RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN ASIA

Edited by Daniela Bevilacqua and Eloisa Stuparich

The Power of the Nāth Yogīs

Yogic Charisma, Political Influence and Social Authority

Amsterdam
University
Press

The Power of the Nāth Yogīs

Amsterdam
University
Press

Religion and Society in Asia

This series contributes cutting-edge and cross-disciplinary academic research on various forms and levels of engagement between religion and society that have developed in the regions of South Asia, East Asia, and South East Asia, in the modern period, that is, from the early 19th century until the present.
The publications in this series should reflect studies of both religion in society and society in religion. This opens up a discursive horizon for a wide range of themes and phenomena: the politics of local, national and transnational religion; tension between private conviction and the institutional structures of religion; economical dimensions of religion as well as religious motives in business endeavours; issues of religion, law and legality; gender relations in religious thought and practice; representation of religion in popular culture, including the mediatisation of religion; the spatialisation and temporalisation of religion; religion, secularity, and secularism; colonial and post-colonial construction of religious identities; the politics of ritual; the sociological study of religion and the arts. Engaging these themes will involve explorations of the concepts of modernity and modernisation as well as analyses of how local traditions have been reshaped on the basis of both rejecting and accepting Western religious, philosophical, and political ideas.

Series editor
Martin Ramstedt, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle

Amsterdam
University
Press

The Power of the Nāth Yogīs

Yogic Charisma, Political Influence and Social Authority

Edited by
Daniela Bevilacqua and
Eloisa Stuparich

Amsterdam University Press

Cover illustration: A Nāth dhūnī in Dhinodhar
Photo: Daniela Bevilacqua

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden
Typesetting: Crius Group, Hulshout

ISBN 978 94 6372 254 4
e-ISBN 978 90 4855 245 0 (pdf)
DOI 10.5117/9789463722544
NUR 718

© The authors / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2022

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

Amsterdam
University
Press

Table of Contents

Foreword 7

Note on Transliterations 8

Introduction 9
Daniela Bevilacqua and Eloisa Stuparich

1 Current Research on Nāth Yogīs 31
Further Directions
Véronique Bouillier

2 Powerful Yogīs 55
The Successful Quest for *Siddhi*s and Power
Adrián Muñoz

3 Kingly Corruption and Ascetic Sovereignty in the Telugu Account of the Nine Nāths 81
Jamal Jones

4 In *Siddhi*s and State 103
Transformations of Power in Twentieth-Century Gorakhpur Temple Publications
Christine Marrewa-Karwoski

5 The Search for the Jugi Caste in Pre-Colonial Bengal 131
Lubomír Ondračka

6 Back When We Were Brahmins 163
Historical and Caste Critique Among Bengali Householder Nāths
Joel Bordeaux

7 Shades of Power 197
The Nāth Yogīs in Nepal
Christof Zotter

8 *Yogī, Paṇḍit*, and *Rāṣṭra-Bhakta* 227
Some Reconstructions of Yogī Naraharināth's Religious Career
Eloisa Stuparich

9 The Evocative Partnerships of a Monastic Nāth Temple in Contemporary Rajasthan 249
Carter Hawthorne Higgins

10 Towards a Nāth Re-Appropriation of *Haṭha-Yoga* 281
Daniela Bevilacqua

Index 307

Amsterdam
University
Press

Foreword

The publication of this volume has faced various hardships. Initially, our intention was to publish it in India but, to our great surprise, the local publishing houses were not so willing to deal with the topic of Nāth and power, fearing possible political consequences. After the initial shock at the feeling of being censored even before presenting the manuscript, we eventually realized the seriousness of the problems faced today by some brave Indian publishing houses when they encourage projects that do not suit certain political wings. They have our full support. When we luckily obtained the support of Amsterdam University Press, we had to face the coronavirus pandemic, which brought with it great stress and uncertainty. It was a long journey, and we would like to thank all of our authors for their patience and for having made this journey with us.

Daniela Bevilacqua and Eloisa Stuparich

Note on Transliterations

To translate the Devanagari syllabary into the Roman alphabet, we chose two different systems: for the transliteration of titles of literary works and technical terms (*saṃnyāsa*) we chose the standard system of Sanskrit transliteration. For words of Sanskrit origin present in standard Hindi, we use the ISO 15919 system, with some modifications to make it coherent with current pronunciation. One of these changes concerns the absence of the short vowel -*a* at the end of word (e.g., Nāth, *mahant*, *maṭh*). The short final -*a* is maintained in those words that end with a consonant cluster (*mokṣa*), words ending with a consonantal group ending in -*y* (*ācārya*), and for words ending -*ṇ* and -*y* (*sampradāya*) to maintain the sound created by the retroflex nasal and by the semivowel in the spoken language. Terms which are commonly used in the English language, such as *yoga*, *dharma*, and *guru*, will be written without diacritics, an exception being the word *yogī*/*Yogī*. Other words common in English but with a technical meaning will include diacritics: *āsana*, *haṭha*, *rāj*, *prāṇāyāma*, and so on.

Introduction

Daniela Bevilacqua and Eloisa Stuparich

Contemporary Nāth Yogīs are heirs to a long history that, gradually, consolidated different ascetic branches into an institutionalized religious order (*sampradāya*), and different groups into castes of householders.

The Nāth *sampradāya* traces its origins to the founding figure of Gorakhnāth, a twelfth century Yogī around which much hagiographical material accrued over the centuries, creating therefore, an exceptional stratification of stories and legends that enriches, but also confuses, our understanding of its historical development. What seems clear, nonetheless, is that for centuries Nāth Yogīs (or those ascetics who would go on to be labeled as such) have been associated with practices especially connected to the obtainment of powers (*siddhi*s) and of immortality. They were also known as the "perfected" ones (*siddha*s), alchemists and practitioners of a yoga (*haṭha yoga*) said to transform the body into a "diamond body" (*vajra deha*), eternal and immortal.

This reputation for supernatural feats made them optimal gurus for those who wished to channel their magical skills to worldly ends. Nāth Yogīs, in fact, often played a prominent role in political vicissitudes, typically with a ministerial role as preceptors and advisors of sympathetic kings, acquiring political influence over state and regional politics.

It is against this backdrop that the relationship between Nāth gurus and political powers, and householder Yogīs and social hierarchy, was established but also reinterpreted over the centuries.

Looking at the past and the present of the Nāth Yogīs, in this volume we decided to focus on the dimension of power, both in its spiritual and its worldly aspects, and explore the ways in which ascetic notions of power were and are used to promote political, religious, or social changes. In order to do that, we place the transformations of the *sampradāya* in the larger context of ideological shifts, new forms of participation in the public/political sphere, new articulations of religious belonging, new conceptions of caste mobility and, looking at the present day, the emergence of Hindu nationalism.

Bevilacqua, Daniela, and Eloisa Stuparich (eds), *The Power of the Nāth Yogīs: Yogic Charisma, Political Influence and Social Authority*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press 2022
DOI: 10.5117/9789463722544_INTRO

Amsterdam
University
Press

The contributions of this volume, therefore, highlight moments of self-reinterpretation that are produced by the *sampradāya*'s interaction with different social milieus, and that are expedient for enabling the order to adjust to new requirements. In fact, it is not unusual for religious leaders to adapt their traditions under the influence of the historical period and the social and religious contexts in which they live.[1] While in some circumstances they have to compromise, in others they directly support interpretations that allow their centers or teachings to survive, even though this leads to important changes.[2] That a past religious tradition is passed on and interpreted through adaptations and changes shows the capacity of religious orders to actualize their teachings in a creative way and therefore to evolve and survive over time.

