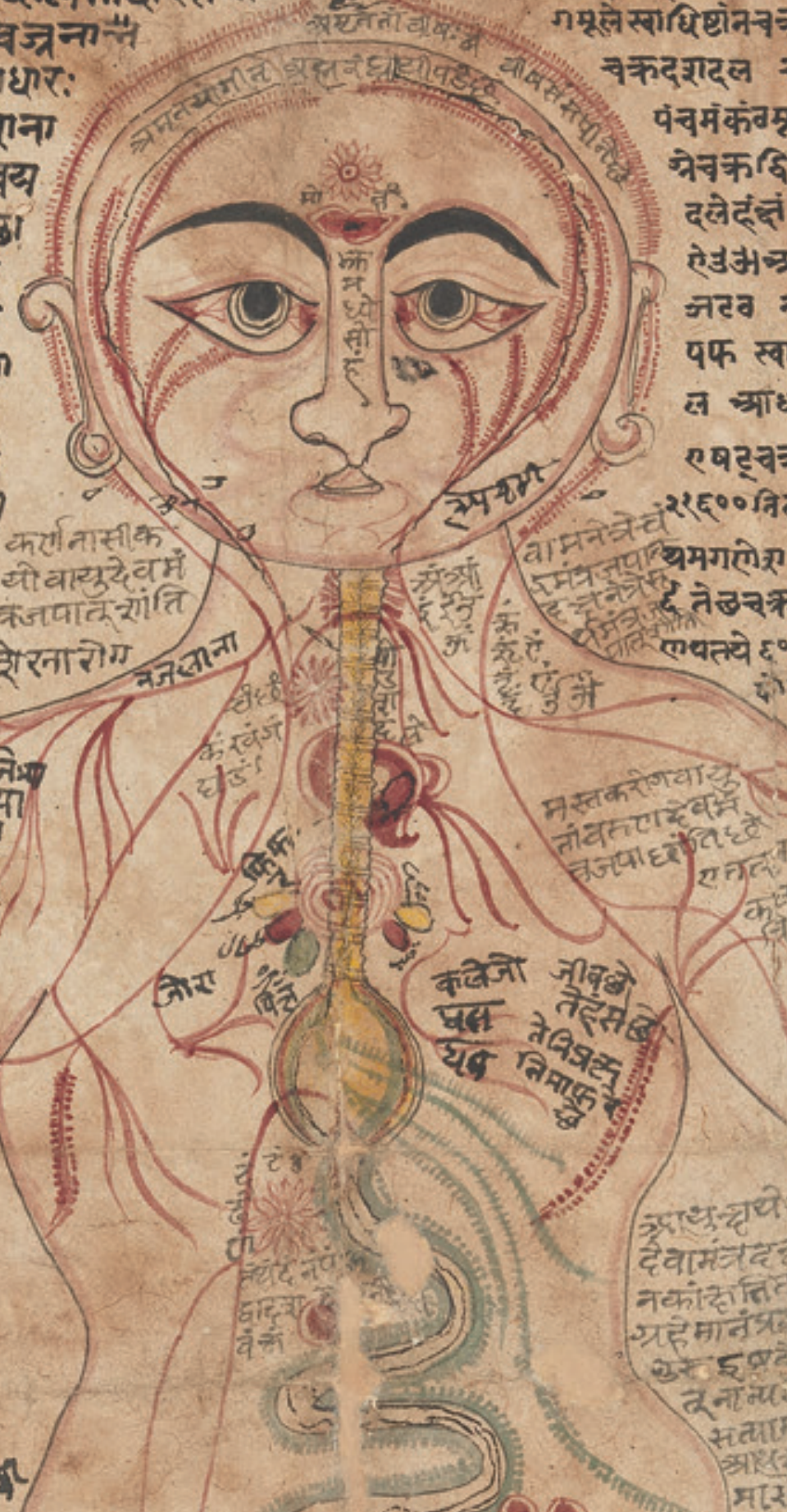


रचे॥ प्रथमं अक्षरः ते अंगुष्ठं सूत्राधार
 वकीधे दंष्ट्रा रश्च वति॥१॥ द्वितीये मूले
 परा पादस्य बाह्यिष्ठाप्येते तद्वाग्निप्रबले
 गुदाधारस्तु॥ तन्मध्ये सकोचविकारा
 नः स्थिराश्च वति॥३॥ चतुर्थं लिङ्गाधारं तन्म
 न्मान् पश्चिमदक्षिणमध्ये वज्रनाभं
 मं उदुयालं स्वाधिष्ठानं आधारः
 नयो नाशो च वति॥५॥ षष्ठो ना
 श्वासादनाहतनादः स्वय
 मोद्दृश्यरूपाधारः तत्र स्था
 का मलात्सुभ्रुवनिवि
 नघटिकाधारः तत्र जालं
 स्मिन्मतिरुडायां पिंगला
 रति॥८॥ नवमो घटिका
 लग्नं च वति ततो मृत
 तितदमृतापानात्सारी
 ते॥९॥ दशमस्तान्वाधा
 नेह नं कृत्वा लुनिमग्रा
 एकादशे जिह्वातलजि
 नेकाग्रे मथनं क्रियते
 धरममृतं तस्मिन्
 दशेदं तयोर्मध्ये
 ने जिह्वायात्र
 टीमात्रं बला
 स्मिन्साध
 त्रपति॥
 काग्रा
 पठ
 व
 मा
 नः
 ने
 ति

अथ षट्चक्रनो विचारः श्लोकः षट्चक्रं षोडशाधारं द्वि
 पंचकं स्वदेदेयोनजानाति कथं सिद्धतियोगवित् १
 नेयोगी एतलां वानां न जांते ते योगि सिद्धिके मयो मे ते को ए
 वां नो ते कदेहे षट्चक्रं के तां लचक्रदेहिने विषेहे अने पे
 धारहे त्रिलिख पांचश्रम ने किहो किहां आधारे वतु
 गमूले स्वाधिष्ठानचक्र षट्चक्रं दल नानिने विषे मणिपु
 चक्रदशदल चतुर्थं हृदयस्थाने नाहनचक्रं वा
 पंचमं कंठमूले विशुद्धचक्रं षोडशादलेहे ज
 नेचक्रदिल्ले एतचक्रने विषे उतरताव
 दलेदं दं षोडशादले अत्रादु उऊरु
 ऐउअअः द्वादशादले करवगघउ
 जरव नानिने विषे दशादले मृदणत
 पफ स्वाधिष्ठानचक्रहेतेना लवणहे व
 ल आधारचक्रने विषे वशाषस अमध
 एषट्चक्रने विषे फलदोयेहे॥ अथ अ
 २६०० त्रित्यप्रत्येजपेहे तेष चक्रनादेवताके
 अमगलेश॥ ब्रह्मा २ विष्णु ३ शंकर ४ गुरु ५
 द ते लचक्रनो घणो विचारहे सुलाधारे चतु
 एषत्ये ६०० षट्शते अजपाजापं समर्पयाभी
 दोपे जाशे चायगुदानो रोगः ते देवता म
 ॥ लिङ्गमूले षट्दले कामदेवकी
 सु॥ ॥ नानिमूले दशादले स्व
 लले षट्सदस्र ६०० जप
 उदररोग ब्रह्मण यत्री
 ॥ रुदये मणिशरस्त्रे
 सदस्र ६०० अजप
 समर्पयामी नमः
 धिन्ने शचित्त
 जपे शांतिः
 दले अना
 सदस्र
 शय
 कं
 रोग
 पा
 वि
 जपे
 नाशिका
 पंचजण
 आना स्वाय



कर्णनासीक
 श्री वायुदेवमं
 क्रजपात्रं शान्ति

वामनेत्रे च
 अमंत्रजपात्
 दं जनेत्रे
 अमंत्रजपात्

मस्तकरेण वायु
 तां वत ए देवमं
 च जपा धरति धरे
 एतत्क गौः
 कथ्यनीये
 विधि

कवेजो जीवो
 प्रस तेहसले
 यव ते विप्रस
 विमाफु

आद्यद्ये सर्वे
 देवामंत्रदहनयहर्षति
 नकां हति मदाहः जन्म
 ग्रहे मानं प्रदरीयति स्व
 उरु इष्येव प्रसादा
 दनाम्यो वथा
 सतामना राहो
 आरुदालीषट्
 मारां बुधि
 ने शोचं व
 ति

Exhibition Checklist

Note: Items marked with an asterisk (*) are not illustrated in this catalogue.

Venues

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (Sackler)
October 19, 2013–January 26, 2014

Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (SFAAM)
February 22–May 18, 2014

The Cleveland Museum of Art (CMA)
June 22–September 7, 2014

Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection

Gosain Kirpal Girji Receives Sheeshvalji and His Son
(cat. 2c)
India, Rajasthan, Marwar or Jodhpur, mid-18th
century
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 34.9 × 24.8 cm
Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection
Venues: All

Krishna Vishvarupa (cat. 10a)
India, Himachal Pradesh, Bilaspur, ca. 1740
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 19.8 × 11.7 cm
Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection
Venues: All

Sadashiva (cat. 1e)
India, Himachal Pradesh, Nurpur, ca. 1670
Attributed by B. N. Goswamy to Devidasa
Opaque watercolor, gold, and applied beetle-wing
on paper, 19.1 × 18.4 cm
Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection
Venues: All

Photos: John Tsantes

Catherine Glynn Benkaim and Barbara Timmer Collection

Bairagees, Hindoo Devotees, Delhi (cat. 21f)
in *The People of India* (1868–75), volume 33, folio 203
Charles Shepherd for Shepherd & Robertson,
ca. 1862
Photograph, 34.3 × 25.4 cm
Catherine Glynn Benkaim and Barbara Timmer
Collection
Venue: CMA

Kurram Doss (cat. 21e)
in *The People of India* (1868–75), volume 4, folio 158
ca. 1862
Photograph, 34.3 × 25.4 cm
Catherine Glynn Benkaim and Barbara Timmer
Collection
Venues: Sackler, SFAAM

The People of India, volume 2*
India, 1868
Book, 34.3 × 25.4 cm
Catherine Glynn Benkaim and Barbara Timmer
Collection
Venues: All

Photos: John Tsantes

The British Museum, London

Ascetics Performing Tapas (cat. 20c)
South India, ca. 1820
Opaque watercolor on paper, 23.5 × 29 cm (page)
The Trustees of the British Museum, Bequeathed
through Francis Henry Egerton, 2007,3005.4
Venues: All

Bhairava (cat. 20b)
in an album of 91 paintings
India, Thanjavur, ca. 1830
Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, 22.6 × 17.6 cm
The Trustees of the British Museum, 1962,1231.0.13.70
Venues: All

Shiva as Bhairava (cat. 1a)
India, Tamil Nadu, 11th century
Granite, 108 × 47.9 × 28.4 cm
The Trustees of the British Museum, Brooke Sewell
Permanent Fund, 1967.1016.1
Venues: All

The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

Ten folios from the *Bahr al-hayat* (Ocean of Life) (cat. 9)

India, Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad, 1600–1604
Opaque watercolor on paper, 22.7 × 13.9 cm (folio)
The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin

Virasana (Persian, *sahajasana*) (cat. 9a)
13.3 × 7.8 cm (painting)

In 16.10a

Venues: All

Garbhasana (Persian, *gharbasana*) (cat. 9b)
10.6 × 7.8 cm (painting)

In 16.18a

Venues: All

Nauli Kriya (Persian, *niyuli*) (cat. 9c)

Attributed to Govardhan

9.5 × 8 cm (painting)

In 16.19a

Venues: All

Headstand (Persian, *akucchan*) (cat. 9d)

9.6 × 7.8 cm (painting)

In 16.20a

Venue: Sackler

Untitled (Persian, *nashbad*) (cat. 9e)

13.5 × 7.6 cm (painting)

In 16.21b

Venues: All

Untitled (Persian, *sitali*) (cat. 9f)

12.6 × 7.8 cm (painting)

In 16.22a

Venues: All

Khechari Mudra (Persian, *khechari*) (cat. 9g)

10.6 × 8.5 cm (painting)

In 16.24a

Venues: All

Kumbhaka (Persian, *kunbhak*) (cat. 9h)

8 × 7.8 cm (painting)

In 16.25a

Venues: All

Sthamba (Persian, *thambasana*) (cat. 9i)

13.6 × 7.8 cm (painting)

In 16.26b

Venues: All

Untitled (Persian, *sunasana*) (cat. 9j)

11.5 × 7.7 cm (painting)

In 16.27b

Venues: All

Bhupali Ragini (cat. 18g)

from the *Impey Ragamala*

India, Bengal, ca. 1760

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;

35.2 × 26.3 cm (folio with borders),

23.3 × 16.1 cm (painting without borders)

The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library,

Dublin, In 65.4

Venues: SFAAM, CMA

The Feast of the Yogis (cat. 17h)

from the *Mrigavati*

India, Mughal dynasty, 1603–4

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;

28.3 × 17.5 cm (folio), 14.2 × 9.7 cm (painting)

The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library,

Dublin, In 37, f.44a

Venues: All

The Prince Begins His Journey (cat. 17e)

from the *Mrigavati*

India, Mughal dynasty, 1603–4

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;

28.3 × 17.5 cm (folio), 18.2 × 9.2 cm (painting)

The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library,

Dublin, In 37.23b

Venues: All

The Prince in Danger (cat. 17g)

from the *Mrigavati*

Attributed to Haribans

India, Mughal dynasty, 1603–4

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;

28.3 × 17.5 cm (folio), 15.2 × 9.5 cm (painting)

The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library,

Dublin, In 37.28a

Venues: All

*The Prince Meets Rupman**

from the *Mrigavati*

India, Mughal dynasty, 1603–4

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;

28.3 × 17.5 cm (folio), 15.3 × 9.5 cm (painting)

The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library,

Dublin, In 37.29b

Venues: SFAAM, CMA

The Raj Kunwar on a Small Raft (cat. 17f)

from the *Mrigavati*

India, Mughal dynasty, 1603–4

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;

28.3 × 17.5 cm (folio), 15.3 × 9.5 cm (painting)

The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library,

Dublin, In 37.27a

Venues: All

The Sage Bhringisha and Shiva (cat. 13)

folio 304b from the *Yoga Vasishtha*

Attributed to Keshav Das

India, Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad, 1602

Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper;

27 × 18.5 cm (folio), 8.6 × 9.7 cm (painting)

The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library,

Dublin, In 05, f.304b

Venues: All

Saha (cat. 3e)

folio 242a from *The Stars of the Sciences*

(*Nujum al-'Ulum*)

India, Karnataka, Bijapur, dated 1570–71

Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper;

25.8 × 16 cm (folio), 8.6 × 9.7 cm (painting)

The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library,

Dublin, In 02 f.242a

Venues: All

Saindhavi Ragini, wife of Bhairon (cat. 18h)

from the *Impey Ragamala*

India, Bengal, ca. 1760–73

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;

34.9 × 25.9 cm (folio with borders),

23.2 × 15.8 cm (painting without borders)

The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library,

Dublin, In 65.7

Venues: All

Three Women Present a Young Girl to Aged Ascetics

(cat. 14c)

India, Mughal dynasty, ca. 1670–80

Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper;

39.5 × 27.5 cm (folio with borders),

21.9 × 14.8 cm (painting without borders)

The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library,

Dublin, In 73.3

Venues: All

A Yogini in Meditation (cat. 18f)

from the *Impey Ragamala*

India, Bengal, ca. 1760

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;

35.1 × 24.3 cm (folio with borders),

22 × 14.3 cm (painting without borders)

The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library,

Dublin, In 65.2

Venues: All

Yogini with Mynah (cat. 3f)

India, Karnataka, Bijapur, ca. 1603–4

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;

39.2 × 27.6 cm (folio with borders),

19.3 × 11.6 cm (painting without borders)

The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library,

Dublin, In 11a.31

Venues: All

The Cleveland Museum of Art

Base for a Seated Buddha with Figures of Ascetics

(cat. 6c)

Pakistan or Afghanistan, ancient Gandhara,

ca. 150–200 CE

Gray schist, 38 × 36.2 cm

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Dr. Norman

Zaworski, 1976.152

Venues: All

Fasting Buddha (cat. 6b)

India, Kashmir, 8th century

Ivory, 12.4 × 9.5 cm

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr.

Fund, 1986.70

Venues: All

Head of a Rishi (fig. 3, p. 39)

India, Mathura, 2nd century

Stone, 27.7 × 24 cm

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Edward L.

Whittemore Fund, 1971.41

Venues: All

Jain Ascetic Walking (cat. 5f)

India, Mughal dynasty, ca. 1600

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper,

14.7 × 9.8 cm

The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1967.244

Venue: CMA

Jina (cat. 5b)

India, Rajasthan, 10th–11th century

Bronze with silver inlay, 61.5 × 49.5 × 36.8 cm

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Severance and Greta

Millikin Purchase Fund, 2001.88

Venues: SFAAM, CMA

The Knots of the Subtle Body (cat. 11a)
India, Himachal Pradesh, Nurpur, ca. 1690–1700
Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, 20 × 14 cm
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Edward L. Whittemore Fund, 1966.27
Venues: All

Prince and Ascetics (cat. 19c)
Painting attributed to Govardhan;
borders attributed to Payag
India, Mughal dynasty, ca. 1630
Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper;
37.5 × 25.2 cm (sheet), 20.3 × 14.3 cm (painting)
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Andrew R. and Martha Holden Jennings Fund, 1971.79
Venues: All

*Shiva and Devi on Gajasura's Hide**
India, ca. 1680
Ink and color on paper, 23.5 × 16.2 cm
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Edward L. Whittemore Fund, 1952.587
Venues: SFAAM, CMA

Shiva Bhairava (cat. 1b)
India, Karnataka, Mysore, 13th century
Chloritic schist, 116.6 × 49.23 cm
The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 1964.369
Venues: All

Yoga Narasimha, Vishnu in His Man-Lion Avatar
(cat. 8a)
India, Tamil Nadu, ca. 1250
Bronze, 55.2 cm
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Dr. Norman Zaworski, 1973.187
Venues: All

Robert J. Del Bontà Collection

"Diverses Pagodes et Penitences des Faquirs"
(Various Temples and Penances of the Fakirs)
(cat. 22a)
Bernard Picart (1673–1733)
1729
from Jean-Frédéric Bernard and Bernard Picart,
Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses des Peuples Idolâtres (Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Idolatrous Peoples), vol. 2 (Amsterdam: J. F. Bernard, 1728)
Copper-plate engraving, 48 × 52.4 cm
Robert J. Del Bontà collection, E442
Venues: All

"Hindu Fakir on a Bed of Spikes, Calcutta" (cat. 22c)
James Ricalton (1844–1929)
ca. 1903
from James Ricalton, *India through the Stereoscope: A Journey through Hindustan* (New York and London: Underwood & Underwood, 1907)
Stereoscopic photograph, 8.9 × 17.8 cm
Robert J. Del Bontà collection, SV49
Venues: All

Images of Yogis (cat. 22b)
John Chapman (act. 1792–1823)
September 1, 1809
from *Encyclopædia Londinensis or, Universal Dictionary of arts, sciences, and literature ...* vol. 10 (London: J. Adler, 1811)
Copper-plate engraving, 26.7 × 21.6 cm
Robert J. Del Bontà collection, E1232
Venues: All

Detroit Institute of Arts

Yogini (cat. 3b)
India, Tamil Nadu, Kanchipuram or Kaveripakkam, 900–975
Possibly dolerite, 116.8 × 76.2 × 45.7 cm
Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, L.A. Young Fund, 57.88
Venues: All

Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution

The Goddess Bhadrakali Worshipped by the Sage Chyavana (cat. 8c)
from a Tantric Devi series
India, Pahari Hills, ca. 1660–70
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 21.3 × 23.1 cm
Freer Gallery of Art, F1997.8
Venue: Sackler

Kedar Ragini (cat. 18a)
from the *Chunar Ragamala*
India, Uttar Pradesh, Chunar, 1591
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 22.5 × 15 cm
Freer Gallery of Art, Michael Goedhuis Ltd., F1985.2
Venue: Sackler

Sarang Raga (cat. 18d)
from the *Sirohi Ragamala*
India, Rajasthan, Sirohi, ca. 1680–90
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 23.2 × 17.8 cm
Freer Gallery of Art, F1992.18
Venue: Sackler

Siddha Pratima Yantra (cat. 5e)
Western India, dated 1333 (Samvat 1390)
Bronze, 21.9 × 13.1 × 8.9 cm
Freer Gallery of Art, F1997.33
Venue: Sackler

Vishvamitra Practices His Austerities (cat. 7a)
folio 61a from the *Freer Ramayana*
Mushfiq
India, subimperial Mughal, 1597–1605
Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper, 26.5 × 15.6 cm
Freer Gallery of Art, Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1907.271.61
Venue: Sackler

Photos: Neil Greentree, Robert Harrell, John Tsantes

Gloria Katz and Willard Huyck Collection

Group of Yogis
Colin Murray for Bourne & Shepherd, ca. 1880s
Albumen print, 22.2 × 29.2 cm
Collection of Gloria Katz and Willard Huyck, 2011.02.02.0004
Venues: All
Photo: John Tsantes

Library of Congress, Washington, DC

The Chakras, a Monograph (cat. 25c)
Charles W. Leadbeater (1854–1934)
Theosophical Publishing House, Wheaton, IL, United States, 1972 (© 1927)
Book, 31 × 26 cm
General Collections, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, BP573.C5 L4 1972
Venues: All

Fakire und Fakirtum im Alten und Modernern Indien
(cat. 26a)
Richard Schmidt
Germany, 1907
Book, 24.8 × 34.3 cm
General Collections, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, BL2015.F2 S3
Venues: All

Hindoo Fakir (cat. 23d)
Edison Manufacturing Company, United States, 1902
Film, transferred to DVD, 3 minutes
General Collections, Library of Congress, Washington DC, NV-061-499
Venues: All

Massage and Exercises Combined (26e)
Albrecht Jensen
New York, United States, 1920
Book, 25 × 26 cm
General Collections, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, RM 721.J4
Venues: All

The Mysterious Kundalini (cat. 25d)
Vasant Gangaram Rele
D. P. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay, India, 1929
Book, 21 × 26.5 cm (open)
General Collections, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, B132.Y6 R4a Copy 1
Venues: All

Neely's History of the Parliament of Religions and the Religious Congresses at the World's Columbian Exposition (cat. 24g)
Walter R. Houghton, ed.
Chicago, United States, 1893
Book, 22.5 × 37 cm
General Collections, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, BL21.W8N4
Venues: Sackler, CMA

Popular Yoga: Asanas (cat. 25e)
Swami Kuvalayananda
C. E. Tuttle Company, Rutland, VT, United States,
1972 (1931)
Book, 22 × 31 cm
General Collections, Library of Congress,
Washington, DC, B132.Y6.K787
Venues: All

Raja Yoga (cat. 24h)
Swami Vivekananda
Advaita Ashram, Salem, Tamil Nadu, India, 1944
(1896)
Book, 18.5 × 27 cm (open)
General Collections, Library of Congress,
Washington, DC, B132.V3 V58
Venues: All

Surya Namaskars (cat. 26c)
Apa Pant
Orient Longmans, Bombay, India, 1970 (1929)
Book, 21 × 23.7 cm (open)
General Collections, Library of Congress,
Washington, DC, RA 781.P28
Venues: All

Thurston the famous magician, East Indian rope trick
(cat. 23a)
Otis Lithograph Company
United States, ca. 1927
Color lithograph, 104 × 35 cm
Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress,
Washington, DC, POS-MAG-T48 no.14 (C size)
Venues: Sackler, CMA

The Yoga Body Illustrated (cat. 26f)
M. R. Jambunathan
Jambunathan Book Depot, Madras, India, 1941
Book, 19 × 19 cm
General Collections, Library of Congress,
Washington, DC, RA781.7 J35
Venues: All

Yoga Personal Hygiene (cat. 25h)
Shri Yogendra
The Yoga Institute, Bombay, India, 1940
Book, 21.5 × 27 cm
General Collections, Library of Congress,
Washington, DC, B132.Y6.Y63
Venues: All

