

Notes

Chapter 1

- P. 2 *The French missionary Gaston-Laurent Coeurdoux*: Murr 1987, 1: 123.
- P. 2 *plagiarized is a more accurate term*: Murr 1987, 2: 1–64.
- P. 3 *Application or concentration of the thoughts*: Monier-Williams 1984, 856–57.
- P. 5 *what Patanjali termed the “eight-part practice”*: *Yoga Sutra* 2.29 (*astav angani*).
- P. 7 *they would have also taken part in debates*: King 1999, 44, 64.
- P. 9 *One count on which these scholar-practitioners*: Feuerstein 1979, 34–35; Chapple 2008, 219–21.
- P. 10 *“Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit”*: Angot 2008, 24.
- P. 10 *there are only four verbs*: Angot 2008, 23.
- P. 11 *the Yoga Sutra’s basic vocabulary*: Angot 2008, 68, 89, 122.
- P. 11 *So when we speak of the philosophy of Patanjali*: Bryant 2009, xxxviii.
- P. 13 *a. 1: Concentration (yoga)*: Ballantyne 1852, 3; Ballantyne–Shastri Deva 1983, 9.
- P. 13 *a. 2: Yoga*: Mitra 1883, 4.
- P. 13 *a. 3: Yoga*: Woods 1914, 8.
- P. 13 *a. 4: Yoga*: Maas 2009, 268.
- P. 13 *a. 5: Yoga*: Miller 1996, 29.
- P. 13 *a. 6: Yoga*: Aranya 1981, 6.
- P. 13 *a. 7: Disciplined meditation*: Larson and Bhattacharya 2008, 162.
- P. 13 *a. 8: We become whole*: Roach and McNally 2005, 4.
- P. 13 *a. 9: Yoga*: Iyengar 1993, 46.

- P. 13 *a. 10: Yoga*: Desikachar and Cravens 1998, 55.
- P. 13 *a. 11: Yoga*: Whicher 1998, 1.
- P. 13 *a. 12: Yoga*: Taimni 1965, 6.
- P. 13 *a. 13: Yoga*: Hartranft 2003, 1.
- P. 13 *a. 14: Yoga*: Feuerstein 1989, 26.
- P. 13 *a. 15: Yoga*: White 1996, 273.
- P. 14 *a. 16. Yoga*: Prabhavananda and Isherwood 1971, 15.
- P. 14 *a. 17: Yoga*: Vivekananda 1973, 101.
- P. 14 *a. 18: Yoga happens*: Venkatesananda 1998, 3.
- P. 14 *a. 19: Yoga*: Chapple 2008, 143.
- P. 14 *a. 20: Yoga*: Bryant 2009, 10.
- P. 14 *a. 21: Yoga*: Grinshpon 2002, 97. This is the third, and most eccentric, of three translations Grinshpon proposed here.
- P. 14 *a. 22: Yoga*: Ranganathan 2009, 72.
- P. 15 *Perhaps Swami Shankarananda came closest*: Aranya 1983, unnumbered page between table of contents and p. vii.

Chapter 2

- P. 19 *since the sixteenth century*: Halbfass 1988, 351–54; Angot 2008, 26n45.
- P. 20 *in the Katha Upanishad*: Roebuck 2003, 281–82, 291.
- P. 20 *sixth book of another Upanishad*: White 2009, 89–96, 139–41.
- P. 20 *a lost yoga tradition*: White 2009, 59–61, 67–71.
- P. 21 *a divine figure named Hiranyagarbha: Mahabharata* 12.337.60; 12.337.60. See also Kane 1977, 1371, 1390–91, and Bhattacharya 1985, 16–18, 171–73.

- P. 21 *one of them quite extensively*: Bhattacharya 1985, 19–24. This is the *Ahīrbudhnyā Samhita*, a work that likely postdates the *Yoga Sūtra*.
- P. 22 *Shiva-worshipping (Shaiva) ascetics*: Larson and Bhattacharya 2008, 26; White 2009, 75, 105–7.
- P. 22 *Like the earlier Katha Upanishad*: Van Buitenen 1981, 85–101, 121–31; White 2009, 169–72.
- P. 22 “*Samkhya with Ishvara*”: Bronkhorst 1981, 309–20. Bronkhorst appears to have been unaware of Apararka’s twelfth-century commentary on the *Yajñavalkyaśmṛiti*, which identifies Patañjali as the source of the Yoga system and identifies his system as *śeṣvara samkhya*: Apte 1903, 11.
- P. 23 *as Peter Schreiner argued*: Schreiner 1999, 755–77.
- P. 23 *a legendary sage named Kapila*: Burley 2007, 36.
- P. 25 *Indian theories of language: Yoga Sūtra 3.15*, with the commentaries of Vyasa and Vāchaspati Miśra, in Woods 1914, 233–46.
- P. 27 *iron filings around a magnet: Yoga Sūtra 4.1*, with the commentaries of Vyasa and Vāchaspati Miśra, in Koelmans 1970, 83; *Yoga Sūtra 4.22*, in Mitra 1883, 193.
- P. 27 *an actress or a dancer*: Śaṅkara’s commentary on *Samkhya Karika 59*, in Bryant 2009, 26.
- P. 28 *The mind-stuff is the mirror*: Bryant 2009, 14–16.
- P. 29 *issuing into a direct yogic perception*: King 1999, 191.
- P. 29 “*dwells in His own form*”: *Yoga Sūtra 1.3*.

- P. 30 *In the Indian case*: Garbe 1896, 43–45; Mitra 1883, 9 (commenting on *Yoga Sutra* 1.4). He further refers to this principle at pages 171 and 194, commenting on *Yoga Sutra* 4.3 and 4.22, with the commentary of Bhoja.
- P. 30 *This principle*: White 2012, 61–77.
- P. 30 *this is one of the supernatural powers*: *Yoga Sutra* 3.45, with the commentary of Vyasa.
- P. 31 *enter into the bodies of other beings*: *Yoga Sutra* 3.38.
- P. 31 *the power of flight*: *Yoga Sutra* 3.42.
- P. 31 *invisibility*: *Yoga Sutra* 3.21.
- P. 31 *the ability to read other people’s minds*: *Yoga Sutra* 3.19.
- P. 31 *there is nothing supernatural about these powers*: Bryant 2009, 33–38.
- P. 31 *Capable of penetrating or transforming*: *Yoga Sutra* 4.10, with the commentary of Vachaspati Mishra, in Woods 1914, 313; and Bryant 2009, 15.
- P. 33 *bees following their queen*: *Yoga Sutra* 2.54, with Vyasa’s commentary, in Woods 1914, 197. Indian sources in fact refer to this as the “king-bee.”
- P. 33 *a humble wooden cart*: Mitra 1883, 201.
- P. 33 *reference to a yogic “lifestyle”*: Although, in his commentary on *Yoga Sutra* 2.39–40, Vyasa speaks of yogis teaching their disciples and the life of the wandering ascetic: Woods 1914, 187–88.
- P. 33 *Comprising the final twenty-eight verses*: *Yoga Sutra* 2.28–3.3.
- P. 33 *at least two—but perhaps as many as six*: Larson and Bhattacharya 2009, 62–64; Chapple 2008, 110.