In what follows, we will provide a brief historical overview of the Nāth *sampradāya*, discussing the status of the scholarship about it before introducing the volume's focus. Far from being an exhaustive or conclusive work, this volume aims to highlight different angles of the order's entanglement in the sociopolitical sphere, to encourage interdisciplinary dialogue and further research.

1 The Nāth *sampradāya* – A brief framework

Historical evidence on the Nāth *sampradāya* and its development is scanty. Traditionally said to be founded by guru Gorakhnāth, there is nonetheless no evidence of a unified, organized pan-Indian Nāth order prior to the beginning of the seventeenth century (see Mallinson 2011). Rather, we can speak of disparate Yogīs' lineages following different local traditions, descendants of Śaiva exoteric and tantric orders, such as the Paṣupatas, the Kāpālikas and the Kaula traditions (see Lorenzen 1972, and Sanderson 2009). Some lineages encountered and mingled with other traditions. One such case is the Nāth encounter with South Indian Siddha (see White 1996), drawing from esoteric practices connected with the use of physical techniques, especially breath control, and alchemical manipulation (see Bouillier 2008, 6). Although the word Nāth (lord, master) is today commonly used to denote members of the Nāth *sampradāya*, as several authors will discuss in this

1 See Bevilacqua (2018, 68-98).

2 Bouillier (2008, 280), for example, has described how Nāth monasteries and gurus adapt to contemporary religious trends as a strategy to counteract the negative impact caused by the lack of royal patronage and land reforms.

Amsterdam University Press

volume, the term is not found in pre-modern literature to describe a unified group, and the followers of those lineages that will later be collected under the name "Nāth *sampradāya*" were simply referred to as "Yogīs" or "Jogīs".

The legendary figures of the nine Nāths and of the eighty-four Siddhas are fundamental in the history and in the worship of the *sampradāya*, which is linked to Ādināth, the Original Nāth, who may be identified as Śiva, or one of his manifestations. The word *siddha* (perfected one) typically refers to semi-divine human beings renowned for their powers (*siddhi*s), often associated with antinomian behaviors resulting from the esoteric practice of yoga and alchemy. The legends about the Siddhas blur sectarian boundaries: their names are present in lists belonging to the Kaula as well as to the Buddhist traditions, to such an extent that some scholars have hypothesized a Buddhist origin or strong Buddhist influences over the Nāths.[3] Although these lists vary, there is a shared belief that the *sampradāya* originated from Ādināth, who passed his teaching to Matsyendranāth. Matsyendranāth would have then transmitted it to Gorakhnāth,[4] though it is likely that Gorakhnāth lived in the twelfth century and Matsyendranāth in the ninth.[5]

Horstmann (2014) argues that Nāth Yogīs, "in the sense of ascetics paying allegiance to a genealogical line of Nāths with Śiva as the supreme Nāth", emerge in written sources from the thirteenth century, but their identity remained for a long time fluid, overlapping with that of various other groups of ascetics. These lineages came into contact with Sufīs and other Hindu ascetics and, in fact, according to Lorenzon and Muñoz, "Naths have constructed their own identity with concepts taken from Hindus (both orthodox and heterodox), Buddhists, Muslims, and Sikhs alike" (2011, x). However, by the sixteenth century Gorakhnāth became the tutelary "deity" of Yogī orders in the Gangetic plain as well (Mallinson 2011, 17). From vernacular sources of this period, it appears that there was a Nāth community at some advanced

3 For a summary of the scholars who have debated this issue, see footnote 2 in Mallinson (2019), who also presents an engaging discussion about the connection between Vajrayāna Buddhism and Nāths in South India.

4 The figure of Gorakhnāth is still very mysterious and scholars disagree about both the date and the place of his birth. As summarized by Bouillier (2012), scholars such as Mallik (1954), Dasgupta (1946), and White (1996) suggest a Punjabi origin; Briggs (1938) suggests he was from eastern Bengal, while Mallinson (2011) locates him in Deccan.

5 Mallinson suggests that probably Matsyendranāth lived in the Deccan (central India) in the ninth to tenth centuries and was probably a follower of the Kaula Mārg, specifically the Pūrvāmnāya (eastern) and Paścimāmnāya (western) lineages and its southern variant known as Śāmbhava, since several texts associated with these traditions are attributed to him (2011, 5). These traditions would involve sexual and other unorthodox practices.

Amsterdam University Press

stage of consolidation, formed of often-itinerant ascetic groups, vying for status and patronage with *saṃnyāsī*s, *bairāgī*s, and Sants (Horstmann 2014).

The oldest form of organization of the order divides it into twelve *panth*s, hence the name *Bārahpanthī*. Mallinson (2020b) reports that a list of twelve Yogī *panth*s is present in the *Nujūm al-ʿulūm*, an illustrated encyclopedia completed around 1570 and commissioned by the rulers of Bijapur. Even the *Dabistān-e-Māzaheb*, a work in Persian that compares religious sects and orders in seventeenth-century South Asia, refers to the presence of *yogeśvara*s forming a religious group divided into twelve sects. It is likely that the twelve-*panth*s schema was much older, as the groupings of sculptures of twelve Nāths found at both Dabhoi and Panhale Kaji would suggest.[6] Today, the official list of the twelve *panth*s, whereby each *panth* is connected to a disciple of Gorakhnāth, has been finalized by the Yogī Mahāsabhā, an organization founded in 1906 and reorganized in 1932 by Digvijaynāth, *mahant* of the Gorakhpur temple.[7] However, as Briggs explains, the situation is complex: considering different lists, we find different names and different groups, so that, overall, the number of subsects exceeds twelve. Therefore, rather than actual groups, these lists may be taken to represent the name of schools (*paramparā*) of individual gurus with their followers (Briggs 1938, 62). Briggs also shows that not all the subsects trace their origins to Gorakhnāth and mentions a tradition in which there were initially eighteen *panth*s of Śiva and twelve of Gorakhnāth: these two groups fought each other and as a result many *panth*s were destroyed, only six on each side surviving (i.e., twelve in total) which were to constitute the order of the Gorakhnāthīs (ibid., 63).[8]

6 The Mahudi Gate (completed in 1286 CE), located in Dabhoi, a village in Gujarat, is embellished with sculptures depicting thirteen Siddhas (including Ādināth), together with deities of the Śaiva-Śākta pantheon. In the upper part of the gate, smaller sculptures depict yogīs in thirty-six unique postures, among which are some complex ones not present in textual sources of the period (see Sarde 2017). The twenty-nine caves of Panhale Kaji are situated in the Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra, on the Konkan coast between Mumbai and Goa. Originally Buddhist (sixth century CE onwards), some of these caves were later on occupied by Nāth Yogīs as various Nāth statues and representations would demonstrate (see Mallinson 2019).

7 They are: Satyanāthī, Dharmanāthī, Rāmnāthī, Bairāg, Kapilāni, Āīpanthī, Naṭeśvarī, Gaṅganāthī, Rāval, Pāvpanthī, Mannāthī, and Pāgalpanthī (see Bouillier 2008, 32-35). It is interesting to notice that a few names on this list do not correspond to those given by Briggs (1938, 63-68). On the Yogī Mahāsabhā, see Bouillier (2008, 25-32; 2017, 58).

