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MIRCEA ELIADE AS SCHOLAR OF YOGA

A historical study of his reception (1936-1954)

1. Eliade's work on Yoga and Indian religions

The major outcome of Eliade's study of India is his well-known book "*Yoga. Immortality and freedom*", published in French in 1954 and republished since then in many editions and translations. However, this is only the final result of a long undertaking, stretching over three decades, from the first drafts of his Ph.D. thesis, initiated in Calcutta, in 1929, to the popular version of the book, in 1962. Its development, never thoroughly studied, covers six major stages:

1. 1929-1932: five studies published in Romanian and Italian scholarly journals: "*The main problems of Indian philosophy*", "*Introduction to Sāṃkhya philosophy*", "*Contribution to Yoga psychology*", "*Evil and freedom in the Sāṃkhya-Yoga philosophy*" and "*Hindu ritual and the inner life*".¹ In a reworked form they will become chapters of his Ph.D. thesis and/or of his first book on Yoga. However, Eliade's scholarly interest in Indian religions manifested itself a few years before his departure for India. His texts dating from this period (1925-1928) deal mainly with mythology as recorded in literature (*Brāhmaṇas*, *Purāṇas*, *Mahābhārata*, *Bhāmīni-Vilāsa*) and eventually with Buddhism.

2. 1933: his Ph.D. thesis, prepared at the University of Calcutta (under the supervision of Prof. Surendranath Dasgupta) and submitted to the University of Bucharest in November 1932: "*The psychology of Indian meditation. Studies on Yoga*" (in Romanian). It was defended in June 1933 and the title of Doctor was awarded *magna cum laudae*.²

3. 1936: the book *Yoga. Essay on the origins of Indian mysticism*, published in French, jointly in Bucharest and Paris.³

4. 1948: the book *Techniques of Yoga*, published in French, in Paris, in which he gives a new form to the material of the previous book.⁴ It was reprinted several times and also translated in Italian (1952), Spanish (1961) and Romanian (2000).

5. 1954: the book *Yoga. Immortality and freedom* also published in French, in Paris, which became the classical expression of his work on Yoga. The 1967 edition benefited from some revisions that included additional bibliography.⁵ It was continuously reprinted and knew several translations – in Spanish (1957), English (1957), German (1960), Italian (1973), Japanese (1975), Dutch (1980), Greek (1980), Serbo-Croatian (1983), Polish (1984), Romanian (1993), Russian (1998), and Chinese (2002) –, which were also reprinted several times.

6. 1962: Finally, Eliade was asked by Seuil Publishers (Editions du Seuil) to contribute to their well-known collection “Spiritual masters” with a volume on *Patañjali and the Yoga*. The collection aimed to offer small and comprehensive monographs of major religious personalities, written for the large public by some of the best scholars of the subject. His synthesis contained reworked parts from the two previous books.⁶ It had various reprints, including a revised edition in 1976. Translations in English (1969), Spanish (1978), Italian (1984), Polish (1994), Romanian (1992), Russian (1998), and Portuguese (2000) were also reprinted several times.

Besides his work on Yoga, he wrote on other topics of Indian religions. In his books and articles on History of Religions published after 1945 he often uses Indian themes and case-studies, keeping in touch with progresses in Indology. His synthesis, *A History of Religious Ideas* (vol. I-III, 1976-1983), gives also ample space to Indian religions. Occasionally he published new articles on Yoga.⁷

According to its international reception, Eliade’s work on Yoga can be divided into four periods: the emerging (1936 - 1954), the golden age (1954 - 1974), the critical challenge (1974 - 1986), and its posterity (after 1986). Here we shall deal with the first of them.*

* This article is the first part of a larger study – divided in four parts – which covers the entire reception of Eliade as a scholar of Yoga, up to the present moment. In what follows here I am focusing on the reception of Eliade’s early writings on Yoga: *Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne* and *Techniques du yoga*. Due to space constraints the final part of the article, discussing the reception of Eliade’s writings on Yoga and the History of Religions during the years 1949-1954, will be published subsequently. I express my thanks to the curators of Special Collections Research Centre of the University of Chicago Library for their kind help during my researches of *Mircea Eliade Papers*. I also thank professor Mac Linscott Ricketts for providing copies of Eliade’s unpublished journal and for allowing me to quote from his English translation of it.

2. *Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne* (1936)

From the first five articles published prior to the submission of his thesis, only the one on Sāṃkhya was briefly reviewed by the Romanian philosopher **Lucian Blaga** (1895-1961), who had an early exposure to and a constant interest for the philosophies of India. Summarising its main ideas, Blaga emphasised that the merit of this article lies in the fact that Eliade worked directly on Sanskrit texts and studied Indian philosophy at its source, in India.⁸ Another article on the botanical knowledge of the ancient Indians was briefly noticed by the Belgian-American historian of science **George Sarton** (1884-1956).⁹

The real international reception of Eliade as a scholar of Indian studies starts in 1936, after the publication of his first book on Yoga. So far, we have been able to identify 13 reviews of it. They were published between 1936 and 1940, in Berlin (2), Rome (2), Paris (4), Brussels (2), Leuven (2), Strasbourg (1), and Wageningen (1).¹⁰ Only five of them are signed by Indologists: Valentino Papesso, Paul Masson-Oursel, Louis de la Vallée Poussin, Heinrich Zimmer, and Jean Filliozat. About half of the other reviewers – four theologians, a historian of religions, a historian of science, a scholar of philosophy, and a writer – had various kinds of interest for Indian culture.

The first to review the book – and in a most detailed manner – was the Italian Sanskrit scholar **Valentino Papesso** (1888-1944), professor of history of religions at Bologna University, known mainly for his translations of Vedic and Upanishadic texts. A few years earlier he reviewed, in the same journal of religious studies, directed by Raffaele Pettazzoni, another major work on Yoga: that of Jakob Wilhem Hauer.¹¹ According to Papesso, the new book by Eliade – aiming to complete the works of Surendranath Dasgupta and J.W. Hauer – succeeded in bringing “a quite remarkable contribution to the solution of the problems regarding the influences of pre-Aryan populations of India on the Indo-Aryan religion and culture”. The main argument of Eliade is that Yoga, far from being the patrimony of a few ascetic sects, is a “specific category of Indian spirit”, with an uninterrupted history from the Chalcolithic age till today.

After resuming the content of each chapter, Papesso declares the last one, which deals precisely with the origins of Yoga, to be the most original and interesting of all. In Eliade’s view, Indo-Aryan religiosity has a tendency towards abstract, is “cold” and ritualistic, therefore magic, while the non-Aryan elements tend towards the concrete, are devotional

and mystic. He seeks this pre-Aryan heritage among Dravidian and Muṇḍa populations of South India, whose religion is characterised by *pūjā*, the cult of vegetation, the Great Goddess and by local divinities. These agricultural traditions, originated in the Mohan-jo-Daro civilisation of the Indus Valley (4000 B.C.), were mixed with certain “maritime” traditions (such as *śakti*). In the reviewer’s opinion, Eliade’s conclusions, having a great importance for the religious history of India, are “probable” to a great extent.

Papesso characterises the author as possessing a “sure knowledge” of the religious texts and of the secondary literature, a “unique perspicacity” and a “fortunate ability” to collect and reveal religious facts, to reconstruct their primitive content from the altered forms in which they are found. Nevertheless, he concludes, this “beautiful book” is partially overshadowed by philological inaccuracies: the transcription of Sanskrit words is inconsistent and often mistaken; not rarely the French article or adjective do not concord with the gender of the Indian nouns; too many printing errors escaped undetected, etc.¹²

Perhaps some of the features of this review may be explained by the fact that it was commissioned by the editor of the journal, Raffaele Pettazzoni, who had a long personal relationship with the author. In a letter to him, as early as 9 June 1936, he praises the “magnificent book” – sent by Eliade himself –, which treats a very interesting subject in a “brilliant manner”. He specifically refers to “the idea of tracing back the prehistory of Yoga to the age of Mohan-jo-Daro” as “one of the most captivating”.¹³

Very different is the tone of the second Indologist who reviewed the book, first in an Italian journal devoted to the history of science, then in the journal for the history of religions published by the Guimet Museum of Asian Arts. **Paul Masson-Oursel** (1882-1956), professor of the prestigious École Pratique des Hautes Études, was an established authority in Indian thought as well as in comparative philosophy.

For the French professor, the book of Eliade – acknowledged as a “Romanian Indologist” – does not bring any “new document”. Moreover, several of its ideas had already been put forward by himself: the fact that Yoga, devoid of any relation with the Vedic-Brahmanic rituals, imposed itself little by little on all religions and philosophies of India; that it is related to the Sufi and Taoist practices; that it is the expression of the low social strata and of the non-Aryan Asia; that it suggests a “mystic physiology” and it was used to attain “spiritual autonomy”.¹⁴ This is why, says Masson-Oursel, he agrees with the author in the essential points.

Nor did he find the plan of the work – vague (*flo*) and charged with additions (*hors d'oeuvre*) – satisfying. More positivist than Eliade, Masson-Oursel attaches himself critically to some of the details. In his opinion, the young Romanian Indologist accepts too fast and uncritically any suggestion which might confirm his own views: for instance, the similarities between Yoga and Hesychasm or the interpretation of Borobudur temple's architecture by Heinrich Zimmer and Paul Mus. Such is also his seducing hypothesis of the *yogin* Śiva being represented on the Mohan-jo-Daro clay seals. According to him, the lack of any testimonies between the year 4000 B.C. and the era of classical Hinduism should make one more cautious in asserting such continuities. In the end, of course, he does not forget to mention the failure to respect the gender of Sanskrit words.

This was an overall negative review, even in its ironical appreciation of the book's merit as "pointing insistently" to Yoga as a specific category of the Indian spirituality.¹⁵ In this view it is legitimate to ask why the text had to be published twice. Masson-Oursel was not a collaborator of *Archeion*, a journal of history of science printed in Rome by **Aldo Mieli** (1879-1950), a Jewish-Italian scholar and Socialist activist who, since 1928, lived in Paris as a political refugee (and from 1939 in Argentina). The issue of *Archeion* containing the review, despite bearing an earlier date, appeared in fact a few days after the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, to which Masson-Oursel was a regular contributor. It would be interesting to know whether this had anything to do with the vexation Mieli suffered from his old friend Eliade during his visit in Bucharest, on the occasion of the 8th conference of the International Academy for History of Sciences (10-16 April 1936).¹⁶ A small vexation actually, but one which acquired incredible dimensions for the sensitive and passionate Italian.

On 14th of April 1936, Eliade presented before the scholars gathered in Bucharest his Romanian book *Asian alchemy* (1935). *Yoga*, which contained a chapter on Yoga and alchemy, will come out only a month later (20 May). In his review of the conference, Mieli refers to this chapter, a fact which proves that he already had received the book from Eliade. His assessment is brief and neuter: "an ample discussion" aiming "to demonstrate that Indian alchemy is not, generally, a pre-chemistry, but a mystical, soteriological method similar to other Indian mystical techniques".¹⁷ We can conjecture that, very probably, it is Mieli who requested Paul Masson-Oursel to re-publish his critique of the book.

The third Indological review is that of **Louis de la Vallée Poussin** (1869-1938), Belgian scholar of Buddhist studies, retired from the University

of Ghent, and active in Brussels. He discussed the book twice in a large bibliographical study about new publications on Buddhism, published in *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, journal founded and directed by himself, under the aegis of the Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises of Brussels. The critical spirit in which Vallée Poussin used to review the writings of his colleague scholars is well known. It is important to keep this in mind while reading his assessment of Eliade's scholarship.

He starts by observing that, after various "notes" which didn't cross the borders of his own country, this book of Eliade is meant to retain the attention of Indologists. And he has fair words to say about its methodical and clear exposition of the subject matter, the good bibliography in the footnotes and the author's extensive readings. It must be added that Vallée Poussin's own books and articles are often quoted in the footnotes.

The Belgian scholar agrees with Eliade's thesis of the remote antiquity of Yoga, although he makes a discrete reserve regarding a sure dating to the Chalcolithic age. According to him the most "primitive" Yoga is, probably, the one studied in the chapter dedicated to Tantrism (ch. VII), a raw Yoga which he prefers to call "fakirism". He points out that, despite its roots into the "raw paganism", the author is well aware of the fact that, in order to renew its sap, the tree of Yoga breathes from above the most spiritual aspirations: the metaphysical notions and the pure morality. Vallée Poussin adds that there are many other points to be highlighted, in which Eliade says very well old and new things, but did not insist upon them. Instead he announces his disagreement with him on the question of the historical relationship between Sāṃkhya-Yoga and Buddhism.

About the chapter on Buddhism (ch. VI), of which he gives a detailed description, he has good words too. It is an "incomplete but fairly good" study, not lacking in originality, which shouldn't be ignored. He also gives a detailed summary of the chapters on Tantrism, alchemy and the origins of Yoga (ch. VII, VIII, and IX), pointing to the "interest" they present for the chosen topics. In a large footnote, Vallée Poussin makes five small observations disagreeing with the translation of certain Sanskrit and Pāli terms (*vṛtti*, *samādhi*, *īśvarapraṇidhāna*, *vipassanāya samannāgato*, *brūhetā suññāgāraṇam*) chosen by Eliade from the existing scholarly tradition. Here his critique is, indirectly, pointed towards other scholars (Paul Masson-Oursel, Surendranath Dasgupta, Th. W. Rhys Davids).¹⁸

After Italy, France and Belgium, it was the turn of Germany to host the next Indological evaluation of the book. The year 1937, which opened with the review of Paul Masson-Oursel, ended with the publication of a

review by **Heinrich Zimmer** (1890-1943). This was exactly the opposite of the first one, as if the Heidelberg professor of Indian philology would have read the grim text of his French colleague. Interested mainly in Indian art and symbolic forms of expression, Zimmer was also the author of a book and of a few important studies on Yoga.¹⁹ For him the work of Eliade offers a comprehensive and fluently drafted picture of the Yoga phenomenon which could interest the historian of religions, the psychologist and the sociologist of culture as well. One of its main merits lays in the extensive and thorough erudition of the author. The wideness of its horizon proves to be extremely fruitful conferring the book an “epochal rank” in the special literature on Yoga. The richness of the material is coupled with a healthy criticism, an eye for the essential and a remarkable power of synthesis.

