ETCHED IN STONE:
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY VISUAL AND MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF ŚAIVA ASCETICS AND YOGIS IN COMPLEX NON-SEATED ĀSANAS AT VİJAYANAGARA

Seth Powell
Harvard University

Abstract

This article reassesses the history of postural yoga in precolonial India by drawing attention to recently discovered visual material evidence of non-seated postures carved onto the pillars of Vijayanagara temples at Hampi in Karnataka. Based on inscriptive evidence dating to the early 1500s CE, these sculptures represent important and overlooked early visual evidence for the practice of standing postures, inversions, and complex “pretzel-shaped” balancing postures in late-medieval South India. A number of sculptures bear a marked similarity to certain non-seated āsanas featured in more modern postural yoga systems, and might represent some of the earliest evidence of their existence. To contextualise these images and understand their significance within the larger history of yoga, the article begins with a preliminary genealogy of āsana and postural yoga traditions, highlighting a particular shift from seated to non-seated āsanas that is evinced in both the textual and visual-sculptural record. The author suggests that this shift in psychophysical functionality and praxis of yogic āsana may have opened up new anatomical potentials for engaging the body within a yogic context, and that this shift, alongside intermingling with much older traditions of asceticism (tapas), may partially explain the surge in complex non-seated āsanas featured in many yoga texts following the sixteenth century. Drawing upon other archaeological sites, textual, epigraphical, and visual materials, the article makes the case that some of the ascetic figures in complex yogic postures sculpted at Hampi are depictions of Nātha yogis performing the techniques of Haṭhayoga.

KEYWORDS
Medieval Yoga, Haṭhayoga, Āsana, Nātha yogis, Śaiva ascetics, Vijayanagara
**Introduction**

While our knowledge of the techniques and traditions of medieval yoga has advanced considerably over the past decade, our understanding of the development of these traditions in precolonial India still remains in its infancy. Much of this history is currently being reconstructed using the philological tools of textual criticism, that is, through the detailed study of Sanskrit yoga texts. Like the study of religion in South Asia more broadly, the study of premodern yoga has been pursued primarily through the investigation of key doctrines, philosophy, practices, and history of ideas as understood from authoritative texts. However, as the recent Smithsonian exhibition and publication, *Yoga: The Art of Transformation* (Diamond 2013), has so elegantly reminded us, the turn to visual and material culture also provides a rich body of evidence that not only complements the textual record, but offers the historian of religion alternative points of entry for thinking about yoga’s past. While the relationship between the textual and visual material record is not always clear or linear, when read together, I believe this interdisciplinary approach can provide us with a more nuanced understanding of yoga’s past.

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1 I’d like to thank Zac Pelleriti from the Harvard Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology for first bringing my attention to the yogic sculptures at Hampi. I am grateful to Jinah Kim for her comments on an earlier draft of this essay, and for organizing the HAA285m Winter 2016 excursion to the Deccan, generously funded by Harvard’s Department of Art History & Architecture, which afforded me the opportunity to conduct fieldwork at Hampi. Thanks to Anne Monius for her incisive comments on earlier drafts. I am grateful to James Mallinson and, especially, Jason Birch for their invaluable feedback, ongoing conversations, and generous sharing of unpublished texts and materials. I thank Anila Verghese and Anna Dallapicolla for taking the time to meet me at Hampi, and kindly answering my questions regarding Vijayanagara sculpture and architecture. Finally, I wish to thank the two anonymous reviewers, Matthew Clark, Jacqueline Hargreaves, and Elizabeth De Michelis for their efforts in seeing this article through to completion. All translations from Sanskrit are my own unless attributed otherwise.

2 The current five-year European Research Council “Hatha Yoga Project,” headquarterd at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, is leading the way in this effort. The proposed project goals include the output of new critical editions and English translations of ten important texts of Hathayoga. While their methods are largely philological, the research team led by James Mallinson is also combining textual criticism with ethnography to investigate the contemporary practice and culture of Hathayoga traditions among modern Indian ascetics. See: http://hyp.soas.ac.uk. Accessed on: March 17, 2018.

3 Mallinson’s recent work (2013) on rethinking the sectarian identity of medieval yogis and ascetics in northern India—through a close analysis of Mughal paintings, coeval texts, and ethnography—provides a compelling interdisciplinary model for how reading the visual and textual record of premodern yoga and yogis can reveal enlivening new historical insights. For the broader turn to material culture within the study of Asian religions, see Fleming and Mann (2014).
In this study, I will introduce one sample of recently discovered visual material that I hope can shine new light on the historical development of physical yoga postures (āsana) during the early sixteenth century in Vijayanagara, South India. In January 2016, during a period of brief field work at Hampi, I photographed and surveyed a number of sculpted images of ascetics performing yogic āsanas, displayed on the many pillared halls of the great Vijayanagara temple complexes. While a few of these images have been documented by art historians Anna Dallapiccola, Anila Verghese (1998) and Richard Shaw (2011), most of the postures have not been identified, and many of the figures remain entirely unaccounted for in existing scholarship. Nor has there been any attempt to understand these unique images within the larger history of physical yoga traditions in premodern India, which this article will seek to provide.  

The observational and descriptive style of sixteenth-century Vijayanagara sculpted human figures (Dallapicolla and Verghese 1998, 10) make these material depictions of yogis in practice an important historical window onto yoga traditions in or around the capital city of the empire. Sectarian markers featured on some of the sculpted figures allow us to identify certain figures as Nātha yogis, and when read alongside the textual record, suggest that the reliefs are artistic renderings of the techniques of medieval yogis.

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4 The word “Hampi,” anglicized from the Kannada haṃpe, derives its name from the eponymous goddess of the region along the Tuṅgabhadrā river, Pampā (or Pampē), whose presence predates Vijayanagara rule. The letter ‘p’ in old Kannada often changes to ‘h’ in more modern registers of the language (Verghese 1995, 16). Technically, Hampi (or haṃpe) is the name of the village surrounding the main Virūpākṣa temple, while the remainder of the capital city is referred to as “Vijayanagara.” However, today, the entire approximately 25 square kilometer site is commonly referred to as Hampi, or the Hampi ruins, recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. In this article, I use the words “Hampi” and “Vijayanagara” interchangeably to refer to the capital city, although I favor the former when referring to the contemporary archeological sites.

5 In addition to Hampi, sculptures of non-seated āsanas are found in other south Indian temples, including Śrīśailam, Śrīneri, and the Raṅganātha temple at Ĉidambaram, Tamil Nadu. Depictions of non-seated postures are also featured on the entrance gates at the famous Naṭarāja temple of Ĉidambaram, Tamil Nadu, though here the context is Śiva’s dance (I thank Jason Birch for bringing this to my attention). Perhaps the earliest sculptures of non-seated āsanas have recently been observed by Mallinson (forthcoming b) on the northern gate at Dabhoi in Gujarat (1220–1230).

6 In this article, I use the word “yogi” when referring to the practitioners of yoga broadly speaking; and the Sanskrit yogin when referring to a particular textual passage. Such yogins in the historical record were by and large ascetics—those who had renounced the conventional norms of society in pursuit of religious aims—though certainly not all ascetics practiced the methods that have constituted yoga (see Mallinson 2013a, 81: n. 1).

7 In this article, I use the term “medieval” to reference the period between 600–1600 CE, and “late-medieval” to denote its upper terminus between 1200–1600 CE. However, this is largely a heuristic device. For a historiographical analysis of the limits of the medieval period in India, see Wedemeyer (2013, 58–66).
Haṭhayoga. In cases where more generic ascetics are depicted in non-seated postures, however, I suggest that this could be representing older traditions of ascetic postural practice (i.e., *tapas*) that influenced Haṭhayoga, as evinced by the incorporation of increasingly more non-seated āsanas in Haṭhayoga texts after the sixteenth century (Birch 2013; forthcoming 2018a).

The depictions of non-seated āsanas carved onto the pillared reliefs at Hampi are striking for their complexity and variation. The reliefs include standing postures, inversions, and unique “pretzel-shaped” balancing postures. Based on inscriptive evidence dating to the early 1500s CE, these sculptures represent important and overlooked early visual evidence for the practice of advanced non-seated postures in late-medieval South India. Moreover, a number of images bear a marked similarity to certain non-seated āsanas featured in more modern postural yoga systems, and might represent some of the earliest evidence of their existence—visual, textual, or otherwise.

This article is organized into three parts. In the first, I begin with a preliminary genealogy of physical and postural yoga up to the medieval and early modern period, with particular attention to South India, in order better to assess the significance of the yogic imagery at Hampi in the early sixteenth century. Specifically, I highlight how an important shift from seated to non-seated āsanas is both evidenced in the texts and affirmed in the sculptural record, and argue, moreover, that this shift in function of āsana opened up new anatomical potential and emancipatory ways of engaging the body in yogic praxis. Shifting our gaze to Vijayanagara, in part two, I provide a brief introduction to the empire in order to foreground the sociopolitical and religious context of the temples on the pillars of which these sculpted images are found, and to contextualize these yogic sculptures within the larger visual programs of the Vijayanagara temples. Turning to an analysis of the images, I attempt to identify

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*8 Strictly speaking, the inscriptions provide dates for the erection of the temple complexes themselves, and not explicitly for each of the detailed carvings therein. While there is, of course, always the chance of a pillared-sculpture being a later addition, replacement, or repair, without any evidence indicating such a renovation, I assume the dates of the temples to accord with their sculptures. All dates in this paper have been converted to the Common Era; thus, the “CE” will be dropped henceforth.

*9 It should be cautioned that our understanding of the relationship between yoga praxis and textual production is still emerging. A moment of textual codification does not necessarily correspond to a moment of innovation in yogic praxis or the invention of an āsana. It is, in fact, more historically likely that just as with the temple sculptures, a moment of codification indicates, not the newness of a particular āsana, but rather the historical presence of such a practice prior to the produced text or sculpture, which is only being recorded for the first time.
particular āsanas, where possible, citing parallel descriptions from premodern yogic texts. In part three, I turn to religious and yogic identity. Drawing upon other coeval archeological sites, textual, epigraphical, and visual materials, I make the case that some of the ascetic figures in complex yogic postures sculpted at Hampi are depictions of Nātha yogis performing the techniques of Haṭhayoga. I conclude by turning to an important literary source for the local region, the Pampāmāhātmya, to assess the context of these postures within the broader Śaiva milieu at Hampi. The importance of the visual material evidence at Hampi, when read against the textual record, suggests that various orders of yogis and ascetics were intermingling at Vijayanagara, and that this social milieu—alongside the shift in psychophysical function of āsana praxis—may partially explain why more non-seated āsanas found their way into yoga texts following the sixteenth century.

Part 1

Towards a Genealogy of Āsana: From Seated to Non-seated Postures

Today, in colloquial language, the term “yoga” is virtually synonymous with the practice of āsana, or bodily postures. Yet despite the primacy of āsana in contemporary expressions of transnational, anglophone yoga (Singleton 2010), the early history of yoga in India is surprisingly sparse regarding āsana praxis. Mark Singleton’s landmark monograph Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice (2010) has convincingly demonstrated that today’s dominant forms of postural yoga are “not the outcome of a direct and unbroken lineage of haṭha yoga” but were, rather, birthed through “adaptation to new discourses of the body that resulted from India’s encounter with modernity” (2010, 33). Drawing upon the pioneering work of Norman Sjoman (1999), Gudrun Bühnemann (2007), and others, and surveying the textual record available to him at the time, Singleton concluded:

In sum, the Indian tradition shows no evidence for the kind of posture-based practices that dominate transnational anglophone yoga today (32).

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10 The appellations of particular āsanas often vary from text to text, as do their descriptions. Sometimes within a single text, variant names of a single āsana are given (e.g., Haṭhapradīpikā 1.37). This is as true for premodern yoga texts, as it is among various contemporary yoga practice schools. Therefore, when I suggest Sanskrit names for sculpted āsanas at Hampi that have no textual or inscriptive appellation, this naming is, at best, provisional.
While the argumentative thrust of Singleton’s work was not a history of yogic āsana in premodern India, but rather a pathbreaking study of the distinctive nineteenth- and twentieth-century Indian and European physical cultural and ideological forces that have shaped the predominant practice and conception of yoga in modernity, nonetheless, some of the historical claims in Yoga Body regarding the evidence and diversity of āsana in premodern India can now stand to benefit from revision. In the years since Singleton’s publication, our understanding of yoga in precolonial India has improved considerably, as new evidence is currently being examined and brought to light in the form of unpublished Sanskrit yoga manuscripts. In a groundbreaking article on the subject, Jason Birch (forthcoming 2018a, 98) has observed:

In fact, it is clear that more than eighty-four āsana-s were practised in some traditions of Haṭha Yoga before the British arrived in India. The majority of these āsana-s were not seated poses, but complex and physically-demanding postures, some of which involved repetitive movement, breath control and the use of ropes. [...] When the above late-mediaeval yoga texts are taken into account within the broader history of Haṭha Yoga, it becomes apparent that there was a substantial increase in the number of āsana-s after the sixteenth century and, from the seventeenth century onwards, various lists of eighty-four or more āsana-s have been recorded. In contrast to this, very few āsana-s were mentioned or described in the early Haṭha texts, which can be dated from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries.

As Birch has demonstrated, the substantial increase in the number of āsanas taught in Sanskrit texts largely occurred in the seventeenth-century and thereafter. As I will demonstrate herein, the Vijayanagara temple sculptures of complex non-seated āsanas from the early sixteenth century are thus highly significant. The Hampi sculptures appear to anticipate the proliferation of āsana as evinced in the texts, while at the same time, some of the āsanas depicted at Hampi have no premodern textual referent (of

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11 Singleton himself has acknowledged the shortcomings of these now-outdated historical claims regarding premodern āsana in the preface to the Serbian-language edition of the book (Singleton 2015, 4–5). He has been working to nuance this history through the recent publication of Roots of Yoga (Mallinson and Singleton 2017), and as one of the key researchers on the SOAS Haṭha Yoga Project.