8 This dichotomy between *aṭhārah* (eighteen) and *bārah* (twelve) is also present in the organization of the *jamāt* (Arabic word for group/community), an institutional grouping of a hundred Yogīs who continuously travel together following an itinerary based on Nāth places and festivities, representing the *ramtā* (itinerant) component of the Nāth world (as opposed to its *sthāndhārī*, sedentary, dimension). The *jamāt* is run by two *mahant*s: one is said to represent

Amsterdam University Press

Nāth Yogīs are recognized today by the large round earrings (called *kuṇḍal*, *darśan*, or *mudrā*) worn into the thick cartilage of the ear – which also give them the name of Kānphāṭa (split-eared) Yogī[9] – and by the *śelī*, a long black twisted thread to which is attached a *rudrākṣa* seed, a flat ring made of metal, wood, or bone, and a small whistle or horn called *siṅgī*, also worn by householder Nāths, which is the element that characterized Yogīs from at least the tenth century onwards.[10]

2 Studies on the Nāths

Owing to the complexity and the "circulation" of the *sampradāya,* both historically and geographically, there have been various scholarly efforts to unravel the intricacies of the order. After the early groundbreaking monograph of George Weston Briggs (1938), different scholars with different approaches have tried to reconstruct the history of the Nāth *sampradāya*. One of the major lines of inquiry has focused on the relationship between the tradition of the Nāth Yogīs and neighboring religious formations, such as the world of the Buddhist Siddhas (Dasgupta 1976), the alchemical tradition (White, 1996), Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* in Maharashtra (Vaudeville 1987, Kiehnle 1997, 2000, 2004-2005), *nirguṇa bhakti* (Barthwal 1978, Vaudeville 1987, Offredi 2002, Lorenzen and Muñoz 2011, Horstman 2017), and the Sufī fraternities of North India (Bouillier 2015; Dahnhardt, 2002; Ernst, 2005); this body of literature reflects the extraordinary fluidity of the Nāth world in pre-modern South Asia. In terms of textual scholarship, some editions of vernacular examples of Nāth literature have been published since Pitambar Datta Barthwal's work in the 1940s (such as the translation of the *Gorakh Bānī* by Gordan Djurjevic, 2019), and important research on the Sanskrit traditions associated with the Nāths has been carried out by Christian Bouy and by James Mallinson. The former focuses on the confluence between yoga treatises and the canon of the 108 Upaniṣads (Bouy 1994), while the

the so called *aṭhārah panth* (the group of eighteen) and the other the *bārah panth* (the group of twelve), perhaps the legacy of the more ancient subdivision discussed by Briggs. On the organization and activities of the *jamāt*, see Bouillier (2008, 35-40).

9 These earrings and the ceremony of the cut (*cīrā kar cheḍnā samskār*, the *samskār* of the incision) are part of the second initiation undertaken by a Nāth ascetic after which the title of Yogī is conferred on him/her. After the first initiation, the ascetic is called Aughar (misshapen) and is supposed to continue his ascetic training to verify if he is apt or not to the ascetic life.

10 A statue of Matsyendranāth in which the *siṅgī* was evident and dated to the tenth century is kept in the museum of Mangalore (Bouillier 2008, 103).

latter analyzes the role of the Nāth Yogīs in the development of haṭha yoga (Mallinson 2011a, 2011b, 2020). Anthropological studies such as those of Daniel Gold and Ann Grodzins Gold (Gold and Grodzins 1984, Gold 1995, 1999, 2005, Grodzins 1989, 1991, 1992) have looked at the oral traditions and lived experiences of the Nāth Yogīs, particularly householders, in the contemporary world, while the work of Véronique Bouillier (1997, 2008, 2017) constitutes the most thorough discussion to date of the Nāth *sampradāya* as a monastic lineage in contemporary South Asia. A new approach based on a comparison between vernacular texts and visual, archaeological evidence of Nāths' presence in temple sculptures and wall graffiti (see Sarde 2014, 2016, 2017, Bankar 2013, 2018, 2019, Mallinson 2019, 2020b) has also proved to be very useful in reconstructing the Nāths' history and development. However, the unanswered questions regarding the order are still numerous and much work remains to be done.

3 On the powers of the Yogīs and the present volume

The quest for powers and for the results that may be obtained through such powers has been a well-known topos of Indian literature since Vedic times.[11] Defined as *vibhūti*, *guṇa*, or, more often, as *siddhi*, yogic powers were considered proof of an accomplished religious practice, transforming the practitioner into a *siddha*, a perfected master. As demonstrated by the collective volume edited by Jacobsen (2012), a strong association between powers and yoga was recognized in different religious contexts (Buddhist, Jaina, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Sufī) and was described in several textual sources (such as the Pāli Canon, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali or the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, etc.). Originally associated with strict forms of celibate asceticism, the domain of yogic powers became accessible to the non-ascetic – and particularly to monarchs – with the rise in prominence of the tantric movements. In early medieval India, tantric gurus succeeded in occupying positions, functions, and services that had hitherto been in the hands of orthodox Brahmins, presenting themselves as new bestowers of legitimacy and empowerment, i.e. as *rāj-guru*. Through their initiation and consecration rites, they "endowed kings with a power beyond that of their rivals, intensifying their brilliance, ensuring their victory against enemies, and allowing them to have long and distinguished reigns" (Burchett 2019, 43).

11 See for example the stories presented by Bhagat in his accounts on *tapas* and powers in several early textual traditions (1976).

Amsterdam University Press

White suggests that the ability of the Nāths "to flex their political and economic muscle was a logical extension of the supernaturally powerful bodies they reputedly cultivated through the practice of the 'yoga'" (forthcoming). They were able to maintain their roles and prestige even in a different political and religious context. In fact, during the Sultanate, while the institutional public forms of tantric religion died out, and other forms were relegated to private cults, the Nāth Yogīs "emerged as leading providers of a path offering real, pragmatic, and accessible power in the world" (Burchett 2019, 133), becoming "supernatural power brokers" (White 1996, 7) and reaching the height of their "prestige and influence during the 13th and 14th centuries" (Chandra 1996, 124). Nāth Yogīs were not even marginalized by the emergence of Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* ascetic communities (from the sixteenth century onwards), characterized by a devotional approach centered on a soteriology of divine grace.[12] Although several Hindu rulers officially shifted their main attention and request of legitimacy to "devotional" *sampradāya*s,[13] such as that of the Rāmānandīs, "this shift was not a universal fact, but was incomplete and uneven, occurring at different times in different locations and in a few places not occurring at all" (Burchett 2012, 38). In this context, criticism of Nāth Yogīs was motivated precisely by their different religious approach, based on a tradition of *siddhi*-oriented yoga practice. The attribution of yogic powers was not a prerogative of the Nāth Yogīs (although the title *Yogī* was) but manifested among different practitioners, to such an extent that various oral traditions report about "clashes" between ascetics, solved by magic/yogic feats.[14] What differed were the sectarian attitudes towards these supernatural capacities: *sādhu*s belonging to Vaiṣṇava lineages, as well as Sufīs, considered the powers obtained through their *sādhanā* to be by the grace of God, while Nāths considered their powers a result of their tantric ritual and their mantra repetition, alchemy, and visualization-based yoga (see Mallinson 2014, 167-68).[15]

12 A discussion on *bhakti* would lead us too far away from our main topic of investigation. For a general outline, see Lorenzen (1995, 1996). For a latest publication on power and *bhakti* see Hawley and Novetzke (2019).

