



Yoga: The Art of Transformation

Yoga emerged in India as a means to transcend suffering. Over generations, countless individuals seeking enlightenment or empowerment refined its metaphysics and techniques. Today, it is widely recognized around the world as a source of health and spiritual insight. But few outside scholarly and advanced practitioner circles are familiar with yoga's rich, protean diversity—its varied meanings for both practitioners and those who encountered and interacted with them—over the last 2,500 years.

This narrowing of yoga's breadth lies partly in the malleability of the term, for "every group in every age" redefined yoga and reshaped its means and goals.¹ Our firmest evidence for yoga's origins lie in North India. Between the fifth and the third centuries BCE, self-aware renouncers realized that their bodies and minds contained the potential to perceive reality correctly and rise above the suffering of existence. Known as *shramanas*, *munis*, and *yatis*, they radically reshaped their relationship with ordinary life to devote themselves to meditation and austerities.² Over time, practitioners of yoga built upon this foundation, incrementally honing the techniques of physical and metaphysical transformation. They not only drew upon their own insights, they also responded to philosophical developments and the changing social, religious, and political landscapes of India. By the seventh century CE, the core concepts, practices, and vocabulary of almost every yoga system were established, though "variations and expansions" continue to the present day.³ Like a rope composed of many different threads—some of which are present at any given moment, but none of which are always there—yoga's history has been one of continual modifications and transformations.

Treatises and commentaries written between the third century BCE and the present day offer a coherent overview of yoga's philosophical depth and developments. In contrast, objects and images foreground how yoga, despite the inherently individual experience at its core, has always been embedded in culture.⁴ Made by professional artists working for sectarian groups, royal and lay patrons, or within commercial networks, these artworks are situated at the interface of yogic knowledge with received visual traditions and the interests of diverse communities.⁵

Yoga: The Art of Transformation considers what visual culture can tell us both about yoga as an embodied process of transformation and its varied manifestations in history. This dual focus recognizes that perfecting the mind-body and being an agent in the world were (and are) simultaneous and intertwined activities.⁶ The project thus examines works that illuminate, in historically

specific ways, yogic concepts, practices, and social interactions as well as their circulation within the popular imagination.

Although the visual corpus of yoga potentially extends across Asia and the world, *Yoga: The Art of Transformation* focuses on India's wonderfully abundant archive. Created over some two millennia in diverse religious and secular contexts, these works open windows onto yoga's centrality within Indian culture and religion, its philosophical depth, its multiple political and historical expressions, and its trans-sectarian and transnational adaptations. The pictorial tradition, which has never been holistically explored, reveals that yoga was not a unified construct or the domain of any single religion, but rather decentralized and plural. While most objects emerged out of Hindu contexts or depict Hindu practitioners, Jain, Buddhist, Sikh, and Sufi images illuminate patterns of trans-sectarian sharing. Illustrated philosophical treatises and diagrams convey various conceptions of the yogic body. Representations of divinized gurus, fierce yoginis, militant ascetics, and romantic heroes epitomize the fluidity of yogic identity across "sacred" and "secular" boundaries and elucidate patterns of interaction between renunciants (or renouncers) and householders. Photographs, missionary postcards, magic posters, medical illustrations, iconographic manuals, and early films shed light on the enormous shifts in yogic identity and reception during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Widely circulated, these printed materials chart the transnational denigration of yoga during the colonial period and its response, the creation of modern yoga in India.

Fig. 1
Enlightened beings
float in a sea of gold
in *Three Aspects of the
Absolute*, folio 1 from
the *Nath Charit*. By
Bulaki, 1823. India,
Jodhpur. Merhangarh
Museum Trust³



Significant aspects of yoga were too transgressive or internalized to have found their way into visual form, and not all visual traditions survived the passage of time.⁷ With 143 objects (and fifty illustrations in the essays)—a pond in the ocean of yoga's visual culture—this exhibition catalogue cannot claim to be comprehensive. Instead, it seeks to enrich our understanding of yoga's plural configurations by examining key constructs, the mechanisms through which yoga became deeply and diversely engrained within Indian culture, and the contexts within which the modern practice emerged.