12 While most premodern Yogaśāstras were composed in Sanskrit, there are important notable exceptions in vernacular languages, including: the Persian Bahār al-ḥayūt (1550), the Kannada Pāruṭṭhaprakāśīke of Nījaguṇa Śivayogin (c. 15–17th century), and the Brajbhāṣā Jñānapradīpyakā (1737). Important vernacular accounts of the techniques of Haṭhayoga are also found in sections of Jñādev’s Bhāvārthadīpikā (i.e., Jñānēṣvarī) (c. 13th century) and the Tamil Tirumantiram (c. 13th century).
which we are aware), and a few appear to anticipate postural forms for which we have no record until perhaps the nineteenth or twentieth centuries.

In what follows, and building upon Birch’s study, I will gesture towards a genealogy of premodern āsana in order to historically locate the sculpted representations of yogic praxis found on the pillars at Hampi. This will by no means be an exhaustive account or history of premodern āsana, but rather will serve two heuristic and historiographical functions for the purpose of this study: 1) to provide a template for a working chronology of āsana; and 2) to highlight a notable shift in the employment and functionality of āsana—in theory and praxis—from seated to “non-seated” āsanas.13

Āsana is commonly listed as one of several auxiliaries (aṅga) of yogic praxis featured throughout premodern yoga literature.14 Early usages of the word āsana in Sanskrit texts refer to the physical act of sitting, or to the material seat one sits upon,15 often for the purpose of meditation,16 breath-control, or visualization practices (in later tantric traditions). Such meditative “seats” were utilized by ascetics (śramaṇa) across sectarian traditions in early India, including Buddhist, Jaina, Ājīvika, and Brāhmaṇical traditions, and are well-attested throughout Indian literature and visual art (Fig. 1). A case in point

13 Admittedly, the phrase “non-seated āsana” is something of an oxymoron, if āsana is taken to mean “seat,” its primary meaning in Sanskrit; that is to say, a “non-seated seat.” However, by the late-medieval period, the notion of āsana came to refer to virtually any physical posture, not only seats—and not only yogic ones. As Mallinson writes, “the use of the word āsana to describe any sort of physical posture appears to have become widespread by the early 14th century, when the Maithili Rasaratnakāra used it (along with bandha) as a term to describe positions for sexual intercourse” (Mallinson 2011a, 776). By the turn of the first millennium, Sanskrit texts on yoga began including non-seated postures, such as mayūrāsana and kukkutāsana, in teachings on āsana as an auxiliary of yoga (e.g., Yogavasiṣṭha, Yogāyājñavalkya, Hathapradipikā, etc.).

14 Though currently no single authoritative study exists on the chronology and development of āsana in India, more detailed pieces of this history can be found in Sjoman (1999), Bühnemann (2007), Singleton (2010), Mallinson (2011a), Birch (2013; forthcoming 2018a), Mallinson and Singleton (2017, 86–126) and Maas (forthcoming 2018). Gharote’s Encyclopedia of Traditional Āsanas (2013) remains a useful point of reference; however, one must maintain caution regarding its uncritical system of dating texts.

15 For example, Bhagavadgītā 6.11–13.

16 One of the earliest literary references to an āsana as meditative “seat” is found in Aśvaghoṣa’s Buddhacarita (1st century), where the Buddha-to-be takes his cross-legged position under the bodhi tree, with firm resolve to remain seated until he has reached the final goal of nirvāṇa (Buddhacarita 12.120). I am grateful to Philipp Maas for drawing my attention to this passage (personal communication, September 2016).
is expressed in the *Pātañjalyogaśāstra* (c. 4–5th century), the earliest extant systematization of a school or philosophical system (darśana) of Yoga. Here āsana comprises the third auxiliary of the classical eightfold yoga (aṣṭāṅgayoga) schema. In laconic sūtra fashion, Patañjali states:

Posture (āsana) [becomes] firm and comfortable (sthirasukha) through the relaxation of effort or absorption in the infinite. Thereby, one is unafflicted by pairs of opposites (*Pātañjalyogaśāstra* 2.46–2.48).

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17 The title *Pātañjalyogaśāstra* is adopted to reflect both sūtra and bhāṣya layers of the text. While authorship of the bhāṣya has been most often ascribed (in both modern sources and secondary scholarship) to the legendary sage Vyāsa or Vedavyāsa, some scholars, most recently Maas (2013), have challenged this view by advocating the theory of single authorship of both sūtra and bhāṣya by one Patañjali, thus rendering the bhāṣya an “auto-commentary” by the author himself. Not all scholars are in agreement with this position, however, and a discussion of divergent positions can be found in White (2014, 226–234).

18 *Pātañjalyogaśāstra* 2.46–48 (sthirasukham āsanam | prayatnaśaiḥīnyānantasamāpattibhyām | tato dvandvānabhiḥhatāḥ |). Here I am following Maas, who has proposed that sūtras 2.46-47 should be read as a single syntactical unit (Maas forthcoming 2018).
These three aphorisms (out of 195) are all we learn about āsana throughout the entire sūtra portion of the Pātañjalayogaśāstra. However, in the bhāṣya on 2.46, the commentator goes on to list thirteen “or so” different āsanas, providing the earliest extant list of yogic postures in a Sanskrit text.19 Though the bhāṣya does not describe them further, from later commentaries we learn that these āsanas are likely all seated postures for meditation20 such as padmāsana (“lotus posture”), bhadrāsana (“blessed posture”), vīrāsana (“hero posture”), and svastikāsana (“auspicious posture”). They are to be employed by the yogi in order to still the body for a prolonged period of time, to assist in stilling the fluctuations of the mind (yogaścittavṛttinirvādaḥ)—indeed, the cessative goal of Pātañjalayoga. In this way, establishing a “firm and comfortable” (sthirasukha) posture serves a functional role for cultivating single-pointed awareness, and operates within early Indian yoga systems as a foundational practice for stabilizing the body in order to control the breath (prāṇāyāma) and reign in the senses (pratyāhāra). Āsana thus enables the aspiring yogi to progress through the more subtle and refined inner auxiliaries (antarāṅga) of fixation (dīrgha), meditation (dhyāna), and ultimately, meditative absorption (samādhi).

This sedentary, ascetic nature of āsana was highlighted by Mircea Eliade,21 who applied this view not only to Pātañjalayoga, but categorically to all later yoga traditions.22 However, such an ahistorical and homogenous account of the continuity of āsana praxis in later Haṭhayogic sources is misleading and, as I will demonstrate, fails to account for the transition from seated to non-seated postures, and the re-envisioned functionality of āsana that ensued especially within medieval Haṭhayoga traditions.

19 Pātañjalayogaśāstra 2.46 (Maas, forthcoming 2018) (tadyathā padmāsanāṃ bhadrāsanāṃ vīrāsanāṃ svastikāsanāṃ danyāsanāṃ sopāraiyam paryayāsanāṃ kruṇaśicāsanāṃ hastiniśadānam uṣṭriṇiśadānam samasamsthānam sthiraprasrabdhī yathāsukham cety evanādi []). Interestingly, the author of the bhāṣya concludes this list of āsanas with the word ādi, the Sanskrit equivalent to “et cetera”, implying that even by the fourth or fifth-century, other postures would have been known. This is a poignant reminder that lists of āsana in Sanskrit texts are not intended as exhaustive accounts of āsana “on the ground,” but more likely conceived to serve as reference points for yogic praxis.

20 Maas has shown that the likely oldest account and description of these postures is found in the Pātañjalayogasūṭrabhāṣyavivaraṇa attributed to a Śaṅkara (Maas, forthcoming 2018).

21 Eliade viewed āsana as a “sign of transcending the human condition” through which the yogi becomes like a “plant or a sacred statue” (Eliade 1958, 54).

22 Eliade states: “Lists and descriptions of āsanas are to be found in most of the tantric and Haṭha-yogic treatises. The purpose of these meditational positions is always the same: ‘absolute cessation of trouble from the pairs of opposites’ (dvānāvānabhāvādānaḥ)” (Eliade 1958, 54).
While there are early textual references in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* epics to ascetic sages and gods performing variations of non-seated postures, such as standing on one foot (*ekapādasthita*), raising the arms above the head (*ūrḍhvabāhu*), and hanging upside down from a tree, these are not described in the classical texts as yogic āsanas per se, but rather as practices of *tapas*. However, as James Mallinson (2011a) has demonstrated, these early physical acts of asceticism pre-figure many later bodily yogic technologies. Here, the ascetic asserts exacting control over his mental and bodily faculties in order to generate an internal spiritual heat (*tapas*), obtain boons from gods, and ultimately eliminate the accumulation of *karma*—freeing himself from the trappings and suffering of perpetual rebirth in *samsāra*. Such ascetical feats are also well-known in Indian literature and art, one of the most famous examples being the relief of King Bhagiratha’s penance carved at the circa seventh-century Pallava site, Mamallapuram, in coastal Tamil Nadu (Fig. 2).

By the turn of the first millennium, a new yogic orientation was underway which centered around the cultivation of the body and bodily techniques—including āsana. Around the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a corpus of Sanskrit texts teaching the techniques of Haṭhayoga (i.e., “the yoga of force”) emerged, systematizing and codifying this bodily-

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23 See, for example, *Mahābhārata* 1.81.16, 1.114.20, 3.185.4, 12.323.20, 12.327.41, 12.327.76-77, 12.331.47. On the relationship between descriptions of *tapas* and physical *yoga* in the *Mahābhārata*, see Hopkins (1901).

24 On the “force” of *haṭhayoga*, see Birch (2011).
oriented form of yoga. These texts are largely prescriptive and prescriptive soteriological treatises authorizing instructions for the aspiring yogi in matters of lifestyle and diet, the proper locale for praxis, a rudimentary metaphysics and theory of the body and its subtle energy channels, and overall, mapping a progressive curriculum of yogic practice, outlining the techniques said to culminate in the liberative state of samādhi (i.e., Rājayoga).

As Mallinson’s work has convincingly shown, the Haṭhayoga texts represent a unique synthesis of (at least) two historical ascetico-yogic streams. The first is the older ascetic tapas traditions of munis or sages, illustrated by descriptions of yogic asceticism in the epics, and which can be traced at least as far back as the hagiographical accounts of the Buddha’s forays as an ascetic in the Pali canon. The second stream is found in medieval tantric yoga traditions, in particular, Vajrayāna Buddhism (Mallinson forthcoming a) and Śaiva tantra, especially the Kaula Paścimāmnāya, or “Western Transmission,” yogini cult associated with the great siddha, Matsyendranātha (Kiss 2009; Mallinson 2011a). Many of the early Haṭhayoga treatises are attributed to Gorakṣanātha (Hindi: Gorakhpūr), the famed disciple of Matsyendranātha and alleged founder of the fledgling “Nātha sampradāya” (about which we shall say more later). Other texts are attributed to a variety of authors, most of whom we know little about, and which reveal

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25 Birch has identified the earliest occurrences of the term haṭhayoga in eighth- to eleventh-century exegetical tantric Buddhist literature, wherein it is spoken of as a last-resort option for the Mantramārgin whose mantras are ineffective (Birch 2011, 535). However, it is not until the second millennium that these techniques were championed in Sanskrit literature. According to Mallinson (2011a, forthcoming a), the tantric Buddhist Amṛtasiddhi (c. 11th century) is the earliest text to prescribe some of the mudrās and bandhas which would be subsequently taught in almost all Haṭhayoga texts, while the first Sanskrit text to explicitly teach a system of Haṭhayoga and call it as such is the Vaiṣṇava Dattātreyayogaśāstra (c. 12–13th century).

26 While the majority of secondary scholarship on Nāthas tends to identify a distinct unified “Nāthism,” sampradāya, or panth, organized around the central teachings and personality of Gorakṣanātha (see, for example, Briggs 1938; Das Gupta 1946; Banerjea 1962; Lorenzen and Muñoz 2011), Mallinson has challenged the historical claims of such an institutionalized sampradāya. Although its historical gurus, Matsyendranātha (c. 9th century) and his disciple Gorakṣanātha (c. 12th century), are known to have lived much earlier, according to Mallinson, “The earliest references to the Nāṭh ascetic order as an organized entity date to the beginning of the 17th century” (Mallinson 2011b). During the interim historical period, “there are numerous references to both ascetic and householder Nāths in texts, inscriptions, iconography, and historical reports” (Mallinson 2011b), however, according to Mallinson these refer to a loose body of charismatic individuals, teachings, and practices, not to any systematized Nātha doctrine or school. This argument, however, has been called into question by Monika Horstmann, who, reexamining the question of a Nātha order in light of unpublished vernacular Hindi-related sources, seeks to push back the emergence of an organized Nātha sampradāya to a period prior to the sixteenth century (Horstmann 2014).
the stamps of various medieval religious traditions such as Advaitavedānta, Śrīvidyā, Vaishnavism, and Vīraśaivism.

Evidence suggests that several of these texts were written in South India and the larger Deccan region. For example, Jñānadeva’s Marathi Jñānēśvarī (c. 13th century), whose sixth chapter describes the Hathayogic bandhas and ascent of kūndalini, was composed in Maharashtra, wherein Jñānadeva traces his spiritual lineage to several key Nātha yogis, including Matsyendranātha and Gorakṣanātha.27 The Śivayogapradiṣṭikā of Cennasādāśivayogin (c. 15th century), which integrates the techniques of Ṣaṭāṅgayoga with ritual worship (pūjā) and devotion (bhakti) to Śiva, was likely composed in Karnataka or Tamil Nadu,28 as was its Kannada prose rendition, the Pāramārthapradaksīke of the Viśaiv scholar, Nijaguṇa Śivayogin (c. 15–17th century). It is possible that the Haṭhapradīṣṭikā of Śvātmārāma (15th century) was composed in Andhra Pradesh (Reddy 1982, 15), possibly at or around the famous Śrīśailam temple.29 Śrīnivāsa, the author of the Haṭharatnāvali (17th century), resided in the Tirabhukta region of Andhra, and according to Reddy, was likely a Telugu Brahmin (Reddy 1982, 14). Furthermore, many of the late-medieval Yoga Upaniṣads were compiled in the south by followers of Śaṅkara’s Advaitavedānta (Bouy 1994).30 These texts indicate the presence of the techniques and traditions that comprise Ṣaṭāṅgayoga (even if they did not always call them haṭha) in South India from at least the thirteenth century—and particularly

27 In Jñānēśvarī 18.1733-1742, we find the following spiritual lineage: Matsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha, Gaṇinātha, Nivrūṭinātha, Jñānadeva (Kripananda 1989). Thus, Jñānadeva’s guru’s guru was a disciple of Gorakṣanātha, or to put it otherwise, Gorakṣanātha was Jñānadeva’s great-grandfather-guru.