13 See for example the "conversions" described by Burchett (2019, 131-37) in Galta, Kullu Valley and Punjab. In general, Burchett's work represents an outstanding source of information about the religious dynamics that, from the seventeenth century onwards, were of interest to various orders active in building up a sectarian identity.

14 As demonstrated by Burchett (2019), *sādhu*s belonging to Vaiṣṇava lineages as well as Sufīs were known mostly for their devotional attitude, and the powers obtained through their *sādhanā* were seen as being by the grace of God, and therefore more powerful than the powers of the Yogīs.

15 Although this *siddhi*-oriented attitude was generally spread among Nāth lineages, other religious attitudes, including a more devotional one, were also in evidence. See Horstmann (2017).

It was probably the relevance accorded by Nāths in their *sādhanā* to the self-attainment and control of powers that determined the spread of a rich narrative in which Yogīs were presented as dangerous but also as powerful figures who, thanks to their magical prowess, were able to gain control over other bodies, manipulating methods of perception, often interfering in events related to royal figures (see White 2009).

This "interference" was probably also the outcome of a form of routinized charisma produced by the same stories about these powers. These narratives may have played a role in attracting the attention of sovereigns towards Nāth Yogīs, encouraging them to build relationships with Nāth gurus and to grant them lands in an attempt at securing supernatural support, thus intertwining the spiritual with the political power.

Kings granted lands to their gurus, patronizing the constructions of temples and *maṭh*s (monasteries).[16] Nāths, therefore, were able to carve out for themselves an important niche of patronage: they received long-standing royal sponsorship in the petty states of the Himalayan arch, some Mughal donations in Punjab, and political prominence in Nepal and Marwar.[17]

These religious leaders managed centers whose function was not only religious, but also administrative and social. Nāth Yogīs became owners of religious as well as secular powers, acting in the lands donated to them, or related to the monastery they were managing, as lords or kings. For example, in Kadri (today Karnataka) they received not only patronage and lands by the ruling *māhārājā* of Barakuru in 1475 (see Bouillier 2017, 114), but they also acquired the title of *rāj*. In epigraphic sources in Kadri we find, indeed, the figure of the *rāj-yogī*, the "King of the Yogīs" who lived in great style until the demise of the Vijayanagara kingdom (Mallinson 2019). In the sixteenth century, the Italian traveler Ludovico di Varthema reports that the king "ruled over 30,000 people and travelled about India with an impressive entourage including a troop of warrior yogis" (ibid.).[18] Mallinson has suggested that the figure of the *rāj-yogī* has to be associated with that

16 The word *maṭh* "refers in part to an architectural space that typically housed Hindu ascetics … but it also constituted a network of interrelated institutions with shared practices and ideals … Like the monasteries of medieval Europe, they performed many intellectual, religious, social, and political functions and, as such, were engaged both with the state and the local population" (Stoker 2016, 9).

17 See Bouillier (1997) for the Himalayas and Nepal, Goswami and Grewal (1967) for the Punjab, Grodzins Gold (1992) and Gold (1995) for Marwar.

18 Pietro della Valle in 1622, however, found the king of the time in a dilapidated state following local conflicts (Bouillier 2017, 118). The head of the Kadri monastery retains the title of Rāj Yogī, "Kind of Yogī", to this day. His enthronement occurs in a quite ritualized manner every twelve years. See Bouillier (2017, 125-163).

Amsterdam University Press

of the head of monasteries (*maṭhādipati*) and the practice of *rāja yoga*[19] propounded in order to justify their less ascetic lifestyles (2018, 31). Therefore, *rāja yoga* would be not only an ultimate method to reach *samādhi* (deep meditation or liberation), but also "an easy method of yoga suited to those unwilling or unable to lead rigorously ascetic lives and a goal of practice" (idid., 32). As mentioned in this volume by Jones, in the *Navanāthacaritramu*, the ascetic rule of Matsyendra offers a better alternative to that of bad kings: Matsyendra practices a "royal" (*rāculī*) yoga, maintaining a yogic sovereignty (*yogasāmrājya*) which is superior to that of kings because it is not self-oriented. The idea of the *rāj-yogī* (*maṭhādipati*), therefore, should be seen as a development of the *rāj-guru*, who "through patronage and political changes became powerful rulers in their own right, losing their dependence on royal patrons and shedding their rôles as rājagurus" (Mallinson 2018, 32). But clearly, as the history of Kadri demonstrates, the rise and fall of these unusual, local kings did not lie outside the vicissitudes of those whose power they were supposed to secure.

Colonialism and modernity spread ill will towards yogīs and especially towards practitioners of haṭha yoga: under the British Raj, wandering ascetics begging or performing disreputable practices were labeled as charlatans, heirs of superstitious religious practices.[20] This Western concern played a particularly prominent role in the disenchantment with Nāth *siddhi*s and in the subsequent deterioration of their political influence in the nineteenth century. The *sampradāya*, however, did not remain out of the political games for long. As this volume will discuss, some centers adapted and adopted new strategies in order to get involved with political powers. In recent years, the *sampradāya*'s visibility in the public sphere is mostly mediated by Yogī Ādityanāth, the *mahant* of the Gorakhnāth temple of Gorakhpur, elected as Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh in 2017. This election was the culmination of a political trajectory centered on the promotion of Hindu nationalist ideas, often with communal overtones, already started by the previous *mahant*s of the Gorakhnāth temple in Gorakhpur.

A contemporary, interesting shift that is apparent in the self-representation of Yogīs is their adoption of a rhetoric of *karmayoga* to provide a spiritual framework for their political involvement. Appeals to the *Bhagavadgītā*'s

19 Haṭha yoga texts introduce and teach also *rāja yoga* (literally "king-yoga"), which is presented as the culmination of haṭha yoga practices – and its name would imply, indeed, a certain superiority to other forms of yoga – as well as a method of yoga easier to practice compared to haṭha yoga. On the history of *rāja yoga* with information also on its modern interpretation see Birch (2013).

20 See Mark Singleton (2010, 35-53).

"*yoga* of action" to buttress political activity has become a well-established part of the Indian political discourse since the days of the anticolonial struggle, particularly after being embraced by Tilak and Gandhi as a way of providing a theological basis for, respectively, military organization and non-violent resistance. With Savarkar's co-optation of the concept in the 1930s and 1940s, the idea that *karmayoga* may translate into violent action has become an ideological cornerstone of the Hindutva rhetoric (see Chaturvedi 2010). In the present volume, the self-representation of a Nāth-Yogī as *karma-yogī* emerges in the essays by Muñoz (in reference to Ādityanāth) and Stuparich (Naraharināth), where the term is embraced to provide a spiritual framework to the political agency of an ascetic. Muñoz's material, which includes a recent interview to Ādityanāth, also exemplifies how the notion of *karma-yogī* can be embraced to implement a rhetorical shift away from the notion of *rāj-yogī*.

The language of *karma yoga* emphasizes, indeed, agency over status. It is easy to see how an idiom of service (to society, to the nation, and ultimately to the divine) provides a blueprint for re-interpreting the ascetics' political agency in the context of contemporary electoral democracy. It would be tempting to read this rhetorical shift as an index of a clear-cut divide between a pre-modern and a modern conception of power, but we must remain alert to the ways in which precolonial elements continue to survive, thrive, and infuse with meaning, different ways of being Nāth Yogī in the modern world.