The Yoga-Sutra of Patanjali (cat. 24a)*
M. N. Dwivedi, trans.
Theosophical Publication Fund, Bombay, India, 1890
Book, 21 × 37 cm
General Collections, Library of Congress,
Washington, DC, B132.Y6.P267 1890 Copy 1
Venues: All

Mehrangarh Museum Trust, Jodhpur

The Chakras of the Subtle Body (cat. 11b)
folio 4 from the *Siddha Siddhanta Paddhati*
Bulaki
India, Rajasthan, Jodhpur, 1824 (Samvat 1881)
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 122 × 46 cm
Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 2376
Venues: All

Equivalence of Self and Universe (cat. 10d)
folio 6 from the *Siddha Siddhanta Paddhati*
Bulaki
India, Rajasthan, Jodhpur, 1824 (Samvat 1881)
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 122 × 46 cm
Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 2378
Venues: All

*Jalandharnath Flies over King Padam's Palace**
from the *Suraj Prakash*
India, Rajasthan, Jodhpur, 1830
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper,
23.3 × 38.6 cm (image)
Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 1644
Venues: SFAAM, CMA

*The King Praises Jalandharnath as His
Enemies Drown**
from the *Suraj Prakash*
Amardas Bhatti
India, Rajasthan, Jodhpur, 1830
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper,
23.3 × 38.6 cm (image)
Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 1641
Venues: SFAAM, CMA

*The Practice of Yoga**
folio 5 from the *Siddha Siddhanti Paddhati*
Amardas Bhatti
India, Rajasthan, Jodhpur, 1824 (Samvat 1881)
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 46 × 122 cm
Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 2377
Venues: SFAAM, CMA

Rama Enters the Forest of the Sages (cat. 17a)
from the *Ramcharitmanas* of Tulsidas (1532–1623)
India, Rajasthan, Jodhpur, ca. 1775
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper,
62.7 × 134.5 cm
Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 2524
Venues: All

Rama in the Forest of the Sages (cat. 17b)
from the *Ramcharitmanas* of Tulsidas (1532–1623)
India, Rajasthan, Jodhpur, ca. 1775
Opaque watercolor on paper, 62.7 × 134.5 cm
Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 2527
Venues: All

Three Aspects of the Absolute (cat. 4a)
folio 1 from the *Nath Charit*
Bulaki
India, Rajasthan, Jodhpur, 1823 (Samvat 1880)
Opaque watercolor, gold, and tin alloy on paper,
47 × 123 cm
Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 2399
Venues: All

The Transmission of Teachings (cat. 4b)
folio 3 from the *Nath Charit*
Bulaki
India, Rajasthan, Jodhpur, 1823 (Samvat 1880)
Opaque watercolor, gold, and tin alloy on paper,
47 × 123 cm
Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 2400
Venues: All

The Transmission of Teachings (cat. 4c)
folio 4 from the *Nath Charit*
Bulaki
India, Rajasthan, Jodhpur, 1823 (Samvat 1880)
Opaque watercolor, gold, and tin alloy on paper,
47 × 123 cm
Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 2401
Venues: All

*Water Springs Forth from the Power of Jalandharnath's
Mantra**
from the *Suraj Prakash*
Amardas Bhatti
India, Rajasthan, Jodhpur, 1830
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper,
23.3 × 38.6 cm (image)
Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 1640
Venues: SFAAM, CMA

Photos (except 4a, 4b): Neil Greentree

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The Goddess Bhairavi Devi with Shiva (cat. 16)
Attributed to Payag
India, Mughal dynasty, ca. 1630–35
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 18.5 × 26.5 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase,
Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 2011, 2011.409
Venue: Sackler

Head of the Fasting Buddha (cat. 6a)
Pakistan or Afghanistan (Gandhara),
ca. 3rd–5th century
Schist, 13.3 × 8.6 × 8.3 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Samuel Eilenberg
Collection, Gift of Samuel Eilenberg,
1987, 1987.142.73
Venues: All

Kedar Ragini (cat. 18e)
Ruknuddin (act. ca. 1650–97)
India, Rajasthan, Bikaner, ca. 1690–95
Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper;
14.9 × 11.9 cm (image), 25.6 × 18.7 cm (page)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and
Mrs. Peter Findlay, 1978, 1978.540.2
Venue: Sackler

"Misbah the Grocer Brings the Spy Parran to His
House" (cat. 17c)
folio from a *Hamzanama* (The Adventures of Hamza)
Attributed to Dasavanta and Mithra
India, Mughal dynasty, ca. 1570
Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on cotton,
70.8 × 54.9 cm (folio)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund,
1924, 24.48.1
Venue: Sackler

Tile with impressed figures of emaciated ascetics
and couples behind balconies (cat. 6d)
India, Jammu and Kashmir, Harwan, ca. 5th century
Terracotta, 40.6 × 33.6 × 4.1 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Cynthia
Hazen Polsky, 1987, 1987.424.26
Venues: All

Minneapolis Institute of Arts

Yogini with a Jar (cat. 3c)

India, Tamil Nadu, Kanchipuram or Kaveripakkam, ca. 900–975
Metagabbro, 114.3 × 72.39 × 39.37 cm
Lent by Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The Christina N. and Swan J. Turnblad Memorial Fund, 60.21
Venues: All

Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin

Gaur Malhara Ragini (cat. 18i)

India, Rajasthan, Kotah, 18th century
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 14 × 18.3 cm
Museum für Asiatische Kunst, MIK I 5523
Venues: All

Megha Mahlar Ragini (cat. 18c)

India, Rajasthan, Bundi, ca. 1600
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 30.2 × 24 cm
Museum für Asiatische Kunst, MIK I 5698
Venue: Sackler

Worship of Shiva (cat. 15c)

folio from the *Kedara Kalpa*
Attributed to the workshop of Purkhu
India, Himachal Pradesh, Kangra, ca. 1815
Opaque watercolor on paper;
36.2 × 48.9 cm (folio), 30 × 42.2 cm (image)
Museum für Asiatische Kunst, MIK I 5733
Venues: All

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Maharana Sangram Singh of Mewar Visiting

Savina Khera Math (cat. 14e)
India, Rajasthan, Mewar, ca. 1725
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 60.3 × 73 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Charles Bain Hoyt Fund, 1999, 1999.94
Venues: Sackler, SFAAM

Museum Rietberg Zürich

*Dara Shikoh Visiting a Yogi and Yogini**

India, Mughal dynasty, 17th century
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;
36.2 × 34 cm (folio), 21 × 14.2 cm (painting)
Museum Rietberg Zürich, Collection Barbara and Eberhard Fischer, RVI 0954
Venues: SFAAM, CMA

Female Guru and Disciple (cat. 14b)

India, Mughal dynasty, ca. 1650
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;
37.5 × 25 cm (page), 12 × 7.8 cm (painting)
Museum Rietberg Zürich, RVI 987
Venues: All

*Monkeys in the Cave of Swayambprabha**

folio 46 from the *Mankot Ramayana*
India, Himachal Pradesh, Mankot, ca. 1720
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;
19.8 × 31 cm (folio), 16.2 × 26.8 cm (painting)
Museum Rietberg Zürich, Collection Barbara and Eberhard Fischer, REF 25
Venues: SFAAM, CMA

Shiva Blesses Yogis on Kailash (cat. 14a)

by an artist in the first generation after Manaku and Nainsukh of Guler
India, Punjab Hills, 1780–1800
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 21.5 × 19.8 cm
Museum Rietberg Zürich, Gift Horst Metzger Collection, RVI 2127
Venues: All

Two Ascetics (cat. 7b)

India, Himachal Pradesh, Mandi, 1725–50
Opaque watercolor on paper;
15.5 × 22.5 cm (page), 13 × 18 cm (painting)
Museum Rietberg Zürich, Gift of Barbara and Eberhard Fischer
Venues: All

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

Untitled (cat. 21a)

John Nicholas for Nicholas Bros, 1858
Albumen print, 14 × 10 cm
National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, NAA INV 04604500
Venue: Sackler

Untitled (cat. 21b)

John Nicholas for Nicholas Bros, 1858
Albumen print, 13.7 × 9.5 cm
National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, NAA INV 04565100
Venue: Sackler

Untitled (cat. 21c)

John Nicholas for Nicholas Bros, 1858
Albumen print, 13.5 × 10.2 cm
National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, NAA INV 04566000
Venue: Sackler

Untitled (cat. 21d)

John Nicholas for Nicholas Bros, 1858
Albumen print, 14 × 10.2 cm
National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, NAA INV 04565500
Venue: Sackler

National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne

*Maharana Sangram Singh II and Gosain Nilakanthji**

India, Rajasthan, Mewar, Udaipur, ca. 1725
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper;
45.5 × 62.4 cm (sheet), 35.5 × 54.8 cm (painting)
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, Felton Bequest, 1980, AS97-1980
Venues: SFAAM, CMA

Maharana Sangram Singh II Visiting Gosain

Nilakanthji after a Tiger Hunt (cat. 14f)
India, Rajasthan, Mewar, Udaipur, ca. 1725
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 65 × 48.5 cm
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, Felton Bequest, 1980, AS92-1980
Venues: All

Shiva and Parvati on Mount Kailash (cat. 7c)

India, Rajasthan, Mewar, Udaipur, late 18th century
Opaque watercolor, gold, and tin alloy on paper, 28.7 × 20.5 cm
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, Felton Bequest, 1980, AS242-1980
Venues: All

National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD

“An Abd’hoot” (cat. 20d)

in Balthazar Solvyns, *A Collection of Two Hundred and Fifty Colored Etchings: descriptive of the manners, customs and dresses of the Hindoos* (Calcutta: [Mirror Press], 1799)
Balthazar Solvyns (1760–1824)
Hand-colored etching, 52 × 38 × 11 cm
National Library of Medicine, WZ 260 S692c
Venues: All

Yoga Mimansa (cat. 25f)

vol. 1, no. 1, page 57
Shrimat Kuvalayananda, ed.
Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla, India, 1924
Periodical (quarterly), 23.5 × 16.1 cm
National Library of Medicine, W1 Y0661
Venues: All

Yoga Mimansa (cat. 26g)

vol. 1, no. 3 (October)
Shrimat Kuvalayananda, ed.
Kaivalyadhama Institute, Lonavla, India, 1925
Periodical (quarterly), 23.5 × 16.1 cm
National Library of Medicine, W1 Y0661
Venues: All

Yoga Mimansa (cat. 26h)

vol. 2, no. 4 (July)
Shrimat Kuvalayananda, ed.
Kaivalyadhama Institute, Lonavla, India, 1926
Periodical (quarterly), 23.5 × 16.1 cm
National Library of Medicine, W1 Y0661
Venues: All

Yoga Mimansa (cat. 25g)

vol. 2, no. 2, page 116
Shrimat Kuvalayananda, ed.
Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla, India, 1926
Periodical (quarterly), 23.5 × 16.1 cm
National Library of Medicine, W1 Y0661
Venues: All

Yogasopana Purvacatushka (cat. 26b)

Narayana Chhamande
Tukarama Book Depot, Bombay, India, 1951
Book, 22 × 22 cm
National Library of Medicine, QT 255 G411y
Venues: All

Cynthia Hazen Polsky

Himalayan Pilgrimage of the Five Siddhas (cat. 15a)

folio from the *Kedara Kalpa*
Attributed to the workshop of Purkhu
India, Himachal Pradesh, Kangra, ca. 1815
Opaque watercolor on paper;
36.2 × 48.9 cm (folio), 29.8 × 42.5 cm (image)
Cynthia Hazen Polsky, New York, 8070 IP
Venue: Sackler

Pritzker Collection

The Guru Vidyashiva (cat. 2a)
India, Bengal, 11th–12th century
Stone, 129.5 × 66 × 15.2 cm
Pritzker Collection
Photo by Hughes Dubois
Venues: All

Private Collection

Standing Jina (cat. 5c)
India, Tamil Nadu, 11th century
Bronze, 73.7 × 69.2 × 17.5 cm
Private Collection, LT16
Photo by Maggie Nimkin
Venues: All

Private Collection

"Mystery girl: why can't she be killed?" (cat. 23c)
Look Magazine, September 28, 1937
Des Moines, Iowa, United States
34.1 × 26.6 cm
Private Collection
Venues: All

Kenneth and Joyce Robbins Collection

"Fakir on Bed of Nails" (cat. 22e)
D. Macropolo & Co., Calcutta, early 20th century
Postcard, 9 × 14 cm
Collection of Kenneth and Joyce Robbins
Venues: All

"Hindu Fakir: For thirteen years this old man has been trying 'to find peace' on this bed of spikes" (cat. 22d)
Young People's Missionary Movement, New York, early 20th century
Postcard, 8.3 × 13.6 cm
Collection of Kenneth and Joyce Robbins
Venues: All

"Hindu Fakir on Bed of Spikes, Benares" (cat. 22f)
Baptist Missionary Society, early 20th century
Postcard, 8.6 × 13.5 cm
Collection of Kenneth and Joyce Robbins
Venues: All

Lakshman Das (cat. 20a)
folio from the Fraser Album
India, Delhi, ca. 1825
Watercolor and ink on paper, 25.4 × 14.6 cm
Collection of Kenneth and Joyce Robbins
Venues: SFAAM, CMA

Matsyendranath (cat. 2b)
India, Karnataka, Bijapur, ca. 1650
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 16.5 × 20.3 cm
Collection of Kenneth and Joyce Robbins
Venues: All

The Ten-Point Way to Health: Surya Namaskars
(cat. 26d)
Balasahib Pandit Pratinidhi, Rajah of Aundh
Edited by Louise Morgan
J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London, 1938
Book, 18.3 × 12.6 × 1.8 cm
Collection of Kenneth and Joyce Robbins
Venues: All

Photos: Neil Greentree

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

Seated Jina Ajita (cat. 5a)
India, Tamil Nadu, 9th–10th century
Bronze, 18.5 × 14.5 × 9.3 cm
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Gift of Arthur M. Sackler, S1987.16
Venues: SFAAM, CMA

Yogini (cat. 3a)
India, Tamil Nadu, Kanchipuram or Kaveripakkam, ca. 900–975
Metagabbro, 116 × 76 × 43.2 cm
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Gift of Arthur M. Sackler, S1987.905
Venues: All

Photos: Neil Greentree, Robert Harrell, John Tsantes

San Antonio Museum of Art

Yogini (cat. 3d)
India, Uttar Pradesh, Kannauj, first half of the 11th century
Sandstone, 86.4 × 43.8 × 24.8 cm
San Antonio Museum of Art, purchased with the John and Karen McFarlin Fund and Asian Art Challenge Fund, 90.92
Venues: All

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum

Untitled (cat. 21t)
Edward Taurines (act. 1885–1902)
India, Bombay, ca. 1890
Albumen print, 23.5 × 19 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, VIII.8007b
Venues: Sackler, SFAAM

Untitled (cat. 21p)
India, Tamil Nadu, ca. 1870
Albumen print, 12.7 × 17.4 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, VIII.C158
Venue: CMA

Untitled (cat. 21h)
India, ca. 1870
Albumen print, 10.7 × 14.2 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, VIII.C 447
Venue: CMA

Untitled (cat. 21g)
Charles Shepherd for Shepherd & Robertson
1862
Albumen print, 19.6 × 16 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, VIII.C1419
Venues: SFAAM, CMA

Untitled (cat. 21r)
India, Tamil Nadu, Madras (currently Chennai) or Orissa, ca. 1880
Albumen print, 14.8 × 9.7 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, VIII.C1473
Venue: Sackler

Untitled (cat. 21o)
India, Tamil Nadu, Madras (currently Chennai), ca. 1870
Albumen print, 14.5 × 9.8 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, VIII.C1474
Venue: CMA

Untitled (cat. 21q)
India, Tamil Nadu, Madras (currently Chennai), ca. 1880
Albumen print, 14.3 × 9.9 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, VIII.1522
Venue: SFAAM

Untitled (cat. 21n)
India, Calcutta, ca. 1870
Albumen print, 14.1 × 9.5 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, VIII.C3313
Venues: Sackler, SFAAM

Untitled (cat. 21k)
Westfield & Co.
India, ca. 1870
Albumen print, 9.4 × 5.8 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, VIII.C3314
Venue: CMA

Untitled (cat. 21j)
Westfield & Co.
India, ca. 1870
Albumen print, 9.4 × 5.8 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, VIII.C3315
Venue: SFAAM

Untitled (cat. 21l)
Westfield & Co.
India, ca. 1870
Albumen print, 9.4 × 5.8 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, VIII.C3316
Venue: SFAAM

Untitled (cat. 21m)
Westfield & Co.
India, ca. 1870
Albumen print, 9.4 × 5.8 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum, VIII.C3317
Venue: CMA

Untitled (cat. 21i)
India, Orissa, ca. 1870
Albumen print, 14.6 × 9.9 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer
Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum,
VIII S-SOA NLS 1
Venues: SFAAM, CMA

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

Bifolio from the *Gulshan Album* (cats. 19a–b)
India, Mughal dynasty, first quarter of the 17th century
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 53.5 × 40 cm
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz,
Orientabteilung, Libri pict. A 117, ff.6b, 13a
Venue: Sackler

Vedanta Society of Northern California

Swami Vivekananda (cat. 24c)
United States, 1893
Photograph (original), approx. 15.2 × 10.2 cm
Vedanta Society of Northern California,
Harrison series, V21
Inscription (recto): “One infinite—pure & holy—
beyond thought, beyond qualities, I bow down to
thee. —Swami Vivekananda”
Venues: All

Swami Vivekananda (cat. 24i)
United States, 1893
Photographic print, copy of original
Vedanta Society of Northern California,
Harrison series, V27
Venues: All

Swami Vivekananda (cat. 24j)
United States, 1893
Scan of a halftone print
Vedanta Society of Northern California,
Harrison series, V20
Venues: All

Swami Vivekananda (cat. 24k)
United States, 1893
Photographic negative
Vedanta Society of Northern California,
Harrison series, V23
Inscription (recto): “Samata sarvabhuteshu
etanmuktasya lakshanam. Equality in all beings
this is the sign of the free—Vivekananda”
Venues: All

Swami Vivekananda (cat. 24l)
United States, 1893
Photographic negative
Vedanta Society of Northern California,
Harrison series, V24
Inscription (recto): “Thou art the only treasure in
this world—Vivekananda”
Venues: All

Swami Vivekananda (cat. 24m)
United States, 1893
Photographic negative
Vedanta Society of Northern California,
Harrison series, V25
Inscription (recto): “Thou art the father the lord the
mother the husband and love—Swami Vivekananda”
Venues: All

Swami Vivekananda and Narasimhacharya (cat. 24b)
United States, 1893
Photographic print, copy of original
Vedanta Society of Northern California, V17
Venues: All

Swami Vivekananda at the Parliament (cat. 24f)
United States, 1893
Photograph (original), approx. 15.2 × 10.2 cm
Vedanta Society of Northern California,
Harrison series, V26
Inscription (recto): “Eka eva suhrid dharma
nidhanepyanuyati yah. Virtue is the only friend that
follows us even beyond the grave. Everything else
ends with death. Vivekananda”
Venues: All

Swami Vivekananda, Hindoo Monk of India (cat. 24e)
United States, 1893
Poster (color lithograph), copy of original from
Goes Lithographing Company, Chicago
Vedanta Society of Northern California,
Harrison series, V22
Inscription (recto): “To Hollister Sturges—All strength
and success be yours is the constant prayer of your
friend, Vivekananda”
Venues: All

Swami Vivekananda on the Platform of the Parliament
(cat. 24d)
United States, 1893
Photographic print, copy of original
Vedanta Society of Northern California, V16
Venues: All

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Battle at Thaneshwar (cat. 12)
bifolio from the *Akbarnama*
India, Mughal dynasty, 1590–95
Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper
Venues: All

Left folio (cat. 12a)
Composed by Basawan; painted by Basawan
and Tara the Elder
32.9 × 18.7 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London,
IS.2:61-1896
Right folio (cat. 12b)
Composed by Basawan; painted by Asi
38.1 × 22.4 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London,
IS.2:62-1896

Bhairava (cat. 1c)
India, Himachal Pradesh, Mandi, ca. 1800
Opaque watercolor on paper, 27.9 × 17.6 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS.45.1954
Venues: All

Bhairava Raga (cat. 18b)
from the *Chunar Ragamala*
India, Uttar Pradesh, Chunar, 1591
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 25.5 × 15.7 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS.40-1981
Venues: All

The Five-Faced Shiva (cat. 1d)
India, Himachal Pradesh, Mandi, ca. 1730–40
Opaque watercolor on paper, 26.6 × 18.2 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Given by Col.
T. G. Gayer-Anderson and Maj. R. G. Gayer-Anderson,
Pasha, IS.239-1952
Venues: All

Hanuman as Yogi (cat. 8b)
India, Kerala, Cochin, early 19th century
Teak wood and color, 37.6 × 37 × 9.5 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS.2564E-1883
Venues: All

Koringa (cat. 23b)
W. E. Barry Ltd.
Bradford, United Kingdom, ca. 1938
Print, 74.4 × 50.9 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, S.128-1994
Venues: All

Scroll with Chakras (cat. 11c)
India, Kashmir, 18th century
Opaque watercolor, gold, silver, and ink on paper,
376.7 × 17 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IS.8-1987
Venues: All

Vishnu Vishvarupa (cat. 10b)
India, Rajasthan, Jaipur, ca. 1800–1820
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 38.5 × 28 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Given by
Mrs. Gerald Clark, IS.33-2006
Venues: All

“Fakir Sitting on Nails” (cat. 22g)
India, late 19th century
Painted clay, 11.4 × 20.3 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Given by
the Indian High Commission, IS.196-1949
Venues: All

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond

Five Sages in Barren Icy Heights (cat. 15d)
folio from the *Kedara Kalpa*
Attributed to the workshop of Purkhu
India, Himachal Pradesh, Kangra, ca. 1815
Opaque watercolor on paper;
36.2 × 48.3 cm (folio), 35.7 × 48.1 cm (image)
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, The Arthur
and Margaret Glasgow Fund, 85.1548
Venues: Sackler, SFAAM

Forms of Vishnu (cat. 10c)
folio from the *Jnaneshvari*
India, Maharashtra, Nagpur, 1763 (Samvat 1856)
Opaque watercolor and ink on paper,
37.7 × 25.4 cm (folio)
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, The Adolph D.
and Wilkins C. Williams Fund, 91.91-628
Venues: Sackler, SFAAM

Jina (cat. 5d)
India, Rajasthan, probably vicinity of Mount Abu, 1160
(Samvat 1217)
Marble, 59.69 × 48.26 × 21.59 cm
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, The Adolph D.
and Wilkins C. Williams Fund, 2000.98
Venue: Sackler

The Tale of Devadatta (cat. 17d)
from the *Kathasaritasagara*
ca. 1585–90
Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, 13.8 × 13.6 cm
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Nasli and Alice
Heeramaneck Collection, 68.8.55
Venues: Sackler, SFAAM

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

Ascetics before the Shrine of the Goddess (cat. 15b)
folio from the *Kedara Kalpa*
Attributed to the workshop of Purkhu
India, Himachal Pradesh, Kangra, ca. 1815
Opaque watercolor on paper;
36.5 × 49.2 cm (folio), 24.7 × 47.3 cm (image)
The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland
(Gift of John and Berthe Ford, 2001), W. 859
Venues: All

Babur and His Retinue Visiting Cor Khatri (cat. 14d)
folio 22b from the *Baburnama* (Book of Babur)
India, Mughal dynasty, 1590s
Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper,
32 × 21 cm
The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland,
W. 596
Venues: Sackler, SFAAM

Wellcome Library, London

Anatomical Body (cat. 25a)
India, Gujarat, 18th century
Ink and color on paper, 60.5 × 58.5 cm
Wellcome Library, London, Asian Collections,
MS Indic Delta 74
Venues: All

Satcakanirupanacitram (cat. 25b)
Swami Hamsvarupa
Trikutvilas Press, Muzaffarpur, Bihar, India, 1903
Book, 26.2 × 34.5 cm
Wellcome Library, London, Asian Collections,
P.B. Sanskrit 391
Venues: All

Film Clips

Note: *Hindo Fakir* (cat. 23d) is listed under
Library of Congress.