28 I have located over a dozen manuscripts of the Śivayogapradiṣṭikā from various archives in South India, all written in southern scripts, and I believe we can be quite confident of the text’s southern origins. Despite the title of the Anandāśrama edition (1978 [1907]), the majority of these manuscripts are titled and listed as Śivayogapradiṣṭikā, rather than -dīṣṭikā, and indeed, the text refers to itself as the Śivayogapradiṣṭikā (1.2, 5.58); I am thus inclined to adopt the latter title. The author of this text, Cennasādāśivayogin, was likely a Viśaiva (e.g., Śivayogapradiṣṭikā 3.61, 3.63), and it became an important yoga treatise within Vīraśaiva communities, as evidenced by a later Kannada commentary attributed to Basavārādhya, and a prose Kannada rendition and commentary, the Pāramārthapradaksīke of Nijaguṇa Śivayogin.

29 Personal communication with James Mallinson. February 20, 2018.

30 A corpus of 108 Upaniṣads was compiled and commented on by Upaniṣadabrahmayogin around 1750. Among these are found the so-called “Yoga Upaniṣads,” nine of which Bouy observed, “bear a striking resemblance with works of the Nātha traditions.” These are the Nādabindu, Dhyānabindu, Yojucaśāmanī, Nīrāvā, Mandalabhrāhmaṇa, Saṃādhi, Yogaśākhā, Yojugūḍāla, and the Saubhāgyalakṣmi. According to Bouy, “all these nine Upaniṣads, with the possible exception of the Saubhāgyalakṣmi, were either enlarged or wholly composed […] in South India by an Advaitin” (Bouy 1994, 6).
during the fifteen-seventeenth centuries—providing precedent for the yogic sculptures we will encounter at Hampi in the early sixteenth century.

In general, authors of medieval yoga texts do not appear to have been concerned with providing exhaustive accounts of yogic theory and practice, but rather were keen to integrate disparate traditions and techniques of yoga and attempt to synthesize them in a coherent and systematic manner—perhaps for a broader, more public audience (Birch 2013, 2015, forthcoming 2018a, 2018b; Mallinson 2014, 2016). Although we cannot be certain of the material life and function of medieval yoga manuscripts, it is unlikely that they would have been used by yogis as how-to-guides, or to replace the oral instruction of a personal guru. Instead, the texts offer us historical moments of codification, synthesis, and reform, visions of what were perhaps oral renunciate traditions being recorded for the first time, or as was often the case, reinterpretations of techniques from earlier Sanskrit texts, detectable from the authors’ highly intertextual borrowing of shared verses. Yet, for as much as the texts say, there is perhaps as much left unsaid. Relying solely on the textual record thus leaves us with an incomplete and partisan history of yoga’s past. As I aim to show in this study, the visual record of sculpted yogis performing non-seated āsanas at Hampi may help to fill some of these lacunae, offering another type of codification rendered by Vijayanagara artists in stone. This is not to elevate the visual material over the texts, but rather is an exercise in reading them together. As we shall see, the temple sculptures do not always simply affirm the prescriptions of yogic texts, but as artistic renditions of yogis in practice, also complicate and add variance to our understanding of premodern yoga traditions.

In looking to the corpus of medieval yoga texts, Birch has noted the gradual shift from seated āsanas used primarily for meditation, as in the Pātañjalyogaśāstra, to more complex non-seated āsanas, including balancing postures and inversions utilized for bodily-purification, harnessing subtle energies in the body, as well as for therapeutic aims (Birch 2013, forthcoming 2018a). As Birch notes, however, the earliest texts to teach the methods of Haṭhayoga, for example the Amṛtasiddhi, Amaraughaprabodha,
Dattātreyayogaśāstra, Yogabija, etc., teach relatively few āsanas; and they are entirely seated postures such as padmāsana or siddhāsana.\(^{33}\)

Mallinson has noted that the earliest textual references to non-seated āsanas have been found in large Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva tantric compendiums written around the turn of the first millennium (Mallinson 2014). While they are not devoted exclusively to the aims of yoga, they contain important yogic teachings, which to date remain sparsely studied. The Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarāтриka Viṃśāṇarācanākālpa (c. 10th century) teaches the two-armed balancing posture, mayūrāsana (“peacock posture”),\(^{34}\) while the Kūbijkāmatantra (c. 10th century), the “principal scripture” of the Paścimāmnāya branch of Kaula Śaivism associated with Matsyendranātha (Sanderson 2002, 1), is perhaps the first text to teach another important two-armed balancing posture, kukkūṭāsana (“cock posture”), where it is described as a tantric karana.\(^{35}\) During the twelfth through fifteenth centuries, for the first time in Yogaśāstras, we begin to find these same non-seated āsanas. The Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā (1.67–82) describes ten āsanas, including mayūrāsana and kukkūṭāsana; the Yogayājñavalkya (3.1–18) describes eight, including mayūrāsana; while the Śivayogapradipikā (2.12) also lists ten, including ahibhujāsana, a variant name of mayūrāsana, although it provides no description.\(^{36}\)

The influential Haṭhapradipikā of Svātmārāma (1450) is the earliest known work of Ḥaṭhayoga to teach non-seated āsanas. Christian Bouy and, more recently, Mallinson, have convincingly demonstrated that the Haṭhapradipikā is largely a compilation,

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33 The Amṛtasiddhi and Amaraughaprabodha mention no āsanas; the Yogabija (95) provides one, vajrāsana (“thunderbolt posture”). The Dattātreyayogaśāstra (34), although it mentions that there are 84 lakṣa (8,400,000) postures, teaches but one, padmāsana. The Vivekamārtanda (13–15) states there are as many āsanas as there are species, yet teaches two, siddhāsana and padmāsana. Likewise, the Gorakṣasūtrakā (3.96–115) describes two, padmāsana and vajrāsana. The Śivasamhitā (3.108–12) offers four, all of which are seated cross-legged postures employed for meditation (dhyāna), concentration on the elements (dharāṇā), and breath-control (prāṇāyāma), with the exception of the seated forward-bending paścimottānāsana. For all of the data set out in this note, see Bırch (2013, forthcoming 2018a).

34 Mallinson has surmised that “it seems likely that the practice of non-seated āsanas developed within a Pāñcarātriika milieu” (Mallinson 2011a: 775); however, further text-critical study remains to be done. The inclusion of kukkūṭāsana in the Śaiva Kūbijkāmatantra casts some doubt on the exclusivity of this claim.

35 Kubjikāmatantra 23.114–117. A much earlier textual reference to kukkūṭāsana is found in a Prakrit Jaina text, the Yoṣibhaṅkti (c. 5th century); however, because there is no description, it is unclear if it is the same non-seated posture. I am grateful to James Mallinson for bringing this to my attention. Personal communication, February 23, 2017.

36 It is interesting to note that the first non-seated āsana to appear in texts are both arm-balancing postures named after birds: the cock (kukkūṭa) and peacock (mayūra/ahibhuj).
sourced from these earlier Sanskrit yogic works,\textsuperscript{37} and thus, represents a survey course of the techniques of medieval yoga \textit{en vogue} during the middle of the second millennium (Bouy 1994; Mallinson 2011a, 2014). This important treatise came to represent a locus classicus for the Ḫaṭhayoga tradition, evident from the number of later works and commentaries that hold it in such esteem.\textsuperscript{38} In his consolidation of medieval yoga systems, Svātmārāma describes fifteen āsanas including the non-seated postures mayūrāsana, kukkuṭāsana, uttānasārmaka (“upward facing tortoise”), dhamurāsana (“bow posture”), and the supine śavāsana (“corpse posture”). The Ḫaṭhāpradīpikā becomes a touchstone from which we can witness a marked shift in the sixteenth century and onwards, as new āsanas were gradually introduced in texts. For example, we find twenty-one āsanas in the Persian Bahr al-ḥayāt, thirty-two in the Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā, and then a tradition of eighty-four āsanas displayed in the Ḫaṭharatnāvali and the Hindi Brajbhāṣā Jogapradipakā. A unique illustrated manuscript of the latter has been brought to light and studied by Bühnemann (2007). The proliferation of āsanas in texts following the fifteenth-century Ḫaṭhāpradīpikā has been argued for by Birch, who in bringing to light unpublished yoga manuscripts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, reveals the rapid expansion, innovation, and creativity of āsana in the early modern period (Birch 2013; forthcoming 2018a). Birch has found in texts such as the Yoγacintāmaṇi, Ḫaṭhābhhyāsapaddhati, and the Siddhāntamuktāvali, descriptions of over one hundred āsanas, including seated, standing, balancing, and dynamic moving āsanas, and even āsanas involving the use of ropes and a wall—all before the colonial period.

In the Ḫaṭhayoga literature, āsana continues to serve a foundational role for engaging in prāṇāyāma and other auxiliaries of yoga,\textsuperscript{39} however, is also associated with bodily

\textsuperscript{37} For a detailed list of Svātmārāma’s source texts and borrowed verses in the Ḫaṭhāpradīpikā, see Mallinson (2014, 239–244).

\textsuperscript{38} For example, Yoγacintāmaṇi (16th century), Basavārādhya’s commentary on the Śivayoγapradīpikā (c. 16/17th century), Ḫaṭharatnāvali (17th century), Jogapradipakā (18th century). Commentaries on the Ḫaṭhāpradīpikā include the Jyotsnā by Brahmānanda (c. 1830), Yoγapradīkā by Bālakṛṣṇa (19th century), and the Marathi Ḫaṭhāpradīpikāvṛtti by Bhojātmaja (1852). (Bouy 1996; Bühnemann 2007, 8; Birch 2011, 548).

\textsuperscript{39} Most medieval Yogaṣṭras understand āsana as the foundation for prāṇāyāma, kumbhaka, or mudrā practices (e.g., Ḫaṭhāpradīpikā 1.55, Ḫaṭharatnāvalī 3.78). That is, while āsana may be an indispensable auxiliary (anīga) of Ḫaṭhayoga, āsana itself is not usually said to bestow the highest soteriological goal of yoga (i.e., samādhi), but rather prepares the body-mind to be most capable of engaging in the other methods that do. Although, at times the soteriological potential of āsana is suggested, when, for example, in the Ḫaṭhāpradīpikā, matsyendrāsana (1.27) is said to awaken kunḍalini, while Siddhāsana (1.15) “breaks open the door to liberation” (moksakapāṭabhedajanaka).
purification and therapeutic aims, often addressing particular ailments and disease within the yogi’s body. As the Haṭhapradīpikā states:

Āsana is described first because it is the first auxiliary of Haṭha[yoga]. One should perform it, for āsana [results in] steadiness, freedom from disease, and lightness of body.

The Haṭhapradīpikā and other texts such as the Haṭharatnāvali (often quoting the Haṭhapradīpikā directly) advertise particular health benefits associated with the successful performance of individual āsanas. For example, the Haṭharatnāvali states that the application of bhadrāsana “removes all diseases and toxins.” The Haṭhapradīpikā declares that mayūrāsana “quickly destroys all diseases such as swelling in the body, abdominal disease, etc., and conquers the disorders (doṣa).” Śavāsana “removes fatigue and causes mental repose,” the seated spinal twist, matsyendrāsana, “awakens kuṇḍalinī,” while the seated forward-bending paścimatāna (i.e., paścimottānāsana) “causes the vital air to flow along the backside.”

Such postures then (including seated ones), were, according to the texts, no longer employed solely for the purpose of attaining firm seats for prolonged meditation or breath-control, but were performed more actively and

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40 A unique fifth chapter in the Kaivalyadhama edition of the Haṭhapradīpikā is dedicated to the eradication of imbalances and diseases in the body. According to Christèle Barrios, this interpolation, however, which is found in only two manuscripts of the Haṭhapradīpikā, is none other than the tenth chapter on yogic medical treatment (cikitsā) of the Dharmaputrikā (c. 10th century), a text of the Śivadharma corpus (Barois forthcoming). Birch has suggested that Kaivalyadhama’s inclusion of this tract on Āyurvedic theory in their critical edition of the Haṭhapradīpikā reflects the modern scientific and therapeutic orientations of Swami Kuvalayananda and his tradition, more than Svātmārāma’s fifteenth-century yoga text (Birch forthcoming 2018b).

41 Haṭhapradīpikā 1.17 (haṭhasya prathamāṅgatvād āsanaṃ pūrvam ucyate | kuryāt tad āsanaṃ sthayīram ārogyam cāṅgalāghavam ||) = Haṭharatnāvali 3.5.

42 Haṭharatnāvali 3.30 (sarvavyādhivipāham).

43 Haṭhapradīpikā 1.31ab (harati sakalarogān āśu gulmodarādin abhībhavati ca doṣān āsanaṃ śrīnāyāram | ) = Haṭharatnāvali 3.43ab.

44 Haṭhapradīpikā 1.32cd (srāntihāram cittaviśrūtikārakam).

45 Haṭhapradīpikā 1.27c (kuṇḍaliniprabodha) = Haṭharatnāvali 3.58c.

46 Haṭhapradīpikā 1.29b = Haṭharatnāvali 3.67b.
dynamically (i.e., stretching, pressing, twisting, bending, balancing, etc.) to cure the disorders (doṣa) and diseases (roga) of the body, develop health (ārogya), and manipulate subtle energy (kuṇḍalinī, prāṇa) within the yogi’s body. I suggest that this significant shift in the psychophysical functionality and purpose of āsana opened new avenues for the anatomical potential of the body in yogic praxis. As previously noted, although the growing development of āsana traditions can be detected in Sanskrit texts following the fifteenth century, much of the proliferation of non-seated āsanas in yoga literature does not occur until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Birch 2013, forthcoming 2018a). As we will see, this makes the sculpted images of yogis performing complex non-seated āsanas on the temple pillars at Vijayanagara in the early 1500s especially noteworthy.

In order better to locate yoga within the sociopolitical and historical context of late-medieval Vijayanagara, let us now turn to a brief introduction to the empire, and the importance of religion and state-sponsored temple building for the rāyas, or kings, upon whose temples the yogis are etched in stone.