- P. 35 *“Patanjali” is listed as the name of one of the twenty-six mythical Great Serpents:*
Bhattacharya 1985, 92.
- P. 35 *I bow with folded hands to Patanjali:* Bryant 2009, 288; Woods 1927, xiii.
- P. 36 *the son of a woman named Gonika:* Mitra 1883, lxviii.
- P. 36 *a commentary on the Caraka Samhita:* Dasgupta 1975, 230–31.
- P. 36 *recited in B.K.S. Iyengar yoga classes:* Bryant 2009, xxxii.
- P. 37 *In about the twelfth century:* Younger 1995, 165–66, 186n11; Angot 2008, 21.
- P. 37 *According to this pilgrim’s guide:* Younger 1995, 171.
- P. 37 *the Patanjali Puja Sutra:* Younger 1995, 24.
- P. 38 *Those connections would not be made: Patanjali Carita 2.7–19, in Sivadatta,*
Parab, and Pansikar 1934, 8–9.
- P. 38 *Out of grace to the world:* Deva 1936, 448.
- P. 38 *the 2004 inauguration of just such a shrine: found at*
<http://www.bksiyengar.com/modules/institut/Yogini/temple.htm>.
- P. 39 *Adisesa then began to meditate:* Iyengar 1993, 2.
- P. 40 *If, like Hiranyagarbha in the Mahabharata:* Angot 2008, 105.
- P. 40 *several scholars:* Sarbacker 2005, 103; Bryant 2009, xxxiii; Whicher 1998, 49;
Taimni 1965, ix; Prabhavananda and Isherwood 1971, 8.
- P. 40 *Patanjali would merely have been the human transmitter:* Angot 2008, 126.
- P. 41 *There is a significant minority opinion:* Woods 1914, xx–xxi; Angot 2008, 24–28.
- P. 41 *most notably T. S. Rukmani:* Rukmani 1998, 263–74; Angot 2008, 759.
- P. 41 *the ninth-century Shankaracharya flatly rejects: Shankara, Brahmasutrabhashya*
2.1.3 and Brihadaranyaka Upanishad Bhashya 1.4.7, cited in Bouy 1994, 51

- P. 42 *As Leggett notes*: Leggett 1990, 18, 40–41.
- P. 42 *his assertion that there is only one Purusha*: Leggett 1990, 7–8.
- P. 42 *Shankara devotes the longest passages*: Leggett 1990, 107–34.
- P. 42 *The author of eight major works*: Burley 2007, 85–86; Angot 2008, 17.
- P. 43 *attacking the possibility of direct yogic perception*: Taber 2009, 81.
- P. 43 *Hiranyagarbha's Yoga system may have preceded Patanjali's*: Vachaspati Mishra, *ad Yoga Sutra* 1.1, in Woods 1914, 5. See also Kane 1977, 1391.
- P. 43 *a Samkhya-Yoga refutation: Yoga Sutra* 4.33, with Bhoja's commentary, in Mitra 1883, 210–16.
- P. 44 *"prostrate at his feet*: Mitra 1883, 217.
- P. 44 *An enlightened despot*: Smith 1958, 204.
- P. 45 *Rather than taking a Nondualist stance*: Bryant 2009, 98, 115.
- P. 45 *About a dozen Puranas*: These are, in more or less chronological order, the *Vayu* (10.72–16.17); *Vishnu* (6.7.1–106); *Shiva* (7.2.37–39); *Markandeya* (39.1–42.17); *Kurma* (2.11–12); *Bhagavata* (3.28.1–44); *Agni* (272.1–276.43); *Linga* (1.7–9); *Vishnudharmottara* (3.280–84); *Devibhagavata* (7.35.1–62); *Skanda* (Kashi Khanda 41.1–189); *Narada* (1.33.1–62); *Matsya* (52.1–26); and *Garuda* (1.226.1–40) *Puranas*.
- P. 46 *five Puranas provide long lists*: These are the *Vishnu*, *Shiva*, *Linga*, *Skanda*, and *Kurma Puranas*.
- P. 46 *only a handful of verses*: Bhattacharya 1985, 174–80.
- P. 46 *Only five*: *Shiva Purana* 7.2.10.33; 7.2.37.6; *Linga Purana* 1.8.7; *Markandeya Purana* 40.5; *Kurma Purana* 2.11.12; *Agni Purana* 272.2.

- P. 46 *seven Puranas that do discuss the eight-part practice: these are the Vishnu, Shiva, Kurma, Linga, Narada, Garuda, Devibhagavata, and Agni.*
- P. 47 *only the Shiva acknowledges: Shiva Purana 7.2.37.18.*
- P. 47 *For this reason, he chose to view Ishvara: Yoga Sutra 1.28, with Vijnanabhikshu's commentary, in Rukmani 1981–89, 1: 163.*
- P. 48 *This assertion: Mahabharata 12.306.74–79; Aiyangar 1945, 102; Cowell and Gough 1978, 232, 248.*
- P. 48 *One of these was the Agni Purana: Agni Purana 376.12.*
- P. 49 *the word samadhi itself: Cowell and Gough 1978, 242–43.*
- P. 49 *Madhava equated Ishvara with Krishna: Cowell and Gough 1978, 260.*
- P. 49 *several elements of Tantric and Hatha Yoga: Cowell and Gough 1978, 258–59, 264–67.*
- P. 49 *the atheism of Samkhya: King 1999, 210.*
- P. 50 *the Ishvara of the Yoga Sutra: Bryant 2009, 155.*
- P. 50 *A “great encyclopedic construction: Pollock 1993, 105–6.*
- P. 51 *While he does acknowledge: Aiyangar 1945, 50, 167, 173, 174.*
- P. 51 *In fact, a verse: Mahabharata 12.304.7.*
- P. 51 *Several works, including the “Tradition of Yogi Yajnavalkya”:* Kane 1968, 421–59.
- P. 51 *For Advaita Vedanta commentators: Birch 2013: 412–13.*
- P. 52 *Following him, there would be relatively few new commentaries: Burley 2007, 31.*

