when you steadily gaze at a distant object with half shut eyes.⁹⁸⁶

Now imagine the mind to be a straight pole whose top is in the middle of the Brahmarantar, and whose bottom is in the kundlee.⁹⁸⁷ Moreover consider the mental vision of consciousness⁹⁸⁸ to be lodged in the bottom of this pole.

Now take hold of this mental vision by the keenness or imaginary *giyana akasha saroopam*⁹⁸⁹ of the two eyes; and lift it up gradually and {36} slowly by the two keenness serving as tongs, to the Brahmarantar. The time taken in this pulling up of the mental consciousness must not be less than twenty minutes.⁹⁹⁰

Now stop this imaginary mental consciousness in the Brahmarantar for twenty minutes more.⁹⁹¹ Then drop and draw it up, so fast that within a second it must descend to the kundlee, and reascend to the Brahmarantar; running straight up and down through the middle vessel of the large *sushoomana* which we have considered to be the mental pole.⁹⁹²

After practicing this for a few minutes make your mind to stand upon the pole steady and straight as if it was fixed to a firm rocky pole. There let it stand immovable and without descending again. Make it to be in dead and calm silence, void and without motion, and free from all thoughts and fickleness.

After succeeding in making the pole of your mind (or eternal Divine conscious sight) straight and steady by the foregoing process, join the *Giyana* conscious sight of the two eyes with the top of the mind in the Brahmarantar. Thus it forms a triangle whose vertex is the mind, and the two keenness⁹⁹³ that proceed from the eyes to join the former, the two sides.⁹⁹⁴

⁹⁸⁶ This and the following paragraphs are greatly expanded into a lengthier treatment in CPSPS that provides a wealth of additional instructions, definitions, and other additions that are not present in VRY. Only few out of the many differences are noted in the footnotes that follow and the reader is invited to consult Sabhapati's other works for his full presentation of these techniques.

⁹⁸⁷ "kundlee"] "in the middle of the Urine Organ" CPSPS.

⁹⁸⁸ "consciousness"] "of seeing the truths of Internal faculties, external things, and much more the whole Universal things; both internally and externally penetrating" + CPSPS.

⁹⁸⁹ "*giyana akasha saroopam*"] < Skt. *jñānākāśasvarūpa* ज्ञानाकाशस्वरूप; lit. "inherent nature (*svarūpa*) of the gnostic æther (*jñānākāśa*)." "consciousness," Tam. *pāvaṇāññam* பாவணாஞ்ஞம் CPSPS.

⁹⁹⁰ "not be less than twenty minutes"] "not be less than 48 minutes" CPSPS. CPSPS then delineates a period of two minutes for raising the "consciousness" (*jñānākāśa*) through each lotus.

⁹⁹¹ "Now stop . . . twenty minutes more"] "Now stop this imaginary mental Consciousness in the Brummarantha or Centre of the Brain for 2 minutes more steadily and quietly all in a deep solemn and silent meditation" CPSPS.

⁹⁹² "Then drop . . . mental pole"] "Then drop it down to *Kundali* and draw it up to *Brummarantha* by devotional meditation (Tam. *pāvaṇō pāsaṇattiyāṇam*, < Skt. *bhāvanopāsanaadhyāna*) so fast that within a second it must descend to *Kundali* and re-ascend to *Brummarantha*, running straight up and down through the middle Vessel of large *Sushumumna*, filling that Vessel or Organ as solid as possible by this Spiritual mental vision, having the absorbing Self Intoxication (Tam. *svayalayō yayikkiya stampanapōtā*, < Skt. *svayalayo aikyastambhanabodhā*) from each seat of faculties; this *Sushumuna Nadi* is the Mental pole which fixes its bottom in *Kundali*, and its top in *Brummarantha*, standing straight perpendicular, looking at the Zenith internally" CPSPS.

⁹⁹³ "keenness"] em. "keeness" VRY.

⁹⁹⁴ "Thus it forms . . . two sides"] "Thus it forms a triangle whose vertex is the Mind, and the two keenness, that proceed from the eyes to join the former, are the two sides" CPSPS. "Now drop these three Visions jointly as one Vision of conscious witnessing blissfulness [*sic*] to *Kundali* and make itself rise like a serpent through Spinal Cord or backbone [*sic*] meeting it again in *Brimharuntra*" + CPSPS.

Having got success in this practice imagine strongly that your head is removed and off course with it eyes, ears, nose, mouth and every thing pertaining to the head. Instead of it consider that the whole space is filled up by the universal *Giyanakasha* consciousness which now becomes the holy *akash* itself.⁹⁹⁵

Brahma Giyanakasha.⁹⁹⁶ This *akash* is perfect giyana voidness and nothingness or *sarva sunya giyanakasha matram*.⁹⁹⁷ This is neither⁹⁹⁸ the *akash* of darkness or *andhakaramayam*,⁹⁹⁹ nor of brightness or *prakasha mayam*.¹⁰⁰⁰ It is without any color or resemblance, but full and all pervading consciousness and pure wisdom; or *sarva giyana vyapaka matram*.¹⁰⁰¹ It is the only spiritual divine witness or *shuddha giyana sakshi matram*.¹⁰⁰² It is like the clear light of the candle, which is itself (1) *giyanakasha saroop*,¹⁰⁰³ because it is perfectly permeating in its own space; (2) it is *sunya sarooopa*¹⁰⁰⁴ or vacuum, because nothing can be seen *in* it, nothing can be got *from* it, and nothing can be placed *on* it;

⁹⁹⁵ “Instead of . . . *akash* itself”] “Instead of it, consider that the whole space is filled up by the *Universal Circle of solidly pervaded Conscious Witnessing Blissful Infinite Spirit* (Tam. *sarvaviyāpitacarvaviyāpaka sāksiyānanta yantaryāmittuvānusūtāpirmāñāna cakkirākirutavaṭṭa tirusaṭimayam*) which now becomes the holy Sphere or Orb-like Divine Æther (Tam. *maṅṭalākāra cakkirākirutavaṭṭa cuttapirmmākāsam*) or Infinite Spiritual Æther (Tam. *sarvastānaviyāpitacakkirākirutavaṭṭa pirmāñānākāsam*) itself.” The text then adds several pages of instruction in the form of a “Special note” and subsequent sections that are absent from VRY; the text that follows what is given here in VRY resumes on CPSPS, First Book, 119.

⁹⁹⁶ “Brahma Giyanakasha”] < Skt. *brahajñānākāśa* ब्रह्मज्ञानाकाशः; lit. “gnostic æther of Brahman.” This is the “Infinite Spiritual Æther” mentioned in the longer quote found in CPSPS (see previous footnote), and likely was supposed to form part of the previous paragraph.

⁹⁹⁷ “*sarva . . . matram*”] < Skt. *sarvaśūnyajñānākāsamātra* सर्वशून्यज्ञानाकाशमात्रः; lit. “the gnostic æther (*jñānākāśa*) of the absolute void (*sarvaśūnya*) itself.” “perfect Spiritual Voidness and Nothingness,” Tam. *carvacūṇṇiya ṅānākāsā mātīram* சர்வசூன்யிய ஞானாகாஸா மாத்திரம் CPSPS.

⁹⁹⁸ “neither”] em. “niether” VRY.

⁹⁹⁹ “*andhakaramayam*”] < Skt. *andhakāramaya* अन्धकारमयः; lit. “that which consists of darkness.” “Æther of darkness,” Tam. *antākārākāsamayam* அந்தகாராகாஸமயம் CPSPS.

¹⁰⁰⁰ “*prakasha mayam*”] < Skt. *prakāśamaya* प्रकाशमयः; lit. “that which consists of brightness.” “Æther of brightness,” Tam. *pirakāsākāsamayam* பிரகாஸாகாஸமயம் CPSPS.

¹⁰⁰¹ “*sarva . . . matram*”] < Skt. *sarvajñānavyāpakamātra* सर्वज्ञानव्यापकमात्रः; lit. “the pervader of absolute gnosis itself.” “all pervading Spiritual Consciousness and pure Wisdom,” Tam. *sarvañāna viyāpakamātīram* ஸர்வஞான வியாபகமாத்திரம் CPSPS.

¹⁰⁰² “*shuddha giyana sakshi matram*”] < Skt. *śuddhajñānasākṣimātra* शुद्धज्ञानसाक्षिमात्रः; lit. “the eyewitness of absolute gnosis itself,” “the only Spiritual Divine Witness,” Tam. *suttañānacākṣimātīram* ஸுத்தஞானசாக்ஷிமாத்திரம் CPSPS. “and it is the only Holy Eternal Bliss (Tam.

sarvaparicuttapirmmaññānantāmātīram). Remember that there is no four separate sorts of Spirits but one Sort of Infinite Spirit with four sorts of *Brightness* in that one at the same Unity” + CPSPS.

¹⁰⁰³ “*giyanakasha saroop*”] < Skt. *jñānākāśasvarūpa* ज्ञानाकाशस्वरूपः; lit. “the inherent nature of gnostic æther.” “*Pure, Holy and Divine Spiritual Sight-like Nature*” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁰⁴ “*sunya sarooopa*”] < Skt. *śūnyasvarūpa* शून्यस्वरूपः; lit. “the inherent nature of the void.” “a perfect Vacuum and Void with nothingness, as only a Holy Divine Infinite Spiritual Universal Vision or Sight-like state,” Tam. *aṅṭaṅṭamaṅṭalākāra carvacūṇṇiyāmaya cūttasvayañāna tirusuṭi pirakācāmātīram* அண்டபிண்டமண்டலாகார சர்வசூன்யமய சுத்தஸ்வயஞான திருஷ்டி பிரகாசாமாத்திரம் CPSPS.

(3) it is itself *giyana vyapakasaroop*,¹⁰⁰⁵ because it sheds its light on every direction and every where; (4) it is itself *sakshi saroop*,¹⁰⁰⁶ because the light spreads over everything, and reveals and discovers that which is in that space and that which is not; still it is the only *sakshi matra*¹⁰⁰⁷ to the place, knowing what is passed, passing and going to come.*¹⁰⁰⁸

{37} Consider the holy *akash*¹⁰⁰⁹ in these four aspects,¹⁰¹⁰ and think these four to be the very holy akash,¹⁰¹¹ without making any distinction; consider that this holy Giana *akasha* or *shuddha chaitannya gyanakasha saroop*¹⁰¹² will be these four *giyana*.¹⁰¹³

This *Rahasyam*¹⁰¹⁴ is everywhere pervading all in one soroop.¹⁰¹⁵ If you introduce creations by *Bhranti*¹⁰¹⁶ it will be pervading them too, and if you cancel creations by non-*Bhranti*¹⁰¹⁷ still it will be every where in itself.¹⁰¹⁸ Do not therefore consider that this holy Giana *akash* is limited;¹⁰¹⁹ but endless, stretching to infinity in the right, in the left, in the up in the down, in the front and in the back sides.¹⁰²⁰ Instead therefore limiting this Giana *akash* in the sphere of the head, consider it to be a universally pervading orb of consciousness or

¹⁰⁰⁵ “*giyana vyapakasaroop*”] < Skt. *jñānavyāpakasvarūpa* ज्ञानव्यापकस्वरूप; lit. “the inherent nature of the pervader (*vyāpaka*) of gnosis (*jñāna*).” “Universally pervading Consciousness,” Tam. *aṅṭapīṅṭacarācara carvamaṅṭalākāraṅṭucūta carva viyāpakāmāttiram* அண்டபிண்டசராசர சர்வமண்டலாகாரனுக்ருத சர்வ வியாபகாமாத் திரம் CPSPS.

¹⁰⁰⁶ “*sakshi saroop*”] < Skt. *sākṣisvarūpa* साक्षिस्वरूप; lit. “the inherent nature of the eyewitness.” “Universally pervading and permeating in solid as a Witness,” Tam. *carva aṅṭapīṅṭacarācaramaṅṭalākāraṅṭucūta carvacāṅṭcimāttiram* சர்வ அண்டபிண்டசராசரமண்டலாகாரானுகுதசர்வசாட்சிமாத் திரம் CPSPS.

¹⁰⁰⁷ “*sakshi matra*”] < Skt. *sākṣimātra* साक्षिमात्र; lit. “the witness itself.” “only a Witness” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁰⁸ [original footnote from VRY] * “It is also *Anandamatram* [< Skt. *ānandamātra* आनन्दमात्र, “the bliss itself”], as it is pleasant to behold, and its rays are cool and charming because it is the U[niversal], I[nfinite], spirit or *Brahm*.” CPSPS revises the original paragraph and adds further details on the “Bliss” as an aspect of Brahman that were absent in VRY.

¹⁰⁰⁹ “Consider . . . *akash*”] “Consider therefore this Holy and Divine Infinite Spiritual Æther,” Tam. *pirmaṅṭāṅṭkāsam* பிரம்மஞானாகாஸம் CPSPS.

¹⁰¹⁰ “four aspects,”] “5 aspects” CPSPS. In a paragraph given above these are the void, the pervader, the eyewitness, and the bliss, in addition to that which is strung together or connected without interruption (Tam. *aṅṭucūtam*, < Skt. *anusūyūta*, pfx. *anu* + a past participle of √ *siv*, cognate with English “sew”).

¹⁰¹¹ “the very holy akash”] “the only unanimously mingled Holy Infinite Spirit” CPSPS.

¹⁰¹² “*shuddha* . . . *saroop*”] < Skt. *śuddhacaitanyajñānākāśasvarūpa* शुद्धचैतन्यज्ञानाकाशस्वरूप; lit. “the inherent nature (*svarūpa*) of the gnostic æther (*jñānākāśa*) of pure brilliance.” om. CPSPS.

¹⁰¹³ “consider . . . *giyana*”]. “. . . among themselves neither do they stand separately from one another.”

¹⁰¹⁴ “*Rahasyam*”] < Skt. *rahasya* रहस्य; lit. “mystery.” “secrecy,” Tam. *rahasyam* ரஹஸ்யம் CPSPS.

¹⁰¹⁵ “soroop”] “appearance” CPSPS.

¹⁰¹⁶ “creations by *Bhranti*”] “creations of delusions,” Tam. *carvamāyā ciruṣṭi tericaṅṭanka!* சர்வமாயா சிருஷ்டி தெரிசனங்கள் CPSPS.

¹⁰¹⁷ “cancel . . . *non-Bhranti*”] “exclude delusions” CPSPS.

¹⁰¹⁸ “still . . . itself”] “still it will be pervading everywhere by *Itself*” CPSPS.

¹⁰¹⁹ “Do not . . . limited”] “Do not consider therefore that the Holy and Divine Infinite Spirit or Infinite Spiritual Vision (Tam. *pirummaṅṭaṅṭa piraṅṭa tiruṣṭi* பிரும்மஞான பிரகாஸ திருஷ்டி [< Skt. *brahmajñānaprakāśaṅṭi*]) is limited one. . .” CPSPS.

¹⁰²⁰ “back sides”] “. . . everywhere embracing in its bosom and permeating too, all the things if there be any such thing as creations, Sun, Moon, Stars, Planets, World, Clouds, Air, Fire, Water and created Beings &c” CPSPS.

giyana saroop.¹⁰²¹ Do not imagine it to be a hollow sphere whose, surface is in the infinity, but consider it to be filled by *giyanakash* thus solidifying it.¹⁰²²

Now consider by your wisdom or consciousness (or *sakshi sarwa giyanakash saroop*)¹⁰²³ that the earth floats a little below the centre of this universal infinite *giyanakasha* sphere,¹⁰²⁴ with all its created beings¹⁰²⁵ upon it. A little above the centre of the sphere consider the sun to be in the right, and the moon in the left, and the stars and planets at the top.¹⁰²⁶

Then expand your universally diffused holy *giyanakasha saroop* of *sakshi*, of *ananda*, of *vyapaka* and of *sunya matram*,¹⁰²⁷ in such a way that it may penetrate in full through all the planets, sun, moon, stars, earth &c. and even all the created being of them, leaving no space whether within and without these, empty of its presence.¹⁰²⁸ By this practice you will get success in becoming the *andapinda charachara sarvasunya giyana maya akasha*

¹⁰²¹ “*giyana saroop*”] < Skt. *jñānasvarūpa* ज्ञानस्वरूप; “the inherent nature of gnosis.” “void Conscious Witnessing Blissful Infinite Spirit” CPSPS.

¹⁰²² “Instead . . . solidifying it”] These sentences are expanded and modified in CPSPS.

¹⁰²³ “*sakshi* . . . *saroop*”] < Skt. *sākṣisarvajñānākāśasvarūpa* साक्षिसर्वज्ञानाकाशस्वरूप; lit. “the witness (*sākṣī*) who is the inherent nature (*svarūpa*) of all gnostic æther (*sarva jñānākāśa*).” “Spiritual Wisdom or Consciousness,” Tam. *cāṭicorūpa pīrmaññāpāvaṇāmayam* சாட்சிசொகுப பிரம்மஞானபாவனாமயம் CPSPS.

¹⁰²⁴ “that the earth . . . sphere”] “that the earth floats a little below the centre of the Universal Infinite Spiritual Orb or Sphere or Circle (Tam. *pīrññānucūta arivākāramanṭala cakkīrākīrutavaṭṭākāsamayalīnkākāramattiya jekat ihapūlōkam* பிரம்ஞானானுகுத அரிவாகாரமண்டல சக்கிராகிருதவட்டாகாமயலிங்காகாரமத்திய ஜெகத் இஹபூலோகம்)” CPSPS.

¹⁰²⁵ “beings”] “being” CPSPS.

¹⁰²⁶ “A little . . . top”] “A little above the centre of this Universal Infinite Spiritual Sphere consider the Sun to be in the right of the sky and the Moon in the left of the sky and the Stars and Planets at the top of the sky, of this Universal Spiritual Sky or Orb” CPSPS.

¹⁰²⁷ “*giyanakasha* . . . *matram*”] < Skt. *jñānākāśa svarūpa* of *sākṣī*, of *ānanda*, of *vyāpaka*, and of *śūnyamātra* ज्ञानाकाश स्वरूप of साक्षी, of आनन्द, of व्यापक, and of शून्यमात्र; lit. “the inherent nature of the gnostic æther who is the eyewitness (*sākṣī*), bliss (*ānanda*), pervader (*vyāpaka*), and the void (*śūnya*) itself.” “Then expand your Universally diffused Holy and Divine Infinite Spirit of witnessing and blissful consciousness” (Tam. *carvānucūtacarvaviyāpaka cāṭciyānanta pīrmaññāmayam* சர்வானுகுதசர்வவியாபக சாட்சியானந்த பிரம்மஞானமயம்) CPSPS.

¹⁰²⁸ “in such a way . . . presence”] “in such a way that it may permeate and penetrate entirely and in full through all the planets, Stars, Sun, Moon, Earth, and all creations &c., so solidly with its presence, so as not to leave even the tip of a point-like space in the Universe whether within and without or externally and internally empty of its presence” CPSPS.

saroop,¹⁰²⁹ and *sarvagiyana ananta maya saroop*,¹⁰³⁰ *sarvagiyana vyapaka maya saroop*,¹⁰³¹ and *sarwagiyana sakshi maya saroop*¹⁰³² and *survageana Anunda maya saroop*¹⁰³³ [and] consider that this *suddha chaitanya giyanakasha saroop*¹⁰³⁴ is the self-diffused and the universal infinite spirit comprehending the sun, moon, stars, planets¹⁰³⁵ &c. within the infinity of its own self. In this practice you must consider it to be the *Brahma giyananu bhawam*.¹⁰³⁶ *This giana akash*¹⁰³⁷ is the holy *akash* or the *suddha chaitanya akash*;¹⁰³⁸ not any of those *akashas* that have colors and seem dark or luminous.¹⁰³⁹ Cancel the latter as untrue while the former is only true.¹⁰⁴⁰ In fact *giyanakash*¹⁰⁴¹ has no color [and] is neither dark nor bright, but perfect vacuum.¹⁰⁴²

But in cancelling these false akashes¹⁰⁴³ do not cancel your *giyanakash* too,¹⁰⁴⁴ for if you take the latter to be one of those untrue akashes, you will never get *Brahmagiyanam*; you

¹⁰²⁹ “*andapinda . . . saroop*”] < Skt. *aṇḍapiṇḍacarācarasarvaśūnyajñānamayākāśasvarūpa* अण्डपिण्डचराचरसर्वशून्यज्ञानमयाकाशस्वरूप; lit. “the inherent nature of the æther that consists of the absolute void (*sarvaśūnya*), which is the cosmic motion (*carācara*) of the egg and embryo (*aṇḍapiṇḍa*).” The term *piṇḍa* can also refer to a kind of ball of rice that is offered to dead ancestors, representative of a human being. CPSPS: “the all Void the Universally pervading Wisdom or Conscious Witnessing Blissfulness the *Self*; having no end but Eternal everlasting, the only all Witnessing Bliss” (Tam. *catā cūttanittiya carvavacūṇṇiya viyāpaka cāṭci yānanta pīrmaññānākāra akaṇṭamayam* சதா சுத்தநித்திய சர்வவகுன்றிய வியாபக சாட்சி யானந்த பிர்ம்மஞானாகார அகண்டமயம்) CPSPS. The passage in CPSPS appears to encompass the next four *svarūpas* that follow.

¹⁰³⁰ “*sarvagiyana . . . saroop*”] < Skt. *sarvajñānānandamayavarūpa* सर्वज्ञानानन्दमयस्वरूप; lit. “the inherent nature that consists of the bliss of the absolute gnosis.” om. CPSPS VRY2.

¹⁰³¹ “*sarvagiyana . . . saroop*”] < Skt. *sarvajñānavyāpakamayavarūpa* सर्वज्ञानव्यापकमयस्वरूप; lit. “the inherent nature that consists of the bliss of the absolute gnosis.” om. CPSPS VRY2.

¹⁰³² “*sarwagiyana . . . saroop*”] < Skt. *sarvajñānasākṣimayasvarūpa* सर्वज्ञानसाक्षिमयस्वरूप; lit. “the inherent nature that consists of the eyewitness of the absolute gnosis” om. CPSPS VRY2.

¹⁰³³ “*survageana . . . saroop*”] < Skt. *sarvajñānānandamayavarūpa* सर्वज्ञानानन्दमयस्वरूप; lit. “the inherent nature that consists of the bliss of the absolute gnosis.” om. CPSPS VRY2

¹⁰³⁴ “*suddha . . . saroop*”] < Skt. *śuddhacaitanyajñānākāśasvarūpa* शुद्धचैतन्यज्ञानाकाशस्वरूप; lit. “the inherent nature of the gnostic æther of pure brilliance. “Holy Spirit [*sic*],” Tam. *pīrmaññānātiruṣṭimayam* பிரும்மஞானதிருஷ்டமயம் CPSPS.

¹⁰³⁵ “planets”] “and Creations” + CPSPS.

¹⁰³⁶ “*Brahma . . . bhawam*”] < Skt. *brahmajñānānubhava* ब्रह्मज्ञानानुभव; lit. “the experience of the gnosis of Brahman.” “imagining Infinite Spirit,” Tam. *pīrmaññānāpāvaṇḍā* பிரும்மஞானபாவனா CPSPS.

¹⁰³⁷ “*giana akash*”] “Holy Infinite Spiritual Æther” (Tam. *cūttapīrmaññānākāsam* சுத்தபிர்ம்மஞானாகாஸம்) CPSPS.

¹⁰³⁸ “*suddha . . . akash*”] < Skt. *śuddhacaitanyākāśa* शुद्धचैतन्याकाश; lit. “the æther of pure brilliance.”

¹⁰³⁹ “luminous”] “...and that have various changes and brightness of Sun, Moon, Fire, Light, Lightning &c., with differing colours, as suddenly appearing and suddenly disappearing, as different sorts of clouds and different appearance of Sky, Heaven or Air, but it is a perfect void like Æther, all conscious, all witnessing, all Blissful Infinite Spiritual Vision or Sight fully and Universally and in all Creations pervaded...” + CPSPS.

¹⁰⁴⁰ “while the former is only true”] “...cancel the latter untrue false Æther-like Spirits and become the former the only Infinite Spiritual Æther” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁴¹ “*giyanakash*”] “Spiritual Æther” (Tam. *pīrmaññānākāsam* பிரும்மஞானாகாஸம், < Skt. *brahmajñānākāśa*) CPSPS.

¹⁰⁴² “vacuum”] “or void with the nothingness of the above things” + CPSPS.

¹⁰⁴³ “these false akashes”] “the above false Æther,” Tam. *pīrāntimāyākāsam* பிராந்திமாயாகாஸம் CPSPS.

¹⁰⁴⁴ “your *giyanakash* too”] “the Spiritual Æther,” Tam. *pīrmaññānākāsam* பிரும்மஞானாகாஸம் CPSPS.

must bear in mind that this *sarva suddha chaitanya giyanakhasha saroop*¹⁰⁴⁵ whom you must not cancel differs from others in being: (1) *sarva sunnya giyana mayam*;¹⁰⁴⁶ (2) *sarva giyana vyapaka mayam*;¹⁰⁴⁷ (3) *sarva saktchi giyana mayam*;¹⁰⁴⁸ (4) *sarva giyana ananda mayam*.¹⁰⁴⁹ Therefore they are all the *layabodha Brahma giyana shiva mayam*.¹⁰⁵⁰ Consider all other akashas except this, to be as {38} *maya vikara akasha saroopam*¹⁰⁵¹ that deceive owing to your impurities and sins. Therefore cancel these all saying “you are not my true *Brahma giyana akasha saroopam*.”¹⁰⁵²

To recapitulate: sitting in a secluded place—

1st.—Shut your eyes and throw the keenness of the two sights to the kundlee.¹⁰⁵³

2nd.—Imagine the mind to be a pole, and the mental consciousness placed in the koondli.¹⁰⁵⁴

¹⁰⁴⁵ “*sarva . . . saroop*”] < Skt. *sarvasuddhacaitanyajñānākāśasvarūpa* सर्वशुद्धचैतन्यज्ञानाकाशस्वरूप; lit. “the inherent nature of the gnostic æther of the absolute pure brilliance.” om. CPSPS.

¹⁰⁴⁶ “*sarva . . . mayam*”] < Skt. *sarvasūnyajñānamaya* सर्वशून्यज्ञानमय; lit. “that which consists of the gnosis of the absolute void.” om. CPSPS.

¹⁰⁴⁷ “*sarva . . . mayam*”] < Skt. *sarvajñānavyāpakamaya* सर्वज्ञानव्यापकमय; lit. “that which consists of the pervader of the absolute gnosis.” om. CPSPS.

¹⁰⁴⁸ “*sarva . . . mayam*”] < Skt. *sarvasākṣijñānamaya* सर्वसाक्षिज्ञानमय; lit. “that which consists of the gnosis of the absolute eyewitness.” om. CPSPS.

¹⁰⁴⁹ “*sarva . . . mayam*”] < Skt. *sarvajñānānandamaya* सर्वज्ञानानन्दमय; lit. “that which consists of the bliss of the absolute gnosis.” om. CPSPS.

¹⁰⁵⁰ “*layabodha Brahma giyana shiva mayam*”] < Skt. *layabodhabrahmajñānaśivamaya* लयबोधब्रह्मज्ञानशिवमय; lit. “that which consists of Śiva as the gnosis of Brahman, which is the awakening of absorption (*layabodha*).” om. CPSPS.