“Yogi Who Lost His Will Power” (cat. 23e)
Song clip from the film *You’re the One* (1941)
Johnny Mercer (lyrics); Mercer-Mchugh; Jerry
Cohonna with Orrin Tucker and his Orchestra
Clip from YouTube, loop at 3:14:
[youtube.com/watch?v=ixwmfoZJHq8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ixwmfoZJHq8)
LC Recorded Sound 578945
Columbia 35866
Venues: All

T. Krishnamacharya Asanas (cat. 26i)
India, Mysore, 1938
Sponsored by Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodiyar
Digital copy of a lost black-and-white film, 57 min.
Courtesy of Dan McGuire
Venues: All

Glossary

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, direct translations are of Sanskrit terms.

Adil Shah dynasty rulers of the Bijapur Sultanate on the Deccan Plateau between 1490 and 1686.

Advaita Hindu philosophical school that postulates the identity between the individual soul and the unique ground of all being, called *brahman*. Because this school's metaphysics is based on the non-dualist teachings found in certain Upanishads, it is also known as Advaita Vedanta. See *brahman*, Vedanta.

Agamas scriptural canon of orthodox Shaivism, whose works date from the sixth to the thirteenth century CE. See also Shaiva Siddhanta.

Akbar Mughal emperor who reigned from 1556 to 1605.

anjali mudra gesture of respect in which the palms are pressed together with the fingers pointing upward.

asana (seat or the act of sitting down) a yogic posture.

ashram hermitage.

austerities various forms of asceticism, such as celibacy and self-mortification, that lead to the correct perception of reality and generate spiritual power.

Bahr al-hayat (Persian: The Ocean of Life) yoga text written circa 1550 by Muhammad Ghawth Gwaliyari, a Sufi master of the Shattari order; illustrated at the Allahabad court of the Mughal Prince Salim, circa 1600–1604. See Sufi, Salim.

Bhagavad Gita a circa 200–400 CE portion of the *Mahabharata*'s sixth book, comprising the divine revelations of the great Hindu god Krishna concerning three paths of practice called *yogas*: karma (activity), *jnana* (insight), and *bhakti* (devotion to God). See *Mahabharata*, Vishvarupa.

Bhairava god often considered to be a particularly fierce or terrible form of Shiva or the Buddha; the divine founder or leader of several Tantric orders and revealer of several Tantric scriptures. See Kapalika.

bhakti Hindu tradition that emphasizes an intense and personal relationship with God.

brahman according to Hindu thought, the Absolute; the self-existent, Universal Self; the ground of all being; the infinite power of eternal being and becoming. *Brahman* is distinct from Brahma (a Hindu god) and Brahmin (a member of the highest Hindu caste).

Brahmin member of the highest of the four Hindu castes; a Hindu priest.

British East India Company trading company—with shareholders and the largest standing army in Asia—that gradually extended its control over India between the seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries.

British Raj British rule of India from 1858 to 1947.

Buddhist person whose way of life is grounded in the teachings of Gautama Buddha, the fifth-century BCE founder of Buddhism, as well as the canon of doctrines and practices attributed to subsequent Buddhist teachers and holy men.

chakra (wheel, circle) one of the energy centers aligned along the spinal column of the yogic body. The number of chakras varies from one tradition to another, with several traditions extending chakras into the space above the top of the head. Chakra also refers to the discus that is one of Vishnu's primary emblems and the circular weapon wielded by militant ascetics.

Chola dynasty rulers of an empire that extended over much of South India and Sri Lanka between the ninth and thirteenth centuries.

Dasnamis (ten-named) confederation of ten ascetic orders that are today Shaiva. According to Dasnami tradition, they were founded by the ninth-century teacher Shankara (also known as Shankaracharya). See Giri, Puri, Shaiva.

dhoti garment wrapped around the waist.

fakir (Arabic: poor man) Muslim religious mendicant; also spelled faqir, fakeer.

Gandhara region that extended over parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan; a Buddhist kingdom under the Kushan dynasty from the first to the fifth century.

Giri one of the ten Dasnami suborders, whose initiates are given the "surname" Giri.

Goraksha, Gorakh, Gorakhnath twelfth- to thirteenth-century founder of the Nath *sampradaya* and purported author of several Sanskrit and vernacular works on the practice of hatha yoga and the mystic experiences of the yogi. See Matsyendranath.

guru religious preceptor or teacher. A guru initiates *shishyas* or *chelas* (disciples) into a lineage, which theoretically extends back to the god or goddess who originally revealed the teachings.

hatha yoga body of yogic practice that combines *asanas* (postures), *pranayama* (breath control), *mudras* (seals), *bandhas* (locks), and techniques of bodily purification, which reverse the normal downward flow of energy, fluids, and consciousness in the body, and provide the practitioner with bodily immortality, supernatural powers, and embodied liberation.

Hindu person whose way of life is grounded in the foundational doctrines of Hindu revelation (the Vedas, Upanishads, etc.) and tradition (the *Bhagavad Gita*, Puranas, Tantras), as well as the teachings of Brahmins and other exemplary humans.

Hoysala dynasty rulers in the southern Deccan from circa 1006 to 1346.

Jahangir Mughal emperor who reigned from 1605 to 1627. See Salim.

Jain person whose way of life is grounded in the teachings of Mahavira, the sixth-century BCE founder of Jainism, as well as the canon of doctrines and practices attributed to subsequent Jain teachers and holy men.

Jalandharnath illustrious Nath Yogi and *siddha* who is the subject of a rich body of medieval and modern legend. In the western Indian kingdom of Marwar (modern-day Jodhpur and its environs), Jalandharnath is regarded as a semidivine figure who was instrumental in the rise to power of the early nineteenth-century King Man Singh.

jata matted hair or “dreadlocks” worn by yogis in imitation of the Hindu god Shiva.

jatamukuta crown or bun of matted locks.

Jina (conqueror) one of the twenty-four legendary founders of Jainism. The last of these was Mahavira, a historical figure who lived in the sixth century BCE. The term *jina* is used interchangeably with *tirthankara* (one who has crossed over).

jogi in the vernacular languages of north India (Hindi, Rajasthani, etc.), the Sanskrit term *yogi* was pronounced and written as *jogi*. In the colonial period, *jogi* was often used in a pejorative sense to refer to a charlatan or false ascetic. See yogi.

Kapalika (Skull bearer) Shaiva yogi who carries a *kapala* (skull) as a begging bowl during a twelve-year period of itinerancy, as a marker of his membership in a heterodox Tantric order that featured sexual excess and antisocial behavior. The divine exemplar of Kapalika practice is the Tantric god Bhairava, whose iconography features skulls and other bone ornaments.

kanphata (Hindi: split-eared) term used for the Nath Yogis, who since the turn of the nineteenth century have worn large hoop earrings (*mudras*) through the cartilage of their ears.

Kathaka Upanishad Hindu scripture, circa third century BCE, in which practices for controlling the body and breath are first described within the context of a set of teachings on yoga.

Kaula (clan-related, son of the clan) elite body of Hindu Tantric practices used specifically by the inner circle of the “clan” of gods, goddesses, and advanced human practitioners. Sons of the clan sought to obtain supernatural powers and bodily immortality through unconventional practices.

Krishnamacharya, Tirumalai (1888–1989) often regarded as the father of modern postural yoga, Krishnamacharya focused on postural movement and *pranayama* oriented toward health, fitness, and healing. His most famous disciples are B. K. S. Iyengar, K. Pattabhi Jois, T. K. V. Desikachar, and Indra Devi.

Kundalini (She who is coiled) in Hindu hatha yoga and Tantra, the female energy that descends through the yogic body to lie coiled in “sleep” in the lower abdomen. Through combined yogic techniques, she is “awakened” and made to rise through the chakras to the cranial vault and beyond.

Kuvalayananda, Swami (1883–1966; born Jagannath Gune) central figure in the emergence of modern yoga. Kuvalayananda sought to demystify yoga through scientific research and establish it as a key component of Indian physical education and fitness.

laya yoga (yoga of absorption) form of yoga practice involving the absorption of the individual mind or self into the Absolute *brahman*, often through the experience of subtle sounds. Laya yoga was one component in a fourfold system of yoga introduced in several medieval texts, along with raja yoga, hatha yoga, and mantra yoga.

linga, lingam pillar-shaped emblem of the Hindu god Shiva. In most Shiva temples, the lingam is nested in an abstract representation of the great goddess who is his consort. This lingam-yoni configuration harks back to Tantric doctrine, according to which Shiva and the goddess create and maintain the universe through their sexual energy.

Mahabharata one of India’s two great epics; the other is the *Ramayana*. The *Mahabharata*, which was composed between the second century BCE and the fourth century CE, contains the *Bhagavad Gita*.

maharaja (great king) title for a Hindu ruler.

mala rosary or garland.

Man Singh maharaja of Jodhpur-Marwar from 1803 to 1843; a devotee of Jalandharnath and great patron of the Nath sectarian order.

mantra (mental device; instrument of thought) acoustic formula whose sound shape embodies and reproduces the energy-level of a deity; a spell, incantation, or charm employed in Tantric ritual or sorcery.

math, matha Hindu monastery or lodge.

Matsyendra, Matsyendranath (Lord of the fishes) illustrious Tantric figure who is the subject of a rich body of medieval Hindu and Buddhist legend. Hindus believe that Matsyendra was the founder of the Kaulas, an early Tantric order and the guru of Gorakhnath, the founder of the Nath Yogis. See Kaula and Nath.

Mattamayura (Drunken peacock) name of an influential medieval Shaiva religious order.

mudra (seal) ritually instrumental gesture of the hand or body. In hatha yoga, an internal hermetic seal effected through breath control and other techniques. Among the Nath Yogis, *mudras* are the great hoop earrings worn through the thick of the ear. More generally, a hand gesture with symbolic meaning, as in *anjali mudra*, the gesture of respect.

Mughal dynasty, ruled 1526–1857 at the height of Mughal power in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Indo-Islamic empire extended over much of the subcontinent.

Nath sampradaya religious order purportedly founded by Gorakhnath. The Nath Yogis (Yogi Lords) were historically known for their distinctive regalia and their roles as advisors to kings in a number of medieval and early modern kingdoms in South Asia. See also Gorakhnath, Jalandharnath, Matsyendranath, *mudra*, *singi*.

nadi in both Hindu and Buddhist mapping of the yogic body, one of an elaborate network of some 72,000 subtle ducts of the yogic body, through which breath and vital energy are channeled. Of these, the three that run through the center and along the right and left sides of the spinal column are most prominent.

om quintessential Hindu mantra, the acoustic expression of the *brahman*.

padmasana lotus posture.

Pala dynasty the Palas ruled northeast India (and modern-day Bangladesh) from the eighth to the twelfth century.

Pali canon sacred texts of Buddhism and the earliest sources on the religion.

Pallava dynasty the Pallavas (sixth–ninth century) originated in Andhra Pradesh and gradually extended their territories to include Tamil Nadu; their capital at Kanchipuram was a major cultural center.

Pashupata name of an early Shaiva sect devoted to Pashupati, a form of Rudra/Shiva.

Patanjali author, perhaps legendary, of the circa second- to fourth-century *Yoga Sutras*.

pranayama breath control; the body of techniques for regulating and stilling the breath (*prana*).

Purana medieval canon of Hindu devotional religion. Traditionally eighteen in number, the Puranas are compendia of Hindu mythology, cosmology, and instructions for devotional religious practice.

Puri one of the ten Dasnami suborders, whose initiates are given the Puri “surname.”

raga classical Indian musical mode. Some ragas were conventionally illustrated with images of Shiva or yogis.

ragamala (garland of ragas) series of thirty-six or forty-two classical Indian musical modes.

raja Hindu king; see also *maharaja*.

raja yoga (royal yoga) term used to designate the system of the *Yoga Sutras*, identified as “classical yoga” by Vivekananda and his successors in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Ramanandi Vaishnava ascetic order that was formalized in the early eighteenth century and is today the largest ascetic order in India. From as early as the twelfth century, Ramanandis—like other Vaishnava ascetics—have been devoted to the god Rama (Hindi: Ram), whose name they often mark on their bodies.

Ramcharitmanas of Tulsidas sixteenth-century retelling in vernacular Hindi of the Sanskrit *Ramayana*.

Rig Veda earliest (circa fifteenth to tenth century BCE) and most prominent of the four Vedas, the original revelations of the Hindu faith.

rudraksha beads worn by devotees of Shiva.

sadhu Hindu holy man.

Salim, Prince the future Mughal Emperor Jahangir (1569–1627), Prince Salim commissioned yoga manuscripts in his Allahabad court between 1600 and 1604.

samadhi (composition, meditative concentration) according to the *Yoga Sutras*, the final component and result of *ashtanga* (eight-limbed) yoga, an integrated state of pure contemplation, in which consciousness is aware of its fundamental isolation from materiality and its own absolute integrity. According to the teachings of the Buddha, it is the final component and result of the practices of the Noble Eightfold Path, which leads to the extinction (nirvana) of suffering existence.

sannyasi renouncer; traditionally a high-caste male Hindu who has entered into the fourth and final stage of life, in which he has renounced all ties to family, society, and ritual practice by burning his sacrificial implements that he has symbolically “laid up together” (*sannyasa*) inside his body. In the modern period, members of the Dasnami order refer to themselves as *sannyasis*, regardless of whether they renounce early or late in life.

Sanskrit language of the Vedas and classical Hindu texts as well as a cosmopolitan literary language in South and Southeast Asia.

Shaiva follower or devotee of Shiva. The ensemble of philosophical and ritual systems followed by Shaivas is known as Shaivism.

Shaiva Siddhanta philosophical and ritual system of orthodox Shaivism.

shaykh Sufi master and teacher.

siddha (perfected being) an exemplary superman of Hindu Tantra; an advanced practitioner of Tantra; a fully realized Nath or Jain practitioner.

Siddha Siddhanta Paddhati (Step by Step Guide to the Principles of the Perfected Beings) compendium of Nath metaphysics, cosmology, and subtle physiology, attributed to Gorakhnath.

siddhi supernormal power, such as the ability to fly, that is a byproduct or goal of yogic practice.

Sidh Sen raja of Mandi, a kingdom on the Beas River in Himachal Pradesh, who reigned circa 1684–1724 and was a Tantric devotee of Shiva.

singi horn whistle worn by Nath Yogis; today it is usually called *nad* due to the sound it produces when blown.

Sufi Islamic tradition that stresses a mystical path and personal relationship with God. In India, several Sufi ascetic orders interacted with Hindu yogis and adopted yogic techniques.

Tantra medieval and modern Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist system of ritual and theory, distinctive in its goal (self-deification) and the means employed to realize that goal: mandala-based visualization and a highly elaborate ritual practice, sometimes involving impure or prohibited substances (sexual fluids, alcohol, flesh), etc.

Tantras medieval scriptures of Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain Tantra.

tapas ascetic practices that generate heat; the heat generated through austerities or yogic practice.

tilak mark applied to the forehead or body, either to indicate one’s sectarian affiliation (in Hinduism) or purely for cosmetic purposes. See also *urdhvapundra*.

Tirthankara see *Jina*.

Udasi (one who is not attached) religious mendicant; member of a Sikh ascetic order whose practices include yoga. Also spelled *oodasi*.

Upanishads final canon of Vedic revelation dating from the fifth century BCE to the third century CE. The Upanishads contain both *dvaita* (dualist) and *advaita* (non-dualist) speculations on the relationship between the Absolute *brahman* and individual souls, between *purusha* (spirit) and *prakriti* (matter), and other topics.

urdhvabahu the austerity of permanently raising one or both arms in the air; a term for the ascetics who perform this austerity.

urdhvapundra V-shaped mark on the foreheads of Vaishnavas.

Vaishnava follower or devotee of Vishnu. The ensemble of philosophical and ritual systems followed by Vaishnavas is known as Vaishnavism.

Vairagi religious mendicant, devotee, or ascetic, usually Vaishnava. Also spelled Vairagee, Bairagi.

Vedanta (the “end”—*anta*—of the Vedas) the Upanishads, the final corpus of Hindu revelation; by extension, the philosophical school that takes the Upanishads as the foundation for its teachings. There are three forms of Vedanta philosophy: non-dualist (*advaita*), dualist (*dvaita*), and qualified non-dualist (*visishtadvaita*). See also *Advaita*, Upanishads.

Vishvarupa (Universal Form) the cosmic form that Krishna reveals to Arjuna in the course of his revelation of the *Bhagavad Gita*, after Arjuna has asked the god to demonstrate his “masterful yoga” (*aishvaryam yogam*). Krishna’s body is seen to encompass the entire universe, with all of its creatures inside his body.

Vivekananda, Swami (1863–1902, born Narendranath Datta) key figure in the emergence of modern yoga. His publications and public appearances in India, North America, and England disseminated yoga as an ecumenical and philosophically grounded tradition (in which *asanas* played little part).

yantra geometric ritual diagram used by practitioners to summon deities, or to control or subdue the mind, demonic beings, or elements of the phenomenal world.

yogapatta band of cloth wrapped around the torso and knees to assist in sitting.

Yoga Sutras of Patanjali circa second- to fourth-century work on yoga philosophy, which also includes practical instructions on the eight successive stages of practice (*ashtanga yoga*) and discussion of the supernatural powers enjoyed by advanced practitioners.

Yoga Vasishta (Vasishtha’s Teachings on Yoga) Sanskrit philosophical treatise from Kashmir that combined analytical and practical teachings on yoga with vivid mythological accounts that revealed the transformative powers of consciousness.

yogi, yogin male practitioner of yoga.

yogini goddess belonging to a cohort ranging in number from 42 to 108; in Hindu Tantra, a practitioner’s female consort.

Endnotes to the Catalogue

Catalogue 1

- 1 Selected publications include Ronald M. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), fig. 12.
 - 2 Selected publications include Deborah Swallow and John Guy, eds., *Arts of India: 1550–1900* (London: V&A Publications, 1990), p. 147, pl. 126.
 - 3 Selected publications include Stella Kramrisch, *Manifestations of Shiva* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1981), p. 194, fig. P-30.
 - 4 The title of the entry is in homage to the scholar and curator Stella Kramrisch, who organized an exhibition of the same name at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1981. *Manifestations of Shiva* was the first major thematically organized exhibition of Indian art.
 - 5 Bhairava also figures in the Buddhist Tantras. See for example, David Gordon White, "At the Mandala's Dark Fringe: Possession and Protection in Tantric Bhairava Cults," in *Notes from a Maṇḍala: Essays in the History of Indian Religions in Honor of Wendy Doniger* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2010), pp. 200–15, esp. pp. 201–2.
 - 6 David Lorenzen, *Religious Movements in South Asia, 600–1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 77–81.
 - 7 Bhairava temples appeared in Tamil Nadu as early as the eighth century. Bhairava is closely related by iconography to the *kṣetrapālas* that were set within niches near the doorways of temples where they were "worshipped for protection, to prevent suffering, to remove impediments, and for the fertility of crops"; Vidya Dehejia, *The Sensuous and the Sacred: Chola Bronzes from South India* (New York: American Federation of Arts, 2002), pp. 118–19.
 - 8 Vidya Dehejia, *The Sensuous and the Sacred: Chola Bronzes from South India* (New York: American Federation of Arts, 2002), p. 118. Poem by Appar translated by Vidya Dehejia from the French: "Appar 4.73.6" in *Tevaram: Hymnes Sivaites du pays Tamoul*, vol. 2, ed. T. V. Gopal Iyer and François Gros (Pondicherry: Institut français d'indologie, 1985), p. 73.
 - 9 For a Mandi painting of Bhairava with the same attributes but wearing the garb of an itinerant ascetic, see B. N. Goswamy, *Domains of Wonder: Selected Masterworks of Indian Painting* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), p. 213, fig. 88.
 - 10 His boyish mien may point to the deity's manifestation as Bāla (boy) Bhairava. K. Guha, "Bhairon, A Shaivite Deity in Transition," *Folklore* 1, no. 4 (July–August 1960), pp. 207–22.
 - 11 Gavin Flood, *Body and Cosmology in Kashmir Shaivism* (New York: Edward Mellen Press, 1993), p. 43.
 - 12 Shaman Hatley, "The Brahmayāmālatantra and Early Śaiva Cult of Yoginis" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2007), p. 267. Vidya Dehejia notes that Sadāśiva is visualized as the five faces of the līngam of Śiva in devotional images created in South India under the Chola rulers; Dehejia, *The Sensuous and the Sacred*, p. 91.
 - 13 See, for example, "Maharaja Sidh Sen of Mandi as a Manifestation of Shiva," reproduced in Joan Cummins, *Indian Painting* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2006), p. 180, pl. 100.
 - 14 Retellings of the mythic narrative feature both Śiva and Bhairava as well as assimilate (the deity) Brahmā into (the caste) Brahmin.
 - 15 For the descent of teachings from Śiva as formless sound to humans, see Hatley, "The Brahmayāmālatantra," pp. 267–70.
- ## Catalogue 2
- 1 Selected publications include Rob Linrothe, ed., *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas* (New York and Chicago: Rubin Museum of Art and Serindia Publications, 2006), p. 389.
 - 2 Selected publications include Jack R. McGregor, *Indian Miniature Painting from West Coast Private Collections* (San Francisco: Society for Asian Art, 1964), no. 25, pl. XIV; Stuart C. Welch, *A Flower from Every Meadow* (New York: Asia Society, 1973), no. 26; Rosemary Crill, *Marwar Painting* (Mumbai: India Book House, 2000), p. 48.
 - 3 See, for example, Thomas E. Donaldson, "Lakulīśa to Rājaguru: Metamorphosis of the 'Teacher' in the Iconographic Program of the Orissan Temple," in *Studies in Hindu and Buddhist Art*, ed. P. K. Mishra (Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1999).
 - 4 Gouriswar Bhattacharya, "Inscribed Image of a Śaivācārya from Bengal," in *South Asian Archaeology 1993*, ed. Asko Parpola and Petteri Koskikallio (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1994), pp. 93–99; Bhattacharya, "A New Śaivācārya with Disciples," *Kalyan Bharati* 6 (2002), pp. 5–14; Linrothe, *Holy Madness*, p. 389, cat. no. 88; Ranjusri Ghosh, "Image of a Saiva Teacher and an Inscription on Pedestal: New Evidence for Bangarh Saivism," *Pratna Samiksha* 1 (2010), pp. 135–39.
 - 5 The relationship between image and individual in medieval Indian portraiture was signified most often less through a mimetic physical likeness than through an epigraph identifying the portrayed person explicitly by name. On portraiture, see Padma Kaimal, "The Problem of Portraiture in South India, circa 870–970 A.D.," *Artibus Asiae* 59, nos. 1/2 (January 1, 1999), pp. 59–133; Kaimal, "The Problem of Portraiture in South India, Circa 970–1000 A.D.," *Artibus Asiae* 60, no. 1 (January 1, 2000), pp. 139–79; Vincent Lefèvre, *Portraiture in Early India: Between Transience and Eternity* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Vidya Dehejia, *The Body Adorned: Dissolving Boundaries Between Sacred and Profane in India's Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), pp. 27–28, 41–42, 67–68. That this is not a unique sculpture, but representative of more widespread artistic practices, is hinted at through the fortuitous survival of fragments of similarly large-scale gurus and *ācāryas* in archaeological museums across North and Central India. While