This interplay between different conceptions of yoga-hood is, after all, nothing new: the *sampradāya* has long embraced a complex identity in which sectarian elements from the tantric past (sometimes bordering on the antinomian) coexist with more "brahmanically" palatable forms of public self-representations. Nowadays' political milieu, with its demands for democracy and political accountability, constitutes one more public domain in which the powers of the Nāth Yogīs can be rephrased for public consumption, without necessarily displacing other forms of sectarian self-understanding.

This is also true for non-ascetic contexts. Nāth Yogīs (or Jogīs in the vernacular) were not only associated with ascetic life: householder Nāths are found all over India. The origin of these various communities is still a matter of debate,[21] but as a general rule, though "happily integrated into Hindu society", in several regions they are "somehow identified with a

21 See Bouillier and Ondračka in this volume for references to the different theories and bibliographic advice.

Amsterdam University Press

tradition of renunciate yogis outside it" (Gold and Gold 1984, 116). In fact, the cultural legacy embedded in activities that point to an ascetic or esoteric background (such as warding off hail and pestilence, being the protector of village, or a bard) enabled them to acquire, despite their low caste ranking, a certain authority, playing a role analogous to the Brahmins. This analogy, as we will see in this volume, is fundamental for those Jogī castes that are now removed from ascetic practices and that fight for the recognition of a higher caste status.

The leitmotif tying together the different chapters of the present volume is, as we have already mentioned, the exploration of the ways in which ascetic notions of power were and are used to promote political, religious, or social changes. To unravel this important and overlooked topic, the contributors attempt to answer the following questions: In which ways do the Nāths' claim of possessing yogic powers (often construed as supernatural powers, *siddhi*s) translate into mundane expressions of sociopolitical power? How does this morph into the authority to reinterpret and recreate particular traditions? How, then, did their acculturation to the political idioms of contemporary times affect their sectarian self-understanding? And how did the social status of householder Nāth vary according to location?

The volume opens with a chapter by Véronique Bouillier, which has two main goals: it presents an overview of the Nāth Yogīs and it highlights some areas that call for further studies, better clarification, and more fieldwork. The chapter presents a hypothetical triangular schema whose three corners are the Nāths Yogīs, haṭha yoga, and Gorakhnāth, pointing out how the relationships between these three elements is far from simple or straightforward. Focusing on how the theme of powers (*siddhi*s) fits into this complex framework, the chapter stresses a sectarian continuity despite the adaptation to changing circumstances. It points out the centrality of the *siddhi*s for the identity of the Nāths as yogīs, both for establishing relationships with kings and, in modern times, for participating in electoral politics. The chapter also introduces the often-overlooked topic of the householder Yogīs, an essential theme for understanding the identity and history of the Nāths. This first chapter, therefore, introduces the different topics developed in the volume, offering a theoretical scaffolding that only someone with a profound knowledge of the order, such as Véronique Bouillier, could write.[22]

22 We would also like to thank Véronique Bouillier for her kind and invaluable support in the realization of this volume.

In Chapter 2, the confluence of supernatural and political power is discussed by Adrián Muñoz through a detailed analysis of hagiographical sources. Muñoz draws attention to the interplay between the *siddhi*s attributed to the Yogīs and the sociopolitical authority they often enjoyed. The chapter explores ways in which power is understood in the context of haṭha yoga, linking these ideal conceptions to historical and hagiographical examples of Nāth Yogīs displaying various sorts of powers in different contexts and times. The main corpus for this construal is Nāth hagiography, a rich source for the study of different articulations of power, success, and *siddhi*, through the stories of Yogīs guiding princes or kings turned Yogīs (such as Cauraṅgī, Bhartharī, and Gopīcand). Muñoz also suggests that the display of supernatural capacities in hagiographical sources is not merely a literary device but is mirrored by historical facts, as examples from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries demonstrate. Nāth identity, therefore, is here represented as being socioculturally produced at the intersection of worldly and religious powers: construed to represent the dominion over the macro- and the microcosm, it becomes a source of authority in the spiritual realm and a source of power in the secular world.

A different textual approach is presented in Chapter 3 by Jamal A. Jones, who works on a Telegu source, the Gaurana's *Navanāthacaritramu*, a long fourteenth- or fifteenth-century poem written at the temple complex of Srisailam. Although, as noted above, Yogī Siddhas often appear as suspicious characters in Indian literature, often pursuing *siddhi*s with nefarious intent and at great cost to others, enlisting and sometimes imperiling virtuous kings in occult activities, Gaurana's work reverses this paradigm and describes instead the sinister sovereign. While his Yogīs do seek occult power, they do so only as disinterested ascetics, whereas kings repeatedly seek Yogīs and yogic powers for personal gain. In so doing, they reveal an inherent selfishness and corruption that undermines their imperative to rule and protect. This chapter, then, dramatizes a longstanding conflict between pursuing yogic power for personal profit and pleasure, and gaining power on the way to liberation from the world. Moreover, it demonstrates how Gaurana's poem echoes the rising political fortunes of his patron, the leading ascetic of Srisailam's Bhikṣāvṛtti *maṭh*. Since there are very few scholars contributing to the research on the Nāth *sampradāya* on the basis of textual materials in South Indian vernacular languages, Jones's contribution offers a remarkable perspective to reflect upon the importance of South Indian sources in properly understanding the development and reception of a tradition in different geographical contexts.

Amsterdam University Press

This textual background paves the way for Christine Marrewa-Karwoski, who in Chapter 4 uses textual sources in Hindi to discuss an important shift in the ideological construction of power in twentieth-century Gorakhpur. Although the Nāth temple at Gorakhpur had never been a particularly renowned or powerful center in the past, its Yogīs, instead, had been well regarded for their social inclusivity and supernatural abilities. In this engaging chapter, Marrewa-Karwoski demonstrates how the Yogīs' *siddhi*s were systematically reinterpreted in Gorakhpur under Mahant Digvijaynāth in favor of a new model of political participation in the life of the state. After presenting the ascent of Mahant Digvijaynāth as the head of the temple in Gorakhpur, the chapter examines Digvijaynāth's words in the various publications put out by the Gorakhnāth Mandir, an archive not previously examined in scholarly literature. It illustrates how the *mahant*, although taking pride in his predecessors' *siddhi*s, also took pains to distance himself from these same powers. Juxtaposed with this distance there was also a need to represent a Hindu-Nāth identity based on political activism and the protection of the Hindu dharma. Marrewa-Karwoski argues that it was this renegotiation of the role of the *siddhi*s (fundamental for the construal of Nāth history, in which Digvijaynāth's *mahantship* is rooted, but unsuitable for the political idiom of the modern world) that cemented the role of the Gorakhpur monastery as one of the main political epicenters of the northern Nāth community in the twentieth century.

Nāth identity, nevertheless, was not only renegotiated in its "ascetic" environment. As we have already mentioned, householder Nāths have always been a ubiquitous presence in South Asia and it is not surprising that their identity and status also underwent important transformations. Lubomír Ondračka (Chapter 5) and Joel Bordeaux (Chapter 6) focus their attention on Bengal, a region in which householder Nāths have a strong presence but ascetics are almost absent. While Ondračka enquires the origin of the presence of householder Nāths in the region, Bordeaux investigates the search for social power exerted by Bengali Nāths in their struggle for upward mobility in a society that has relegated them to a low status.