Part 2

2.1 Vijayanagara Temples, Religion, and Sculptural Style

The Vijayanagara Empire is named after its capital, “the city” (nagara) of “victory” (vijaya), popularly known today as Hampi, which lies along the Tungabhadra river in northern Karnataka. Perhaps the greatest empire South India has known, the Vijayanagara kings reigned from approximately 1336–1565 CE, rivaling the Deccan Sultanates and Mughal Empire of the north by creating a vibrant cosmopolitan civilization and polity. While an early historiography of Vijayanagara often framed the rise of the empire in religious ideological terms—as a Hindu kingdom that sought to assert its sovereignty vis-à-vis the oppression of an impending Muslim north—more recent scholarship has complicated and enriched the simplicity of this dichotomous religious narrative. Vijayanagara rulers not only allowed Islamic worship and the building of mosques within the capital city (Verghese 1995, 125–28), but as Phillip Wagoner has demonstrated, the Vijayanagara kings freely drew upon Islamicate cultural, royal, and political idioms in the court, incorporating features of Islamic architecture, as well as employing Muslim soldiers within the military (Wagner 1996). Nonetheless, it is clear from the inscriptional record that the Vijayanagara rulers
cultivated a self-consciously Hindu identity, even if the specific sectarian allegiances would shift over time.

The founding Saṅgama rāyas were avowedly Śaivas, they had Śaiva Kālāmukha rāja-gurus, and their epigraphical sign-off was “Śrīvirūpākṣa,” in deference to their patron deity, the “uneven-eyed” Śiva. Yet, there was a marked transition in the kingdom from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism under later Saḷuva and Tuluva rule, when the Śrīvaiṣṇavism of Rāmānuja received state-favor beginning with Sāḷuva Narasiṃha (r. 1485–1491). Furthermore, Jainism, which had for centuries been the dominant religion in the Karnataka region (although its influence had waned considerably by the Vijayanagara period), continued to receive patronage by Vijayanagara kings (Verghese 1995, 7). Indeed, to claim Vijayanagara as a uniformly Hindu polity fails to pick up these subtleties and varieties of religious difference, only briefly mentioned here. As Valerie Stoker has demonstrated, the religious diversity at Vijayanagara amounted to, not simply an ethos of religious pluralism or ecumenicalism, but the cultural and economic conditions of realpolitik that also gave rise to hostile polemics and sectarian rivalry between competing groups of Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas, as well as Mādhva Brahmins and Śrīvaiṣṇavas, all of whom were contesting for royal patronage within the capital (Stoker 2011, 2016).

The royalties for the victors of such patronage resulted in one of the enduring legacies and greatest contributions of the empire, what historians refer to as the “Vijayanagara temple style,” which drew upon earlier Hoysala, Kākaṭīya, and Cōḷa styles, and matured into its own by the mid-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries (Stein 1989, 111). The Vijayanagara rulers commissioned the building of many great temple complexes within the capital city, particularly during the reigns of the great Kṛṣṇadevarāya (r. 1509–1529).

47 See, for example, the royal Saṅgama inscription of 1352, issued by Devarāya II, “Sultan among Hindu kings” (hindurāyaṇa-raṇa), in Wagoner (1996, 853).

48 There is some debate regarding the sectarian affiliation of the early Saṅgama kings. Many contend that the early Saṅgamas were disciples of the influential Śmārti Brahmin, Vidyāraṇya of the Śrīgeri Matha, while according to Verghese, “a careful study of the epigraphical and literary sources reveal that the rāja-gurus of the early Saṅgamas were Kālāmukhas” (Vergese 1995, 7). For a critical assessment of the religious orientation of the Vijayanagara rulers, see Clark (2006, 193–202).

49 Sanderson observes that the form “Kālāmukha” is simply the south-Indian version of the term “Kālamukha” (Sanderson 2006, 151–52). Given the provenance of this study, then, unless directly quoting, I use the appellation Kālāmukha.

50 According to historians Catherine Asher and Cynthia Talbot, “This interpretation, which sees the Vijayanagara kingdom as inspired by and imbued with a deep sense of Hindu nationalism, is clearly anachronistic—a case of projecting a present-day situation back into the past” (Asher and Talbot 2006, 64).
and his half-brother and successor, Acyutarāya (r. 1529–1542). These temples functioned not only as vital centers of trade, calendrical festivals, and religious worship within the city, but also served to boast the cultural power of the empire over other neighboring chiefdoms in nearby Tamil and Andhra lands (Stein 1989, 112).

Today, the remains of detailed architecture, inscriptions, sculptures, and iconography make these medieval temple sites a rich historical archive for investigating courtly, religious, and sociopolitical life during the Vijayanagara period. Anna Dallapicolla and Anila Verghese have surveyed much of this visual material in their detailed study, *Sculpture at Vijayanagara: Iconography and Style* (Dallapicolla and Verghese 1998). The authors note that “the capital was, so to speak, an experimental ground for the artists,” where “different artistic traditions were eventually mingled and transformed according to a newly created aesthetic” (Dallapicolla and Verghese 1998, 6). Drawing upon earlier imperial styles, this newly created aesthetic, or Vijayanagara sculptural style, featured numerous types of sculptures carved across the capital’s great temple complexes, including narrative reliefs, divine personages, animals, religious icons, and a multitude of human figures.⁵¹

Vijayanagara sculptural tradition continued to mature towards the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as the attention of sculptors began to focus “on the embellishment of newly built pillared halls” within the great temple complexes (Dallapicolla and Verghese 1998, 8). Artisans (śilpin) began to experiment with techniques for carving figures out of the large granite boulders native to the Hampi region. They created composite pillars “constituted by central shafts and clusters of subsidiary colonettes and piers adorned with three-dimensional” human, animal, and divine figures “emerging,” as it were, out of the standing pillars, “thereby giving the impression of free-standing statues” (Dallapicolla and Verghese 1998, 8). Thousands of these three-dimensional sculpted figures can be found today within the remains of the many halls (maṇḍapa) decorating the major temple complexes at Hampi. The iconographic programs of these maṇḍapas feature a wide range of both idealized and

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⁵¹ According to Dallapicolla and Verghese, the oldest “narrative friezes” are located on the Mahānāvami platform in the “royal centre” of the capital, “depicting life at court, with the king in all his might and splendour” (Dallapicolla and Verghese 1998, 26). There we see descriptive renditions of wrestling and boxing matches, hunting scenes, parading horses, music, dance (Dallapicolla and Verghese 1998, pls. 94–98), and narrative reliefs of the principle festival of Mahānāvami Vijayadaṃśmi, a sumptuous celebration commemorating the victory of the goddess Durgā over the evil demon Mahiṣāsura. This annual celebration became a kṣatriya ritual utilized by Vijayanagara rulers to gather and inspect the military before embarking for battle (Dallapicolla and Verghese 1998, 26–27), and left a lasting impression on foreign visitors such as the Portuguese, Domingo Paes (Sewell 1972 [1900], 262–64).
descriptive elements. While for sculptures of deities and religious icons, Vijayanagara sculptors generally followed the artistic guidelines of prescriptive texts (*śilpaśāstra*), according to Dallapiccola and Verghese, for “the portrayal of human beings, however, they relied more on observation than on prescriptions of the texts” (Dallapiccola and Verghese 1998, 10). This is borne out by the detailed attention given to the figures’ varied styles of dress, jewelry, hairstyles, accoutrements, and in the case of yogic postures, the sculptors’ close attention to specific positions and physical anatomy. The composite temple pillars display granite reliefs of many types of sculpted figures: animals and birds, courtiers, soldiers, foreigners, musicians, female and male dancers, religious virtuosos, and numerous ascetics—including, as Verghese has noted, some “complicated yōgic ones” (Verghese 1995, 111). However, according to Verghese, “since they are represented in a stereotyped manner, it is almost impossible to group them according to sects and sub-sects” (Verghese 1995, 111).

In part three, I will expand on and revise Verghese’s preliminary assessment to reconsider the question of sectarian identity of the ascetics performing complex yogic āsanas at Hampi. I argue that the observational and descriptive orientation of Vijayanagara artisans suggests that these figures performing yogic postures were not simply idealized or generic renderings of semi-divine beings, but rather point to contact with living yoga and ascetic traditions under the empire. As we proceed, I will highlight evidence that suggests the influence of tantric Śaiva and siddha traditions on the iconographic programs at Vijayanagara, and argue that at least some of the ascetics in question are Nātha yogis performing the techniques of Haṭhayoga. Let us now turn to the sculpted reliefs.

### 2.2 Locating Yoga at Vijayanagara: Yogis Etched in Stone

The first set of images is located in the Tiruvēṅgaḷanāṭha temple complex, one of the last major temples built before the fall of the Vijayanagara empire in 1565. Incorrectly referred to today as the Acyutarāya, or Acyutadevarāya temple, the foundational inscription reveals that the temple was installed by the emperor’s brother-in-law, the “Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara” Hiriya Tirumalarāja Voḍeya, on Sunday April 26, 1534. The temple is located in the “sacred centre” of the capital city, south of the Tuṅgabhadrā river, and situated below the iconic Maṇḍaṅga hill (Fig. 3). The complex runs along the north-south axis, with the *garbhagṛha* at its center, housing the Śrīvaśnava deity, Tiruvēṅgaḷaṅaṭha (also known as Venkaṭeśvara)—although today no image of the deity

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52 The inscription in Kannada, located along the left-side wall of the northern outer *gopuram*, is published in SII Vol. IV nos. 268-69; SII Vol. IX, no. 564 and 598; ARSIE 1904 no. 16; and Patil 1995, nos. 256–59.
Figure 3: View of Tiruvēṅgalanātha temple complex from Matanga hill (author’s photograph).

Figure 4: Interior of hundred-pillared mandapa, Tiruvēṅgalanātha temple complex (author’s photograph).
remains. This comprises the largest Vijayanagara temple dedicated to Tiruvēṅgalanātha, one of the most popular forms of Vaiṣṇava worship favored by the Tuḷuva rulers.\textsuperscript{53}

In the far north-west corner of the outer wall (prākāra) of the main temple is a hundred-columned maṇḍapa\textsuperscript{54} featuring some of the most elaborately carved images in all of Hampi. Given its multi-tiered structure and acoustical capacity, it was likely used as a performance hall for religious recitations and ceremonies (Fig. 4).\textsuperscript{55} While Tiruvēṅgalanātha is a Śrīvaiṣṇava temple, the range of visual reliefs carved onto the pillars of this maṇḍapa, like the majority of Vijayanagara temple halls, features a wide range of religious iconography that cuts across sectarian lines. Thus, in a temple devoted to a form of Viṣṇu, it is common to see sculpted reliefs of Śiva, Bhairava, Narasiṃha, Śaiva ascetics, and Vaiṣṇava Āḷvārs, sometimes displayed on a single pillar, such as at Tiruvēṅgalanātha.\textsuperscript{56} According to Dallapicolla and Verghese, the diverse array of ascetic and yogic imagery carved upon these and other temple pillars “served mainly as decorative motifs” (1998: 80). Their scattered placement across the many temple pillars at Hampi suggests a loosely arranged visual program wherein Vijayanagara artisans may have enjoyed freedom for creativity and experimentation,\textsuperscript{57} and there

\textsuperscript{53} During the first half of the sixteenth century, as royal allegiance shifted from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism, the Tiruvēṅgalanātha cult was immensely popular and received generous patronage under Tuḷuva rule. According to Verghese, “the existence of eight temples dedicated to this deity in the city and its suburbs is revealed by epigraphical and sculptural evidence,” and by the rule of Sadāśiva (r. 1542–65), Tiruvēṅgalanātha “had become the most important Vaishnava deity in the empire” (Verghese 1996, 189–90).

\textsuperscript{54} The hundred-pillared maṇḍapa was a common feature of sixteenth-century Vijayanagara temple building. In addition to the one found at Tiruvēṅgalanātha, there are also hundred-pillared maṇḍapas at the Virūpākṣa, Vithala, and Mālyavanta Raṇghunātha temple complexes. For more architectural details of these and other major Vijayanagara temples and structures, see Michell and Wagoner (2001).

\textsuperscript{55} Personal communication with Anila Verghese and Anna Dallapicolla at the Tiruvēṅgalanātha temple complex, Hampi, January, 2016. Vasundhara Filliozat similarly observes the acoustical capacity of this hundred-pillared maṇḍapa: “Good acoustics is another extraordinary quality of these maṇḍapas. If a person sings from the platform, which is at the other end of the maṇḍapa, one can hear the artist even at the entrance” (Filliozat 1985, 309).

\textsuperscript{56} This type of sectarian cross-pollination in sculpted imagery at Hampi is not unique to Vijayanagara, but is common in many regions and imperial temples of southern India.

\textsuperscript{57} The experimental nature of Vijayanagara sculpture traditions in relation to other south Indian dynasties should not be overstated, however, and requires further comparative study of southern dynastic temple sites including Cōla and Hoysaḷa, which is beyond the scope of this study. For an example of Vijayanagara appropriation of earlier Cāḷukya temple styles, see Wagoner (2007).
does not appear to be any particular spatial sequence or measured schema to the orientation of pillar sculptures. While the majority of Hampi ascetics are featured in traditional seated yogic āsanas, it is the unique reliefs of more complex non-seated āsanas that warrant attention herein.

Walking up the eastern steps of the manḍapa, along the first row of pillars second to the north, on the middle panel facing east, is a sculpted figure performing a one-handed balancing posture (Fig. 5). The ascetic’s legs are crossed and lifted in a figure-four formation. The left arm extends downwards and through the aperture of the legs, resting the weight of the body on the left hand. The right arm is extended outwards, the hand fixed in a downward-facing mudrā with the thumb and index-finger touching. The figure has large hooped earrings, and his matted hair (jātā) is fixed in an ornate bun at the top of his head. In between his legs, is the faint protrusion of the ascetic’s cloth dhoti, who otherwise appears naked.

The first pillar of the following row depicts a more challenging one-handed balancing āsana carved on the middle panel, facing east (Fig. 6). With the left leg fastened behind the head, the figure’s left arm extends down, balancing his weight on the left hand. The right leg is bent and lifted, while the right arm hooks underneath the back of the knee. In his right hand, although difficult to make out, the ascetic appears to be holding an akṣamālā (likely rudrākṣa seeds, or possibly bone ornaments) for the practice of mantra recitation (japa). Again he wears a large hooped earring on the right side, another variation of the medieval matted hair bun atop the head, and an armlet or piece of jewelry wrapped around the upper right arm—all key iconographic features encountered throughout many of the yogic sculptures at Hampi. Though the same postures are found repeated at Hampi like a visual trope, sometimes within a single manḍapa (Fig. 7), the specificity of the bodily configurations displayed in this and other sculptures of āsana suggests that they are not simply generic or idealized yogic postures, but rather particular ones.