Chapter 3

- P. 54 *The Nawab was forced to make major concessions: Kopf 1969, 16.*

- P. 54 *The Company was first and foremost*: Rocher 1993, 217.
- P. 55 *That clause proclaimed*: Rocher 1993, 220.
- P. 56 *In the earliest phases*: Rocher 1993, 236–37.
- P. 56 *Hastings’s Judicial Plan had begun to show results*: Rocher 1993, 221, 229.
- P. 57 *Jones began to suspect*: Ludden 1993, 255; Rocher 1993, 235.
- P. 58 *“many of the early aficionados*: Rocher 1993, 225.
- P. 58 *Wilkins mentions “a metaphysical work*: Wilkins 1785, 142, note to p. 73.
- P. 59 *Colebrooke had sailed to Bengal* : Rocher and Rocher 2012, 14.
- P. 59 *he was appointed district magistrate*: Rocher and Rocher 2012, 35
- P. 60 *Colebrooke’s 1823–27 study* : Colebrooke 1837, 227–419.
- P. 60 *India may have been the source*: Colebrooke 1837, 419.
- P. 60 *At his inaugural speech*: Colebrooke 1837, 1.
- P. 61 *Colebrooke’s 1823 study*: Colebrooke 1837, 227–60.
- P. 61 *the one school (Patanjali’s)*: Colebrooke 1837, 252–53.
- P. 62 *Besides the Sánc’hya of Capila*: Colebrooke 1837, 235, 236, 253.
- P. 63 *the occasional disparaging remark*: Colebrooke 1837, 317, 319, 323–24.
- P. 63 *J. Cockburn Thomson*: Thomson 1855, cxxix.
- P. 64 *As few of the twenty-eight*: Hall 1859, xi.
- P. 64 *“In judging, however, of the nature*: Mitra 1883, lvi.
- P. 64 *So, too, in 1889, Romesh Chunder Dutt*: Dutt 1889, 288.
- P. 64 *Max Müller would follow suit*: Max Müller 1899, 452–53.
- P. 65 *The notion, that . . . transcendent power*: Colebrooke 1837, 250–51.
- P. 66 *On the first count*: White 2009, 213–16.

- P. 66 *On the second, they were viewed*: White 2009, 218–19, 224–25.
- P. 67 *In the medieval scriptures*: White 2003, 193–95; White 2009, 161–62.
- P. 68 *a historical figure named Mastnath*: White 1996, 344–45; White 2009, 234–36.
- P. 68 *According to his 1820 report*: Tod 1829 [1957], 562–63.
- P. 69 *the French merchant Jean-Baptiste Tavernier*: Ball 1889, 2: 178–79.
- P. 70 *north Indian military labor market*: Kolff 1990, 30, 65; Bayly 1993, 126.
- P. 70 *“Sanyasi and Fakir Rebellion”*: Pinch 2006, 82–103.
- P. 70 *“corporations of Hindu ascetics*: Bayly 1993, 29, 142–43; Sontheimer 1989, 96–97.
- P. 71 *more than forty thousand brahmins*: Bayly 1993, 126, 137.
- P. 71 *“Hindu Fakirs”—that is, yogis*: Singh 1993, 281 (table 4), 284 (table 8).
- P. 72 *long descriptive account of Patanjali’s system*: Ward 1820, 199–224.
- P. 72 *detailed lists for the year 1817*: Ward 1820, 4: 490–93.
- P. 72 *Amongst one hundred thousand Brahmins*: Ward 1820, 4: 500–501.
- P. 73 *Colebrooke, who gently chided Ward*: Colebrooke 1837, 336.
- P. 73 *James Ballantyne, the principal*: Ballantyne 1852, ii.
- P. 73 *Thirty years later, Rajendralal Mitra*: Mitra 1883, xc.
- P. 74 *Max Müller would observe*: Max Müller 1899, xx.
- P. 74 *in the seclusion of the Himalayas and beyond*: Oman 1908, 13–25.
- P. 74 *noting the “innumerable” works*: Colebrooke 1837, 263–64; Potter 1977, 3; Potter and Bhattacharyya 1993, 3; Potter and Bhattacharyya 2011, table of contents; Feuerstein 1989, 4.

- P. 75 *Outside of these*: The following unedited compilations on yoga include references to the *Yoga Sutra*: the sixteenth-century *Yogachintamani* of Godhavaramishra; the seventeenth-century *Yuktabhavadeva* of Bhavadevamishra; the eighteenth-century *Hathatattvakaumudi* of Sundaradeva; and the eighteenth-century *Yogachintamani* of Shivanandasarasvati. I am grateful to Jason Birch for these references.
- P. 76 *Within that collection*: Windisch and Eggeling 1894, 595–832, esp. 598–603.
- P. 78 *Philipp André Maas's recent extensive survey*: Maas 2010, 3–16.
- P. 78 *Out of a total of some twenty thousand manuscripts*: My broader statistical breakdowns are based on the holdings of the manuscript collections at the Sri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute (Jammu) (Patkar 1973); Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute (Jodhpur) (Jinavijaya 1964); Asiatic Society of Bengal (Kolkata) (Sastri 1957); Calcutta University Postgraduate Department of Sanskrit Library (Kolkata) (Tarkatirtha 1954); Indian Museum Collection (Kolkata) (Misra 2001); India Office Library (London) (Windisch and Eggeling 1894); Oriental Research Institute (Mysore) (Malladevaru 1984, 1985, and 1987); Deccan College (Pune) (Bhandarkar 1888); Benares Hindu University (Varanasi) (Tripathi 1971); Sanskrit University Library (Varanasi) (Staff 1961); and the Adyar Library (Chennai) (Krishnamacharya 1966; Aithal 1972).

Chapter 4

- P. 82 *lecture notes from the 1825–26 academic year*: Halbfass 1988, 96.
- P. 82 *appeared in a set of critical essays*: Herring 1995, xv–xvi.
- P. 82 *a pretext for settling a number of scores*: Bernasconi 2003, 35–37.
- P. 82 *Friedrich's 1808 publication*: Halbfass 1988, 75–76.

- P. 83 *For the Romantics*: Figueira 1994, 201–33; Halbfass 1988, 74–75.
- P. 83 *ancient Indian philosophy lay at the origin*: Bernasconi 2003, 37.
- P. 84 *Even if it could be shown*: Bernasconi 2003, 37–38.
- P. 84 *because the West alone was historical*: Halbfass 1988, xix, 88.
- P. 84 *this was at best an “anticipation of philosophy”*: Bernasconi 2003, 43; Herring 1995, xix.
- P. 85 *the Indian mind had never evolved*: Hulin 1979, 113.
- P. 85 *For Hegel, the epitome of the dream world*: Herring 1995, 33.
- P. 85 *but behind Humboldt’s lecture*: Herring 1995, 155n12.
- P. 86 *In his lectures on the Bhagavad Gita*: Herring 1995, xiv–xv.
- P. 86 *For whereas Humboldt and Schlegel*: Herring 1995, 41, 44; Bernasconi 2003, 41–42.
- P. 87 *But Krsna adds that*: Herring 1995, 25, 27.
- P. 88 *As Herr von Humboldt points out*: Herring 1995, 29.
- P. 88 *Referring to the “devout exercises and pious meditation”*: Colebrooke 1837, 361.
- P. 88 *tantamount to “a belief in magic”*: Colebrooke 1837, 250.
- P. 89 *What here is called assiduitatis devotio*: Herring 1995, 61, 65, 71, 73.
- P. 89 *Hegel concludes his review*: Herring 1995, 149.
- P. 90 *Colebrooke’s influence had already appeared*: Herring 1995, 39.
- P. 90 *Now, in his 1829–30 lectures*: Bernasconi 2003, 42–43.
- P. 90 *he never took the next step*: Inden 1990, 94; Bernasconi 2003, 43.
- P. 91 *after reading the Yoga-Sutras*: Bernasconi 2003, 45–46.