Ondračka investigates the origin of the "Jugī" caste in the eastern parts of undivided Bengal. Colonial records reveal that the Jugīs formed a numerous endogamous caste in that part of the Subcontinent, and even today this Bengali-speaking community, now known as the Nāths, is visibly present in southern Assam, Tripura and northern Bangladesh. These numbers have led scholars to believe that the Jugī caste has been present in Bengal for many centuries, probably since the Pāla dynasty (750-1174). However,

textual sources (both in Sanskrit and Bengali) produced in medieval Bengal do not refer to this caste anywhere. This chapter scrutinizes the evidence of the Nāth presence in the area and problematizes the connection between ascetic Nāths and householders. Ondračka hypothesizes that the Jugīs came to Bengal from somewhere in the west of India (probably Gujarat) only during the seventeenth century, when economic development began in the easternmost part of the Mughal Empire, stimulated by the East Indian Company. This development required a large number of weavers – and weaving did indeed remain the main occupation of the Jugīs in Bengal until the nineteenth century. This caste had no connection with the ascetic Nāths in Bengal (whose presence was in any case minimal) nor with yoga theories and practices, which compels the author to wonder about their being labeled Jugī *tout court*. What seems clear from Ondračka's work is that, because of this lack of historical connection with ascetic Nāths and the consequent lack of yogic charisma (usually inherent to Jogīs as castes), these migrant Jugīs were relegated to the lower part of the local caste hierarchy, deprived of any spiritual authority. In Risley's report (1891) the precise caste status of the Jogīs was ambiguous and apparently different in various parts of Lower Bengal, but it started to be questioned by the Jogīs themselves from 1872. Subsequently, some decided to proclaim themselves to be Brahmins and began to wear the sacred thread.

To pinpoint this situation, Joel Bordeaux analyzes in his chapter a Sanskritizing movement that has developed among householder Nāths in West Bengal since the early twentieth century. In particular, he considers how authors and organizers affiliated with the All-India Rudraja Nath Brahmin Association (*Nikhil Bhārat Rudraja Nāth Brāhmaṇ Sammilanī,* hereafter NBRNBS) use historical arguments to support their claim of being in fact "Rudraja" Brahmins. Implicit in their claim is a critique of how caste has been practiced in Bengal since the twelfth century. The NBRNBS, drawing on a fifteenth-century Sanskrit edition of the *Ballāla Carita*, promotes the idea that Brahmin Nāths were unjustly declared *avarṇa* by the Sena monarch Ballāla Sena, who definitively reorganized Bengali Hindu society just before Western Bengal came under Turkic control. It is here interesting to notice that the request of the NBRNBS lays on a "simple" syllogism: since householder Nāths traditionally used to practice yoga, to accept royal gifts of land, and to perform *pūjā*s on behalf of others – activities which are also performed by Brahmins – it followed that Nāths are Brahmins too. This chapter, therefore, while showing the somewhat paradoxical approach to caste and Hindu identity inherent in the NBRNBS's advocacy, also demonstrates its reliance on the specific imaginary of social authority

recalled by a “traditional” Nāth identity, despite the fact that householder Nāths part of the NBRNBS are today primarily Vaiṣṇavas.[23]

Questions of identity and about the relationship between householder and ascetic Nāths also find space in the section of the volume related to Nepal. This area is discussed in Chapter 7 by Christof Zotter, who focuses on the historical rise and development of monastic lineages of Yogīs and their relationship with royal power, and in Chapter 8 by Eloisa Stuparich, via the religious career of Yogī Naraharināth, an influential advocate of Hindu nationalism in the twentieth century.

From the late fourteenth century Nepal attested the presence of different groups of Nāths whose origins are, nevertheless, still unclear. Therefore, in the first part of his chapter, Zotter questions the source of these Nāths’ support, and through an attentive epigraphic search submits evidence which contradicts the idea of an early patronage under the Hindu Malla kings (1200-1768/69), while supporting the presence of private donors, probably Yogīs themselves. In the second part of the chapter, Zotter presents new document findings, some just published, that demonstrate how a close linkage between Yogīs and kings developed slowly. He analyzes the special relation of the Śāh kings from Gorkha with their tutelary deity Gorakṣanāth, as well as the career of Siddha Bhagavantanāth. For his miraculous support for the king’s war campaigns, his diplomatic services, and political advice, Bhagavantanāth received land grants, was appointed as central overseer (*maṇḍalāi*) of all Yogīs in the newly founded and still expanding kingdom of Nepal, and was able to establish new monasteries. Zotter’s chapter, scrutinizing the further developments of these monastic settlements, demonstrates that the kings’ support of Yogīs was not always consistent, as we also find other forces, both internal and external, hindering and jeopardizing the temporal powers of the Yogīs.

Chapter 8 presents another example of charismatic, politically involved Yogī, Yogī Naraharināth (1915-2003), who was not only the *mahant* of the main Nāth *maṭh* in Nepal (at Mrigasthali, Kathmandu valley), but also an important cultural icon in twentieth-century Nepal, acclaimed as an *avatār* of Gorakhnāth by his disciples. Controversial among political activists who fought for multiparty political representation in Nepal, throughout his life

23 It is interesting to notice that there are also ascetic Nāths, like Yogī Śivanāth, a *mahant* from Orissa, who attempt to reconvert Vaiṣṇava householder Yogīs to “Nāth-ism” through *satsang*s (meetings) during which the peculiar identity of Nāths in comparison to other *sampradāya*s is stressed. For this reason, Yogī Śivanāth criticizes this Brahminization of Bengali Nāths, emphasizing the fact that Nāths are beyond the caste system.

Amsterdam University Press

Naraharināth pursued the project of preserving Nepal as a uniquely Hindu monarchy, modeled on a notion of Vedic dharma that he regarded as the primordial religion of the Himalayan region. Articulated on the model of the *karma-yogī*, his religious persona was located at the intersection between Nāth asceticism, Sanskrit scholarship, and Hindu nationalism, and appealed to a variety of followers, emphasizing different aspects of his charisma. Stuparich's chapter examines some accounts of Yogī Naraharināth's life as a contemporary embodiment of the Nāth hagiographical tradition, whose importance has already been stressed in Muñoz's and Marrewa-Karkowski's chapters. As in the case of Digvijaynāth's hagiography, the texts do not aim to present Naraharināth as a powerful ascetic according to the Yogīs' spiritual paradigms, but focus instead on his public role as a *paṇḍit* and as a *rāṣṭra-bhakta*, underscoring the centrality of his commitment to Hinduness in Nepal. Discourses on Yogī Naraharināth's public life in Nepal reveal, therefore, an important change in the understanding of ascetic agency, with religious charisma rephrased "around notions of social involvement, instead of renunciation" with a "nationalistic re-elaboration of karma yoga in political fashion".

In the light of these examples, it is not surprising to find similar strategies for acquiring social and religious powers in contemporary times. Ethnographic insights are given by Carter Higgins in Chapter 9, which focuses on the monastic temple of Gogameri in Rajasthan, and by Daniela Bevilacqua in Chapter 10, who deals with the Nāth reappropriation of haṭha yoga.