It is worth pausing here to note that these postures do not look particularly sthirasukha, or suitable for prolonged meditation à la Patañjali. Thus, they seem to suggest ulterior

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58 Personal communication with Anna Dallapicolla, January, 2016.

59 Many Hampi sculptures are fractured, decayed, or difficult to decipher. Dallapicolla and Verghese lament, “It is unfortunate that the granite of the sculptures is no longer covered with the original plaster work and, therefore, the fine and sensitive modeling cannot now be appreciated” (Dallapicolla and Verghese 1998, 7).

60 A necklace of bone ornaments is one of the standard accoutrements of the antinomian Śaiva ascetic order, the Kāpālikā “skull-bearers,” about which I shall say more below (see Törzsök 2012).
Figure 5: Ascetic in one-handed balancing posture with right hand in mudrā. Hundred-pillared mandapa, Tiruvēṅgalanāṭha temple (author’s photograph).

Figure 6: Ascetic in one-handed balancing posture while holding an akṣamāḷā. Hundred-pillared mandapa, Tiruvēṅgalanāṭha temple (author’s photograph).
Figure 7: Ascetic in one-handed balancing posture while holding an aḵsanālā. Hundred-pillared maṇḍapa, Tiruvēṅgalāṅtha temple (author’s photograph).
sensibilities: bodily purification and the manipulation of vital-energies common to Haṭhayoga, or perhaps the ascetic cultivation of tapas. The oft-blurred division between ascetic tapas and yogic praxis is an ancient one, and indeed, with no accompanying textual evidence upon which to draw, it is difficult to apply any hard categorical distinctions between tapas and yoga praxis to the visual material at Hampi. As Mallinson (2011a) has demonstrated, there is clear evidence in the textual record of reuse and adaptation in Haṭhayoga traditions borrowing from the earlier methods of tapas, and here I suggest that this ascetico-yogic recycling is also displayed visually in the Vijayanagara sculptural record.

Further, while they may have simply served as visual embellishments for the Vijayanagara sculptors, depictions of yogis with the mudrā or akṣamālā in-hand might also reflect a difference in practice than what can be gleaned simply from the texts. Nowhere, to my knowledge, in a medieval text of Haṭhayoga, does an author prescribe non-seated āsana to be practiced simultaneously with hand mudrās, or while engaging in japa—which is, of course, not to say that yogis did not perform them. Mantrayoga, although featured alongside Haṭhayoga as one of the four standard yogas in medieval yoga texts, is often conspicuously absent from the Haṭha synthesis. In its place is often the ajapā mantra, the “unpronounced” mantra of the exhalation and inhalation of

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61 For example, on the relationship between tapas and yoga in the Mahābhārata, see Hopkins (1901). The Pāṭalijñālayogaśāstra understands tapas as one of three components of the yoga of action (kriyāyoga), as well as one of five preliminary observances (niyama) of the eight-limbed yoga (aṣṭāṅgayoga). Later Ḣaṭhayoga treatises complicate matters further (Birch 2011). The Haṭhapradīpikā 1.61, quoting the “sayings of Gorakṣa” (gorakṣavacanam), warns against yoga practices that are injurious to the body (kāyaklesavidhi). Birch has identified that Brahmānanda, in his Jyotsnā, understands kāyaklesavidhi to include excessive sun salutations (bahusūryanamaskāra), excessive weight lifting (bahubhūrodvahana), and other forms (ādirūpām) (Birch forthcoming 2018a).

62 Mallinson has argued that the earlier tapas practices of ascetics paved the way for many of the āsanas and mudrās of medieval Haṭhayoga, as evidenced in the reuse and adaptation of such techniques in later yoga texts (Mallinson 2011a). A salient example of this ascetico-yogic recycling is in the eighteenth-century Jogapradīpyakā, which although the text does not call its yoga Haṭhayoga, includes many haṭha techniques within the framework of aṣṭāṅgayoga. Among its eighty-four āsanas, the Jogapradīpyakā describes the inversion, tapakāra āsana (“the ascetic’s posture”), which appears to be a reformulation of the ancient “bat penance” (Pali: vaṇgulivata) austerity, in which the practitioner hangs by the legs upside down from a tree. See, for example, the cover image of Mallinson and Singleton’s Roots of Yoga (2017); and Bühnemann (2007, 50).

63 Mantrayoga, Layayoga, Haṭhayoga, and Rājayoga are the standard tetrad of medieval yogas, first grouped together as such in the Dattātreyyaśāstra and Amaraughaprabodha. I thank Jason Birch for this observation.

64 Mantrayoga is recommended for the least capable student in both the Dattātreyyaśāstra and Amaraughaprabodha.
breath, \textit{HAM SAH} (alternatively \textit{SO’ HAM}) which would thus require no \textit{akṣamālā} or material instrument.\textsuperscript{65} Though in visual art the \textit{akṣamālā} is one of the characteristic insignia of premodern Indian ascetics, accompanying such a complex pretzel-shaped \textit{āsana} would mark a challenging feat for the yogi to perform, while balancing on one hand.\textsuperscript{66}

Underneath Figure 6, on the south-facing lower panel of the same pillar, is a bearded ascetic standing on one leg, balancing on the toes of his extended left foot, hands pressed together in \textit{aṅjaliśūrdhrā} (Fig. 8). His long flowing dreadlocks (\textit{jatā}), cleverly depicted by the artisan, extend outwards like the branches of a tree. His other features are stark: the prominent mustache and beard, large nose and arched eyebrows, large pendant earrings, the loin cloth fixed around his waist, and a jeweled plate or neck ornament\textsuperscript{67} draped around his chest. His fixed standing posture is suggestive of the ancient \textit{tapas} practice of standing-on-one-leg (\textit{ekapādasthita}) (Fig. 2). However, by at least the eighteenth century, yoga tradition would come to know this type of standing posture as a distinct \textit{āsana}, namely \textit{vṛkṣāsana}, the “tree posture.” As the \textit{Gheraṇḍasamhitā} states:

\begin{quote}
And having placed the right foot on the area at the base of the left thigh, then [the yogin] stands on the ground like a tree. This they know as the Tree Posture (\textit{vṛkṣāsana}).\textsuperscript{68}
\end{quote}

The figure in the Hampi sculpture goes one further in his \textit{tapas}, balancing on the tip of the toes, increasing the difficulty of this standing posture. The tree-like rendering of

\textsuperscript{65} On the a\textit{japā} mantra, see e.g. \textit{Gorakṣāataka} 42–44 (Nowotny ed.) and \textit{Śivayogapradipikā} 2.28. While the \textit{Śivayogapradipikā} describes the Mantryogin as one who performs the one-, two-, six-, or eight-syllabled mantras (1.5), the author later equates Mantryoga with \textit{Ajapāyoga} (2.26a), and proceeds to provide a description of its technique (2.28–34). Thus, while the \textit{Śivayogapradipikā} acknowledges that some yogis practice various mantras, it advises for the higher course of \textit{Śivayoga} only the repetition of the “unpronounced” a\textit{japā} mantra.

\textsuperscript{66} It is possible that an \textit{akṣamālā} (along with a mantra) might have been used to count the length of time that the practitioner would hold an \textit{āsana}, although we are not aware of any textual evidence supporting this. I thank Jason Birch for this suggestion.

\textsuperscript{67} The jeweled neck ornament may indeed be the \textit{rucaka}, one of the six insignia (\textit{muḍrikāśaṭka}) of the Kāpālika ascetics. The other five Kāpālika insignia are the necklace (\textit{kauṭhikā}), earring (\textit{kunḍala}), the crest-jewel (\textit{sikhāmaṇī}), ashes (\textit{bhasma}), and sacred thread (\textit{yajñopavītam}), see Lorenzen (1972, 2: quoting Rāmānuja’s \textit{Śrībhāṣya} 2.35).

\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Gheraṇḍasamhitā} 2.36 (\textit{vānorumālaśe ca yāmyaṃ pādaṃ nidhāya tu | tiṣṭhati vṛkṣavat bhūmau vṛkṣāsanam idaṃ viduḥ ||}).
the ascetic’s hair combined with the posture of standing “on the ground like a tree” make one wonder how much earlier the name vṛksāsana may have been in parlance, and raise the question of influence between text, image, and oral practice traditions. Indeed, it is possible that the vṛksāsana of the Gheraṇḍasamhitā was influenced by this much older method of tapas.

The yogic tree imagery is also not unique to Hampi. This, and several other figures, demonstrate strong parallels with contemporaneous sculpted reliefs of ascetics along the wall (prākāra) of the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam.

Perched upon the Nallamala hills, above the banks of the Kṛṣṇā river in modern-day Andhra Pradesh, about 175 miles (385km) north-east of Hampi, Śrīśailam is an important temple site that has been long-renowned as a great center and pilgrimage destination for Hindu and Buddhist siddhas and yogis. Numerous sculpted reliefs bearing their narratives and iconography (Shaw 1997; Linrothe 2006). During the Vijayanagara period, Śrīśailam was one of the most important Śaiva pilgrimage centers of the region, and was visited and patronized by Vijayanagara kings, including the great Kṛṣṇadevārāya (Shaw 2011, 237). Richard Shaw has highlighted important iconographic associations and shared features of ascetic imagery across Hampi and Śrīśailam, as well as at the Smārta Brahmin advaita mathas in Śrīneri, Karnataka, often linked to the early rulers of the Vijayanagara empire. His comparative work yields the presence of a shared “siddha iconography”—ascetics adorned with large hooped earrings, long matted, sometimes flaming hair, waistbands, necklaces, armlets, hands in mudrās, and other yogic accessories and props such as the “yoga staff” (yogadāṇḍa) and “yoga

Figure 8: Ascetic with jaṭā tree-like hair performing tapas. Hundred-pillared mandapa, Tiruvēṅgalanāṭha temple (author’s photograph).
strap” (yogapattā)—found across all three of these important Vijayanagara temple sites (Shaw 2011, 242). One particularly rich site for this type of imagery is the prākāra wall surrounding the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam, which, like the many temples at Hampi, features a dazzling array of ascetic and siddha figures, some in yogic postures. Based on shared architectural and iconographic themes, it is highly likely that the sculpted reliefs of ascetics at Śrīśailam and Hampi were fashioned during a close period of production, and possible that its artisans would have been aware of each other, if not from a shared occupational network.69

Along the north side of the Mallikārjuna prākāra, one encounters a seated ascetic figure with long matted hair (Fig. 9), whose features (despite the absence of the neck ornament) are so similar to the one at Hampi (Fig. 8) that one wonders whether the artisans were depicting a unique personality or ascetic figure. Indeed, many of the Śrīśailam reliefs depict narrative cycles of legendary siddhas, including widely known stories of prominent Nātha yogis like Matsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha, and Caurāṅgī (Linrothe 2006a, 128–32). Could this dreadlocked ascetic also be a celebrated siddha or

69 An inscription in the Mallikārjuna temple states that it was renovated in 1510-11 at the hands of the “master mason,” Kondoju (Shaw 1997, 162; Linrothe 2006a, 127). However, according to Shaw, “[i]t seems likely that the carvings of the thousands of panels on the prakara was [sic] not carried out at a single period but, perhaps, over several creative periods during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries” (Shaw 2011, 239).
yogi, well-known to Vijayanagara artists? Or perhaps, a more general siddha visual trope? Linrothe offers the following observations:

The sheer variety of siddha images on the prakāra walls tempts one to believe the artists knew them firsthand. The conviction with which poses, gestures, hair styles and behaviors are rendered would seem to suggest familiarity with the many siddha types that we may assume were present at the time, just as they continue to congregate there today [...] familiarity with actual models on the part of the artists at Śṛiśailam, which textual evidence also encourages us to assume, is not a far-fetched notion (Linrothe 2006a, 128).

Although the historicity of many siddha figures is often beyond reach, in medieval India, they were undoubtedly celebrated as real people, often as teachers (Linrothe 2006b, 82). It is likely that artisans drew upon larger regional and even transregional siddha visual tropes, and then adapted those conventions in local ways, perhaps based on first-hand contact with siddha and yoga traditions. So too, at Hampi, the variety, attention to bodily position, and specificity of the yogic āsanas—especially when paralleled with the textual evidence—suggest the familiarity of the sculptors with yogis present in or around the capital city.

Returning to Hampi, moving into the

Figure 10: Ascetic in two-handed balancing posture. West colonnade along the interior of the prakāra. Tiruvēṅgalanātha temple (author’s photograph).

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20 It is possible that the standing ascetic in Figure 9 is a depiction of Arjuna performing tapas, as narrated in a well-known episode from the Mahābhārata. Indeed, other sculpted reliefs from south Indian temples depict Arjuna’s tapas in a very similar manner of standing on one leg (e.g., at Cidambaram and other temples in Tamil Nadu). However, such sculptures always feature the iconic boar below or surrounding Arjuna, who, as the story goes, interrupted Arjuna’s tapas. The boar is notably absent from the Hampi figure which thus raises doubts as to whether this is Arjuna. I am grateful to Jason Birch for bringing this possibility to my attention.

21 I thank Rob Linrothe for this suggestion. Personal communication, February 11, 2017.
west colonnade along the interior of the *prākāra* walls at Tiruvēṅgalanātha, along the second column from the western wall, second pillar from the north, we find a different non-seated balancing posture, sculpted on the middle panel, facing east (Fig. 10). The yogi figure extends the arms down, resting the weight on both hands, while the legs and feet encircle behind, resting upon the shoulders. This posture is quite similar to what is today known as *dvipādaśīrṣāsana* in the intermediate series of Pattabhi Jois’ Ashtanga Vinyasa yoga system. In the seventeenth-century *Haṭharatnāvali*, composed in nearby Andhra, a similar posture is called *phaṇīndrāsana* (“lord of snakes posture”). The author Śrīnivāsa describes it:

> One should encircle the neck with the two feet, face turned upwards, supported by the hands. May the “Lord of Snakes Posture” (*phaṇīndra*), which destroys all disease, always bestow happiness upon you.