Chapter 5

- P. 92 *“in a disjointed way”*: Mitra 1883, lxxvii.
- P. 92 *a Varanasi review titled “The Pandit”*: vols. 3–6, fasc. 28–67 (1868–71).
- P. 93 *investigation into the “historical” Patanjali*: Mitra 1883, lxvi–lxxii.
- P. 94 *“the arrangement is not at all helpful*: Bhattacharya 1985, 32.
- P. 94 *S. Radhakrishnan is less charitable*: Radhakrishnan 1973, 368, cited in Grinshpon 2002, 20.
- P. 94 *What follows is taken nearly verbatim*: Mitra 1883, lii–lv.
- P. 98 *His opinion of Vyasa*: Mitra 1883, lxxix.
- P. 99 *The subject is dry*: Mitra 1883, lvi. Cf. Angot 2008, 55n131 for a brief historical overview of the use of the term “pandit.”
- P. 99 *although he does speak*: Mitra 1883, xc.
- P. 99 *Like Colebrooke before him*: Mitra 1883, xci–xcii.
- P. 101 *One of these was the German Indologist*: Mitra 1883, 208.
- P. 101 *Mitra noted that those aspects of Patanjali’s system*: Mitra 1883, lxi.

Chapter 6

- P. 103 *Accomplished spirit mediums themselves*: Albanese 2007, 180.
- P. 103 *Towering over all of these*: Albanese 2007, 270–76.
- P. 104 *William Emmett Coleman*: Farquhar (1915) 1967a, 262–63; Albanese 2007, 277.
- P. 104 *Once on Indian soil*: Albanese 2007, 278; Narayanan 1993, 491; Oman 1908, 20.
- P. 104 *In 1885, the British Society for Psychical Research*: Kripal 2010, 55; Farquhar (1915) 1967a, 244–57.

- P. 105 *Madame Blavatsky took full credit*: Singleton 2010, 77.
- P. 105 *Far more influential in Western occult circles*: Albanese 2007, 275, 351–53; Singleton 2008, 85.
- P. 106 *On the one hand, she glorified Raja Yoga*: De Michelis 2004, 178; Albanese 2007, 351.
- P. 106 *This might explain some of the yogi-type conjuring tricks*: Van der Veer 2001, 76.
- P. 106 *as well as a number of infamous “demonstrations”*: Oman 1908, 22–25.
- P. 107 *This was her channel of communication*: Albanese 2007, 280–82.
- P. 107 *Here, her most obvious inspiration was Mesmer’s*: De Michelis 2004, 162.
- P. 107 *As she became more familiar with Indian terminology*: Albanese 2007, 343.
- P. 107 *the Theosophist Shrinivasa Iyengar*: De Michelis 2004, 163.
- P. 107 *Under the direction of Annie Besant*: Van der Veer 2001, 64–65, 76–77, 80.
- P. 108 *The other part of the Yoga literature*: Besant 1907, para. 52.
- P. 109 *the sutras had been telepathically dictated*: Bailey 1927, vii.
- P. 109 *Bailey identified the Yoga Sutra with Raja Yoga*: Bailey 1927, viii–xxvii.
- P. 110 *Wood’s explanation of the term “Raja”*: Wood 1976, 12.
- P. 110 *Blavatsky had delineated her position*: Blavatsky 1967, 453–73, esp. 462, 467.
- P. 111 *most of the extant post-sixteenth-century commentaries*: Burley 2007, 30; Fisher 2012, 173–74, 187; Bouy 1994, 51–72; Ruff 2012, 104–5; Larson and Bhattacharya 2009, 334, 356.
- P. 112 *Narayana Tirtha*: Birch 2013.
- P. 112 *This was Dayananda Saraswati*: Yadav 1976, 34–48; Jordens 1978, 20–29, 32.
- P. 113 *However, his description of Raja Yoga*: Paul 1851, 29, 31–35.

- P. 114 *A case in point, which anticipated Paul's transposition*: Mallinson 2011, 772.
- P. 114 *the thirteenth-century Dattatreya-yogashastra*: Mallinson 2011, 771.
- P. 114 *Amanaska Yoga*: Birch 2011, 543.
- P. 115 *Vidyaranaya's fourteenth-century commentary*: Birch 2011, 540–41.
- P. 115 *The "Little Lamp" identified Raja Yoga with samadhi: Hathayogapradipika 4.7–8*, in Iyengar 1972, 62.

Chapter 7

- P. 117 *The longer I have studied*: Max Müller 1899, xviii–xix.
- P. 117 *characterizing the Yoga system*: Monier-Williams 1984, 856.
- P. 118 *all that is new in Western science*: Van de Veer 2001, 68, 80–81; Bangali Baba 1976, preface.
- P. 118 *spiritualism as an experimental and verifiable scientific enterprise*: De Michelis 2004, 46–49.
- P. 119 *Keshub Chunder Sen began to experiment*: De Michelis 2004, 50, 79.
- P. 119 *An 1875 meeting with the ecstatic hermit Ramakrishna*: De Michelis 2004, 78.
- P. 119 *what Elizabeth De Michelis has termed "proto Modern Yoga"*: De Michelis 2004, 83–90.
- P. 120 *We Hindus are specially endowed*: De Michelis 2004, 89.
- P. 120 *Other influences that shaped the young Vivekananda*: Halbfass 1988, 229.
- P. 122 *he would come to absorb many of the ideas in vogue*: De Michelis 2004, 110–16.
- P. 122 *A lecture at Harvard's Graduate Philosophical Club*: Bardach 2012.
- P. 122 *Vivekananda added practical yoga instruction*: Syman 2010, 38.
- P. 123 *a craving among members of his growing flock*: De Michelis 2004, 118–19.