- fully preserved images following a typology that one might effectively dub “guru-portraiture” are relatively rare outside of northeastern India, fragments of such images can still be found in situ in the field and in museum collections. Over the course of my own research, I have observed them at the Gujri Mahal Museum in Gwalior and the Rani Durgavati Museum in Jabalpur. Klaus Bruhn has noted the particular popularity of the *ācārya* motif, which he identifies as a subset of the “teacher-and-disciple motif,” among the reliefs found at Jaina temples at Deogarh, mainly between 1000 and 1150 CE; see Klaus Bruhn, “The Ācārya Motif at Deogarh,” in *Deyadharmā: Studies in memory of Dr. D.C. Sircar*, ed. Gouriswar Bhattacharya (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1986), pp. 179–87. I am also grateful to Nachiket Chanchani for bringing my attention recently to two twelfth- to thirteenth-century figures.
- 6 Vidyāśiva is mentioned in an eleventh-century inscription of Mahīpalā I (reigned 1027–43) found at Bāṅgaḡh and placed in the lineage of the legendary Durvāsas, edited by D. C. Sircar. “Bāṅgaḡh stone inscription of the time of Nayapāla,” *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 7 (1974), pp. 135–58, 264. The legendary Durvāsas is mentioned in the *Tantrāloka* (XII, 383) as the source of three mind-born sons, the second of whom (Amardaka) is said to be the promulgator of Śaiva Siddhānta. For more on Durvāsas, see Richard Davis, *Ritual in an Oscillating Universe: Worshiping Śiva in Medieval India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 15; V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, vol. 4, part 1. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Ootacamund: Gov. Epigraphist for India, 1955), pp. 371, 373; and V. S. Pathak, *History of Śaiva cults in northern India, from inscriptions 700 A.D. to 1200 A.D.* (Allahabad: Abinash Prakashan, 1980), p. 30.
- 7 On the Dasnāmi *sampradāya*, see Matthew Clark, *The Daśanāmi-samnyāsīs: The Integration of Ascetic Lineages into an Order* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2006).
- 8 The fullness has traditionally be interpreted as indicating *prāṇa*, or life breath. The idea may stem from Stella Kramrisch, but has found expression in many subsequent sources. See Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, vol. 2 (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1946), p. 342; Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture in the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), pp. 34–37; Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain* (London: Penguin Books, 1953), p. 55; Bettina Baumer et al., “Vāyu,” in *Primal Elements Mahābhūta: Kalātattvakośa*, vol. 3, ed. Bettina Baumer and Kapila Vatsyayan (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publisher, 1996), pp. 183–84. See also fig. 4 in “From Guru to God: Yogic Prowess and Places of Practice in Early-Medieval India” in this volume.
- Catalogue 3**
- 1 Petrographic analysis of the Sackler yoginī by Freer|Sackler conservation scientist Janet Douglas shows that it is composed of a metamorphosed gabbro; the sculptures in the collections of the Detroit Institute of Art and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts have not been analyzed to date; however, visual study suggests they are composed of basalt.
- 2 Shaman Hatley, “The Brahmāyāmala and the Early Śaiva Cult of Yoginis” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2007), p. 24.
- 3 Hatley, “Brahmayāmala,” v. 52, p. 409 and v. 41, p. 406. Composed in Sanskrit sometime before the ninth century, the Tantric text about yoginis is structured as a revelation of the Hindu deity Śiva in his form as Bhairava.
- 4 The Kaulas emerged in India in the late seventh century.
- 5 “Distinctive to the Tantric traditions are the goals of *mokṣa* and *bhoga* (power, supernatural experience, and supernatural pleasures) as the fruits of practice, rather than *mokṣa* alone. Yoginī veneration, however, typically is oriented towards attainment of powers.” Correspondence from Shaman Hatley to the author, October 9, 2012.
- 6 Kaula ritual included the empowering exchange of bodily fluids through ritualized sexual intercourse between male adepts and their female partners, who were also known as yoginis. See “Yoga in Transformation” by David Gordon White in this catalogue.
- 7 White, “Yoga in Transformation.”
- 8 Vidya Dehejia’s seminal study, *Yoginī, Cult and Temples: A Tantric Tradition* (New Delhi: National Museum, 1986), examines the extant ruins of medieval yoginī temples located in a broad swath from Rajasthan in the west to Orissa in the East and Tamil Nadu in the south. But there must have been more. No yoginī temples survive, for example, in Delhi, which was one of the great centers of yoginī worship and which was known as Yoginipura or city of yoginīs. Nor are there any in Assam, which was probably where the yoginī cult emerged and where to this day the sixty-four yoginīs are invoked.
- 9 Dehejia, *Yoginī, Cult and Temples*, pp. 2, 185–86, makes the connection of ground plans to yoginī chakras. Margrit Thomsen, “Numerical Symbolism and Orientation in Some Temples of the 64 Yoginis,” in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, March 1980, p. 53, observes that the plans of round yoginī temples with extended portals also recall the yoni-shaped bases of Śiva lingams, cited in Shaman Hatley, “Goddesses in Text and Stone: Temples of the Yoginis in Light of Tantric and Purāṇic Literature,” in *History and Material Culture in Asian Religions*, ed. Benjamin Fleming and Richard Mann (London: Routledge, forthcoming). David Gordon White has suggested that the hypaethral temples were perceived of as landing pads for the flying yoginis, *Kiss of the Yoginī: “Tantric Sex” in its South Asian Contexts*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 7–13, 204–18.
- 10 Reading newly translated Sanskrit texts against material culture, Hatley, in “Goddesses in Text and Stone,” provides compelling evidence that the temples mark (and indeed enable) a transition from primarily individual and esoteric rites into more public and conventional forms of worship.
- 11 For more on the temple and its sculptures, see Dehejia, *Yoginī, Cult and Temples*, and Padma Kaimal, “Scattered Goddesses: Travels with the Yoginis,” in *Asia Past and Present*, ed. Martha Ann Selby (Ann Arbor: Association of Asian Studies, 2012). Kaimal’s monograph identifies pieces of thirteen extant yoginis, three mother goddesses, and four male figures (Śiva, his son Skanda/Shanmuga, and two guardians); the twelve-armed Skanda was situated at the temple’s center.
- 12 Intriguingly, their sloped shoulders deviate from the straight shoulders proscribed for Hindu deities in iconographic manuals (*śilpa śāstras*). A Chola bronze sculpture in the Freer Gallery of Art (F1929.8)—which Vidya Dehejia has compellingly proposed is a portrait sculpture of Queen Sembiyan Mahadevi as the goddess Parvati/ Uma—has similarly sloped shoulders. *Art of the Imperial Cholas* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 4, 36–39. Whether the rounded shoulders of the Kanchi yoginis indicate a regional aesthetic or the fluid boundaries between human and divine that characterize yoginī identity is a subject for further research.
- 13 Kaimal, *Scattered Goddesses*, p. 37, proposes that the iconography of jar and wand might refer to medicine.
- 14 No sculptures of this quality (or images of yoginis) from this period have been found near Kannauj, a city some 190 miles north of the Chandella dynasty capital at Khajuraho. In the tenth century, local Kannauj kings were associated with the Chandella dynasts (tenth to thirteenth century), a political alliance that would have encouraged aesthetic, religious, and cultural connections. The yoginī temple at Khajuraho (now without sculptures) was located within walking distance of the main temple complex, and the plump flesh, square face, high waist, round breasts, and asymmetrical necklace tassel of the Kannauj yoginī recall the female figures on the Khajuraho temples. Yet differences suggest regional production. Dehejia, *Yoginī, Cult and Temples*, p. 48, connects her by style to Naresar. Vishakha Desai and Darielle Mason, *Gods, Guardians and Lovers: Temple Sculptures from North India, A.D. 700–1200* (New York: Asia Society Galleries, 1993), cat. 30, suggest Jhusi in Allahabad; both sites were in the Chandella domain.
- 15 Hatley “Brahmayāmala,” p. 17.
- 16 Dehejia, *Yoginī, Cult and Temples*, p. 150
- 17 Carl W. Ernst, “Accounts of Yogis in Arabic and Persian Historical and Travel Texts,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, vol. 33 (2008), pp. 411–14.
- 18 In 2011, historian Emma Flatt published a groundbreaking analysis of the colophons and text of the *Stars of the Sciences*, identifying its author as Ali ‘Adil Shah, describing its chapters on astrology, divination and yoginis, and outlining the linguistic strategies the sultan employed to make the often esoteric material comprehensible to his diverse court. Emma Flatt, “The Authorship and Significance of the *Nujūm al-‘ulūm*: A Sixteenth-Century Astrological Encyclopedia from Bijapur,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 131, no. 2, pp. 225–35, and *passim*.
- 19 Dehejia, *Yoginī, Cult and Temples*, pp. 5, 187–218.
- 20 It contains 340 folios and 400 paintings in opaque watercolor and gold on paper of

- excellent quality. Chester Beatty Library, MS In2, published in Linda Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library*, vol 2 (London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995).
- 21 Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, p. 862.
- 22 For the group of single-figure yoginī paintings, see Deborah Hutton, *Art of the Court of Bijapur* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), pp. 83–96; for their yogic connections, see 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: Mapin, forthcoming).
- 23 In “Occult Science and Bijapur’s Yoginis,” Diamond reviews the art historical literature in which the yoginis are consistently interpreted as images of mortal ascetics or princesses in yogic masquerade.
- 24 The Persian translation of the *Kāmarūpañcāśikā* describes sixty-four immortal, beautiful and bejeweled yoginīs with supernatural powers. Carl W. Ernst, “Being Careful with the Goddess: Yoginis in Persian and Arabic Texts,” in *Performing Ecstasy: The Poetics and Politics of Religion in India*, ed. Pallabi Chakravorty and Scott Kugle (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 2009), pp. 191–96; see also “Muslim Interpreters of Yoga” by Carl W. Ernst in this volume. For the identification of the *Kāmarūpañcāśikā*, see Kazuyo Sakaki, “Yogico-tantric Traditions in the *Hawd al-Hayāt*,” *Journal of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies* 7 (2005), pp. 135–56.

Catalogue 4

- 1 Published in Debra Diamond, *Garden and Cosmos: The Royal Paintings of Jodhpur* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2008), cat. 40.
- 2 David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
- 3 “A close reading of the corpus of Sanskrit texts that taught haṭha yoga in its formative period (approximately the eleventh to the fifteenth century) shows that it consisted of a variety of ancient physical techniques aimed at achieving liberation by controlling the breath, mind, and semen.” See James Mallinson, “Yogis in Mughal India,” in this catalogue.
- 4 Maharaja Man Singh’s lavish patronage included the collecting of existing Nāth treatises and the production of new knowledge through the commissioning of texts and illustrated manuscripts. For more on illustrated Nāth manuscripts, see Diamond, *Garden and Cosmos*, pp. 43–49; 173–254.
- 5 See n. 6.
- 6 Deities with comprehensible forms are more visible in Hindu religious practice.
- 7 Terse descriptions of each cosmic manifestation are inscribed on the verso of the folio: “First there is the glorious Nāth, whose nature is self effulgent and without beginning, limit, form, or blemish, 1. Bliss-form Nāth. Then after many eons, Jalandhar sat down and created vast waters. Thus, he is renowned as lord (īśa). He is also known as Gorakhnāth. The third picture

[represents] this form without attributes.” For the Rajasthani verses, see Diamond, *Garden and Cosmos*, p. 287. Jalandhar-nāth was the focus of devotion for the manuscript’s patron, Man Singh. Here, his identification with Gorakhnāth bridges a more localized Nāth tradition with what James Mallinson has described as an increasingly organized and transregional Nāth order that recognizes Gorakhnāth as both historical founder and supreme *siddha*. James Mallinson, “The Nāth Saṃpradāya,” in *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, vol. 3, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 407–28.

8 The nine and eighteen Nāths on folios 3 and 4 refer to canonical groups of *siddhas*. Mallinson, “The Nāth Saṃpradāya.”

9 On *pratyakṣa*, see White, *The Alchemical Body*. On the ranking of authority, see Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty, *Dreams, Illusion, and Other Realities about Yoga: Tales from the Yogavāsīṣṭha* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 172–74.

Catalogue 5

- 1 Selected publications include Phyllis Granoff, *Victorious Ones: Jain Images of Perfection* (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2009), p. 210, cat. S26; Thomas Lawton, *Asian Art in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), p. 62–63.
- 2 Inscription: Prosperity!
The image of the omniscient Ajidi [was caused to be made] by the honorable ... of [or landlord of] Pullinira-puttur in Vilai-natu.
Y. Subbarayalu, translator, Department of Indology, Institut Français du Pondichéry, in Granoff, *Victorious Ones*, p. 210, cat. S26.
- 3 Selected publications include *The Jina Collection* (New York: Frederick Schultz Ancient Art in Association with Peter Marks Gallery, 2001), pl. 13.
- 4 Selected publications include Granoff, *Victorious Ones*, p. 216, cat. S29.
- 5 Selected publications include Joseph Dye, *The Arts of India* (Richmond: VMFA, 2001), cat. 51.
- 6 Inscription: In the year VS 1390 [1333] on the eleventh [lunar day] of the dark half of [the month of] Jyāiṣṭha [May-June] with a shrine [and] with attendants [was caused to be made] for his own welfare by the merchant Maladeva. the son of the Merchant Devaimha [and his wife] Desatadevi, the son of the merchant Mahicandra, belonging to the illustrious Gurjara family.
Selected publications include Pratapaditya Pal, *Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India* (Los Angeles: LACMA, 1994), cat. 14.
- 7 Paul Dundas, *The Jains*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 23.
- 8 This karma with its attendant coloring adheres to and obscures one’s soul. For instance, domestic violence cloaks its perpetrators and victims with what might seem to be an ashen hue. Some souls commit heinous acts that result in rebirth in one of the many realms of hell; other souls through their goodness ascend after death into a heavenly realm.
- 9 The relationship between classical yoga and Jainism has a long and glorious history. The ethical principles of yoga, the five *yamas*, are the same as found in Jainism. Both yoga and

Jainism teach the importance of karma. While Patañjali says that karma can be black, white, or mixed, Jainism counts six colors of karma that manifest in 148 varieties (see the *Tattvartha Sūtra*, circa 400 CE). It is safe to say that these traditions have been in continual interplay for more than two thousand years.

- 10 Christopher Key Chapple, *Reconciling Yogas: Haribhadra’s Array of Views on Yoga* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), pp. 15–38.
- 11 The *Yogaśāstra* shows the strong Tantric influence on medieval Jainism. The sixth chapter, on breath control, also records divination exercises, catalogued under *prāṇāyāma* because they partly rely on knowledge of the breath and its movements. Most are geared toward determining the time of death, but some focus on warfare, harvest, and offspring. See Olle Quarnström, trans., *The Yogaśāstra of Hemacandra: A twelfth century handbook on Śvetāmbara Jainism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2002).
- 12 Dundas, *The Jains*, p. 202.
- 13 For the first tirthaṅkara, one can find a bull; for the most recent, Mahāvira, one finds a lion.
- 14 First, the statue is bathed in water. Then sandalwood paste or red *kumkum* is applied to the to the knees, the forearms, the shoulders, the top of the head, the spiritual center between the eyebrows (*ājñā cakra*), the heart, and the stomach. Flowers are placed on the body of the Jina, for beauty and as a reminder of impermanence. Incense is lit for its fragrance and to evoke mindfulness of the life in air. A lamp (*dīpa*) is ignited and waved in front of the statue, symbolizing and creating a connection with consciousness. Offerings of rice, food, and fruit to the Jina image constitute the last three aspects of Jain ritual (*pūjā*). In addition, worship takes the form of a meditation involving vocalized prayers. The most widely used mantra of the Jain faith honors the twenty-four Great Victors or Jinas, the saints (*siddhas*) who have attained perfect freedom, the living heads of religious orders (*ācāryas*), living teachers (*upādhyāyas*), and the active legions of monks and nuns (*sādhus* and *sādhvis*).
- 15 Like Jinas, monks of the Digambara order traditionally take a vow of total nudity because they are aware that bugs can become trapped and suffocate in clothing.
- 16 Although similar to the haṭha yoga pose commonly called *ṭādāsana*, it carries some differences, especially in how the arms are held slightly distant from the body.
- 17 His white garments further indicate that he is a monastic in the Śvetāmbara order.
- 18 To ride a horse would hurt the horse; to drive an automobile or ride a scooter or bicycle would kill countless bugs and, in a big accident, result in harm to other humans.
- 19 Jain monks and nuns also often carry or wear a covering for the mouth so they will not inhale bugs or do damage to microscopic souls in the air as they speak or exhale; they may carry a broom to sweep insects from their path. In contrast, Śvetāmbara tirthaṅkaras and living monks of the Digambara order are totally naked.

Catalogue 6

- 1 Selected publications include Michael R. Cunningham, Stanislaw J. Czuma, Anne E. Wardwell, J. Keith Wilson, *Masterworks of Asian Art* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art and Thames and Hudson, 1998), pp. 152–53; Pratapaditya Pal, *Himalayas: An Aesthetic Adventure* (Berkeley, CA, and Ahmedabad, India: University of California Press and Mapin Publishing, 2003), p. 114, cat. 69.
- 2 Selected publications include Andrew Topsfield, *In the Realm of Gods and Kings: Arts of India* (London: Philip Wilson, 2004), cat. 78.
- 3 Figures seated with their legs crossed in the manner of the lotus posture (*padmāsana*) are prevalent in early sculpture. Yet we cannot assume these postures are always indicative of introspection, because they are often placed in narrative contexts not involving meditation.
- 4 As in the *Kaṭhaka Upaniṣad* (circa third century BCE) and *Yoga Sūtras* (circa 2nd century CE).
- 5 *R̥g Veda* I 105. 8 and see Walter O. Kaelber, “Tapas and Purification in Early Hinduism,” *Numen*, vol. 26 (December 1979), pp. 198, 204, and Śatapatha *Brāhmaṇa* 9.5.1.2–4, 4.5.1.6–9, and 3.1.2.1.
- 6 Many scholars believe these images represent a time prior to the enlightenment and therefore represent Śākyamuni as the future Buddha rather than as a fully enlightened being.
- 7 Alfred Foucher, *L’Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra: étude sur les origines de l’influence classique dans l’art bouddhique de l’Inde et de l’Extrême-Orient* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1905), pp. 381–83. Foucher was among the first to offer this attribution. More recently Robert L. Brown has suggested that many of the earliest images depict events that occur shortly after the end of this first period of fasting. After being given food and ending his six-year fast, Gautama headed to Bodhgaya where he attained Buddhahood. What follows is a second period of fasting that lasted forty-nine days during which a number of miraculous events occurred. See Robert L. Brown, “The Emaciated Gandharan Buddha Images: Asceticism, Health, and the Body,” in *Living a Life in Accord with Dhamma: Papers in Honor of Professor Jean Boisselier*, ed. Natasha Eilenberg, M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, and Robert L. Brown (Bangkok: Silpakorn University, 1997), pp. 105–15.
- 8 *Mahāsaccaka Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* I. 245–46. I. B. Horner, trans., *The Collection of Middle Length Sayings*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2000), p. 300.
- 9 The exact identity of these figures is unclear. Typical depictions of the Buddha’s ascetic companions present them as a group of five, and most textual sources indicate that his two teachers, Udraka and Ārāḍa, had died by the time he reached enlightenment. Over his lifetime, the Buddha converted many ascetics. It is possible, therefore, that a different event is depicted.
- 10 Robert E. Fisher, “The Enigma of Harwan,” *Art International* 25, no. 9 (1982), pp. 33–34.
- 11 Aśoka’s Seventh Pillar inscription mentions the Ājivikas as recipients of royal largesse. See Georg Buhler, “Barābar and Nāgārjuni Hill-Cave inscriptions of Aśoka and Daśaratha,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*

- vol. 20 (Bombay: 1901), p. 362. See also Heinrich Lüders, “A List of Brahmi Inscriptions,” *Appendix to Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. 10 (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1912), pp. 97–98, nos. 954–56.
- 12 Johannes Bronkhorst, *Greater Magadha: Studies in the Culture of Early India* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 40–41.

Catalogue 7

- 1 Selected publications include Richard Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India* (New Delhi: Lalit Kalā Akademi, 1961), pl. 3; Milo Beach, *The Adventures of Rama with Illustrations from a Sixteenth-Century Mughal Manuscript* (1983; repr. Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art and Mapin Publishing, 2011), pp. 20–21; Kirtanananda Swami Bhaktipada, *The Illustrated Ramayana* (New Vrindaban: Palace Publishing, 1989), p. 38, fig. 7; John Seytler, *Workshop and Patron in Mughal India: The Freer Ramayana and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of ‘Abd al-Rahim* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1999), pp. 132–33, fig. 57; Milo Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 2011), p. 90, fig. 14e.
- 2 Selected publications include Andrew Topsfield, *Paintings from Rajasthan in the National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1980), pp. 148, fig. 226.
- 3 For third- to eighth-century images of austerities, see cats. 6a–d; for the yogic nature of the ascetic techniques of śramaṇas mentioned in Buddhist and Jain texts, as well as those practiced by sages in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, see James Mallinson, “Śāktism and Haṭhayoga,” in *The Śākta Traditions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- 4 For other images of Viśvāmītra, see fig. 6 in “Yoga the Art of Transformation” by Debra Diamond in this catalogue.
- 5 The prayer beads (*māla*) he holds indicate he is reciting mantras.
- 6 *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India*, vol. 1, “Bālakaṇḍa,” trans. Robert P. Goldman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 64:2, p. 246.
- 7 See, for example, *Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi as a Manifestation of Shiva*, Mandi, circa 1725, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Keith Mcleod Fund, 2001.137, reproduced in Joan Cummins, *Indian Painting from Cave Temples to the Colonial Period* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2006), p. 180, pl. 100.
- 8 On how the immobilization of the body stops transactions with the world and allows for higher levels of consciousness, see Gavin Flood, *Body and Cosmology in Kashmir Shaivism* (New York: Edward Mellen Press, 1993), p. 205 and *passim*.
- 9 In the early nineteenth century, Purn Puri identified the ascetics who started at the sun as *ākāśa-munis* in “Oriental Observations, No. X: The Travels of Prān Puri, a Hindoo, who travelled over India, Persia, and Part of Russia,” in *The European Magazine and London Review*, vol. 57 (1810), p. 263. A more ancient, related practice of staring at the sun is attested in the *Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra*,

v. 8.8., a circa fourth- to eighth-century Vaiṣṇava text, as per Jim Mallinson in correspondence dated Sept. 20, 2012.

- 10 *Tapkār āsana* is named and depicted in the illustrated *Jogpradīpakā* of Jayatārāma, Gudrun Bühnemann, *Eighty-four Āsanas in Yoga: A Survey of Traditions with Illustrations* (New Delhi: D. K. Printworld, 2007), p. 51. This enables us to identify an earlier representation of the *āsana* from Kulu. Dated circa 1725–40 by style, it is reproduced in Pratapaditya Pal, *The Flute and the Brush: Indian Paintings from the William Theo Brown and Paul Woner Collection. An Exhibition* (Newport Beach: The Museum, 1976), no. 49. See cats. 9a–j for the *āsana*’s origins in the bat-penance *vagguli-vata* of śramaṇa ascetics.
- 11 E. F. Oaten, *European Travellers in India, during the Fifteenth Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries: the evidence afforded by them with respect to Indian social institutions, & the nature, & influence of Indian governments* (New Delhi: J. Jetley for Asian Educational Services, 1991), p. 46, notes ritual decapitation in fifteenth-century Vijayanagar by pilgrims who “cut off their own head[s], yielding up their lives as a sacrifice to their idols.”