¹⁰⁵¹ “*maya . . . saroopam*”] < Skt. *māyāvīkārākāśasvarūpa* मायाविकाराकाशस्वरूप; lit. “the inherent nature of æther as the as the fluctuation (*vikāra*) of illusion (*māyā*).” om. CPSPS.

¹⁰⁵² “*Brahma giyana akasha saroopam*”] < Skt. *brahmajñānākāśasvarūpa* ब्रह्मज्ञानाकाशस्वरूप; lit. “the inherent nature of æther as the gnosis of Brahman.” om. CPSPS.

“Consider...*saroopam*”] “Consider all the false *Æthers* except *This One* to be as the delusive appearances as false *Æthers* to deceive you owing to your Impurities, Sins, and Vices; but the Infinite Spiritual *Æther* is as follows” CPSPS. The “First Book” of CPSPS ends here. The “Second Book” begins with instructions, omitted in VRY, on “removing the different sorts of ætherial spiritual visions” (Tam. *nāñākñāñākāca tiruṣṭi pētanivartti* னானாக்ஞானாகாச திருஷ்டி பேதநிவர்த்தி, < Skt. *nāñajñānākāśadṛṣṭibhedanivṛtti*) and on “the Purifications and Preparations for Gyanamayam” (Tam. *pirmmakñāna carvacuttattuvacarvātikārattuvacātañāppiyāca upatēṣam* பிர்மமக்ஞான சர்வசுத்தத்துவசர்வாதிகாரத்துவசாதனாப்யாச உபதேஷம், < Skt.

brahmajñānasarvasuddhatvasarvādhikāratvasāadhanābhyāśopadeśa)

¹⁰⁵³ “Shut . . . kundlee”] “Shut your eyes, and throw the above-like I[nfinite]. spiritual keen sights of the two sights (No. 1-3) to the Kundalee. (No. 18-19)” CPSPS. These and the following instructions were adapted by Aleister Crowley for his ritual “S.S.S.” in Liber HHH as evident by his diary; see Aleister Crowley et al., *Magick: Liber ABA, Book Four, Parts I-IV*, 2nd rev. ed (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1997) and Chapter Seven. These instructions were also independently engaged by Arjan Dass Malik and T.K. Rajagopalan.

¹⁰⁵⁴ “Imagine . . . koondli”] “Imagine the mind as the above I[nfinite] spiritual conscious state to be a pole of the mental spiritual consciousness (No. 2) having the bottom in Kundalee (No. 18-19) and the top in the Brimharunthra or skull (No. 7-30) filling the pole from head to foot by conscious Sight (Tam. *kñāna tiruṣṭi* க்ஞான திருஷ்டி, < Skt. *jñānadṛṣṭi*)” CPSPS.

3rd.—Draw up this mind by the two sights to the Brahmarantara, and drop and draw it again and again.¹⁰⁵⁵

4th.—Fix it in the Brahmarantara and make the mental pole straight and steady.¹⁰⁵⁶

5th.—Fix also the two keenness on the mind seated in the Brahmarantar.¹⁰⁵⁷

6th.—Imagine the head to be removed and its place occupied by the *giyanakash* or spiritual consciousness.¹⁰⁵⁸

7th.—Make this universally spread imagining the sun, moon, stars, planets and earth floating in it; and this pervading through all.¹⁰⁵⁹

Practice this for a few days and when you have got success in it you would become *Bhawana Brahmagiyani Brahmachari*.¹⁰⁶⁰

Divine Pilgrimage—Next consider that this *Bhawana Brahma giyan*¹⁰⁶¹ is within the *Brahma rantar*. Now you should make a divine pilgrimage in the universe of your body in order to find out how the *suddha chaitannya Brahma giyanakasha mayam*¹⁰⁶² descends to the kundli through the *sushoomana*¹⁰⁶³ and ascends up to Brahmarantar through *khumbak*.¹⁰⁶⁴ By this descent and ascent the whole creation of your body is maintained till the time of death.

¹⁰⁵⁵ “Draw . . . again”] “Draw up this Mind by the I[nfinite] spiritual conscious visions of the two sights (No. 1-3) up to the Brahmarunthram through the middle part (No. 2) and drop and draw it again and again in circle through Soosoomuna organ and Kumbaca organ i.e. starting downwards from Brahmarunthram touching Kundali, going round through backbone to Brahmarunthram over and over as the conscious spiritual state or as the Infinite mantric mum spiritual state of (Om Ahum)” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁵⁶ “Fix . . . steady”] “Fix it in the Brahmarunthram and make the mental pole straight and steady” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁵⁷ “Fix . . . Brahmarantar”] “Fix also the two keennesses of the sights of that pole to be seated in the Brahmarunthram” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁵⁸ “Imagine . . . consciousness”] “Imagine the head to be removed and its place occupied by the universally and in-all-creations pervading I[nfinite] spiritual void witnessing and blissful consciousness (Tam. *carvānucūtayantaryāmittuva pirkāññākāsa corūpam* சர்வானுகூதயந்தர்யாமித்துவ பிர்மக்ஞானாகாஸ சொருபம், < Skt. *sarvānūsyūtāntaryāmitatva brahmajñānākāśasvarūpa*)” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁵⁹ “Make . . . all”] “Make this to be as the universally spread, imagining the sun, moon, stars, planets and earth floating in it; and this pervades in them all” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁶⁰ “*Bhawana . . . Brahmachari*”] < Skt. *bhāvanā brahmajñānī brahmacārī* भावना ब्रह्मज्ञानी ब्रह्मचारी; lit.

“Student-ascetic and gnostic of Brahman in (meditative) cultivation.” “Bachelor of Practising I. spiritual ecstasy by deeply meditating Yogue (Tam. *pāvaṇā pirkāññāpirmmacārī* பாவணா பிர்மக்ஞானபிர்மம்ச்சாரி < Skt. *bhāvanā brahmajñānābrahmacārī*) the divine spiritual Bachelor in the spiritual Pilgrimage” CPSPS. “Secondly consider that this deeply meditating spiritual ecstasy (Tam. *pāvaṇā pirkāññānam* பாவணா பிர்மக்ஞானம், < Skt. *bhāvanā brahmajñāna*) is within the centre of brain and skull (Tam. *pirmmarantiram* பிர்மமரந்திரம், < Skt. *brahmarandhra*).” The Sanskrit word *brahmacārī* (from stem *brahmacārin*) “follower of Brahman” is a synonym for *brahmacharya*, the first of four traditional “stages” (*āśramas*) of life as codified in the Dharmaśāstras, ancient Indian texts on society and duty. Sabhapati in this section uses three of these four stages to describe a title of yogic attainment rather than referring literally to their social, economic, and political functions.

¹⁰⁶¹ “*Bhawana Brahma giyan*”] < Skt. *bhāvanābrahmajñāna* भावनाब्रह्मज्ञान; lit. “the gnosis of Brahman through (meditative) cultivation.”

¹⁰⁶² “*suddha . . . mayam*”] < Skt. *śuddhacaitanyābrahmajñānākāśamaya* शुद्धचैतन्यब्रह्मज्ञानाकाशमय; lit. “that which consists of the gnostic æther of Brahman as pure consciousness.” “Infinite Spirit” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁶³ “*sushoomana*”] “Sushoomna Nadi or spiritual nerve” CPSPS. The latter part may have read “I[nfinite]. spiritual nerve” on account of a mark in the text.

¹⁰⁶⁴ “*khumbak*”] “Kumbaka-Nadi or spinal cord” CPSPS.

This practice will much help you in the Yogue which is to be for ever immersed and absorbed in the *suddha chaitannya Brahma giyanakash*¹⁰⁶⁵ through *laya bodham*.¹⁰⁶⁶

Therefore consider the *Brahma chaitanya giyanakasha saroop*¹⁰⁶⁷ to run¹⁰⁶⁸ through *Sukhmana*—a hollow pipe containing three smaller pipes¹⁰⁶⁹ within it, which descends from the centre of the skull through the middle of the brain down to Kundli. The *giyana akasha* runs through all the three subdivisions of the *sushoomana*,¹⁰⁷⁰ viz:—

(1).—Through the left pipe of the sushoomana called Idakala (**No. 7** in the diagram).¹⁰⁷¹ The one-third of the *giyanakash*¹⁰⁷² flowing through it gets the name of *Pranava Ugra giyanakasha chandrakala vasi*¹⁰⁷³ or *Brahma chaitanya suddha sampurna suyam prakasha drishti*¹⁰⁷⁴ or the divine light as spirit or ether.

(2).—Through the middle pipe called susoomana (**No. 2**). The one-third of the *giyanakash*¹⁰⁷⁵ running through it is called *Nirakara Yayikia* {39} *Agni Kala Vasi*¹⁰⁷⁶ or *Brahma chaitanya suddha giyanakasha sarvingitwa sarva giyana drishti*¹⁰⁷⁷ or the divine sight of spirit—

¹⁰⁶⁵ “*suddha . . . giyanakash*”] < Skt. *śuddhacaitanyabrahmajñānākāśa* शुद्धचैतन्यब्रह्मज्ञानाकाश; lit. “the gnostic æther (*jñānākāśa*) of Brahman that is pure brilliance (*śuddhacaitanya*).” “[In]finite]. Spirit,” Tam. *cuttapirmma* சுத்தபிரம்மம், < Skt. *śuddhabrahman* CPSPS.

¹⁰⁶⁶ “*laya bodham*”] < Skt. *layabodha* लयबोध; lit. “awakening of absorption.” “absorption and everlasting spiritual intoxication,” Tam. *pirmmakñānamayalīṅalayayaikkiya pōtam* பிரம்மக்ஞானமயலீனலயயைக்கிய டோதம் CPSPS.

¹⁰⁶⁷ “*Brahma chaitanya giyanakasha saroop*”] < Skt. *brahmācāitanyajñānākāśasvarūpa* ब्रह्मचैतन्यज्ञानाकाशस्वरूप; lit. “the inherent nature of the gnostic æther that is the brilliance of Brahman.”

“[In]finite]. spiritual vision,” Tam. *pirmmamaya ñānākācatiruṣṭi* பிரம்மமய ஞானாகாசதிருஷ்டி CPSPS.

¹⁰⁶⁸ “run”] “runs and fills” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁶⁹ “three smaller pipes”] “three parallel sights” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁷⁰ “*sushoomana*”] + “as thin as hair” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁷¹ “No. 7 in the diagram”] “No. 1 in the diagram” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁷² “*giyanakash*”] “I. Spiritual void æther-like blissful consciousness of witness,” Tam.

pirmmakñānārivumayam CPSPS.

¹⁰⁷³ “*Pranava . . . vasi*”] < Skt. and Tam. *praṇavāgrajñānākāśacandrakalāvāṃśi* प्रणवाग्रज्ञानाकाशचन्द्रकलावांशि; lit. “the channel (*vāṃśi*, < Tam. *vāci*) of the fragmented power of the moon (*candrakalā*) that is the gnostic æther of the foremost part of the syllable Om (*praṇava*).” “the un-sounding spiritual divine word-like state as (Om) in the form of the consciousness of calmness and coolness,” Tam. *piraṇavavukrañānākāśa cantirakalāvāci* பிரணவவுக்ரஞானாகாஸ சந்திரகலாவாசி CPSPS.

¹⁰⁷⁴ “*Brahma . . . drishti*”] < Skt. *brahmācāitanyāsuddha sampūrnasvayamprakāśadṛṣṭi* ब्रह्मचैतन्यशुद्ध

सम्पूर्णस्वयम्प्रकाशदृष्टि; lit. “the sight (*dṛṣṭi*) of one’s pure and complete self-manifestation as the brilliance of Brahman.” “the conscious sight of spirit of mildness,” Tam. *pirma caitaṇṇiya cutta campūrnacuyampirakāśa tiruṣṭi* பிரம்ம சைதன்னிய சுத்த சம்பூர்ணசுயம்பிரகாஸ திருஷ்டி CPSPS.

¹⁰⁷⁵ “*giyanakash*”] “[In]finite]. Spirit,” Tam. *ñānamayam* ஞானமயம் CPSPS.

¹⁰⁷⁶ “*Nirakara . . . Vasi*”] < Skt. and Tam. *nirākāraikyāgnikalāvāṃśi* निराकारैक्याग्निकलावांशि; lit. “the channel (*vāṃśi* = Tam. *vāci*, loosely synonymous with *nāḍī*) of the fragmented power of fire (*agnikalā*) as the unity of the formless (*nirākāraikyā*).” “the all absorbed void conscious sight-like Holy I. Spirit as spiritual sight, of being as (Ahum) in the form of the consciousness of soundlessness and silence,” Tam. *nirākāra aikkiya kñānākkiṇi kalāvāci* நிராகார ஐக்கிய க்ஞானாக்கிணி கலாவாசி CPSPS.

¹⁰⁷⁷ “*Brahma . . . drishti*”] < Skt. *brahmācāitanyāsuddhajñānākāśasarvajñatvasarvajñānadṛṣṭi*

ब्रह्मचैतन्यशुद्धज्ञानाकाशसर्वज्ञत्वसर्वज्ञानदृष्टि; “the sight (*dṛṣṭi*) of all intelligence and all knowledge (*sarvajñāna*) in

(3).—Through the right hand pipe of the sushoomna called *pingala*¹⁰⁷⁸ (No. 3). The one-third of the giyanakash flowing through it is called *Omkaṛa kṛipā sūrya kalā Vasi*¹⁰⁷⁹ or the *Brahma chaitnanya suddha giyanakasha sarva yayike sarva sunnya drishti*,¹⁰⁸⁰ or spiritual vision.

Consider now the Giyanakash¹⁰⁸¹ to descend from the centre of the skull one-eighth of an inch, and rest on the top of the brain. This space between the skull and the brain is a perfect vacuum and is called Brahmarantar. From the top of the brain one-eighth of an inch to the middle of the brain, from the middle of the brain, one-eighth of an inch it descends to the bottom of the brain. Again it descends one eighth of an inch from the bottom of the brain and settles in the centre of the forehead; from this it descends one-eighth of an inch and settles in the centre of the eye-brows. Wherefrom the Sūshoomna seperates into three parts, the left vessel¹⁰⁸² going to the left eye, the right vessel going to the right eye; and the middle vessel going straight down and settles in the centre of the tip of the nose.¹⁰⁸³ Here the vessels that had entered the eyes¹⁰⁸⁴ come and join the third, and become one. Descending one inch from the centre of the tip of the nose, it settles in the centre of the tongue.¹⁰⁸⁵ From this place it enters behind the gullet and runs along the alimentary canal into which it also sends a branch.¹⁰⁸⁶ From the centre of the tongue it descends two inches and settles in the throat; from here it descends six inches and settles in the centre of the heart; from this heart it again descends six inches, and settles in the internal centre of the navel; from the navel it descends five inches and settles in the kúndli, where it joins with the lingam and bends downward to ascend upwards. Therefore this place is called Kundli. Now it rises up through Kumbhak Nadi, which is the upward prolongation of the sushoomna through the three vessels of the same. Here the natures of the Gyánákásh while running downward is totally changed. The Idakala Nadee here becomes *Kundlee stambhana laya purana Vyapekagiya kalá mayam*

the pure gnostic æther of the brilliance of Brahman.” “conscious sight of spirit,” Tam. *pirmacaitaṇṇiya cuttaññākāsa carvaññattuvacarvakñāna tirusṭi* பிரம்சைதன்னிய சுத்தஞானாகாஸ சர்வஞ்ஞத்துவசர்வக்ஞான திருஷ்டி CPSPS.

¹⁰⁷⁸ “*pingala*”] “Pingala organ,” Tam. *piṅkalāṭi* பிங்கலாடி CPSPS.

¹⁰⁷⁹ “*Omkaṛa . . . Vasi*”] < Skt. and Tam. *omkarakṛpāsūryakalāvāṁsī* ॐ-कारकृपासूर्यकलावांशी; “the channel of the fragmented power of the sun (*sūryakalā*), which is the tenderness (*kṛpā*) of the syllable Om (*omkāra*).” “the unsounding spiritual word-like state as (Brumho) in the form of the consciousness of heat and excitement,” Tam. *onkarakirupācūriyakalāvācī* ஒங்காரகிருபாகூரியகலாவாசீ CPSPS.

¹⁰⁸⁰ “*Brahma chaitnanya suddha giyanakasha sarva yayike sarva sunnya drishti*”] < Skt. *brahmacaitanyaśuddhajñānākāśasarvaikyasarvaśūnyadṛṣṭi* ब्रह्मचैतन्यशुद्धज्ञानाकाशसर्वैक्यसर्वशून्यदृष्टि; “the sight (*dṛṣṭi*) of the absolute unity (*sarva aikya*) and the absolute void (*sarvaśūnya*) as the pure gnostic æther (*suddhajñānākāśa*), which is the brilliance of Brahman (*brahmacaitanya*).” “spiritual vision,” Tam. *pirmacaitaṇṇiyacutta kñāñākāsacarva aikkiya carvacūñṇiyatirusṭi* பிரம்சைதன்னியசுத்தக்ஞானாகாஸசர்வ ஐக்கிய சர்வசூன்னியதிருஷ்டி CPSPS.

¹⁰⁸¹ “*Giyanakash*”] “I[nfinite]. Spirit as divine æther in the Sushumna nerve,” Tam. *pirmakñāṇamayam* பிரம்சுஞானமயம் CPSPS.

¹⁰⁸² “vessel”] CPSPS substitutes “hollow nerve” or “hollow nerves” for “vessel” throughout this passage.

¹⁰⁸³ “settles . . . nose”] “settles in the centre seat of the nose giving a branch to it” CPSPS.

¹⁰⁸⁴ “eyes”] “from eyebrow” + CPSPS.

¹⁰⁸⁵ “descending . . . tongue”] “...descending one inch further down from the centre of the nose, settle in the centre seat of the tongue” CPSPS. CPSPS also pluralizes the rest of this passage that describes the motion of the “vessels” or “hollow nerves.”

¹⁰⁸⁶ “From . . . branch”] om. CPSPS.

*Irechak Nadee*¹⁰⁸⁷ (No. 4 in the diagram) or *Bramha chaitanya sūddha santha kasha sarva anda pinda charachara sarva shrishthi antar Vyapaka drishthi*¹⁰⁸⁸ or the infinite consciousness.

The Sūshoomna nadee becomes the *kūndali trikala nitya sumpurna ananda kala maya kumbhaka Nadee*¹⁰⁸⁹ (No. 5) or *Brahma Chaitanya suddha shanta sadakasha sarva laya bodha pari purnanandam*¹⁰⁹⁰ or the infinite bliss.

The Pingala Nadee becomes *kundlee kumbitha bodha purna sakshi kalamaya Puraka Nadee*¹⁰⁹¹ (No. 6) or *Brahma chaitannya suddha shanta akasha sarvasthana, sarvagiyana sarva sakshi drishthi*,¹⁰⁹² or the perfect infinite witness.

¹⁰⁸⁷ “*Kundlee . . . Nadee*”] < Skt. *kuṇḍalīstambhanalayapūrṇavyāpakajñānakalāmayarecakanāḍī* कुण्डलीस्तम्भनलयपूर्णव्यापकज्ञानकलामयरेचकनाडी; “the channel of exhalation (*recakanāḍī*) that consists of the fragmented power (*kalā*) of the gnosis of the pervader (*vyāpakajñāna*), which is entirely dissolved (*layapūrṇa*) in the arresting (*stambhana*) of the ring (*kuṇḍalī*, i.e. the *mūlādhāra* lotus).” “the steadily Starting ‘Seeing state’ as the Holy Divine I[finite]. Spiritual Vision of graceful Wisdom of Void Consciousness,” Tam. *stampaṇalayapūrṇaviyāpaka kñāñāntakalāmaya irēcakavāci* ஸ்தம்பனலயபூர்ணவியாபக க்ஞானானந்தகலாமய இரேசகவாசி CPSPS.

¹⁰⁸⁸ “*Bramha . . . drishthi*”] < Skt. *brahmacaitanyaśuddhaśāntākāśasarvāṇḍapīṇḍacarācarasarvasṛṣṭyantaryāpakadṛṣṭi* ब्रह्मचैतन्यशुद्धशान्ताकाशसर्वाण्डपिण्डचराचरसर्वसृष्टयन्तर्व्यापकदृष्टि; “the sight of the inner pervader that is the entirety of the cosmic motion (*carācara*) of egg and embryo (*aṇḍapīṇḍa*), and the entirety of creation, which is the pure and tranquil æther of the brilliance of Brahman.” “perfect spiritual Infinite conscious Void,” Tam. *pīrmacaitaṇṇiyacutta cāntākāśacarva aṇṭa piṇṭacarācaracarvacirṣṭi yantiralayaviyāpaka āṇantakiyāṇatirūṣṭi* பிரம்மசைதன்னியசுத்த சாந்தாகாஸசர்வ அண்ட பிண்டசராசரசர்வசிரீர்ஷ்ட யந்திரலயவியாபக ஆனந்தகியானதிருஷ்ட CPSPS.

¹⁰⁸⁹ “*kūndali . . . Nadee*”] < Skt. *kuṇḍalitrikālānityasampūrṇānandakalāmayakumbhakanāḍī* कुण्डलित्रिकालनित्यसम्पूर्णानन्दकलामयकुम्भकनाडी; “the channel of breath-retention (*kumbhakanāḍī*, i.e. the *suṣumnā*) that consists of the fragmented power of the ring’s (*kuṇḍalī*) constant and full bliss throughout the three times (i.e., past, present, and future).” “the steadily Fixing and Mingling. ‘Becoming State’ as the Holy I[finite]. Spiritual Vision of Graceful Wisdom of Bliss,” Tam. *kumpita*

pōtacampūraṇapīrmāñāntakalāmayakumpakavāci சும்பித போதசம்பூரணபிரம்மானந்தகலாமயகும்பகவாசி CPSPS. ¹⁰⁹⁰ “*Brahma . . . purnanandam*”] < Skt. *brahmacaitanyaśuddhaśāntasādākāśasarvalayabodhaparipūrṇānanda* ब्रह्मचैतन्यशुद्धशान्तसदाकाशसर्वलयबोधपरिपूर्णानन्द; “the fulfilled bliss (*paripūrṇānanda*) in the absolute awakening of absorption in the pure, tranquil, and true æther, which is the brilliance of Brahman (*brahmacaitanya*).” “The perfect Spiritual Infinite conscious Bliss,” Tam. *pīrmacaitaṇṇiyacutta cāntacarvastāṇacarvañāna aikkiyacarvapīrmāñāntaṇṇatirūṣṭi* பிரம்மசைதன்னியசுத்த சாந்தசர்வஸ்தானசர்வஞான ஐக்கியசர்வபிரம்மானந்தஞானதிருஷ்ட CPSPS.

¹⁰⁹¹ “*kundlee . . . Nadee*”] < Skt. *kuṇḍalikumbhitabodhapūrṇasākṣikalāmayapūraṇanāḍī* कुण्डलिकुम्भितबोधपूर्णसाक्षिकलामयपूरकनाडी; “the channel of inhalation (*pūraṇanāḍī*) that consists of the fragmented power of the eyewitness (*sākṣikalā*), which is the fullness of retained awakening the ring (*kuṇḍalī*). CPSPS gloss: “the steadily Going ‘Absorbing state’ as the Holy Divine I[finite]. Spiritual Vision of Graceful Wisdom of Witness,” Tam. *pantana aikkiyapūraṇacāṭciyāṇantatirikālākñāna kalāmaya pūrakavāci* பந்தன ஐக்கியபூரணசாட்சியானந்ததிரிகாலக்ஞான கலாமய பூரகவாசி CPSPS. CPSPS switches “binding” (*bandhana*) and “retained” (*kumbhita*) between the channel of *kumbhaka* and the *pūraṇa*. These processes are somewhat described in Sabhapati’s short instructions on Haṭhayoga in CPSPS but are not elaborated on in VRY.

¹⁰⁹² “*Brahma . . . drishthi*”] < Skt. *brahmacaitanyaśuddhaśāntākāśasarvasthānasarvajñānasarvasākṣidṛṣṭi* ब्रह्मचैतन्यशुद्धशान्ताकाशसर्वस्थानसर्वज्ञानसर्वसाक्षिदृष्टि; “the sight of the absolute eyewitness (*sarvasākṣi*), which is omnipresent (*sarvasthāna*) and omniscient (*sarvajñāna*) in the pure and tranquil æther, which is the brilliance of Brahman.” “The perfect spiritual Infinite Witness,” Tam. *pīrmacaitaṇṇiyacutta cāntacitākāścarvapōtaparipūraṇāṇantacāṭkñāna tīrūṣṭi* பிரம்மசைதன்னியசுத்த சாந்தசிதாக்காஸர்வபோதபரிபூரணானந்தசாட்க்ஞான திருஷ்ட CPSPS.

{40} Consider that these three rise together with great speed to Brahmarantar and become absorbed there; then again descend and again ascend. Practice this for a few days till you get success in it. Then you will be called *Bhawana Brahmagiyaana Bramachari in Raja Yoga*¹⁰⁹³ or *Brahmagiyana Shiva yoga yathree*¹⁰⁹⁴ or *the divine pilgrim*.

Consider by the *chinmudra*¹⁰⁹⁵ of your left hand fingers, that your Giyanakash is descending; and by the chinmudra of the right hand fingers, that it is ascending; and by the chinmudra formed by the junction of the two keenness of the sights with the mind in Brahmarantara that is absorbed in the infinite spirit. This process may be continued in sitting in *Sukshasana*¹⁰⁹⁶ or easy posture.

As you descend from the Brahmarantara make your Giyanakash to pronounce by the tongue of its mowna giyana drishti matrum*¹⁰⁹⁷ the following divine mantras: *Shivhá, shiva, shiva, shiva, shiva shiva, shiva, shivohum, Brahmohum, Giyanohum, Akashohum, Shunnyohum, Shakshiyohum, Vyapakohum, Anandohum*,¹⁰⁹⁸ and as you ascend pronounce in the same way the following divine mantras. Layohum Bodhohum, Shantohum, Shúddhohum, Nittyohum, Pranavohum, Onkarohum, Nirakarohum, Oogrohumi, Kripakarum, Ayiakium,

¹⁰⁹³ “*Bhawana . . . Raja Yoga*”] < Skt. *bhāvanābrahmajñānabrāhmacārī* in *rājayoga* भावनाब्रह्मज्ञानब्राह्मचारी in राजयोग; lit. “a student-ascetic of the gnosis of Brahman in the Royal Yoga (Rājayoga).” “practical Professor in Spiritual Ecstasy,” Tam. *pāvaṇāpīrmakñānapīrmacārīrājayōka appiyāci* பாவனாபிர்மக்ஞானபிர்மசாரிராஜயோக அப்யாசி CPSPS.

¹⁰⁹⁴ “*Brahmagiyana Shiva yoga yathree*”] < Skt. *brahmajñānaśivayogayātrī* ब्रह्मज्ञानशिवयोगयात्री; lit. “a pilgrim (*yātrī*) in the yoga for [the attainment of] Śiva, which is the gnosis of Brahman.” “Pilgrim in the Divine Kingdom of Infinite spirit’s Ecstasy,” Tam. *civarājyōka pīrmakñānayāttiri* சிவராஜ்யோக பிர்மக்ஞானயாத்திரி CPSPS.