- P. 123 *Vivekananda's second motive was more far reaching*: De Michelis 2004, 120.
- P. 123 *Accordingly, he founded the Vedanta Society*: Albanese 2007, 354.
- P. 123 *In recent years, the tides have changed*: Feuerstein, Kak, and Frawley 1999, 165–94; Vitello 2010.
- P. 124 *Vivekananda's lectures and practical instruction*: De Michelis 2004, 149–50.
- P. 124 *following the lead of Rammohun Roy*: Halbfass 1988, 214; Van der Veer 2001, 44.
- P. 125 *As a culture broker*: De Michelis 2004, 14.
- P. 126 *Mark Singleton puts the matter succinctly*: Singleton 2010, 169.
- P. 126 *On the basis of his correspondence*: Killingly 1990, 169.
- P. 127 *his now published early teachings on yoga from 1894*: Titled “Six Lessons on Raja Yoga,” these lessons are composed of notes of class talks given in the private home of Mrs. Sara C. Bull. They are found in volume 8 of Vivekananda 1907–97.
- P. 127 *the Yoga Sutra was not included in his list of requests*: Killingly 1990, 168.
- P. 128 *“the highest authority on Raja-Yoga*: Vivekananda 1973, 5.
- P. 128 *Although he refused membership*: De Michelis 2004, 112.
- P. 129 *the keystone of his project*: Van der Veer 2001, 73–74.
- P. 129 *explicitly differentiating “prana” from breath*: Iyengar 1972, 22.
- P. 130 *“queer breathing exercises of the Hatha Yoga”*: Singleton 2010, 73.
- P. 130 *Forcing such straightforward Indian concepts*: De Michelis 2004, 159–67.
- P. 130 *Nikola Tesla, who was introduced to Vivekananda*: Bardach 2012.
- P. 131 *A schematic drawing of the same yogic body*: Vivekananda 1973, 52.
- P. 131 *So too, his explanation of the breathing exercises*: Vivekananda 1973, 59–64.

- P. 131 *Vivekananda missed no occasion to denigrate Hatha Yoga*: Singleton 2010, 73.
- P. 131 “*nuggets of gold and truth*”: Farquhar (1915) 1967a, 438.
- P. 132 *Mystery-mongering weakens the human brain*: Vivekananda 1973, 18.
- P. 132 *Ramakrishna had been ambiguous*: Syman 2010, 57.
- P. 132 *the Bengali intellectual Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar*: Singleton 2008, 83–84.
- P. 133 *a report he submitted*: Chandra 2008, 126–27.
- P. 133 *Vivekananda’s reliance on the Puranas*: Vivekananda 1973, 87–92.
- P. 133 *the Kurma’s account: Kurma Purana 2.11.1–146*, in Gupta 1972, 329–42.
- P. 134 *not “Raja,” but rather “Abhava”*: *Kurma Purana 2.11.6–7*, in Gupta 1972, 329–30.
- P. 134 “*Pashupata Yoga*,” *the yoga of the ancient Pashupata order: Kurma Purana 2.11.67*, in Gupta 1972, 335.
- P. 134 *a quote from the Bhagavad Gita*: Vivekananda 1973, 92.
- P. 134 “*The goal is to manifest this Divinity within*”: De Michelis 2004, 180, quoting Vivekananda, *Collected Works*, vol. 1 (1907), 124. As De Michelis notes, this passage is quoted in the introduction to many editions of *The Raja Yoga*.
- P. 135 *A lucid study by Dermot Killingly*: Killingly 1990, 151–79.
- P. 136 *So all progress and power are already in every man*: Vivekananda 1973, 207–8.
- P. 136 *there was a Spirit present in all beings*: Killingly 1990, 165.
- P. 137 *Bhagwan Rajneesh*: Rajneesh 1984, 7.
- P. 137 *Vivekananda was so taken with his readings*: Killingly 1990, 159–64.
- P. 139 *Bhoja evokes the sparks a fire throws up*: Mitra 1883, 172.
- P. 140 *Vijnanabhikshu cites the case of the mind*: Rukmani 1981–89, 4: 12.

- P. 140 *Just as the magician's mind*: Aranya 1981, 351–52.
- P. 140 *Vachaspati Mishra and Vijnanabhikshu*: Woods 1914, 304; Rukmani 1989, 13.
- P. 140 *“like the sun does with its rays of light”*: Woods 1914, 304; White 2009, 151.
- P. 140 *The power of the yogi to create, take over, and control*: White 2009, 151–66, 180–81.
- P. 141 *a yogi could use all the minds in all the bodies*: White 2009, 161.
- P. 142 *an idée reçue of the modern era*: Singleton 2008, 80.

Chapter 8

- P. 143 *Ramachandra founded a school*: Filippi and Dahnhardt 2001, 350–51.
- P. 144 *Then the Mahatma*: Dahnhardt 2002, 84.
- P. 145 *offering instruction in a blend of meditational techniques*: Dahnhardt 2002, 170–82, 268, 314.
- P. 145 *Over the past four decades*: Filippi and Dahnhardt 2001, 352–53.
- P. 145 *This has especially been the case with the Sahaj Marg*: Dahnhardt 2002, 354–55.
- P. 145 *an outright ban on yoga issued (and quickly lifted)*: Moaveni 2008; Tedjasukmana 2009.
- P. 145 *In 1989, Cardinal Ratzinger*: Cullen 2005.
- P. 146 *More recently, Christian fundamentalist personalities*: Waldo 2007; Mohler 2010.
- P. 146 *a “Take Back Yoga” informational campaign*: Vitello 2010; Nanda 2011.
- P. 146 *Yet on the Christian side*: Ceccimori 2001, 85–88; Koelmans 1970; Kochumuttom 2010, 233–57.
- P. 147 *That mystic heritage had a strong effect on Akbar*: Smith 1958, 268.
- P. 147 *We can trace this process back to 1573*: Smith 1958, 348–49, 360.

- P. 148 *These radical new ideas*: Richards 1993, 45–46.
- P. 149 *with Akbar often visiting and holding forth with Hindu holy men*: Pinch 2006, 53.
- P. 149 *Although Abu'l Fazl relied heavily upon the Hindu pundits*: Jarrett 1894, vi.
- P. 149 *referring to sutra 3.51*: Jarrett 1894, 183.
- P. 150 *On the subject of celibacy*: Jarrett 1894, 186.
- P. 150 *his use of the Persian cognate for the Sanskrit aisvarya ("mastery")*: Jarrett 1894, 187.
- P. 150 *Abu'l Fazl numbers the postures at eighty-four*: Jarrett 1894, 185; Bühnemann 2007, 25–28.
- P. 150 *The ascetics of this country can hold their breath so long*: Jarrett 1894, 186–87.
- P. 151 *Dara Shukuh called this body of practice the "King of the Zikrs"*: Davis 2005, 308–14.
- P. 151 *The Sufi Naqshbandis would further elaborate on these*: Dahnhardt 2002, 206, 255–58.
- P. 152 *the authors of the authoritative Oxford History of India*: Smith 1958, 209.
- P. 152 *what S. Frederick Starr had identified as a Central Asian "zone of genius"*: Starr 2009, 36.
- P. 153 *A series of military campaigns that Mahmud launched*: Thapar 2004, 425–38.
- P. 154 *a commentary he says was translated by his own hand*: Larson and Bhattacharya 2008, 261.
- P. 154 *the Islamicist Louis Massignon stumbled upon Alberuni's lost translation*: Larson and Bhattacharya 2008, 261.
- P. 154 *His version*: Larson and Bhattacharya 2008, 262; Pines and Gelblum 1977, 522.