Catalogue 8

- 1 Selected publications include Crispin Branfoot, “Processions and Presence: Bronze Sculptures from the Temples of Southern India,” *Arts of Asia* 36, no. 6 (2006), p. 68, fig. 8; Vidya Dehejia, *The Sensuous and the Sacred* (New York: American Federation of Arts, 2002), pp. 186–87, fig. 45; Vidya Dehejia, *Chola: Sacred Bronzes of Southern India* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2006), pp. 120–23, fig. 22; Adrian K Locke, “Divine Beauty: Sacred Medieval Bronzes from Southern India,” *Minerva* 18, no. 1 (January–February 2007), p. 23, fig. 6.
- 2 Selected publications include John Guy, *La escultura en los templos indios: el arte de la devoción* (Barcelona: Fundación “la Caixa,” 2007), p. 229, cat. 184. Guy notes that the Cochin temple was demolished in 1874.
- 3 Selected publications include Thomas Lawton, *Beyond the Legacy: Anniversary Acquisitions for the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998), pp. 190–93; Vidya Dehejia, *Devi: The Great Goddess: Female Divinity in South Asian Art* (New York: Prestel, 1999), p. 129, fig. 3; B. N. Goswamy, *Pahari Masters: Court Painters of Northern India* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1992), p. 38–39, cat. 8.
- 4 In Patañjali’s treatise, meditation is one of eight limbs, or components, of yoga that restrain the fluctuations of the mind (*Yoga Sūtra* 1.2: *yogas citta vṛtti nirodhaḥ*).
- 5 For a philosophically grounded discussion of meditation within the *Yoga Sūtra*, see Christopher Key Chapple, *Yoga and the Luminous: Patañjali’s Spiritual Path to Freedom*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008, esp. pp. 61–67.
- 6 Multiple mythic narratives and philosophical interpretations surround every great Hindu deity. Philip Lutgendorf’s magisterial study of Hanuman conveys how the god’s diverse “messages” emerge “through the experiences

- and expressions of worshipers, who exercise considerable agency in shaping (and at times contesting) them; hence these messages also reflect historical contingencies and may change with time." Philip Lutgendorf, *Hanuman's Tale: The Message of the Divine Monkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 28–29.
- 7 South Indian traditions also localize the mythic event; in Andhra Pradesh, the temple complex at Ahobilam is identified as the site of the god's slaying of the demon and his *bhakti* yoga lessons. Lavanya Vemsani, "Narasimha, the Supreme Deity of Andhra Pradesh: Tradition and Innovation in Hinduism—An Examination of the Temple Myths, Folk Stories, and Popular Culture," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 24, no. 1 (January 2009), p. 39.
- 8 Earlier images of Narasimha, as well as those from other parts of India, generally depict the god standing or in the act of disemboweling the demon with his claws.
- 9 Hanuman's ability to cure diseases is linked to the *siddhis* (supernatural powers) of yogic attainment in Peter Van der Veer, *Gods on Earth: Religious Experience and Identity in Ayodhya* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 92. For a fuller discussion of Hanuman as divine healer, see Sudhir Kakar, *Shamans, Mystics and Doctors: A Psychological Inquiry into India and its Healing Traditions* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 1982), pp. 53–88.
- 10 Śaiva yogis of the Nāth tradition also have a Hanuman cult. Peter Van der Veer, *Gods on Earth: Religious Experience and Identity in Ayodhya* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 92.
- 11 The program of the ceiling frieze is the wedding of Rāma: twelve panels (IS.2564A-L-1883) can be viewed in the online collections site of the Victoria and Albert (<http://collections.vam.ac.uk>). Each extant panel depicts a winged deity, although only Hanuman wears a *yogapaṭṭa*. Because the sharp-feathered wings in the upper corners appear on all the other deities in the Kerala temple panels, they may not convey anything specific about Hanuman, although Lutgendorf notes an "anomalous story in which the young Hanuman is equipped with wings ..."; Lutgendorf, *Hanuman's Tale*, p. 191.
- 12 In a Mughal folio in the Fondation Custodia, Paris collection, Cṛyāvana is represented caught within the nets of fishermen who accidentally disturbed his underwater austerities. Although the episode does not appear in the *Mahābhārata*, the folio is from the *Razmnama* (*Book of War*), the 1598–99 imperial translation of the Sanskrit epic. It is reproduced in *Akbar: The Great Emperor of India*, exh. cat. Fondazione Roma Museo (Milan: Skira, 2012), p. 216, fig. v.22.
- 13 Like most Hindu manuscripts, the pages of the Tantric Devi series were unbound, and viewers lifted the folios one by one to appreciate them. The central image is protected by painted red borders, whose notations in *Takri* script identify the goddess, her devotee, and the folio's number, 57, within the series.
- 14 The verse also includes the syllable *bhaim*, Bhadrakālī's manifestation as a sacred sound. For the verse and a discussion of the series, see Terry McInerney, in *Devi: The Great Goddess*, pp. 119–36 and p. 391.
- Catalogue 9**
- 1 Selected publications include Linda Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings in the Chester Beatty Library*, vol. 2 (London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995), pp. 556–64, cat. 5.137. Persian translations here by Carl W. Ernst; for full translation of Persian text and identification of postures, see www.asia.si.edu/exhibitions.
- 2 Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), chap. 8.
- 3 An ascetic in a position similar to *kukkuṭāsana*, the cock posture, is carved on the outer wall of the Mallikarjuna temple at Shrishailam in Andhra Pradesh that can be dated to 1510, making it the earliest depiction of a non-seated *āsana*. Rob Linrothe, "Siddhas and Śrīśailam, 'Where All Wise People Go,'" in *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*, ed. Rob Linrothe (New York and Chicago: Rubin Museum of Art and Serindia Publications, 2006), p. 138.
- 4 Philipp André Maas, "Samādhipāda: Das erste Kapitel des Pātañjalayogaśāstra zum ersten Mal kritisch ediert" (Samādhipāda: The First Chapter of the Pātañjalayogaśāstra for the First Time Critically Edited), in *Studia Indologica Universitatis Halensis—Geistes kultur Indiens: Texte und Studien 9* (Aachen: Shaker, 2006), p. xix.
- 5 The earliest extant Tantric text, the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*, teaches *āsana* in its *Nayasūtra* (4.14c–15d). Dominic Goodall, Alexis Sanderson, and Harunaga Isaacson, eds., *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* (Pondicherry: Publications de l'Institut français d'Indologie, forthcoming). The earliest textual reference to the lotus position (*padmāsana*) is found in the circa third-century *Kāmasūtra*, which describes a posture to be used for lovemaking as "like *padmāsana*" (6.30). Pt. Kedārnāth, ed., *Kāmasūtram* of Vātsyāyana with the *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary of Yaśodhara (Bombay: Nirnaya Sagara Press, 1900). The earliest representations of ascetics in meditational *āsanas* date to the last three centuries BCE. An ascetic sitting in *yogapaṭṭāsana*, i.e., with a band supporting his crossed legs, is depicted in a sculpture found at the Buddhist site of Sanchi (third- to first-century BCE); see fig. 5 in "Yoga: The Art of Transformation" by Debra Diamond in this volume. The Buddha Śākyamuni is shown sitting in *padmāsana* in a second-century CE sculpture from Gandhara, reproduced in "A Visual Offering: Treasures of Buddhist Art," p. 44, and available at <http://huntingtonarchive.osu.edu/resources/downloads/webPresentations/Masterpieces.pdf>.
- 6 These texts are the *Dattātreya yogaśāstra* (vv. 34–38) and *Vivekamārtaṅga* (vv. 5–8). The former teaches the lotus position (*padmāsana*) to which the latter adds the adepts' posture (*śiddhāsana*). From an unpublished critical edition by James Mallinson, based on the following witnesses: *Dattātreya yogaśāstra*, edited by Brahmamitra Avasthi, Svāmī Keśavananda Yoga Saṃsthāna (1982); Man Singh Pustak Prakash nos. 1936; Wai Prajñā Pāṭhaśālā 6/4–399, 6163; Baroda Oriental Institute 4107; Mysore Government Oriental Manuscripts Library 4369; Thanjavur Palace Library B6390. The edition was read by Professor Alexis Sanderson, Jason Birch, Péter-Dániel Szántó, and Andrea Acri at Oxford in early 2012, all of whom I thank for their valuable emendations and suggestions.
- 7 This text has come to be known as the *Haṭhāyogapradīpikā*, but in the colophons of its several hundred manuscripts it is more commonly known simply as the *Haṭhāpradīpikā*. Svāmī Digambarjī and Dr. Pitambar Jhā, eds., *Haṭhāpradīpikā of Svātmārāma* (Lonavla: Kaivalyadhām S. M. Y. M. Samiti, 1970).
- 8 For photographs of *mayūrāsana*, see James Mallinson, "Yogic Identities: Tradition and Transformation," www.asia.si.edu/research/articles.
- 9 *Haṭhāpradīpikā* 1.30. Swami Maheshananda, B. R. Sharma, G. S. Sahay, R. K. Bodhe, eds., *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā Yogakāṇḍa*, rev. ed. (Lonavla: Kaivalyadhām Śrīmanmādhav Yogamandir Samiti, 2005), 1.76–77.
- 10 Śrīsvāmīhāthirāmjī, ed., *Vimānārcaṅkalpa* (*paṭala* 96) (Madras: Venkateshwar Press, 1926). On the dating of this text see Gérard Colas, "Vaiṣṇava Saṃhitās" in *The Brill Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 153–67. This may be the earliest example in any Sanskrit text of *āsana* referring to a physical posture other than a seated position. Such usage soon spread to activities other than yoga. The early twelfth-century *Mānasollāsa* teaches *āsanas* for wrestlers (4.1.104–9) and also uses the word to describe the various different standing positions of fighting elephants (4.3.613–18). G. K. Shrigondekar, ed., *Mānasollāsa* of King Someśvara, vol. 2 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1939). The twelfth- or thirteenth-century *Mallapurāṇa* teaches *āsanas* specific to different types of wrestler (6.45–48, 8.16–21). B. J. Sandesara and R. N. Mehta, eds., *Mallapurāṇa* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1964). An early fourteenth-century Maithili text, the *Varṇaratnākara*, lists the *āsanas* (and *bandhas*) of lovemaking; S. K. Chatterji and B. Misra, eds., *Varṇaratnākara* of Jyotīrīśvarakaviśekharācārya (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1940), p. 29.
- 11 See fig. 11 in "Yogis in Mughal India" by James Mallinson in this volume for a photograph of Yogirāj Jagannāth Dās at Haridwar Kumbh Mela in 2010.
- 12 *Haṭhāpradīpikā* 1.23 = *Ahīrbudhnyāsaṃhitā* 31.38, *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā Yogakāṇḍa* 1.78.
- 13 *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* 3.8a–13b. Csaba Kiss, "Matsyendranātha's Compendium (*Matsyendrasaṃhitā*): A critical edition and annotated translation of *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* 1–13 and 55 with analysis" (PhD thesis, Oxford University, 2009).
- 14 *Dattātreya yogaśāstra* 24cd.
- 15 *Jātaka* 1, p. 493 (*Naṅguṭṭha Jātaka*); *Jātaka* 3, pp. 232–37 (*Setaketu Jātaka*). V. Faussell, ed., *Jātaka*, 4 vols. (London: Trübner & Co., 1877–87).
- 16 *Jogpradīpakā* vv. 179–83. M. L. Gharote, ed., *Jogpradīpakā* of Jayatārāma (Jodhpur: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, 1999).
- 17 Singleton, *Yoga Body*, pp. 81–162.
- 18 *Yogasūtra* 2.46. Nārāyaṇa Mīśra, ed., *Yogasūtra of Patañjali with the commentaries (Bhāṣya, Tattvavaiśārādī, and Yogavārtikā) of Vyāsa*,

- Vācaspatimīśra*, and *Vijñānabhikṣu* (Benares: Bhāratiya Vidyā Prakāśan, 1971).
- 19 *Haṭhpradīpikā* 1.17; cf. e.g., *Haṭharatnāvalī* 3.5, *Jogpradīpikā* 49. M. L. Charote, P. Devnath, V. K. Jha, eds., *Haṭharatnāvalī* (Lonavla: Lonavla Yoga Institute, 2002).
- 20 *Mahābhārata* 1.13.10–13; 1.26.2; 1.41.1–3; 3.94.11–14; 3.185.4–5; 12.126.18; 13.7.8–13. V. Sukthankar, S. K. Belvalkar et al., eds., *Mahābhārata*, 19 vols. (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1927–59). “The hero’s pose” (*vīrāsana*) is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* 12.292.8, 13.7.13, 13.13.10, 13.13.54, although its form is first described in a tenth-century commentary on the *Yogasūtra*, the *Tattvavaiśārādī*, which on 2.46, n. 21, explains it to be the practice shown in a photograph of Mānav Nāth Tapasvī (reproduced in Mallinson, “Yogic Identities”) and which to this day is associated with *tapas* rather than yoga. Personal communication to James Mallinson from Mānav Nāth Tapasvī, an itinerant Nāth Yogi at Gorakh Dibbi, Jvalamukhi, on November 11, 2011. It may be that the *Mahābhārata*’s *vīrāsana* is simply an uncomfortable place to sit—in the passages in which it is found, there is also mention of the ascetic practice of *vīraśayyā*, “the heroic place to sleep”—but a squatting position similar to the *virāsana* of the *Tattvavaiśārādī* is also included among the practices of ascetics dismissed by the Buddha in the Pali canon. See James Mallinson, “Śāktism and Haṭhayoga,” in *The Śākta Traditions* (London: Routledge, forthcoming).
- 21 W. Falconer, trans. *The Geography of Strabo*, vol. 3 (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1857), pp. 112–13.
- 22 For example, Bernier’s seventeenth-century account (Archibald Constable, trans., *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656–1668 by François Bernier* [London: Oxford University Press, 1916], p. 317). In the circa 1590 *Ain-i Akbari* (H. S. Jarrett, *The ‘Ain-i-Ākbari of Abul Fazl-i-Āllami*, vol. 3 [Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1948], p. 185), it is said that there are eighty-four *āsanas*, “of which thirteen are esteemed the most efficacious, and each has a special mode and a separate name. Under their influence, cold, heat, hunger and thirst are little felt.”
- 23 The practice of the eighty-four *āsanas*, with each to be held for “several hours,” is included in an eighteenth-century list of eighteen methods of *tapas* recounted by the famous wandering Sannyasi Puran Puri, “Oriental Observations, No. X: The Travels of Prān Puri, a Hindoo, who travelled over India, Persia, and Part of Russia,” in *The European Magazine and London Review*, vol. 57 (1810), pp. 263–64; see cat. 22, Bed of Nails. Modern yoga practice often includes sequences of *āsanas* but these are absent in premodern Indian sources on yoga. The seventeenth-century traveler Peter Mundy does not mention *āsana* in his descriptions of ascetics, but does describe acrobats (*bāzīgars*) moving from the lotus position to a headstand. Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667. Vol. II: Travels in Asia 1628–1634* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1914), pp. 254–55.
- 24 Forerunners of these ascetics may perhaps be found in the Vedic *Vrātyas*, who are said to stand upright for a year; *Atharvavedasamhitā* 15.31. Shankar Pāndurang Pandit, ed., *Atharvavedasamhitā* in the Śaunakiya recension with the commentary (*-bhāṣya*) of Sāyaṇācārya (Bombay: Government Central Book Depot, 1895).
- 25 *Haṭharatnāvalī upadeśa* 3. Of the eighty-four named *āsanas*, thirty-six are described.
- 26 Muhammad Ghawth Gwaliyari (MGG) wrote *Bahr al-ḥayāt* in Gujarat around 1550. Carl W. Ernst, “Sufism and Yoga according to Muhammad Ghawth,” *Sufi* 29 (spring 1996), pp. 9–13.
- 27 James Mallinson, following Carl W. Ernst, “The Islamization of Yoga in the Amrtakunda Traditions,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, s. 3, vol. 13, no. 2 (2003), pp. 1–23; and Kazuyo Sakaki, “Yogico-tantric Traditions in the Ḥawd al-ḥayāt,” *Journal of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies*, vol. 7 (2005), pp. 135–56. The various Persian and Arabic recensions are compilations of translations of passages from various Sanskrit texts, put into an Islamic frame.
- 28 The twenty-one *āsanas* in the *Bahr al-ḥayāt* are almost all seated postures for meditation on various unconditioned forms of the absolute, which suggests the Nāth tradition’s greater emphasis on contemplative techniques. In contrast is the predilection for more complex and difficult postures evinced by their counterparts the Sannyasis, who are the heirs of the ancient ascetic tradition in which such practices are likely to have originated.
- 29 Aditya Behl and Simon Weightman, *Manjhan Madhumalati: An Indian Sufi Romance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. xxi–xxii. MGG was pivotal in Babur’s capture of Gwalior fort from the Afghans in the 1520s, for which he received a land grant. He was also patronized by Humayun. MGG went to Gujarat when Humayun fled to Iran.
- 30 Posture 4, verse 7.
- 31 MGG observes that *sahajāsana*—in which “one meditates, placing one shin over the other ... clasping both hands together” while intoning *haṃs* and so *haṃ* upon exhaling and inhaling—is taught by yogis to their students to open the door to the hidden. The hazy form near the yogi’s folded thighs is a later repair.
- 32 An even more curious relationship between image and text appears on folio 20a. In presenting the eighth posture, *akuñcan*, the text mentions *siddhāsana*, a seated posture, and describes a practice similar to Sanskrit descriptions, such as *Haṭharatnāvalī* 2.58, of *mūlabandha*, in which the yogi, often sitting in *siddhāsana*, is told to clench (*ā-kuñc*) the yoni region, and draw up air. However, the image depicts an inversion. This may be a literalization (or a misunderstanding) of a phrase within the *Bahr al-ḥayāt*’s description: “One holds the buttocks firmly together and pulls the water-lily up by the feet.”
- 33 The interest of Sufis and Muslim rulers in yoga was largely practical rather than philosophical. Carl W. Ernst, “Situating Sufism and Yoga,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 15, no. 1 (2005), p. 9; and “Accounts of Yogis in Arabic and Persian Historical and Travel Texts,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, vol. 33 (2008), p. 410.
- 34 Mughal images of yogis were often drawings or lightly-tinted drawings (Persian, *nim qalam*); the reasons for this preference are as yet only hazily theorized. However, the *nimqalam* illustrations of the *Bahr al-ḥayāt* manuscript suggest another line of inquiry. In “Muslim Studies of Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translations from Indian Languages,” *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 2 (June 2003), pp. 173–95, Carl W. Ernst observes that translations of the practical arts and sciences from Indian languages into Arabic and Persian begin in the ninth century during the `Abbasid caliphate and continue, on the subcontinent, under Sultanate and Mughal patronage. Ernst includes in this category translations of works on mathematics, medicine, toxicology, astronomy, alchemy, divination, auguries, and omens. The illustrated *Bahr al-ḥayāt*, which describes twenty-one postures with benefits ranging from spiritual insight to supernatural abilities to better health, would seem to belong to this category. Art historical studies have heretofore concentrated on the fully colored and burnished paintings that appear in literary and historical manuscripts as well as in Persian translations of Sanskrit epics and metaphysical texts. A comparison of the *Bahr al-ḥayāt* folios with other illustrated Mughal manuscripts on practical subjects may allow us to better evaluate the importance of the treatise within the intellectual culture of Salim’s Allahabad court.

Catalogue 10

- 1 Selected publications include Joan Cummins, *Vishnu: Hinduism’s Blue-Skinned Saviour* (Ahmedabad, India: Mapin, 2011), p. 218, cat. 131; Stuart C. Welch, *A Flower from Every Meadow* (City: Publisher, 1973), no. 42. B. N. Goswamy, in conversation with the author, May 2012, compared the work with the Devidasa’s painting, “Shiva and Parvati playing Chaupar,” Metropolitan Museum of Art, reproduced in B. N. Goswamy and Eberhard Fischer, *Pahari Masters: Court Painters of Northern India* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1992), pp. 70–71, cat. 26.
- 2 John Guy, *Indian Temple Sculpture* (London: V&A Publications, 2007), p. 70, fig. 76.
- 3 Selected publications include Joseph Dye, *Arts of India* (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 2001), pp. 370–74, cats. 162–64. *Burlington Magazine* 1991, p. 416, fig. 116. *Archives of Asian Art* 1992, p. 109, fig. 41.
- 4 Selected publications included Debra Diamond, *Garden and Cosmos: The Royal Paintings of Jodhpur* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2008), cat. 48.
- 5 David Gordon White, “On the Magnitude of the Yogic Body,” in *Yogi Heroes and Poets: Histories and Legends of the Nāths*, ed. David N. Lorenzen and Adrian Munoz (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2011), pp. 79–90.
- 6 In the “*Bhagavadgītā* and the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, the great gods Viṣṇu and Śiva are said to practice yoga precisely when they are in the process of internalizing all external phenomena by either manifesting the entire universe within their cosmic bodies or by swallowing all ... both gods are called Masters of Yoga in this role.” White, “On the Magnitude of the Yogic Body,” p. 88. For early medieval temple reliefs of Śiva and Viṣṇu as Masters of Yoga see Michael W. Meister, “Art and Hindu asceticism: Śiva and

- Vishnu as masters of Yoga." in *Explorations in art and archaeology of South Asia: essays dedicated to N. G. Majumdar*, ed. Debala Mitra (Calcutta: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of West Bengal, 1996), pp. 315–21, pls. 22.1–3.
- 7 Angelika Malinar, "Yoga Practices in the *Bhagavadgītā*," in *Yoga in Practice*, ed. David Gordon White (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 61–62.
 - 8 Malinar, "Yoga Practices," p. 59.
 - 9 *Bhagavadgītā* 11. 20, 24.
 - 10 Here, the artist is drawing upon longstanding iconographic traditions that link multiple limbs with cosmic creation to illustrate the "manifold arms, bellies, mouths and eyes" of Kṛṣṇa *Viśvarūpa*; *Bhagavadgītā* 11.16. For more on multiplicity, see Doris Srinivasan, "Many Heads, Arms and Eyes: Origin, Meaning, and Form of Multiplicity in Indian Art," *Studies in Asian Art and Archaeology* 20 (1997).
 - 11 *Bhagavadgītā* 11.24; for a discussion of Kṛṣṇa's *viśvarūpa* forms, see Angelika Malinar, *The Bhagavadgītā: Doctrines and Contexts* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 163–87.
 - 12 Malinar, *The Bhagavadgītā*, pp. 182–83, observes that visualizing Kṛṣṇa by reciting the *Gītā* or worshipping sculptures and paintings became of central importance in later *bhakti* traditions. On the Vaiṣṇava devotionalism that swept north Indian courts, see Patton E. Burchett, "Bhakti Religion and Tantric Magic in Mughal India: Kacchvāhās, Rāmānandīs, and Nāths, circa 1500–1700" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2012), pp. 34–59.
 - 13 Kṛṣṇa is variously the supreme deity or a form of Viṣṇu with different Vaiṣṇava traditions. See, for example, Srinivasan, "Many Heads, Arms and Eyes," pp. 134, 240–59.
 - 14 For more on Nāth Siddhas and Maharaja Man Singh, who became a devotee of the Siddha Jalandharnāth and a great patron and political ally of the Nāth order, see cats. 4a–c and 11b; for the painting's sociopolitical context, see Diamond, *Garden and Cosmos*, pp. 31–41.
 - 15 The painting was burnished by rubbing the verso with a stone to fuse the pigments, which increases the shine and emphasizes the flatness of the surface.

Catalogue 11

- 1 Selected publications include Stella Kramrisch, *Manifestations of Shiva* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1981), p. 232, cat. P-58; Linda Y. Leach, *Indian Miniature Paintings and Drawings* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1986), cat. 134.
- 2 Selected publications include Jackie Menzies, *Goddess: Divine Energy* (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2006), p. 83, cat. 115. Pratapaditya Pal, *Arts of Kashmir* (Florence: Conti Tricolors, 2007), p. 165, fig. 179.
- 3 Selected publications include Debra Diamond, *Garden and Cosmos: The Royal Paintings of Jodhpur* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2008), p. 290, fig. 44b.
- 4 Its earliest foundations lie in the *Kāthaka Upaniṣad* (third century BCE), which posits the essential sameness of the individual with *brahman* and introduces the physiological

construct of channels (*nāḍīs*) that carry vital breath through the body. Between the fifth and nineteenth centuries, increasingly complex conceptions of the subtle body were articulated within yogic traditions.