Zimmer considers the book a “brilliant testimony” of the Calcutta school of thought constituted around Surendranath Dasgupta. With such works as Eliade’s, or as the book of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas. Essays in the water cosmology* (1928-1931), the study of Indian religion and culture is freeing itself, in the best way, from the Brahmanic-orthodox mythological tradition into which the generation of Max Müller, Alfred Hillebrandt and Hermann Oldenberg have plunged it, as into a deep fog. Indeed, the scholar – who shortly afterwards will be dismissed from University because of his “non-Aryan” wife – finds no objection at all to the hypothesis of a pre-Aryan origin of Yoga. He ends his review in a bold manner by wishing this new direction of studies “Good luck!”.²⁰

The last Indologist to review the book was **Jean Filliozat** (1906-1982), a scholar of several Asian languages, but a medical doctor by profession. Although at that time he had authored only one article on Yoga,²¹ the subject will become one of his special fields of expertise. The young scholar is utterly enthusiastic about the book, which he considers as one of the most important works on Yoga. It does not treat only about its origins, as indicated by the subtitle, but encompasses, in a “successful effort”, everything that concerns Yoga. Eliade proposes no new interpretation, but gives a “general review” of everything that can be known about the subject in the present state of research. The bibliography is richly displayed during the exposition and the judgements made with acumen and caution. Therefore, from several points of view, the book is an “excellent instrument”.

There is still novelty in the book. Filliozat points out that entire chapters are almost completely new. One of them is *Yoga and alchemy*, an important connection neglected before, which throws a good light on the

technical aspect of Yoga. In another chapter, *Yogic ideas and techniques in Tantrism*, Eliade shows the “immoral” practices associated with Yoga as having a “popular” origin. The French scholar thinks that the fact can be explained otherwise than as a defeat of the ascetical ideal. It can be seen as a “defiance of the passions”, a replica on the moral plane of the yogic “superhuman resistance” to the “corporal disorders”. In the end he also passes a brief remark on the high number of printing errors, but only on those of the French language.²²

In a later *Curriculum vitae* Eliade mentioned a sixth Indological review, signed by a certain **P.B. Datta** in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* of Calcutta.²³ However, we could not find it in the referred issue, nor in the rest of the journal.²⁴ Nevertheless, he gave – in his Romanian translation – three superlative quotations from it, praising the author’s erudition and profound knowledge of the Indian spirit, remarking especially the chapters on Tantrism, alchemy and the comparisons with Byzantine mysticism, and urging an English translation accessible to the Indian public.²⁵ If the review was ever published it must have been in another journal.

Some brief assessments of Eliade by other Indologists are found in the reviews of the first volume of *Zalmoxis*. For example that of the Sanskrit scholar **Antonio Gargano** (1914-1997), devoted collaborator of Giuseppe Tucci, his assistant at the chair of Religions and Philosophy of India and of the Far East at the University of Rome and one of the directors of IsMEO, in whose journal the review was published. Eliade is presented there as an “illustrious professor”, a “distinguished scholar of history of religions and of things Oriental, well known in the cultural world for an essay, which already become fundamental, on the origins of Indian mysticism, as well as for other important publications.”²⁶ Gargano discusses only those articles on Asian cultures which fall into his field of competence, but says a few good words about Eliade’s text *Metallurgy, magic and alchemy*, remarking his competence on the subject as well as his large erudition.

From the other contributions of Eliade, he gives attention to the short article *Notes de démonologie*, which correlates Jean Filliozat’s researches on Indian demonology with those of Nicolae Cartoian and Valeriu Bologa on the relations between Romanian and ancient Babylonian demonology. Quoting his book *Yoga* (the chapter on the pre-Aryan origins, along with works by G. Combaz, W.F. Albright and P.-E. Dumont), Eliade asserted the certainty of prehistoric and historic connections between India and Mesopotamia. Therefore, he put forward the hypothesis that Indian and Mesopotamian demonologies have a common origin. More precisely, that

pre-Aryan Indian demonic motives come from Mesopotamia. However, the Indian culture assimilated them in a larger non-dualistic perspective, referring the demon and the benign divinity to one and the same principle.²⁷ This extension of Eliade's theory of the non-Aryan origins of Yoga – abandoned later on – has remained unnoticed by the Indologists who disputed him.

At least for those scholars with whom he was in touch, Eliade became already the “well known specialist of Indian religions”.²⁸ *Zalmoxis* was also reviewed by the Indian scholar of Sanskrit and Pāli, **Sumitra Mangesh Katre** (1906-1999), professor of Indo-European Philology at Poona's Deccan College, editor of the *New Indian Antiquary* and of the *Oriental literary digest*. Among the contributions to this publication of “class and value”, *Metallurgy, magic and alchemy* is considered to be “one of the most interesting and erudite papers”.²⁹ The same article will be quoted by **Mario Bussagli**³⁰ and various other Orientalists.³¹

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy quoted positively and repeatedly his article *Les livres populaires dans la littérature roumaine* from the second volume of *Zalmoxis* (1939).³² He failed to mention *Yoga* (only the 1937 article *Cosmical homology and Yoga*³³), a fact which displeased Eliade.³⁴ However, this could be read as a statement that the Anglo-Indian scholar doesn't need (Western) “mediators” for referring to *Yoga*.

One of the early reviewers of *Yoga* was the exiled Russian writer **Marc Séménoff** (1884-196?), a connoisseur of Indian thinking and of occult literature. He discussed it in his regular chronicle from a popular Paris weekly journal. His interest for it lay exclusively in the empirical and sensational aspects of *Yoga*. After describing the results and benefits of its practice, he concludes that “*Yoga* is a book which must find its place in all occultist libraries”.³⁵

Another interesting group of reviewers is represented by four French and Belgian theologians. The first of them, the French Dominican **Ernest-Bernard Allo** (1873-1945), professor of history of religions at the Theological Faculty of the University of Fribourg (Switzerland), had in his youth an episode of adhesion to Buddhism and to occultism, but turned afterwards against the modern esotericism.³⁶ The ideas he retains from the book – the pre-Aryan origin, “a specific category of the Indian spirit”, the “spiritual autonomy”, a “concrete way” to immortality³⁷ – will be those highlighted, more or less, by all reviewers. Comparatively to his other assessments of works on Indian religions, this brief review is neuter and balanced, very probably because he found here what he called “l'Inde

authentique et traditionnelle des Upanishads et du Yoga”, not “l’Inde frelatée des théosophes”.³⁸

The second theologian to review the book was the Belgian Jesuit **Joseph Masson** (1908-1998), a missionary, but also a scholar of Sanskrit and Buddhism (in the '50s he will teach Sanskrit at the University of Namur).³⁹ In his view, it is an “excellent contribution” to Indian mysticism and particularly to Yoga, which represents for Eliade the *mystica perennis* of Hinduism (just as *Sāṃkhya* was considered to be its *philosophia perennis*). The book is considered to be of great interest for all those who study the Indian “doctrines” or the “comparative spirituality”, redesigning several grand routes of orientalist exploration. Eliade’s treatment of the subject is very detailed, but sometimes the wealth of material is not fully mastered. The bibliography is up to date, except for the very last years. Masson is also keen to notice the philological imprecisions and the printing errors, but he passes a much milder judgement on them (“This is only a detail”).⁴⁰

The book will attract the attention of another Belgian Jesuit, **Édouard Dhanis** (1902-1978), professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Jesuit Faculty of Egenhoven (Leuven), an ultra-conservative theologian who will launch, in the '40s, an offensive against the prophecies of Fatima. In a short bland review he states – probably after Masson-Oursel – that the work doesn’t bring any new document and the hypothesis of the pre-Aryan origin of Yoga has already been defended before Eliade. Dhanis points out that it is a work of synthesis rather than one of fresh exploration. Nevertheless, he adds, it is done by an expert, who traces with high competence the history of this vast and complex “spiritual movement”.⁴¹

The theological circle is closed by one more French Dominican, **Albert Vincent** (1879-1968), an expert of Oriental languages and Biblical literature, fresh doctor⁴² and future professor of history of religions at the Faculty of Catholic Theology of the University of Strasbourg. In his review, hosted by the journal of his Faculty, he points out the importance of Eliade’s book for all those interested in the history of mysticism. However, Vincent has not much sympathy and understanding for Yoga, whose inanity, he thinks, was immediately perceived by the Indo-Aryans. They tried to oppose to this “spiritual experience” of the aboriginal populations a “reasonable asceticism”, the meditation and the prayer. Buddhism was, in his view, an Aryan reaction to the spirituality of “inferior populations”. After its defeat, the “ecstasy of the yogi” ended up into “tantric deviations” and “mystical eroticism”.⁴³ Indeed, a rough caricature and defacement

of Eliade's thesis, characteristic not only of the conservative theologians, but also of the Aryanist ideology of that time.

Almost all these scholars of Indology and theology had a more or less manifested preoccupation for general and comparative religious studies, but none of them was a representative of the new scientific study of religion. The only one, from among the reviewers of *Yoga*, who could claim such a position was **Gerardus van der Leeuw** (1890-1950). Professor of history of religions, theology and Egyptology at the University of Groningen, he had himself a theological and Orientalist formation, and started his career as pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church. The review itself was published – rather late – in a journal of theological studies.

The Dutch professor gives a brief but fully positive assessment of the book, considered as a true treasure for both Indology and Phenomenology of Religion. This very original, well documented and fascinating work – says van der Leeuw – has made “us” very indebted to Eliade. The Romanian scholar achieved this merit by choosing to study a neglected topic: the *exercitia spiritualia*, the spiritual method which plays such an important role in several religions. Especially in the Indian religions, as everywhere else where there is an attempt to master the reality (by magical or ascetical means), the spiritual exercise is the holy act in itself. As he pointed out, at that moment (in 1939), the idea of spiritual practice was gaining increasing power through the activities of the Oxford Group Movement. Therefore, he thinks, it is appropriate to pay attention to *exercitia spiritualia* and to reflect upon their history. However, quite ironically, from all the chapters of the book – which he describes briefly –, van der Leeuw finds particularly interesting the section dedicated to the erotic mysticism of Tantrism.⁴⁴

The book was reviewed by the German chemist **Edmund Oskar von Lippmann** (1857-1940), former honorary professor of natural science history at the University of Halle, from where he was dismissed on account of his Jewish ancestry. He is one of the important scholars of history of science and alchemy read by Eliade already by 1927 and with whom he even initiated correspondence. Very probably it is the author himself who sent him *Yoga*. Von Lippmann was very prompt in reviewing it; in fact his was the first review to be published, but strangely enough Eliade apparently never learned about its existence.

The German historian of science is concerned mainly with the chapter on Yoga and alchemy (ch. VIII), a topic on which, as he points out, there was previously little or no research at all. In his “detailed work”, Eliade

arrived at remarkable results regarding the relationship between the two disciplines.

Von Lippmann understands alchemy as a forerunner of chemistry, rather than as a spiritual esoteric knowledge. He points out, after Eliade, that what is called Indian “alchemy” is originally in Yoga a “spiritual technique”, whose aim is not the transmutation of metals *per se* but the achievement of perfect health, long life and immortality. This “alchemy” is less concerned with the “body” of minerals than with their “soul”, where their qualities originate. Therefore, he adds, it did not empirically precede the chemistry: an interest for chemistry appeared in India much later.

He considers Eliade’s exposition of Indian alchemy “very remarkable”. It clarifies a context and connections which were not known till that moment and corrects peremptorily certain opinions and interpretations which surface even in the recent literature on the subject. In a last footnote von Lippmann adds that the chapters on India and China from his book *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie* (I-II, 1919, 1931) are in complete accord with Eliade’s exposition.⁴⁵ In the third volume of this monumental work on the origin and propagation of alchemy – completed in 1940 but published posthumously – he referred several times to the “detailed considerations” from Eliade’s book.⁴⁶

The last review known to us, published when the Second World War was becoming unavoidable, is signed by **Raymond Lenoir** (1890-1972), *agregé de philosophie* at Sorbonne, student of Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss, a philosophical commentator very active during the '20s and '30s.⁴⁷ His account, despite being published by one of the most important French journals of philosophy, is of little value. He merely recounts the contents of the book with long enumerations of half-understood facts and ill-digested names. Eliade is characterised as an “accurate Indologist”, guest of Himalayan monasteries, disciple of Surendranath Dasgupta, but also an informed reader of a plethora of French scholars (S. Levi, P. Masson-Oursel, J. Przyluski, Ed. Chavannes, M. Mauss, H. Hubert, P. Rivet), and an intellectual whose horizons stretch over Mongolia, China, Tibet, India, Persia, and Sumatra.⁴⁸

Later on, some brief informative reviews appeared in bibliographical volumes, like those published by the French professor of philosophy **Raymond Bayer** (1898-1959) and by the above mentioned Belgian historian of science **George Sarton**.⁴⁹ Both of them stress that the book is more comprehensive than suggested by its title, engaging a comparative view with other techniques of meditation, especially with Hesychasm and

Sufism. Sarton considered that the “Romanian Indologist” has described admirably the systems of Yoga.⁵⁰

The reviews which are indeed relevant for the scholarly reception of Eliade as a specialist of Indian studies are those published by the five Indologists (Papesso, Masson-Oursel, Vallée Poussin, Zimmer, Filliozat) and by the theologian Joseph Masson. Except for Valentino Papesso and Louis de la Vallée Poussin, they were not members of the traditional philological school of Indology. Masson-Oursel was basically a scholar of philosophy, Heinrich Zimmer was mostly interested in art and symbolism, while Filliozat was an oculist doctor.

We could raise the question: why the reception was so modest in the Indological circles – at least in the French? An hypothesis can be put forward. We know that, only a few months after its publication, the book was already appreciated among the professors of *École Pratique des Hautes Études* and *École des Langues Orientales* as an “exceptional work”. The fact was learned in Bucharest through professor **Jules Bloch** (1880-1953), specialist of Indian languages, and confirmed in Paris by the Romanian linguist **Alexandru Graur** (1900-1988), himself a former student of Sanskrit.⁵¹ It is, most probably, the review of Paul Masson-Oursel that discouraged other eventual reviewers.