Continuing the tour of Tiruvēṅgalanātha, in an open *maṇḍapa* on the outer northern side of the main temple shrine, third row from the west, second pillar from the north, on the bottom panel, facing east, we see another more difficult variation of the same posture (Fig. 11). Here only, the figure is balancing entirely on the left hand, while the right arm extends upward, palm facing the sky. A simple loin cloth covers his groin, while a pointed cap crowns the top of his head. While at first glance, this may appear to be yet another of the many interesting hair styles adorning sculpted ascetics at Hampi, a closer examination reveals that it is a hat; and moreover, possibly an indicator of the sectarian affiliation of this particular yogi. Mughal and later Jodhpur paintings often depict Nātha yogis wearing pointed black caps (Fig. 12) similar in shape

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72 In Jois’ Ashtanga Vinyasa, pressing down and balancing on both hands is the dynamic *vinyāsa* movement, rather than a static āsana, used to transition from *dvipādaśīrṣāsana* to the next posture in the sequence, *yogānīndrāsana*. See: [https://www.ashtangayoga.info/practice/intermediate-series-nadi-shodhana/item/way-out-303/](https://www.ashtangayoga.info/practice/intermediate-series-nadi-shodhana/item/way-out-303/). Accessed on: December 29, 2016. I am grateful to Naomi Worth for clarifying this for me.

73 It is important to note that I am not making a genealogical argument here that contemporary yogis were practicing some sort of medieval Vijayanagara yoga, nor am I arguing that the ascetic depicted at Tiruvēṅgalanātha was practicing *dvipādaśīrṣāsana* per se. My point, rather, in referencing Jois’ Ashtanga Vinyasa system is to show that some of the sculpted images at Hampi appear to at least anticipate some of the physical forms common to expressions of modern postural yoga.

74 Haṭharatnāvali 3.65 (atha *phaṇīndrāsanam* | pādābhāyam veṣayat kauṭhān karyay samsthitomukham | *phaṇīndra* sarvadesaṁghnam vo bhūyāt sukhaṁ sadā ||). For other examples of similarly shaped āsanas in later yoga texts, see *brahmāsana* in Siddhāntamuktāvalī 2.120; *jogapradipāyakā* 344-45; *hastāsana* in the Jaina Yogāsanam 93.

75 On the detailed variety of hairstyles as reflected in Vijayanagara sculpture and painting, see Kumari (1995, 37–44).
Figure 11: Nātha yogi with pointed cap in one-handed balancing posture. North side of main temple shrine. Tiruvēṅgalanātha temple (author’s photograph).

Figure 12: The Transmission of Teachings, folios 3-4 from the Nāṭhcarit. Painting by Bulākī, Jodhpur, Rajasthan, 1823 (Saṃvat 1880). Opaque watercolor, gold, and tin alloy on paper, 47×123cm. Merhangarh Museum Trust.
and style to the one sculpted at the Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha temple.

Nearby, in the south-western corner of the maṇḍapa, we find a pillar featuring a unique pair of balancing postures displayed side-by-side on the upper panels (Fig. 13). The image on the right (facing north) depicts a yogi performing a difficult posture from the front; while the image on the left (facing east), displays another posture from the unusual posterior view. Although difficult to confirm, given their proximity on the pillar and their similarity postural type, it is possible the artisans were depicting the same yogi performing two distinct postures, with the sense of movement from one posture to another. The image on the right (Fig. 14) is a familiar Hampi posture: the right leg is bent in front of the body, with the right arm tucked underneath the right knee. The left leg is wrapped behind the head. The yogi balances on his left hand, while holding an akṣamālā in his right hand. The image on the left (Fig. 15), however, is quite different. Displayed from behind, the yogi’s left leg is bent horizontally, resting the left foot on the inner right thigh. His right leg extends upwards, wrapping around the back of the neck. The yogi leans over his left leg, pressing down and balancing his weight on both hands. This posture is strikingly similar to the modern yogic āsana, viraṅcyāsana (“the posture of the [sage] Viraṅci”). A black and white photograph (Fig. 16) depicts a young T.R.S. Sharma, a student of the influential twentieth-century yoga revivalist Tirumalai Kṛṣṇamācārya, performing viraṅcyāsana in front of the Mysore Palace in 1941.76 We know of no premodern yoga text that describes a posture named viraṅcyāsana, or of a balancing āsana described in this fashion—making the visual depiction at Hampi particularly noteworthy.77

Hampi ascetics in non-seated yoga postures are depicted not only at the Tiruvēṅgaḷanātha temple, however, but also at several other major temple complexes within the capital. Two inverted postures are of particular interest. The first is found in the free-standing kalyāṇamanaṇḍapa in the north-eastern corner of the Viṭṭhala temple complex.78 Here, on the upper panel of a pillar in the far north-eastern corner of the maṇḍapa is a depiction of a yogi balancing upside down, with the soles of the feet pressed together (Fig. 17). He presses his weight off the left hand, while resting his chin

76 This photograph is also published in Singleton (2010, 187).

77 For a seated variation of viraṅcyāsana, see Iyengar (1994 [1966], pls. 386–89).

78 Michell and Wagoner note that this particular “structure is without any historical records,” though construction of the Viṭṭhala temple may have begun in 1505 by the first powerful Tuluva king, Vira Narasimha. Additional structures within the Viṭṭhala complex bear inscriptions dating from 1513–1545. The kalyāṇamanaṇḍapa likely falls somewhere during this period of the first half of the sixteenth century. For this, and more details of the Viṭṭhala temple’s architecture, see Michell and Wagoner (2001, Vol. 1: 217–29).
Figure 13: Ascetic(s) in balancing postures. South-west corner of main temple maṇḍapa. Tiruvēṅgalanātha temple complex (author’s photograph).

Figure 14: Ascetic in one-handed balancing posture with aṅgūlī in right hand. South-west corner of main temple maṇḍapa. Tiruvēṅgalanātha temple complex (author’s photograph).

Figure 15: Posterior view of ascetic in two-handed balancing posture, with right leg behind the head. South-west corner of main temple maṇḍapa. Tiruvēṅgalanātha temple complex (author’s photograph).
for support on a yogadāṇḍa ("yoga staff") held tightly in his right. The yogi’s jātā hairstyle is adorned like a flaming headdress, and he wears an armlet fixed around his right bicep.

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79 The yogadāṇḍa is one of the insignia found amongst medieval Nātha yogis in the textual and visual record; however, as it is common to other ascetic orders, it alone cannot be considered a sectarian marker as such (Mallinson forthcoming b).
The second inversion is located in an outer manḍapa of the so-called “underground” Virūpākṣa or Prasanna temple in the “royal centre” of the city. Figure 18 depicts a wild looking, long-haired yogi balancing upside down in what appears to be a type of reversed padmāsana—a strong backbend in which the legs are crossed behind and resting on the buttocks. The lines of his loin cloth are visible, indicating his ascetic stature. His hands and chin balances on a yogadaṇḍa, that rests on some sort of mound—possibly the fires of a pañcāgni-like tapas practice, or more likely, the skeletal remains or pyres of a cremation ground (śmaśāna) utilized in tantric sādhanā. The use of yogic props like the yogadaṇḍa as depicted in these sculptures also appears unique when read against the textual record. To my knowledge, no premodern yoga text prescribes yogadaṇḍas to aid the practice of non-seated āsanas. Yet, when read across Vijayanagara temple sites, it is not particularly surprising. Numerous images of yogis and ascetics are found to be utilizing yogadaṇḍas across the pillared-carvings of temples at Hampi, Śrīśailam, and Śrīneri—although they are typically supporting seated postures, rather than inverted ones (Figs. 27–28).

Four more non-seated āsanas are found at the iconic Virūpākṣa temple, the history of which long predates Vijayanagara rule. However, important architectural renovations were commissioned during the reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509–1529). In the south-east corner of the complex, within the south colonnade, on the second row of columns, third from the wall, on the middle south-facing panel is another type of advanced two-handed balancing posture (Fig. 19). The yogi presses his hands onto a raised platform. The left leg wraps around the extended left arm and tucks under the right, while the right leg tucks back, pressing into the back of the head. Again we see the large hooped

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80 According to Fritz and Michell, the site, which features a “15th-century gopura,” was once partly buried “underground” but has been fully exposed through excavation. “The core sanctuary is now empty,” but an inscription reveals “that the temple was originally consecrated to Virupaksha. Considering its proximity to many of the residential structures of the royal centre, the ‘underground’ temple may have been used by members of the king’s household” (Fritz and Michell 2003, 75).

81 For a contemporary example of an ascetic practicing a yogic inversion encircled by fires, see Mallinson (2011a, 779: Fig. 3).

82 However, that is not to say that the texts prohibit the use of daṇḍas. Omission does not always equal absence. Yogaśāstras often omit details that may have been provided by a guru, and that may have varied from one tradition to another, such as sequences, breath count, time in posture, etc. I am grateful to Jason Birch for suggesting this.

83 The dated inscription found on the mahāraṇyamanḍapa, for example, is notable for its edict honoring the coronation of Kṛṣṇadevarāya in 1510; published in AKE 1889, no. 29; EI 1 (361–71); SIJ IV, no. 258; and Patil 1995, no. 104 (Michell and Wagoner 2001, Vol. 1: 115). For further details of the Virūpākṣa temple’s architecture, see Michell and Wagoner (2001, Vol. 1: 111–38).
earrings and flame-like matted hair. Just down the hall, on the western end of the south colonnade, third row, first pillar from the wall, on the east-facing upper panel, we see the same balancing posture, only this time the yogi is flanked by an ascetic devotee.

Figure 17: (Above) Inverted ascetic with yogadanda. Kalyāṇamaṇḍapa, north-east corner of the Viṭṭhala temple complex (author’s photograph).

Figure 18: (Above right) Inverted ascetic in reverse-padmāsana resting on a yogadanda. Outer maṇḍapa of Prasanna temple complex (author’s photograph).

Figure 19: (Right) Ascetic in two-handed balancing posture. South-east corner, south colonnade, Virūpākṣa temple complex (author’s photograph).

Alternatively, this figure could be a donor (dānapati) dressed in ascetic’s garb.
Figure 20: Ascetic in two-handed balancing posture flanked by kneeling devotee. South-east corner, west end of south colonnade, Virūpākṣa temple complex (author’s photograph).

Figure 21: Ascetic in variation of kakkuṭāsana. Hundred-pillared mandapa, Virūpākṣa temple complex (author’s photograph).
kneeling in an act of homage (namaskāra) to the balancing yogi (Fig. 20). This devotional guru-śīya (“teacher-student”) scene is evocative of the lineage-based, and perhaps didactic modes of physical yogic praxis.

Located in the south-western corner of the Virūpākṣa enclosure is another hundred-pillared maṇḍapa, attributed to Kṛṣṇadevarāya (Fritz and Michell 2003, 61). Here, are two more non-seated āsanas of particular significance. As one walks up the steps to enter the maṇḍapa, on the first row of the northern side, along the second pillar, on the upper panel facing-south, is a yogi depicted in what appears to be a variation of kūkkuṭāsana (“cock posture”). His arms are pressed down through the legs, the soles of the feet touching (Fig. 21). Again, we see the flame-like jaṭā hairstyle. This sculpture and the one at Śrīśailam (Linrothe 2006, 139) are perhaps two of the earliest known visual depictions of kūkkuṭāsana.

Within the same maṇḍapa, towards the south-east corner, fourth row in from the southern wall, third pillar from the east, we find another non-seated āsana sculpted on the middle panel, facing east (Fig. 22). Here we find what is commonly known in

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85 Most textual descriptions of kūkkuṭāsana describe the legs lifted in padmāsana and not with the soles of the feet together. However, the seventeenth-century Haṭharatnāvalī, though it teaches but one version wherein the yogi adopts padmāsana (3.73), mentions that there are five variations of kūkkuṭāsana (3.17). Perhaps Figure 21 is depicting one of these variations. I thank Jason Birch for bringing this to my attention.
modern postural yoga as ārdhvadhanurāsana (“upward bow posture”) or cakrāsana (“wheel posture”), depending on the school. The earliest textual reference to a posture such as this may be in the eighteenth-century Haṭhābhīṣapaddhati (16), which describes a posture called paryāṅkāsana (“sofa posture”) as follows:

Lying down, having supported [himself] with the palms of the hands on the ground, [and] having firmed the ground with the soles of the feet, [the yogin] should raise the navel-region upwards—this is the Sofa Posture.87

While classical descriptions of a “sofa” posture (i.e. paryāṅka) suggest a seated posture for meditation, in which the yogi sits down as if on a sofa, here the Haṭhābhīṣapaddhati appears to describe a posture in which the yogi’s own body presses up off the ground to become the shape of a sofa. Unlike the modern ārdhvadhanurāsana in which the shoulders, knees, feet and hands are all held in one parallel line (see Iyengar 1994 [1966], pls. 479–82), in Figure 22 the posture is shown with the yogi’s hips and torso twisted toward the side (frontal view), the knees and feet pointing outwards to his left.

While this posture might appear at first-glance similar to other sculptural depictions of dance, acrobatics, or other physical traditions of premodern India (see, e.g., Dallapicolla and Verghese 1998, pl. 102), the familiar siddha accoutrements of the figure’s garb clearly indicate that this is indeed an ascetic or yogi: the loin cloth, right-arm band, flaming jatā hairstyle, and necklace. As we shall see, a closer inspection of the necklace in particular reveals important sectarian information that allows us to confidently identify this figure as a Nātha yogi. This data will also permit us to reflect more broadly on the religious identity and milieu of the sculpted figures at Hampi.

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86 The earliest textual reference and visual depiction of ārdhvadhanurāsana I am aware of is from a circa nineteenth-century illustrated Jaina manuscript entitled Yogasana (34).

87 Haṭhābhīṣapaddhati 16 (f. 5v) (uttānasasyaṁ hastatalābhhyāṁ bhūmim aṇaṭabhhyaṁ pādatālābhhyāṁ bhūmim dhṛtvā nābhīpṛadesāṁ ārdhvam kuryāt paryāṅkāsanāṁ bhavati). This posture is also depicted in the mid nineteenth-century Śrītatvanidhi (5). Another similar āsana is the ākāṣatānāsana (“extending through space posture”) as taught in the Śiddhāntamuktāvati (2.127-28), a later six-chapter recension of the Haṭhapradipikā from Jodhpur (18th century). Thanks to Jason Birch for bringing this to my attention.