- P. 154 *This and other data have led some scholars to conclude*: Pines and Gelblum 1966, 304–5.
- P. 155 *One hypothesis, first broached by the great Bengali historian*: Dasgupta 1975, 235.
- P. 155 *he was assisted in his translation by Indian schoolmen*: Sachau 1983, 1: 24.
- P. 155 *So, for example, in translating sutra 2.15*: Pines and Gelblum 1966, 307.
- P. 156 *Unique to Alberuni’s version*: Dasgupta 1975, 234; White 1996, 49–50, 116, 199, 300–301.
- P. 156 *Alberuni finds himself obliged to coin new technical terms*: Pines and Gelblum 1966, 308, 317, 325.
- P. 156 *Posture (asana) is translated as “quietude”*: Pines and Gelblum 1977, 525–56, and note 90.
- P. 157 *This is the topic of the perception or cognition*: Pines and Gelblum 1966, 312.
- P. 157 *This elaborate cosmology had first appeared in its fullness*: Pines and Gelblum 1966, 304; Pines and Gelblum 1983, 260–61, 275n88.
- P. 158 *Alberuni concludes his translation*: Pines and Gelblum 1989, 272.

Chapter 9

- P. 159 *In his “India”*: Sachau 1983, 191–92; White 1996, 49–50.
- P. 160 *the canon of the Yoga Upanishads*: Ruff 2012, 97–116.
- P. 160 *Alternate readings of “eight-part yoga”*: Birch 2011, 541n103.
- P. 160 *While Haribhadra presents several alternate systems of yoga*: Chapple and Casey 2003, 15.

- P. 160 *we see Haribhadra consciously adapting Patanjali's*: Chapple and Casey 2003, 26–38.
- P. 161 *Hemachandra follows Haribhadra*: Qvarnström 2003, 9; Chapple and Casey 2003, 119.
- P. 161 *Hemachandra's twelfth and final chapter*: Qvarnström 2003, 135–35.
- P. 162 *many of its concepts and meditative practices*: Qvarnström 2003, 181–86.
- P. 162 *Abhinavagupta and others from his school*: Raghavan 1980, 78–83; Vasudeva 2012, 284–85.
- P. 162 *dismiss Patanjali's eight-part practice: Tantraloka* 4.86–94, in Dwivedi and Rastogi 1987, 709–17.
- P. 162 *Abhinavagupta quotes the Yoga Sutra*: for a list of his quotes from this work, see Maas 2006, 111, under the abbreviation IPVV.
- P. 163 *he refers to Patanjali himself as Ananta*: Raghavan 1980, 85; Mitra 1883, lxviii.
- P. 163 *mentioned Patanjali by name*: Angot 2008, 21.
- P. 163 *The greatest of all Shrivaiishnava theologians*: Lester 1976, x.
- P. 163 *the Qualified Nondualist School of Vedanta*: King 1999, 221–29.
- P. 164 *Ramanuja criticized*: Lester 1976, 133–41.
- P. 164 *He was also agreeing with Vachaspati Mishra: Vachaspati Mishra ad Yoga Sutra* 3.1, in Woods 1914, 204.
- P. 165 *The sixteenth-century Vijñanabhikshu*: Bryant 2009, 98.
- P. 165 *Gaudiya Vaishnava theologians from Bengal*: Chilcott 2011, 108.
- P. 166 *a Javanese translation of the Mahabharata*: Van Buitenen 1973, xxxv.
- P. 166 *One of those regional traditions*: Acri 2011, 371–74; Hooykas 1974, 52–77.

- P. 166 *With a single exception*: Acri 2011, 372.
- P. 167 *This work, titled Dharma Patanjala*: Acri 2011, 44, 80.
- P. 168 *Of the 161 verses*: Acri 2011, 482.
- P. 168 *This has led scholars to surmise*: Acri 2011, 479; Dasgupta 1975, 235.
- P. 168 *the Pashupatas defined the goal of yoga: Pashupata Sutra 1.21–26 and commentary, cited in Hara 2002, 34–35; White 2009, 29.*
- P. 169 *it supplanted the earlier Pashupata sequence*: Acri 2011, 511–12; White 2009, 55–56, 98; Birch 2011, 547n144; Zigmund-Cerbu 1963, 128–34.
- P. 169 *presented the Yoga Sutra’s eight-part practice*: Acri 2011, 478. Late Agamas in which eight-part yoga appears are listed in Acri 2011, 512n99.
- P. 170 *its identification of Patanjali’s Ishvara with Shiva himself*: Acri 2011, 481.
- P. 170 *earlier Pashupata works*: Sanderson 2006, 193.
- P. 170 *However, the pure contemplation*: Acri 2011, 483n17; 527n139.
- P. 170 *Even so, the “Sacred Teaching” identifies*: Acri 2011, 495.
- P. 171 *mantras unique to Pashupata traditions*: Acri 2011, 516–17.
- P. 171 *its account of the supernatural powers*: Acri 2011, 533, 535; *Linga Purana* 1.9.58; *Markandeya Purana* 37.9.
- P. 171 *Most interesting is its innovative adaptation*: Acri 2011, 545–46; White 2009, 146, 162–66.

Chapter 10

- P. 173 *These included the Ballantyne–Shastri Deva*: for references to these works, see the present bibliography, as well as notices found in Mitra 1883, lxxvi; Garbe 1896, 41; and Max Müller 1899, 416.

- P. 174 *Vivekananda noted this in an article: Vivekananda 1896.*
- P. 175 *But though we may regret: Max Müller 1899, xx.*
- P. 176 *Like the classical commentators: Max Müller 1899, 412–14.*
- P. 176 *The real relation of the soul to the body: Max Müller 1899, 408–9.*
- P. 177 *Ishvara is the subject of six sutras: Yoga Sutra 1.23–28.*
- P. 177 *The same practice is also listed: Yoga Sutra 2.1; 2.32.*
- P. 177 *In the context of Mahayana Buddhism: Kawamura 2004, 732.*
- P. 178 *Vyasa’s interpretation of pranidhana: Vyasa ad Yoga Sutra 3.6, in Woods 1914, 206; Bronkhorst 1983, 158.*
- P. 178 *Swami Venkatesananda: Venkatesananda 1998, 64–65.*
- P. 178 *However, as Arion Roşu and Olivier Lacombe: Lacombe 1966, 268; Roşu 1978, 11n5.*
- P. 178 *the word “ishvara” had never denoted a god: Kane 1968, 13n52.*
- P. 179 *Barbara Stoler Miller’s interpretation: Miller 1996, 36.*
- P. 179 *The Isvara, with the Yogins: Max Müller 1999, 426.*
- P. 179 *A case in point is Edwin Bryant: Bryant 2009, 172, 279–82.*
- P. 180 *the Gita also referred to Krishna as a Master of Yoga: Bhagavad Gita 11.4–8; 18.75, 78.*
- P. 180 *Krishna’s characterization of the ideal yogi: Bhagavad Gita 6.29–31.*
- P. 181 *In the Mahabharata’s twelfth book: Mahabharata 12.289.24–27.*
- P. 181 *the Linga Purana and several Tantric works: Sarbacker 2012, 205; White 2009, 146, 161–66.*
- P. 181 *Subverting all of these interpretations: Keith 1932, 434, quoting Yoga Sutra 1.25.*