The same review was promptly instrumented in Bucharest, by **Anton Dumitriu** (1905-1992) – future professor of Logic at the University, but also a secret Theosophist – to launch an underhanded campaign aimed at denigrating Eliade’s scholarship.⁵² It was subsequently taken over, with the same purpose, by the literary historian **Dumitru Murărașu** (1896-1984), professor at the Pedagogic Seminary of Bucharest.⁵³ Ten years later, this was still the only scholarly critique of the book known to Romanian intellectuals. The young Orientalist Marcel Leibovici assisted to a conversation between two former professors of Eliade, **Mircea Florian** (1888-1960) and **Alexandru Claudian** (1898-1962), from the Universities of Bucharest and Iassy, who recalled this review which shows that *Yoga* “was not a work of value”.⁵⁴

In his autobiography, published in 1966, Eliade believes that Masson-Oursel’s “ambiguous little note” (“*notiță cam în doi peri*”) was triggered by the fact that he himself was preparing a book on Yoga, which however could be completed only fifteen years later.⁵⁵ More probably, the real cause was a different one: the French scholar must have resented not being quoted as much as his own works on Yoga deserved in his opinion.⁵⁶

Eliade himself felt the insufficient reception of *Yoga* and tried to correct it, at least for the Romanian public. In June 1937, in the context of his suppression from University (on charges of pornography in his literary writings), he released a kind of “press file” of the book, made – with a single exception – of excerpts from private letters received from the scholars to whom he had presented the book (a fact which was not indicated as such). He ranged on his list fourteen renowned scholars (in this order): Ernesto Buonaiuti, Raffaele Pettazzoni, Jean Przyluski, Vittorio Macchioro, Carl Hentze, A. B. Keith, Giuseppe Tucci, J. W. Hauer, Samuel Angus, Valentino Papesso, Theodor Stcherbatsky, S. K. Belvalkar, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, and Tenney L. Davis.⁵⁷ But the excerpts from their letters were not always accurate. Sometimes Eliade takes illicit advantage in his translation. Moreover, the short quotations from Stcherbatsky and Coomaraswamy are not found in their letters, while we don't have any correspondence from Keith, Tucci or Belvalkar referring to the book.⁵⁸ The five scholars were certainly added because of their authority as Indologists. In fact, at that moment Eliade had at hand only short remarks from Przyluski and Hauer and the review of Papesso. **Surendranath Dasgupta** (1887-1952), still angry with his former student, didn't even confirm the receipt of the book.⁵⁹ It is true that academic journals were printed slowly and their circulation was often difficult. Two years later, Eliade will have a better view of the reception of his book, but still he missed seeing a third of its reviews.⁶⁰

Jakob Wilhelm Hauer (1881-1962), professor of Indology at the University of Tübingen, and the most important Western authority on *Yoga* till that moment, wrote to Eliade only that his book is “an excellent orientation” (“*eine ganz ausgezeichnete Orientierung*”) on the subject. He vowed to study it carefully as soon as time permits it.⁶¹ Hauer, who in his own books on *Yoga* was seeking its origin in the Vedic – non-Brahmanic but “Aryan” – context, remains completely silent on the pre-Aryan origin hypothesis.

On the contrary, **Ananda K. Coomaraswamy** (1877-1947), like Zimmer, agreed with Eliade on the pre-Aryan origins of *Yoga*. Moreover, he considers that *Yoga* is far from being a purely Indian matter. According to him, it is a universal phenomenon. He boldly points out to a “Christian *Yoga*” in the writings of St. Bernard and Richard of St. Victor.⁶² It is not irrelevant to remember that Coomaraswamy's father was a Tamil from Śri Lanka, a population of the old Dravidian stock. He was not only an Indian of non-Aryan origin, but also a Protestant Christian.

Arriving at this point, it is interesting to see how two Protestant scholars of religious studies reacted to the book. **Samuel Angus** (1881-1943), professor of New Testament and Church history at St. Andrew's College of the University of Sydney, was impressed not only by the thoroughness with which Eliade deals with the topic or by his grasp of sources in a multitude of languages, but also by his success in making an "Indian practice and view of life" intelligible to a Western mind. He intended to arrange a review in their *Journal of Philosophy and Psychology*, but the promise remained unfulfilled.⁶³ Much more engaging are the comments of their common friend, **Vittorio Macchioro** (1880-1958), at that time attached at the Archaeological Survey of Venezia-Giulia, in Trieste. He had spent recently two years (1933-1935) in India, as a visiting professor at the charge of Italian government. He visited Calcutta, where he met Surendranath Dasgupta, and taught for seven months at Banaras Hindu University, where he learned Haṭha-Yoga from an Indian yogi. Consequently Macchioro became an enthusiastic practitioner and read extensively on the subject.

With these qualifications, the Italian scholar appreciates that Eliade's book "beats everything" that he could read on the topic. His treatment of Yoga from the perspective of history of religions seems to him "perfect", much more clear and "reasoned" than that of the most famous books on this subject. Like Filliozat, he remarks especially the chapters on Tantrism and alchemy, which represent work of the first order. Interesting enough, Macchioro finds that the book is somehow lacking on the practical side of Yoga and asks Eliade whether he ever attempted to practice this discipline. Pointing out to some small inaccuracies regarding Haṭha-Yoga (which are not entirely appropriate), he quotes in his support Swami Shivananda. Since he was left with the impression that Eliade doubts the therapeutic effects of Yoga, he gives him a personal testimony to the contrary.

Macchioro disagrees with Eliade that the doctrine of the *cakras* is better explained through the magic value of the meditation than by the anatomic and physiologic knowledge of Indians. Therefore he agrees partially with dr. Vasant G. Rele and thinks that the task of the scholar is to find an equivalence between the yogic terminology and the modern scientific nomenclature.⁶⁴ In his kind, diplomatic, answer, Eliade accepts some of Macchioro's observations and explains his option through an excess of "critical" precautions. In other words, he avoided intentionally to dwell on Haṭha-Yoga because he didn't want to endorse the impression of

“mysticism” which his earlier publications left on the Romanian academic community.⁶⁵

Macchioro will recommend Eliade’s book to several persons from his own circle. One of those to whom he lent it was his disciple **Ernesto de Martino**, whose case will be discussed below.⁶⁶ The reading of *Yoga* induced in him only “some reservations and perplexities”⁶⁷, which will be formulated with precision a decade later, after the publication of Eliade’s second book on the subject.

Edmund Oskar von Lippmann and Aldo Mieli were not the only historians of science who took an interest in *Yoga*. Their American colleague **Tenney Lombard Davis** (1890-1949), professor of organic chemistry at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a pioneer in the history of chemistry – who had reviewed briefly *Asian alchemy* (1935)⁶⁸ –, comments, in his letter to Eliade, on the chapter *Yoga and alchemy*. Despite acknowledging gently that his conclusions “contribute greatly toward clarification of the problem”, he upholds a different thesis: alchemy – which means for him restrictively the search for transmutation or for the elixir – is more recent than chemistry. He didn’t find any evidence in Eliade’s new book that Indians or Babylonians developed an alchemy in that sense of the word.⁶⁹ By the end of the same year he will publish his thesis in an article entitled *The problem of the origins of alchemy*, in which he makes no reference to Eliade’s books.⁷⁰

As we have seen, the book was discussed mostly in France, Belgium, and Italy. It had virtually no public reception in the English-speaking (Great Britain, U.S.A., and India) Orientalist milieu and only a meagre one in the German-speaking (Germany, Austria, Switzerland) Indological academia. In his autobiography Eliade asserts that “almost all the great Oriental scholars of the time” (J. Przyluski, L. de la Vallée Poussin, A. K. Coomaraswamy, H. Zimmer, V. Papesso, G. Tucci) expressed their agreement with his interpretations and considered the book an important contribution towards the understanding of Indian mystical techniques.⁷¹ Later on, he will discover other scholars, especially in France, who appreciated the work. **Louis Renou** (1896-1966), one of the most important Sanskritists, professor at Sorbonne University, admired it.⁷² So did **René Daumal** (1908-1944), surrealist writer and poet, but also a serious student of Sanskrit and Indian literature.⁷³ For the esotericist **Philippe Lavastine** (1908-1999), eccentric scholar of India, the book was an “authority”.⁷⁴ The wife of the Indologist **Olivier Lacombe** (1904-2001) found it and

read it in the library of the Jesuit monastery-college of Kurseong, in north-eastern India.⁷⁵

Readers and admirers came also from outside the narrow confines of Indology. One of them was **George Bataille** (1897-1962), who read it a few years after its publication and found it to be “the most clear exposition of Tantrism”.⁷⁶ Another reader was professor **Gershom Scholem** (1897-1982) from the University of Jerusalem, renowned specialist in the Kabbala.⁷⁷ Several scholars, both from the area of Indian studies and from outside it, will cite it in their works.⁷⁸

In his letter, **Jean Przyluski** (1885-1944), scholar of several Asian languages and of Buddhism, professor of College de France, wrote that, with Eliade, Romania enters the field of Indology.⁷⁹ It seems that only in Paris was Eliade called an Indologist. Paul Masson-Oursel and Raymond Lenoir were the only reviewers who granted him this title.

Paul Masson-Oursel's irritation seems to have been short-lived. When Eliade came to Paris as a refugee in 1945, the French savant wrote to him: “*Je connais bien votre livre, le meilleur qui soit sur le yoga en Occident, et j'aimerais à faire connaissance avec l'auteur.*” On their meeting, the French professor invites him to collaborate with the members of the Centre d'Études Mystiques (Louis Massignon, Jean Barozi, and Paul Demiéville) in order to elaborate a *définition préjudicielle* of the “mystic fact” and to set up a vocabulary of comparative mysticism, entrusting him with the definition of yogic terms.⁸⁰ Furthermore, he invites Eliade to give a lecture on Yoga at the Institut d'Indianisme of École Pratique des Hautes Études.⁸¹ In his annual rapport to the École, Masson-Oursel mentions him as the “Romanian Indologist”, “the author of the best existing book on Yoga”.⁸²

According to Eliade, Masson-Oursel changed his earlier views and accepted the thesis of a non-Aryan origin of Yoga.⁸³ But **Jean Filliozat**, who became director of studies at École Pratique des Hautes Études, has also changed his views in the opposite direction. He challenged the pre-Aryan origin hypothesis in a study dedicated specially to this topic. The title of his article makes an evident reference to the sub-title of Eliade's book, which he considers an “important work”. It was actually written purposely to refute the “plausible and seducing”, but “rather arbitrary”, pre-Aryan theory. For him, the posture of the character from the Mohanjo-Daro clay tablet, identified by Sir John Marshall as Śiva practicing Yoga, is not immediately and necessarily typical of the *yogin*, but a very common posture in India.

In order to reach a conclusion regarding the origins of Yoga one must do, according to Filliozat, more than speculating on prehistoric iconography and on non-Indian shamans. One should above all study the typical elements of Yoga and determine their place in the Indian culture. In other words, the main task is to examine their relations with the classical Indian notions of psychology and physiology.⁸⁴ After doing it briefly, Filliozat concludes that “there is nothing in this account which must have been borrowed from the uncivilised pre-Aryans”. He finds no ground to accept that, in order to be born, Yoga needed a combination of shamanic techniques of possession and trance with a philosophy of the soul, as Eliade suggested.

In his view, Yoga was, on the contrary, developed from a psycho-physiological theory with materialist tendency, i.e. from the pneumatism characteristic of classical Indian medicine. Yoga is not a “resurgence of pre-Aryan mystic rites, derived from the old, autochthonous shamanic stock”, but “the consequence of speculations based on scientific theories accepted at that time”. The systematic nature of the yogic exercises pleads for a scientific origin. Theoretically, the primitive idea underlying the pneumatism might have been borrowed from the “non-civilised” pre-Aryans, but “we have no way of knowing whether this logical possibility was worked out and no necessity justifies this hypothesis”. Nothing similar to Yoga can be traced among the “non-civilised” of the present day, which are supposedly the descendants of those of ancient India.

Filliozat’s article was reviewed by **Henri-Charles Puech** (1902-1986), historian of religions, expert of Gnosticism, Manichaeism and early Christianity, and a colleague of the former at *École Pratique des Hautes Études*. As secretary of *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions* (which hosted Masson-Oursel’s review), he published there an immense number of reviews and chronicles, but never reviewed himself any book by Eliade. Reporting the judgement of “arbitrariness” passed on his hypothesis concerning the origins of Yoga, Puech resumes – in a very detailed and faithful manner – all the arguments put forward by Filliozat in order to refute it.⁸⁵ The intention of amplifying the echo of Filliozat’s article, in the detriment of Eliade, is more than evident.⁸⁶

Eliade was not convinced by Filliozat’s arguments,⁸⁷ but he took no pains to refute them in his second book, *Techniques of Yoga*, published two years later. This displeased the French scholar, who in a new critique in *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions* returned to the question with even greater emphasis.

3. *Techniques du Yoga* (1948)

Proposed to Gallimard publishing house by Georges Dumézil, the book was initially titled *Introduction à l'étude du Yoga*. Eliade wrote it in about two months, at the end of 1945, reproducing whole pages from the *Yoga* of 1936. Later on he was asked to revise certain sections and add several explanatory pages. Completed in May 1946, Eliade corrected the manuscript in the month of October, adding a short vocabulary list of technical terms and a preface. However, the printing was delayed because the presses used by Gallimard didn't have the diacritical signs for Sanskrit. Consequently the work came out only in May 1948.⁸⁸ Eliade believed that, in this introductory little book, he succeeded in "expressing more clearly my current conception of Yoga and of all the paradoxical, religious efforts to attain the coincidence of *esse* with *non-esse* here on earth, to become god while still remaining man."⁸⁹ He even felt that he said "many things that I hadn't yet said in any of my works, published or unpublished".⁹⁰

Like the first book, *Techniques of Yoga* received more attention from outside the craft of Indology. We were able to compile a list of sixteen reviews, short notes and articles discussing the new work. Only three are signed by scholars of Indian studies: Jean Filliozat, George Weston Briggs, and Paul Masson-Oursel. The others are due to scholars of religion (4), philosophy (1), history of literature (1), history of science (1), to writers (3) and esotericists (3). Interest for esotericism, sometimes up to a personal commitment, is found across these categories, but mostly among writers. Despite the book's having a much better exposure than in 1936, it was reviewed by comparatively fewer Indologists and religious studies scholars. Instead it had a better reception amidst writers and sympathisers of the occult. There was no reaction from philologists and linguists. Only the Italian translation (1952) was commented on by a scholar of Indo-European linguistics. The geographic distribution is clearly weighted towards France (11 reviews), with Italy (2), Switzerland (1), Belgium (1), and United States of America (1) on the other side.