¹⁰⁹⁵ “*chinmudra*”] *cinmudrā* चिन्मुद्रा; lit. “seal (*mudrā*) of thought (*cit*).” “the steady sign,” Tam. *cinmuttirā* சின்முத்திரா CPSPS. The *cinmudrā* is the well-known *mudrā* (here a hand-gesture) formed by making a loop with the index finger and the thumb.

¹⁰⁹⁶ “*Sukshasana*”] *sukhāsana* सुखासन; lit. “posture of happiness.” “easy posture,” Tam. *cukāsaṇam* சுகாஸனம் CPSPS. “or by lying” (i.e. lying down) + CPSPS.

¹⁰⁹⁷ “*mowna . . . matrum*”] < Skt. *maunajñānadr̥ṣṭimātra* मौनज्ञानदृष्टिमात्र; lit. “the sight of the gnosis in silence itself.” “Divine name-like spiritual state without sound of any kind,” Tam. *nirākārayasapta maṇamayapiraṇava aikkiyākārap pīrmamaya svarūpam* நிராகாரயஸப்த மௌனமயபிரணவ ஐக்கியாகாரப் பிர்மமய ஸ்வரூபம் CPSPS. [Footnote in the original publication:] * “Or by the tongue of the dumbness of consciousness.”

¹⁰⁹⁸ “*Shivhá . . . Anandohum*”] < Skt. *śiva, śiva, śiva, śiva, śiva, śiva, śiva, śivo ‘ham, brahmo ‘ham, jñāno ‘ham, ākāśo ‘ham, śūnyo ‘ham, sāksyaham, vyāpako ‘ham, ānando ‘ham* शिव, शिव, शिव, शिव, शिव, शिव, शिव, शिवो ऽहम्, ब्रह्मो ऽहम्, ज्ञानो ऽहम्, आकाशो ऽहम्, शून्यो ऽहम्, साक्ष्यहम्, व्यापको ऽहम्, आनन्दो ऽहम्; lit. “Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, I am Śiva, I am Brahman, I am gnosis, I am æther, I am the void, I am the eyewitness, I am the pervader, I am bliss.” “Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śivum, Brumum, Gnyanum, Akasham, Survasunnum, Survasatchi, Survaviapakum, Surva Aunandum,” Tam. *civā, civa, civa, civa, civā, civa, civa, civā, pīrmamam, nānam, ākācam, carvacūṇṇiyam, carvacāṭci, carvaviyāpakam, carva āṇantam*. சிவா, சிவ, சிவ, சிவ, சிவா, சிவ, சிவ, சிவம், பிர்மமம், ஞானம், ஆகாசம், சர்வகூண்னியம், சர்வசாட்சீ, சர்வவியாபகம், சர்வ ஆனந்தம் CPSPS. “Stay at Kundalee after descending in the deep meditation of its spiritual state for a few minutes.” + CPSPS. CPSPS removes the first person pronoun *aham* that seems inherent to other mantras in vry, like *śivo ‘ham*, so the reading may be mere recitation of the above names rather than “I am . . .”

Arohum, Sthumbhanum, Koombhithum, Paramanoobavum, Sumpoornum Agum
Brahmahum.¹⁰⁹⁹

Having gained success in this practice you must now become Tatwa Giyani¹¹⁰⁰ or *Utpattidarshana Grishastri*;¹¹⁰¹ that is you must examine the *Maya Bhranti, kalpana Sankalpa tatwa Grahashrumum*,¹¹⁰² and after examining them and finding them useless and injurious to renounce them and become the *Sannyasi mawnagiyani*,¹¹⁰³ which will make you true Brahma-Giyanee,¹¹⁰⁴ whom Maya¹¹⁰⁵ will never assail.

¹⁰⁹⁹ “Layohum . . . Brahmahum”] < Skt. *layo* ‘ham, *bodho* ‘ham, *sānto* ‘ham, *agro* ‘ham, *kṛpākāra*, *aikya*, *āroham*, *sthambhanam*, *kumbhitam*, *paramānubhavam*, *saṃpūrṇam*, *ekam*, *brahmo* ‘ham लयो ऽहम्, बोधी ऽहम्, शान्तो ऽहम्, अग्रो ऽहम्, कृपाकार, ऐक्य, आरोहम्, स्थम्भनम्, कुम्भितम्, परमानुभवम्, संपूर्णम्, एकम्, ब्रह्मो ऽहम्; one possible reading is “I am dissolution, I am awakening, I am peaceful, I am terrible, I am the giver of mercy, I am the unity, I am the one who ascends, the fixer, the retainer, the highest experience, the completion, the one, I am Brahman.” “Hahum Surva Layum, Bodum, Sandum, Suddum, Nittium, Pranavam, Onkaram, Nirakarum, Oogram, Kripakarum, Ayikiam, Arohum, Stumbanum, Kumbithum, Bunthanaum, Anatham, Paramamsum, Survanusuthum, Akakrithum, Thathakarum, Paramanubavum, Sumpurnum; Akum, Brummum, Thuthbrammum, Thathobrammum, Anusuthabrammum Swayabrumam, Anthryamibrammum,” Tam. *ahañcarvalayam*, *pōtam*, *cāntam*, *cuttam*, *nittiyam*, *piraṇavam*, *oñkāram*, *nirākāram*, *ukram*, *kirupākaram*, *ayikkīyam*, *ānantam*, *stampaṇam*, *kumpitam*, *pantaṇam*, *aṇātam*, *parmāmcam*, *carvānucūtam*, *carvō ēkamayam*, *ēkākīrītam*, *tatātkāram*, *paramānupavam*, *campūraṇam*, *ēkam*, *pirmmam*, *tatpirmam*, *tatōpirmam*, *aṇucūtapirmmam*, *antaryāmi pirmmam*, *cuvayampirmam* அஹஞ்சர்வலயம், போதம், சாந்தம், சுத்தம், நித்தியம், பிரணவம், ஒங்காரம், நிராகாரம், உக்ரம், கிருபாகரம், அயிக்கியம், ஆனந்தம், ஸ்தம்பனம், கும்பிதம், பந்தனம், அனாதம், பர்மாம்சம், சர்வானுகுதம், சர்வோ ஏகமயம், ஏகாகிரீதம், ததாத்காரம், பரமானுபவம், சம்பூரணம், ஏகம், பிரம்மம், தத்பிரம்மம், ததோபிரம்மம், அனுகுதபிரம்மம், அந்தர்யாமி பிரம்மம், சுவயம்பிரம்மம் CPSPS. As with before, CPSPS removes the first-person pronoun *aham* that seems inherent to other mantras in VRY, like *śivo* ‘ham, so the reading of some of the above terms may omit “I am . . .”

¹¹⁰⁰ “Tatwa Giyani”] < Skt. *tattvajñāni* तत्त्वज्ञानि; lit. “knower (*jñānī*, < stem *jñānin*) of the principles (*tattva*).” “Thatwa Gnyani” CPSPS.

¹¹⁰¹ “*Utpattidarshana Grishastri*”] < Skt. *utpattidarśanagrhasṭi* उत्पत्तिदर्शनग्रहस्ति; lit. “a householder in whom vision (*darśana*) arises.” “the family-man of the knowledge of Truth or the Soul in the perfection of piety on, prayer of, devotion on, meditation upon, seeing only, absorbing in, becoming off, and being as, the only Infinite Spirit,” Tam. *pirmmasvarūpam* i.e. *carvānupūti nirantarānirañcaṇacamakaivalliyakñāñōkirahastan*

பிரம்மஸ்வரூபம் i.e. சர்வானுபூதி நிரந்தரநிரஞ்சனசமகைவல்லியக்ஞானோகிரஹஸ்தன் CPSPS.

¹¹⁰² “*Maya . . . Grahashrumum*”] < Skt. *māyābhrāntikalpanāsaṃkalpatattvagṛhāśrama* मायाभ्रान्तिकल्पनासंकल्पतत्त्वग्रहाश्रम; lit. “the householder stage (*grhāśramam*) of [knowing] the principles (*tattva*) to be an illusion, confusion, fabricated thought, and wishful thinking.” “you must examine further the delusion of false decept [*sic*], false show, false dreams of faculties, happiness and worldly enjoyments,” Tam. *māyāpirāntīcankalppakalpaṇātattvavacukatukkam* மாயாபிராந்திசங்கல்பகல்பனாதத்துவசுகதுக்கம் CPSPS.

¹¹⁰³ “*Sannyasi mawnagiyani*”] < Skt. *sāṃnyāsī manoñjāni* सांन्यासी मनोज्ञानि; lit. “a renunciate (*sāṃnyāsī*, < stem *saṃnyāsīn*) who has the gnosis of mind.” “Sanniasi Mowna Gnyana’ in heart or the sacrificer of delusions” CPSPS.

¹¹⁰⁴ “Brahma-Giyanee”] *brahmajñāni* ब्रह्मज्ञानि; lit. “one who has gnosis of Brahman.” “Brumma Gnyani or spiritual man” CPSPS.

¹¹⁰⁵ “Maya”] “or delusions” + CPSPS.

Appendix Four: A Translation of the Bengali Prologue of BRY

A. English Translation

Prologue (*abatarāṅikā*)¹¹⁰⁶

Great disagreement on religious duty (*dharma*)¹¹⁰⁷ is now taking root among human communities everywhere. Yet this is not the only time it has been like this. These kinds of waves of religion are constantly rising amid society in the flows of time; if they reach their highest crest they then fall again to a low state. These waves of religion have flowed like this for as long as time has existed. The gnosis of Brahman (*brahma-jñān*) and Raja Yoga (*rāj-yog*, lit. “Yoga of Kings”), which the noble rishis (*ārya ṛṣigaṇ*)¹¹⁰⁸ have discerned and spoke of as the highest religion of humanity as they climbed to the limits of the highest gnosis (*jñān*), has presently almost been lost. It’s just like how light and insubstantial things can float in a current of water while heavy and substantial things cannot float but become submerged. All those forms of knowledge¹¹⁰⁹ that are light and of little substance float in the current of time and, as time passes and society changes, become established. However, everything that is on the side of intelligence and gnosis, being heavy and full of profound substance, is not able to float in the current—it therefore sinks to the bottom and stays there. Intelligence will save these jewels that have sunk to the bottom of the unfathomable ocean of knowledge, but not everyone has the fortunate opportunity for this. The techniques and forms of yoga that are the means of thoroughly obtaining this gnosis of Brahman have been described in Vedānta and many other philosophies. Teachers of these are hard to find, however. The author of this book, {2}¹¹¹⁰ the great and auspicious Brahma-Jnana-Yogi Sabhapati Swami, whose feet are to be venerated, came to the northwest regions [of India] and has offered this kind of instruction for the benefit of the public on the gnosis of Brahman and Raja Yoga, in compliance with the instructions from his own gurus and kings of yoga. The pleader of Meerut City’s High Court and the president of its [branch of the]

¹¹⁰⁶ [This Prologue is only found in the Bengali translation (BRY) of VRY, where it was originally published in Bengali/Bangla. As noted in Chapter Six, its fourfold typology of yoga also mirrors that of Swami Vivekananda, albeit a decade earlier. The poem at the end by Ambikacharan Sharma (either an alternate name for Ambikacharan Bandopadhyay or another author altogether) is notable for its Vaiṣṇava leanings and mention of the ca. fifteenth-century reformer Caitanya Mahāprabhu.]

¹¹⁰⁷ [I have variously translated the term *dharma* as “religious duty” or “religion” and at times left it untransliterated in italics. The term could also be translated simply as “duty,” “religious merit,” “ethics,” even “will” in the higher sense, although in Bengali/Bangla it also came to denote “religion” (e.g. Hindu *dharma*, Islam *dharma*, etc.) as early as the colonial period. Ambikacharan will analyze this word throughout the preface itself, however, in which he makes clear that on an external level it refers to social determinations (*nirṇay*) based on internal human qualities (*guṇa*) and powers (*śakti*).]

¹¹⁰⁸ [Alternate translation: “The rishis of the Land of the Aryas (i.e. India).” For some consideration of how the rhetoric of “Arya” was used as an identity-marker in the colonial period in Punjab, see Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). Ambikacharan’s usage here appears more inspired by Theosophy and the publisher of the Bengali edition of the book, Shrish Chandra Vasu, who was a regular contributor to *The Arya* journal.]

¹¹⁰⁹ [Ambikacharan uses the word *jñān* (< Skt. *jñāna*) interchangeably when the meaning could mean either knowledge in general or a specific experiential or religious gnosis (e.g. *brahmajñāna* or the gnosis of Brahman). I have translated it variously as “gnosis” or “knowledge” according to the context.]

¹¹¹⁰ [These page numbers are approximate and only for reference to the original since the translation cannot be precisely divided.]

Theosophical Society (*aiśītattva-jñān samāj*), the honorable and auspicious Babu Shrish Chandra Vasu (Śirīṣ Candra Basu) has disseminated these instructions in the form of a book, and this book is what has been translated into Bengali. In that book there are many English poems, of which here there are only a few given, yet in this book poems in the Bengali language have also been independently composed and provided. No book of this kind concerning the gnosis of Brahman and Raja Yoga is yet circulating in vernacular languages to date. Studying this book will allow one to practice and understand what yoga is even without the instruction of a guru.

The ultimate purpose of the gnosis of Brahman and what form the practice of Raja Yoga takes are clearly described here in this book. However, many doubts may arise for communities of readers (*pāṭhak maṇḍalī*) on this topic of the highest religion of humanity. As a result of this, in these prefatory remarks these [doubts] have been briefly engaged to the extent possible. Why yoga and devotion (*bhakti*) are needed has also been demonstrated. When the noble rishis sung about the word *dharma* they meant the entirety of humanity's duties for this world and the other world; their significance is in the foundational meaning of the word *dharma*: that in which or by which one is supported.¹¹¹¹ It is therefore that in which or by which humanity is supported; that is, one can speak of a quality (*guṇ*) or power (*śakti*) that, if present, allows for human beings. This is how the *dharma* of humanity can be understood and referred to. {3} In this way, however many things in this entire universe (*brahmāṇḍa*, lit. “egg of Brahman”) are conscious (*sacetan*) or unconscious (*acetan*) beings (*jīb*) or substances (*padārtha*),¹¹¹² each and every one among them has a special *dharma*. This *dharma* of everything can be seen in its totality in human beings. That is, every type of quality and power is established in human beings. The quality of bestial inactivity and so on is in the human body, as with every other quality and power, in surplus, and these are also pertain to humanity itself and human *dharma*. The development of human *dharma* is the enhancement of all these qualities and powers, and the conduct of *dharma* occurs if actions are taken to bring them under control.

If one considers the aforementioned conclusions, it can be seen that the mysterious truths of both the outer universe and the inner universe, that is, the human body, can be learned and their interrelationship can be examined; and that this power of determining what is one's own duty has only been entrusted to human beings. This type of power of knowledge (*jñān-śakti*) and power of intelligence (*buddhi-śakti*) cannot be seen in any other type of animal. Therefore the preeminence of the power of knowledge and the power of intelligence *is* humanity. The noble rishis, due to the influence of this power of knowledge and power of intelligence, became wholly aware of external and internal principles and determined many types of *dharmas* for humanity. For this reason all the books that were composed by these great souls who saw with the eyes of gnosis (*jñān-netra darśī-mahātmā*) are called “scriptures” (*śāstra*). The meaning of the word *śāstra* is “that by which one rules” or “regulates.” In human society the power of intelligence and power of gnosis is not all equal, and by directing this knowledge and intelligence on the right path, they investigated the real qualities and powers of the external universe and internal nature, and accordingly determined what is to be and not to be done—they established *dharma* for humanity, though this was not

¹¹¹¹ [Ambikacharan is here analyzing the roots of the word *dharma*, which is derived from the Sanskrit root *dhṛ*, to hold, bear, carry, or maintain.]

¹¹¹² [The word *padārtha* can also refer to the “categories” of existence, but in this prologue it seems to more imply the substance that makes up these categories.]

entirely possible. {4} Those whose minds are especially attracted to the pleasures of the sense-capacities and physical happiness also have intelligence that is partial to this happiness, so as a result they could not altruistically investigate the entirety of the faults and merits of humanity's internal nature; it was not possible to establish *dharma*s on their behalf. For this reason the noble ascetics (*ārya tāpasgaṇ*), who had abstained from the happiness of their sense-capacities and whose vow was gnosis alone, became acquainted with vast knowledge of the external and internal qualities and powers of the instrument of the universe (*biśva-yantra*, < Skt. *viśvayantra*) and the instrument of the body (*deha-yantra*). They then divided the instincts and natures of people in society (*jan-samāj*), fixed different rules and systems, and composed different scriptures (*śāstra*) on *dharma*. They namely established four types of methods: the path of gnosis (*jñāna-mārg*), the path of meditation (*dhyān-mārg*), the path of devotion (*bhakti-yoga*), and the path of action (*karma-mārg*), and disseminated many kinds of scriptures on *dharma*. They composed all these scriptures only out of goodwill towards the people in society, selflessly and free from error, and at that time people likewise were proud of them and received the entirety of their instructions and sayings as scripture. Calling them selfless and free from error may be mistaken by many as unreasonable. How can I not call them selfless, however? They who made the people of the warrior-caste (*kṣatriya*) study the scriptures on archery (*dhanurbbed*) and gave them training in the arts of war (*yuddhakauśal*) and politics (*rājnīti*), who made favorable their rule over kingdoms, kept no wish to have these kingdoms for themselves. They who gave the entire teachings of the Ayurveda (*āyurbbed*), knowledge of astrology (*jyotirbbidyā*), the Gandharvaveda (*gandharbbbed*),¹¹¹³ the scriptures on archery, the scriptures on architecture (*sthāpatya bed*), and so on, as well as the knowledge of economics, for the sake of the livelihoods and financial well-being of human beings in their world of family commitments, {5} did not ever try to use all these sciences for their own financial benefit. Their abodes and lands were in quiet forests, with huts made out of grass for their houses, with fruits, roots, and clarified butter as their food, having a loincloth, deerskin or silk as their garment, a water-pot (*kamundugulu*) among their household possessions, a multitude of books among their wealth, and conversations on knowledge the only means of supporting their lives. If I do not call all these benevolent great souls, all these yogis who were detached from glory and indulgence, selfless, then who can I call that? As for why I call them free from error (*abhrānta*), this shall be resolved later. Now, the noble rishis were able to obtain their own gnosis of Brahman by controlling the power of knowledge and the power of intelligence, and now we will analyze how, after ascending to that highest peak of gnosis, they were able to set the positive and negative duties (*karttabyākarttabya*) for the people who stayed below.

The Yoga of Gnosis (*jñānyog*)—The word *jñāna* means “knowing” (*jānā*). They who know the philosophies and sacred texts among what is worth knowing in this worldly life are called the knowers of principles (*tattvajñānī*).¹¹¹⁴ It is also worthwhile for them to know the principles of creation. The principles of creation are of two kinds, 1) the outer world or the body of the vast [universe], and 2) the inner world or the human body. That is to say, what is the world? These two are what the knowers of the principles are to know. They expressed what is to be known at many sacred sites by the sayings, “From what [and] who am I, and what even are the worlds; who is this expansion that thinks of itself as going,” and

¹¹¹³ [This refers to teachings on art, dance, and music, attributed to a Veda.]

¹¹¹⁴ [Here *tattva* could also be translated “reality,” “truth,” “doctrine.”]

so on.¹¹¹⁵ First we come to examine what its relation is to the external world. The same opinion in different forms were expressed in many of the philosophies and scriptures of the noble ones. {6} It is acknowledged by all that all of creation exists by means of substance (*drabya*, < Skt. *dravya*), qualities (*guṇ*), and actions (*kriyā*), and the yogis who are the knowers of the principles have these kinds of teachings. Among them the principle of substance is permanent, that is, that substance is present when non-existence is absent. Qualities stay absorbed in substance, and only when they come to be expressed does the power of action (*kriyā-śakti*) arise within them. Substance is singular, beyond the intelligence, situated indivisibly amid a continuous interval. The three kinds of qualities are *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. Power (*śakti*) moves by means of them. There are two kinds of power: “activity” (*prabṛtti*, < Skt. *pravṛtti*) and “cessation” (*nibṛtti*, < Skt. *nivṛtti*). If, by the influence of the powers of the qualities, the flowing of the momentum of activity starts, these two types of the power of action (*kriyāśakti*) emerge. The powers of the qualities (*guṇ-śakti*), becoming constantly possessed of being while in the nature of substance and while being driven by means of internal qualities, have developed, thanks to these two powers of action, into many different shapes with the aim of accomplishing different powers. Creation, maintenance, and change in this whole universe, consists of gross, subtle, and eternal shapes by means of all these powers. Atoms (*paramāṇu*), being ejected under the influence of a power’s momentum, are all brought together on one side by the concealing power (*ābaraṇ śakti*, < Skt. *āvaraṇaśakti*), and then assume a form or shape. Atoms on the other side, after they all are separated by the power of casting forth (*bikṣepa śakti*, < Skt. *vikṣepaśakti*), develop into a multitude of forms. These [atoms], becoming newly united yet again, acquire their manifestation in the shape of other substances (*padārtha*). That which we call “things” or “categories” in this universe, therefore, are only the fabricated shapes (*racita ākār*) of qualities (*guṇ*) and powers (*śakti*). The substance, however, {7} which becomes constrained under the influence of the powers of the qualities of these forms, becomes manifest in the transformation of forms, and we are not able to understand anything about what this inherent nature (*svarūp*, < Skt. *svarūpa*) of substance is. The actual nature of this substance has become completely covered due the influence of these powers of the qualities, and we only have the perception of its degenerated nature. However, they who are knowers of the principles (*tattva-jñānīgaṇ*) have determined that, if there is a break (*birām*) in the continuity of the powers of the qualities, the left-over thing that remains is eternal essence (*bastu*). It can be deduced that this form itself is the remaining atoms that are left when there is a break in the continuity of the qualities and powers. This is not congruent with science since the atoms are all situated in attraction with one another, so therefore the persistence of the power of action remains also in this state [i.e., of mutual attraction]. For this reason, the knowers of the principles say that when [substance] is liquified even up to the [level of] the atoms in the break of the powers of the qualities, this is ultimately beyond the powers of the qualities. Instead, the inherent nature of that which supports the powers of the qualities is alone an eternal essence that remains indivisibly left over, which is what has been called “Brahman.” Having investigated the external world, only that knowledge which is beyond the range of sight (*parokṣa jñān*) can obtain this eternal essence—it cannot be obtained with knowledge

¹¹¹⁵ [This latter part are Sanskrit expressions rendered in the Bengali script, somewhat irregularly: *kasmāt ko 'haṃ kimapica bhavān ko 'ya manyah prapañca ityādi.*]

that is not beyond the range of sight (*aparokṣa jñān*) or that is perceptible to the senses (*pratyakṣa*).

Secondly, we can examine the subject of the internal world or “what is ‘I’.” The human body (*mānab-deha*, < Skt. *mānavadeha*) is only an instrument (*yantra*). It is composed of three kinds of principles: elemental principles (*bhautik tattva*), principles of power (*śakti-tattva*), and principles of knowledge (*jñān-tattva*). The distinct portion of the material body (*sthūl-deha*) is distinguished by the power of action (*kriyā-śakti*) that is composed of the elemental principles, and the subtle body (*sūkṣma deha*) is distinguished by the power of will (*icchā-śakti*) that is composed of the principles of the powers. The seed (*bīj*) of both the physical and subtle bodies, or the body of causation (*kāraṇ-deha*), is the support (*ādhār*) of the impressions (*saṃskār*). This is distinguished by the power of knowledge, which is composed of the principles of knowledge. The yogis who were the knowers of the principles of the self (*ātma-tattva-jñānī yogīgaṇ*) determined {8} that all things, powers, and qualities in the universe have been deposited (*nihita*) in the human body. “Those qualities in the universe are all situated in the body” (Skt. *brahmāṇḍe ye guṇāḥ sarve śarīreṣu vyavasthitāḥ*)—this kind of saying can be seen in many places of the scriptures of the noble ones.¹¹¹⁶ Many among the modern knowers of the principles say, “Internal is the typical of the external,”¹¹¹⁷ that is, the internal world is an imitation of the external world. This is confirmed also by reason (*yukti*). Semen and menstrual blood (*śukra śonī*) arise as substances (*padārtha*) in the world of nutritional forms (*annarūp*).¹¹¹⁸ When semen and menstrual blood are present, there is a body. The physical body of the human instrument and the power of action are entirely sustained by means of that earth’s substance which is the inherent nature of fluid born of food. The maintenance of this body is dependent on the regulation (*niyam*, < Skt. *niyama*) of the world. [The body] is so thoroughly composed of the earth’s substance that the entirety of its power of knowledge is within this alone; it does not know anything about the interior of the body. In other words, the nourishment of the power of knowledge is by the knowledge of the world’s substance. If it is destroyed then much of the substance of the body becomes merged with the world. As a result, this world is also a progenitor, protector, and refuge of the body. All things that are needed for our bodily and mental natures are in the world. We never perceive whatever is not in the world, or whatever is absent as such. If the laws of nature remain [constant] and the quality of progenitor resides in another substance, still this body-instrument will certainly be said to be an imitation of the external world. Yet, even if we are not able to understand while all these qualities and powers unite, this is the fault of our intellect. The noble gnostics have for this reason called and described the body as a miniature universe. This is the reason that the body-instrument can be said to be an internal universe. {9} Knowledge is only presiding in the physical portion and the subtle portion of this body-instrument, that is, in the physical and subtle bodies. “I” is only manifested in knowledge as a thought alone. Knowledge pervades the entire body, from the top of the hair to the tip of the toenails, during the waking state of the body (*jāgradabasthā*), and at this time also the presence of the ego (*ahaṃbhāb*, < Skt.

¹¹¹⁶ [This is also related to a similar saying among the Bāul Fakirs of Bengal: *ya āche brahmāṇḍe tāi āche ei deha bhāṇḍe*, “whatever is in the universe is in the receptacle of the body;” see Keith Cantú, “Islamic Esotericism in the Bengali Bāul Songs of Lālan Fakir,” *Correspondences* 7, no. 1 (2019): 140–41.]

¹¹¹⁷ [Words that were given in English in the original text have been underlined to distinguish them from my own English translation from Bengali.]