Melting, Expansion, and Radiance

If *Yoga: The Art of Transformation* seeks to uncover histories of yoga and how they evolved dynamically in response to religious and sociopolitical landscapes, it is also designed to allow for direct encounters with splendid works of art. Its focus on sculptures and paintings that invite aesthetic delectation has particular relevance. One of India's greatest philosophers, Abhinavagupta, wrote in the tenth century that sensitive viewers—those who can literally taste the essence (*rasa*) of art—experience an aesthetic pleasure akin to the bliss of expanded consciousness.⁸

Abhinavagupta's *rasa* theory is steeped in Kashmiri Shaivism, which itself draws on two intellectual traditions central to yoga's development: Advaita Vedanta, in which the ultimate goal is





Fig. 2 (left)
Jina. India, Rajasthan,
dated 1160. Virginia
Museum of Fine Arts^b



Fig. 3 (above right)
*Meditating Sikh
Ascetic*. India, Jammu
and Kashmir, probably
Mankot, ca. 1730.
Catherine and Ralph
Benkaim Collection



Fig. 4 (bottom)
Siddha Pratima Yantra
(detail). Western
India, 1333. Freer
Gallery of Art^c

to experience the unity of the self with the Absolute (*brahman*), and Tantra, which prescribes rituals for attaining this luminous awareness. In describing a spectator's response to drama, Abhinavagupta observed that a viewer with emotional capacity (*sahridaya*, literally, one with heart) loses sense of time, place, and self. Thus transcending the limitations of ego-bound perception, the sensitive viewer has a foretaste of enlightened detachment, which takes the form of "melting, expansion, and radiance."⁹

Representing the Yogic Body

Reflecting the importance of the body in yoga as well as the centrality of the figure in Indian art, yogic representations center largely on the human form.¹⁰ Premodern yoga treatises, such as the fifteenth-century *Light on Hatha* (*Hathapradipika*), describe the yogic body as steady, healthy, and supple.¹¹ Vidya Dehejia has observed that "the ideal of the yogic body is visibly evident in all Indian sculptures in their smooth non-muscular torsos, expanded chest and shoulders, and relaxed stomachs."¹² Artists' treatises contain no specific guidelines for representing the yogic body, but we find that sculpted deities, enlightened beings, and yogic masters—even those who have undergone severe austerities—typically have healthy and idealized bodies that convey their attainment.¹³ In contrast, only the fasting Buddha, a few fierce goddesses, and some human practitioners have attenuated limbs bearing traces of self-mortification.

If classical Indian aesthetic theory, of which Abhinavagupta is the most influential author, did not explicitly address visual art, it did establish a horizon of expectations among cultured audiences that permits some general observations. Melting, expansion, and radiance are almost uncannily represented in artworks made in vastly different periods, places, and materials, such as a folio from a Jodhpur manuscript that depicts enlightened beings floating in shimmering fields of gold (fig. 1, cat. 4a). Philosophers focused on the aesthetic emotion of quiescence (*shanta rasa*) frequently note that the presence of meditating ascetics (i.e., in dramatic performances or literary compositions) will trigger the emotional response of luminous detachment. And all treatises agree that aesthetic emotion arises only when characters conform to generalized types, an imperative seemingly echoed in the smoothly idealized bodies of innumerable Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain icons.

In the Jain tradition, for example, Jinas (great liberated souls) are invariably represented meditating to convey how they attained omniscience and provide a model for devotees.¹⁴ Through rigorous symmetry and rhythmically abstracted forms, a twelfth-century Jina from western India simultaneously embodies the complete cessation of the mind's fluctuations and alert energy (fig. 2, cat. 5d). The warmly radiant marble evokes the luminosity that imbues the realized body of a Jina; its whiteness signifies a soul unfettered by karma. Like the marble Jina, a Sikh yogi (or Udasi) meditates in lotus posture (*padmasana*) with his eyes raised in inward concentration (fig. 3 and page 24). To depict the Udasi *and* the intensity of his practice, the artist mobilized the flaring forms, crisp contours, and bold palette of eighteenth-century paintings from Mankot, a small kingdom in the Himalayan foothills of northwest India, accentuating the centered stability and upward energy of the ascetic's posture by echoing its form in the curved shape of the reed hut.