In his review, **Jean Filliozat** renews his appreciation of Eliade's first work, which he calls "one of the best general books" on the subject. The new book is a "fair general presentation", less detailed as far as the theoretical part of Yoga is concerned, but more accurate with regard to the technical side of it. The work should be welcomed, he thinks, especially in a time saturated with ignorant and fanciful publications on Yoga.

After such a positive but ambiguous introduction, Filliozat jumps directly to a new critique of Eliade's approach of Yoga. Namely, he reproaches him for bringing into account Sāṃkhya philosophy as a way to understand Yoga (a classical and general approach in fact). It is only at a later historical stage (the scholastic syncretism), that Yoga and Sāṃkhya found themselves associated – he argues. The doctrines of Sāṃkhya do not explain the techniques of Yoga, neither historically, nor logically. The technique is – as argued in his earlier article – dependent on the doctrines of the physiologists. The exposition of Sāṃkhya philosophy is certainly not superfluous, and Eliade wrote some excellent pages on it, filled with fine remarks. But it should have been grouped, according to Filliozat, among the systems of thought associated with Yoga at a later time, such as Buddhism and Tantra.

This option is also considered incongruous with Eliade's own theory of the prehistoric origins of Yoga, which makes the Sāṃkhya-Yoga association completely secondary. From the perspective of his theory, the chronological classification becomes unnecessary. But, in Filliozat's view, the theory is only a convenient way to avoid the question of Yoga's origins. He goes on arguing again that John Marshall's hypothesis about the practice of Yoga at the time of Indus Valley civilisation has a very weak foundation. The techniques of Yoga are actually routed in a "pneumatic theory", attested already in the *Vedas* and having "Indo-Iranian" precedents. "It is unnecessary to suppose that practices, which are the natural application of ideas common in the environment where they are attested, stem from other practices supposed to exist in times of which we have no proof of their existence." Eliade – decries Filliozat – ignores completely the Indian physiology as a possible explanation of Yoga's peculiarities. The French doctor is visibly upset that he takes into consideration mainly religious and philosophical facts, and scarcely mentions "trans-physiological" experiences. He contests Eliade's idea that the *cakras* were discovered through such an experience, independently of any objective preoccupation. They could have been discovered more simply by using the existent medical knowledge.

On behalf of this reasoning, Filliozat is compelled to contest the correctness of the opinion which can be formed about the techniques of Yoga according to Eliade's book. Nevertheless, he adds, his enquiry into the subject remains fruitful and his descriptions very valuable. Only the high number of printing errors in the Sanskrit words and the confusions

of gender are to be deplored⁹¹ – a courteous criticism, typical of the French academia.

The other two scholars of Indian studies who reviewed the book approved of Eliade and didn't attempt to engage him over the validity of his hypotheses. One was the Methodist clergyman and former missionary to India, **George Weston Briggs** (1874-1966). In India he learned Sanskrit and became an Indologist. Upon his return to America, he taught Sanskrit and was named professor of history of religions at the Theological Seminary of Drew University, New Jersey. He authored several valuable books on Indian castes, among which one on the *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis* (1938), which will be used by Eliade in his later works. Briggs considers Eliade's appraisal of Yoga to be "careful" and the book itself "highly interesting and useful". Its main interest lies in the fact that it shows Yoga as a multifaceted phenomenon, illustrating the characteristic use which various religious communities make of it. He does not contend the "primitive" and "indigenous" character of Yoga supported by the author.⁹²

In a brief review, **Paul Masson-Oursel** recalls that the author of the book is a very competent analyst who already wrote "the best book on this vast subject" in which abound mediocre works. Contrary to Jean Filliozat, he approves Eliade's option to discuss the *Erkenntnistheorie* and appreciates his precision in the use of Sanskrit terms. Nevertheless, among the various applications of Yoga, the author forgot to deal with "the most spectacular and the most intellectualized" of all, the Buddhist school Yogācāra. The French scholar is saddened again by too many typographic imperfections in the technical terminology, which are going to make a fortune with the popularisers of the subject. In the end, he urges Eliade to publish his "very important" ideas on shamanism as a source of both Yoga and Taoism, either through the myths of reintegration or through Mongolian spirituality.⁹³ It is indeed an indirect way of approving his pre-Aryan theory, without openly engaging Filliozat.

The Indologists were not the most prompt reviewers of the book. In fact they were the last ones. In the first rank were the scholars of religious studies: the young generation, Eliade's own congeners.

One of the very first was the Italian anthropologist and historian of religions **Ernesto de Martino** (1908-1965), also known as a Socialist activist and anti-Catholic militant. The review appeared – in the journal of religious studies published, at the University of Rome, by Raffaele Pettazoni, who commissioned it⁹⁴ – almost simultaneously with his

second and most representative book *Il mondo magico. Prolegomeni a una storia del magismo* (1948), reviewed by Pettazzoni in the following pages of the journal.

Integrating in his thought influences as varied as Croce, Heidegger, and Gramsci, or Pettazzoni, Rudolf Otto, and Vittorio Macchioro (whose daughter he married), Ernesto de Martino was in many respects floating in the same waters as Eliade. Indeed, he considers that his book responds very well to the “general need of Western culture to enlarge its own humanism, and to renew its own problems through the comprehension of forms of spirituality ideally far from our own”.⁹⁵ The Italian scholar finds Eliade’s interpretation of Yoga “quite suggestive and insightful”. But, he adds, it requests further close examination of the existential drama which gave birth to the “refusal to let oneself be lived” and to the paradox of the “abolition of history”, through which Eliade explained the working of Yoga.⁹⁶

Ernesto de Martino’s reading of the book is filtered by his own ideas of the “existential drama” characteristic of an initial *magic era* – which express itself through magic art, myth and various practices (shamanism, initiation, totemic rituals) – and of the crisis of the *presence*. He understands the problem of the *presence* through the magic-religious polarity, a binary tension detectable in Yoga as well. De Martino ends by asserting boldly that the history of religions is made by the complex weaving of these two distinct “existential situations”. A similar position was, indeed, held by Eliade during the ‘30s – on the track of Rudolf Otto –, but it is more visible in his first book on Yoga than in the one reviewed by the Italian scholar.⁹⁷ The review didn’t make a great impression on Eliade. Writing to Pettazzoni about it, he characterised it in only two words: “concise and clear”.⁹⁸

The second scholar of religious studies was also an Orientalist. **Louis Gardet** (pen name of André Brottier, 1904-1986), a French neo-Thomist thinker and member of the religious congregation of Charles de Foucauld, was at the same time a disciple of Louis Massignon. With the publication of his first book, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane* (1948), he had just obtained an international recognition in the scholarly field of Islamic studies. Preoccupied by what he calls “comparative spiritual theology”, Gardet discusses Eliade’s book along with Gershom Sholem’s *Major trends in Jewish mysticism* (reprinted the same year), in a large article hosted by *Revue Thomiste*.⁹⁹ His analysis is guided by the distinction between natural and supernatural mysticism, not openly identical, but

mostly coinciding with non-Christian and Christian mysticism. He openly refrains from passing judgement on the “supernatural value” of the yogic and Jewish mystic experiences.

Gardet regrets not having been able to read Eliade’s 1936 “big book” on Yoga – being out of stock –, which remains a “document of the first importance on the historical sources of Yoga”. The new book could be considered, in his view, the most up-to-date monograph on the subject, more valuable as it comes in an age too often satisfied with approximations and distortions. It has the double advantage of being accessible to the non-specialist and to offer both reliable information and an inside view of the phenomenon. The Catholic scholar points out that, by approaching Yoga from its technical side, the work answers to a legitimate curiosity of our times (Heidegger’s *Die Frage nach der Technik* will be published five years later). Indeed, for him, the second chapter of the book – *The Techniques* – is the capital one.

Gardet – who liked to present himself as a “Christian philosopher of cultures and of comparative religions” – has only praises for Eliade’s work. Discussing the texts of Yoga, the Romanian scholar is guided by the concern to be “perfectly objective”, being at the same time able to reconstruct the meaning *ab intra* almost always in an excellent way. Gardet praises especially his decision to translate *samādhi* as “stasis”, and further on as “enstasis”. Eliade’s description of the experience of *samādhi* is remarkable, as it follows as close as possible the Indian sources, without transpositions or abusive equivalences. Unlike other Western interpreters, he explains it without any depreciation of the experience and of its positive content, without any pseudo-philosophical or pseudo-mystical fancy.

But Eliade’s explanations don’t answer to all the problems raised by Yoga to the philosopher and the theologian. Some of his expressions may even be misleading, insofar as, “yielding to the monism through which an experience of natural mysticism always tends to express itself, they will present the final state as the realisation of a plenary Being (*ens*) and not as an actualisation of the pure *esse*”.

In a previous article, following on the footsteps of Jacques Maritain and Olivier Lacombe (Indologist and neo-Thomist co-disciple), the Catholic scholar of Islam tried to support his belief that it is possible to go beyond the philosophical explanation of the experience.¹⁰⁰ According to him, it is not the matter of a “being without form”, but of a pure actualisation within the being; it is not about a knowledge of the substance of the soul in itself, but about a seizure of the substantial *esse* of the “I”, and through

it, and in it as *medium*, it is about the creative influx, the effects produced by the presence of the immensity. Maritan's views on the matter¹⁰¹ are equally proposed as *the* explanation for the "paradoxical situation" of the *yogin*, of which Eliade speaks, or for the "difficulties" of Sāṃkhya's realism in regard to the deliverance through *kaivalya*. However, he adds, the rich distinctions made by Eliade – in a very sober vocabulary, constantly respectful of the experience itself – guarantee and support the proposed explanation.

Furthermore, Gardet approves the "essential thesis" of the pre-Aryan origin of Yoga, but has serious reserves regarding the "erotic ecstasy" of Tantrism, which he does not consider, with Eliade, as leading to the same state of liberation as the ascetic Yoga, but an "aberrant form" of Indian spirituality. The same goes for the absolutism of the body characteristic of Haṭha-Yoga.

Gardet goes as far as to propose his own "hypothesis" on the history of Yoga: The classical Yoga of Patañjali was not only an effort of systematisation, as presented by Eliade, but also one of purifications of the older data. A "natural mysticism" may have, just like the supernatural one, diverted, degraded or aberrant forms. Tantrism and Haṭha-Yoga, he thinks, might have put in practice very ancient magical and experimental values, which were discarded by the classical Yoga. Actually this was Eliade's opinion too, but he avoided passing judgements of "purity" or "deviation". Gardet thinks that Tantrism and Haṭha-Yoga lead rather to a "pseudo-liberation", a pseudo-seizure of the pure being, that is a state of instable and sometimes morbid exaltation. To illustrate it he refers to the *alumbrados* and quietists in comparison to the "authentic Christian mysticism".

As a conclusion, Eliade's book is considered an "unrivalled document", not less precious for the study of other "mixed cases" of mysticism (that is natural mysticism combined with supernatural mysticism), like for example the Indian *bhakti*.¹⁰²

The third scholar of religious studies was **Marie Madeleine Davy** (1903-1998), a former student of Etienne Gilson, expert on medieval theology and mysticism, but also a scholar of Hebrew, who recently had moved from the École Pratique des Hautes Études to the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. She was one of the early and enthusiastic readers of the book. In September 1948, meeting accidentally Eliade in Café de Flore, she shouted: "*Votre livre a un succès fou! Tout le monde en parle!*"¹⁰³ Her review appeared a few months later in *La Nef*, a new

but influential monthly literary journal, centre-left oriented, directed by two Jewish-French writers, Lucie Faure and Robert Aron. Without ever abandoning her Christian heritage, Davy was open to all Asian mystical traditions, in which she will get involved more than academically.¹⁰⁴

Therefore it is not surprising that she sees Yoga as an experimental method first and foremost. In her opinion, Eliade presents his subject with all the acumen of a scholar who possesses not merely the knowledge but also the “use of the practice”.¹⁰⁵ Davy underlines from the very beginning that the book is not only the result of a theoretical study, but also the fruit of author’s experience as a dweller in the ashrams of Hardwar, Rishikesh and Almora (sic!). She even thinks that the book offers important “practical advice” on meditation and concentration.

One of its strong points, she continues, is that Eliade has succeeded in presenting difficult problems in an accessible way. Secondly, it stands out through the particular originality of the pages treating Yoga techniques in Buddhism and Tantrism (ch. IV). “Nothing has been said on this subject in French language with so much understanding, scholarship, and clarity.” What Eliade writes about the mystic sounds, tantric and haṭha-yogic literature is – according to her – of “absolute novelty” for the majority of French readership.

Without entering into details, like Louis Gardet, Davy singles out the “tendency towards the concrete” of the Indian spirituality, explained by Eliade as the memory of and the nostalgia for a time in which the action and the gesture constituted the sole instrument to conquer the world and, simultaneously, the primal source of inner life. Despite being written by a scholar of religious studies, the review is more characteristic of the profile of the journal in which it was published.

The identity of the last scholar of religious studies who reviewed the book is not known. He signed it with the initials **J.-P. Y.** in *Le monde non-chrétien*, an important anthropological-missionary journal founded by Maurice Leenhardt, Protestant missionary to Melanesia as well as academic ethnologist. The background of the discrete reviewer is itself theological and protestant, as it can be inferred from the fact that he brings in his support a quote from the Protestant pastor Henry Leenhardt (probably a relative of Maurice).