- 5 Common to all haṭha systems are techniques that arouse the latent energy, the goddess Kuṇḍalinī, lying coiled at the perineum. The yogi raises Kuṇḍalinī up a central channel (*suṣumṇā nāḍī*) that runs parallel to the spine. As Kuṇḍalinī pierces each chakra, gross matter transforms into subtler essence, reversing the natural tendency toward decay and death. With each transformation, the yogi reaches a higher plane of spiritual awareness and the ability to control the gross matter associated with that energy center. According to the SSP, in the early years, the adept learns to fly, see, and hear over great distances; in the middle years, he overcomes disease and becomes immortal; in the penultimate year, he experiences the oneness of the universal macrocosm with his own body; and in the twelfth year, he becomes even greater than the gods.
- 6 For portraits of Raja Mandhata, see W. G. Archer, *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, vol. 2 (London and New York: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1973), p. 303, nos. 5 and 6.
- 7 James Mallinson, in conversation with the author, December 14, 2013, noted that the three *granthis* originate with the *vāyu* (breath or wind) technique, which predates the chakras of the subtle body. As evidenced by classic haṭha yoga treatises, including the *Gorakṣaśataka*, *Amaraughaprabodha*, *Yogabija*, and *Amṛtasiddhi*, the *granthis* were subsequently adopted into the breath techniques of *prāṇāyāma*. The Nurpur painting (cat. 11a) depicts one of the many haṭha yogic systems of three *granthis* that are identified as Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Rudra. Tantric works often include these three within larger sets of twelve (e.g., *Netratantra*, 7.22–25) or sixteen *granthis* (e.g., *Kubjikāmatatantra*, 17.61–84).
- 8 The three deities appear in these same locations on the subtle body in a loose folio from an unidentified manuscript from Chamba (Himachal Pradesh), circa 1675, 20.63 x 10.16 cm, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.81.530.
- 9 James Mallinson, "Nāth Sampradāya," in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism, Volume 3*, ed. Knut A. Jacobsen (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 426, dates it to the early eighteenth century.
- 10 These attainments are identified in the SSP with the second (*svādṣṭhāna*), eighth (*nirvāṇa*) and ninth and highest (*ākāśa*) chakras, respectively.
- 11 The small black circle also appears twice to represent the unmanifest universe and individual body on the first folio of the manuscript (Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 2373).
- 12 The scroll's style and Śāraḍa script indicate its production in Kashmir for an as-yet-unidentified client. A similar Kashmiri scroll dated to the 1800s in the Ajit Mookerjee collection of the National Museum of India (82.533) is reproduced in Menzies, *Goddess Divine Energy*, p. 182, fig. 114.
- 13 Two other contemporaneous Jodhpur representations of the *mūlādhāra* chakra with the same iconography, one elaborately painted and the

other schematic, are reproduced in Diamond, *Garden and Cosmos*, pp. 188–91, fig. 44, and p. 290, fig. 44a.

- 14 It is known as both the *manipura* (jewel city) and *nābhi* (navel) chakra.
- 15 See, for example, Georg Feuerstein, *The Yoga Tradition: Its History, Literature, Philosophy and Practice*, 3rd ed. (Prescott, AZ: Hohm Press, 2008), pp. 353–55.

Catalogue 12

- 1 Selected publications include Geeti Sen, *Paintings from the Akbar Nama* (Lustre Press, 1984), p. 106, fig. 43; James Mallinson, "Yoga & Yogīs," in *Nāmarūpa: Categories of Indian Thought* 3, no. 15 (March 2012), pp. 16, 17, 25 (details); Susan Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor: The Art of the Book 1560–1660* (London: V&A Publications, 2002), pp. 52–53, pl. 35.
- 2 Selected publications include Sen, *Paintings from the Akbar Nama*, p. 107, fig. 44; Mallinson, "Yoga & Yogīs," p. 15; Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor*, pp. 52–53, pl. 35.
- 3 William R. Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 6–8, 60–103, provides the definitive overview of how armed asceticism developed in relation to India's shifting military landscapes between 1500 and 1900.
- 4 Abu'l Fazl, *Akbarnama*, trans. H. Beveridge (Calcutta, 1902–39), vol. 2, pp. 423–24. A large detail from the version of the Thaneshwar battle in the collection of the Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna, is published in Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics*, p. 31, fig. 2.
- 5 The term *kur* that appears in Abu'l Fazl's text is typically interpreted as a reference to the "Giri" order because "gir" and "kur" are very similar in Persian script; Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics*, p. 42.
- 6 Akbar can also be recognized through a yak-tail flywhisk, the round imperial standard above his head, a suitably supplicating courtier with outstretched arms, and his relative isolation in space.
- 7 A Portuguese account of 1503, which William Pinch notes is the first European account of armed yogis, describes how militant ascetics from Surat (Gujarat) wielded the chakra: "Others carry certain iron disks [sic] which cut all round like razors, and they throw these with a sling when they wish to injure any person." *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* (1503–8) cited in Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics*, p. 61, n. 4.
- 8 Several clearly identifiable Śaiva Nāths wearing black robes and hats or necklaces strung with cloth strips appear in the scene as observers. An orange-robed ascetic with a Vaiṣṇava *tilak* wielding a trident in the left folio may indicate that tridents served as non-sectarian weapons as well as Śaiva emblems.
- 9 See "Yogīs in Mughal India" in this catalogue and "Yogic Identities: Tradition and Transformation" at www.asia.si.edu/research/articles, both essays by James Mallinson. For an earlier identification of the Thaneshwar combatants as Śaiva Puris and Śaiva Nāths, see Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics*, p. 43.

Catalogue 13

- 1 Selected publications include Linda Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library*, vol. 1 (London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995), p. 191, fig. 2.40.
- 2 A highly engaging study of the *Yoga Vāsīṣṭha* narratives is Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty, *Dreams, Illusion and Other Realities* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984).
- 3 A clear and accurate discussion of the philosophy of the *Yoga Vāsīṣṭha* may be found in the English-language summary presented in François Chenet, *Psychogenèse et cosmogonie selon le Yoga-Vāsīṣṭha: “Le monde est dans l’âme*, Publications de l’Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 671-2 (Paris: De Boccard, 1998–99), vol. 1, pp. 9–23.
- 4 For more on the translation of the *Yoga Vāsīṣṭha* at the Mughal court and within the context of Islamic knowledge, see Carl W. Ernst, “Muslim Studies of Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Persian and Arabic Translations from Sanskrit,” *Iranian Studies* 36 (2003), pp. 173–95.
- 5 *Yoga Vāsīṣṭha* V. 66–69, cited in Christopher Key Chapple, “The Sevenfold Yoga of the *Yogavāsīṣṭha*” in *Yoga in Practice*, ed. David Gordon White (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 132.
- 6 Keshav Das, also known as Kesu the Elder and Kesu Das, was ranked fifth in Abu’l Fazl’s list of the best painters in Akbar’s atelier. He worked for Akbar circa 1570–99, and then for Prince Salim, 1599–1604. Amina Okada, “Keshav Das,” *Masters of Indian Painting, Vol. I* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 2011), p. 153.

Catalogue 14

- 1 Selected publications include Milo Beach, ed. *Masters of India Painting Vol. II, 1650–1900* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 2011), text: p. 692, no. 20c, image: p. 710, fig. 22.
- 2 Selected publications include an article by Monika Horstmann, “Kabir: Heiliger Dichter aus Nordindien,” in *Mystik: Die Sehnsucht nach dem Absoluten*, ed. Albert Lutz (Zurich: Museum Rietberg and Scheidegger & Spiess, 2011), pp. 195–203, esp. p. 202, fig. 93.
- 3 Selected publications include Ellen Smart, “Paintings from the Baburnama: A Study of Sixteenth-Century Mughal Historical Manuscript Illustrations” (PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1977); S. I. Tuliaev, *Miniatures of Babur Namah* (Moscow: State Fine Arts Publishing House, 1960); Ellen Smart, “Yet Another Illustrated Akbari Baburnama Manuscript,” in *Facets of Indian Art*, ed. Robert Skelton (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986), pp. 105–15; M. S. Randhawa, *Paintings of the Baburnama* (New Delhi, 1983).
- 4 Selected publications include Joan Cummins, *Indian Painting: From Cave Temples to the Colonial Period* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2006), pp. 134–35, fig. 73.
- 5 Selected publications include Andrew Topsfield, *Paintings from Rajasthan in the National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1980), pp. 73–75, cat. 76.
- 6 *Bhagavad Gita* 6.11.
- 7 The Mughals built upon a tradition of portraying landscapes inherited largely from Safavid Iran

and local South Asian schools. For discussions of this inheritance, see, for example, John Seyller, *The Adventures of Hamza: Painting and Storytelling in Mughal India* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2002); and for the development of landscape painting under Akbar’s successors, see Ebba Koch, *Dara-shikoh Shooting Nilgais: Hunt and Landscape in Mughal Painting* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1998) and Milo C. Beach, Ebba Koch, and W. M. Thackston, *King of the World: The Padshahnama: An Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle* (Washington, DC and London: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Windsor Castle, 1997).

- 8 See fig. 5 in “Yoga: The Art of Transformation” by Debra Diamond in this volume.
- 9 See “From Guru to God: Yogic Prowess and Places of Practice in Early-Medieval India” by Tamara I. Sears in this volume.
- 10 One reason for the scarcity of such images is logistical: in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, imperial artists focused on those ascetics, such as Nāths, who moved easily within Mughal environs; they would have had less access to the retreats of female ascetics. However, highly idealized and romanticized images of yoginis and women’s ashrams became a popular trope in Mughal painting in the latter half of the eighteenth century when direct observation was less of an artistic concern (see, for example, cats. 18f–h). For further discussion of why Mughal visual culture privileged particular ascetic groups, see James Mallinson, “Yogic Identities: Tradition and Transformation,” www.asia.si.edu/research/articles.
- 11 The Walters fragmentary copy of the *Baburnāma*, originally composed in Chaghatay Turkish and later translated into Persian under Akbar, contains thirty full-page paintings. Another large fragment of the same manuscript is preserved in the State Museum of Eastern Cultures, Moscow; see Tuliaev, *Miniatures of Babur Namah*. Other sixteenth-century interpretations of Babur’s visit to Gurkatrī survive in copies of the *Baburnāma* preserved in the British Library and the Victoria and Albert Museum, both in London.
- 12 See Babur’s references to Gurkatrī in W. M. Thackston, *The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1996), pp. 186–87, 285. Gurkatrī is depicted in the British Library’s *Baburnāma*, Or. 3714, *The Holy Men at Gurkatrī* (f. 197r) and *Babur’s Second Trip to Gor Katrī* (reproduced in Smart, “Paintings from the Baburnama,” pp. 80, 87), and in the Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 260-1913, *The Yogis at Gurkatrī* (reproduced in Smart, p. 47).
- 13 For important new insights into the Persian translations of Sanskrit texts and their illustrated manuscripts during Akbar’s reign, see Audrey Trushcke, “The Mughal Book of War: A Persian Translation of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 31, no. 2, pp. 506–19, and “Cosmopolitan Encounters: Sanskrit and Persian at the Mughal Court” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2012); Yael

Rice, “A Persian *Mahābhārata*: The 1598–1599 *Razmnama*,” *Manoa*, 2010, pp. 125–31.

- 14 For more on Nāths in general and this painting, see James Mallinson, “Yogis in Mughal India” in this volume, and “Yogic Identities” at www.asia.si.edu/research/articles.
- 15 Shymaldas, *Vir Vinod*, vol. 2, p. 764. I am grateful to Sonika Soni for locating and translating this reference.
- 16 Shymaldas, p. 764, identifies Guru Puṛṇimā and Rakṣabandhan as the two festivals.
- 17 An eight-line Rajasthani inscription on the reverse describes the event.

Catalogue 15

- 1 The *Kedāra Kalpa* appears to have been a floating text, and might well have originated in the Kedarnatha region in what is now the Uttarakhand state. My wife Karuna and I have been working on this text and were the first to establish a connection between it and the series of paintings referred to here, thus putting to rest widely varying speculations about their subjects made by other scholars; we have been able to access two versions of it, both now printed. The one we located first was without a cover; had a one-page introduction in Hindi by Jwala Prasad Mishra of Dindarpura, Moradabad; and consisted of 200 pages, the last one giving an address in Mumbai from where it could be purchased. It contained a translation of the Sanskrit verses in Hindi. The other version, which differs from the first one in several respects, was simply titled *Kedāra Kalpa*; the translator and commentator was Vishalmani Sharma Upadhyaya. It was published in VS 2009 (1952 CE) at Narayankoti, Garhwal and consists of 320 pages.
- 2 Clues lie in the strong, rich palette; the types of men and women seen in the paintings; that coloring takes precedence over drawing, which shows occasional weaknesses, as in the lax movements of the women dancers; the treatment of foliage with its emphasis on lush floral sprays streaming down from branches; the rendering of the thin fingers of the hands when they are held spread out.

It needs to be said that there was not much likelihood of coming and going between the two places, Kangra and Kedarnatha. The members of the Purkhu family artists most certainly were familiar with the Dhauladhar range, which rises behind Dharamsala and are likely to have based their reconstruction of the Kedara landscape on the snowbound peaks they were able to see from their own homes. There is an odd chance that someone may have gone on pilgrimage to Kedarnatha/Badrinath, although the landscapes they created in this series is fairly clearly based on imagination.

Catalogue 16

- 1 Selected publications include *Indian Miniature Painting, to be exhibited for sale by Spink and Son Ltd.* (London: Spink and Son, 1987), pp. 38–39, no. 16; S. Kossak, *Indian Court Painting, 16th–19th Centuries* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), p. 52, no. 23; S. C. Welch, “The two worlds of Payag—further evidence on a Mughal artist,” in *Indian Art and Connoisseurship*, ed. J. Guy (New Delhi: Mapin, 1995), pp. 320–41,

- pl. 19, p. 293; *The Stuart Cary Welch Collection, Part Two: Arts of India*, Sotheby's sale catalogue, London, May 31, 2011, lot 5, pp. 14–17; N. Haidar, "Recent Acquisitions, A Selection: 2010–2012," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, fall 2012, p. 32.
- 2 See Welch, "The two worlds of Payag," pp. 292, 333, figs. 9, 10, and pl. 19 as convincing evidence for the attribution.
 - 3 See "Yoga in Transformation" by David Gordon White in this volume.
 - 4 From evidence in early Mughal manuscripts, including an Akbar-period *Devi Māhātmya* series from circa 1565, and more remotely from longstanding Indian sculptural traditions. B. N. Goswamy, "An Akbar-period *Devi Māhātmya*," in *Arts of Mughal India*, ed. Rosemary Crill, Susan Stronge, and Andrew Topsfield (London and Ahmedabad, India: Victoria and Albert Museum and Mapin, 2004), pp. 57–66.
 - 5 The painting contains Mewar inventory numbers on the reverse. The numerals in red (14/45?) correspond to the category of religious or mythological subjects in the *jotdan* (royal painting store). Andrew Topsfield, "The Royal Paintings Inventory at Udaipur," in *Indian Art and Connoisseurship*, pp. 194–95.
 - 6 Mahavidya goddesses are a group of Tantric deities, ranging in number from ten to eighteen.
 - 7 Welch, "The two worlds of Payag," p. 332. N. Haidar, "The Kishangarh School of Painting, c. 1680–1650," (DPhil thesis, Oxford, 1995), vol. 1, p. 34; K. Khandalava and E. Dickinson, *Kishangarh Painting* (New Delhi: Lalit Kalai, Akademi 1959), p. 6, also makes mention of this.
 - 8 Welch, "The two worlds of Payag," pp. 292, 333, figs. 9, 10, and pl. 19. A sense of temporality is also conveyed in the siege scenes from the Windsor *Padshahnama*, cited by Welch, showing various stages, from warring soldiers to dead bodies to skeletons. The overall impression conveyed is that of a lengthy siege having taken place over time.
 - 9 For related scenes, see *The New Holstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450–1700: The Collaert Dynasty, Part 2* (Amsterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2005), p. 126 (350/1), p. 127 (351/1); *Maarten de Vos*, vol. 45, p. 228 (676), *The Wierix Family*, vol. 60, part 2, pp. 340, 347.
 - 10 It appears to be related to Govardhan's seminude figure in the foreground of an earlier album page depicting a group of sadhus in a smoky landscape. Welch, "The two worlds of Payag," p. 336.
 - 11 M. Ekhtiar et al., eds., *Masterpieces from the Department of Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), p. 350, illustrates a folio from the *Harivaṃśa* showing Kṛṣṇa with this same subtle treatment of eyes.
 - 12 The folio shows the defeat of Dhumralochan; Goswamy, "An Akbar-period *Devi Māhātmya*," pp. 57–66. The same pair of demons is shown in the reference above, p. 60, fig. 4.
 - 13 S. C. Welch et al., *The Emperor's Album: Images of Mughal India* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), p. 203, no. 59, illustrates Payag's equestrian portrait of Shah Jahan, bearing an almost identical sword, and with a halo of light around the tip of the spear.
- Catalogue 17**
- 1 Selected publications that discuss the manuscript include Debra Diamond, *Garden and Cosmos: The Royal Paintings of Jodhpur* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of Art, 2008), pp. 21–30; 118–36; Bisheshwar Nath Reu, *Rāmāyana kā Kathā* (Jodhpur: Sardar Museum, 1934).
 - 2 Selected publications include John Seytler, *The Adventures of Hamza: Painting and Storytelling in India* (London and Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of Art, 2002), pp. 168–69, fig. 54; and Steven Kossak, *Indian Court Painting 16th–19th Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), pp. 32–33, cat. 7.
 - 3 Selected publications include Heike Franke, "Akbar's *Kathāsaritsāgara*: The Translator and Illustrations of an Imperial Manuscript," in *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World*, vol. 27, ed. Gulru Necipoglu (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 313–56, see p. 315, fig. 7; Joseph Dye, *The Arts of India* (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 2001) p. 242–44, cat. 81b.
 - 4 Selected publications include Linda Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library* (London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995), vol. 1, p. 201; image: p. 206, cat. 2.53.
 - 5 Selected publications include Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, vol. 1, p. 201; image: p. 209, cat. 2.56.
 - 6 Selected publications include Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, vol. 1, p. 201; image: p. 211, cat. 2.57.
 - 7 Selected publications include Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, vol. 1, p. 205; image: p. 215, cat. 2.64.
 - 8 Tulsidās titled his work the *Rāmcharitmānas*, or the Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama; it is often referred to as the Tulsī *Rāmāyana* or the *Mānas*.
 - 9 Even during the poet's lifetime, itinerant holy men spread Tulsidās's verses from Varanasi in eastern India, where it was composed, to Rajasthan.
 - 10 For more on ascetic spies, from the *Arthaśāstra*, a second-century Sanskrit treatise on kingship, to a seventeenth-century account by the Venetian Niccolao Manucci, see William R. Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 46–51; see also C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), *passim*. A royal spy in the guise of a seedy Tantric yogi is featured in one of the stories in the Jain *Yaśastilaka*, dated 959, cited in Shaman Hatley, "Goddesses in Text and Stone: Temples of the Yoginis in Light of Tantric and Purāṇic Literature," in *History and Material Culture in Asian Religions*, ed. Benjamin Fleming and Richard Mann (London: Routledge, forthcoming).
 - 11 Abu'l Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari*, trans. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, with corrections by Jadunath Sarkar (repr. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1989), vol. 2, p. 40, cited in Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics*, p. 46 and p. 47, n. 41.
- 12 For more on the context, production and artists of the *Hamzanama*, see Seytler, *Adventures of Hamza*.
 - 13 The related text for this episode is lost. Although an inscription on the painting identifies the setting as the grocer's home, it is more likely the lodge (*maṭha*) of Parran the spy. See, for example, the similar architecture and hanging weapons of the lodge of Baba Bakhsha, a militant ascetic and yogi-spy, in another *Hamzanama* folio (Austrian Museum of Applied Arts/Contemporary Art, Vienna, 8.1. 8770/59; reproduced in Seytler, *Adventures of Hamza*, pp. 198–99, fig. 64).
 - 14 Dervishes were cast as wily spies in Arabic (and Persian) tales. Peter Health, "Ayyar: the Companion, Spy, Scoundrel in Premodern Arabic Popular Narratives," *Classical Arabic Humanities in Their Own Terms: Festschrift for Wolfhart Heinrichs on his 65th Birthday Presented by his Students and Colleagues*, ed. Beatrice Gruendler (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008). I am grateful to Zeynep Simavi for drawing this source to my attention.
 - 15 The seventeenth-century traveler Jean Baptiste Tavernier identified armed ascetics carrying "a sort of hunting horn" as "dervishes." William Pinch interprets Tavernier's account as illustrative of the phenomenon of "armed yogis who had accommodated themselves culturally, linguistically, and militarily to Mughal service." Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics*, p. 68 and n. 19.
 - 16 See "Yoga in Transformation" by David Gordon White in this volume.
 - 17 James Mallinson, *The Ocean of the Rivers of Story by Somadeva* (New York: New York University Press & JCC Foundation, 2009), vol. 2, pp. 281–90, verses 5.3.195–5.3.255. Jalapada's name may be a corruption of Jalandhar, an advanced adept in both Buddhist and Nath traditions. In the story, Jalapada is described as a *kāpālīka* who performs the great vow (*mahāvratā*), rites (*kāraṇam*) associated with gaining control over others, and worships Bhairava.
 - 18 Heike Franke identifies the manuscript's patron, previously considered to be subimperial, as Akbar in "Akbar's *Kathāsaritsāgara*," pp. 313–56.
 - 19 The *Mrgāvati* includes explicit references to the princes-turned-yogis Bhartṛhari and Mādhavānala. Aditya Behl, *Qutban Suhrawardī's Mrgāvati: The Magic Doe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 138, verse 267; see also nn. 142, 172.
 - 20 Behl, *Qutban Suhrawardī's Mrgāvati*, p. 81, verse 106.
 - 21 Behl, *Qutban Suhrawardī's Mrgāvati*, p. 24.
- Catalogue 18**
- 1 Selected publications include John Seytler, *Workshop and Patron in Mughal India: The Freer Ramayana and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of 'Abd al-Rahim* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1999); Christie's catalogue, November 22 and 23, 1984.
 - 2 Selected publications include Stuart C. Welch, *India: Art and Culture 1300–1900* (New York:

- Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), p. 342; Deborah Swallow and John Guy, eds. *Arts of India: 1550–1900* (London: V&A Publications, 1990), p. 133, pl. 114; Andrew Topsfield, *The Indian Heritage: Court Life and Arts under Mughal Rule* (London: V&A Publications, 1982), p. 57, cat. 138.
- 3 Selected publications include Linda Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library* (London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995), p. 676, cat. 6.277.
 - 4 Selected publications include Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, p. 677, cat. 6.284.
 - 5 Selected publications include Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, p. 672, cat. 6.272.
 - 6 For an exceptionally lucid, extended explanation of *rāgas* and *rāginis*, see Joep Bor, *The Raga Guide: A Survey of 74 Hindustani Ragas* (Rotterdam: Nimbus Communications, 1999). To date, the definitive text on illustrated *rāgamālās* remains Klaus Ebeling, *Ragamala Painting* (New Delhi: Ravi Kumar, 1973).
 - 7 Ebeling, *Ragamala Painting*, p. 130.
 - 8 Ebeling, *Ragamala Painting*, p. 142.
 - 9 Ebeling, *Ragamala Painting*, p. 126.
 - 10 Abu'l Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari* III, trans. Colonel H. S. Jarrett (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint, 1978), p. 263.
 - 11 Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Laud Or. 149. Molly Emma Aitken, "The Laud Rāgamālā Album, Bikaner, and the Sociability of Subimperial Painting," *Archives of Asian Art* (forthcoming).
 - 12 British Museum, 1973.0917.0. 1–56.
 - 13 Francesca Orsini, "'Krishna is the Truth of Man': Mir 'Abdul Wahid Bilgrami's Haqā'iq-i Hindī (Indian Truths) and the circulation of dhrupad and bishnupad," *Culture and Circulation: Mobility and Diversity in Premodern Literature*, ed. Thomas de Bruijn and Allison Busch (forthcoming).
 - 14 Carl W. Ernst, "Situating Sufism and Yoga," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 15, no. 1 (April 2005), pp. 15–43.
 - 15 Katherine Schofield, "Hindustani Music in the Time of Aurangzeb," (PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2003), p. 192.
- Catalogue 19**
- 1 Selected publications include Milo C. Beach, *Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India 1600–1660* (Williamstown, MA: Clark Art Institute, 1978), cat. no. 22.
 - 2 Facing folios of calligraphy alternate with paired paintings throughout each Mughal album.
 - 3 The central paintings are strategically placed off center so that the borders appear of equal width when the album is opened and the viewed.
 - 4 See "Yogis in Mughal India" by James Mallinson in this volume for a more detailed discussion of the sectarian orders depicted in this painting.
 - 5 David J. Roxborough, *The Persian Album 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), *passim*.
 - 6 Sunil Sharma, "Representation of Social Groups in Mughal Art and Literature: Ethnography or Trope?" in *Indo-Muslim Cultures in Transition*, ed. Alka Patel and Karen Leonard, Brill's Indological Library, vol. 38 (2011), pp. 17–36, *passim*.
- 7 *Jahangirnāma*, p. 209, 285, 313–14. Chitrup/Jadrup, who was visited by other Mughal courtiers and many Sufis, enters recorded history in several Persian language accounts that together provide a remarkably detailed biography. A jeweler's son from Gujarat on India's west coast, he lived from approximately 1559 to 1638. After marriage and children, at the age of twenty-two, he became a renunciant. As a yogi, he practiced austerities, and *prāṇāyāma* (breath control) at several sites in North India, mostly along the Ganges. Reputed to have magical powers, he died at about the age of eighty in Varanasi. The *Dabistān* is the only text that names his order, explaining that Dandaheri yogis follow the teachings of Shankaracharya, wear dreadlocks, and smear ash on their bodies. See Muhsin Fānī, *The Dabistān, or School of Manners*, vol. 2, ed. D. Shea and A. Troyer (Paris: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1843), pp. 142–48. Wheeler M. Thackston, *The Jahangirnāma: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 209, 285, 313–14. Shireen Moosvi, "The Mughal Encounter with Vedanta: Recovering the Biography of 'Jadrup,'" *Social Scientist* (2002), pp. 12–23.
 - 8 The paintings are: *Portrait of Gosain Jadrup*, private collection, Ajmer; published in *Coomaraswamy*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, July 1919, pp. 389–91. See also M. Abdulla Chaghtai, "Emperor Jahangir's interviews with Gosain Jadrup and his portraits," *Islamic Culture*, vol. 36 (1962), pp. 119–30. *Jahangir Visiting the Ascetic Jadrup*, folio from *Jahangirnāma*, Musée Guimet, no. 7171. Selected publications include Milo C. Beach, B. N. Goswamy, and Ellen Fischer, eds., *Masters of India Painting I* (Zurich: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 2011), pp. 326–28. *Akbar Visits the Hindu Saint Jadrup*, circa 1625–30, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard Art Museums, 1937.20.1. Selected publications include Rochelle Kessler, "In the Company of the Enlightened: Portraits of Mughal Rulers and Holy Men," *Studies in Islamic and Later Indian Art* (Cambridge, MA: Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, 2002), pp. 17–42. *Unknown*, ca. 1650. Victoria and Albert Museum, IS.94-1965. Selected publications include Elinor W. Gadon, "Dara Shikoh's mystical vision of Hindu-Muslim synthesis," in *Facets of Indian Art: A Symposium Held at the Victoria and Albert Museum*, ed. Robert Skelton, Andrew Topsfield, Susan Stronge, and Rosemary Crill (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986), pp. 153–57.
- Catalogue 20**
- 1 Around 1600, European nations such as Great Britain and the Netherlands formed joint-stock "East India Companies," comprised of shareholders invested in trade abroad, including India. After the Battle of Plassey in 1757, however, the British East India Company became a governing body as well as a commercial enterprise. British East India Company rule was transferred to the British government, known as the Raj, after the Indian Rebellion of 1857.
 - 2 The European desire to collect, catalogue, and study the peoples and objects of every known culture is a prime factor of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century intellectual movement, the Enlightenment. For an overview see Kim Sloan, ed., *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2003). See also cats. 22a–g regarding an example of the extensive European print tradition regarding ascetics.
 - 3 Mildred Archer, *Company Paintings: Indian Paintings of the British Period* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1992), pp. 11–19. Archer defines Company painting as painting by Indian artists who worked for European patrons or the tourist trade and adapted European visual techniques and genres into their works. I am using an expanded definition that includes British as well as Indian artists who similarly adapted their techniques and subject matter.
 - 4 David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), chap. 1 and pp. 236–40; and Francis Pritchett, *Marvelous Encounters: Folk Romance in Urdu and Hindi* (Riverdale, MD: Riverdale Company, 1985), p. 21.
 - 5 See "Yogis in Mughal India" by James Mallinson in this volume. Mildred Archer and Toby Falk, *India Revealed: The Art and Adventures of James and William Fraser 1801–1835* (London: Cassell, 1989), p. 123; and *Princes and Painters in Mughal Delhi, 1707–1857*, ed. William Dalrymple and Yuthika Sharma (New York: Asia Society, 2012).
 - 6 Archer and Falk, *India Revealed*, pp. 9 and 40.
 - 7 Carl W. Ernst, "Muslim Studies of Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translations from Indian Languages," *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 2 (June 2003), p. 189.
 - 8 Ernst, "Muslim Studies," p. 189, and Norah M. Tittley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India and Turkey in the British Library and British Museum* (London: British Museum Publications, 1977), p. 156, no. 372.
 - 9 See cat. 5.70 in Anna L. Dallapiccola, *South Indian Paintings: A Catalogue of the British Museum's Collections* (London: British Museum Press, 2010), p. 90. For an overview of Bhairava in South Asian literary history, see David Gordon White, "At the Mandala's Dark Fringe: Possession and Protection in Tantric Bhairava Cults" in *Notes from a Mandala: Essays in the History of Indian Religions in Honor of Wendy Doniger*, ed. Laurie L. Patton and David L. Haberman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2010).
 - 10 T. Richard Blurton, *Hindu Art*, (London: British Museum Press, 1992), p. 89, fig.50.
 - 11 White, *Sinister Yogis*, p. 197.
 - 12 Carl W. Ernst, "Accounts of yogis in Arabic and Persian historical and travel texts," in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 33 (2007), pp. 419–21; and White, *Sinister Yogis*, pp. 236–40. Further, the famous story of Ciruttontar, or the Little Devotee, in South India, where this painting was produced, stresses the malleability of the ascetic-god: the Little Devotee sacrifices his son at the request of a hungry ascetic who is actually the god Bhairava. See David Shulman, *The Hungry God: Hindu Tales of Filicide and Devotion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), chap. 1; and White, *Sinister Yogis*, pp. 33–37.

- 13 *Kala Bhairava* is one of ninety-one paintings of Indian deities identified by Telegu inscription, including visual maps of the principal pilgrimage sites of this period and the *murtis* (sculptures) housed within. See Dallapiccola, *South Indian Paintings*, p. 74.
- 14 An almost identical album is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (IM 355-1923 to 454-1923). For this information and a detailed provenance of the British Museum album, see Dallapiccola, *South Indian Paintings*, pp. 55–56 and 74.
- 15 For a discussion of *tapas*, see cats. 7a–c, Austerities.
- 16 See Dallapiccola, *South Indian Paintings*, p. 39, for a detailed explanation of the poses.
- 17 See Charles Gold, *Oriental Drawings* (London: Bunney and Co., 1806); *Asiatic Costumes Drawn by Captn. R. Smith 44th. Regt.* (1826), Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund; and online collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum, British Museum, and British Library.
- 18 Dallapiccola, *South Indian Paintings*, p. 37.
- 19 Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., *A Portrait of the Hindus: Balthazar Solvyns & the European Image of India 1760–1824* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 324–25; and James Mallinson, “Nāth Saṃpradāya” in *Encyclopedia of Religions*, volume 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
- 20 Hardgrave, *A Portrait of the Hindus*, pp. 324–25. Solvyns first published this print in his *250 etchings* in Calcutta in 1799. Edward Orme pirated the book and published it as *Costume of Hindostan* in London in 1807. Solvyns then republished it again in Paris, as *Les Hindous*, from 1808 to 1812.
- 21 Hardgrave, *A Portrait of the Hindus*, pp. 324–25. The 1808 to 1812 *Les Hindous* text describes the women offering the *avadhuta* a linga kiss, which Solvyns described as “the manner in which this homage is paid is so disgusting and indecent, that delicacy forbids to describe it.” The controversy over depicting this is seen in Picart and his engraving “Diverses Pagodes et Penitences des Faquirs.” See cats. 22a–g and Robert J. Del Bontá, “From Herodotus Onwards: Descriptions of Unidentified Jainas” in *Jaina Law and Society*, ed. Peter Fluegel (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2013).
- 22 Balthazar Solvyns, “Proposals for Publishing,” *Calcutta Gazette*, 1794. See Hardgrave, *A Portrait of the Hindus*, p. 37.
- 23 See Christopher Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology* (London: Reaktion, 2011). For example, in his copy of Solvyns (now in the Wellcome Collection, 49015), the nineteenth-century Calcutta merchant Gabriel Gillett noted how many of each type of servant he employed in his home.
- Catalogue 21**
- 1 *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* 7 (April–September 1858), p.173.
- 2 The final text is a composite of the writings of J. W. Kaye, John R. Melville, and Captain Meadows Taylor. As a result, it is not currently possible to attribute authors to individual entries. Though notes by photographic contributors accompanied many of the prints to London, it remains unknown as to what degree they were consulted during the drafting of the text.
- 3 Photographers whose work did not make it in time for the 1862 exhibition: Reverend E. Godfrey and James Waterhouse (Central India), Shepherd & Robertson (Bharatpur), Benjamin Simpson (Nagpur, Sikkim, and Bhutan), Dr. Tressider (Northwest provinces), Captain Fitzmaurice and Lieutenant R. H. De Montmorency (Oudh), T. T. Davies (Hazara), Captain Houghton and Lieutenant Tanner (Bombay and Sind) as well as anonymous material from various sources. Other credited photographers for the photographs are J. C. A. Dannenberg, W. W. Hooper, Captain H. C. McDonald, James Mulheran, Captain Oakes, Reverend G. Richter, Dr. B. W. Switzer, C. C. Taylor, and Eugene Clutterbuck Impey.
- 4 The reason for the shift lay at least partly in a string of unfortunate events, including the bankruptcy of the publishing firm Day & Company and subsequent loss of most of the last two volumes in a fire. For an account on the publishing history of *The People of India*, see John Falconer, “A Pure Labor of Love: A Publishing History of The People of India,” in *Colonialist Photography: Imagining Race and Place* (New York: Routledge, 2002).
- 5 For a discussion on the formation of photography and anthropology, see Elizabeth Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography: 1860–1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
- 6 The plates had to be sensitized, exposed, and developed on location before the collodion dried and became impermeable to the processing solution. For a detailed account of photographic processes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Bertrand Lavédrine, *Photographs of the Past: Process and Preservation* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2009).
- 7 Disderi’s method could produce eight individually exposed images on a collodion wet-plate negative. After printing, each image is cut out and mounted to a card measuring roughly 2½ × 4 inches. The larger quarter-plate format known as the cabinet card was introduced circa 1863 and measures 4¼ × 6½ inches.
- 8 William C. Darrah, *Cartes De Visite in Nineteenth Century Photography* (Gettysburg, PA: W. C. Darrah, 1981), p. 4.
- 9 Unlike most commercial studios of the period, Bourne & Shepherd did market their images as individually numbered negatives under the set title “Groups of Native Character.”
- Catalogue 22**
- 1 See cats. 7a–c, Austerities.
- 2 During the colonial period, the definition of yogis (Hindu) and fakirs (Muslim) changed and often did not differentiate between sect and religion. See Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 36.
- 3 Bernard Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde ...*, 7 vols. (Amsterdam: J. F. Bernard, 1723–37). In the French edition, volumes 3 (1723) and 4 (1728) relate to India. The India volumes are sometimes independently labeled volumes 1 and 2 with a separate title, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses des Peuples Idolatres*, as is the case with the volume discussed here. The English translation was published a decade later as *The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World ...*, 7 vols. (London: William Jackson and Claude Dubosc, 1733–39). In the English edition, volumes 3 (1734) and 4 (1733) relate to India. In this essay, I will reference the English translation. Dutch and German editions were also published, among others.
- 4 Picart, vol. 4, (London, 1733), pp. 4–6.
- 5 Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier* (Paris, 1679), livre troisième, chapitre VI, pp. 419–23. Though Picart’s engraving is primarily based on Tavernier’s, he added figures possibly copied from Indian paintings in the collection of the Italian Conte Abate Giovanni Antonio Baldini (1654–1725), notably the central Jain figure with a cloth over his mouth and a broom and the sadhus feeding birds. Other figures, such as the kneeling woman giving an ascetic a “linga kiss,” were removed from the English and French Catholic editions of Picart’s print. See Robert J. Del Bontá, “From Herodotus Onwards: Descriptions of Unidentified Jainas” in *Jaina Law and Society*, ed. Peter Fluegel (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2013). See also Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob, and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The Book That Changed Europe: Picart and Bernard’s “Religious Ceremonies of the World”* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 228–31; Paola von Wyss-Giacosa, *Religionsbilder der frühen Aufklärung* (Wabern: Benteli, 2006), p. 189; and R. W. Lightbown, “Oriental Art and the Orient in Late Renaissance and Baroque Italy,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 32 (1969), pp. 265–79.
- 6 Picart, vol. 4, pp. 7–8, the print’s key, and Tavernier (1679), pp. 419–23.
- 7 Picart, vol. 4, p. 6, and vol. 3, p. 397. For an example of “shoes full of nails,” see the pair of fakir’s sandals in the Wellcome Library collection (Science Museum A23375).
- 8 Picart, vol. 3, pp. 396–98 and vol. 4, pp. 4–6; Hunt, pp. 226–34; and David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 211–12.
- 9 Jonathan Duncan, “An Account of Two Fakeers, With their Portraits” in *Asiatic Researches* 5 (London: J. Sewell, 1799), pp. 37–52. For a reproduction of the original watercolor see Stuart Cary Welch, *Room for Wonder: Indian Painting During the British Period* (New York: American Federation of Arts, 1978), pp. 80–81.
- 10 Similar to the colonial trope of the “bed of nails,” the image and description of the ascetic with raised arms (*ūrdhvabāhu*) was repeated in colonial publications from the seventeenth century onward, such as in Tavernier (1679, p. 423) and in another engraving by Picart after Tavernier. See also Balthazar Solvyns, *A Collection ... descriptive of the manners, customs and dresses of the Hindoos* (Calcutta, 1799).
- 11 Duncan, “An Account of Two Fakeers,” pp. 37–52.
- 12 In early Indian literature, the “bed of thorns” (*kaṇṭaka-śaya*) is included in a list of austerities that a group of Ājīvikas practiced as told in the circa first-century BC *Nānguṭṭhajāṭaka* (Jāṭaka,

- 4 vols., ed. V. Faussell [London: Trübner & Co., 1877–87], vol. 1, p. 493, and as an austerity practiced by hermits in the *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra*, circa fourth–eighth century CE (W. Caland, *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtram* [Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1929]). I thank James Mallinson for these references.
- 13 For the relationship between Bhīṣma and the bed of arrows, see Francesco Brighenti, “Hindu Devotional Ordeals and their Shamanic Parallels,” *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies* 19, no. 4 (2012), pp. 67–69.
- 14 See Solvyns, *A Collection...*; Charles Gold, *Oriental Drawings* (London: Bunney and Co., 1806); *Missionary Register for 1819* (London: L. B. Seeley, 1819), pp. 277–82; and *The World in Miniature: Hindoostan*, vol. 2, ed. Frederic Schöberl (London: R. Ackermann, 1822), pp. 207–12.
- 15 *Encyclopaedia Londinensis*, vol. 10 (London: J. Adlard, 1811), pp. 147–48.
- 16 *Encyclopaedia Londinensis*, p. 151.
- 17 See also White, *Sinister Yogis*, p. 201.
- 18 White, *Sinister Yogis*, p. 223. White also postulates that Europeans interacted with itinerant ascetics in public places that drew beggars, which differed from the Mughal experience. For example, Sufis would have interacted with religious orders such as the Nāth Yogis, and Mughal bureaucrats would have brokered with militant yogis in monasteries or troops (pp. 200–201).
- 19 William R. Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 82–103, 211.
- 20 Christopher J. Lucas, ed., *James Ricalton's Photographic Travelogue of Imperial India* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), preface. A stereograph consists of two slightly dissimilar images that merge into 3D when viewed through a stereoscope.
- 21 James Ricalton, *India through the Stereoscope* (New York: Underwood & Underwood, 1907), p. 164.
- 22 For another example of photography and ascetics, including a bed of nails, see John Campbell Oman's *The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India* (1903), pp. 45–46. Oman similarly wavered in his judgment of ascetics as devout or deceitful, and placed the ascetic on a bed of nails in the latter category of the showman at a fair. For a later iteration of such trickery in song, see the discussion on Johnny Mercer's *The Yogi Who Lost His Willpower* (cat. 23e).
- 23 Bishop J. M. Thoburn, *The Christian Conquest of India*, edited under the auspices of the Young People's Missionary Movement (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1906), pp. 121–22. See also C. V. Vickrey, *The Young People's Missionary Movement* (New York, 1906).
- 24 See A. J. D. Campbell's report in the curatorial files for IS.196-1949, Victoria and Albert Museum. I thank Rosemary Crill for this information.
- 25 See Susan S. Bean, “The Unfired Clay Sculpture of Bengal in the Artscape of Modern South Asia” in *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture*, ed. Rebecca M. Brown and Deborah S. Hutton (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 604–28; Charlotte H. F. Smith and Michelle Stevenson, “Modeling Cultures: 19th Century Indian Clay Figures” in *Museum Anthropology* 33, no. 1 (2010), pp. 37–48; Carol A. Breckenridge, “Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting: India at World Fairs” in *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History* 31, no. 2 (1989), pp. 195–216. Earlier European publications also sought to catalogue Indian people, specifically Hindus; see for example Solvyns, *A Collection...* and Robert L. Hardgrave, *Portrait of the Hindus: Balthazar Solvyns & the European Image of India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- 26 See “Yoga, Bodybuilding, and Wrestling: Metaphysical Fitness” by Joseph Alter in this volume.
- Catalogue 23**
- 1 Neither Gandhi nor the Kumbh Mela will be discussed here in any detail, given the selective focus of this catalogue on yoga as the art of transformation. But for more on Gandhi's cultural resonance with yoga and fakirs, including Winston Churchill's disparaging comment “half-naked fakir,” see Joseph Alter, *Gandhi's Body: Sex, Diet and the Politics of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000). Similarly, the Kumbh Mela is perhaps the geographical referent par excellence as the most recognizable social space occupied by fakirs and yogis, both historically and in contemporary life. No reference to fakirs would be complete without mentioning it as a powerful and recurrent visual symbol of yogis gathering in one place, given the longer history of fakirs in meeting grounds, collective movements, and armed rebellions. See William Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- 2 Since the seventeenth century, a string of travelers, sojourners, and colonial traders and administrators have depicted these fakirs visually, individually and in groups, in various journals, travelogues, ethnographic accounts, and colonial compendia of “native subjects.” Some early examples include works by Balthazar Solvyns, Emily Eden, Edward Eastwick, Reverend Tennant, and Charles D'Oyly. See cat. 20d in this volume and Michael Sappol, ed. *Hidden Treasure* (New York: Blast Books, 2012), p. 72. For a fuller, scholarly account, see Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr. *A Portrait of the Hindus: Balthazar Solvyns & the European Image of India 1760–1820* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- 3 See cats. 22a–g, Bed of Nails.
- 4 The roots of this revisionism may lie in the early modern period. Patton E. Burchett has demonstrated how the new *bhakti* attitudes that emerged in north India after 1600 “depended on the successful stigmatization and subordination of key aspects of tantric religiosity” as magic. Patton E. Burchett, “Bhakti Religion and Tantric Magic in Mughal India: Kacchvahas, Ramanandis, and Naths, circa 1500–1750” (Diss., Columbia University, 2012), p. 4 and *passim*.
- 5 One reason for the increasing numbers of fakirs in public places in the late nineteenth century was the criminalization of militant yogis and fakirs and warrior ascetics, especially in northwestern India, by colonial administrators who saw armed yogi orders as disruptive, rebellious elements in trade routes and revenue gathering. David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011). See also Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics*, for the rise and demise of warrior asceticism in North India.
- 6 See Peter Lamont, *The Rise of the Indian Rope Trick* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2008) for more on the rise and fall of the Indian rope trick as reflected through the prism of the news media—the rise as it was reported in the general media, the fall as the illusory trick was first perpetrated and then denounced in the pages of the *Chicago Tribune*.
- 7 See “Yoga: The Art of Transformation” by Debra Diamond in this catalogue.
- 8 The yogic equivalents of these acts would be the abilities to enter into and control other bodies which David Gordon White writes about in *Sinister Yogis*, and the “miraculous” yogic ability to suspend breathing for long periods, which has in the twentieth century even been subjected to scientific scrutiny and measurement. See Joseph Alter, *Yoga in Modern India: The Body Between Science and Philosophy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004) on scientific experiments conducted at the Kaivalyadhama ashram.
- 9 A variant on this story, in which she is the child of a French woman and an Indian fakir, appears in the 1937 issue of *Look*, p. 35.
- 10 For more information, see Vanessa Toulmin, “Koringa: From Biknar [sic] to Blackpool”, *Cabinet*, no. 26 (summer 2007); <http://cabinetmagazine.org/issues/26/toulmin.php>.
- 11 Magician George Méliès, who became the most famous of the trick film specialists, was present in the audience when the Lumière brothers first presented their motion pictures in Paris in 1895, and tried to buy a camera from them on the spot.
- 12 *Raja Harischandra* is particularly interesting for the visual history of yoga because it features the sage Vishvamitra (see cat. 7a), the militant yogi par excellence, who is part of the long image history linking warrior ascetics to Hindu nationalists.
- 13 The aim of this “cinema of attractions,” as Tom Gunning has dubbed it, was to dazzle audiences with showmanship, exotic images, and the wonders of the new technology of cinema. Gunning uses “attractions” in the sense of carnival attractions, in contrast to the classical narrative cinema, which tries to create the illusion of a fictional world. For more information, see Tom Gunning, “The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde,” in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser (London: BFI Publishing, 1990).
- 14 For more on early ethnographic film, see Alison Griffiths, *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology, and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
- 15 We are grateful to curatorial assistant Mekala Krishnan for identifying within the film Dutt's “signatures”—an exotic temple setting, a distinctive turban, and transforming of his assistant into a moth or levitating her on swords—as outlined in Sarah Dadswell, “Jugglers, Fakirs, and *Jaduwallahs*: Indian Magicians and the

- British Stage," *New Theatre Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (February 2007).
- 16 See Dadswell, "Jugglers, Fakirs, and *Jaduwallahs*," p. 4. The "double o" spelling of Hindu is a colonial variant that is now considered insulting.
 - 17 See Rob Linrothe, *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas* (New York: Serindia Publications and Rubin Museum of Art, 2006). The yogi on sword points recalls both the "bed of nails" motif common among late nineteenth-century ascetics and fakirs (see cats. 22a–g) as well as Bhishma lying on a bed of swords in the middle of the Battle of Kurukshetra, another classic trope in Indian cinema.
 - 18 Non-Indian magicians also falsely claimed Indian heritage to give their acts the *frisson* of authentic mysticism.
 - 19 The music for the 1941 Paramount film *You're The One* was composed by Jimmy Hugh.