Other images convey more specific conceptions of the yogic body. Many reveal how Hindu yogis marked their physical bodies to purify and prepare themselves for practice and to signal their status as renunciants, signify their sectarian affiliation, or emulate divine archetypes (especially Shiva and Bhairava; see cats. 1a–c). Representations of the subtle body delineate the energy stations (chakras) that are crucial knowledge for hatha yoga practitioners, while juxtapositions of subtle and anatomical bodies chart yoga's insertion into Western medical discourse (see cats. 12a–c and 25b). Advanced Jain practitioners (*siddhas*) who had achieved disembodied liberation were sometimes represented as an absent presence, perceptible only as the negative space cut from a sheet of copper (fig. 4,

cat. 5e). In even more abstract ways, geometric diagrams (yantras) and sacred syllables (mantras)—visually invoked in countless images of yogis holding prayer beads—are powerful equivalents of divine bodies (figs. 3 and 7; see also cat. 9b). Indeed, so central was the construct and transformative potential of the body that many yogic traditions conceptualized higher planes of existence or the entirety of the universe as bodies (see cats. 11b–d).

Identifying Yogic Practitioners

The porous boundaries between practitioners of yoga and other ascetics, as well as the myriad names by which they were historically known, begs an explanation of how they were identified and the terminology employed within this book.

We use “ascetic” for representations made prior to the second- to the fourth-century watershed, when yoga began to crystallize into distinctive traditions, each with its own rigorous metaphysics. Among the earliest images of ascetics are those found at Buddhist sites, such as the relief from the Great Stupa (reliquary mound) at Sanchi, circa 50–25 BCE (fig. 5). It depicts two renunciants—one with a yoga strap (*yogapatta*) around his knees—seated in front of their leaf-capped huts. Although the narrative context

of the panel is unknown, the forest retreat and the ascetics’ scanty garb distinguish them from the robed Buddhist monks who appear in other Sanchi reliefs. They would have been understood as renunciants who sought release from the cycle of rebirth through meditation and austerities.

Favoring caution, we also use “ascetic” or “sage” for individuals whose practice most probably included yoga and for legendary figures who were re-identified as yoga practitioners in later historical contexts. An eighteenth-century painting from Mankot, a kingdom in the Pahari foothills of northwest India, demonstrates how yoga’s transformative potential shaped already established identities. It represents the seven sages (*saptarishi*) extolled within Hindu sources as the authors of the Vedas and the stars in the Big Dipper (fig. 6).¹⁵ Because they were popularly believed to have attained their semidivine status through exceptional devotion and extraordinary ascetic feats, it is not surprising that the Mankot artist represented them by drawing upon the appearances of local holy men. Clustered around a smoldering campfire, the

lotus-eyed sages constitute a localized and historically contingent typology of ascetic practice that includes an orthodox Hindu wearing a sacred thread and resting his outstretched arm on a ritual vessel (Vasishta, center right) and a dusky practitioner of hatha yoga inverted in a headstand (Bharadvaja, bottom register).¹⁶ Though hatha yoga took form long after the sages became legend, the painting reveals the extent to which transcendence-seeking ascetics existed together in the Mankot collective consciousness as members of allied traditions.

“Yogi” first appears between the second and fourth centuries as a term for Hindu ascetics seeking omniscience through the cultivation of body and mind. Later historical sources also generally identify renunciants “who may or may not practice the techniques commonly understood to constitute yoga” as yogis. We therefore use yogi to designate figures with the long, matted *jata* (dreadlocks) and ash-covered bodies of Hindu ascetics, such as those who cluster around a campfire in a genre scene painted circa 1625 for a Mughal emperor (fig. 9). Govardhan, who excelled in the naturalistic style favored by the Mughal court at this time, depicted them as renunciants who live apart from society yet have communal bonds, following a path that includes meditating in lotus posture and reciting sacred verses (one holds prayer beads). Two superb character studies—the holy man cocooned in long *jata* who gazes gently into the distance and the



Fig. 5
Great Stupa at
Sanchi, India, Madhya
Pradesh, Sanchi,
ca. 50–25 BCE^d

Fig. 6
The Seven Great
Sages. Attributed
to the Master at the
Court of Mankot.
India, Jammu and
Kashmir, Mankot,
1675–1700.
Government Museum
and Art Gallery,
Chandigarh^e

मं पत्रवीध. वृ. न. क. प. ३

ग। उ. ३०

वीर्षुमीर

समकम



वीमीर



कम



मड



कचरुण



Fig. 7
Yogini. India, Tamil
Nadu, Kanchipuram,
ca. 900–975. Arthur
M. Sackler Gallery¹

Fig. 8
Koringa. Reco
Brothers Circus
poster, England,
1946. Collection of
Mark Copland/The
Insect Circus

one at left who glares fiercely at us—convey how yogis were understood, in this period, as both spiritual figures and beings with the potential for destructive displays of supernatural power.