Contrary to Marie Madeleine Davy, he remarks from the very beginning that the book offers more than a “collection of meditation principles”; it brings forward a penetrating view of Indian spirituality and an excellent general study of the various schools of Hinduism.¹⁰⁶ Especially of two main

currents: “popular religiosity” and “yogic mysticism”, or the mysticism of *bhakti* cults, like the one of Kṛṣṇa, and the mysticism of the Self. He even asserts that, according to the last one, the true and absolute knowledge is not the result of an experience, but of a revelation. Furthermore, resurrecting old theological controversies, J.-P. Y. denies to such “revealed philosophy” the possibility of being “religion”, since it is only a revelation of a psychological order, while religion is the “knowledge of God in which the revelation is inseparable from redemption”. He quotes Henry Leenhardt in order to stress that what Indian mystics encounter in their ecstasy is not the “revealed God”, but a “fictitious God”, a “hypostasis emanated from the depth of their organic being”.

Indeed, he is persuaded that God is absent from Hinduism, Buddhism, and Tantrism. Yoga is a method of self-divinisation based on spiritualization through physiological methods. The Indian asceticism is not mortification, like the Western *askesis*, but a “Gnostic absenteeism”. Concluding his theological depreciation of non-Christian religious experience, J.-P. Y. asserts that all mysticisms lead to the knowledge of an “intentional God” which has an ontological kinship with the “thinking being”, while the “religious knowledge” is permitted only through faith. The review is rather a neo-Protestant dogmatic standpoint on Yoga, than an assessment of Eliade’s scholarship.

With a considerable delay, *Techniques of Yoga* will be reviewed briefly by the historian of science **George Sarton** in his regular critical bibliography of the history and philosophy of science, published in the journal *Isis*. He only notices the differences between the two books of Eliade. The new one contains more and less: for example, it does not include, except for *Note C*, comparisons with non-Indian yogic techniques (like Hesychasm, Sufism, etc.), but devotes more attention to Yoga in Buddhism and Tantrism.¹⁰⁷

The very first review of the book was published in another new French literary journal – printed in Monte Carlo before moving to Paris – by the philosophy teacher **Aimé Patri** (1904-1983). Simultaneously a journalist, old communist and anti-fascist militant, he was close to the surrealists and to André Breton, and deeply immersed in alchemy in which he was considered by some to be a fine connoisseur.

Patri’s review also starts by saying that those who take Eliade’s book for a practical guide to this technique of “self-divinisation” are going to be disappointed. However, the author’s “indisputable competence” in the subject – as ethnographer and historian of religions – is given by his three

years of study at the University of Calcutta and by the six months spent in a Himalayan ashram. He recommends strongly this “excellent work” to those who want to instruct themselves seriously on the significance and place of Yoga in the Indian spirituality.

Agreeing on the pre-Aryan origin of Yoga, Patri finds one of the main qualities of the book in that it sheds light, along classical (Brahmanic) Yoga, on its multiple “baroque”, popular, forms. He draws the reader’s attention to the fact that, according to the rule of the book series in which it is published (“La Montagne Sainte-Genevieve”), Eliade’s work takes the opportunity of a “specific research” in order to put a “human problem of universal order”: the ways in which man tries to escape from his own condition. However, he denounces the misleading trick used by the editor on the advertising strip attached to the volume, which alludes to a “Hindu existentialism”.¹⁰⁸

To believe Eliade, Aimé Patri was simply enthusiastic about the book.¹⁰⁹ In the next issue of the journal, he will publish a highly interesting interview with the Romanian “learned ethnographer” on the “methods of Hindu asceticism”. His questions insist exclusively on the practice of Yoga and Tantra according to Eliade’s own experience in India.¹¹⁰

Techniques of Yoga is discussed in an article published by **Albert-Marie Schmidt** (1901-1966) in the Swiss Calvinist journal *La Réforme*, to which he was a regular contributor. Professor of the University of Caen, historian of literature, great expert of Middle Age and Renaissance, poet and curious towards the occult, he will continue to review enthusiastically Eliade’s books and eventually will translate in French his Indian fantastic novels (*Nights at Serampore* and *The secret of dr. Honigberger*).

His article, written from an explicit Christian standpoint, is aimed against the apologetic cliché of the “return towards the East”, the “theosophical impostures”, the consoling picture of the “Oriental mirage” and the Western practitioners of Yoga (he singles out the names of Arthur Koestler, Romain Rolland, and Jean Herbert). Schmidt finds Eliade’s book a “remarkable work”, a “treatise which satisfies fully the attention, sometimes difficult to maintain, and becomes authoritative for all Indologists”. He liked especially the “incomparable” sub-chapter II.3, on the “subconscious”, in which Eliade recalls that the first psychoanalysts of the world were the Hindus.¹¹¹

Not surprisingly, what the reading of this book has revealed to him is the fundamental opposition between Yoga and Christianity. Among many differences, attempting to become God is, for Schmidt, the “promise of

the Serpent". Therefore he appreciates Eliade's warning to the Western man of the danger of practicing the various types of Yoga without a truly qualified master. Except that, for the Swiss Calvinist professor, the sole true master is Jesus Christ.¹¹²

As we have seen, several of the above mentioned scholars were engaged Christians and/or possessed a serious interest for mysticism, esotericism, and metapsychic phenomena. This is also the case with some of the writers.

For instance **Michel Carrouges** (pen name of Louis Couturier, 1910-1988), writer and literary critic – not academic but "artistic" –, was both a committed Christian and interested in occultism and esotericism. He reviewed the book in the supplement of the Catholic journal *La Vie Spirituelle*, along with other works on "Hindu spirituality".

Like other reviewers, Carrouges begins by recalling Eliade's experience in India which, however, he remarks, didn't make him forget the imperative of retaining a "rigorous mind".¹¹³ As an "Orientalist of high value", Eliade insists on the complexity of yogic experiences and on the contradictory aspects of the "Hindu soul". The French writer thinks that the choice of Yoga is intended to serve as an axis for understanding the Hindu doctrines, and considers this to be an "excellent method". He also finds very interesting the comparisons with proto-history and shamanism.

As far as the techniques of Yoga are concerned, Carrouges thinks that, through them, the *yogin* experiences remarkable psychic states, but their demonstrative value regarding the non-reality of the world is nothing but a "vicious circle" circumscribing a "metaphysic of the ostrich". Eliade's *Final Remarks* contain, in his opinion, some ill-founded generalisations about the Christian rituals, but, he adds, this doesn't affect the value and the interest of the book. It is an excellent work, which gives good hopes for a future deepening of the "dialog between Christian West and India".¹¹⁴

Another writer who reviewed the book, **Jean Desternes** (1881-196?), was equally a journalist, literary critic and art historian. He talks about it in an article on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, published in *La table ronde*, a young journal of *arrière-garde* literature directed by Jean Cau. Reading the *Gītā* as translated and explained by Aurobindo Ghose, he helped himself with the works of Albert Schweitzer, René Grousset, and Mircea Eliade. For Desternes, the Romanian "historian of religions" gives, in his book, a "curious panorama" of the techniques of Yoga. Like in the case of other reviewers, his attention was attracted by the warnings to the Western amateurs who want to practice Yoga and by the yogic perspective on

the subconscious, as a “prehistory of the psychoanalysis which shows a para-psychological experience”.¹¹⁵

An article on the book was promised by the multiform writer **Georges Bataille**, for his journal *Critique*, but he could not keep the promise.¹¹⁶

In Italy, *Techniques of Yoga* was used by **Giovanni Cavicchioli** (1894-1964) in order to criticize and reject the vulgarizing book of the famous British colonial officer Francis Yeats-Brown, *Yoga explained* (New York, 1937), recently published in Italian translation.¹¹⁷ Writer, poet and playwright, Cavicchioli was an old disciple of Rudolf Steiner whom he visited frequently at Dornach. But the reading of Eliade was recommended to him by his friend Julius Evola.¹¹⁸ A similar effect will have Eliade’s works on the reviewers of other new books on yoga.¹¹⁹

The last group of reviewers are the occultists and esotericists. **Jean Bruno** (1909-1982), a chief librarian at Bibliothèque Nationale de France, was close to the literary circles of the time, like the surrealists, and very interested in Yoga, parapsychology and mystic experiences, the subject of most of his writings. In his review, written for *Revue Métapsychique*, organ of the International Metapsychical Institute, he considers *Techniques of Yoga* to be the best general introduction for the historical study of Yoga as well as for the just understanding of its role in Indian spirituality.¹²⁰ But the work surpasses largely the level of pure erudition. As Eliade himself pointed out, Yoga interests not only the Indologist or the historian of Oriental thought, but also the ethnologist, the medical doctor, the psychologist and the philosopher. Jean Bruno adds the metapsychist to the list. He points to the fact that, despite its final goal, Yoga is also a technique for developing the *siddhis*, or “magical powers”. Therefore, he thinks that, in future, the methods of concentration characteristic to Yoga could be adapted and developed in order to facilitate the experimental study of supernatural phenomena.

A small note was published by the French astrologist **Paul Le Cour** (1871-1954) in his journal *Atlantis*. A prolific esoteric writer – and a critic of Guénon –, his book *L’Ère du Verseau* (1937) is considered today to be one of the anticipators of New Age ideology. His attention was attracted mainly by Eliade’s treatment of Tantrism: “an instrument dangerous to use, with its thesis of mystical eroticism which transfigures life, but which can also deviate to the grossest sensuality”.¹²¹ This was also the subject of his questions when he visited Eliade, in December 1948, but his limited knowledge of the subject became immediately obvious.¹²²

The most interesting among this category of reviewers is certainly the well-known proponent of "Tradition", **René Guénon** (1886-1951), a strong opponent of Western Orientalism, but still considered an Oriental scholar by a small part of the academia.¹²³ In two earlier issues of his organ, *Études Traditionnelles*, he had already reviewed the journal *Zalmoxis* and Eliade's seminal article *The problem of shamanism* (1946), manifesting his agreement and disagreement with some of his ideas.¹²⁴

In *Techniques of Yoga*, Guénon found more "comprehension" for Yoga than in the majority of Western works written on the same topic.¹²⁵ A first sign of this comprehension is Eliade's care to put in inverted commas all those words which he found inadequate for Indian realities – words which are commonly used by other Orientalists without any hesitation and without realising the degree to which they falsify the expounded doctrines. However the Romanian scholar seems to have stopped half way by fear of not moving too far from the generally accepted terminology. On the other hand, he uses some neologisms, not all justified according to Guénon, but of which at least one is an excellent choice: "enstasis" for *samādhi* instead of ecstasy.¹²⁶ Secondly, the book has plenty of "very fair views" and, even if some problems are not always solved, this is a supplementary merit as it expresses a very commendable care not to simplify things excessively and not to hide the real difficulties.

Guénon formulates several reservations from a "Traditionalist" point of view: 1. an insufficient conception of the Hindu orthodoxy and of the manner in which it could incorporate new doctrines and practices; 2. the attention on the variety of Yogas which risks to lose sight of their "principal unity"; 3. some concessions made to ethnological theories on vegetation cults and similar things. On the other hand, he found disseminated throughout the book, and especially in the conclusive chapter, some "really remarkable ideas" – those which he already had found in the article *The problem of shamanism*. In the review of this last one, the French "Traditionalist" remarked two main ideas: the existence of a "universally valid symbolism" and the integration of the "experimental" aspects in a "theo-cosmological assembly much broader than the various shamanic ideologies". He also pointed out the similarity of Eliade's ideas with some considerations expounded by A. K. Coomaraswamy and by himself.

In conclusion, the book is considered worthy to be read by all those interested seriously in this subject matter and – Guénon adds – there are very few books about which he could say the same thing. No wonder that Eliade liked the review. Apparently he learned about both reviews only

one year later, during a casual visit to one of his acquaintances in Paris. In his journal he wrote only this: "Surprisingly enthusiastic for the acrid pen of Guénon."¹²⁷ But a copy of the review, in his own handwriting, has been preserved among his papers.¹²⁸

The book will be also the subject of a lecture delivered by **Charles Bried** (1921-2006), psychologist and professor at École Normale de Besançon.¹²⁹ A prominent scholar of classical Indology, **Louis Renou** will speak about it in a lecture on recent French research in Indology, delivered to an Indian University. Eliade is classed under "Sanskrit philosophy", together with the old Alfred Foucher and three Indologists from his own generation: Lilian Silburn, Anne-Marie Esnoul, and Olivier Lacombe. For the French Sanskritist, *Techniques of Yoga* is a "lighter" work, adapting for a larger public his "very erudite" initial book on Yoga. He retains from it: the omnipresence of Yoga in Indian culture, its archaic non-Aryan origins, and the fact that Eliade sees it as a "sort of shamanism".¹³⁰ Renou will continue to quote the book in other subsequent lectures.¹³¹

Techniques of Yoga became almost immediately a common reference in the works of European scholars of Indian studies. Along with Eliade's first books on Yoga, it will be cited as an authoritative work by **Jan Gonda** (1905-1991), professor of Sanskrit at the University of Utrecht and one of the most influential Indologists for the decades to come.¹³² The list is filled with important names: **Georges Dumézil** (1898-1986), professor at Collège de France, the greatest scholar of Indo-European studies of his time;¹³³ **Etienne Lamotte** (1903-1983), professor at the Catholic University of Leuven and one of the leading authorities on Buddhism;¹³⁴ **Armand Minard** (1906-1998), scholar of Sanskrit and Indo-European linguistics, professor at the University of Lyon,¹³⁵ etc. In his booklet on Yoga, published in the popular collection "Que sais-je?", **Paul Masson-Oursel** will treat the subject in a manner very similar to Eliade, a fact which did not pass unnoticed.¹³⁶ Equally early, *Techniques of Yoga* became a reference for scholars of Iranian studies such as **Georges Contenau** (1877-1964) and **Henry Corbin** (1903-1978).