Higgins's attention to the village of Gogameri is prompted by the fact that it houses both the tomb of Gogajī, a warrior-saint with Hindu and Muslim hagiographies, and Gorakhtila, the politically influential temple of Gogajī's guru, Yogī Gorakhnāth. The chapter describes the role of Gorakhtila in the leadership of Mahant Yogī Rupnāth and the public religious and charitable trust that he directs, the Gorakhtila Dhuna Trust. Since the early 2000s, they have worked to mobilize pilgrims, government agencies, ritual spaces, and hagiographical knowledge in order to develop a new pilgrimage infrastructure, purifying the pilgrimage's genealogical and ritual elements from their hybrid, Hindu-Muslim religious imaginary. Higgins clearly demonstrates that to pursue these objectives, Rupnāth and the Dhuna Trust not only cultivated relations with state actors, such as the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), but also mobilized strategies borrowed from Hindu nationalism in general, while importing rituals and narrative forms derived from the contemporary rhetoric associated with the Sanātan Dharma, infused with Vaiṣṇavism and "*sevā*-development". Therefore, the chapter examines how older modes of yogic charisma and

ascetic-sovereign are used and adapted, especially in their hagiographic aspect, in the new scenario of public, religious, and charitable trusts, so as to become more suitable for contemporary projects and more attractive to a new, heterogeneous community of followers and pilgrims.

The Nāths' attention towards lay devotees and followers is also at the core of Chapter 10, wherein the topic of contemporary haṭha yoga practice and the Nāth *sampradāya* is analyzed. As we have already seen, the link between Nāths and haṭha yoga is a traditional one, because Gorakhnāth is considered as the "organizer" of this form of yoga. Though some ethnographic works about Nāths have stressed that today probably very few Yogīs master this form of yoga, by contrast, this chapter shows that in recent years several *mahant*s have been involved in the teaching of a more commercialized form of yoga aimed at attracting especially lay people and foreigners. After briefly considering the developments concerned the modern history of yoga, and lay patronage, the chapter introduces the activities of the publishing house of the Gorakhnāth temple in Gorakhpur, and the yoga training camps (*yoga śivir*) there held on occasion of the International Yoga Day. Bevilacqua shows how members of the *sampradāya* are reclaiming, although presenting different strategies, their right to occupy the Indian/international yoga landscape, stressing their traditional association to the practice of yoga and haṭha yoga. The practice and yoga they propose aims to attract an audience of lay people and foreigners, sometimes investing in esoteric practices, but predominantly in social and physical wellbeing, demonstrating, again, the ability of the order to adapt itself and its teaching to new changing contexts.

As a whole, the volume strives to provide a variety of approaches and methodologies, presenting to the reader different voices and different scholarly styles. By looking at different geographic contexts and historical periods, by considering both the ascetics and householder Nāth communities, and by favoring a multidisciplinary approach in which textual, historical, and ethnographic evidence are in dialogue, it is possible to illustrate moments of innovation and change within the Nāth tradition, to fill gaps in our knowledge of the order, or, at least, to highlight which gaps still need to be filled.

Through the pages of this volume, we will see how the hagiographic narration, and especially its reinterpretation, has always played a fundamental role: new and old hagiographies contributed and still contribute to a reinterpretation of the past, adapting it to new social and political environments. Consequently, we will also see how history and social hierarchy can also be manipulated to enable *mahant*s to acquire temporal power and householder Nāths to better their social position based on a "traditional" ascetic image.

Amsterdam University Press

Examples from the past also allow us to understand how rituals, practices, and conceptions of religious charisma may change: from the all-powerful tantric *siddha*s to the Nāth *rāj-guru*s endowed with supernatural abilities, from the loss of prestige under the British Raj, to the nationalistic reinterpretations of contemporary times in which the successful attempts to be involved in politics may push the *rāj-yogī* to present himself as a *karma-yogī* who sacrifices himself for the dharma, the power of the Nāth Yogīs has undergone important transformations while remaining, at the same time, a central feature of their religious persona. Similarly, the householder Nāth, as bard or weaver, also had to reinterpret his status to find a place in a society that replicates traditional models of legitimacy and authority even in lay contexts. We can, therefore, read today's Nāth world as the result of a long process of negotiating complex relationships between ascetics and householders, kings and Yogīs, each trying to manufacture their own legitimacy within the constraints of their place and times. Constraints, the hagiographies tell us, occasionally shuttered by some magical feat.

Bibliography

Bankar, Amol. 2019. "The Legend of Nāthasiddha Cauraṅgī as Reflected in Early Medieval Hagiography, Epigraphy and Art." *Heritage: Journal of Multi-disciplinary Studies in Archaeology* 7: 915-933.

Bankar, Amol. 2013. "Two Inscriptions from the Ghorāvadeśvara Caves near Shelarwadi." *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 2011* XCII: 93-102.

Barthwal, Pitambar Datt. 1946. *Yoga-pravāh: Cune hue lechon kā samgraha*. Varanasi: Śrī Kāśī-vidyāpīṭha.

Barthwal, Pitambar Datt. 1978. *Traditions of Indian Mysticism based upon Nirguna School of Hindi Poetry*. New Delhi: Heritage Publishers. First published in 1936 as *Nirguna School of Hindi Poetry*.

Bevilacqua, Daniela. 2018. *Modern Hindu Traditionalism in Contemporary India: The Śrī Maṭh and the Jagadguru Rāmānandācārya in the Evolution of the Rāmānandī Sampradāya*. Abingdon; New York: Routledge.

Birch, Jason. 2013. "Rājayoga: The Reincarnations of the King of all Yogas." *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 17: 399-442.

Briggs, George Weston. 1938. *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Bouillier, Véronique. 1997. *Ascètes et Rois. Un monastère de Kanphata Yogis au Népal*. Paris: CNRS Editions.

Bouillier, Véronique. 2011. "Kanphata Yogis." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism, Vol. III: Society, Religious Specialists, Religious Traditions, and Philosophy*, edited by Knut A. Jacobsen, Helene Basu, Angelika Malinar, and Vasudha Narayanan, 347-54. Leiden: Brill.

Bouillier, Véronique. 2017. *Monastic Wanderers: Nath Yogi Ascetics in Modern South Asia*. Delhi: Manohar.

Bouillier, Véronique. 2015. "Nāth Yogīs' Encounters with Islam." *South Asia Mulitdisciplinary Academic Journal*. https://journals.openedition.org/samaj/3878. (accessed February 2021).

Buoy, Christian. 1994. *Les Nātha-yogin et les Upanisads: Étude d'histoire de la literature hindoue*. Paris: Editions de Boccard.

Burchett, Patton. 2012. "Bhakti Religion and Tantric Magic in Mughal India: Kacchvāhās, Rāmānandīs, and Nāths, circa 1500-1750." PhD dissertation, Columbia University.

Burchett, Patton. 2019. *A Genealogy of Devotion: Bhakti, Tantra, Yoga, and Sufism in North India*. Columbia University Press.

Chandra, Satish. 1993. *Mughal Religious Policies: The Rajputs and the Deccan*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Chaturvedi, Vinayak. 2010. "Rethinking Knowledge with Action: V.D. Savarkar, the Bhagavad Gita, and Histoires of Warfare." *Modern Intellectual History* 7(2): 417-435.

Dahnhardt, Thomas. 2002. *Change and Continuity in Indian Sūfism*. Delhi: D. K. Printworld.

Dasgupta, Shashibhusan. 1946. *Obscure Religious Cults as a Background of Bengali Literature*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.

Digby, Simon. 2000. *Wonder-Tales of South Asia*. Orient Monographs.

Djurdjevic, Gordan. 2019. *Sayings of Gorakhnāth: Annotated Translation of the Gorakh Bani.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Ernst, W. Carl. 2005. "Situating Sufism and Yoga." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Third Series* 15(1): 15-43.