¹¹¹⁸ [*anna*, lit. “food,” “nutrition,” here also relates to the idea of the *annamayakośa*, or the sheath that consists of food, being the coarsest or most physical of the bodily sheaths (*kośas*) as mentioned in the Upaniṣads.]

ahambhāva), having pervaded the whole body, resides there. During the state of dreaming (*svapnābasthā*), when knowledge is attracted from the physical body and the power of action and comes to reside in the subtle body that consists of the power of knowledge, then the presence of the ego arises in this subtle body that consists of mind and remains there at that time. In the deep state of sleep without dreaming (*gabhīr niḥsvapna-nidrākāl* [i.e., *suṣuptiyavasthā*]), or in that time when one abandons the physical and subtle bodies, knowledge effortlessly comes to reside in the body of causation, and at that time the presence of the ego simultaneously weakens and becomes absorbed into knowledge itself. This is because it is only upon rising and being awakened that immediately the memory arises that “I” was in a most intense, dreamless sleep. It can be deduced according to the laws of memory that, in order to cause this state to be remembered, it is remembered *after* it has been perceived by means of the knowledge of this dreamless state at that time. It can be said that the entirety of the intelligence, memory, thought, and the knowledge of the ego, are the instrument of the internal organ (*antaḥkaraṇ-yantra*). And the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, skin, and so on are called the instrument of the sense-capacities of knowledge (*jñānendriya-yantra*). When knowledge is situated in the instrument of the internal organ and remains to think concentratedly, then the instrument of the sense-capacities of knowledge, despite being in the knowledge of external substance [i.e., cognizing the outside world], does not receive expression, or {10} the nature of its expression becomes diminished. When it [knowledge], is attached concentratedly to the external world by means of the instrument of the sense-capacities of knowledge, then the actions of the instrument of the internal organ are not expressed, or rather its power of action (*kriyā-śakti*) becomes diminished. Knowledge, therefore, becomes contracted and expanded as it is kept controlled or bound amid the internal organ of knowledge and the external sense-capacities of knowledge. If one performs an action again and again, in [re-]birth there is an impression (*saṃskār*) born through practice, and the contraction and expansion of this impression very often arise in the paths of the memory. On account of this matter a multitude of substances and actions receive their expression in the form of thought and of knowledge. Knowledge, therefore, is controlled in an instrument that is of the nature of knowledge. Knowledge can be said to be a substance since it contracts and expands upon being controlled. Without the indwelling of gnosis, the instruments of the sense-capacities of knowledge can not make manifest the external world. Knowledge, however, expresses both the sense-capacities of action such as hearing (*śrabāṇ*), touching (*sparśan*) and so on, as well as their expanded inherent nature and substances in the world (*jagat padārtha*) of sound, touch, form, taste, and smell, even without assistance from the instrument of the sense-faculties. If a substance in the world becomes a sense-object (*biṣay*, < Skt. *viṣaya*) of sight, it’s “as if I am seeing,” that is, both the existence of the action of seeing and the substance of that which is seen are expressed. If it is a sense-object of hearing, then it’s “as if I am hearing,” that is, the existence of the action of hearing and the sound are both expressed in knowledge. If knowledge focuses in this place on the action of hearing then the existence of seeing is not expressed, and it is this way with regard to the existence of the other sense-capacities of action.¹¹¹⁹ Consequently, knowledge is controlled by the instrument of the sense-capacities. If both the existence of an action (*kriyā*) and the expanded {11} sense-object of action, namely that which is done (*karma*), are expressed, it

¹¹¹⁹ [Footnote from original text:] This is assuming here that if knowledge is thoroughly focused singularly on any sense-object (*biṣay*) then there is no perception of a change in the sense-object. The degree of a change in the perception of the sense-object is in proportion to the degree of singular focus.

becomes necessary, according to the laws of nature, for the existence of an actor (*kartṛ*) to be expressed in this action that is expressed. Both “expressers” in this express their knowledge in the form of their own agent. At this point the two powers (*dui śakti*) of restrained knowledge are expressed—to express and to be its own expression. Even if there were no combination of external causes for all these feelings of passion, aversion, fear, shyness, grief, fascination, happiness, sadness, devotion, bliss, and love, knowledge is still expressed, and all these feelings are not expressed at the same time. Consequently, the arising of the internal organ occurs as it is directed by all these feelings and qualities. The qualities (*guṇ*) are of three types: “goodness” (*sattva*), “activity” (*rajas*), and “dullness” (*tamas*). An internal feeling arises according to the strength of a given quality. Knowledge is controlled by means of these three qualities. The influence of both qualities and powers, therefore, is observed in knowledge. All these qualities and powers arise naturally in the instrument of the body. Differences in the many qualities and powers can be seen according to the nature of a given body-instrument. If the instrument of the body is restrained by means of all these naturally-arising qualities and powers then knowledge, being restrained and compressed, is expressed in the existence of an ego (*ahambhāb*). When it is restrained by means of various kinds of the different naturally-arising qualities and powers of each body-instrument, then only is the existence of an ego expressed in each body in different forms. Differences in substance besides the body, or the existence of an “other,” as well as the existence of a self (*ātmabhāb*), are also born in the body. For this reason it can be determined that no distinct substance is signified in saying “I” (*āmi*). Even this is only a feeling (*bhāb*, < Skt. *bhāva*).¹¹²⁰ Knowledge, if it becomes restrained {12} in the body-instrument by means of the qualities and powers, expresses this feeling, the state of which is also altered by knowledge. The qualities and powers, therefore, are themselves distinguished knowledge that resides in the body, and are what those who know the principles have described as the “animate soul” (*jīb*, < Skt. *jīva*) or “self” (*ātmā*). This knowledge is the actual ego (*ahaṃ*) or “I” (*āmi*).

The Yoga of Meditation (*dhyānyog*)—It was previously concluded that the world-substance or body of the individual are only the expressed distortions (*bikār*) of the qualities and powers. That which we see is entirely distorted existence. The natural state or existence of the world cannot be known if there is no pause to the qualities and powers. The means of knowing is knowledge (*jñāna*).¹¹²¹ Even though this knowledge becomes its own expression and the another’s expresser, it is restrained in this way by the qualities and powers, and that [knowledge], assuming the distorted shapes that consist of the qualities and powers of the external world, continuously abides. Even though this knowledge becomes its own expression and the another’s expresser, it is restrained in this way by the qualities and powers, and that [knowledge], assuming the distorted shapes that consist of the qualities and powers of the external world, abides without ceasing. Any abandonment of the forms of the universe can never be located in the aforementioned existence of [knowledge’s] own self-expression. Without knowledge as a link, the sense-capacities of knowledge such as seeing,

¹¹²⁰ [“Feeling” here translates *bhāb* (< Skt. *bhāva*), an extremely important and connotative word in Bengali which also has semantic range of “being,” “presence,” or “state” (though somewhat distinct and more deeply emotional than the more common word for state, *abasthā* < Skt. *avasthā*). Ambikacharan elsewhere uses *bhāb* in which the context is more clearly “existence” or “nature.”]

¹¹²¹ [As indicated above *jñāna* can mean both ordinary knowledge and a kind of spiritual gnosis of reality (or, more properly, un-reality) that is only realized through yogic meditation. Ambikacharan is playing with both meanings of the word simultaneously throughout this prologue.]

hearing, and so on are not capable of expressing their own sense-objects. However, knowledge is capable of expression within itself even without the link of all the sense-objects that are taken in by the senses and the sense capacities. The power of expressing the sense-objects that are taken in by the sense-capacities is latent in knowledge itself. This is despite the fact that this type of power cannot express internal sense-objects or states (*abasthā*, < Skt. *avasthā*). Even if they [i.e., the sense-capacities] remain restrained in the body's interior in this way by means of these qualities and powers, they are not able, even temporarily, to remain internally stable after leaving behind thoughts of the world. They are therefore also incapable of expressing internal, actual existence.

Knowledge, after taking in sound, touch, form, taste, and smell, becomes yet acquainted with the entire substance of the world. With regard to this substance, knowledge is {13} nothing more than these five [sense-capacities]. The sense-objects that are taken in by these five sense-capacities are built by the qualities and powers. Knowledge is also restrained by its own quality and power, and the sense object itself that is composed by a quality and power remains after being taken in. If there is a pause in the [activity of] the qualities and powers, the actual existence of the substance that is expressed will not be capable of holding on to knowledge that is distinct from the qualities and powers. Knowledge that is of [the nature of] a state that is joined with the qualities and powers cannot be made to perceive the actual existence of the substance (*drabya*) that is conditioned (*abasthāpanna*),¹¹²² [an existence] which belongs to the cessation of the qualities and powers. The way in which [Isaac] Newton's mind became saturated in thinking or that way in which it, becoming rich [in thought], forgot about food and so on as well as the matters of this world, can never be perceived by the mind of a thoughtless person who is greedy for food and who aspires only to enjoyment. Experiencing this existence or state is only possible in this kind of thinking that is conditioned. The substance, existence, or state that is not expressed in the cessation of the qualities and powers is accordingly not able to be expressed by means of knowledge joined to these qualities and powers. If this is to be known then it is necessary for knowledge to also be devoid of its qualities and powers. The power of knowledge is "thought" (*cintā*). The turnings of thought (*citta-bṛtti*, < Skt. *cittavṛtti*) is called thinking (*cintā*). "Thinking" is a special state of knowledge. If "thinking," therefore, or the turnings of thought, are able to be completely removed, then knowledge also becomes deprived of its power. The knowers of the principles call the removal of this turning of thinking or turning of thought "yoga." "Yoga is said to be free from thinking, or the abandonment of all thinking."¹¹²³ [Also] within this book: "Yoga is the cessation of the turnings of thought."¹¹²⁴ Previously it was said that the feelings of the internal organ (*antaḥkaraṇer bhāb*) such as anger, fascination, happiness, sadness, and so on are the conductor (*paricālak*) of the whole power of knowledge or of

¹¹²² [The term *abasthāpanna* more often connotes "rich," "affluent," "abundant," in this case related to thought. However, it appears to be used more literally in this context (*abasthā* + *panna* adjectival suffix).]

¹¹²³ [This is a Sanskrit verse idiosyncratically rendered in Bengali script: *sarva cintā parityāgānniścinto yoga ucyate*. A double consonant is added after a muted *r* according to traditional orthography (e.g. *sarvva* for *sarva*), which I have mostly omitted from my transliterations here.]

¹¹²⁴ [This is also a Bengali rendering of Sanskrit: *yogaścitta-vṛtti nirodhaḥ*. This is a famous verse from the second verse of the first *pāda* (*samādhipāda*) of the Pātañjalayogaśāstra; see Patañjali und Philipp André Maas, *Samādhipāda: das erste Kapitel des Pātañjalayogaśāstra zum ersten Mal kritisch ediert*, Geisteskultur Indiens Texte und Studien 9 (Aachen: Shaker, 2006), 4–7 for a critical edition of the Sanskrit text and commentary; and David Gordon White, *The Yoga Sutra of Patanjali: A Biography*, Lives of Great Religious Books (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 10–15 for the various ways this verse has been interpreted and translated.]

thinking, and the conductor of the entirety of feelings is the qualities (*guṇ*). In the practice of some of the yogic auxiliaries such as tranquility (*śam*), self-control (*dam*), quietism (*uparati*), patience (*titikṣā*), composure (*samādhān*) {14} the feelings of the internal organ become entirely withdrawn. If the feelings are entirely withdrawn, like what happens with practice, the influence of the qualities can also become withdrawn. The royal yoga (*rājayog*) has the inherent nature of the art of becoming free from the influence of the qualities and powers, and the necessary yogic auxiliaries are especially described in this book. The ultimate fruit of this practice of yoga is composure (*samādhi*). If one becomes accustomed to yoga, knowledge becomes formed in the shape of that substance, state, and being which consists of only consciousness (*cetan*) while in the state of a complete break from the qualities and powers. This itself is the “nothing” (*śūnya*) of the Buddhists. To the materialists (*jaḍ-śakti bādi*) this is the state of substance (*drabya*) and energy (*śakti*) becoming united. It is said, among the yogis who are those who know the principles, that the supreme self (*paramātmā*) is established beyond this restrained knowledge and intelligence. This knowledge, at that time, would be no longer restrained within the body and by the presence of the ego. This internal and external unceasing expression-in-itself of the limitless universal substance becomes pervaded in existence. This state cannot be experienced while remaining in a kind of state in which the individual is joined to the presence of an ego. This is the ultimate limit of the highest knowledge and intelligence of the human instrument. If one attains to this limit then nothing within the universe remains unknown. I call those noble rishis, they who are said to have reached this ultimate limit of knowledge, “free of confusion” (*abhrānta*). If human beings (*mānab*, < Skt. *mānava*), nature’s highest creation, attain to this limit, the name “human” has obtained its object—if this is acquired then the entirety of duty (*dharma*), wealth (*artha*), desire (*kām*), and release (*mokṣa*) will also be obtained.¹¹²⁵

“When one sees him—both the high and the low; The knot of one’s heart is cut, all doubts are dispelled; and his works come to an end.”¹¹²⁶

{15}

“[that supernal bliss] having gained, other gain
He counts none higher than it;
In which established, by no misery,
However grievous, is he moved.”¹¹²⁷

The yoga of devotion (*bhaktiyog*)—Now the subject of the yoga of devotion and its importance will be considered. It can be said that the human body or human instrument is an imitation of the cosmic body (*birāt-deha*) or cosmic instrument (*birāt-yantra*). Earlier it was

¹¹²⁵ [This is an implicit reference to the *Manusmṛti*, part of the Dharmasāstras that prescribe the secular and religious aims and ends of humankind. The pun is on the word Manu; the adjective *mānab* (Skt. *mānava*) refers to a descendent of Manu, the legendary lawgiver and prototypical human.]

¹¹²⁶ [*bhidyate hṛdaya granthi śchindyante* [for *chidyante*] *sarva saṁśayāḥ / kṣīyante cāsya karmāṇi tasmin dṛṣṭe parāvare*. This is a quote from the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* 2.2.8 (translation Patrick Olivelle); see Patrick Olivelle, *The Early Upaniṣads* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 446–47.]

¹¹²⁷ [*yaṁ labdhācāparam lābhaṁ manyatenādhiḥkamaṁ tataḥ / yasmin sthitona duḥkhena guruṇāpi vicālyate*. This is a quote from the *Bhagavadgītā* 6.22 (translation Franklin Edgerton); see Franklin Edgerton, *The Bhagavad Gītā* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 64–5.]

ascertained how the actions of the human body are performed in the course (*praṇālī*) of action, and by means of the qualities and powers, in the same way that the actions of the cosmic body are performed in the course of action and by means of all the qualities and powers. If one can understand the nature of one, therefore, the nature of the other can be understood. Just as the pervasive principle of Brahman (*brahma-tattva*) that is indivisible in limitless space is vast in comparison to the cosmic body, so the human body could be said to perceive little in proportion to the cosmic body, although understanding the power of perceiving this comparison is not able to be expressed clearly. The knowledge that presides over the cosmic instrument has been called the “Lord” (*īśvar*), the “cosmic self” (*birāt-ātmā*), the “golden egg [of Brahman]” (*hiranya-garbha*), or the “cosmic person” (*birāt puruṣ*) in the scriptures and philosophies of the noble ones, just like how the knowledge that presides over the human instrument in this body has been called the “animate soul” (*jīb*, < Skt. *jīva*), the “ego” (*ahaṃ*) or the “self” (*ātmā*). The knowledge that presides over the human instrument in the state of waking (*jagradabasthā*), having expanded itself throughout all the body under the influence of natural power, expresses the body with consciousness up to the tip of the fingernails. In this state of the cosmos waking up, that is, at the time of the expression of creation (*śṛṣṭi prakāś kāl*), the knowledge that presides over the cosmos, under the influence of its own natural power, expresses the body of the cosmos with consciousness. Just as all power of action {16} remains effortlessly absorbed in its own nature while the human body sleeps (although the gross body, as it is subordinate to the rules of the external universe, is not thoroughly absorbed), so in this way does the entirety of the power of action in the cosmic person’s state of sleep (*nidrābasthā*) remain absorbed in its own nature.¹¹²⁸ If the power of action’s entire nature is aroused in the waking state of the cosmic person who consists of gnosis, then this creation is revealed. Also, if the power of action in the sleeping state is entirely and effortlessly absorbed in nature then this creation also is absorbed in this nature. Previously it was said that power has two kinds of ways, “activity” and “cessation.” Modern scientists (*ādhunik baijñānikerā*) continue to call this *saṃkoc* and *prasāraṇ* (contraction and expansion).

At the time of deep sleep (*susuptikāl*) the individual consciousness (*jīb-cetan*) remains effortlessly restrained in the body-instrument. At the onset of the state of waking

¹¹²⁸ [Footnote from original text:] In a few verses of the Bhagavadgītā (8.20–22) as written below this condition has been clearly expressed, such as follows:

“From the unmanifest all manifestations
 Come forth at the coming of (Brahman’s) day,
 And dissolve at the coming of night,
 In that same one, known as the unmanifest.
 This very same host of beings,
 Coming into existence over and over, is dissolved
 At the approach of night, willy-nilly, son of Pṛthā,
 And comes forth at the approach of day.
 But higher than that is another state of being.
 Unmanifest, (higher) than (that) unmanifest, eternal,
 Which then all beings
 Perish, perishes not.”

[English translation from Franklin Edgerton, *The Bhagavad Gītā*, 84–5; 8.18–20 in that edition. Transliteration from BRY: *avyaktādvyaṅkayāḥ sarvāḥ prabhavantyaharāgame / rātryāgame pralīyante tatraivāvyaṅkayā saṃjñāke // bhūtagrāmaḥ sa evā ‘yaṃ bhūtvā bhūtvā pralīyate / rātryāgame ‘vaśaḥ pārtha prabhavatyaharāgame // parastasmāttu bhāvo ‘nyo ‘vyakto ‘vyaktāt sanātanaḥ / yaḥ sa sarveṣu bhūteṣu naśyatsu na binaśyati.]*

(*jāgradabasthā*) this consciousness, becoming regulated, is indistinctly converted in the existence of an ego (*ahambhāb*). As soon as the knowledge of the ego is effortlessly expressed in the consciousness, the power of memory arises within it. Knowledge, becoming radiant as the memory arises, continues to expand in order to express the shapes of all the things included in the domain of the memory. {17} In this way the knowledge that is expanded by the memory is expressed internally by the *sthānrūp* (Conception of Space). The uninterrupted current of this power of expansion is called and perceived to be *kāl* (Conception of time).¹¹²⁹ This is because time is an object of experience, and the perceiver of time is action itself. If recollected things are expressed, then desire arises with knowledge. With desire is an orientation towards action, the motion of which is called the “will” (*icchā*).¹¹³⁰ This body-instrument’s action is entirely performed by means of the power of knowledge’s motion as a form of will. In this way the restrained consciousness of the Lord in the cosmic instrument is the state of sleeping (*susupti*), that is, it effortlessly remains in dissolution (*pralaya*). If the cosmic instrument of nature is aroused upon breaking this sleep, then the cosmic consciousness, becoming concentrated, expresses the knowledge of an ego (*aham*). As soon as the ego-knowledge is expressed in the instrument of nature, the memory of she who has the form of the world’s germ (*jagater aṅkur-rūpinī*) arises in that womb which has the form of ego-knowledge. Knowledge naturally becomes radiant as the memory arises. Since those things included within the domain of the [cosmic] memory expresses the entirety of shapes, this knowledge expands into the shape of a circle (*maṅḍalākār*). This knowledge that has expanded into the shape of a circle is expressed in the cosmic body or the {18} external creation in the form of a vacuum (*abakāś*) (Space). As she who has the form of memory becomes the uninterrupted motion or current of this power of expansion, *kāl* (Time) is expressed.¹¹³¹ As soon as the germ of the world is expressed in the womb of the memory, then desire (*bāsanā*),¹¹³² volition (*saṅkalpa*), or longing (*ākāṅkṣār*) arises. If the power of desire is stimulated then the motion gives rise to what is called “will” (*icchā*). Under the influence of this volition or desire, billions of types of powers in the shape of the will (*koṭi koṭi icchā-rūpinī śakti*), having manifested, function as the entirety of this universe’s phenomena, all amid this *abakāś* (Space) of that body which has the form of the universe by means of the actions of creation, maintenance, upholding, the processes of

¹¹²⁹ [Footnote from original text:] In this connection the respectable MR. Kant’s perception is that it arises . . . in existence. He says that Time and space are “a priori laws or conditions of the conscious mind.” MR. Spencer says, “Our conception of space (and time) are produced by some mode of the unknowable; complete unchangeableness of our conception of it, simply implies a complete uniformity in the effect, wrought by this mode of the unknowable upon us.” [The first quote refers to a theory of mind developed by Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), for which see Andrew Brook, Julian Wuerth, and Edward N. Zalta, “Kant’s View of the Mind and Consciousness of Self,” in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Winter 2020 Edition)*, 2020, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2020/entries/kant-mind/>. The second quote, by Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), is taken from Herbert Spencer, *First Principles* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1862), 231.

¹¹³⁰ [The term *icchā* can also be translated “wish,” “desire,” but in this context seems to denote a more intentional motion towards action that the idea of “will” seems to be a more accurate expression for.]

¹¹³¹ [footnote from original text:] All we can assert is that Space (and Time) are relative realities; that our consciousness of this unchanging relative realities implies absolute realities equally unchanging in so far as we are concerned, and that the relative realities may be unhesitatingly accepted in thought as a valid basis for our reasonings. &c. &c. &c.

¹¹³² [The semantic range of *bāsanā* is broader than erotic “desire” (*kām*). In the songs of Ambikacharan’s contemporary Lālan Fakir and among contemporary Bāul Fakirs, the term more often connotes what in English would be called the “heart’s desire” or “heartfelt purpose” (e.g. *maner bāsanā*).]

change (*paribarttita karaṇ*), and so on. All these powers are what have been described in the scriptures of the nobles as local gods (*debatā*, < Skt. *devatā*). Only the yogis who know the principles are capable to understand how 1) all those states and powers of action that are expressed in individual consciousness (*jīb-cetan*) from the human instrument's state of sleeping to when it reaches the state of waking, and 2) all those states and powers of action that are expressed in the cosmic consciousness (*birāt-cetan*) from the time it sleeps up to its state of awakening, namely the expression of creation, both unite, and this itself is the cosmic person that has been given the name "Lord" (*īśvar*) in the Vedas. They [the yogis], for the welfare of the world, even turned to the form of scripture, mantras, and sacrifices {19} to carry out the stimulation of all the powers. This [Lord] is, therefore, both the world's and the individual's father (*pitā*), mother (*mātā*), god (*dhātā*), master (*bhartā*), motion (*gati*), and seed (*bīj*).¹¹³³

If one thoroughly investigates the nature of the cosmos and takes a look, it would be clearly understood through any special book or verses [on the topic] that, when it comes to the progenitor and progeny, both are related. The instrument of the progenitor (*janak-yantra*) is directed to be the instrument of the progeny (*janyayantra*) out of longing, or the existence of non-existence. If the instrument of the progenitor is wavered by this [longing] then the instrument of the progeny is directed to be an instrument for the sake of whatever is necessary for this progenitor's non-existence and release. The individual instrument (*jīb-yantra*) and the cosmic instrument (*birāt-yantra*) and their presiding individual consciousness (*jīb-cetan*) and divine consciousness (*īśvar-cetan*) are also tied together by a link, and this they call "devotion" (*bhakti*). The way that the cosmic instrument and the restrained divine consciousness in the individual are related through a link is called "favor" (*anugraha*) or "affection" (*sneha*). Devotion is a special activity or motion of feeling in the human instrument of restrained knowledge or consciousness. If the velocity (*beg*, < Skt. *vega*) of motion is not resisted then it remains expanded amid limitless space. If the velocity of devotion is also not resisted in this way then this [velocity], having split the nature-instrument of the cosmos, destabilizes the instrument's presiding divine consciousness. If the divine consciousness that comprises the instrument of the progenitor is destabilized, then benefits or favor are introduced by means of its nature-instrument in the human instrument or progeny. However, if the divine consciousness is made to become destabilized, then it is also necessary for the velocity of devotion to be so strong {20} that it is not hindered by other velocities produced by the instrument of nature. As all those velocities like greed, fascination, desire, anger, passion, hatred, affection, and so on that arise in the internal instrument are blocked, only the velocity of devotion will prevail. This velocity, churning the

¹¹³³ [footnote from original text:]

"I am the father of this world,
The mother, the establisher, the grandsire,
The object of knowledge, the purifier, the sacred syllable *om*,
The verse of praise, the chant, and the sacrificial formula;
The goal, supporter, lord, witness,
The dwelling-place, refuge, friend,
The origin, dissolution, and maintenance,
The treasure-house, the imperishable seed."

[English translation from Franklin Edgerton, *The Bhagavad Gītā*, 90–3; 9.17–18 in that edition.

Transliteration from BRY: *pitāhamasya jagato mātā dhātā pitāmahaḥ / vedyaṃ pavitra moṅkāra ṛk sāmā yajurevaca // gati vartā prabhuḥ sāksī nivāsaḥ śaraṇaṃ suhṛt / prabhavaḥ pralayaḥ sthānaṃ nidhānaṃ bīja mavayayaṃ iti śrīmadbhagavadgītā 9 aḥ.]*

entirety of the nature-instrument, can even destabilize the presiding divine consciousness of nature. Regardless of how many kinds of velocities of power there are, it is necessary for them all to flow in this single channel (*praṇālī*) of devotion. Whatever you envision, whatever you hear, whatever you reflect on—this is all the glory of the limitless deity with its cosmic form (*birāṭrūpī anantadeber mahimā*). The inherent nature of the glory of this cosmic deity’s limitless power will only be revealed when the world no longer remains as this world. If one becomes internally fascinated by surprise and enchanted by bliss from the sight of this unfathomable power’s limitless glory, the world as the identity of name and form (*nām rūpātmak jagat*) becomes forgotten, and you also can forget yourself. In the velocity of surprise and bliss the heart, overflowing, the stream of love (*premdhārā*) tenderly melts away before the eyes. If the heart is overwhelmed under the influence of all this devotion, love, surprise and bliss, then the thought of the world along with its limitless desire melts away from your heart just as you do. If the thought (*citta*) becomes one-pointed in meditation (*dhyān*) on this glory and the other reflections, then there is a cessation (*nibṛtti*) of the influence of the qualities and powers within. Then also knowledge, becoming situated within this one-pointedness of thought, can become fashioned as in the cosmic shape of the cosmic deity that pervades the unbroken circle (*akhaṇḍa-maṇḍal-byāpī*) and whose form is limitless (*anantarūpī*). In other words, that which has a cosmic form becomes composed (*samāhita*) in the limitless self (*ātmā*). For this reason, “Yoga is the cessation of the turnings of thought” (*yogaścitta vṛtti nirodhaḥ*) {21} has been mentioned in Patañjali’s philosophy, and then afterwards its alternative is indicated in the verse about “inner longing for the Lord” (*īśvara praṇidhānādvā*).¹¹³⁴ That is to say that the thought (*citta*), by means of the kind of yoga that is the cessation of the turnings of thought, becomes composed in that self which consists of inner knowledge. If the thought becomes deposited (*praṇihita*, past participle of *praṇidhāna*) in the Lord, then the thought becomes composed in that self which consists of the knowledge of the cosmos. Yet when the work (*kārya*) of one, namely the inner, has commenced, afterwards there is an equilibrium (*sāmyabhāb*) of external and internal knowledge. When the work of the other, the external, has commenced, then afterwards one will, either gradually or in another life, receive an equilibrium of internal and external knowledge. The equilibrium of knowledge is the release (*mocan*) of the restrained state of knowledge. The restrained state of knowledge is the binding of the world of the individual whose nature is gnosis. The release of this binding is liberation (*mukti*). The ultimate fruit of sincere devotion is the knowledge of the principles. That knowledge of the principles which is not beyond the range of sight (*aparokṣa*) is liberation (*mokṣa*).