88 For example, Pāṭaṅjalayogaśāstra 2.46 and its commentaries. See above, n. 19.
Part 3

3.1 The Presence of Nātha Yogis at Vijayanagara

While much ink has been spilt by scholars concerning the Nāthas, or Kānphaṭās (lit. “split-eared”),89 in the north-western, northern, and eastern parts of South Asia (Dasgupta 1976; Lorenzen and Muñoz 2012), the textual, epigraphical, and sculptural records reveal that the Nāthas had a strong presence in South India in the periods prior to, during, and post-Vijayanagara, particularly in the larger Deccan and Andhra regions (Saletore 1937). Mallinson has argued that the Nāthas likely originated in the Deccan, where the “majority of early textual and epigraphic references to Matsyendra and Gorakṣa” are found (Mallinson 2011b).

A closer inspection of the ārdhvadhanurāśana-like figure in the Virūpākṣa temple (Fig. 23) reveals that the yogi in question wears a necklace adorned with an animal horn—90—the key insignia of the Nātha yogis, known as the nād or sīṅgī (Hindi).91 Other coeval visual evidence confirms the Nātha wearing sīṅgīs, particularly in Mughal paintings. For example, in a late sixteenth-century illustrated manuscript of the Bāburnāma, an encampment of Nāthas features yogis sporting the sīṅgī around their necks (Fig. 24). More local to Vijayanagara, in the early 1520s, the Portuguese traveler and visitor to the

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89 They are “split-eared” on account of the large thick hooped earrings modern adherents wear through the cartilage of their ears, which are split open by the guru upon initiation. However, as Mallinson has observed, the piercing of the cartilage rather than the lobe of the ear appears to be a later development, and does not appear visually on Nāthas until Mughal paintings in the second half of the eighteenth century (Mallinson 2013b). Indeed, the sculpted reliefs of Nāthas at Hampi feature large earrings pierced through the lobes only. Although Figure 29 reveals Matsyendranātha with large split or plugged earrings, they are clearly pierced through the lobe, and not the cartilage as we find amongst Nātha initiates today. Thus, the characterization is a bit misleading, when Verghese states that Matsyendranātha is “occasionally shown with the slit ear-lobes and large earrings typical of the kānphaṭās” (Verghese 1995, 113).

90 According to Briggs, the sīṅgī is often made from the horn of a deer or rhinoceros. He relates the Nātha use of the horn to a legend involving king Bharṭṛhari, a key disciple of Gorakṣanātha. “Once his seventy queens urged him to go hunting. While he was away he ran across a herd of seventy hinds and one stag; but was unable to overtake the stag. Finally, a hind asked the stag to allow himself to be shot, and he agreed, on certain conditions, one of which was that his horn should be used for the Yogi’s whistle.” For this, and descriptions of the modern use of such a horn in Nātha daily praxis, see Briggs (1989 [1938], 11-12).

91 According to Mallinson (forthcoming b), “The earliest textual reference to the wearing of the sīṅgī or horn by yogis is in a description by Ibn Batuta recorded in 1361.”
capital city, Domingos Paes, reported jogis blowing horns in a local temple. Indeed, many other sculpted figures at Hampi feature ascetics wearing what appears to be a Nātha singī draped around the neck (e.g., Fig. 25). Numerous sculptures scattered across the temple pillars also appear to display other Nātha insignia. In addition to the singī and the pointed hat (Figs. 11-12), many ascetics are shown wearing a distinctive coat (kanthā, gudari) (Fig. 26) often made of patchwork, also common to depictions of Nāthas in Mughal-era paintings (see bottom right quadrant of Fig. 24).

Epigraphical evidence as early as the late-thirteenth century confirms the presence of Nāthas in the Karnataka region predating Vijayanagara rule, particularly at Kadri maṭha on the Malabar coast, perhaps “the oldest Nāth monastery still in use” (Mallinson 2011b, 413). “In 1505/1506 the Italian traveller Ludovico di Varthema reported how the ‘King of the Joghe,’ [i.e. jogi, yogi] enjoying the protection of the Vijayanagar Empire, did indeed live like a powerful king” when he ruled over “about thirty thousand people” (Mallinson 2011b: quoting Badger 1863, 111–12). Today, the head of the maṭha is still known as the “King of the Yogis,” or rājā yogi in Hindi (Mallinson 2011b, 413), and an annual pilgrimage to Kadri monastery of itinerant Nātha yogis is still performed in

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92 See the narrative account of the Portuguese traveler, Domingos Paes (written c. 1520-22), in Sewell (1970 [1900], 255).

93 Mallinson notes that “Nātha yogis may have adopted the wearing of cloaks from Sufi practice.” On this and more detailed accounts of Nātha insignia from textual and visual sources, see Mallinson (forthcoming b).

94 See Saletore (1937) for an overview of these inscriptions, and Mallinson (2011b) for a critical assessment of this material evidence.
**Figure 25:** Seated Nātha yogi with sīŋī. Hundred-pillared māṇḍapa, Tiruvēṅgalanātha temple complex (author’s photograph).

**Figure 26:** Nātha with cloak. Hundred-pillared māṇḍapa, Virūpākṣa temple complex (author’s photograph).
Karnataka (Bouillier 2009).

By the middle of the second millennium, there is literary and visual evidence to suggest that a Nātha order was taking shape in South India. The fifteenth-century Telugu *Navanāthacaritramu* (“Deeds of the Nine Nāthas”) by Gauranā, a Vīraśaiva scholar based at Śrīśailam in Andhra, is the first text to provide a list of nine Nāthas, including important hagiographies of seminal Nātha figures like Matysendranātha and Gorakṣanātha, and regionalized tales of their yogic feats and attainments (Reddy 2016). By the early sixteenth century, at Hampi, we begin to see the development of a unique south-Indian *navanātha* iconographic program, sculpted visually across the Vijayanagara temple pillars: distinct ascetic figures seated on animal vehicles (*vāhana*).

In the hundred-pillared *maṇḍapa* at Tiruvēṅgālanātha, for example, a Śaiva ascetic is seated atop a large scorpion blowing a long horn (Fig. 30), and another on a tortoise. At the Virūpākṣa temple, an ascetic rides atop a strange “cross between a boar and a mouse” (Dallapicolla and Verghese 1998, 80). Most prominent, however, are more than one hundred images of Matysendranātha seated upon his iconic fish *vāhana*, found within the *maṇḍapas* of almost every major temple complex at Hampi (Figs. 27–29). Several of these images also include the Nātha *ṣīngi* draped around his neck (Fig. 27).

While these ascetics sculpted on animals are not grouped collectively in any particular fashion, and are scattered individually across the many temples at Hampi, by the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a more fully-fledged and consolidated *navanātha* iconographic program can be detected in the surrounding region. Verghese has drawn attention to a visual panel of Nāthas at the Someśvara temple at Ulsoor, a suburb of modern Bangalore (Verghese 2000). Here, in this post-Vijayanagara, Nayaka representation, are nine Nāthas sitting prominently on their animal *vāhanas*. In addition to the fish, scorpion, boar, and tortoise witnessed at Hampi, at Someśvara, Nāthas are also found seated on a bear, antelope, *makara* (sea creature), snake, and lion (Fig. 31). A very similar *navanātha* visual program is found nearby at the Jalakatesvara temple.

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95 On the myth cycles relating Matsyendranātha and fish, see Briggs (1989 [1938], 231-32); Dasgupta (1976, 382-84); White (1996, 222-229).

96 The abundance and popularity of the Matsyendranātha fish imagery at Hampi temples is second-to-none, rivaled perhaps only by images of Narasimha and Vaishnava Alvars.

97 A *navanātha* visual program can also be detected at Śrīgeri, potentially earlier than the post-Vijayanagara carvings. I wish to thank James Mallinson for informing me of this. Personal communication, February 23, 2017.
Figure 27: (Top) Matsyendranātha seated on large fish vāhana with siṅgī and staff. Outer manḍapa of Prasanna temple complex (author’s photograph).

Figure 28: (Top) Matsyendranātha in seated twist, furnished with yogapāṭṭa and staff. Mahāraṅga manḍapa of the Virūpākṣa temple (author’s photograph).

Figure 29: (Bottom) Matsyendranātha with large split-earrings (author’s photograph).

Figure 30: (Bottom) Nātha seated on large scorpion vāhana with Śaiva triśūla and horn. Hundred-pillared manḍapa, Tiruvēṅgalānātha temple complex (author’s photograph).
Figure 31: Nine Naṭhas (navanātha) seated on animal vāhanas. Someshvara temple at Ulsoor, Bangalore (author's photograph).
temples, which I also visited. While a more detailed analysis of the navanātha iconographic program and its relation to the development of a synthesized Nātha order awaits further study, all of this speaks to the growing influence and presence of Nātha traditions during and post-Vijayanagara rule in the larger Deccan and Andhra regions of South India.

Returning again to Hampi, we find another Matsyendranātha image inside the mahārāṅgamaṇḍapa of the Virūpākṣa temple (Fig. 28) displaying many stylized elements of the siddha iconography recognizable across Hampi and Śrīśailam: flaming-jatā hair, large hooped earrings, armlets, anklets, waistband, and other jeweled ornamentation. His right hand extends downwards fixed in a mudrā, while his left arm rests on a yogadaṇḍa, palm open in a gesture of offering. Seated upon his fish mount, his right leg crosses over the left, bound with a “yoga strap” (yogapattā) fastened around his knee and waist. This seated twist is reminiscent of a medieval yogic āsana attributed to the siddha himself—and again, one is left to speculate the direction of influence between stone image, practice, and text. The Haṭhapradīpikā describes the posture as follows:

Having grasped the right foot, which is placed at the base of the left thigh, [with the left hand,] and the left foot which has covered the outside of the [right] knee, [with the right hand,] [the yogin] whose body is twisted thus, should remain. This is the āsana taught by Śrīmatsyaṇḍanātha.

Although the bodily configuration prescribed in the text differs from the visual depiction of Figure 28 at Hampi, it is plausible that this eponymous seated twist was inspired by such sculptural traditions of Matsyendranātha. Before his section on āsana, Svātmārāma informs readers that some of the postures he will disclose are known by

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98 I am grateful to Anila Verghese for directing me to both of these temples, and drawing my attention to the navanātha visual programs.

99 This is not to say, however, that there was a singular unified or monolithic Nātha sampradāya. Different lists of nine Nāthas continued to appear in the texts, and different visual configurations of Nāthas on animal vāhanas appeared in sculpture, demonstrating the fluidity and changing nature of Nātha identity and representation in the premodern period.

100 Haṭhapradīpikā 1.26 (vāmorumūlāripītadaksapādam jānor bahirveṣṭitavānapādam | praçṛhya tiṣṭhet parivartitāṁgaḥ śrimatsyanārthobhin āsanam syāt []). Here I am following Brahmānanda’s Jyotsnā in understanding the syntax of this verse. I thank Jason Birch for directing me to this gloss.

101 Later traditions provide further alternatives of Matsyendra’s twist, for example, Gheṇḍatāṃhitā 2.22–23. In modern postural yoga schools, its variations are often referred to as ardhamatsyandrāsana (“half lord of the fish posture”), for example, Iyengar’s Light on Yoga describes three (1994 [1966], 259–62 and 270–73).
“Matsyendra and other yogins” (Haṭhapradipikā 1.18), endorsing the great siddha as an authority on yogic āsana.

In the opening chapter of the Haṭhapradipikā (1.9), Svātmārāma places himself in a genealogy of mahāsiddhas, tracing the practice of Haṭhayoga back to Ādinātha (i.e. Śiva), Matsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha, Cauraṅgī and Allama Prabhu, among others. Mallinson has argued that the Haṭhapradipikā should thus be conceived as a siddha yoga text, rather than an explicitly Nātha one, for the cast of mahāsiddhas in Svātmārāma’s list are certainly not all Nātha yogis, and represent more of a disparate group of siddhas than a singular tradition or sampradāya (Mallinson 2014, 226: n. 2). In particular, and relevant to Vijayanagara, is the curious inclusion of Allama Prabhu, the celebrated Viśvaiva yogi-saint of Karnataka. Hagiographical accounts in Kannada depict polemical tales between Allama and Gorakṣanātha, with the former making fun of the yogic feats and getting the best of the latter. However, despite Gorakṣanātha’s denigration in the local imaginaire, his purported guru appears to have been immensely popular in the region. The ubiquitous presence of Matsyendranātha imagery across nearly all Vijayanagara temples (Figs. 27–29) attests to the strong influence of this tantric siddha in South India, and to the yogi orders who invoked him.

3.2 The Glory of Pampā: Śaiva Ascetics and Yogis at Hampi

Regarding the identity of sculpted yogi figures at Hampi, as previously noted, Vijayanagara art historian Verghese remarks, “since they are represented in a stereotyped manner, it is almost impossible to group them according to sects and subsects” (Verghese 1995, 111). However, in a later publication, she does accord them the category of Śaiva ascetics (Dallapiccola and Verghese 1998, 81). Here Dallapiccola and Verghese are drawing on the Pampāmahātya, an important literary source that attests to the presence of Śaiva ascetics at Vijayanagara. The Pampāmahātya, the “Glory of Pampā” (also known as the Hemakūṭakhaṇḍa of the Skandapurāṇa), is a local sthalapurāṇa for the area of Hampi. In the second chapter of the “Middle Portion” (madhyamabhāga) of the Pampāmahātya, there is a revealing account of Śaiva religious praxis at Hampi. Having descended from the celestial path, a group of seven sages arrive at Pampākṣetra (i.e., Hampi) and bathe in the holy Tuṅgabhadrā river. After performing the appropriate religious rites, they enter the sacred area of Pampā through

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102 See the Śūnyasaṃpādane Upadesa 21.