Chapter 11

- P. 182 *what has been termed India's "Yoga Renaissance"*: Alter 2004, 26, 103, 175.
- P. 183 *Alistair Crowley and Pierre Bernard*: Alter 2011, 132; Koestler 1960, 106–7.
- P. 183 *It was not until 1965*: Narayan 1993, 494–95.
- P. 184 *"not the conventional method of Patanjali*: Heehs 2008, 239.
- P. 184 *I began my Yoga in 1904*: Kane 1977, 1465.
- P. 184 *As Peter Heehs has observed*: Heehs 2008, 239, 278, 280, 283, 285–87.
- P. 185 *a set of techniques for realizing and maintaining good health*: Singleton 2007, ii; Alter 2007, 177–88.
- P. 185 *In spite of Madhavdas's allegiance*: De Michelis 2003, 183.
- P. 186 *studies of Patanjali's sutras on pranayama*: Kuvalayananda 1956b, 41–54, 129–53, 225–57, 323–31, commenting on *Yoga Sutra* 1.34, 2.50, and 3.2.
- P. 186 *he wrote The Science of Pranayama*: Alter 2004, 63.
- P. 186 *entirely bypassed the teachings of the Yoga Sutra*: Alter 2011, 68–75, 132–33.
- P. 187 *One of the most illustrious foreign guests*: White 2009a, xvii–xviii.
- P. 188 *Eliade demurred*: Strauss 2005, 40.
- P. 188 *As Eliade noted in his 1954 foreword*: Eliade 1973, xvi–xxi.
- P. 188 *a "living fossil*: Eliade 1973, 361.
- P. 189 *On the first page*: Ciurtin 2008, 351.
- P. 189 *Hauer had published*: Hauer 1932, xv–xvi; Hauer 1958, 407–50.
- P. 189 *Hauer also shows his clear indebtedness*: Hauer 1958, 403, 409, 411, 418, 425, 441–50; Pietikainen 2000, 525.
- P. 189 *Jung himself had been strongly influenced*: Coward 2002, 61–62, 82.

- P. 190 *For Eliade*: Ciurtin 2009, 324.
- P. 190 *For Hauer*: Benavides 2001, 225–38; Alles 2002, 178.
- P. 190 *a sort of millenarian vision*: Hauer 1932, 142; 1958, 272–73.
- P. 191 *his translation of Yoga Sutra 4.9*: Woods 1914, 307.
- P. 191 *as one of his early scholarly reviewers noted*: Masson-Oursel 1921, 60–61.
- P. 192 *Swami Prabhavananda*: Prabhavananda and Isherwood 1971, 9, 15.
- P. 192 *So too, Krishnamacharya*: Ranganathan and Ranganathan 2007, 31; Iyengar 1993, 47; Desikachar 1999, 5.
- P. 193 *none other than T. S. Eliot*: O'Donnell 1994, 390n2; Kearns 1987, 58n10.
- P. 193 *when Patanjali's work was his guide*: Kearns 1987, 57–59.
- P. 193 *As his biographer Cleo Kearns has suggested*: Kearns 1987, 63–64, referencing *Yoga Sutra* 1.18 and 2.12.
- P. 193 *Some years ago I bought The Yoga-System of Patanjali*: O'Donnell 1994, 175.
- P. 194 *While both Yeats and Eliot were members*: Goldberg 2010, 52; Eliade 1973, xix; Tacey 2001, 24.
- P. 194 *“the hacks of Yogi-journalese”*: Koestler 1945, 246.
- P. 194 *the Yoga Sutra's discussion*: Koestler 1960, 110–11.
- P. 195 *The Maharishi made the cover of Time magazine: “Seer of Flying”* 1977, 105.
- P. 196 *This program*: found at http://www.mum.edu/RelId/606573/ISvars/default/TM-Sidhi_Program.htm. See also <http://www.minet.org/mantras.html> and http://www.permanentpeace.org/technology/yogic_flying.html.
- P. 196 *the “flying sutra”*: *Yoga Sutra* 3.42.

Chapter 12

- P. 198 *the salient facts of Krishnamacharya's life*: Desickachar 1997, 47; Desikachar and Cravens 1998, 32; Mohan and Mohan 2010, 8.
- P. 198 *The scion of an illustrious family*: Desikachar 1997, 34; Desikachar 2005, 31.
- P. 199 *When yoga was facing its dark days*: Desikachar 2005, 32–33, 35.
- P. 199 *collecting titles, teaching certificates, and honors*: Desikachar 2005, 52–55, 65–66, 69.
- P. 200 *a degree in Samkhya-Yoga philosophy*: Desikachar and Cravens 1998, 40; Desikachar 2005, 54; Mohan and Mohan 2010, 3.
- P. 200 *he took a position as yoga instructor*: Desikachar 2005, 86; Ruiz 2001.
- P. 201 *“Yoga is a state of oneness*: Ranganatha 2007, 31.
- P. 202 *Furthermore, as Mark Singleton's interviews*: Singleton 2010, 196–97.
- P. 202 *little had changed*: Farquhar (1920) 1967b, 289.
- P. 202 *Additional proof for this may be found in a work titled Yogank: on the Gita Press's history and mission, see its official website, found at http://www.gitapress.org/GP_intro.htm.*
- P. 203 *James Haughton Woods had come to Mumbai*: Kane 1977, 1392.
- P. 203 *assistance he received in Benares from Arthur Venis*: Woods 1914, xii.
- P. 203 *learned Samkhya renouncer*: Farquhar (1920) 1967b, 289.
- P. 204 *Strongly influenced by Nondualist Vedanta thought*: Jha 1934, ix.
- P. 204 *Published in 1894*: Max Müller 1899, 416.
- P. 204 *the intimate relationship that developed*: Desikachar 2005, 53–54, 56; Mohan and Mohan 2011, 2–3.