The Yoga of Action (*karmayog*)—The kind of devotional yoga in connection with the cosmic person or Lord has been especially described in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of that Upaniṣadic scripture called the *Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā*,¹¹³⁵ where it is Sri

¹¹³⁴ This is a Bengali rendering of Sanskrit: *īśvarapraṇidhānād vā*. This is from the twenty-third verse of the first *pāda* (*samādhipāda*) of the Pātañjalayogaśāstra; see Patañjali und Philipp André Maas, *Samādhipāda*, 34–5. The term *praṇidhāna* can also mean “abstract contemplation” or “great effort” (here for *īśvara*), but I have here favored the mention of *abhidhyāna* in the commentary attributed to Vyāsa (which may be Patañjali himself) which refers to a kind of meditative or inner longing.

¹¹³⁵ [The *Bhagavadgītā* is technically not an Upaniṣad, but here is probably referred to as one on account of its religious and philosophical importance, or perceived resemblance thereto. The *Bhagavadgītā* forms part of the *Mahābhārata* epic, although scholars do continue to debate whether it was composed contemporaneously with the rest of the epic or added later.]

Krishna (Śrī Kṛṣṇa), the knower of the principles, the great Lord of Yoga, who is called the Lord. Different types of devotion and methods of ritual worship (*upāsana*) have been prescribed in the Vedas and Tantric scriptures (*tantrasāstra*) for those whose natures are not capable of concentrating on Narayana (Nārāyaṇ).¹¹³⁶ The yogis who are the knowers of the principles, in thoroughly discussing the nature of this human instrument or cosmic instrument in the perspective of science (*bijñān*), have prescribed all these methods. Their opinions are said to be harmonious with science and therefore they can be called free from confusion. The conduct, behavior, and so on that they have ascertained as well as their methods for society are also conducive to scientific duties (*baijñānik dharma*).

To have devotion in the Lord is to be an initiator of actions based on belief. If one performs any action {22} again and again, it can be called practice (*abhyās*). Impressions (*saṃskār*) arise internally by means of practice. The glow (*prabhā*) or self-nature (*svabhāb*) of these impressions becomes changed. If there is a change of self-nature, then one must accept that there also be a change of state for the one who introduces the self-nature within and for the instrument of nature (*prakṛti-yantra*). If one does a single action again and again and the instrument of nature becomes changed, then one still must accept that each time there is a slight change in [one's] mental state (*bhābāntar*). It is certainly to be admitted that the instrument of nature is identified in one way or another, therefore, by means of each of our actions. The fruit of our good and bad actions, therefore, are constantly accumulated in the internal instrument of nature. Having investigated this external and internal instrument of nature, these noble rishis who possessed the eyesight of gnosis prescribed conduct, behavior, and so on for the different occupations of human society, which are all different kinds of the yoga of action. All these instructions and sayings are what is called scripture (*śāstra*), the above observances of which the society of noble ones has lovingly continued since time immemorial.

Now we will thoroughly discuss the extent to which the opinions of the modern Western theoretical pandits (*ādhunik pāścātya tattvabīśārad paṇḍitgaṇ*) are in union with the opinion of the noble ones. H. Spencer says that religion (*dharma*) and science (*bijñān*) should remain consistent with each other. When science surpasses [its limits], religion can no longer remain. His opinion on this subject is like this: “Thus the consciousness of an inscrutable power manifested to us through all phenomena, has been {23} growing ever clearer; and must eventually be freed from its imperfections. The certainty that on the one hand such a power exists, while on the other hand its nature transcends intuition and is beyond imagination, is the certainty towards which intelligence has from the first been progressing. At this conclusion science inevitably arrives as it reaches its confines; while to this conclusion Religion is irresistibly driven by criticism.”¹¹³⁷ The meaning being expressed by this saying is that the inconceivable power that expresses the world is unexplainable and, since it is determined that it is unexplainable, both religion (*dharma*) and science (*bijñān*) are

¹¹³⁶ [Nārāyaṇa refers to Viṣṇu, and Kṛṣṇa is of course an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. It is notable how Ambikacharan weaves Bengali Vaiṣṇava themes into Sabhapati's predominantly Śaiva text. Sabhapati also incorporated Vaiṣṇava symbolism, worship, and mantras in CPSPS, CTCSPV, RYB, and MCVTS, although from a predominantly Tamil Vaiṣṇava perspective.]

¹¹³⁷ [This quote is in Spencer, *First Principles*, 108.]

to be enacted. Later, in another place, he says, “Is it not just possible that there is a mode of Being transcending Intelligence and will, as these transcend mechanical motion? It is true that we are totally unable to conceive any such higher mode of being, but this is not a reason for questioning its existence, it is rather the reverse. Have we not seen how utterly incompetent our minds are to form even an approach to a conception of that which underlies all phenomena? Is it not proved that this incompetency is the incompetency of the conditioned to grasp the unconditioned?”¹¹³⁸ Here the meaning being expressed is that the essence which is beyond the intellect, and which is the constituent-matter (*upādāna*) of the world-substance distinguished by name and form, {24} is beyond all states; therefore our (restrained) state of knowledge-power (*jñānśakti*) is unable to grasp it.

Mr. Mansel states this in the following way, in relation to the determination of the inherent nature of this constituent-matter of the world and the inherent nature of the eternal substance, which is beyond all states: “The absolute and infinite are thus like the inconceivable and imperceptible, names indicating, not an object of thought or consciousness at all, but mere absence of the conditions under which consciousness is possible.”¹¹³⁹ Here the meaning being expressed is that the names “absolute” (*svayaṃ pūrṇa*)¹¹⁴⁰ and “infinite” (*ananta*) [indicate] that which is beyond knowledge or thought. If conditioned by states or conditioned by existence, the action of the power of knowledge is merely the absence of a state or of existence.

Mr. Spencer says, “our consciousness, of the unconditioned, being literally the unconditioned consciousness, or raw material of thought, to which in thinking we give definite forms, it follows that an ever present sense of real existence is the very basis of our intelligence.”¹¹⁴¹

The meaning of this is that knowledge, if it is devoid of all existence and that which is conditioned by states, can be called the knowledge of the essence (*bastu*) that is beyond existence. Secondly, in this place the meaning of the word “consciousness” has been rendered in such a way to mean knowledge-in-itself (*svayaṃ-jñān*) or the constituent-matter of thought (*cintār upādān*), that is, that which we develop into special forms at the time of thinking. {25} By this it is ascertained that the perception (*anubhūti*) of the power of knowledge’s actual being (*sattā*) is constantly present internally.

It was already demonstrated how the celebrated Spencer says that “to which in thinking we give definite forms,”¹¹⁴² that is, at the time of thinking we grant distinct shapes to it (knowledge). The word “we” signifies the existence of the state of an ego (*ahaṃ bhāb*). If what was said earlier is acknowledged about the state of the ego being the conductor (*paricālak*) of knowledge, then it must be acknowledged that it [i.e., the state of the ego] must be something that consists of a being that is different than knowledge. However, Mr. Spencer and Mr. Mansel and many others acknowledge in unison that knowledge has a distinct state or existence because the state of the ego is expressed within knowledge. What

¹¹³⁸ [This quote is in Spencer, *First Principles*, 109.]

¹¹³⁹ [This quote, attributed to Henry Longueville Mansel (1820–1871), was referenced in Spencer, *First Principles*, 87, which is likely where Ambikacharan read it. It was published in Henry Longueville Mansel, *The Limits of Religious Thought Examined in Eight Lectures, Preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year M.DCCC.LVIII*, Fourth Edition (London: John Murray, 1859), 63 (in Lecture III).]

¹¹⁴⁰ [*svayaṃ pūrṇa* can also be translated as “complete-in-itself.”]

¹¹⁴¹ [This quote is in Spencer, *First Principles*, 96.]

¹¹⁴² [This quote is also in Spencer, *First Principles*, 96.]

has been said above is inconsistent [with their ideas] as a result.¹¹⁴³ They say this only on account of the absence of stability in perception.

Sir W.M. Hamilton says, “The absolute is conceived by a negation of conceivability,”¹¹⁴⁴ which is to say that the essence (*bastu*) which is constantly absolute is perceived by means of experiencing the absolute non-existence of this essence.

In their engagement in thinking about internal, real existence, the modern Western pandits (*paṇḍitgaṇ*) who are investigators into the principles of the self (*ātmatattvānusandhyāyī*) are not able to experience some things clearly. For this reason the respectable Mr. Spencer and Mr. Mansel have supported and stated the following opinion: “clearly a true cognition of self implies a state in which the knowing and known are one, in which subject {26} and object are identified; and this Mr. Mansel rightly holds to be the annihilation of both.

So that the personality of which each is conscious, and of which the existence is to each a fact beyond all others the most certain, is yet a thing which cannot truly be known at all; knowledge of it is forbidden by the very nature of thought.”¹¹⁴⁵

That which they have said is certainly factual, but they have not been able to reach the highest conclusions on account of a fault of perception (*anubhūtir doṣ*). The above statement means that the real knowledge of the self, as an understanding of that state of knowledge, is expressed in such a way in which the knower and the known are one in essence (*ekībhūit*), and in which the one who proves and that which is proven are the same substance (*padārtha*). Mr. Mansel considers that state which is real to be the state of destroying the existence of both [subject and object]. In this place Mr. Spencer and Mr. Mansel have actually both spoken in agreement with the noble knowers of the principles, in that, if the self is to be known, then the existence of both knowledge and the knower and the proof and the prover is destroyed. However, Mr. Mansel has not said anything in relation to whether something remains or not in the destruction of the existence of both. Also, Mr. Spencer has concluded further on that the real knowledge of the self cannot be obtained, and that it is not possible to obtain a kind of knowledge as to the nature of the movements of thought.

It can be known from an evaluation of all the aforementioned opinions that they all, whether clearly or in broken speech, acknowledge that if the movements of thought are absent, {27} then whatever inconceivable existence remains is in knowledge. Also, many of them have here and there acknowledged in places that the knowledge of the actual essence which is absolute and distinguished by eternal being is this inconceivable existence itself. However, since they have not been capable of clearly concentrating (*dhāraṇā*), their opinions are only concluded based on doubt or argument.

¹¹⁴³ [This passage presents some ambiguity in translation. What Ambikacharan appears to be saying is that both he and Western scientists agree that knowledge can be distinguished from the state of the ego, but that the difference is *how* it is distinct; Ambikacharan views the ego as the conductor (*paricālak*) of knowledge and therefore separate, while (in his view) Spencer and Mansel would see the state of the ego as separate on account of its emergence concurrently within the thought-processes of knowledge itself.]

¹¹⁴⁴ [This quote, attributed to Sir William Hamilton (1788–1856), was referenced in Spencer, *First Principles*, 75, 87, and 91–2, which is also likely where Ambikacharan read it. The ideas are found expressed in his “Refutation of the Various Doctrines of the Unconditioned, Especially of Cousin’s Doctrine of the Infinito-Absolute,” first published in the *Edinburg Review* for October, 1829; see O.W. Wight, *Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, Bart*, Third Edition (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1855), 441–83.

¹¹⁴⁵ [This quote is in Spencer, *First Principles*, 65–6.]

Many Western pandits have determined that knowledge is a distinct substance (*drabya*). Also, it has been demonstrated previously in the section on the knowledge of the principles (*tattvajñān*), in the place on the analysis of the state of the ego, that knowledge, a distinct substance, is regulated by means of a power pertaining to one's nature (*prakṛti-gata*). By means of power itself, the knowledge of the three states is expressed: the prover, that which is proven, and proof; or the knower, that which is known, and knowledge; or the actor, that which is enacted, and action. "Proof" can be called that by which the prover is expressed in the prover's inherent nature in connection to what is proven; and that by which that which is proven is expressed in the inherent nature of that which is proven in connection to the one who proves. In other words, it is not only the existence of both the knower and that which is known that is expressed through knowledge. The connecting thread, by which are connected the knower and that which is known, is also a connecting thread that consists of a form of an action as expressed in knowledge, such as when the essence of that which is known becomes a sense-object of sight. If this happens then knowledge, having concentrated on the existence of the act of seeing, expresses the essence of that which is known in connection with the knower. If the sense-object is one of hearing then knowledge, having concentrated on the existence of the act of hearing, also expresses the essence of that which is known. Previously it was demonstrated that the power of knowledge is one of both expressing and being expressed. If the existence of the knower and that which is known, that is to say, the existence of the actor and the existence of the action, are withdrawn, {28} and still also the existence of acting and becoming are withdrawn, then only knowledge's perpetual existence of expression (*prakāś-bhāb*) in the qualities of the powers (*śaktir-guṇ*) will remain. The Western pandits have not been capable of concentrating (*dhāraṇā karā*) on this existence. If they were to suddenly give up their aforementioned [inquiry] and become engaged in internally experiencing, under the influence of willpower (*icchā-śakti*), the existence of the prover and that which is proven, then certainly the prover and that which is proven would become devoid of existence. However, they instead focus on the existence of that knowledge which is impelled by means of power, and the velocity of this power does not stop even once.¹¹⁴⁶ The respectable Mr. Spencer in many places mentions what he calls an internal persistence of force. On the one hand, the velocity of this power can be felt internally in oneself on account of its restlessness (*cañcal*), although it cannot be focused into any shape under the influence of willpower.¹¹⁴⁷ On the other hand, if the velocity of power were to cease, then that knowledge which has the shape of an essence (*bastur ākār*) beyond the qualities and powers would have been capable of being concentrated on; however, one has not been capable of concentrating on the shape of that knowledge which is agitated by power (*śakti-bilorita-jñān*). If any type of desire or intention arises in a state like "I will experience," then knowledge emerges as even more restless. That knowledge which is conditioned by restlessness is not able to experience any kind of stable, unmoving existence within you. The perception of this state, therefore, is subject only to unstable uncertainties. If one does not experience this existence internally and see, then the actual form will not be

¹¹⁴⁶ [The overall message that Ambikacharan seems to be communicating is that the Western "pandits" are preoccupied with a focus on analyzing the effects of perpetual motion, which in his view derives from the qualities (*guṇas*), rather than trying to focus on and sort out the distinctions between subject, object, and the action that unites subject and object—the latter is the work of yoga as informed by willpower (*icchā-śakti*).]

¹¹⁴⁷ [It would have been interesting to know how Ambikacharan would have responded to modern occultists (see Chapter Seven) who unlike the "Western pandits" could be said to have tried to focus something very similar to if not identical with the "velocity of this power . . . under the influence of willpower."]

concentrated on. The regulated state of knowledge is the binding of the individual (*jīber bandhan*). If one is able to even once stop the velocity of power, and release {29} knowledge from this restrained state, then that existence which is free from impurity (*nirmal*), unmoving (*niścal*), and perpetual (*nitya*) will yet emerge in knowledge.¹¹⁴⁸ The Western pandits have mentioned their method (*upāy*) as the negation of thought, that is, the non-existence of the turnings of thought (*cintā byttir abhāb*), and the noble knowers of the principles have also given instruction on this aim as the cessation of the turnings of thought (*cittabytti nirodha*). However, this cannot happen all at once—practice and skill are needed. This skill is yoga, and only the noble ones who know the principles know it.

Hail to you, O God, Lord of the Universe,
Hail to you who consist of the world and who upholds it.
Hail to you, maker of the world and its destroyer,
to you who carry the world’s infinite form.
Is it not strange, O God, that your divine glory
is both the maker of the world and its descent?
Wherever I gaze, I fail to see the boundary of
that infinite, incomparable glory.
Limitless æther that is consciousness alone,
O God in the form of the expanse, eternal Brahman.
You are not the moon nor the sun’s ray,
not the earth, water, nor the wind,
not time and space nor even light,
not darkness nor the world and its beyond,
not vision nor touch,
not smell, taste, nor even hearing.

{30}

Infinite sky that is only consciousness, and
infinite consciousness submerged in consciousness—
O stainless one, O Brahman, all consciousness
is submerged in the meditation of you.
Consciousness in æther, sound in revelation,
you are the great sound in the expanse of science.
Meditation, being broken, is remembered in you,
O Goddess in the form of Power who floats in delight.
You thrill the gods and goddesses by your touch,
and the zodiacal splendor in the expanse of sky.
Your body, full of power and endowed with consciousness,
is the one who in the legends is called Brahma Narayana.¹¹⁴⁹

¹¹⁴⁸ [footnote from original text:] Mr. Spencer has rightfully spoken the following on this aim: “Comprehension must be something other than comprehension before the ultimate fact can be comprehended.” [This quote is in Spencer, *First Principles*, 73.]

¹¹⁴⁹ [Brahma Nārāyaṇa, an epithet of Viṣṇu and likely an allusion to the minor Upaniṣad called the *Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* in which Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa is identified as Brahman.]

You are Ishwara¹¹⁵⁰ of the Vedas and the Prakṛiti of Sāṃkhya,¹¹⁵¹
the primordial Shakti of the Tantras,¹¹⁵² who generates the world.
Goddess in the form of memory who gave birth to time,
you streamed sparkling light in the sky.
Your light pervaded to form an egg,
which Sri Chaitanya announced as the play.¹¹⁵³
Krishna Dwaipayana,¹¹⁵⁴ whose virtue and fame
filled the whole world, sang of this play.
In the midst of this limitless world-instrument,
the form of its power is bound in tens of millions of stars.
It is inside the sun, in the caverns of the earth,
in the depths of the sea, and on the peaks of the mountains.
Just as it was in the limitless sky,
and everyone plays all in the same key.
The lowly, almost going crazy about science,
desire to understand the principles of power.

{31}

Vasishtha had known this,¹¹⁵⁵ as had Markandeya,¹¹⁵⁶

¹¹⁵⁰ [Īśvara, or the “Lord” and supreme principle.]

¹¹⁵¹ [Prakṛiti is the “primordial materiality” in Sāṃkhya from which the lower twenty-three *tattvas* proceed; see Larson, *Classical Sāṃkhya: An Interpretation of its History and Meaning*.]

¹¹⁵² [Śakti is the goddess (Devī) as found in many extant works of Tantric literature, in which she is the power that animates the universe.]

¹¹⁵³ [Śrī Caitanya Mahāprabhu is a ca. 15th-century reformer who is revered in Bengal and elsewhere as an *avatār* of Viṣṇu; see Barbara A. Holdrege, *Bhakti and Embodiment: Fashioning Divine Bodies and Devotional Bodies in Kṛṣṇa Bhakti*, (London: Routledge, 2015); Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Edward Cameron Dimock, and Tony Kevin Stewart, *Caitanya Caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja: A Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). “Play” translates *līlā*, the amorous sport of cosmogonic proportions between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and the *gopīs*.]

¹¹⁵⁴ [Kṛṣṇa Dwaipāyana is another name for Vyāsa, the legendary author of the *Mahābhārata* and a recurring figure in discourses about the Vedas and Purāṇas.]

¹¹⁵⁵ [Vasiṣṭha, one of the legendary seven rishis (*ṛṣis*) of the Vedas. Footnote from original text:]

“. . . a crossing of the sea of ignorance, indeed, unless one obtains the self . . . Oh, Rama! What is called the imperishable abode is not possible . . . Do not reflect on how this [unreal existence] has arisen, Rama! “How do I slay it?”—reflect on that! You will know your home, oh Raghava, as it is worn away and departs. [Stop reflecting] on what it comes from and how it is, and how it is destroyed, it is indivisible.” — *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. [Translation my own based on the original Sanskrit and a dated published version of this text: Vihari Lala Mitra, trans., *The Yoga Vasiṣṭha Mahārāmāyana of Valmiki*, vol. II (Calcutta: Kahinor Press, 1893), 592. These verses correspond to Chapter 41 of the “Treatise on Existence” (*sthiti prakaraṇa*) or Book IV in that edition, but with some gaps in hemistichs. Transliteration from BRY: (30cd) *avidyā saritaḥ pāramātmalābhādṛte kila* / (31ab) *rāma nāsādyate taddhi padamakṣaya mucyate* // (32cd) *kuto jāteya mitite rāmamāstu vicāraṇā* / (33ab) *imāṃ kathamaham hammīteṣā tehasu vicāraṇā* // (33cd) *astam gatāyāṃ kṣiṇāyāmasyāṃ jñāsyasi rāghava* / (34ab) *yata eṣā yathā caiṣā yathā naṣṭetya khaṇḍitaṃ* // *iti yogavāsiṣṭhyah*. For more on this text and the context of its inquiry on reality see James Madaio, “Transformative Dialogue in the Yogavāsiṣṭha,” in *In Dialogue with Classical Indian Traditions: Encounter, Transformation and Interpretation*, ed. Brian Black and Ram-Prasad Chakravarthi (London: Routledge, 2019), 107–129.]

¹¹⁵⁶ [Mārkaṇḍeya, a legendary rishi (*ṛṣi*) mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and to whom the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* is attributed. Footnote from original text:]

“And whatever or wherever substance (*vastu*) is, good or bad [or “true or untrue”], you are the continuous self. That energy (*śakti*) which is yours is the energy of all. Can you be praised by me?” — the *Mārkaṇḍeya Caṇḍī*

they who rummaged through the egg of Brahma.¹¹⁵⁷
Whoever has known has lost oneself,
with their shallow desires all uprooted.
They whose interior is melted in this love,
with tears of bliss from love dripping down the eyes,
forgetting all the happiness of this-worldly life,
fortunate are they to be born in this world.

Shuka had known, as had Kapila,¹¹⁵⁸
whose heaps of fame pervaded the three worlds.
The hermit Narada had known¹¹⁵⁹
who, taking up his veena,¹¹⁶⁰ encircled the world.
He sang and charmed with virtue as he lay,
since to sing of virtue was his life's vow,
His heart melted by the waters of love,
waters of the bliss of love streamed down both eyes.
Then he rose as his veena hummed.
Hail to Sri Chaitanya, the world's avatar.
Hail to you, O God, Lord of the Universe,
Hail to you who consists of the world and who upholds it.
Hail to you, maker of the world and its destroyer,
to you who carry the world's infinite form.
Is it not strange, O God, that your divine glory
is both the maker of the world and its descent?

I am dumbfounded by the artisanship and carnival of your craft;
whichever direction I look, I am lost in the play of broken shapes.¹¹⁶¹
All the gods, daemons, humans, and so on that you have molded—
it kills me, O Musician-God! What strings have you tuned?
Wherever these countless instrumental souls are,
they all say “I” in a single melody.
God of this human-instrument! In how many disguises do you dress?
They play their instrument in whichever direction you play.
They say “I,” “I” and have danced on everything in the world.

[Translation my own based on the original Sanskrit. This verse corresponds to the eighty-first chapter (*adhyāya*) of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, verse 63 in current published editions. This is the first chapter of the *Devī Māhātmya*, a text distinguished by its worship of the Goddess. See F. Eden Pargiter, trans., *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1904), 471. Transliteration from BRY: *yacca kiñcit kvacidvastu sadasadvākhilātmike / tasya sarvasya yā śaktiḥ sāttvaṃ kiṃ stuyate mayā / iti mārkaṇḍeya caṇḍī.*]

¹¹⁵⁷ [Brahmā, the creator deity of the *trimūrti*. The “egg of Brahmā” (*brahmāṇḍa*) is used generally to refer to the universe, often with its symbolic connotation as a cosmic or world egg.]

¹¹⁵⁸ Śuka is the son of Vyāsa and a character in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Kapila is revered as a rishi (*ṛṣi*) associated with the formation of classical Sāṃkhya.

¹¹⁵⁹ Nārada is a legendary sage, storyteller and musician revered in Hinduism, with associations also in Jainism and Buddhism.

¹¹⁶⁰ The *vīṇā* is a stringed instrument in Indian music.

¹¹⁶¹ “broken shapes” translates *bhām-gar*. Alternate translation (or pun): the shapes of bhang (i.e., the cannabis mixture consumed as a drink at some religious festivals).

Anyone says “I,” but who has given it any thought?
 With the essence of Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, and them all,¹¹⁶²
 you have become “I” the avatar amid the world.
 Bravo for your cleverness, Sri Chaitanya you god.
 You are in everything but never lose sight.
 I am speechless. What cleverness! Nay, the pinnacle of clever!
 There is no such person who understands even a speck of this.
 If the mind is kept at those feet,¹¹⁶³ full of grace,
 will I understand how you are clever—will I understand you?

Sri Ambikacharan Sharma (Śrī Ambikācāraṇ Śārmā)

B. Original Bengali

অবতরণিকা

এক্ষণে ধর্মে লইয়া মানব মণ্ডলী মধ্যে চতুর্দিকে মহা বিসম্বাদ উপস্থিত হইতেছে। কেবল এই কালে উপস্থিত হইতেছে এমত নহে। কাল-প্রবাহে সমাজ-মধ্যে এই রূপ ধর্মের তরঙ্গ নিয়তই উঠিয়া থাকে, উচ্চতার চরম সীমায় উপস্থিত হইলে পুনর্ব্বার অবনত হইয়া পড়ে। এই রূপ আবহমান কালই ধর্মের তরঙ্গ বহিতেছে। আর্য্য ঋষিগণ জ্ঞানের উচ্চতম সীমায় আরোহন করিয়া যে ব্রহ্ম-জ্ঞান ও রাজ-যোগ মানবের উচ্চতম ধর্ম বলিয়া নির্ণয় করিয়াছেন, তাহা এক্ষণে লুপ্ত প্রায় হইয়াছে। যেমন লঘু ও অসার দ্রব্যই জল স্রোতে ভাসিয়া যায়, গুরুভার ও সারবান দ্রব্য হইলে তাহা স্রোতে ভাসিয়া যাইতে পারে না, মগ্ন হইয়া যায়। সেই রূপ যে সকল জ্ঞান লঘু ও অল্প সার, তাহাই কাল-স্রোতে ভাসিয়া, কাল হইতে কালান্তরে, ও সমাজ হইতে সমাজান্তরে উপস্থিত হয়। কিন্তু যে সকল জ্ঞান, বুদ্ধির পক্ষে গুরুভার ও অত্যন্ত সারবান, তাহা কাল-স্রোতে ভাসিয়া যাইতে পারে না, সুতরাং তলদেশে মগ্ন হইয়া থাকে। বুদ্ধি যে সেই অগাধ জ্ঞান সাগরের তলদেশে মগ্ন হইয়া সেই রক্ত বাচিয়া লইবে, তাহা সকলের ভাগ্যে ঘটিয়া উঠে না। এই ব্রহ্ম-জ্ঞান ও তাহা সম্যক রূপে লাভের উপায় যোগ-রূপ কৌশল, বেদান্ত ও অন্যান্য দর্শনে বর্ণিত হইয়াছে। কিন্তু তাহার উপদেষ্টা এক্ষণে দুর্লভ। এই গ্রন্থ-কর্তা ব্রহ্ম- {২} জ্ঞান-গুরু-যোগী পূজ্য-পাদ শ্রীযুক্ত সভাপতি স্বামি মহাশয়, স্বীয় গুরুদেবের যোগী-রাজের আদেশানুসারে জন সমাজের হিতার্থ, উত্তর পশ্চিম প্রদেশে উপনীত হইয়া, এই ব্রহ্ম-জ্ঞান ও রাজ-যোগের যেরূপ উপদেশ প্রদান করিয়াছেন, মিরট নগরের হাইকোর্টের উকিল ও তত্রত্য ঐশীতত্ত্ব-জ্ঞান সমাজের (Theosophical society) অধ্যক্ষ শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু শিরীষ চন্দ্র বসু মহাশয় সেই উপদেশ গুলি গ্রন্থাকারে প্রচার করেন, এই গ্রন্থ তাহারই বঙ্গানুবাদ। তবে তাহাতে যে সকল ইংরাজী কবিতা আছে, তাহার আভাস মাত্র লইয়া, এই গ্রন্থে বঙ্গ ভাষায় স্বতন্ত্র কবিতা রচনা করিয়া দেওয়া হইয়াছে। ব্রহ্ম-জ্ঞান ও রাজযোগ সম্বন্ধে এরূপ গ্রন্থ এপর্যন্ত প্রচলিত ভাষায় প্রচারিত হয় নাই। ইহা পাঠ করিলে গুরুপদেশ ব্যতিরেকেও যোগ যে কি তাহা বুঝিতে ও করিতে পারা যায়।

ব্রহ্ম-জ্ঞানের যে চরম উদ্দেশ্য কি ও রাজ-যোগের অভ্যাস কিরূপে করিতে হয়, তাহাই এই গ্রন্থে পরিষ্কার ভাবে বর্ণিত হইয়াছে। কিন্তু ইহাই যে মানবের উচ্চতম ধর্ম, তদ্বিষয়ে পাঠক মণ্ডলীর মধ্যে অনেকেরই সংশয় জন্মিতে পারে। তজ্জন্য এই উপক্রমণিকাতে সংক্ষেপে তাহার যথা-সাধ্য মীমাংসা করা হইল। এবং যোগ ও ভক্তি কেনই বা প্রয়োজন, তাহাও প্রদর্শিত হইল। আর্য্য-ঋষিগণ মানবের ঐহিক পারত্রিকের কর্তব্য সমষ্টিকে ধর্ম শব্দে যে কীর্তন করিয়াছেন, তাহার তাৎপর্য্য এই যে ধর্ম শব্দের মৌলিক অর্থ — যাহাতে বা যদ্বারা ধারণ করে। অতএব যাহাতে বা যদ্বারা মনুষ্যত্ব ধারণ করে, অর্থাৎ যে গুণ ও শক্তি থাকিলে মানুষ বলা যায়, তাহাই মানব ধর্ম বলিয়া বুঝিতে {৩} হইবে। এইভাবে এই অনন্ত ব্রহ্মাণ্ডে যত কিছু সচেতন বা অচেতন জীব

¹¹⁶² Matsya (“fish”), Kūrma (“tortoise”), and Varāha (“boar”) are three of the ten heroic avatars (*daśāvatāra*) of Viṣṇu

¹¹⁶³ “feet” translates *pad* (< Skt. *pada*). Alternate translation: “footstep,” “verse” (as a pun). The feet of the guru imply a traditional site of cognizance of and reverence for the path that the teacher has tread.