Catalogue 24

- 1 Elizabeth DeMichelis, *A History of Modern Yoga: Patanjali and Western Esotericism* (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 4, dates her definition of "Modern Yoga" (in her usage) from this moment. Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 4, suggests that Vivekananda's synthesis was quite possibly the first expression of "transnational Anglophone yoga." Joseph Alter in *Yoga in Modern India: The Body between Science and Philosophy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004) traces scientific yoga's lineage to Vivekananda's antimysticism, among others. See also "Globalized Modern Yoga" by Mark Singleton in this volume as well as Stefanie Syman, *The Subtle Body: The Story of Yoga in America* (New York: Farrar Strauss and Giroux, 2011) for this general argument.
- 2 See Singleton, "Globalized Modern Yoga," for more on transnational Anglophone yoga. The phrase indicates that the works were published in English and had transnational reach beyond Indian shores.
- 3 David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 369.
- 4 Alter has an excellent discussion on this point; *Yoga in Modern India*, p. 7.
- 5 As Syman notes in *The Subtle Body*, p. 24, despite these theological differences, Vedantists and other schools have long exploited the *Yoga Sutra* for centuries for its practical instruction, the techniques providing the main avenues for perceiving spiritual truths.
- 6 *Raja Yoga* (1896), p. 18. *Raja Yoga* is the culminating text through which this message of yoga synthesis was first laid out in detail, although it was anticipated by similar ideas in his teachings and talks.
- 7 Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 73–74.
- 8 See Syman, *The Subtle Body*, chap. 4, "Swami Vivekananda's Legacy," pp. 62–79.
- 9 The Theosophical Society's work in India was closely tied to the revival of interest in Vedantic philosophy and thought in the pre-independence era. On the Theosophical Society's role in the

spread of yoga, see Singleton, "Globalized Modern Yoga."

- 10 The World's Parliament of Religions was convened as part of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 in Chicago. As Syman notes in *The Subtle Body*, p. 41, the stated purpose of the exposition was to celebrate the quadricentennial of Columbus's discovery; its tacit one was to outdo the French, whose extravagant Exposition Universelle four years prior had astonished the world. While the exposition was thus an affirmation of American science and industry—an index of technical and material progress remarked upon by Vivekananda—the Parliament of Religions set out to find common ground among the various faiths and to discover what religion could offer for pressing social problems of the day (some caused by the exposition's very materialism).
- 11 Stefanie Syman suggests that this was the real secret of Vivekananda's fame: that "he simultaneously fulfilled and debunked Orientalist stereotypes, allowing his audiences to romanticize him and India without abandoning too many of their cherished ideals"; *The Subtle Body*, p. 44. In contrast, as suggested by Marie Louise Burke in *Swami Vivekananda in the West: New Discoveries*, 2 vols. (Calcutta: Advaita Ashram, 1958), news reports did not fail to mention that the other Indian delegates to the Parliament—Pratap Chandra Mazoomdar, B. B. Nagarkar, and Narasimha Acharya—wore what were described as "black clothes hardly to be distinguished from European dress" (Burke, *Swami Vivekananda in the West*, vol. 1, p. 78).
- 12 Thomas Harrison was based in Chicago at that time at "Central Music Hall, Cor. State & Randolph Sts," the identification stamped at the bottom of all his pictures. From listings in Chicago city directories, Harrison seems to have been in business from about 1873 through 1900, and his studio specialized in cabinet-card photography, the style of portrait photography that came into vogue around 1867. All the original photographs taken of Swami Vivekananda at Harrison's studio were cabinet-card portraits.

Catalogue 25

- 1 This followed the first ever anatomical dissection by a native doctor in 1836, as widely written about by medical historians. See David Arnold, *Colonizing The Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
- 2 As Dominik Wujastyk has described, this extraordinary painting has recently come into the collection of the Wellcome Library from the Hamburg collection of Jan Wichers. D. Wujastyk, "Interpreting the Image of the Human Body," *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 13, no. 2 (2001), p. 210.
- 3 Wujastyk, "Interpreting the Image," p. 210.
- 4 Wujastyk, "Interpreting the Image," p. 211.
- 5 *Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇacitram* translates from the Sanskrit to mean "picture or illustration of six chakras body form," which is particularly interesting for two reasons. One, the word *citra* (picture) in the title signifies that it is a pictorial or illustrated treatise on chakras. And two, the number of chakras depicted both in the illustrations and in the title itself. The six chakra

figures shown here and in the book title may be particularly interesting in this context since the number seems to have become standardized in this period as seven. See cats. 11a–c, Subtle Body.

- 6 Mircea Eliade, *Yoga, Immortality and Freedom* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 241.
- 7 Other plates in the book, for example, plate 4 (not shown here), make a similar visual statement by juxtaposing an anatomical cross-section of the brain with a schematic depiction of the thousand-petaled lotus chakra (*sahasradala padma*) as it opens in the head, its vertical stem, the *brahmanāḍī*, presumably linking it to the network of *nāḍīs* (subtle channels) along the lower body.
- 8 Comparable books and volumes with chakra body images from the same period include Sir J. Woodroffe, *The Serpent Power* (Madras, 1924), which shows the classic seated position.
- 9 The English translation of the title *L'Homme Terrestre Naturel Ténébreux—The Earthly Man with Natural Shadows*—is less poetic but points nonetheless to Leadbeater's fascination with shadows, auras, energy vortexes, and cosmic consciousness. Indeed, many of the other images in *The Chakras* are not anatomical like this one, but abstract, numinous, color-saturated depictions of the vortexes, umbras, and auras of higher states of consciousness.
- 10 See cats. 11a–c, Subtle Body.
- 11 This point is made by Stefanie Syman in *The Subtle Body: The Story of Yoga in America* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2010), p. 56.
- 12 The Sanskrit term *Kanda* derives from bulb or knot; in Kuṇḍalīni yoga it refers to a center of the astral body from where the yoga *nāḍīs* spring and carry the *sūkṣma prāṇa* (vital energy) to the different parts of the body.
- 13 Some scholars trace it back to pioneering work by Major Basu, *Anatomy of the Tantras* (1888), and Dr. N. C. Paul, *A Treatise on the Yoga Philosophy* (1850). See for instance Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) on the history of medical or health views of the yogic body in India even prior to the early twentieth century.
- 14 On this point, see "Yoga, Bodybuilding, and Wrestling: Metaphysical Fitness" by Joseph Alter in this volume.
- 15 These included natural healthcare luminaries Harvey Kellogg and Benedict Lust.
- 16 Mark Singleton first suggests this in *Yoga Body*, p. 116. But based on subsequent publications on yoga performances and presentations in America—such as those by the Great Oom; see Robert Love, *The Great Oom* (New York: Viking, 2010)—and Singleton's own revised views on this matter, there may be sufficient evidence to push this date back by at least a decade, if not more.

Catalogue 26

- 1 Christopher Pinney, "The nation unpictured: Chromolithography and popular politics in India," *Critical Inquiry* 23, no. 3, p. 867.
- 2 First coined by Elizabeth deMichelis in 2004 in *A History of Modern Yoga: Patanjali and Western Esotericism* (London: Continuum, 2004) as

- an extremely useful but provisional, heuristic typology, the term “modern postural yoga” may have outlived its use as a working construct. This author follows Mark Singleton in preferring the term “postural yoga” or “yoga in the modern age” to avoid overly dichotomizing modern and traditional and to avoid subsuming historical detail, variation, and exception; Mark Singleton, *Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.19.
- 3 This is a point first made powerfully by Singleton in chap. 8 of his *Yoga Body*. See also his essay, “Globalized Modern Yoga,” in this volume.
 - 4 Two of the better known among these travelogues and popular accounts of yogis are J. C. Oman’s *Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India* (1905) and Reverend W. M. Zumbro’s 1913 article about yogis in *National Geographic*. Zumbro is a particularly interesting example for visual genealogy, given that the article reproduces with contemporary photographs many of the earlier images of yogis from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European travelogues. For more on this point, see David Gordon White, *Sinister Yogis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), and also cats. 22a–g, Bed of Nails, and 23a–e, Fakirs, Fakers, and Magic.
 - 5 Accounts of *Jogapradīpikā* are described in Gudrun Buhnemann, *Eighty-Four Āsanās in Yoga: A Survey of Traditions* (New Delhi: D. K. Printworld, 2007), while the *Śrītatvanidhi* is described by Norman Sjoman, *The Yoga Tradition of the Mysore Palace* (New Delhi: Abhinav, 1996). For an even earlier historical example of a medieval illustrated *āsana* manuscript, see cat. 9a–j on the *Bahr-al-hayāt*.
 - 6 Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 30.
 - 7 This point has been made variously by White, *Sinister Yogis*; Sjoman, *Yoga Tradition*.
 - 8 Singleton, *Yoga Body*, p. 170.
 - 9 The book includes illustrations of six *mudrās* (gestures) and five *bandhas* (locks), also modeled by Ghamande.
 - 10 *Yogasopāna*’s potential to reach mass audiences also allowed Ghamande to pioneer new pedagogical models of public dissemination, such as a proto-correspondence course of haṭha yoga (Singleton, *Yoga Body*, p. 173). In sharp contrast to the secret transmission of knowledge between guru and disciples, *Yogasopāna* threw open haṭha yoga to the public and invited readers into a dialogue.
 - 11 A more detailed account of how *Yogasopāna* serves as a work of art can be found in Singleton’s *Yoga Body*, chap. 8, “The Medium and the Message.”
 - 12 Raja Ravi Varma was an Indian modernist artist who pioneered the use of newly available chromolithography techniques to make cheap naturalistic reproductions of scenes from Hindu epics.
 - 13 For more on the Mysore Palace’s influence on yoga, see the discussion about cat. 26i.
 - 14 Subsequent editions were revised by Raja Pratinidhi Pant’s son, Apa Pant.
 - 15 See Joseph Alter, *Yoga in Modern India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004); Singleton, *Yoga Body*; Suzanne Newcombe, “The Development of Modern Yoga: A Survey of the Field,” *Religion Compass* 3, no. 6 (2009), pp. 986–1002, for more on *sūryanāmāskār*. It is important to point out that Pant did not claim to have invented the sequence; see Alter, *Yoga in Modern India*, p. 163.
 - 16 See Joseph Alter, “Yoga at the Fin de Siècle: Muscular Christianity with a Hindu Twist,” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no. 5 (2006), pp. 759–76. Pant also introduced *sūryanāmāskār* into schools as a form of native education. For more on Sandow, see also “Yoga, Bodybuilding, and Wrestling: Metaphysical Fitness” by Joseph Alter in this volume.
 - 17 In the early twentieth century, pioneers like K. V. Iyer, Yogacharya Sundaram, and Ramesh Balsekar provided examples of syncretic experiments with the “yogic body beautiful” and the perfect yogic physique, embodying a general preoccupation with the fit body in *āsana* manuals.
 - 18 See Sjoman, *Yoga Tradition in a Mysore Palace*. For more on this general shift in yogic practice, see the essays by Singleton and Alter in this catalogue.
 - 19 I refer to Benedict Anderson’s “imagined communities” (1983) drawn together through print nationalism. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).
 - 20 For more on this point, see Singleton, *Yoga Body*, chap. 9.
 - 21 Sjoman, *Yoga Tradition*, p. 50.
 - 22 Note that 1938 is also the year that Leni Riefenstahl made *Olympia*, which in some ways is perhaps the archetypical film about nationalist physical cultures and the staged presentation of bodies in public space.

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On copyright and sponsor pages: *Jalandharnāth at Jalore* (detail). By Amardas Bhatti. India, Rajasthan, Marwar, Jodhpur, ca. 1805–10. Opaque water color and gold on paper; 39 × 29 cm. Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 4126. Photo: Neil Greentree (see also fig. 6, p. 74).

On contents page: *Rama Enters the Forest of the Sages* (detail), from the *Ramcharitmanas* of Tulsidas (1532–1623). India, Rajasthan, Jodhpur, ca. 1775. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 62.7 × 134.5 cm. Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 2524 (cat. 17a).

Essays

Yoga: The Art of Transformation

Debra Diamond

Fig. 1 (pp. 24, 25) *Three Aspects of the Absolute*, folio 1 from the *Nath Charit*. By Bulaki, 1823. India, Jodhpur. Opaque watercolor, gold and tin alloy on paper, 47 × 123 cm. Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 2399.

Fig. 2 (p. 26) *Jina*, probably Shreyamsanatha. India, southern Rajasthan, dated 1160. White marble with traces of polychromy, 59.7 × 48.3 × 21.6 cm. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 2000.98.

Fig. 3 (pp. 22, 26) *Meditating Sikh Ascetic*. India, Jammu and Kashmir, probably Mankot, ca. 1730. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 19.5 × 12.9 cm (page), 17.4 × 11.2 cm (painting). Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection. Photo: John Tsantes.

Fig. 4 (p. 26) *Siddhapratima Yantra* (detail). Western India, 1333. Bronze, copper alloy with traces of gilding and silver inlay, 21.9 × 13.1 × 8.9 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, F1997.33.

Fig. 5 (p. 28) *Great Stupa at Sanchi*. India, Madhya Pradesh, Sanchi, ca. 50–25 BCE. Sandstone, Photo courtesy John C. Huntington.

Fig. 6 (p. 29) *The Seven Great Sages*. Attributed to the Master at the Court of Mankot. India, Jammu and Kashmir, Mankot, 1675–1700. Opaque watercolor on paper; 21.1 × 20.7 cm (page), 18.9 × 19 cm (painting). Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, 1343.

Fig. 7 (p. 30) *Yogini*. India, Tamil Nadu, Kanchi, ca. 900–975. Metagabbro, 116 × 76 × 43.2 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, S1987.905.

Fig. 8 (p. 31) *Koringa*. Reco Brothers Circus poster, England, 1946. Collection of Mark Copland/The Insect Circus (mark@copeland48.freereserve.co.uk).

Fig. 9 (p. 32) *Five Holy Men*, folio from the Saint Petersburg Album. Attributed to Govardhan. India, Mughal dynasty, ca. 1625–30. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; 49 × 33 cm (page), 24.1 × 15.2 cm (painting). Formerly collection of Stuart Cary Welch; current whereabouts unknown.

Yoga in Transformation

David Gordon White

Fig. 1 (p. 37) “Yogi” seal. Indus civilization, ca. 2600–1900 BCE. Steatite, 3.8 cm (h). National Museum of India.

Fig. 2 (p. 37) Seated Buddha. Afghanistan or Pakistan, Gandhara, probably Hadda, 1st century–320. Stucco, 36.9 cm (h). Cleveland Museum of Art, Edward L. Whittemore Fund, 1967.39.

Fig. 3 (p. 37) Head of a Rishi. India, Mathura, 2nd century. Stone, 27.7 × 24 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Edward L. Whittemore Fund, 1971.41.

Fig. 4 (pp. 34, 38) *Yogin with Six Chakras*. India, Himachal Pradesh, Kangra, late 18th century. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 48 × 27.5 cm. National Museum of India, Ajit Mookerjee Collection, 82.485. Courtesy of Art Gallery of New South Wales.

Fig. 5 (p. 39) *King Suraghu Visits Mandavya*, folio from the *Yoga Vasishtha*. India, Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad, Mughal dynasty, 1602. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 27 × 18.5 cm. Chester Beatty Library, In 5.178V.

Fig. 6 (p. 40) *The Goddess Bhairavi Devi with Shiva* (detail). Attributed to Payag (Indian, active ca. 1591–1658). India, Mughal dynasty, ca. 1630–35. Opaque watercolor and gold and ink on paper, 18.5 × 26.5 cm. Purchase. Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 2011, 2011.409. The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 7 (p. 41) *Tantric Feast*. India, Himachal Pradesh, Nurpur, ca. 1790. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 22.54 x 15.66 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.77.63.1.

Fig. 8 (p. 43) *A Royal Ascetic*. India, Karnataka, possibly Bijapur, ca. 1660. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 19 x 14.3 cm. © The British Library Board, Richard Johnson Collection, J.19.2.

From Guru to God: Yogic Prowess and Places of Practice in Early-Medieval India

Tamara I. Sears

Fig. 1 (p. 46) Descent of the Ganges. India, Tamil Nadu, Mamallapuram, ca. 7th century. Stone, 29 m x 13 m. Photo: Emma Natalya Stein.

Fig. 2 (p. 49) Nara and Narayana, Vishnu Temple, relief from the east side. India, Uttar Pradesh, Deogarh, ca. 500 AD. Photo: Borromeo, Art Resource.

Figs. 3a–d (pp. 50, 51) Plan and views of Shaiva Monastery. India, Madhya Pradesh, Chandrehe, ca. 973. Photos: Tamara I. Sears.

Fig. 4 (pp. 52–53) Guru and Disciples, Lakshmana Temple. India, Madhya Pradesh, Khajuraho, ca. 954. Sandstone. Photo: Tamara I. Sears.

Figs. 5 and 6 (p. 54) Lakulisha in a central wall niche. India, Madhya Pradesh, Batesara, ca. 8th century. Photos: Tamara I. Sears.

Muslim Interpreters of Yoga

Carl W. Ernst

Fig. 1 (p. 60) Jahangir converses with Gosain Jadrup, from the *Jahangirnama*. Attributed to Payag (Indian, active ca. 1591–1658). India, Mughal dynasty, ca. 1620. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Inv. OA7171. Photo: Daniel Arnaudet. © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

Fig. 2 (p. 61) *The King and Karkati Discuss Brahman*, from the *Yog Vasishta*. By Iman Quli. India, Allahabad, 1602. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 27 x 18.5 cm. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, In 05.73a/r.

Fig. 3 (pp. 58, 62) The feast of the yogis from the *Mrigavati*. India, Allahabad, 1603–4. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 28.3 x 17 cm. Chester Beatty Library, In 37.66r.

Fig. 4 (p. 63) *Yogini by a Stream*, from the Clive Album. India, Bijapur, ca. 1605–40. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 21.4 x 16.2 cm. © Victoria and Albert Museum, IS.133.56-1964.

Fig. 5 (p. 65) Tratak posture, from the *Bahr al-hayat*, page 44. AH 11 Rabi al-awwal, 1130 (February 12, 1718). University of North Carolina Rare Book Collection, PK3791.A46 1718.

Yogis in Mughal India

James Mallinson

Fig. 1 (p. 68) Folio from the *Gulshan Album* (detail). India, Mughal dynasty, early 17th century. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; approx. 42 x 26 cm. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, folio 6b.

Fig. 2 (p. 71) *The Yogis at Gurkhattri in 1505*, from *Vaki'at-i Baburi* (The Memoirs of Babur). By Gobind. India, Mughal dynasty, 1590–93. Opaque watercolor. © The British Library Board, Or. 3714, f. 197r.

Fig. 3 (p. 71) *Babur's Visit to Gurkhattri in 1519*. By Kesu Khurd. India, Mughal dynasty, 1590–93. Opaque watercolor. © The British Library Board, Or. 3714, vol. 3 f. 320.

Fig. 4 (p. 72) *A Party of Kanphat Yogis Resting around a Fire*. India, Mughal dynasty, ca. 1700. Tinted drawing with gold; on an album leaf with inner border of marbled paper and an outer border of leaf-motifs in blue and gold; 22.4 x 13 cm (folio), 36.1 x 24 cm (page). © The British Library Board, India Office, J.22.15.

Fig. 5 (p. 73) Balak Nath Kothari wearing antelope horn *kanphata* earring, *Jvalamukhi*, November 8, 2012. Photo: James Mallinson.

Fig. 6. (p. 74) *Jalandharnāth at Jalore* (detail). By Amardas Bhatti. India, Rajasthan, Marwar, Jodhpur, ca. 1805–10. Opaque water color and gold on paper; 39 x 29 cm. Mehrangarh Museum Trust, RJS 4126. Photo: Neil Greentree.

Fig. 7 (p. 75) *Aughar and Kanphata Yogi*, from *Tashrih al-aqvam*, p. 399. India, Delhi or Haryana, 1825. Manuscript, watercolor; 31.5 x 22cm (folio). © The British Library Board, Add.27255, f. 399b.

Fig. 8. (p. 76) Naga Sannyasis at the 1995 Allahabad Ardh Kumbh Mela. Photo: James Mallinson.

Fig. 9 (p. 77) *Akbar Watches a Battle between Two Rival Groups of Sannyasis at Thaneshwar* (detail of right folio). India, possibly Pakistan, Mughal dynasty, 1590–95. By Basawan and Tara the Elder. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 32.9 x 18.7 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, IS.2:61-1896.

Fig. 10 (p. 79) *Mughals Visit an Encampment of "Sadhus,"* from the St. Petersburg Album. Attributed to Mir Sayyid Ali. India, Mughal dynasty, ca. 1635. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 46 x 29.5 cm. St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, f. 47r.

Fig. 11 (p. 80) Ramanandi Yogiraj Jagannath Das at the 2010 Haridwar Kumbh Mela. Photo: James Mallinson.

Yoga, Bodybuilding, and Wrestling: Metaphysical Fitness

Joseph S. Alter

Fig. 1 (p. 84) *Five athletes, symbolizing a musical mode (Deshakha raga)*. India, Deccan plateau, ca. 1880–1900. Opaque watercolor on paper, 28.3 x 8.5 cm. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, B 87D19.

Fig. 2 (p. 86) Paramahansa Yogananda, Founder of the Self-Realization Fellowship, Getty Images #51101235.

Fig. 3 (p. 88) Yoga asanas, from *The Yoga Body Illustrated* by M. R. Jambunathan. India, Karnataka, Bangalore, 1941. Published book, 18.4 x 24.8 cm (open). Library of Congress, RA781.7J35.

Fig. 4 (p. 89) Yogi Selvarajan Yesudian, Bodybuilding and Muscle Control Poses, images 67, 72–74 between pages 112 and 113, in Selvarajan Yesudian and Elisabeth Haich, *Sport et Yoga*, 8th ed. (Lausanne, Switzerland: Editions Foma, 1958).

Fig. 5 (p. 89) Yogi Selvarajan Yesudian, "Exercices pour élèves avancés," images 63 and 64 between pages 112 and 113, in Selvarajan Yesudian and Elisabeth Haich, *Sport et Yoga*, 8th ed. (Lausanne, Switzerland: Editions Foma, 1958).

Fig. 6 (p. 90) British muscle man Eugene Sandow posing as the Farnese Hercules, 1897. Photo: Time Life Pictures/Mansell/Getty Images #50615023.

Fig. 7 (p. 91) Buddha Bose, a student of yoga master Bishnu Ghosh, shows his skills at a yoga exercise demonstration, London, ca.1930s. Photo: FPG/Getty Images #109773972.

Fig. 8 (p. 92) A yogi practicing yoga in Benares (Varanasi), Uttar Pradesh, India. Photo: Frederick Ayer III. Getty Images #128586602.

Globalized Modern Yoga

Mark Singleton

Fig. 1 (p. 94) Yoga on the National Mall, Washington, DC, May 2013. Photo: Neil Greentree.

Fig. 2 (p. 96) Swami Vivekananda on the platform of the Parliament of the World's Religions, September 11, 1893. Vedanta Society, San Francisco, V16.

Fig. 3 (p. 97) Madame Blavatsky, 1870. Photo: Henry Guttman. Getty Images, Hulton Archive #3324124.

Fig. 4 (p. 97) Paramahansa Yogananda, founder of the Self-Realization Fellowship. Getty Images, #51101235.

Fig. 5 (p. 98) Aleister Crowley as Paramahansa Shivaji. Ordo Templi Orientalis, New York.

Fig. 6 (p. 99) Sri T. Krishnamacharya (1888–1989), Chennai, India, 1988. Courtesy Ganesh Mohan.

Fig. 7 (p. 99) Indian yoga master B. K. S. Iyengar demonstrates four postures, 1930s. Scenes from *T. Krishnamacharya Asanas*. India, Mysore, 1938. Sponsored by Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodiyar. Digital copy of a lost black-and-white film, 57 min. Courtesy of Dan McGuire.

Fig. 8 (p. 99) Swami Muktananda Arrives in Santa Monica, California, 1980. Photo: George Rose. Getty Images, #83693441.

Fig. 9 (p. 99) Peace Pilot (Vishnudevanda), Palam Airport, New Delhi, India, October 26, 1971, Keystone, Getty Images #3269553.

Fig. 10 (p. 100) Yoga Curl (Marilyn Monroe), 1948, John Kobal Foundation. Getty Images #3169150.

Fig. 11 (p. 101) The Beatles and the Maharishi, Rishikesh, Dehradun, India, March 1, 1968, Hulton Archive, Getty Images # 73874340.

Fig. 12 (p. 102) *Heat Wave Hits New York City on the First Day of Summer* by John Moore, June 20, 2012, Getty Images # 146597674.