103 For a general summary of the extant manuscripts, contents, and the challenges of dating the Pampāmahātya, see Das (2006) and Evensen (2007, 285–313).
its western gate, where, upon entering, they become awestruck at the sight of numerous Śaiva ascetics and yogis performing arduous penances and yoga:104

[They saw] those standing on one foot (ekapādāsthiṭa), those with arms lifted (ūrdhvabāhu), those standing on the big toe, those in various types of postures (āśana), divine ones, those practicing various forms of yoga and [maintaining] ascetic observances [40], those drinking in rays of light, those drinking water, those eating roots, those fasting, those eating air, as well as those eating bulbs, roots, leaves, and fruits [41]; those with three matted locks, those with only one matted lock, those with five matted locks, those who are bound with various kinds of matted locks, those who are grey from covering themselves with ash [42], those bearing rudrākṣa [beads], pure ones, those seeking liberation, Śivayogins, Mahāmahiśvaras, Śaivas, as well as Pāśupatas, sages [43], Kalāmukhas, those [performing] tapas well, those shining bright, and Mahāvratas; those who have acquired Śaiva initiation, those who are brahmaśārinas for life, and those maintaining ascetic observances [44], those with līṅgas in

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104 Pampānāḥāmya Madhyamabhāga 2.40–49ab
(40ab ekapādāsthiṭaṁ uṛdhvabāhuṁ anugṛśṭaṁ sāhitān |
40cd nānāviśāsānāṁ divyān nānāyogavratakrāmān ||
41ab marciṁān jalāhārināṁ mālāhārināṁ anāhārinān || | em. anāhatān; spelling metri causa |
41cd vāyvāhārināṁ tāthā kandamālapataphalāśānān || |
42ab tīrātāṁ advayājaṁ tātākiṁ pāticchāḥ yutān |
42cd nānāviśābhājaṁ bhasmoddhiśālasaṁśārān ||
43ab rudrākṣaṁ adhiśāṁ sūdhāṁ munukṣaṁ cchivayogānaṁ |
43cd mahāmahiśvarāṁ sāvāṁ tāthā pāśupatānān muniṁ ||
44ab kalāmukhanāṁ sūtapasāṁ sudiptāṁ ca mahāvratān |
44cd śivādikāvīṁānāṁ caitāṁ naṁṣṭikāṁ vratācāraṁāḥ |
45ab karasthālaṁ ārūdhiṁ avastāpaṁcakojjhitāṁ |
45cd uṛdhvaikvapādaṁ yamino ghoṛe tapasi tiṣṭhataṁ ||
46ab tīrābhīr vratācaryābhīs tiṣṭhataṁ cāpy adhomukhanāṁ |
46cd dhyāyataṁ ca paraṁ tattvaruḥ paṭhaṁ paḥ ṣāvat ca śivāgamān ||
47ab paṇcākṣaṁ prajāpato rudrasāktaparāyānān |
47cd rudropaniśadāsaktān muniṁ nagnavratānāpi ||
48ab tathā paṇcāgāminadhyasthānāṁ kṣetrapitāmukhaṁ api |
48cd nirvīkāredadṛṣṭaṁ ananyān ekacetasāḥ ||
49ab dhṛṣṭva viṣamayam ājagur muniyam te padya pade |

Here I am following the Śāstri (1933) Telugu script edition. I wish to thank Shubha Shantamurthy for kindly providing this edition and for her transcription of its verses from the Telugu. My translation of the Pampānāḥāmya has also been assisted by the English translation of the late Asim Krishna Das (aka Allan Shapiro). I am grateful to Anila Verghese and John Fritz for sharing with me Das’ unpublished work.
their hands, those having attained [yoga], those who are free from the five states [of consciousness], those with one foot raised, those who are restrained, those who remain in frightful tapas [45], those remaining with extreme ascetic observances, and even those [hanging] downward-facing (adhomukha); those meditating on the supreme reality, and those studying the Śivāgamas [46]; those whispering the five-syllabled mantra, those who are immersed in the Rudrasūktā, those who are zealously following the Rudrapaniṣad, and even sages who maintain the observance of [remaining] naked [47]; as well as those remaining between five fires (pañcāgni), those ones who are yellow-faced from the soil, those seeking the unchanging abode, and those who are undistracted, whose minds are [fixed] on a single [object] [48]. Having seen [all of them], the sages were bewildered at every step [49ab].

The Pampāmāhātmya names several Śaiva sects and types of practitioners including: Śaivas (likely Siddhāntins), Mahāmāheśvaras, Pāśupatas, Kalāmukhas (i.e., Kālāmukhas), and Mahāvratas (i.e., the Kāpālikas).105 Many of these Śaiva groups are well-attested in South India,106 and indeed there is a strong record of their existence at Hampi (Verghese 1995, 16–33), as well as at Śrīśailam (Linrothe 2006, 128). As previously noted, the rāja-gurus to the founding Saṅgama rāyas were likely Kālāmukhas (Verghese 1995, 7; Clark 2006, 193–202), and although their influence waned, particularly with the rise of Śrīvaiṣṇavism during Tuḷuva rule of the late fifteenth century, the abundant presence of Bhairava sculpted imagery across the Vijayanagara temple structures attests to strong Kālāmukha activity within the capital (Verghese 1995, 22–23). As Verghese notes, many of these descriptions found in the Pampāmāhātmya of Śaiva ascetic praxis seem to

105 The term mahāvrata (“great vow”) is one of the key referents to the Kāpālikas in Indian literature in reference to the penance prescribed in Dharmaśāstras for the slaying of a Brahmīn. To expiate one’s sins for such an act, the perpetrator must carry the skull of the slain Brahmīn for a period of twelve years. The Kāpālikas, emulating their tutelary Brahmīn-slaying deity Bhairava, are often identified by the accoutrement of a human skull, either atop a wooden staff (khaṭvāṅga), or carried in hand, commonly used as a begging bowl or drinking vessel (Lorenzen 1972, 73–82). This sectarian marker is complicated further, however, as other orders of wandering Śaiva ascetics adopted the mahāvrata, including the Kālāmukhas, who are also known as Lākulas (Sanderson 2006; Törzsök 2012).

106 In Tamil Nadu, the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosopher Yāmūnācārya (c. 1050) described four Śaiva sects in his Āgama-prāmāṇya, which was closely followed by his disciple Rāmānuja (c. 1017–1137) in his Śrībhāṣya commentary on the Brahmaśāstra: Pāśupatas, Kāpālas [i.e., Kāpālikas], and Kālāmukhas. The relation between and development of these Śaiva orders is highly complex and has generated varying interpretations among scholars (see, e.g., Lorenzen 1972; Dyzkowski 1988; Sanderson 2006). Sanderson has made the case that “the Kālāmukhas were Pāśupatas who had adopted the Great Observance (mahāvratam) otherwise known as the Kapālavrata” (Sanderson 2006, 183).
accord with the sculptures of ascetics and yogis on the temple pillars at Hampi. When read alongside the extant sculptural record, this regional account in the Pampāmāhāṭmya seems to suggest a rich milieu of Śaiva ascetics and yogis intermingling at Vijayanagara.

Of the several Śaiva orders mentioned in this passage, however, the Nāthas are notably absent—though the text does seem to distinguish a particular group of Śivayogins. While the Pampāmāhāṭmya, like most māhāṭmya and sthalapurāṇa literature, which is based on multiple layers of redaction, is challenging to date, the omission of Nāthas as a particular Śaiva order might be suggestive of an earlier date of composition; or it may point to the Nāthas’ early lack of independence from other Śaiva movements of the medieval period in the Hampi and larger Vijayanagara regions.

Verghese acknowledges that many of the ascetics sculpted at Hampi were, indeed, likely Nāthas. Noting the abundance of Matsyendranātha images, she suggests that “the nāthas were probably to be found in the city” (Verghese 1995, 113). However, she cautions that in terms of the yogic sculptures, based on a lack of epigraphical and literary evidence, it is not possible “to specifically identify any of the yōgis depicted in the reliefs as nāthas” (Verghese 1995, 113). Yet, the visual and material evidence of sectarian markers such as the siṅgi, pointed cap, and other contemporaneous visual, material, and textual evidence of Nāthas in the region suggest otherwise. Moreover, the appearance of such iconic sectarian Nātha-markers in the early 1500s, along with the cultivation of a regionalized navanātha iconographic program, suggest the growing independence and development of a specific Nātha tradition or sampradāya, even if, as Mallinson contends, it was not yet unified in the institutional sense we find today.

The sculpted images at Hampi further nuance our understanding of the development of a south Indian Nātha tradition, as well as the techniques and traditions of Ḫathayoga—in this case, the development of non-seated yogic āsanas. Assessing the available historiographical materials at Vijayanagara, I believe we can identify many of these yogic figures generally as tantric siddhas, and be confident that at least some of these were depictions of Nātha yogis practicing āsana. That is not to suggest, however, that all of the yogis carved in complex non-seated āsanas were Nāthas, nor should they be taken as representing a singular sectarian order or group of yogis. Further critical study of the

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107 Anthony Evensen (2007, 285) notes the considerable range of opinions regarding the date of the Pampāmāhāṭmya, from as early as the ninth to tenth centuries to as late as the sixteenth century. Though Evensen provides compelling topographical evidence for an earlier date of composition, he cautiously concludes: “We can only say that the text was probably written before the construction of the Raghunātha temple on Mālyavanta hill which itself is undated but certainly in existence by 1559” (Evensen 2007, 310).
sculpted yogic imagery and siddha iconography at Hampi, Śrīśailam, Śrīṅgeri, and other related Vijayanagara sites remains to be done.

Conclusions

Reading Āsana in Text and Stone

The emergence of Sanskrit Haṭhayoga texts as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the common era reveal the codification of soteriological yogic traditions that emphasized the cultivation of the body and bodily techniques. Yet, the early corpus of Hatha texts continued to list relatively few āsanas, and mostly seated ones. The early yoga texts ascribed to Gorakṣanātha, for example, suggest only a few seated āsanas—and indeed, there is little textual evidence suggesting that Nāthas practiced complex non-seated āsanas before the modern period.108 And yet, at Hampi, the visual and material evidence suggests otherwise.109

Following the composition of the Haṭhayogaprātipikā, as Birch has shown, beginning in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a proliferation of āsana is documented in a number of yoga texts and anthologies featuring a wide range of āsana types: seated, standing, inversions, and balancing postures, as well as the use of props (Birch 2013; forthcoming 2018a). The sculpted images at Hampi accord with this chronology of the development of āsana, and yet also appear to anticipate non-seated āsanas, for which we have no textual record before the eighteenth century or later, for example: viraṇcyāsana, ārdhvadhanurāsana, and other unnamed “pretzel shaped” arm-balancing postures.

The visual evidence of non-seated postures at Hampi does not simply affirm the prescriptions of āsana in the medieval and early modern yoga texts, however, but also provides variance. In particular, the combination of complex non-seated āsanas with hand mudrās, aṅkṣamālās, yogadaṇḍas, and perhaps inversions practiced in a cremation ground—suggests a more distinctly tantric and siddha yogic environment than some of

108 While today, select Nātha yogis can be found performing advanced sequences of non-seated āsanas at major public gatherings like the Kumbh Mela, as Mallinson remarks, this is perhaps an example of Agehananda Bharati’s “pizza-effect” (1970), in which contemporary Nātha yogis are being influenced by the transnational and cross-cultural feedback loop of yogic norms and practices of 21st-century modern postural yoga (see Bridgeman 2014, 18:48–20:40).

109 This is also evident in the later mural paintings of Nātha yogis on the walls of the Mahāmandir temple, Jodhpur, commissioned in 1805 under Mān Singh, the Mahārāja of Marwar. See Bühnemann (2007, 103).
the more sanitized Haṭhayoga texts allowed for, which despite their tantric influences, were often aimed at a more general and transsectarian audience.

How do we account for this surge in yogic āsanas displayed in both the visual and textual record in the sixteenth century and following? Birch has proposed that the growing popularity of Haṭhayoga may have lead to “greater innovation, experimentation and the assimilation of practices from elsewhere” (Birch forthcoming 2018a, 129). Adding to Birch’s observations, I wish to suggest two further reasons that may account for this “proliferation of āsana.” In the first section of this article, I argued that the significant shift from seated to non-seated āsanas may have resulted in part from a notable shift in asectico-yogic theory and praxis. By the end of the first millennium, as tantric and Haṭhayogic traditions sought to more actively stimulate vital energies (prāṇa, kuṇḍalinīakti) within the body, new dynamic actions (karāṇa), seals (mudrā), and indeed yogic postures (āsana) are described in the texts. In this way, āsanas were no longer adopted simply as meditative “seats” as in Pāṇājala-yoga, a new psychophysical context and soteriological function for āsana in Haṭhayoga may have opened new avenues for the anatomical potential of the body in yogic praxis, giving rise to new āsanas. Second, although it has been proposed that the techniques of early Haṭhayoga were readapted from older ascetic traditions (Mallinson 2011), the Hampi record suggests that the readaptation of ascetic techniques for Haṭhayoga was also occurring in the early sixteenth century. This may partially explain the proliferation of āsana seen in yoga texts composed after this time. The broader historical context supports this proposal because it is evident that tapas and yogic traditions were intermingling in South India, and that many of these non-seated āsanas might have been inspired by these earlier ascetic postural traditions.

As I have aimed to demonstrate in this study, reading the texts alongside the extant archeological, epigraphical, and visual record allows for a more thorough understanding of yoga’s past to emerge. The visual and material evidence at Hampi is a reminder that there was always more operating on the ground than the written texts lead on, possibly from yoga traditions that did not commit exhaustive accounts of their techniques to writing. The emergence of written Haṭhayoga treatises offers key historical moments of synthesis and reform, through which authors aimed at systematization and prescription, rather than full documentation and description. A list of fifteen āsanas in the fifteenth-century Haṭhapradīpikā, for example, should not be taken as the sum total of known yogic postures at the time, but rather as an exemplary selection of techniques recommended by Svātmārāma. Or, as Śrīnivāsa cautions in the
Haṭharatnāvalī, “all of the [āsanas] are not described for fear it would inflate the size of the text.”

Likewise, the sculpted reliefs at Hampi point to a world beyond the images themselves, offering a particular historical window onto what would have been deemed recognizably yogic by artisans during the Vijayanagara period. The fact that they were codified in stone, in this particular region of South India, and at this particular historical moment, suggests that such āsanas would have likely been known and practiced in northern Karnataka for some years prior to their artistic rendering at Hampi in the early 1500s.

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