- P. 205 *According to a brochure*: Mohan and Mohan 2011, 8.
- P. 205 *The 1982 Desikachar biographical notice*: Desikachar 1982, 8.
- P. 206 *Jha was, from 1902 to 1918*: Upadhyaya 1983, part 2, p. 162.
- P. 206 *a possible meeting between the two men*: Desikachar 1997, 28; Desikachar and Cravens 1998, 45; Desikachar 2005, 61, 65.
- P. 206 *an undated "Certificate of Commendation"*: Desikachar 2005, 55. Desikachar (2005, 65) speaks of Muralidhara Jha as "Vice Chancellor," of an unnamed Varanasi university.
- P. 207 *Patna University was not founded*: <http://www.patnauniversity.ac.in/hist6.html>.
- P. 208 *In the preface*: Sjomon 1996, 51; Ranganathan and Ranganathan 2007, 25.
- P. 208 *in T.K.V. Desikachar's 1982 account*: Desikachar 1982, 30. The earliest documentation we have for Krishnamacharya's mention of Tibet is a public interview, first published in 1984: Mohan and Mohan 2011, 8.
- P. 208 *a lost five-thousand-year-old treatise*: Desikachar 1997, 23, 27; Singleton 2010, 184–86; Ruiz 2011.
- P. 208 *From Sri Ramamohan*: Desikachar and Cravens 1998, 43.
- P. 209 *The rote memorization and chanting of the Yoga Sutra*: Desikachar 1982, 6; Desikachar and Cravens 1998, 157–60; Ruiz 2011.
- P. 210 *However, in a 1991 interview*: Mohan and Mohan 2011, 137; Singleton 2010, 185.
- P. 210 *Krishnamacharya was a great healer*: Desikachar 1982, 30; Desikachar and Cravens 1998, 123.

- P. 210 *Krishnamacharya Healing and Yoga Foundation's therapeutic services*:
<http://www.svastha.net/yogasutras-online/>.
- P. 211 *Yoga is primarily a way of life*: Alter 2007, 177.
- P. 213 *T.K.V. Desikachar provided an original*: Desikachar and Cravens 1998, 158–59.
- P. 213 *When I chanted with my father*: Desikachar and Cravens 1998, 160.
- P. 214 *As Patanjali relates*: Desikachar and Cravens 1998, 106.
- P. 215 *According to Michel Angot*: Angot 2009, 25–26, 126; King 1999, 73; Sarbacker 2005, 103.
- P. 216 *Interestingly, Desikachar relates*: Desikachar 1982, 34.
- P. 216 *Many contemporary yoga gurus*: Bühnemann 2007, 22–23; Jacobsen 2008, 152; Iyengar 1989, 8.
- P. 216 *which he would have dictated to an inner circle*: Desikachar 1997, 91.
- P. 217 *“the Krishnamacharyas of the Malanka [sic] caste*: Yogavalli 1988, 22.
- P. 217 *the tenth-century Nathamuni's “Secret Teaching”*: Yogavalli 1988, 26–27.
- P. 219 *the practices of Qualified Non-Dualism*: Mohan and Mohan 2011, 135.
- P. 219 *at the foot of Mount Kailash in Tibet*: Desikachar 1982, 32; Desikachar and Cravens 1998, 42; Desikachar 2005, 57; Mohan and Mohan 2011, 4.
- P. 219 *not in Tibet, but rather “in Nepal*: Ranganathan and Ranganathan 2007, 25; Sjoman 1996, 51 and 66n61.
- P. 220 *the British viceroy in Shimla*: Desikachar 1997, 25; Desikachar 2005, 48.
- P. 221 *Krishnamacharya return to Shimla*: Desikachar 1997, 25, 27–28; Desikachar 2005, 48, 52. Mohan and Mohan (2011, 5) give a different account, specifying that he agreed to “return every year for three months.”

- P. 221 *In 1903, the British had invaded Tibet*: Lamb 1986, 256–73.
- P. 222 *after 1914 the whole issue*: Lamb 1986, 278.
- P. 222 *a “shrewd card player”*: Ruiz 2011.
- P. 223 *several details of his life “lie shrouded in myth”*: Ruiz 2011.
- P. 223 *at about the same time as his former pupil*: Syman 2010, 238.
- P. 223 *“chanced upon a copy: biography of Hariharananda Aranya, found at the “Kapil Math” website*: www.samkhyayoga-darshana.com.
- P. 224 *Swami Triloki Aranya*: Feuerstein 1989, 4.
- P. 224 *he returned in the early 1910s to Kolkata*: Farquhar (1920) 1967b, 289; Aranya 1981, xiii, xvii; Jacobsen 2005, 341, 344; Jacobsen 2012, 327.

Chapter 13

- P. 225 *For Yohanan Grinshpon*: Grinshpon 2002, 1.
- P. 225 *For Chris Chapple and Ian Whicher*: Bryant 2009, 176; Ranganathan 2009, 62–63.
- P. 225 *Whereas several scholars have argued*: Larson and Bhattacharya 2008, 62–65; Feuerstein 1979, 36–89.
- P. 226 *Feuerstein has argued vigorously*: Feuerstein 1980, ix–x. Whicher (1998) and Chapple (2008), who, like Feuerstein, are scholar-practitioners, also adhere to this hypothesis.
- P. 226 *Many, including Bryant*: Bryant 2009, xxxiii; Chapple 2008, 219; Sarbacker 2005, 103.
- P. 227 *Seeking to separate this historical Vyasa*: Larson and Bhattacharya 2008, 39–41.
- P. 228 *This hypothesis, which has been gaining ground*: Bronkhorst 1985, 203.

- P. 228 *Already in 1931*: Maas 2006, xii–xix; Maas 2011, 4–10; Jacobi 1931, 81–89.
- P. 228 *“This has been Patanjali’s authoritative*: Maas 2011, 5.
- P. 229 *Maas has traced*: Maas 2011, 4–9; Bronkhorst 1981, 315–17.
- P. 229 *debunking the notion*: However, Apararka (ca. 1125–1150) calls Patanjali’s system “Yoga” and distinguishes it from Samkhya proper by calling it seshvara-samkhya: Apte 1903, 11. Cf. Bronkhorst 1981, 315.
- P. 230 *which dominated the Indian philosophical arena*: Franco et al. 2009, 8.
- P. 230 *Since scholars began debating*: Senart 1900, 345–64; Jacobi 1931, 81–89; La Vallée Poussin 1936–37, 223–42; Frauwallner 1974, 323–49; Yamashita 1994; Sarbacker 2005.
- P. 230 *Most interesting, as Wujastyk notes*: Wujastyk 2011, 34–35.
- P. 231 *as Dasgupta first voiced in 1922*: Dasgupta 1975, 230.
- P. 231 *my puzzlement has to do*: Larson and Bhattacharya 2008, 43.
- P. 231 *Burley concluded that*: Burley 2007, 82–90.
- P. 232 *Briefly stated, Angot has theorized*: Angot 2008, 16, 19. Angot in fact doubts (2008, 21–22) that the true names of these figures were either Patanjali or Vyasa, but this is a separate issue.
- P. 232 *“the work becomes quite coherent*: Angot 2008, 24.
- P. 232 *Why was it [the earlier] commentary replaced?*: Angot 2008, 25–26.
- P. 233 *Vyasa’s was not so much a commentary*: Angot 2008, 26–31.
- P. 233 *Patanjali’s references are entirely non-Hindu*: Angot 2008, 60.
- P. 234 *a 1641 work*: Descartes 1641.

P. 235 *no fewer than forty-six languages*: found at <http://www.hrih.net/yoga-sutras-archive.aspx>.

P. 236 *the center's website contains links*: found at <http://divyayoga.com>.

P. 236 *Over the past three years*: Polgreen 2010.