Govardhan's holy men may have self-identified with any number of general terms for Hindu renouncers, including yogi. Throughout the catalogue, we apply more specific designations when they are known or more appropriate. These other appellations refer to ascetics associated with particular religious traditions (e.g., Hindu sadhus or Muslim fakirs) or indicate gendered identities (e.g., female sadhvis and yoginis), sectarian affiliations (e.g., Nath or Dasnami), or levels of accomplishment (e.g., guru, teacher, or *siddha*, literally, perfected one).

Many of these terms were used interchangeably and over time, almost all gained multiple and even contradictory meanings. The valence of yogi ranged from positive to derogatory and from general to specific (e.g., when it became a term of self-identification for members of the Nath sectarian order). Moreover, yogi and fakir were often transposed in Indo-Islamic and colonial contexts.¹⁷

Both mortal women and goddesses associated with yoga were often known as yoginis, a term that conveyed different meanings in diverse sociohistorical contexts. Yoginis emerged around the eighth century within esoteric, often transgressive, rites as the human consorts of Tantric practitioners. The construction of stone yogini temples across the subcontinent between the tenth and fourteenth centuries marked their reinscription as goddesses. Sponsored by kings who sought yoginis' powers to protect their kingdoms, the Hindu temples were often situated to invite the visits of both Tantric adepts and broader communities. Inside were stone icons with the idealized bodies and frontal faces of Hindu deities. Their attributes—like the skull cup, snake and crocodile earrings, and wildly radiating hair of the yogini from Kanchipuram in Tamil Nadu (fig. 7, cat. 3a)—marked them as dangerous. Based upon the icons' material form and scattered texts,

art historians have long identified them as fierce goddesses.¹⁸ Recently discovered treatises about the temples, which describe Tantric adepts serving as ritual officiants and devotees offering food and flowers (as they would within orthodox temples), confirm the yoginis' divine identities.¹⁹ Combining aspects of Tantric and mainstream Hindu practice in unprecedented fashion,²⁰ the temples demonstrate how material culture can shape (rather than merely illustrate) traditions.

New meanings of yogini arose as yoga entered other courtly and commercial arenas. Paintings from the Bijapur Sultanate (in Central India) that were made in the decades bracketing 1600 are among the copious evidence that Indo-Islamic rulers propitiated yoginis²¹ (cats. 3b, 3c). Four centuries later, Koringa, a *magicienne* billed as “the only female yogi in the world,” astonished audiences in France, England, and the United States by wrestling crocodiles and reading minds (fig. 8; see also cats. 23b, 23c). Born Renée Bernard in southern France, she assumed an Indian identity to enhance the allure of her act. Her untamed hair, seated posture, and bare torso uncannily recall the iconography of the Sackler Gallery yogini.²²

Whether Koringa saw any of the Kanchipuram sculptures when they were taken to C. T. Loo's gallery in Paris in 1927,²³ or whether she picked upon on exotic signifiers that had floated freely across Europe since the mid-nineteenth century is unknown.²⁴ Though Koringa was no yogini, her assumed identity is significant to yoga's history, because it was partly against such stereotypes that modern yoga delineated its core traditions.



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KORINGA

THE ONLY
FEMALE YOGI
IN THE WORLD

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Essays and Catalogue Entries

Written by scholars from the fields of art history, philology, religion, and sociology, the essays and catalogue entries in this book constitute an interdisciplinary conversation about the visual culture of yoga. The inevitable differences in emphases, terminology, and periodization provide insight into the diverse scholarly histories and primary sources that contribute to our rapidly evolving knowledge of yoga.