The success of the book brought to his author numerous letters, many invitations for lectures and even demands for occultist consultations or initiation in Yoga.¹³⁷ We shall pause a little to see some of the direct reactions received by Eliade, especially from France. **Henri-Charles Puech** was very enthusiastic about the book, which he found "exceptional". He

told to Eliade that something like this – i.e. which presents the material clearly, in an accessible way, and yet without making any concession to vulgarization – has not been written so far about Indian religions and philosophies.¹³⁸ Congratulations also came from **Swami Siddheswarananda** (1897-1957), an Indian prince of the house of Cochin and a graduate of history from the University of Madras before becoming a monk of the Ramakrishna Mission, who was, since 1937, leader of the Mission's Centre in France. He assured Eliade that, after reading his first book, he tried to meet the author in France and even looked for him in India.¹³⁹

Louis Renou wrote to him: "In the mass of insipid or false literature relative to Yoga, you are the *first* to have succeeded in writing a book that is correct, well documented, and vigorously thought out."¹⁴⁰ The Jewish-French linguist **Émile Benveniste** (1902-1976), specialist of comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages, professor at Collège de France, expressed his enthusiasm and "total adhesion".¹⁴¹ Equally enthusiastic were **Raffaele Pettazzoni**¹⁴² and **Etienne Lamotte**. For the last one, almost every page was a revelation.¹⁴³ Another flattering letter came from the French philosopher **Jean Grenier** (1898-1971), professor at the University of Cairo and an early admirer of Taoism.¹⁴⁴ **Louis Massignon** (1883-1962), one of the greatest French scholars of Islam, professor at Collège de France and at École Pratique des Hautes Études, was more interested in *Techniques of Yoga* than in other writings of Eliade on the history of religions because, as he said, in the latter ones he does not find "man".¹⁴⁵

Among the readers there were writers with sensibility for Asian cultures, like **Marcel Brion** (1895-1984), **Henri Michaux** (1899-1984), who even read it twice,¹⁴⁶ **Alberto Moravia** (1907-1990), and **Dacia Maraini** (n. 1936).¹⁴⁷ It was received by **Carl Gustav Jung** (1875-1961) too.¹⁴⁸ **Gaston Bachelard** (1884-1962) was interested especially in the imaginary world from the tantric meditation, which the book has revealed to him.¹⁴⁹

The most interesting letter came from **Stig Wikander** (1908-1983), Sanskrit and Iranian scholar, professor of history of religions at Uppsala University. He considers *Techniques of Yoga* a "beautiful book" which does not bring much novelty compared to the "big book on Yoga" – of which he confessed to being an admirer –, but is a comfortable and elegant abridgement of a difficult subject. Declining much competence in Yoga, Wikander nevertheless expresses doubts regarding the pre-Aryan

origin theory. He draws Eliade's attention to an unnoticed article of Otto Schrader in which the German Indologist attempted to prove that the image of the so-called proto-Śiva god from Mohan-jo-daro represents a divinity widespread in the old (Indo-European) Europe.¹⁵⁰ Secondly, based on his own work and on that of Georges Dumézil, the Swedish scholar reclaims the figure of the Mother-Goddess for the religion of the Indo-Europeans.¹⁵¹

Eliade welcomed all these observations. He admits that the only novelty in the book is that of pushing a little further the analysis of Indian "mystical" meditation and contemplation. As far as the pre-Aryan origin theory is concerned, he calls it just a frail hypothesis to which he does not cling too much, but which has encountered more acceptance than disapproval. Eliade acknowledges not knowing Schrader's article, but he raises a question whether the (supposedly) Celtic Gundestrup cauldron – on which his demonstration is based – belongs to the most "authentic" Indo-European religion or, perhaps, suffered some "southern" influences. He accepts that the Mother-Goddess existed in the Indo-European religion; yet her functions and privileges can't be compared with those of the Mediterranean and Oriental goddesses.

But his stronger argument in favour of this hypothesis is the striking absence of any yogic technique outside India. Some "shamanic" elements found in German and Iranian cultures are far from the yogic "mystic physiology". He put it plainly in the following words:

"I would be ready to believe in an Indian (Aryan) innovation if the medieval and modern Hinduism wouldn't have this composite appearance, rather Asian than Aryan. When I was living in India, I found it impossible to understand the living religion around me in relation with the *Vedas* or even with Brahmanism. Only after I understood *pūja* and studied a little the «religion of terror», did I start to see more clearly..."

Eliade confesses that the extreme difficulty to decide in such questions has finally driven him away from the "history" of these religions. He rather prefers to look into what a religion *could be* and what it *wants to say*.¹⁵²

An amusing case is that of **Paul Chanson**, a French Catholic lay writer and advocate of sexual continence. He wrote to Eliade in order to ask supplementary details about the tantric techniques of making love without seminal emission. Later on he published several books on the subject

which become best-sellers, but were reproved by the ecclesiastical authorities. In them he summarizes and discusses Eliade's account of *maithuna* in the Sahajiyā sect.¹⁵³

A more serious influence exerted Eliade's book on doctor **Roger Godel** (1898-1961), a famous cardiologist, director of the hospital of the Suez Canal Company at Ismaïlia, but also a student of Greek and Asian philosophies, who already authored several books on his favourite subjects. Attracted by Yoga and interested in the "experience of immortality", he went to India to seek "liberated" masters such as Ramana Maharishi and Krishna Menon. As a result, Godel wrote *Essais sur l'expérience libératrice*, a study on *jīvanmukta* from the epistemological perspective of modern science, which resented the influence of *Techniques of Yoga* and other works of Eliade. It is no surprise that he requested the source of his inspiration to pen a preface to his book. Eliade wrote a text confronting – as the author did – Orient and Occident, Western science and Indian wisdom, but was not satisfied with the result and, in his journal, called it a "very routine" and "distressing" preface.¹⁵⁴ Despite not being written by a "specialist" of India, the book will be quoted by Indologists,¹⁵⁵ and Eliade himself will cite it in his *Yoga* of 1954. Godel's interdisciplinary approach to Yoga was pursued with intellectual rigour and its method of integrating different fields of knowledge opened new hermeneutical perspectives.¹⁵⁶ Very probably, Eliade's endorsement of the book played an important role.

Some of the reviewers and friends of Eliade acted as agents of publicity for the book in their own circles. Aimé Patri gave *Techniques of Yoga* to **André Breton** (1896-1966) and the poet, surprised by the *coincidentia oppositorum* realized by Yoga,¹⁵⁷ found in it the "most formidable historical anticipation of Surrealism".¹⁵⁸ Ananda K. Coomaraswamy recommended it to several of his correspondents, including **André Préau** (1873-1976), a scholar of Heidegger and Jung, but also a friend of Guénon.¹⁵⁹ Ernesto de Martino will recommend the book to **Cesare Pavese** (1908-1950) and the Italian writer agreed to publish a translation in "Collana Viola" conducted by him at the Einaudi publishing house.

In his letter of 9 October 1948, **Ernesto de Martino** appreciates the book as "quite interesting" for its reconstruction *ab intra* and for the comprehension of Indian spirituality. It explores, he says, "with a documented and intelligent analysis" the technical ways used by the *yogin* in order to "suppress history".

“In fact, Yoga expresses in the most radical and consistent way the existential paradox of the man who «grew tired» of history, a paradox whose understanding is essential to comprehending the world of myth and religion in general.”¹⁶⁰

The translation was assigned to Anna Macchioro, his wife and daughter of Vittorio Macchioro, who – we remember – had developed a personal interest for Yoga. But the task was completed only in January 1950 and, by May, as a consequence of political denounces of Eliade,¹⁶¹ Giulio Einaudi decided to drop his name from the editorial plan. However, after the death of Pavese, De Martino succeeded in changing the mind of Einaudi and both *Techniques du Yoga* and *Traité d'histoire des religions* were printed with his own forewords.¹⁶² The first one was planned to come out in October 1951,¹⁶³ but it appeared only in mid-January 1952.¹⁶⁴

On the bookmark which accompanied it, the author is called “one of the most authoritative modern Indologists” and the book is said to offer rich material for the ethnologist, medical doctor, psychologist, and philosopher.¹⁶⁵ Ernesto de Martino informed Eliade that, in his forward, he manifested “full adherence to some of the results” of his work. But he considered that his polemics with historicism is based on a misunderstanding.¹⁶⁶ In fact, half of the foreword transcribes almost literally his review of three years earlier, while the new half is a rejection of Eliade’s supposed anti-historicism. This attitude, he says, is less manifested in *Techniques of yoga* than in his later works (*Traité d'histoire des religions*, *Le mythe de l'éternel retour*, and *Le chamanisme*). What de Martino actually does is to “warn” the Italian reader that, in the “dialogue” which our historically oriented civilisation can engage with itself – thanks to the encounter with coherent systems of thought based on the “refuse of history”, like Yoga – there lies hidden a “great danger” – the danger of being seduced by the object of the research. Eliade succumbed to this seduction and “mixed” in his meritorious researches on the history of religions an “irrelevant polemics against historicism as *Weltanschauung*”. The “refusal of history” became for him an argument against historicism, on the basis of the “pseudo-demonstration” that the reality is not completely consumed in history. To put it bluntly – as the Italian anthropologist did in his letter to Cesare Pavese –, Eliade started to speak “from within”, as a *yogin*, not as a Western scholar.

Ernesto de Martino admits that, unlike the other books of his, *Techniques of Yoga* is kept mostly on the historical level, without methodological

and speculative “divagations”. As usual, Eliade’s information is almost exhaustive. He is one of the “most alive” modern scholars in the field of religious studies. Apart from the above mentioned reservation, de Martino considers the work of the “Romanian historian” useful in alighting with new issues the “historicist conscience of the modern man”.¹⁶⁷ Yet he continued his anti-antihistoricist polemics in the texts dedicated to Eliade’s more recent books, and ended by calling him an “irrationalist” and a “cultural relativist”.¹⁶⁸

Eliade didn’t react directly to this criticism,¹⁶⁹ but his attitude was entrusted to his journal pages. While reading de Martino he had the constant impression that “his greatest fear is that *God may possibly exist*”. That is to say that religious and magical phenomena could be ontologically (not just culturally) “real”, that one might indeed transcend history, acquire supernatural powers or get “liberated” from all types of determinism. Despite the fact that the Italian scholar always thought that his Romanian colleague writes “too favourably” about religions, Eliade never turned against him, as he considered him sincere and truthful to his belief. He assumed that, unlike de Martino and other Western scholars, he lacked an inferiority complex in relation to religion, because in the Romania of his youth religion exerted no constriction, but it was revealed to him rather as a form of culture. This freedom allowed him “objectivity” and, at the same time, “sympathy” toward the religious phenomenon.¹⁷⁰

The Italian translation sold very well: in a couple of weeks, half of the edition was already in the hands of its readers.¹⁷¹ But the reviews seem to have been, by far, less numerous. We could trace only one, in a new journal of philosophy and culture, with a phenomenological profile, which liked to address the most relevant ideas and trends of its time. It was signed by **Gillo Dorfles** (b. 1910), painter, art critic and professor of Aesthetics at Milan University, who also had a degree in psychiatry. His understanding of Yoga is markedly different from that expressed by Ernesto de Martino in his preface. From the very beginning he engaged with his arguments. For him, approaching Yoga only with the view to enlarge the historicist humanism of the Western civilisation would be superficial and external to the phenomenon. It is also erroneous to study it polemically as a “refusal of history” and to consider it a simple “existential medication”, a ritual restoration of a state of freedom from rationality.

Dorfles considers important and beneficial to study this “initiativ technique”, but only “isolated” in its historical frame, without attempting to invest it with topicality or an *a posteriori* existential signification. Yoga

should be considered in a historical way, in its cultural and religious context, not viewed as a “method” which the Western man could use instead of a psychoanalytic cure or a miraculous therapy.

Yet he points out that Yoga anticipates and, at the same time, surpasses psychoanalysis by acknowledging the role of the unconscious, as well as showing the way to free oneself from it, to achieve higher states of consciousness, and to unify all of them. The only reproach to Eliade’s “thick” book is that it remains too general about the “real initiatic technique”, not giving a clear systematic description of the *cakras* and of the methods to “awaken” them in order to achieve “clairvoyance” (i.e. ultimate knowledge). However, Dorflès thinks that, even if such techniques would be valid as mental and psychic exercises, they could never be accepted or followed by a Western mind. The European wants to attain knowledge in a rational way and without abdicating from what characterises the conscious human individuality.

Despite being more sympathetic with Yoga than his historicist colleague, Dorflès confuses its philosophy with the metaphysics of Vedānta. No wonder that he makes naïve proposals. Talking about the liberating knowledge which the *yogin* seeks to achieve through his exercises, he asks whether it wouldn’t be appropriate today to attain it by the means of a conscious and rational study of man in his relations with nature and cosmos. In conclusion, he asserts that it is interesting to learn about forms of thinking so distant from our own, but it is also necessary to keep in mind that the method of Yoga can’t be divulged just like gymnastics or like effortless occult training without a serious risk of letting it fall into the hands of unprepared people who, instead of attaining “clairvoyance”, will only worsen their bondage to the unconscious.¹⁷²

An interesting position, trying to negotiate between Eliade and de Martino, but – because of this – not devoid of self-contradictions. One of them is visible in the mild reproach that Eliade was not more *open* about yogic “initiation”.