বা পদার্থ আছে, তাহাদিগের সকলেরই বিশেষ বিশেষ ধর্ম আছে। সেই সকল ধর্মই সমষ্টিভাবে মানুষে দেখা যায়। অর্থাৎ সকল প্রকার গুণ ও শক্তি মানুষে প্রতিষ্ঠিত। পাশব জাড়া প্রভৃতি গুণ অপেক্ষা মানব-দেহে যে সকল অতিরিক্ত গুণ ও শক্তি আছে তাহাই মনুষ্যত্ব বা তাহাই মানব ধর্ম। সেই সকল গুণ ও শক্তির বর্দ্ধনেই মানব ধর্মের উন্নতি, এবং তাহাদিগের বশম্বদ হইয়া কার্য করিলেই ধর্ম যাজন করা¹¹⁶⁴ হইল।

পূর্বোক্ত সিদ্ধান্তানুসারে বিচার করিতে প্রবৃত্ত হইয়া দেখা যাইতেছে যে, বাহ্য জগৎ ও অন্তর্জগৎ অর্থাৎ মানব-দেহ এই উভয়ের গুঢ় তত্ত্ব সকল অবগত হইয়া ও পরম্পরের সম্বন্ধ বিচার করিয়া স্বীয় কর্তব্য অবধারণের শক্তি কেবল মানবেই নিহিত হইয়াছে। এই প্রকার জ্ঞানশক্তি ও বুদ্ধিশক্তি অপর কোন প্রাণীতেই দেখা যায় না। সুতরাং জ্ঞান-শক্তি ও বুদ্ধি-শক্তির প্রাধান্যই মনুষ্যত্ব। এই জ্ঞান-শক্তি ও বুদ্ধি-শক্তির প্রভাবেই আর্য্য-ঋষিগণ বাহ্য ও আভ্যন্তরিক তত্ত্ব সমূহ অবগত হইয়া বহুবিধ মানব-ধর্মে নির্ণয় করিয়াছেন। এই জন্যই সেই জ্ঞান-নেত্র দর্শী-মহাত্মা-দিগের প্রণীত গ্রন্থ সমুদয়কে শাস্ত্র বলে। শাস্ত্র শব্দের অর্থ যদ্বারা শাসন বা নিয়মিত করে। মানব সমাজে সকলের বুদ্ধি শক্তি ও জ্ঞান শক্তি সমান নহে, এবং সেইজ্ঞান ও বুদ্ধি সমুচিত পথে পরিচালনা করিয়া বাহ্য জগৎ ও আভ্যন্তরিক প্রকৃতির প্রকৃত গুণ ও শক্তি বিচার করা, ও তদনুসারে কর্তব্যকর্তব্য নির্ণয়, করিয়া মানব-ধর্ম স্থির করা, সকলের সাধ্যাত্তম নহে। বিশেষ- {৪} যতঃ যাহাদিগের মন ইন্দ্রিয়-সুখে বা দহিক-সুখে আকৃষ্ট, তাহাদিগের বুদ্ধিও সেই সুখের পক্ষপাতী, সুতরাং মানবের আভ্যন্তরিক বৃত্তি সমূহের দোষগুণ নিঃস্বার্থভাবে বিচার করিয়া কর্তব্য স্থির করা তাহাদিগের পক্ষে সম্ভবে না। সেই জন্যই ইন্দ্রিয়-সুখ-বিরত জ্ঞান-মাত্র-ব্রত আর্য্য তাপসগণ বাহ্য ও আভ্যন্তরিক বিশ্ব-যন্ত্র ও দেহ-যন্ত্রের গুণ ও শক্তি সমূহ জ্ঞান-বলে অবগত হইয়া, জন-সমাজের প্রবৃত্তি ও প্রকৃতি ভেদে ভিন্ন ভিন্ন নিয়ম প্রণালী নির্ণয় করিয়া, ভিন্ন ভিন্ন ধর্ম-শাস্ত্র সমূহ প্রণয়ন করিয়াছেন। অর্থাৎ জ্ঞান-মার্গ ধ্যানমার্গ ভক্তি-মার্গ ও কর্ম-মার্গ এই চারি প্রকার প্রণালী নির্ণয় করিয়া বহুবিধ ধর্ম-শাস্ত্র সকল প্রচার করিয়াছেন। কেবল জন-সমাজের হিত-কামনায় নিঃস্বার্থ ও অপ্রাস্ত-ভাবে এই সকল শাস্ত্র প্রণয়ন করিয়াছেন বলিয়াই¹¹⁶⁵ তত্তৎ কালে লোকেরা তাহাদিগের এতাদৃশ গৌরব করিত এবং তাহাদিগের উপদেশ-বাক্য সকল শাস্ত্র বলিয়া সমাদরে গ্রহণ করিয়াছিল। তাহাদিগকে নিঃস্বার্থ ও অপ্রাস্ত বলা অনেকেরই অন্যায় বলিয়া ভ্রম হইতে পারে। কিন্তু নিঃস্বার্থ কেমন করিয়া না বলিব? যাঁহারা ক্ষত্রিয়দিগকে ধনুর্বেদ অধ্যয়ন করাইয়া, যুদ্ধকৌশল ও রাজনীতি শিক্ষা দিয়া, রাজ্য শাসনের উপযোগী করিতেন, আপনারা স্বয়ং সেই রাজ্য-ভোগের বাসনা রাখেন নাই। যাঁহারা সংসারশ্রমী মানবগণকে জীবনযাত্রা নির্বাহার্থে অর্থোপার্জননের জন্য আয়ুর্বেদ জ্যোতির্বিদ্যা গান্ধর্ববেদ ধনুর্বেদ স্থাপত্য বেদ¹¹⁶⁶ প্রভৃতি অর্থকরী-বিদ্যা সকল শিক্ষা {৫} দিতেন, আপনারা কখন সেই সকল বিদ্যার দ্বারা অর্থোপার্জননের চেষ্টা করেন নাই। নিবিড় অরণ্য যাঁহাদিগের আবাস ভূমি, পর্ণ কুটার বাস গৃহ, ফল মূল ও যজ্ঞবশিষ্ট ঘৃত আহার, কৌপীন অজীন বা কৌশেয় পরিধান, গৃহ-দ্রব্যের মধ্যে কমুণ্ডলু, ধনের মধ্যে গ্রন্থসমূহ, এবং জ্ঞানের আলোচনাই যাঁহাদিগের জীবনের একমাত্র অবলম্বন। সেই সকল জন-হিতৈষী মহাত্মাগণকে, সেই সকল ঐশ্বর্য্য-ভোগ-বিরাগী যোগিগণকে যদি নিঃস্বার্থ না বলি — তবে আর কাহাকে বলিব। তাহাদিগকে অপ্রাস্ত কেন বলি, তদ্বিষয়ের মীমাংসা পরে করা যাইবে। এক্ষণে আর্য্য ঋষিগণ জ্ঞানশক্তি ও বুদ্ধিশক্তি যেরূপে পরিচালিত করিয়া আপনারা ব্রহ্ম-জ্ঞান লাভ করিয়াছেন এবং জ্ঞানের সেই উচ্চতম শিখরে আরোহণ করিয়া অধঃস্থিত মানবের কর্তব্যকর্তব্য স্থির করিয়াছেন, তাহাই বিবেচনা করা যাইতেছে।

জ্ঞানযোগ — জ্ঞান শব্দের অর্থ জানা। সেই সংসার মধ্যে জ্ঞাতব্য যাঁহারা জানেন দর্শন-শাস্ত্রে তাহাদিগকে তত্ত্বজ্ঞানী বলে। সৃষ্টিতত্ত্বই তাহাদিগের জ্ঞাতব্য। সৃষ্টিতত্ত্ব দুই প্রকার, বাহ্য-জগৎ বা বিরাট-দেহ, অন্তর্জগৎ বা মানব-দেহ। অর্থাৎ জগৎ কি? এই দুইটা তত্ত্বজ্ঞানীদিগের জ্ঞাতব্য। কস্মাৎ কোহং কিমপি ভবান্ কোহয় মন্যঃ প্রপঞ্চ ইত্যাদি বাক্যের দ্বারা জ্ঞাতব্য যে কি তাহা অনেক স্থলে প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন। প্রথমতঃ বাহ্য-জগৎ কি তৎ-সম্বন্ধে বিচার করা যাইতেছে। আর্য্যদিগের দর্শনশাস্ত্র সমূহে একই মত ভিন্ন ভিন্ন রূপে {৬} প্রকাশিত হইয়াছে। দ্রব্য গুণ ও ক্রিয়া দ্বারাই যে সমুদয় সৃষ্টি ইহা সকলেই স্বীকার করেন, এবং তত্ত্বজ্ঞানী যোগিদিগেরও এইরূপ উপদেশ। ইহাদিগের মধ্যে দ্রব্যতত্ত্ব নিত্য, অর্থাৎ যাহার কখন অভাব হয় না তাহাই দ্রব্য। গুণ

¹¹⁶⁴ em. কবা.

¹¹⁶⁵ em. বলিয়াছিল in শুদ্ধিপত্র

¹¹⁶⁶ এই চারিটি উপবেদ। (৬৪) চৌষট্টি কলা স্থাপত্য বেদের অন্তর্গত। ইহার এক একটি কলা এক একটি বিদ্যা, যথা রত্ন পরীক্ষণ, আকর জ্ঞান, আলেখ্য-বিদ্যা বৃক্ষায়ুর্বেদ যোগ, বাস্তু বিদ্যা, ধাতু-বাদ ইত্যাদি বিদ্যার দ্বারা পুরাকালে আর্য্য গৃহস্থেরা অর্থোপার্জন করিতেন।

সেই দ্রব্যে লীন হইয়া থাকে, যখন তাহা হইতে প্রকাশ পায়, তখনই তাহাতে ক্রিয়া-শক্তির আবির্ভাব হয়। দ্রব্য একমাত্র, বুদ্ধির অতীত, অনন্ত অবকাশ-মধ্যে অপরিচ্ছিন্ন ভাবে অবস্থিত। গুণ তিন প্রকার সত্ত্ব রজঃ এবং তমঃ। ইহাদিগের দ্বারা শক্তি চালিত হয়। শক্তির দুই প্রকার গতি — প্রবৃত্তি ও নিবৃত্তি। গুণ-শক্তির প্রভাবে প্রবৃত্তি বেগ প্রবাহিত হইতে আরম্ভ হইলে, আবরণ বিক্ষেপ এই দুই প্রকার ক্রিয়াশক্তি সমুদ্ভূত হয়। গুণ-শক্তি, দ্রব্যের নিত্য সত্তায় সত্তবতী হইয়া এবং আভ্যন্তরিক গুণের দ্বারা চালিত হইয়া এই দুই ক্রিয়া-শক্তি সহকারে ভিন্ন ভিন্ন ক্রিয়া সম্পাদনার্থে বহুবিধ আকারে পরিণত হইয়াছে। সেই সকল শক্তির দ্বারা স্থূল সূক্ষ্ম অনন্ত আকার বিশিষ্ট এই বিশ্ব সংসারে সৃজন পোষণ পরিবর্তন। প্রভৃতি সকল ক্রিয়া সম্পাদিত হইতেছে। শক্তির বেগ-প্রভাবে নিঃসৃত পরমাণু সকল একদিকে আবরণ শক্তির দ্বারা সংশ্লিষ্ট হইয়া রূপ বা আকার ধারণ করিতেছে। অপর দিকে বিক্ষেপ শক্তির প্রভাবে পরমাণু সকল বিক্লিষ্ট হইয়া রূপান্তরে পরিণত হইতেছে। তাহার পুনর্ব্বার নূতন ভাবে সংশ্লিষ্ট হইয়া অন্য পদার্থের আকারে প্রকাশ পাইতেছে। সুতরাং এই ব্রহ্মাণ্ড মধ্যে আমরা যাহা কিছু পদার্থ বলিয়া দেখিতেছি তাহা কেবল গুণ ও শক্তির রচিত আকার মাত্র। কিন্তু এইরূপ {৭} গুণ-শক্তির প্রভাবে যে দ্রব্য নিয়তই রূপ হইতে রূপান্তরে প্রতিভাত হইতেছে, সেই দ্রব্যের স্বরূপ কি তাহা আমরা কিছু বুঝিতে পারি না। গুণ-শক্তির প্রভাবে দ্রব্যের প্রকৃত ভাব সমাচ্ছাদিত রহিয়াছে, তাহার বিকৃত ভাবেই কেবল আমরা দিগের উপলব্ধি হইতেছে। অতএব তত্ত্ব-জ্ঞানীগণ এইরূপ সিদ্ধান্ত করিয়াছেন যে গুণ-শক্তির নিঃশেষে বিরাম হইলে যাহা কিছু অবশিষ্ট থাকে তাহাই নিত্য বস্তু। যদি এরূপ অনুমান করা যায় যে গুণ-শক্তির নিঃশেষে বিরাম হইলে পরমাণু মাত্র অবশিষ্ট থাকে। এইটি বিজ্ঞান সঙ্গত হয় না, কারণ, পরমাণু সকল পরস্পরের আকর্ষণে অবস্থিত, সুতরাং সে অবস্থাতেও ক্রিয়া-শক্তির বিদ্যমানতা থাকে। এইজন্য তত্ত্ব-জ্ঞানীগণ বলেন যে গুণশক্তির বিরামে পরমাণু পর্যন্তও দ্রবীভূত হইয়া অবশেষে গুণ-শক্তির অতীত অথচ গুণ-শক্তির আশ্রয় স্বরূপ একমাত্র নিত্য বস্তু অপরিচ্ছিন্ন ভাবে অবশিষ্ট থাকেন, তিনিই ব্রহ্ম নামে অভিহিত। বাহ্য জগতের বিচার করিয়া সেই নিত্য বস্তুর কেবল পরোক্ষ জ্ঞানই লাভ করা যায় — অপরোক্ষ বা প্রত্যক্ষ-জ্ঞান লাভ করা যায় না।

দ্বিতীয়ঃ অন্তর্জগৎ বা আমি কি — তদ্বিষয়ের বিবেচনা করা যাইতেছে। মানব-দেহ একটি যন্ত্র মাত্র। ভৌতিক তত্ত্ব, শক্তি-তত্ত্ব ও জ্ঞান-তত্ত্ব, এই তিন প্রকার তত্ত্বে নির্ম্মিত। ক্রিয়া-শক্তি-প্রধান অবয়ব-বিশিষ্ট স্থূলদেহ ভৌতিক-তত্ত্বে নির্ম্মিত, ইচ্ছা-শক্তি-প্রধান সূক্ষ্ম দেহ, শক্তি-তত্ত্বে নির্ম্মিত। এবং জ্ঞান-শক্তি-প্রধান সংস্কারের আধার স্থূল সূক্ষ্ম উভয় শরীরের বীজ, কারণ-দেহ, জ্ঞান-তত্ত্বে নির্ম্মিত। আত্ম-তত্ত্ব-জ্ঞানী যোগীগণ নির্ণয় করিয়াছেন যে, যে কিছু শক্তি বা গুণ ব্রহ্মাণ্ডে আছে সেই সমস্তই মানব শরীরে নিহিত, হইয়াছে। “ব্রহ্মাণ্ডে যে গুণাঃ সর্বের শরীরেষু ব্যবস্থিতাঃ” এইরূপ বাক্য আচার্য্য-শাস্ত্রের অনেক স্থানে দেখা যায়। আধুনিক তত্ত্ব-জ্ঞানী গণের মধ্যে অনেকেই বলেন “Internal is the typical of the external” অর্থাৎ অন্তর্জগৎ বাহ্য-জগতের অনুকরণ। যুক্তিও ইহা প্রতিপন্ন করিতেছে। অনুরূপ জগৎ পদার্থ হইতে শুক্র শোণিতের উৎপত্তি। শুক্র-শোণিত হইতেই দেহ। আহার-জাত-রসের স্বরূপ জগৎ পদার্থের দ্বারাই মানব যন্ত্রের স্থূল দেহ ও ক্রিয়া শক্তি সকলের পোষণ হইতেছে। জগতের নিয়মের অধীনেই এই দেহের স্থিতি। ইহার জ্ঞানশক্তি সমস্ত অন্তরে আছে এই মাত্র, দেহের অভ্যন্তরের তাহারা কিছুই জানে না, জগৎ-পদার্থেই তাহারা একান্ত গ্রথিত। অর্থাৎ জগৎপদার্থের জ্ঞানেই জ্ঞান-শক্তিরও পোষণ হইতেছে। ধ্বংস হইলে দেহ-পদার্থ সমূহ জগতেই মিলিত হয়। অতএব এই জগৎই দেহের জনক, পালক এবং আশ্রয়। আমরা দিগের শারীরিক বা মানসিক প্রকৃতির যাহা কিছু প্রয়োজন তাহা সমস্তই জগতে আছে। যাহা জগতে নাই, এমন অভাব আমাদের কখন অনুভূত হয় না। জনকের গুণ অন্য পদার্থে বর্তন যদি প্রকৃতির নিয়ম থাকে, তবে এই দেহ-যন্ত্র অবশ্যই বাহ্যজগতের অনুকরণ বলিতে হইবে। তবে উভয়ের গুণ ও শক্তি সকল আমরা যদি ঐক্য করিয়া বুঝিতে না পারি, তাহা আমাদের বুদ্ধির দোষ। এই নিমিত্ত আচার্য্য-জ্ঞানীগণ এই দেহকে ক্ষুদ্র ব্রহ্মাণ্ড বলিয়া বর্ণন করিয়াছেন। এই নিমিত্তই দেহ-যন্ত্রকে অন্তর্জগৎ বলা যায়।

{৯} এই দেহ-যন্ত্রের স্থূলভাগ ও সূক্ষ্মভাগ অর্থাৎ স্থূল ও সূক্ষ্ম শরীরে, জ্ঞান একমাত্র অধিষ্ঠাতা। ‘আমি’ একটি ভাবমাত্র জ্ঞানে প্রকাশ পায়। দেহের জাগ্রদবস্থায়, কেশাগ্র হইতে নখাগ্র পর্যন্ত জ্ঞান সর্ব্বশরীরে ব্যাপ্ত হইয়া থাকে, সেই কালে অহংভাবও জ্ঞানের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে সমস্ত শরীর ব্যাপিয়া অবস্থিত করে। স্বপ্নাবস্থায় যখন জ্ঞান স্থূল-দেহ হইতে আকৃষ্ট হইয়া ক্রিয়া-শক্তি ও জ্ঞান-শক্তিময় সূক্ষ্ম শরীরে অবস্থিত করে, তৎকালে সেই মনোময় সূক্ষ্মশরীরে অহংভাব প্রবল হইয়া থাকে। গভীর নিঃস্বপ্ন-নিদ্রাকালে, যৎকালে জ্ঞান, স্থূল ও সূক্ষ্ম শরীর পরিত্যাগ করিয়া, নিশ্চেষ্ট ভাবে কারণ শরীরে অবস্থিত করে¹¹⁶⁷, তৎকালে অহংভাবও এক কালে ক্ষীণ হইয়া জ্ঞানেই লীন হইয়া থাকে। কারণ, জাগ্রত হইয়া উঠিবা মাত্র তৎক্ষণাৎ স্মরণ হইতেছে যে আমি ঘোরতর নিঃস্বপ্নে নিদ্রিত ছিলাম। এই অবস্থা স্মরণ হওয়াতে, স্মৃতির নিয়মানুসারে সিদ্ধান্ত করা যায় যে, সেই নিঃস্বপ্ন অবস্থা জ্ঞানের দ্বারা

¹¹⁶⁷ অভ্যাস-জনিত সংস্কার ও স্মৃতি যন্ত্রকে কারণ-শরীর বলে।

তৎকালে প্রত্যক্ষ করা হইয়াছিল বলিয়া পরে স্মরণ হইতেছে। বুদ্ধি, স্মৃতি, চিত্ত, অহংজ্ঞান ইহাদিগের সমষ্টিকে অন্তঃকরণ-যন্ত্র বলা যায়। এবং চক্ষু, কর্ণ, নাসিকা, জিহবা, ত্বক ইহাদিগকে জ্ঞানেন্দ্রিয়-যন্ত্র বলে। জ্ঞান, যখন অন্তঃকরণ-যন্ত্রে অবস্থিত হইয়া একাগ্রভাবে চিন্তা করিতে থাকে, তখন জ্ঞানেন্দ্রিয়-যন্ত্র সত্ত্বেও বাহ্য পদার্থ জ্ঞানেতে প্রকাশ পায় না, অথবা {১০} প্রকাশ-ভাবের হ্রাস হয়। যখন জ্ঞানেন্দ্রিয়-যন্ত্রের দ্বারা বাহ্য জগতে একাগ্রভাবে সংযোজিত হয়, তখন অন্তঃকরণ যন্ত্রের ক্রিয়া প্রকাশ পায় না, অথবা তাহার ক্রিয়া-শক্তি হ্রাস হইয়া যায়। অতএব জ্ঞান অন্তঃকরণ-যন্ত্রের ও বাহ্য-জ্ঞানেন্দ্রিয়-যন্ত্রের মধ্যে যন্ত্রিত বা বদ্ধ থাকিয়া আকুঞ্চিত ও প্রসারিত হইতেছে। ক্রিয়া পুনঃপুনঃ করিলে, অভ্যাস-জনিত একটি সংস্কার জন্মে, সেই সংস্কার-সঞ্চিত ব্যাপারই স্মৃতি পথে অধিকাংশ সময়ে উদয় হয় — সেই ব্যাপার-ঘটিত পদার্থ ও ক্রিয়া সমূহই চিন্তারূপে জ্ঞানে প্রকাশ পায় — সুতরাং জ্ঞান প্রকৃতি-যন্ত্রে যন্ত্রিত। যন্ত্রিত হইয়া আকুঞ্চিত ও প্রসারিত হইতেছে বলিয়া জ্ঞানকে দ্রব্য বলা যায়। জ্ঞানেন্দ্রিয়-যন্ত্রগণ জ্ঞানের অধিষ্ঠান ব্যতিরেকে বাহ্য-জগৎ প্রকাশ করিতে পারে না। কিন্তু জ্ঞান, ইন্দ্রিয়-যন্ত্রের সহায়তা ব্যতিরেকেও শ্রবণ, স্পর্শন প্রভৃতি ইন্দ্রিয়-ক্রিয়া ও তাহার ব্যাপ্য শব্দ স্পর্শ-রূপ রস গন্ধের স্বরূপ জগৎ পদার্থ, উভয়েই প্রকাশ করিতেছে। জগৎ পদার্থ যদি দৃষ্টির বিষয় হয়, তাহা হইলে 'যেন দেখিতেছি' অর্থাৎ দর্শন ক্রিয়া ও দৃশ্য বস্তু উভয় ভাবই প্রকাশ পায়; যদি শ্রবণের বিষয় হয় তবে 'যেন শুনিতেছি' অর্থাৎ শ্রবণ শ্রবণ-ক্রিয়ার ভাব ও শব্দ উভয়েই জ্ঞানে প্রকাশ পায়। এই স্থানে জ্ঞান শ্রবণ-ক্রিয়ার ভাব ধারণ করিলে তাহাতে দর্শন-ক্রিয়ার ভাব প্রকাশ পায় না, এবং অন্য ইন্দ্রিয়-ক্রিয়ার ভাব সম্বন্ধেও সেইরূপ¹¹⁶⁸। অতএব জ্ঞান ইন্দ্রিয়-যন্ত্রে যন্ত্রিত। ক্রিয়ার ভাব ও ক্রিয়ার ব্যাপ্য বিষয় {১১} অর্থাৎ কর্ম, এই উভয় ভাব জ্ঞানে¹¹⁶⁹ প্রকাশ পাইলে, প্রকৃতির নিয়মানুসারে এই প্রকাশ করা ক্রিয়াতে কর্তৃ-ভাব প্রকাশ হওয়া প্রয়োজন হইতেছে। তাহাতে ঐ উভয়ের প্রকাশক জ্ঞান স্বয়ং কর্তা রূপে প্রকাশ পাইল। এ স্থলে যন্ত্রিত জ্ঞানের দুই শক্তি প্রকাশ পাইতেছে — প্রকাশ করা ও স্বয়ং প্রকাশ হওয়া। রাগ, দ্বেষ, ভয়, লজ্জা, শোক, মোহ, সুখ, দুঃখ, ভক্তি, আনন্দ ও প্রেম এই সকল ভাব, বাহ্য কারণের সংযোগ না থাকিলেও জ্ঞান প্রকাশ পায়, এবং সকল ভাব এককালে প্রকাশ পায় না। অতএব সেই সকল ভাব গুণের দ্বারা পরিচালিত হইয়া অন্তঃকরণে উদয় হয়। গুণ তিন প্রকার — সত্ত্ব রজঃ তমঃ। যখন যে গুণ প্রবল হয়, সেই মত ভাব অন্তরে উদয় হয়। এই তিন গুণের দ্বারা জ্ঞান যন্ত্রিত। সুতরাং জ্ঞানে গুণ ও শক্তি উভয়েরই প্রভাব লক্ষিত হয়। সেই সকল গুণ ও শক্তি দেহযন্ত্রের প্রকৃতিগত। দেহ-যন্ত্রের প্রকৃতি অনুসারে গুণ ও শক্তি সমূহের ভেদ দেখা যায়। সেই সকল প্রকৃতি-গত গুণ শক্তির দ্বারা দেহ-যন্ত্রে যন্ত্রিত হইলে, জ্ঞান সংযত ও সঙ্কুচিত হইয়া অহংভাবে প্রকাশ পায়, প্রত্যেক দেহ-যন্ত্রের ভিন্ন ভিন্ন প্রকৃতিগত ভিন্ন ভিন্ন প্রকার গুণ শক্তির দ্বারা যন্ত্রিত বলিয়া, একমাত্র অহংভাব প্রত্যেক দেহে ভিন্ন ভিন্ন রূপে প্রকাশ পাইতেছে। এবং দেহ ব্যতিরিক্ত পদার্থে ভিন্ন বা পরভাব এবং দেহে আত্মভাব জন্মাইতেছে। এই জন্মই সিদ্ধান্ত করা যায় যে 'আমি' বলিতে কোন বিশেষ পদার্থ লক্ষিত হয় না। এইটি একটা ভাব মাত্র। গুণ-শক্তির দ্বারা জ্ঞান এই দেহ-যন্ত্রে যন্ত্রিত হই- {১২} লেই এই ভাব প্রকাশ পায়, এবং জ্ঞানের সঙ্গে অবস্থান্তরিত হয়। সুতরাং গুণ-শক্তি বিশিষ্ট জ্ঞানই দেহের অধিষ্ঠাতা, তাহাকেই তত্ত্ব-জ্ঞানীগণ জীব বা আত্মা বলিয়া বর্ণন করিয়াছেন। এই জ্ঞানই প্রকৃত অহং বা 'আমি'।