The essays provide deeper contexts for objects that are central to yoga's visual culture. To broadly orient readers, David Gordon White's introductory essay assesses yoga's origins, lays out the continuities and differences between classical and Tantric traditions, and demonstrates how contemporary definitions of yoga have been colored by negative perceptions from centuries ago. The subsequent

essays are in rough chronological order. Tamara I. Sears explores the porous boundary between yogic adept and deity by examining the ideal and real places in which yoga was practiced; her study illuminates how medieval Indian imagery and architecture were fundamental in transforming Hindu aspirants into divinities. Carl W. Ernst traces the rich but lesser known engagement of Muslim thinkers with yoga and elucidates important intellectual and practical spheres in which significant aspects of yoga's visual culture emerged after the sixteenth century. The development of today's most important sectarian orders is assessed by James Mallinson, whose essay combines philological, visual, and ethnographic analysis for new insights into Mughal painting and yoga's histories. Joseph S. Alter sheds light on yoga's transformation into an Indian system of physical fitness and self-development by examining how Swami Kavalayananda and other key figures navigated tradition, modernity, and nationalist aspirations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Mark Singleton provides a case study in the globalization of yoga. Surveying the United States over the last century and a half, he examines the countercultural, glamorous, and commercial contexts through which yoga became deeply rooted within American culture.

Following the essays, thematically grouped catalogue entries explore key yogic practices, identities, and perceptions that entered the visual record. Some entries focus on tightly related groups, such as Jain images or medical illustrations.

Other entries extend across temporal, regional, and religious boundaries in order to more fully elucidate yogic concepts and historically situate differences. Respecting yoga's protean manifestations, the authors have paid particular attention to strategies of translation (across practice, text, and image); moments of cross-cultural contact or innovation; patronage imperatives; and arenas of reception. They give equal consideration to formal qualities and materiality to illuminate the distinctive languages and communicative power of visual culture. It is our hope that the juxtaposition of image and text throughout the catalogue will contribute to the reader's experience of *chamatkara*, the astonishment or wonder that Abhinavagupta identified as common to both aesthetic experience and enlightenment.²⁵



Fig. 9
Five Holy Men, folio
from the Saint
Petersburg Album.
Attributed to Govard-
han. India, Mughal
dynasty, ca. 1625–30.
Formerly collection
of Stuart Cary Welch,
current location
unknown⁹

Notes

Notes on the captions

- a. Selected publications include Debra Diamond, *Garden and Cosmos: The Royal Paintings of Jodhpur* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2008), pp. 174–75, cat. 40.
- b. Selected publications include Joseph Dye, *The Arts of India: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 2001), pp. 152–53, cat. 31; and Michael Brand, *The Vision of Kings: Art and Experience in India* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 1995), p. 76, cat. 50.
- c. Selected publications include Pratapaditya Pal, *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994), p. 124, cat. 14.
- d. This image has been identified by John Huntington (http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Indo-Eurasian_research/message/7621).
- e. Selected publications include B. N. Goswamy, *Pahari Masters: Court Painters of Northern India* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1992), pp. 106–7, cat. 40.
- f. Selected publications include *An Exhibition of the Sculpture of Greater India* (New York: C. T. Loo and Co., 1942), cat. 38; Vidya Dehejia, *Yogini Cult and Temples: A Tantric Tradition* (New Delhi: National Museum, 1986), p. 181; Padma Kaimal, *Scattered Goddesses: Travels with the Yoginis*, ed. Martha Ann Selby, *Asia Past and Present* (Ann Arbor: Association of Asian Studies, 2012), p. 29, fig. 2.
- g. Selected publications include *The Stuart Cary Welch Collection. Part One: Arts of the Islamic World* (London: Sotheby's, April 6, 2011), pp. 114–15, cat. 94; Stuart Cary Welch, *A Flower from Every Meadow: Indian Paintings from American Collections* (New York: Asia Society, 1973), pp. 104–5; Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India, 1600–1660* (Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1978), pp. 120–21, cat. 41.

Notes on the text

1. David Gordon White, *Yoga in Practice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 2.
2. Release from the cycle of rebirth differs from the aim of rebirth in heaven, the goal of even earlier Brahmanical ascetics as articulated in the Vedas. Geoffrey Samuel, *The Origins of Yoga and Tantra: Indic Religions to the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 119 in particular and more broadly pp. 119–65.
3. White, *Yoga in Practice*, p. 12.
4. Even renunciation is shaped, in part, by how it rejects social norms.
5. Those yogic practitioners who made yantras and mandalas (sacred diagrams), ritual implements, and humble dwellings likely employed impermanent materials, and the role of monastic elites in designing architectural programs is unknown.