Gold, Daniel. 1995. "The Instability of the King: Magical Insanity and the Yogi's Power in the Politics of Jodhpur, 1803-1843." In *Bhakti Religion in North India: Community Identity and Political Action*, edited by David N. Lorenzen, 120-32. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Gold, Daniel. 1999a. "Yogis' Earrings, Householder's Birth: Split Ears and Religious Identity among Householder Naths in Rajasthan." In *Religion, Ritual and Royalty*, edited by N. K. Singhi and Rajendra Joshi, 35-53. Jaipur: Rawat.

Gold, Daniel. 1999b. "Nath Yogis as Established Alternatives: Householders and Ascetics Today." *Journal of African and Asian Studies* 34 (1): 68-88.

Amsterdam University Press

Gold, Daniel. 2005. "The Sufi Shrines of Gwalior City: Communal Sensibilities and the Accessible Exotic Under Hindu Rule." *Journal of Asian Studies* 64 (1): 127-50.
Gold, Daniel, and Grodzins Ann. Nov. 1984. "The Fate of the Householder Nath." *History of Religions* 24 (2): 113-32.
Grodzins Gold, Ann. Nov. 1989. "The Once and Future Yogi: Sentiments and Signs in the Tale of a Renouncer-King." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 48 (4): 770-86.
Grodzins Gold, Ann. 1993. *A Carnival of Parting: The Tales of King Bharthari and King Gopi Chand as Sung and Told by Madhu Natisar Nath of Ghatiyali, Rajasthan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Grodzins Gold, Ann. 1991. "Gender and Illusion in a Rajasthani Yogi Tradition." In *Gender Genre, and Power in South Asian Expressive Traditions*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, Frank J. Korom, and Margaret A. Mills, 102-35. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
Goswamy B. N., and J. S Grewal. 1967. *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar: Some Madad-I ma'āsh and Other Documents*. Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.
Halbfass, W. 1990. *India and Europe. An Essay in Philosophical Understanding*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
Hawley John Stratton, Novetzke Christian Lee, and Swapna Sharma, eds. 2019. *Bhakti and Power, Debating India's Religion of Hearth*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
Horstmann, Monika. 2014. "The Emergence of the Nathyogi order in the Light of Vernacular Sources." *International Journal of Tantra Studies* 10 (1), http://asiatica.org/ijts/10-1/emergence-nathyogi-order-light-vernacular-sources.
Horstmann, Monika. 2017. "Nāth and Dādūpanthī Critique of Jains." *International Journal of Jaina Studies* 13 (1): 1-72.
Jacobsen, A. Knut, ed. 2011. *Yoga Powers: Extraordinary Capacities Attained Through Meditation and Concentration*. Leiden: Brill.
Kiehnle, Catharina. 1997. "Songs on Yoga: Texts and Teachings of the Mahārāstrian Nāths." *Jñāndev Studies I-II. Alt-und Neu-Indische Studien* 48 (1). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
Kiehnle, Catharina. 2000. "Love and Bhakti in the Early Nāth Tradition of Mahārāstra: The Lotus of the Heart." In *Bhakti Literature in South Asia*, edited by M. K. Gautam and G. H. Schokker, 255-76. Leiden: Kern Institute.
Kiehnle, Catharina. 2004-2005. "The Secret of the Nāths: the Ascent of Kuṇḍalinī according to Jñāneśvarī, 6. 151-328." *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes* 22-23: 447-494.
Lorenzen, David. 1972. *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas: Two Lost Śaivite Sects*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Lorenzen, David. 1995. *Bhakti Religion in North India: Community Identity and Political Action*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Lorenzen, David. 1996. *Praises to a Formless God: Nirguni Texts from North India*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Lorenzen, David and Adrián Muñoz. 2011. *Yogi Heroes and Poets: Histories and Legends of the Naths*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Mallik, Kalyani. 1954. *Siddha-Siddhānta-Paddhati and Other Works of the Nātha Yogīs*. Poona: Poona Oriental Book House.

Mallinson, James. 2011a. "Hatha Yoga." In *Brill Encyclopedia of Hinduism, Vol. III: Society, Religious Specialists, Religious Traditions, and Philosophy*, edited by Knut A. Jacobsen, Helene Basu, Angelika Malinar, and Vasudha Narayanan, 770-81. Leiden: Brill.

Mallinson, James. 2011b. "Nāth Sampradāya." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism, Vol. III: Society, Religious Specialists, Religious Traditions, and Philosophy*, edited by Knut A. Jacobsen, Helene Basu, Angelika Malinar, and Vasudha Narayanan, 409-28. Leiden: Brill.

Mallinson, James. March 2012a. "Yoga and Yogīs." *Nāmarupa* 15 (3): 2-27.

Mallinson, James. 2012b. "The Original Gorakṣaśataka." In *Yoga in Practice*, edited by David Gordon White, 257-72. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mallinson, James. 2014. "The Yogīs' Latest Trick." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24 (1): 165-80.

Mallinson, James. 2018. "Early *Haṭhayoga*". Paper draft.

Mallinson, James. 2019. "Kālavañcana in the Konkan: How a Vajrayāna Haṭhayoga Tradition Cheated Buddhism's Death in India." *Religions* 10 (4): 273.

Mallinson, James. 2020a. "Haṭhayoga's Early History: From Vajrayāna Sexual Restraint to Universal Somatic Soteriology." In *Hindu Practice*, edited by Gavin Flood, 1-21. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mallinson, James. Forthcoming 2020b. "Yogi Insignia in Mughal Painting and Avadhi Romances." In *Objects, Images, Stories: Simon Digby's Historical Method*, edited by Francesca Orsini and David Lunn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Offredi, Mariola. 2002. "Kabīr and the Nāthpanth." In *Images of Kabīr*, edited by Monika Horstmann, 127-41. New Delhi: Manohar.

Sarde, Vijay. 2014. "Nath Siddhas Scultures on the Someshwara Temple at Pimpri-Dumala in Pune District, Maharashstra." *Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute* 74: 117-26.

Sarde, Vijay. 2016. "Art and Architecture of Someshwar Temple at Pimpri-Dumala, Pune District, Maharashtra." *Historicity Research Journal* 2: 1-22.

Sarde, Vijay. 2017. "Paścimī Dakkhan se prāpt Matsyendranāth aur Gorakṣanāth ke nav anvesit Mūrti-Śilp." *Arnava* 6: 94-113.

Singleton, Mark. 2020. *The Yoga Body*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stroker, Valerie. 2016. *Polemics and Patronage in the City of Victory*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Amsterdam University Press

Vaudeville, Charlotte. 1987. “The Shaivite Background of Santism in Maharastra.” In *Religion and Society in Maharasthra*, edited by M. Israel and N. K. Wagle, 32-50. Toronto: University of Toronto.

White, David Gordon. 1996. *The Alchemical Body*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

White, David Gordon. 2009. *Sinister Yogis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

White, David Gordon. Forthcoming. “Yogic and Political Power Among the Nāth Siddhas of North India.” In *Asceticism and Power in South and Southeast Asia*, edited by Peter Flugel and Gustaaf Houtmann. London: Routledge.

About the authors

Daniela Bevilacqua is a Research Associate at SOAS. She received her PhD in Civilizations of Africa and Asia from Sapienza University of Rome, and in Anthropology from the University of Paris Nanterre. She is a former Postdoctoral Research Fellow for the Hatha Yoga Project (ERC) and author of *Modern Hindu Traditionalism in Contemporary India*.
db28@soas.ac.uk

Eloisa Stuparich is a Research Fellow at the Giorgio Cini Foundation (Venice, Italy), where she is currently working on the digitization of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Danielou Fund.
es582@cornell.edu

A U P
Amsterdam University Press