ধ্যানযোগ — পূর্বের সিদ্ধান্ত হইয়াছে জগৎ-পদার্থ বা জীবদেহ গুণ-শক্তির প্রকাশিত বিকার মাত্র। আমরা যাহা কিছু দেখিতেছি সমস্তই বিকৃত ভাব। জগতের প্রকৃত অবস্থা বা ভাব কি তাহা গুণশক্তির বিরাম না হইলে জানা যায় না। জানিবার উপায় জ্ঞান। সেই জ্ঞান স্বয়ং প্রকাশ এবং অন্যের প্রকাশক হইয়াও গুণ-শক্তির দ্বারা এরূপে যন্ত্রিত, যে বাহ্য-জগতের গুণ-শক্তিময় বিকৃত আকার ধরিয়াই ইহা নিরন্তর অবস্থিতি করিতেছে। জগৎ-আকার পরিত্যাগ পূর্বক স্বয়ং-প্রকাশভাবে কখনই অবস্থিতি করিতে পারে না। জ্ঞানের সংযোগ ব্যতিরেকে দর্শন শ্রবণ প্রভৃতি জ্ঞানেন্দ্রিয়গণ স্ব স্ব বিষয় প্রকাশ করিতে সমর্থ হয় না। কিন্তু ইন্দ্রিয়-গৃহীত বিষয় সকল, ইন্দ্রিয়গণের সংযোগ ব্যতিরেকেও জ্ঞান আপনাতে প্রকাশ করিতে সমর্থ। সুতরাং ইন্দ্রিয়-গ্রাহ্য বিষয় প্রকাশ করিবার শক্তি জ্ঞানেতেই নিহিত। এই প্রকার শক্তি সত্ত্বেও ইহা আভ্যন্তরিক বিষয় বা অবস্থা প্রকাশ করিতে পারে না। ইহা গুণ-শক্তির দ্বারা এরূপ যন্ত্রিত যে দেহের অভ্যন্তরে থাকিয়াও, জগচ্ছিত্তা পরিত্যাগ করিয়া ক্ষণকালের নিমিত্তও অভ্যন্তরে স্থির থাকিতে পারে না। সুতরাং আভ্যন্তরিক প্রকৃত ভাব প্রকাশ করিতেও সমর্থ হয় না।

¹¹⁶⁸ এ স্থলে এইটি অনুমান করিতে হইবে যে জ্ঞান কোন বিষয়ে একান্ত একাগ্রীভূত হইলে বিষয়ান্তরের [em. বিষয়ান্তরের] উপলব্ধি হয় না। একাগ্রভাবে তারতম্য অনুসারে বিষয়ান্তরের উপলব্ধির তারতম্য হইয়া থাকে।

¹¹⁶⁹ Em. জ্ঞান in শুদ্ধিপত্র

শব্দ স্পর্শ রূপ রস-গন্ধ গ্রহণ করিয়াই জ্ঞান জগৎ-পদার্থ সমস্ত অবগত হইতেছে। পাদার্থ¹¹⁷⁰ সম্বন্ধে জ্ঞান এই পাঁচটির {১৩} অতিরিক্ত আর কিছুই নাই। কিন্তু এই পঞ্চ ইন্দ্রিয়-গ্রাহ্য বিষয় গুণ শক্তির দ্বারা রচিত। জ্ঞানও স্বয়ং গুণ-শক্তির দ্বারা যন্ত্রিত, গুণ-শক্তির রচিত বিষয়ই গ্রহণ করিয়া থাকে। গুণ-শক্তির বিরাম হইলে পদার্থের যে প্রকৃত ভাব প্রকাশ পায়, তাহা গুণ-শক্তি-বিশিষ্ট জ্ঞানের ধারণা করিবার সামর্থ্য নাই। গুণ-শক্তি-যুক্ত অবস্থার জ্ঞান, গুণ-শক্তি বিরামের অবস্থাপন্ন দ্রব্যের প্রকৃত ভাব অনুভব করিতে পারিবে না। নিউটনের মন যেরূপ ভাবে ভাবিত হইয়া বা যেরূপ অবস্থাপন্ন হইয়া আহারাদি জগদ্ব্যাপার বিস্মৃত হইত, আহার-লোলুপ ভোগমাত্র অভিলাষী চিন্তাহীন ব্যক্তির মনে তাহা অনুভূত হওয়া কখনই সম্ভবে না। সেই ভাব বা অবস্থা অনুভব করা কেবল সেইরূপ অবস্থাপন্ন চিত্তেরই সম্ভবে। অতএব গুণ-শক্তির বিরামে যে দ্রব্য, ভাব বা অবস্থা প্রকাশ পায়, তাহা গুণ-শক্তি-যুক্ত জ্ঞানের দ্বারা প্রকাশ পাইতে পারে না। তাহা জানিতে হইলে জ্ঞানেরও গুণ-শক্তি বর্জিত হওয়া প্রয়োজন। জ্ঞানের শক্তি — চিন্তা। চিন্ত-বৃত্তিকেও চিন্তা বলে। চিত্ত, জ্ঞানের একটি অবস্থা বিশেষ। সূতরাং চিন্তা বা চিন্ত-বৃত্তিকে নিঃশেষে বর্জিত করিতে পারিলেই জ্ঞান, শক্তি-বর্জিত হইল। এই চিন্তা বৃত্তি বা চিন্ত-বৃত্তির বর্জনকেই তত্ত্ব-জ্ঞানীরা যোগ বলেন। “সর্ব চিন্তা পরিত্যাগান্নিশ্চিত্তো যোগ উচ্যতে।” গ্রন্থান্তরে “যোগশ্চিত্ত-বৃত্তি নিরোধঃ।” পূর্বের বলা হইয়াছে যে ক্রোধ, মোহ, সুখ, দুঃখ প্রভৃতি অন্তঃকরণের ভাব সমস্ত জ্ঞান-শক্তির বা চিন্তার পরিচালক, এবং ভাব সমূহের পরিচালক, গুণ। শম, দম, উপরতি, তিতিক্ষা, সমাধান এই কয়েকটি যোগাঙ্গ {১৪} অভ্যাসেই অন্তঃকরণের ভাব সমস্ত তিরোহিত হয়। ভাব সমস্ত তিরোহিত হইলে, অভ্যাসের বলে গুণেরও প্রভাব তিরোহিত হইয়া যায়। গুণ-শক্তির প্রভাব রহিতের কৌশল-স্বরূপ রাজযোগ, প্রয়োজনীয় যোগাঙ্গ সমেত এই গ্রন্থে বিশেষ রূপে বর্ণিত হইয়াছে। এই যোগাভ্যাসের চরম ফল সমাধি। যোগ অভ্যস্ত হইলে, গুণ-শক্তির নিঃশেষে বিরামাবস্থায় যে কেবল মাত্র চেতনময় দ্রব্য, অবস্থা বা ভাব অবশিষ্ট থাকে, জ্ঞান সেই আকারে আকারিত হয়। ইহাই বৌদ্ধদিগের শূন্য। জড়-শক্তি বাদীদিগের দ্রব্য ও শক্তির মিলিত অবস্থা। ইহা যন্ত্রিত-জ্ঞান ও বুদ্ধির অতীত, তত্ত্ব-জ্ঞানী যোগীগণ মধ্যে পরমাত্মা বলিয়া প্রতিষ্ঠিত। তৎকালে সেই জ্ঞান আর দেহ মধ্যে অহংভাবে যন্ত্রিত থাকে না। অনন্ত বিশ্ব পদার্থের অন্তরে ও বাহ্য অপরিচ্ছিন্ন স্বয়ং-প্রকাশ ভাবে ব্যাপ্ত হয়। সেই অবস্থা, এইরূপ অহংভাব-যুক্ত জীব অবস্থায় থাকিয়া অনুভব করা যায় না। মানব-যন্ত্রের উচ্চতম জ্ঞান ও বুদ্ধির এই চরম সীমা। এই সীমায় উপনীত হইলে ব্রহ্মাণ্ড মধ্যে কিছুই অবিদিত থাকে না। আর্য ঋষিগণ জ্ঞানের এই চরম সীমায় উপনীত হইয়াছিলেন বলিয়াই তাঁহাদিগকে অশ্রান্ত বলি। প্রকৃতির উচ্চতম সৃষ্টি মানব এই সীমায় উপনীত হইলে, তাহার মানব নাম সার্থক হয়; — ইহা লাভ হইলে ধর্ম, অর্থ, কাম, মোক্ষ সকলই লাভ হইয়া থাকে।

ভিদ্যতে হৃদয় গ্রন্থি শ্চিন্দ্যন্তে সর্ব সংশয়াঃ।

ক্ষীয়ন্তে চাস্য কর্মাণি তস্মিন্ দৃষ্টে পরাবরে।

{১৫}

যং লব্ধাচাপরং লাভং মন্যতেনাধিকং ততঃ।

যস্মিন্ স্থিতোন দুঃখেন গুরুণাপি বিচাল্যতে।

ভক্তিযোগ — এক্ষণে ভক্তি-যোগ ও তাহার প্রায়াজন কি তদ্বিষয়ের বিচার করা যাইতেছে। জগৎকে বিরাট-দেহ বা বিরাট-যন্ত্র বলা যায়, মানব দেহ বা মানবযন্ত্র তাহার অনুকরণ। পূর্বের সিদ্ধান্ত করা হইয়াছে যে, যে সকল গুণ-শক্তির দ্বারা এবং যে ক্রিয়াপ্রণালীতে বিরাট-দেহের ক্রিয়া সম্পাদিত হয়, সেইরূপ গুণ-শক্তির দ্বারা ও সেইরূপ ক্রিয়া প্রণালীতে মানব দেহেরও ক্রিয়া সম্পাদিত হয়। সূতরাং একটির ভাব বুঝিতে পারিলে অপরটিরও ভাব বুঝিতে পারা যায়। বিরাট-দেহের সহিত তুলনায় মানব দেহ যেরূপ ক্ষুদ্র বলিয়া বোধ হয়, অনন্ত অবকাশে অপরিচ্ছিন্ন ভাবে ব্যাপ্ত ব্রহ্ম-তত্ত্বের সহিত তুলনায় বিশাল বিরাট-দেহও সেইরূপ, কিন্তু সে তুলনার অনুভূতি শক্তি মানব-বুঝিতে স্পষ্টরূপে প্রকাশ পায় না। মানব-যন্ত্রের অধিষ্ঠাতা জ্ঞান যেরূপ এই দেহে জীব বা অহং বা আত্মা বলিয়া অভিহিত হইয়াছেন, এই বিরাট-যন্ত্রের অধিষ্ঠাতা জ্ঞানও সেইরূপ ঈশ্বর, বিরাট-আত্মা বা হিরণ্য-গর্ভ বা বিরাট পুরুষ বলিয়া আর্য-দর্শন-শাস্ত্রে অভিহিত হইয়াছেন। জাগ্রদবস্থায় মানব-যন্ত্রের অধিষ্ঠাতা জ্ঞান, প্রকৃতিগত শক্তির প্রভাবে সর্ব দেহে প্রসারিত হইয়া, আনখাগ্র দেহকে সচেতন ভাবে প্রকাশ করে। সেই রূপ বিরাটের জাগ্রদবস্থায় অর্থাৎ সৃষ্টি প্রকাশ কালে, বিরাটের অধিষ্ঠাতা জ্ঞান স্বীয় প্রাকৃতিক-শক্তি-প্রভাবে এই বিরাট-দেহ সচেতন ভাবে প্রকাশ করে। মানব দেহের

¹¹⁷⁰ em. পাদার্থ in শুদ্ধিপত্র

নিদ্রাকালে যেমন সমস্ত ক্রিয়া-শক্তি {১৬} নিশ্চেষ্ট ভাবে স্বীয় প্রকৃতিতে লীন হইয়া থাকে, (তবে স্থূল দেহ বাহ্য জগতের নিয়মের অধীন বলিয়া সম্যক লয় হয় না), সেইরূপ বিরাট পুরুষের নিদ্রাবস্থায় সমস্ত ক্রিয়া-শক্তি স্বীয় প্রকৃতিতে লয় হইয়া থাকে¹¹⁷¹ জ্ঞানময় বিরাট পুরুষের জাগ্রদবস্থায়, ক্রিয়াশক্তির সমষ্টি প্রকৃতি উত্তেজিত হইলে এই সৃষ্টি প্রকাশ পায়। এবং নিদ্রাবস্থায় ক্রিয়া-শক্তি সমস্ত নিশ্চেষ্ট ভাবে প্রকৃতিতে লীন হইলে এই সৃষ্টিও সেই প্রকৃতিতে লয় পায়। পূর্বে বলা হইয়াছে যে শক্তির দুই প্রকার গতি, প্রবৃতি ও নিবৃতি। আধুনিক বৈজ্ঞানিকেরা ইহাকে সংকোচ ও প্রসারণ (Contraction and expansion) বলিয়া থাকেন।

সুষুপ্তিকালে দেহ-যন্ত্রে যন্ত্রিত জীব-চেতন নিশ্চেষ্ট ভাবে থাকে। জাগ্রদবস্থার প্রারম্ভেই সেই চেতন সংযত হইয়া অপরিষ্কৃত রূপে অহংভাবে পরিণত হয়। নিশ্চেষ্ট চেতনে অহংজ্ঞান প্রকাশ পাইবামাত্র তাহাতে স্মৃতি-শক্তির উদয় হয়। স্মৃতির উদয়ে জ্ঞান উজ্জ্বলীভূত হইয়া, স্মৃতির বিষয়ীভূত পদার্থসকলের আকার প্রকাশ করিবার জন্য {১৭} প্রসারিত হইতে থাকে। এইরূপে স্মৃতি কর্তৃক প্রসারিত জ্ঞানই অন্তরে স্থানরূপে (Conception of Space) প্রকাশ পায়। সেই প্রসারণ-শক্তির নিরবচ্ছিন্ন গতি-প্রবাহ অন্তরে কাল বলিয়া অনুভূত (Conception of time) হয়¹¹⁷²। কারণ কাল অনুভবের বিষয়, এবং ক্রিয়াই কালের অনুভাবক। স্মৃত পদার্থ প্রকাশ পাইলেই জ্ঞানে বাসনার উদয় হয়। বাসনা সহকারে জ্ঞানের ক্রিয়াভিমুখী যে গতি তাহাকে ইচ্ছা বলে। জ্ঞানের সেই ইচ্ছারূপী গতি শক্তি দ্বারা দেহ-যন্ত্রের ক্রিয়া সমস্ত সম্পাদিত হয়। সেইরূপ বিরাট-যন্ত্রে যন্ত্রিত ঈশ্বর-চেতন সুষুপ্তি¹¹⁷³ অর্থাৎ প্রলয়ে নিশ্চেষ্ট ভাবে থাকেন। সুষুপ্তি ভঙ্গে বিরাটের প্রকৃতি-যন্ত্র উত্তেজিত হইলে বিরাট-চেতন ঘনীভূত হইয়া অহং জ্ঞান প্রকাশ পায়। প্রকৃতি-যন্ত্রে অহং-জ্ঞান প্রকাশ হইবামাত্র, সেই অহং-জ্ঞানরূপ গর্ভে জগতের অক্ষুর-রূপিনী স্মৃতির উদয় হয়। স্মৃতির উদয়ে জ্ঞান স্বভাবতই উজ্জ্বলীভূত হয়। স্মৃতির বিষয়ীভূত পদার্থসকলের আকার প্রকাশ করিবার কারণ সেই জ্ঞান মণ্ডলাকারে প্রসারিত হয়। সেই মণ্ডলাকারে প্রসারিত জ্ঞান বিরাট দেহ অথবা {১৮} বাহ্য সৃষ্টিতে অবকাশ রূপে (Space) প্রকাশ পায়। স্মৃতি রূপা সেই প্রসারণ শক্তির নিরবচ্ছিন্ন গতি প্রবাহ হইতে কাল (Time) প্রকাশ পায়।¹¹⁷⁴ স্মৃতির গর্ভে জগতের অক্ষুর প্রকাশ হইবামাত্র বাসনা সঙ্কল্প বা আকাজক্ষার উদয় হয়। সেই বাসনা শক্তি উত্তেজিত হইলে যে গতি জন্মে তাহাকে ইচ্ছা বলে। সেই সঙ্কল্প বা বাসনার প্রভাবে কোটি কোটি প্রকার ইচ্ছা-রূপিনী শক্তি প্রাদুর্ভূত হইয়া এই ব্রহ্মাণ্ডরূপ দেহের অবকাশ (Space) মধ্যে সৃজন, পোষণ, ধারণ এবং পরিবর্তিত করণ প্রভৃতি ক্রিয়ার দ্বারা এই বিশ্ব-সংসারের ব্যাপার সমস্ত সম্পাদন করিতেছে। সেই সকল শক্তি আর্য্যশাস্ত্রে দেবতা বলিয়া বর্ণিত হইয়াছে। মানব-যন্ত্র সুষুপ্তি অবস্থা হইতে জাগ্রদবস্থা পরিণত হওয়া পর্য্যন্ত, জীব-চেতনে যে সকল অবস্থা ও ক্রিয়া-শক্তি প্রকাশ পায়, এবং বিরাট-যন্ত্রের সুষুপ্তি হইতে জাগ্রদবস্থা অর্থাৎ সৃষ্টি প্রকাশ পর্য্যন্ত বিরাট-চেতনে যে সকল অবস্থা ও ক্রিয়াশক্তি প্রকাশ পায়, এই দুই ঐক্য করিয়া বুঝিতে কেবল তত্ত্ব জ্ঞানী যোগিগণ¹¹⁷⁵ সমর্থ হইয়াছেন এই বিরাট পুরুষই বেদে ঈশ্বর নামে অভিহিত। জগতের মঙ্গল উদ্দেশে,

¹¹⁷¹ নিম্ন লিখিত শ্রীমদ্ভগবদ্গীতার [চ.২০-২২] কয়েকটি শ্লোকে এই ভাব স্পষ্টরূপে প্রকাশিত হইয়াছে। যথা —

অবয়জাদ্ব্যক্তয়াঃ [em. অবয়জাদ্ব্যক্তয়ঃ] সর্বাঃ প্রভবন্ত্যহরাগমে ।
 রাত্র্যাগমে প্রলীয়ন্তে তদৈবাব্যক্ত সংজ্ঞকে ।।
 ভূতগ্রামঃ সএবাহয়ং ভূত্বা ভূত্বা প্রলীয়তে ।
 রাত্র্যাগমেহবশঃ পার্থ প্রভবত্যহরাগমে ।।
 পরন্তস্মাত্ত্ব ভাবোহন্যোহব্যক্তোহব্যক্তাৎ সনাতনঃ ।
 যঃ স সর্বেষু ভূতেষু নশ্যৎসুন বিনশ্যতি ।।

¹¹⁷² এই সম্বন্ধে Mr. Kant মহাশয়ের . . . এই ভাবে উদয় হইয়াছে। তিনি বলেন Time and space are “a priori laws or conditions of the conscious mind.” Mr. Spencer বলেন Our conception of space (and time) are produced by some mode of the unknowable; complete unchangeableness of our conception of it, simply implies a complete uniformity in the effect, wrought by this mode of the unknowable upon us.”

¹¹⁷³ em. সুষুপ্তি in শুদ্ধিপত্র

¹¹⁷⁴ All we can assert is that Space (and Time) are relative realities; that our consciousness of this unchanging relative realities implies absolute realities equally unchanging [em. “unchanging” in শুদ্ধিপত্র] in so far as we are concerned, and that the relative realities may be unhesitatingly accepted in thought as a valid basis for our reasonings. &c. &c. &c.

¹¹⁷⁵ em. যোগিগণ in শুদ্ধিপত্র

ইঁহারই শক্তি সকলকে উত্তেজিত করণের জন্য বেদ, মন্ত্র ও {১৯} যজ্ঞ-রূপে পরিণত হইয়াছে। ইনিই জগতের সূত্রাং জীবগণেরও পিতা মাতা ধাতা ভর্তা গতি এবং বীজ¹¹⁷⁶।

বিরাতের প্রকৃতি সম্যকরূপে পর্যালোচনা করিয়া দেখিলে স্পষ্টই বুঝিতে পারা যায়, যে জন্য জনকের মধ্যে কোন একটি বিশেষ গ্রন্থি-সূত্র আছে যদ্বারা উভয়ে উভয়েতে সম্বন্ধিত। জন্যমন্ত্র হইতে আকাঙ্ক্ষা বা অভাবের ভাব জনক-যন্ত্রে পরিচালিত হয়, জনক-যন্ত্র তদ্বারা বিচলিত হইলে, সেই অভাব মোচনার্থে যাহা প্রয়োজন, তাহা সেই জনকযন্ত্র হইতে জন্যমন্ত্র পরিচালিত হয়। জীব-যন্ত্র ও বিরাত-যন্ত্র এবং তাহাদিগের অধিষ্ঠাতা জীব-চেতন ও ঈশ্বর-চেতনও পরস্পর সেই সূত্রে গ্রন্থিত, তাহাকে ভক্তি বলে, যে সূত্রে বিরাত-যন্ত্রে যন্ত্রিত ঈশ্বরচেতন জীব সম্বন্ধিত, তাহাকে অনুগ্রহ বা স্নেহ বলে। ভক্তি, মানব-যন্ত্রে যন্ত্রিত জ্ঞানের বা চেতনের একটি ভাব-বৃত্তি বা গতি বিশেষ। গতির বেগ প্রতিহত না হইলে অনন্ত অবকাশ মধ্যে প্রসারিত হইতে থাকে। ভক্তির বেগও সেইরূপ প্রতিহত না হইলে বিরাতের প্রকৃতি-যন্ত্র ভেদ করিয়া যন্ত্রের অধিষ্ঠাতা ঈশ্বর চেতনকে বিচলিত করে। জনক-যন্ত্ররূপী ঈশ্বর-চেতন বিচলিত হইলে, তাঁহার প্রকৃতি-যন্ত্রের দ্বারা, জন্য মানব-যন্ত্রে কল্যাণ বা অনুগ্রহ প্রবর্তিত হয়। কিন্তু ঈশ্বর-চেতনকে বিচলিত করিতে হইলে, ভক্তির বেগ সেইরূপ প্রবল হওয়া {২০} প্রয়োজন, যেন প্রকৃতি-যন্ত্র-সম্ভূত অন্যান্য বেগের দ্বারা ইহা প্রতিহত না হয়। লোভ মোহ কাম রাগ দ্বেষ মনতা প্রভৃতি যে কিছু বেগ অন্তঃকরণে সমুদ্ভূত হয়, তাহা সমস্তই অবরুদ্ধ হইয়া এক মাত্র ভক্তিব্যেগ প্রবল হইবে। তবে সেই বেগ সমস্ত প্রকৃতি-যন্ত্র আলোড়িত করিয়া প্রকৃতির অধিষ্ঠাতা ঈশ্বর-চেতনকে বিচলিত করিতে পারিবে। অন্তরে যতপ্রকার শক্তি-বেগ আছে তাহা সমস্তই এই এক মাত্র ভক্তি প্রণালীতে প্রবাহিত হওয়া প্রয়োজন। যাহা কিছু দর্শন করিবে, যাহা কিছু শ্রবণ করিবে, যাহা কিছু মনন করিবে, সমস্তই সেই বিরাত্রুপী অনন্তদেবের মহিমা। জগৎ তখন আর এজগৎ থাকিবে না — কেবল সেই বিরাত দেবের অনন্ত শক্তির মহিমা স্বরূপে প্রতিভাত হইবে। সেই অচিন্ত্য শক্তির অনন্ত মহিমা সন্দর্শনে অন্তরে বিস্ময়ে মোহিত ও আনন্দে পুলকিত হইলে, নাম রূপাত্মক জগৎ বিস্মৃত হয়, আপনাকেও বিস্মৃত হইয়া যায় — বিস্ময় ও আনন্দ বেগে হৃদয় উচ্ছলিত হইয়া নয়ন হইতে দরদরিতভাবে প্রেমধারা বিগলিত হইতে থাকে। ভক্তি প্রেম বিস্ময় আনন্দ এই সকলের প্রভাবে হৃদয় বিকল হইলে অনন্ত বাসনার সহিত জগচ্ছিত্তা যেন আপনা আপনি হৃদয় হইতে বিগলিত হইয়া পড়ে। অনন্য চিন্তায় সেই মহিমা ধ্যানে চিত্ত একাগ্রীভূত হইলে, অন্তরে গুণশক্তির প্রভাব নিবৃত্তি পায়, তখন সেই একাগ্রীভূত-চিত্ত-মধ্যে অবস্থিত হইয়া জ্ঞানও যেন অখণ্ড-মণ্ডল-ব্যাপী অনন্তরূপী বিরাতদেবের আকারে আকারিত হইয়া যায়। অর্থাৎ বিরাত্রুপী অনন্ত আত্মাতে সমাহিত হয়। এই জন্যই পাতঞ্জল দর্শনে “যোগশ্চিত্ত বৃত্তি নিরোধঃ” এই সূত্র উল্লেখ {২১} করিয়া পরে “ঈশ্বর প্রণিধানাদ্বা” এই সূত্রে তাহার বিকল্পতা প্রদর্শিত হইয়াছে। অর্থাৎ চিত্ত-বৃত্তি-নিরোধরূপ যোগের দ্বারা অন্তরে জ্ঞানময় আত্মাতে চিত্ত সমাহিত হয়, এবং ঈশ্বরে চিত্ত প্রণিহিত হইলে, বিরাতের জ্ঞানময় আত্মাতে চিত্ত সমাহিত হয়। তবে একটির কার্য অন্তরে আর¹¹⁷⁷ হইয়া পরে বাহ্য ও অন্তরে জ্ঞানের সাম্যভাব হয়। অপরটির কার্য বাহিরে আর¹¹⁷⁸ হইয়া ক্রমশঃ বা জন্মান্তরে অন্তরে ও বাহ্যে জ্ঞান সাম্যভাব প্রাপ্ত হয়। জ্ঞানের সাম্যভাবই জ্ঞানের যন্ত্রিত¹¹⁷⁸ অবস্থার মোচন। জ্ঞানের যন্ত্রিত অবস্থাই জ্ঞানরূপী জীবের সংসার বন্ধন। এই বন্ধন-মোচনই মুক্তি। অকপট ভক্তির চরম ফল তত্ত্বজ্ঞান। অপরোক্ষ তত্ত্বজ্ঞানই মোক্ষ।