Two years later, a short “report” was published by the Austrian linguist **Johann Knobloch** (1919-2010), expert of Indo-European languages and professor at Innsbruck University, in a scholarly journal of classical studies edited by the Viennese Österreichische Humanistische Gesellschaft. He gives a mere summary of the book, recalling, among other things, the pre-Aryan origin of Yoga and the twofold way of the “Asian magic”: the ecstasy of the shaman and the enstasy of the yogi. Knobloch draws attention to the

fact that Eliade does not consider it improbable that Indian missionaries could have brought the knowledge of Yoga into Hellenistic Egypt.¹⁷³

Soon after Einaudi acquired the translation rights, Eliade received a letter from **Tommaso Palamidessi** (1915-1983), founder and director of an Institute of Cosmo-biological Researches. Prolific esoteric writer, very interested by tantric Yoga, on which he published three books – citing of course Eliade –, he expressed the intention of translating *Techniques* for the “spiritualist publishing house” Grande Opera.¹⁷⁴ Another Italian esotericist, **Julius Evola**, who offered – but too late – to shift the translation from Einaudi to Bocca, advised the last publishing house to translate the *Yoga* of 1936.¹⁷⁵ Eliade didn’t accept the offer, since he was already working to a fully revised edition of it. The same year, **Louis Renou** recommended both books to the publisher Sisil Gupta of Calcutta.¹⁷⁶ Nothing came out of this project, and very probably not because Eliade’s lack of interest for being translated in India. Indeed, except for Renou, the Bengali publisher’s attempts to approach his French colleagues were not successful.¹⁷⁷ Apparently, also a German translation of *Techniques* was ready in 1951, but for unknown reasons it has never seen the light.¹⁷⁸

Conspectus siglorum

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- Biobibliografie I-V* *Mircea Eliade. Biobibliografie*, vol. I-V, compiled by M. Handoca, Jurnalul literar, Bucharest, 1997, 1998, 1999; Criterion, Bucharest, 2007, 2010.
- Corespondență I-III* Mircea Eliade, *Europa, Asia, America... Corespondență*, vol. I-III, ed. by M. Handoca, Humanitas, Bucharest, 1999, 2004.
- Correspondance Pettazzoni* Mircea Eliade & Raffaele Pettazzoni, *L'histoire des religions a-t-elle un sens? Correspondance. 1926-1959*, édition originale par Natale Spineto, Cerf, Paris, 1994.
- Dosar I-XIV* "Dosarul" *Mircea Eliade*, vol. I-XIV, ed. by M. Handoca, Curtea Veche, Bucharest, 1998-2008.
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- Memorii* Mircea Eliade, *Memorii (1907-1960)*, ed. by M. Handoca, Humanitas, Bucharest, 1997.
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NOTES

- ¹ "Problematica filosofiei indiene", *Revista de Filosofie* (Bucharest), XV, no. 1, January-March 1930, pp. 50-72; "Introducere în filosofia Samkhya", *ibidem*, no. 2, April-June 1930, pp. 152-177; "Contribuții la psihologia Yoga", *ibidem*, XVI, no. 1, January-March 1931, pp. 52-76; "Il male e la liberazione nella filosofia Samkhya-Yoga", *Ricerche Religiose* (Rome), VI, 1930, pp. 200-221; "Il rituale hindu e la vita interiore", *ibidem*, VIII, 1932, pp. 486-504.
- ² The thesis was published for the first time in 1983-85, in a scholarly journal (*Revista de Istorie și Teorie Literară*, Bucharest), and later on in book form: *Psihologia meditației indiene. Studii despre Yoga*, ed. de C-tin Popescu-Cadem, Ed. Jurnalul Literar, Bucharest, 1992, 224 pp.
- ³ *Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne*, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris - Fundația pentru Literatură și Artă "Regele Carol II », Bucharest, 1936, 246 pp.
- ⁴ *Techniques du Yoga*, Gallimard, Paris, 1948, 266 pp.; revised edition, 1975, 313 pp.
- ⁵ *Le Yoga. Immortalité et liberté*, Payot, Paris, 1954, 428 pp.; 5th ed. revised and enlarged, 1975; 6th ed., 1977.
- ⁶ *Patañjali et le Yoga*, Seuil, Paris, 1962, 190 pp.; revised ed., 1976.
- ⁷ Such as "Yoga and modern philosophy", *Journal of General Education* (Pennsylvania State University), XV, no. 2, July 1963, pp. 124-137; "Yoga", in: M. Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 15, Mac Millan, New York - London, 1987, pp. 519-523.
- ⁸ "Mircea Eliade, *Einführung in die Philosophie der Samkhya* (Revista de Filosofie, 1930)", in: Lucian Blaga & D.D. Roșca, "Bericht über die rumänischen Arbeiten zur Geschichte der Philosophie. A. Rumänisches Sprachgebiet (1924-1931)", *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* (Berlin), XLI, no. 1-2, January-June 1932, pp. 281-292 (288-289).
- ⁹ "Mircea Eliade, *Cunoștințele botanice în vechea Indie. Cu o notă introductivă asupra migrației plantelor indiene în Iran și China*, Bulletin de la Société des Sciences de Cluj, 6, 221-237, 1931", in: G. Sarton, Al. Pogo, & F. Siegel (eds.), "Thirty-fourth critical bibliography of the history and philosophy of science and of the history of civilization (to March 1932)", *Isis* (Bruges), XVIII, no. 3, January 1933, pp. 440-540 (486-487). He merely reproduces the abstract of the article.
- ¹⁰ One review was printed twice, in Rome and Paris.
- ¹¹ V. Papesso, "J.W. Hauer, *Der Yoga als Heilweg*, 1932", *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), IX, no. 1, 1933, pp. 103-107.
- ¹² V. Papesso, "Mircea Eliade, *Yoga...*", *ibidem*, XII, no. 2, [July-December] 1936, pp. 218-221; *Dosar V*, pp. 15-18.

- ¹³ *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, p. 112. In his reply, Eliade expresses his delight to be reviewed by Papesso, who was known to him through his “beautiful Vedic translations”; *ibidem*, p. 114 (23 June 1936).
- ¹⁴ He is referring most probably to his book *Esquisse d'une histoire de la philosophie indienne*, Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1923, and to some of the preceding articles: “Sur la signification du mot yoga”, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris), 1913, pp. 1-5; “Doctrines et méthodes psychologiques de l'Inde”, *Journal de Psychologie* (Paris), XVIII, 15 July 1921, pp. 529- 547; “Les doctrines indiennes de physiologie mystique”, *ibidem*, XIX, 4, 1922, pp. 322-335.
- ¹⁵ P. Masson-Oursel, “Mircea Eliade, Yoga...”, *Archeion. Archivio di Storia della Scienza* (Rome - Paris), XVIII, no. 4, October-December 1936 [printed 10 February 1937], p. 419; *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris), LVIII, t. 115, 5 February 1937, pp. 113-114; *Dosar V*, pp. 14-15.
- ¹⁶ A. Mieli, “Un viaggio in Romania”, *Archeion*, no. 2-3, April-September 1936 [printed 15 September], pp. 191-203 (196).
- ¹⁷ “Académie internationale d'histoire des sciences. VIII réunion de l'Académie (Première réunion extraordinaire, Cluj-București, 10-16 Avril)”, *ibidem*, pp. 204-226 (222).
- ¹⁸ L. de la Vallée Poussin, “Notes de bibliographie bouddhique”, *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* (Brussels), V, 1936-1937 [July 1937], pp. 243-304 (253-254, 278-279). Eliade discovered the review as late as 1946. See *Journal*, 24 March 1946, M.E.P. 15.1.
- ¹⁹ H. Zimmer, *Kunstform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild*, Berlin, 1926; “Lehren des Haṭhayoga, Lehrtexte”, in: Helmut Palmié (ed.), *Yoga. International Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Yoga-Forschung* (Harburg - Wilhelmsburg), I, 1931, pp. 45-62; “Zur Bedeutung des indischen Tantra-Yoga”, *Eranos-Jahrbuch* (Wiesbaden - Ascona), I, 1933, pp. 9-94.
- ²⁰ H. Zimmer, “Mircea Eliade, Yoga...”, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin - Leipzig), XL, no. 11, November 1937, pp. 701-703. For his view of the “other India”, as he called the pre-Aryan Indian culture, see his book *Indische Sphaeren*, R. Oldenburg, München - Berlin / Verlag der Corona, Zürich, 1935.
- ²¹ J. Filliozat, “Sur le «concentration oculaire» dans le Yoga”, in: H. Palmié (ed.), *Yoga. International Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Yoga-Forschung* (Harburg - Wilhelmsburg), I, 1931, pp. 93-102. See also the abstracts of his communications: “La mystique du yoga et les doctrines physiologiques de l'Inde”, *VI^e Congrès d'Histoire des Religions. Recueil des communications*, Brussels, 1935, p. 22; “La circulation du souffle dans le yoga”, *Journal Asiatique* (Paris), CCXXVII, no. 3, July-September 1935, p. 152.
- ²² J. Filliozat, “Mircea Eliade, Yoga...”, *Journal Asiatique* (Paris), CCXXX, no. 2, April-June 1938, pp. 347-348.

- 23 *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta), XIII, no. 4, 1937, pp. 691-692. "Extrase din recenziiile asupra cărții *Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne*"; M.E.P. 58a.13. The text is not dated but internal evidence places it somewhere between May and September 1939.
- 24 The book is only listed among new publications in J.C. Sarkhel, "Bibliographical notes", *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta), XII, no. 3, September 1936, pp. 562-567 (564).
- 25 "An excellent synthesis, claimed with equal justification by both Oriental studies and History of Religions... The author demonstrates extensive readings and an in-depth knowledge of the Indian spirit... Dr. M. Eliade, who studied here, in Calcutta, had a magisterial start and could be already considered as a master..." "Special note deserve the chapters on Tantrism and alchemy. The comparisons with Byzantine mysticism are astounding..." "Yoga of Eliade must be translated urgently into English in order to be accessible to the Indian cultivated public..."; *loc. cit.*, M.E.P. 58a.13.
- 26 A. G[argano], "*Zalmoxis - Revue des études religieuses*, I, 1938", *Asiatica* (Rome), V, no. 3, May-June 1939, pp. 273-275 (273).
- 27 *Ibidem*, p. 275. M. Eliade, "Notes de démonologie", *Zalmoxis* (Bucharest), I, no. 1, 1938, pp. 197-203.
- 28 See the reviews of Ernesto Buonaiuti (*Religio*, Rome, XV, 1939, p. 293) and Raffaele Pettazzoni (*Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, Rome, XV, no. 1, 1939, p. 77).
- 29 S. M. Katre, "*Zalmoxis - Revue des études religieuses*. Publiée sous la direction de Mircea Eliade, I, 1938...", *Oriental Literary Digest* (Poona), III, no. 1, 1939, col. 11-12. M. Eliade, "Metallurgy, magic and alchemy", *Zalmoxis*, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-129.
- 30 M. Bussagli, "Bronze objects collected by prof. G. Tucci in Tibet. A short survey of religious and magic symbolism", *Artibus Asiae* (Ascona), XII, no. 4, 1949, pp. 331-347 (333).
- 31 Florance Waterbury, "Bird-deities in China", *Artibus Asiae* (Ascona), *Supplementum* no. 10, 1952, p. 69.
- 32 Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Atmayajña: Self-sacrifice", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge MA), VI, no. 3-4, February 1942, pp. 358-398 (363n); "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: Indra and Namuci", *Speculum* (Cambridge MA), XIX, no. 1, January 1944, pp. 104-125 (123); "On the loathly bride", *ibidem*, XX, no. 4, October 1945, pp. 391-403 (403n). The last one cites also the Romanian version from the *Revista Fundațiilor Regale* (Bucharest, no. 4, April 1939).
- 33 *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (Calcutta), V, 1937, pp. 188-203. See the quotation in "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: Indra and Namuci", *loc. cit.*, p. 113n.
- 34 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 17 November 1946, 26 August 1947, M.E.P. 15.1, 15.3.

- 35 M. Séménoff, "Littérature et utilité sociale", *La Griffé* (Paris), VII, 23 May 1937; *Dosar V*, pp. 23-24.
- 36 He was one of the constant critics of Guénon's interpretation of Indian religions and philosophies. Cf. Jérôme Rousse-Lacordaire, "Ex Oriente Mors, les PP. Allo, OP, et Roure, SJ, face à l'œuvre de René Guénon", in: *René Guénon, lectures et enjeux. Actes du XVIIe colloque international École Pratique des Hautes Études - Politica Hermetica, sous la présidence d'Émile Poulat*, special issue of *Politica Hermetica* (Laussane), 16, 2002, pp. 48-85.
- 37 E. B. Allo, "Bulletin de science des religions. Religions des Indo-Européens et de l'Extrême-Orient", *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* (Leuven), XXVI, no. 3, 2 April 1937, pp. 592-621 (612 - section "Ascèse, philosophie et mystique").
- 38 E. B. Allo, *Plaies d'Europe et baumes du Gange*, Cerf, Paris, 1931, p. 21 (a book in which he collected most of the ideas expressed in his chronicles from *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*).
- 39 Interestingly, he is considered to be the father of the theological notion of "inculturation", put first in practice by Belgian missionaries to India.
- 40 J. Masson, "Mircea Eliade, Yoga...", *La Nouvelle Revue Théologique* (Leuven), LXIV, October 1937, pp. 913-914; *Dosar V*, pp. 24-25.
- 41 É. Dhanis, "Mircea Eliade, Yoga...", *Revue des Auteurs et des Livres* (Brussels), XXXI, no. 4, April 1938.
- 42 With the thesis *La religion des Judéo-araméens d'Éléphantine*, just published that same year by Eliade's editor, Paul Geuthner.
- 43 A. Vincent, "Yoga de M. Eliade...", *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* (Strasbourg), XIX, no. 1, January 1939, pp. 85-86; *Dosar V*, p. 25.
- 44 G. van der Leeuw, "Mircea Eliade, Yoga...", *Nieuwe Theologische Studiën* (Wageningen), XXII, no. 4, April 1939, pp. 114-115. Eliade read the review shortly after its publication and initiated his correspondence with van der Leeuw, on 14 May 1939, with a letter of thanks; quoted in *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, p. 177n. For their correspondence see *Scrisori primite I*, p. 36; III, pp. 46-47
- 45 Ed. O. von Lippmann, "Zur Kenntnis der sogenannte Alchemie des alten Indiens", *Die Naturwissenschaften. Wochenschrift für die Fortschritte der reinen und der angewandten Naturwissenschaften* (Berlin), XXIV, no. 48, 1 November 1936, pp. 766-767.
- 46 Ed. O. von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, vol. III. *Ein Lese- und Nachschlagebuch*, ed. by Richard von Lippmann, Springer, Berlin, 1954, pp. 25-26, 40 etc.
- 47 Lenoir published several books and articles during the years 1916-1963, being also interested in the relations between religion and ethics or in the "primitive mentality". He was close to Marcel Mauss, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl,