6. I am grateful to Annapurna Garimella for first suggesting this dual focus.
7. Tantric treatises from the seventh to the ninth century, for example, describe antinomian practices restricted to initiated adepts; some of these Tantric rituals required supports (such as geometric diagrams, or yantras) but they were made from ephemeral materials. And the material culture of Buddhist yogic practice in India, which may have been substantial, did not survive the passage of time.
8. *Locana* 2.4: "This enjoyment is like the bliss that comes from realizing [one's identity] with the highest Brahman, for it consists of repose in the bliss which is the true nature of one's own self ..." in Daniel H. H. Ingalls, Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, and M. V. Patwardhan, *The Dhvanyaloka of Ānandavardhana with the Locana of Abhinavagupta* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 222.
9. *Ibid.* *Locana* 2.4 in Ingalls, Masson, and Patwardhan, *The Dhvanyaloka of Ānandavardhana*, p. 222.
10. For the idealized and adorned human body across visual art, literature, inscriptions, and poetry see Vidya Dehejia, *The Body Adorned: Dissolving Boundaries Between Sacred and Profane in India's Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).
11. *Hathapradīpikā* 1.17 lists the qualities of *sthairyam*, *ārogya* (literally, freedom from disease), and *aṅgalāghanam* (literally, lightness of limb).
12. Vidya Dehejia and Daryl Yauner Harnisch, "Yoga as a Key to Understanding the Sculpted Body," in *Representing the Body: Gender Issues in Indian Art*, ed. Vidya Dehejia (New Delhi: Kali for Women in association with The Book Review Literary Trust), pp. 68–81. Dehejia builds upon Stella Kramrisch's pioneering work on the Indian sculptural aesthetic as a manifestation of a cultural ethos in which yoga was central. Kramrisch first suggested that the controlled breathing (*prāṇāyāma*), which dissolved the gross body into "the weightless 'subtle body' ... was given concrete shape by art, in planes and lines of balances stresses and continuous movement" (p. 75). Dehejia, however, more specifically assesses yogic postures in sculpture.
13. Michael W. Meister, "Art and Hindu asceticism: Śiva and Vishnu as masters of Yoga," *Art and Archaeology of Southeast Asia: Recent Perspectives* (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre of the Arts and Aryan Books, 1996), p. 315.
14. Sonya Quintanilla, *History of Early Stone Sculpture at Mathura, Ca. 150 BCE–100 CE* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 97–141.
15. "The seven sages, all sons of Brahmā" is inscribed on top border in *takri* characters; their names appear on the recto. From the upper middle, clockwise, they are: Jamadagni, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, Atri, Bharadvāja, Kaśyapa, and Viśvāmītra. B. N. Goswamy and Erberhard Fischer, *Pahari Masters: Court Painters of India*, Artibus Asiae Supplementus 38, cat. 40, pp. 106–7.

16. More precisely, he appears to be a Dasnāmi Sannyasi; for Dasnāmi iconography, see James Mallinson's essay in this volume.

17. See David Gordon White's essay in this volume, n. 17.

18. See, for example, Vidya Dehejia's seminal book *Yogini Cult and Temples: A Tantric Tradition* (New Delhi: National Museum, 1986).

19. Shaman Hatley, "Goddesses in Text and Stone: Temples of the Yoginis in Light of Tantric and Purānic Literature," in *History and Material Culture in Asian Religions*, ed. Benjamin Fleming and Richard Mann (Oxford, UK: Routledge, forthcoming).

20. Hatley, *ibid.*

21. Debra Diamond, "Occult Science and Bijapur's Yoginis," in *Indian Painting: Themes, History and Interpretations (Essays in Honour of B. N. Goswamy)*, ed. Mahesh Sharma (Ahmedabad, India: Mapin Publishing, forthcoming).

22. In another poster, for the Bertram Mills Circus in the 1930s, crocodiles and snakes are depicted below Koringa's (disembodied) head, recalling the earrings of the Kanchipuram yogini.

23. Padma Kaimal, *Scattered Goddesses: Travels with the Yoginis*, no. 8 of *Asia Past and Present*, ed. Martha Ann Selby (Ann Arbor, MI: Association of Asian Studies, 2012), p. 73.

24. See cats. 23a–e on fakirs, fakers, and magic in this volume.

25. *Camatkāra*, cited in David L. Haberman, *Acting as a Way of Salvation: A Study of Rāgānugā Bhakti Sādhana* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1988, p. 21.