কর্মযোগ — বিরাত পুরুষ বা ঈশ্বর সম্বন্ধে এইরূপ ভক্তি যোগ, তত্ত্বজ্ঞানী মহা যোগীশ্বর ঈশ্বরভিধেয় শ্রীকৃষ্ণ শ্রীমদ্ভগবদ্গীতা নামক উপনিষৎ শাস্ত্রের নবম দশম একাদশ দ্বাদশ অধ্যায়ে বিশেষ রূপে বর্ণন করিয়াছেন। যাহারা এই বিরাত্রুপী নারায়ণকে বুদ্ধির দ্বারা ধারণা করিতে অসমর্থ, তাহাদিগের প্রকৃতি ও প্রবৃত্তি ভেদে বিবিধ প্রকার ভক্তি ও উপাসনা প্রণালী বেদ ও তন্ত্রশাস্ত্রে নিরূপিত হইয়াছে। তত্ত্বজ্ঞানী যোগীগণ মানব-যন্ত্র ও বিরাত যন্ত্রের প্রকৃতি বিজ্ঞান-দৃষ্টিতে পর্যালোচনা করিয়া সেই সকল প্রণালী অবধারণ করিয়াছেন। বলিয়াই তাঁহাদিগের মত বিজ্ঞান সঙ্গত সূত্রাং অদ্রান্ত বলা যায়। এবং তাঁহাদিগের নির্ণীত আচার ব্যবহার প্রভৃতি সমাজ প্রণালীও সেই বৈজ্ঞানিক ধর্মের অনুকূল।

¹¹⁷⁶ পিতাহমস্য জগতো মাতা ধাতা পিতামহঃ। বেদ্যং পবিত্র মোক্ষার ঋক সাম যজুরেবচ।। গতি বর্তা প্রভুঃ সাক্ষী নিবাসঃ শরণং সুহৃৎ। প্রভবঃ প্রলয়ঃ স্থানং নিধানং বীজ মবয়য়ং ইতি শ্রীমদ্ভগবদ্গীতা ৯ অঃ। [৯.১৮]

¹¹⁷⁷ Em. আর in শুদ্ধিপত্র

¹¹⁷⁸ Em. যন্ত্র in শুদ্ধিপত্র

ইশ্বরে ভক্তি ও বিশ্বাসই কৰ্মের প্রবর্তক। কোনো¹¹⁷⁹ কৰ্ম {২২} পুনঃপুনঃ করিলে অভ্যাস হইয়া যায়। অভ্যাসের দ্বারা অন্তরে সংস্কার জন্মে। সেই সংস্কারের প্রভা ব স্বভাব পরিবর্তিত হয়। স্বভাবের¹¹⁸⁰ পরিবর্তন হইলে, অন্তরে স্বভাবের প্রবর্তক প্রকৃতি যন্ত্রেও অবস্থা পরিবর্তন হওয়া স্বীকার করিতে হইবে। একটি কৰ্ম পুনঃ পুনঃ করিলে যদি প্রকৃতি যন্ত্র পরিবর্তিত হয়, তবে প্রত্যেক বারেই কিছু কিছু ভাবান্তর হইতেছে স্বীকার¹¹⁸¹ করিতে হইবে। সুতরাং আমাদের প্রত্যেক কৰ্মের দ্বারাই যে প্রকৃতি-যন্ত্র কোনরূপে না কোনরূপে অভিহত হয়, তাহা অবশ্যই স্বীকার্য। অতএব আমাদের সদসং কৰ্মের ফল আভ্যন্তরিক প্রকৃতি-যন্ত্রে নিত্যই সঞ্চিত হইতেছে। সেই বাহ্য ও আভ্যন্তরিক প্রকৃতি-যন্ত্র বিচার করিয়া, জ্ঞান-নেত্রদর্শী সেই আৰ্য্য-মহিষীগণ মানব-সমাজের প্রবৃত্তি-ভেদে আচার ব্যবহার প্রভৃতি যে সকল বিবিধ প্রকার কৰ্মযোগ অবধারণ করিয়া গিয়াছেন, সেই সকল উপদেশ বাক্যই শাস্ত্র বলিয়া সাদরে প্রতিপালন পূর্বক আৰ্য্যসমাজ আবহমান কাল চলিতেছে। অতএব আৰ্য্য ধৰ্মের সকল শাখাই বিজ্ঞান-সঙ্গত।

আধুনিক পাশ্চাত্য তত্ত্ববিশারদ পণ্ডিতগণের মত আৰ্য্যমতের সহিত কতদূর ঐক্য হয় তাহা পর্যালোচনা করা যাইতেছে। H. Spencer মহাশয় বলেন যে ধৰ্ম ও বিজ্ঞান সামঞ্জস্যভাবে থাকা উচিত। বিজ্ঞান অতিক্রম করিয়া ধৰ্ম থাকিতে পারে না। তদ্বিষয়ে তাঁহার মত এইরূপ, —

Thus the consciousness of an inscrutable power manifested to us through all phenomena, has been {২৩} growing ever clearer; and must eventually be freed from its imperfections. The certainty that on the one hand such a power exists, while on the other hand its nature transcends intuition and is beyond imagination, is the certainty towards which intelligence has from the first been progressing. At this conclusion science inevitably arrives as it reaches its confines; while to this conclusion Religion is irresistibly¹¹⁸² driven by criticism. এই উক্তি দ্বারা এই অভিপ্রায় প্রকাশ পাইতেছে যে জগৎ প্রকাশক অচিন্ত্য-শক্তি দুর্জয়, ইহাকে দুর্জয় বলিয়া সিদ্ধান্ত করা, ধৰ্ম এবং বিজ্ঞান উভয়েরই কর্তব্য। পরে অন্যত্র বলিয়াছেন, Is it not just possible that there is a mode of Being transcending Intelligence and will, as these transcend mechanical motion? It is true that we are totally unable to conceive any such higher mode of being, but this is not a reason for questioning its existence, it is rather the reverse. Have we not seen how utterly incompetent our minds are to form even an approach to a conception of that which underlies all phenomena? Is it not proved that this incompetency is the incompetency of the conditioned to grasp the unconditioned? এস্থলে এই অভিপ্রায় প্রকাশ পাইতেছে যে, যে বুদ্ধির অতীত বস্তু নামরূপ-বিশিষ্ট জগৎ পদার্থের উপা- {২৪} দান¹¹⁸³ হইয়াছেন তিনি সর্ববাস্তুর অতীত বলিয়া আমাদের (যন্ত্রিত) অবস্থাপন্ন জ্ঞানশক্তি তাঁহাকে ধারণা করিতে পারে না।

সর্ববাস্তুর অতীত, জগতের উপাদান স্বরূপ সেই নিত্য বস্তুর, স্বরূপ নির্ণয় সম্বন্ধে Mr. Mansel এইরূপ বলিয়াছেন — “The absolute and infinite are thus like the inconceivable and imperceptible, names

¹¹⁷⁹ কোনো] conj. This word is obscured by a library stamp in the original.

¹¹⁸⁰ em. স্বভাবের

¹¹⁸¹ em. স্বীকার

¹¹⁸² “irresistibly”] em. “irresistably.”

¹¹⁸³ em. উপাদান

indicating, not an object of thought or consciousness at all, but mere absence of the conditions under which consciousness is possible”.

ইহাতে এইরূপ অভিপ্রায় প্রকাশ করিতেছেন যে স্বয়ং পূর্ণ অনন্ত, এই নামই জ্ঞান বা চিন্তার অতীত। কেবল যেরূপ অবস্থাপন্ন বা ভাবাপন্ন হইলে জ্ঞান শক্তির ক্রিয়া হয়, সেই অবস্থার বা ভাবের অভাব মাত্র।

Mr. Spencer বলেন our consciousness,¹¹⁸⁴ of the unconditioned, being literally the unconditioned consciousness, or raw material¹¹⁸⁵ of thought, to which in thinking we give definite forms, it follows that an ever present sense of real existence is the very basis of our intelligence.

অভিপ্রায় এই যে, জ্ঞান, সকল¹¹⁸⁶ ভাব বর্জিত হইলে যে অবস্থাপন্ন হয় তাহাই ভাবাতীত বস্তুর জ্ঞান বলা যায়। এস্থলে দ্বিতীয় consciousness শব্দের এইরূপ অর্থ করা হইয়াছে যথা — স্বয়ং-জ্ঞান, চিন্তার উপাদান, অর্থাৎ চিন্তা করিবার কালে আমরা যাহাকে বিশেষ বিশেষ আকারে পরিণত {২৫} করি। ইহাতে সিদ্ধান্ত হইতেছে যে আমাদের জ্ঞান-শক্তির অভ্যন্তরে প্রকৃত সত্তার অনুভূতি নিত্য বর্তমান রহিয়াছে।

ইতিপূর্বে প্রদর্শন করা হইয়াছে যে Spencer মহাশয় বলেন যে “to which in thinking we give definite forms” অর্থাৎ চিন্তাকালে আমরা যাহাকে (জ্ঞানকে) বিশেষ আকার প্রদান করি। “আমরা” শব্দটি অহং ভাবের জ্ঞাপক। পূর্বে উক্তি স্বীকার করিলে অহংভাব জ্ঞানের পরিচালক, সুতরাং জ্ঞান অপেক্ষা ভিন্নসত্তা-বিশিষ্ট কিছু বলিয়া স্বীকার করিতে হয়। কিন্তু Mr. Spencer ও Mr. Mansel প্রভৃতি অনেকেই একবাক্যে স্বীকার করিয়াছেন যে অহংভাব জ্ঞানেতে প্রকাশ পায়, সুতরাং জ্ঞানের অবস্থা বা ভাব বিশেষ। অতএব পূর্বে উক্তিটি অসংলগ্ন হইতেছে। এরূপ উক্তির কারণ কেবল অনুভূতির স্থিরতার অভাব।

Sir W.M. Hamilton বলেন The absolute is conceived by a negation of conceivability অর্থাৎ সকল অনুভবনীয় বস্তুর অভাব-দ্বারাই নিত্য স্বয়ং পূর্ণ বস্তু অনুভূত হয়।

আভ্যন্তরিক প্রকৃত ভাব চিন্তা করিতে প্রবৃত্ত হইয়া আধুনিক পাশ্চাত্য আত্মতত্ত্বানুসন্ধ্যায়ী পণ্ডিতগণ কিছুই স্পষ্টরূপে অনুভব করিতে পারেন নাই। এই জন্যই Mr. Spencer, Mr. Mansel মহাশয়ের মত সমর্থন করিয়া এইরূপ বলিয়াছেন — clearly a true cognition of self implies a state in which the knowing and known are one, in which subject {২৬} and object are identified; and this Mr. Mansel rightly holds to be the annihilation of both.

So that the personality of which each is conscious, and of which the existence is to each a fact beyond all others the most certain, is yet a thing which cannot truly be known at all; knowledge of it is forbidden by the very nature of thought.

তাহারা যাহা বলিলেন তাহা প্রকৃত বটে, কিন্তু অনুভূতির দোষে চরম সিদ্ধান্তে উপনীত হইতে পারিলেন না। পূর্বে উক্ত বাক্যের অভিপ্রায় এই যে প্রকৃত আত্মজ্ঞান বলিতে জ্ঞানের সেই অবস্থাকেই বুঝায় যাহাতে জ্ঞাতা এবং জ্ঞেয় ভাব একীভূত হয়, যাহাতে প্রমাতা এবং প্রমেয় একই পদার্থ রূপে প্রকাশ পায়। Mr. Mansel এই অবস্থাকে উভয় ভাবের ধ্বংস অবস্থা বলিয়া প্রকৃতই বিবেচনা করিয়াছেন। এস্থলে Mr. Spencer ও Mr. Mansel উভয়েই আর্য্য-তত্ত্বজ্ঞান-সম্মত প্রকৃত কথাই বলিলেন, যে আত্মাকে জানিতে গেলে জ্ঞান ও জ্ঞাতা, প্রমাতা ও প্রমেয়, এই উভয় ভাবই ধ্বংস হয়। কিন্তু উভয় ভাব ধ্বংস হইয়া অবশিষ্ট কিছু থাকে কি না, সে সম্বন্ধে Mr. Mansel কিছুই বলিলেন না। এবং Mr. Spencer পরে সিদ্ধান্ত করিলেন যে আত্মার প্রকৃত জ্ঞান লাভ করা যায় না; চিন্তা বৃত্তির যেরূপ প্রকৃতি তাহাতে এই জ্ঞান লাভ সম্ভবে না।

¹¹⁸⁴ em. “consciousness” in শুদ্ধিপত্র

¹¹⁸⁵ “material”] em. “mat-erial.”

¹¹⁸⁶ em. জ্ঞান-সকল in শুদ্ধিপত্র

পূর্বোক্ত সকল মত পর্যালোচনা করিয়া জানা যাইতেছে যে স্পষ্টতই হউক বা বাক-ভঙ্গির দ্বারা হউক, চিন্তাবৃত্তি {২৭} রহিত হইলে, জ্ঞানে যে কোন প্রকার অচিন্ত্য ভাব অবশিষ্ট থাকে তাহা সকলেই স্বীকার করিতেছেন। এবং সেই অচিন্ত্য ভাবই যে স্বয়ং-পূর্ণ, নিত্য-সত্তা-বিশিষ্ট প্রকৃত বস্তুর জ্ঞান, তাহাও কেহ কেহ কোন কোন স্থলে স্বীকার করিয়াছেন। কিন্তু স্পষ্টরূপে ধারণা করিতে সমর্থ না হওয়াতে, তাঁহাদিগের মত কেবল সংশয়ে ও তর্কে পর্য্যবসিত হইয়াছে।

জ্ঞান যে দ্রব্য-বিশেষ, তাহা পাশ্চাত্য পণ্ডিতগণের অনেকেই সিদ্ধান্ত করিয়াছেন। এবং ইতঃপূর্বের তত্ত্বজ্ঞান পরিচ্ছেদের অহং-ভাব বিচারের স্থলেও প্রদর্শিত হইয়াছে যে জ্ঞান, দ্রব্য বিশেষ, প্রকৃতি-গত শক্তির দ্বারা যন্ত্রিত। শক্তির দ্বারা হইয়াই প্রমাতা প্রমেয় প্রমাণ, বা জ্ঞাতা জ্ঞেয় জ্ঞান, বা কর্তা কর্ম ও ক্রিয়া, জ্ঞান এই তিন ভাবে প্রকাশ পায়। যদ্বারা প্রমাতা প্রমেয়-সম্বন্ধে প্রমাতা-স্বরূপে প্রকাশ পায়, এবং যদ্বারা প্রমেয় প্রমাতা-সম্বন্ধে প্রমেয়-স্বরূপে প্রকাশ পায়, তাহাকে প্রমাণ বলা যায়। অর্থাৎ জ্ঞাতা এবং জ্ঞেয় এই দুইটি মাত্র ভাবই যে জ্ঞানে প্রকাশ পায় এমত নহে। জ্ঞাতা এবং জ্ঞেয় যে সম্বন্ধ-সূত্রে পরস্পর গ্রথিত, সেই ক্রিয়ারূপ সম্বন্ধ-সূত্রও জ্ঞানে প্রকাশ পায় অর্থাৎ জ্ঞেয় বস্তু যদি দর্শনের বিষয় হয়। তাহা হইলে জ্ঞান দর্শন-ক্রিয়ার ভাব ধারণা করিয়া জ্ঞেয় বস্তুকে জ্ঞাতার সম্বন্ধে প্রকাশ করে। যদি শ্রবণের বিষয় হয়, তবে জ্ঞান শ্রবণ-ক্রিয়ার ভাব ধারণা করিয়া জ্ঞেয় বস্তুকে প্রকাশ করে। পূর্বের প্রদর্শিত হইয়াছে যে জ্ঞানের শক্তি, প্রকাশ করা এবং প্রকাশ হওয়া। যদি জ্ঞাতা ও জ্ঞেয় ভাব অর্থাৎ কর্তৃভাব {২৮} ও কর্মভাব তিরোহিত হয়, তবে করা ও হওয়া এই দুই ভাব তিরোহিত হইয়া, নিত্য শক্তির গুণে জ্ঞানের প্রকাশ-ভাব মাত্র অবশিষ্ট থাকিবে। পাশ্চাত্য পণ্ডিতগণ এই ভাব ধারণা করিতে সমর্থ হন নাই। তাঁহারা ইচ্ছা-শক্তির প্রভাবে প্রমাতা ও প্রমেয় ভাবকে সহসা বর্জন পূর্বক অন্তরে অনুভব করিতে প্রবৃত্ত হইলে, প্রমাতা প্রমেয়ের ভাব বর্জিত হইল বটে, কিন্তু যে শক্তি-দ্বারা চালিত হইয়া জ্ঞান এই ভাব ধারণা করে, সেই শক্তির বেগ এক কালে নিবৃত্ত হইল না। এই শক্তিকে Mr. Spencer মহাশয় আভ্যন্তরিক persistence of force বলিয়া অনেক স্থলে উল্লেখ করিয়াছেন। এক দিকে সেই শক্তির বেগে জ্ঞান অন্তরে আপনা আপনি চঞ্চল হইতে লাগিল, অথচ ইচ্ছা-শক্তির প্রভাবে কোন আকার ধারণা করিতে পারিল না। অপর দিকে, শক্তি-বেগ এক কালে নিবৃত্ত হইলে, জ্ঞান যে গুণ-শক্তির অতীত বস্তুর আকার ধারণে সমর্থ হইত, সেই শক্তি-বিলোড়িত-জ্ঞান সে আকার ধারণেও সমর্থ হইল না। সেই অবস্থায় ‘অনুভব করিব’ এইরূপ কোন প্রকার ইচ্ছা বা সংকল্প উদয় হইলে জ্ঞান আরও চঞ্চল হইয়া উঠিল। সেই চঞ্চলীভূত জ্ঞান আপনার অভ্যন্তরে কোন প্রকার স্থির নিশ্চল ভাব অনুভব করিতে পারে না। সুতরাং সেই অবস্থায় অনুভূতি কেবল অস্থির সংশয়াত্মক হইয়া পড়ে। এই ভাবটি অন্তরে অনুভব করিয়া না দেখিলে প্রকৃতরূপে ধারণা হইবে না। জ্ঞানের যন্ত্রিত অবস্থাই জীবের বন্ধন। শক্তির বেগ এক কালে নিবৃত্ত করিয়া জ্ঞানকে যন্ত্রিত অবস্থা হইতে মোচন করিতে {২৯} পারিলে, তবে সেই জ্ঞানে নির্মল নিশ্চল নিত্য ভাবের উদয় হয়¹¹⁸⁷। পাশ্চাত্য পণ্ডিতগণ যে negation of thought অর্থাৎ চিন্তা বৃত্তির অভাবই তাহার উপায় বলিয়া উল্লেখ করিয়াছেন, আর্য্যতত্ত্বজ্ঞানীগণও সেই অভিপ্রায়ে চিন্তবৃত্তি নিরোধের উপদেশ দিয়েছেন। কিন্তু তাহা সহসা হইতে পারে¹¹⁸⁸ না — অভ্যাস ও কৌশল প্রয়োজন। সেই কৌশল — যোগ। তাহা কেবল আর্য্যতত্ত্ব জ্ঞানিরাই জানেন।

জয় জয় দেব জয় বিশ্বেশ্বর ।
 জয় বিশ্বময় জয় বিশ্ব-ধর ।।
 জয় বিশ্বকারী জয় বিশ্ব-হারী ।
 তুমি হে অনন্ত বিশ্বরূপ ধারী ।।
 কি অদ্ভুত দেব মহিমা তোমার ।
 বিশ্বকর্মা নিজে বিশ্ব অবতার ?
 অনন্ত মহিমা নাহিক উপমা ।
 যে দিকে নিরখি নাহি দেখি সীমা ।।
 অনন্ত আকাশ কেবলি চেতন ।

¹¹⁸⁷ Mr. Spencer এই অভিপ্রায়ে প্রকৃত কোথায় বলিয়াছেন, — Comprehension must be something other than comprehension before the ultimate fact can be comprehended.”

¹¹⁸⁸ em. পরে

ব্যোমরূপী দেব ব্রহ্ম সনাতন ।।
নাহি শশি নাহি রবির কিরণ ।
নাহি ক্ষিতি জল নাহিক পবন ।।
নাহি দেশ কাল নাহিক আলোক ।
নাহি অন্ধকার নাহি লোকালোক ।।
নাহি দরশন নাহি পরশন ।
নাহি ঘ্রাণ রস নাহিক শ্রবণ ।।

{৩০}

অনন্ত গগন শুধুই চেতন ।
অনন্ত চেতন চেতনে মগন ।।
সকলি চেতন ব্রহ্ম নিরঞ্জন ।
আপনার ধ্যানে আপনি মগন ।।
চেতনা আকাশে নাদ পরকাশে ।
মহানাদ রবে বিজ্ঞান বিকাশে ।
সে ধ্যান ভাঙ্গিল আপনা স্মরিল ।
শাক্তিরূপা দেবি উল্লাসে ভাসিল ।।
শিহরিল দেব দেবির পরশে ।
তেজো রাশিময় গগণে বিকাশে ।।
শক্তিময় দেহ পূর্ণ সচেতন ।
তিনি সে পুরাণে ব্রহ্ম নারায়ণ ।।
বেদের ঈশ্বর সাংখ্যের প্রকৃতি ।
তন্ত্রে আদ্যা শক্তি সংসারপ্রসূতি ।।
স্মৃতি রূপে দেবী কাল প্রসবিল ।
গগন উজলি আলোক ছুটিল ।।
ব্যাপিল আলোক হয়ে অণ্ডকার ।
শ্রীচৈতন্য লীলা করিল প্রচার ।।
গাইল সে লীলা কৃষ্ণ দ্বৈপায়ন ।
যার গুণ-যশে ভরেছে ভুবন ।।
এই বিশ্ব-যন্ত্র অনন্ত মাঝারে ।
বাঁধা শাক্তিরূপ কোটি কোটি তারে ।।
রবির অন্তরে ভূতল-গহ্বরে ।
সাগর-গভীরে অচল-শিখরে ।।
অনন্ত গগণে যে যথা রয়েছে ।
এক সুরে মিলি সকলে বাজিছে ।।
ছার সে বিজ্ঞান পাগলের প্রায় ।
তাই শক্তি তত্ত্ব বুঝিবারে চায় ।।
{৩১}

জেনেছে বশিষ্ঠ¹¹⁸⁹ জেনেছে মার্কণ্ড¹¹⁹⁰ ।

তন্ন তন্ন যারা করেছে ব্রহ্মাণ্ড ।।
যে জন জেনেছে সেজন মজেছে ।
অসার বাসনা সকলি ছেড়েছে ।।
সেই প্রেমে যার অন্তর গলেছে ।
প্রেমানন্দ-বারি নয়নে ঝরেছে ।।
এ সংসার সুখ সকলি ভুলেছে ।
ধন্য সেই ভবে জনম লয়েছে ।

জেনেছিল শুক জেনেছে কপিল ।
যার যশোরশি ত্রিলোক ব্যাপিল ।।
জেনেছে নারদ, সেই তপোধন ।
তাই বীণা লয়ে ভ্রমিত ভুবন ।।
গাইত সে গুণ মজাইয়ে চিত ।
গুণ গান তাঁর জীবনের ব্রত ।।
গলিত হৃদয় সেই প্রেম-নিরে ।
প্রেমানন্দ-বারি দুই চক্ষুে ঝরে ।
উঠিত তখন বীণার বঙ্কার ।
জয় শ্রীচৈতন্য বিশ্ব-অবতার ।
জয় জয় দেব জয় বিশ্বেশ্বর ।
জয় বিশ্বময় জয় বিশ্বধর ।।
জয় বিশ্বকারি জয় বিশ্ব-হারি ।
তুমি হে অনন্ত বিশ্বরূপ ধারী ।।
কি অদ্ভুত দেব মহিমা তোমার ।
বিশ্বকর্মা নিজে বিশ্ব-অবতার ।।

বলিহারি কারিকুরি চাতুরির মেলা ।
যে দিকে নিরখি হেরি ভাং-গড়ের খেলা ।।
দেবাসুর নর আদি যত যন্ত্র গড়েছ ।
আহা মরি যন্ত্রি-দেব ! কিবা সুর বেঁধেছ ।।
অগণন জীবযন্ত্র যে যে খানে রয়েছে ।
“আমি” বলে এক সুরে সকলেতে বাজিছে ।।

1189 আবদ্যা সারতঃ পারমাঙ্কলাভাদৃত্তে কিল ।
রাম নাসাদ্যতে তদ্ধি পদমক্ষয় মুচ্যতে ।।

কুতো জাতেয় মিতিতে রামমাস্ত বিচারণা ।
ইমাং কথমহং হস্মীত্যেমা তেহস্তু বিচারণা ।।
অস্তং গতয়াং ক্ষীণায়ামসয়াং জ্ঞাসয়সি রাঘব ।
যত এষা যথা চেষা যথা নষ্টেত্য খণ্ডিতং ।।
ইতি যোগবাসিষ্ঠ্যঃ ।

1190 যচ্চ কিঞ্চিৎ ক্চিৎস্তু সদসদ্বাখিলাঙ্ঘিকে ।
তস্য সর্বস্য যা শক্তিঃ সাত্বং কিং স্তয়তে ময়া ।
ইতি মার্কণ্ডেয় চণ্ডী ।

এই নর-যন্ত্র দেব ! কত সাজে সাজিছে ।
যে দিকে বাজাও তুমি সেই দিকে বাজিছে ।।
“আমি আমি” বলে ভবে সকলেতে নাচিছে ।
আমি কারে বলে কিন্তু কেহ নাহি ভাবিছে ।।
মৎস্য কুর্ম বরাহাদি সকলের সার ।
হয়েছ ভবের মাঝে “আমি” অবতার ।।
সাবাশ চাতুরি তব, দেব শ্রীচেতন, ।
সকলেতে আছ কিন্তু না হেরে নয়ন ।।
বলিহারি কি চাতুরি চতুরের চূড়া ।
হেন জন নাহি তার বুঝে এক গুঁড়া ।।
যদি ঐ পদে মতি রাখ দয়াময় ।
কেমন চতুর তুমি বুঝিব তোমায় !

শ্রী অম্বিকাচরণ শর্মা