- and Celestine Bouglé, with whom he collaborated within the Institute of Sociology.
- 48 R. Lenoir, "Mircea Eliade, Yoga...", *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger* (Paris), CXXIX, no. 1-2, January-February 1940, pp. 155-157.
- 49 Raymond Bayer (ed.), *Manuel de la recherche documentaire en France*, Tome II, 1^e partie, 7^e section, *Philosophie*, Union Française des Organismes de Documentation, Bayeux - Paris, 1950, pp. 124-125 (under the subsection "Psychologie du mysticisme. Techniques de méditations. Yoga"); George Sarton, *A guide to the history of science. A first guide for the study of the history of science, with introductory essays on science and tradition*, Chronica Botanica Co., Whaltam Mass, 1952, p. 143.
- 50 G. Sarton, "Henri Maspero, Les procédés de «nourrir le principe vital» dans la religion taoïste ancienne, *Journal asiatique*, ...1937...", *Isis* (Bruges), XXXIII, no. 2, June 1941, pp. 278-279 (279). In the third volume of his *Introduction to the History of Science* (1948), he cited a number of times *Yoga* as "an excellent book". See M. Eliade, *Journal*, 23 May 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 51 Bloch wrote to the Romanian linguist Alexandru Rosetti. See Mihail Sebastian's letter of 25 July 1936; *Scrisori primite* IV, pp. 333-334. See also Al. Rosetti's letter of 8 August 1936, reporting news from Graur; *ibidem*, p. 275.
- 52 A. Dumitriu, "Mircea Eliade, Yoga...", *Revista de Filosofie* (Bucharest), XXII, no. 2, April-June 1937, pp. 229-236; "Erudiție și șarlatanie", *Lumea Românească* (Bucharest), I, no. 22, 23 June 1937, p. 4; "Yoga", *ibidem*, no. 39, 10 July 1937, p. 4; "Demascarea genialității... dlui Mircea Eliade", *ibidem*, no. 273, 4 March 1938, p. 2 (other two articles in the nos. 225 and 265 of the same weekly journal); *Dosar* III, pp. 122-145.
- 53 D. Murărașu, *Hasdeu - ediția Mircea Eliade*, Ed. Tiparul Universitar, Bucharest, 1938, pp. 66-67; *Dosar* V, pp. 112-159 (159).
- 54 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 25 October 1947, M.E.P. 15.3. See also the entries of 28 March 1947 and 8 February 1948.
- 55 *Memorii*, pp. 309-310. See P. Masson-Oursel, *Le Yoga*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1954. It is however possible that Eliade confused two different moments, and referred here to his review of *Techniques du Yoga*, published in 1951 (see below).
- 56 Eliade quotes him three times in the first part of his book (*Yoga, op. cit.*, pp. 27, 44, 65n), while Filliozat and Zimmer are referred to one time each in the second part (*ibidem*, 258n, 305). Only Zimmer is praised for his "original book full of suggestions".
- 57 "Ce spun savanții streini despre Mircea Eliade. Cu prilejul apariției cărții *Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne*", *Vremea* (Bucharest), X, no. 491, 13 June 1937, p. 5. At the end he added requests of collaboration from four journals: *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), *Indian*

- Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta), *Religio* (Rome), and *Asiatica* (Rome), edited by some of the above mentioned scholars (Pettazzoni, Buonaiuti, Tucci).
- 58 The letters are published in *Scrisori primite* I, pp. 50, 148, 215-216, 217, 252-253; II, pp. 198, 202; III, pp. 108-110, 320, 367-368; IV, pp. 465. There is no invitation to collaboration from Narendra Nath Law, the editor of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.
- 59 *Memorii*, p. 312.
- 60 In the 1939 list "Extrase din recenzii asupra cărții *Yoga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne*" (M.E.P. 58a.13), he listed 8 reviews (V. Papesso, G. van der Leeuw, E.B. Allo, P. Masson-Oursel, J. Masson, H. Zimmer, A. Vincent, and E. Dhanis) and 5 quotations of the book (J.W. Hauer, J. Maréchal, R. Pettazzoni, A.K. Coomaraswamy, and P.N. Roy). He ignores 4 reviews (Ed. O. Lippmann, M. Sémenoff, L. de la Vallée Poussin, and J. Filliozat). The one by R. Lenoir will be printed shortly afterwards.
- 61 *Scrisori primite* II, p. 198 (10 July 1936).
- 62 *Scrisori primite* I, pp. 215-216, 217-218 (3 November and 4 December 1936). See also *Jurnal* II, p. 293 (8 December 1977).
- 63 *Scrisori primite* I, p. 50 (6 July 1936).
- 64 *Scrisori primite* III, pp. 108-110 (24 July 1936).
- 65 *Corespondență* II, pp. 178-179 (4 August 1936).
- 66 V. Macchioro's letter of 4 January 1939 to E. de Martino, published in: Riccardo De Donato (ed.), *La contraddizione felice? Ernesto de Martino e gli altri*, E.T.S., Pisa, 1990, p. 58.
- 67 See de Martino's review from *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), XXIII, 1951-1952, pp. 148-155, referred to below.
- 68 "The author believes that true Indian alchemy had nothing to do with chemistry and ought not to be called pre-chemistry", in George Sarton & Frances Siegel (eds.), "Forty-fifth critical bibliography of the history and philosophy of science and of the history of civilization (to December 1935)", *Isis* (Bruges), XXV, no. 1, May 1936, pp. 176-317 (258).
- 69 *Scrisori primite* I, pp. 252-253 (5 July 1936).
- 70 Tenney L. Davis, "The problem of the origins of alchemy", *The Scientific Monthly* (New York), 43, no. 6, December 1936, pp. 551-558. He mentions "a number of recent publications on the origins of alchemy", but quotes only British and American scholars (A.J. Hopkins, W.H. Barnes, and J.R. Partington). He himself believed that alchemy is not a pre-chemistry but, contrary to Eliade, considered it a derivation of chemistry. For Davis, alchemy originated in China, with some influences from Egypt or Mesopotamia. He does not exclude the possibility that it may have been imported from India, but considers it unlikely. It is obvious that Eliade didn't judge him competent on Indian alchemy. He quotes his name – in *Asian Alchemy* (1935), *Yoga. Immortality and freedom* (1954), *The Forge and the Crucible* (1956), and

- A History of religious ideas* (1976) – only with a publication on Chinese alchemy signed jointly with a Chinese pupil of him.
- 71 *Memorii*, pp. 309-310.
- 72 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 25 November 1945, M.E.P. 15.1.
- 73 *Ibidem*, 26 May 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 74 *Ibidem*, 24 March 1946, M.E.P. 15.1.
- 75 *Ibidem*, 4 August 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 76 *Ibidem*, 4 March 1948, M.E.P., 15.3 (*Jurnal I*, p. 136). M. Eliade, *L'épreuve du labyrinthe*, entretiens avec Claude-Henri Rocquet, 2nd ed., Rocher, Paris, 2006, pp. 108-109. H.-Ch. Puech told Eliade that he was an "ardent admirer" of the book; *Journal*, 10 November 1947.
- 77 *Ibidem*, 20 August 1949, M.E.P. 15.4.
- 78 Some of them: **Jeannine Auboyer**, "Le grandes lignes de la pensée indienne", *Revue de Philosophie* (Paris), 37, no. 6, May-June 1937, pp. 492-507 (500); **Raffaele Pettazzoni**, "A functional view of religions", *The Review of Religion* (New York), I, no. 3 1937, pp. 225-237 (236-237); reprinted as "Religioni nazionali, supernazionali e misteriche", in: *idem, Saggi di storia delle religioni e di mitologia*, Edizioni Italiane, Rome, 1946, pp. 153-168; **J.W. Hauer**, *Glaubensgeschichte der Indo-Germanen*, I. *Das religiöse Artbild der Indogermanen und die Grundtypen der indo-arischen Religion*, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1937, pp. 344, 345 ș.u.; **Joseph Maréchal**, *Études sur la psychologie des mystiques*, tome II, L'Édition universelle, Brussels / Desclée de Brouwer, Paris, 1937, the chapter *Yoga*, passim; **Ananda K. Coomaraswamy**, "Symbolism of the Dome", *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta), XIV, no. 1, March 1938, pp. 1-56 (53n); **Prabuddha Nath Roy**, "Antica poesia hindi", *Asiatica* (Rome), IV, no. 3, 1938, pp. 188-195 (189); **Stig Wikander**, *Der arische Männerbund. Studien zur indo-iranischen Sprach- und Religionsgeschichte*, Hakan Ohlsson, Lund, 1938, pp. 4-5; **Aldo Mieli**, *La science arabe et son rôle dans l'évolution scientifique mondiale*, Brill, Leiden, 1938, p. 65; **Jan Gonda**, "Altind, şanta-, şantara-, usw", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (The Hague), 97, no. 4, 1938, pp. 453-500 (480); **P. Masson-Oursel**, *Le fait métaphysique*, P.U.F., Paris, 1941; **Aram M. Frenkian**, *L'Orient et les origines de l'idéalisme subjectif dans la pensée européenne*, tome I. *La doctrine théologique de Memphis (l'inscription du roi Shabaka)*, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1946, p. 27; **Jean Filliozat**, "L'inconscient dans la psychologie indienne", in: *Library of the Xth International Congress of Philosophy (Amsterdam, August 11-18, 1948)*, vol. I. *Proceedings of the Congress*, North-Holland Publishing Co., Amsterdam, 1948, pp. 462-464 (462); **Helmuth von Glasenapp**, *Der Philosophie der Inder. Eine Einführung in ihre Geschichte und ihre Lehre*, Alfred Kröner, Stuttgart, 1949, pp. 470, 481; **Julius Evola**, *Lo yoga della potenza. Saggio sui Tantra*, 2nd ed. completely reworked, Fratelli Bocca, Milan, 1949, pp. 134n, 148n, 204n,

- 220n, 289n, 290n, 366n, 367n; **Constantin Regamey**, *Buddhistische Philosophie*, A. Francke, Bern, 1950, p. 80; **Erich Frauwallner**, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, vol. I, Otto Müller, Salzburg, 1953, pp. 472, 483; **Raniero Gnoli**, "Hesychasm and Yoga", *East and West* (Rome), IV, no. 2, July 1953, pp. 98-100 (100).
- 79 *Scrisori primite* III, pp. 367-368 (21 November 1936).
- 80 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 4 March 1946, M.E.P. 15.1.
- 81 *Ibidem*, 27 March 1946; *Memorii*, pp. 309-310.
- 82 P. Masson-Oursel & Paul Mus, "Religions de l'Inde", *École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses. Annaires 1945-1946 et 1946-1947*, Paris, 1946, pp. 116-118 (118).
- 83 Letter to Stig Wikander from Paris, 2 November 1948; *Correspondență* III, pp. 249-250.
- 84 J. Filliozat, "Les origines d'une technique mystique indienne", *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger* (Paris), 136, no. 4-6, April-June 1946, pp. 208-220 (212-213); *Dosar* VI, pp. 49-62. An offprint of the article is preserved in Eliade's Paris library with the following autograph dedication: "A Monsieur Mircea Eliade, bien sympathique hommage" (F.M.E.).
- 85 H.-Ch. Puech, "Aux origines du yoga", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris), 131, no. 1-3, 1946, pp. 219-221.
- 86 However, in the course of 1946, their relations will become quite good and Puech refused to take into consideration those who "denounced" Eliade to him as a former fascist. M. Eliade, *Journal*, 14 and 15 January 1946, M.E.P. 15.1 (many mentions of him during the years 1946-1950).
- 87 See his indifferent little note about the article; M. Eliade, *Journal*, 12 April 1946, M.E.P. 15.1.
- 88 From the many entries about the book in his *Journal*, see mostly those of 26 September, 8, 18, 28 October, 3 December 1945, 19 January, 20, 22 July, 3, 4, 7 October 1946, 30 May, 11 October 1947, 18 February, 3 May 1948; M.E.P. 15.1-3. See also the letter of 7 January 1948 to R. Pettazzoni; *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, p. 170.
- 89 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 23 November 1945, M.E.P. 15.1.
- 90 *Ibidem*, 11 March 1946.
- 91 J. Filliozat, "Mircea Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga...*", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris), CXXXV, no. 1, January-March 1949, pp. 118-120.
- 92 G. W. Briggs, "Mircea Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga...*", *The Review of Religion* (New York), XIV, no. 1, January 1950, pp. 206-207.
- 93 P. Masson-Oursel, "Mircea Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga...*", *La Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger* (Paris), 141, no. 1, January 1951, pp. 135-136.
- 94 See his letters of 6 and 16 July 1948; *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, pp. 186, 187.

- ⁹⁵ E. de Martino, "Mircea Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga...*", *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), XXI, 1947-1948, pp. 130-132
- ⁹⁶ It is not unlikely that de Martino could have been influenced by what Eliade said about Yoga in his review of *Il mondo magico*; M. Eliade, "Science, idéalisme et phénomènes paranormaux", *Critique* (Paris), III, no. 23, Avril 1948, pp. 315-323. See also *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris), 135, no. 1, 1949, pp. 105-108.
- ⁹⁷ He read Eliade's first book on Yoga, as acknowledged in his second review. E. de Martino, "Mircea Eliade, *Le mythe de l'éternel retour. Archétypes et répétition*, Paris, Gallimard, 1949, pp. 254; *Psychologie et histoire des religions, à propos du symbolisme du 'Centre'*, in «Eranos-Jahrbuch», XIX (1951), pp. 247-282; *Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase*, Paris, Payot, 1951, pp. 447», *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), XXIII, 1951-1952, pp. 148-155.
- ⁹⁸ Letter of 8 March 1949; *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, p. 204.
- ⁹⁹ L. Gardet, "Chronique de théologie spirituelle. Quelques références de mystique comparée: Yoga indien et mystique juive", *Revue Thomiste* (Toulouse), XLVIII, no. 4, 1948, pp. 613-630 (615-621).
- ¹⁰⁰ L. Gardet, "Recherches sur la «mystique naturelle»", *ibidem*, no. 1-2, 1948, pp. 76-112.
- ¹⁰¹ See Georges Dandoy, *L'ontologie du Vedanta. Essais sur l'acosmisme de l'advaita*, commentaires de Jacques Maritain et Olivier Lacombe, Desclée de Brouwer, Paris, 1932.
- ¹⁰² See also Gardet's book *Expériences mystiques en terres nonchrétiennes*, Alsatia, Paris, 1953, pp. 25, 30, 34, 170.
- ¹⁰³ M. Eliade, *Journal*, 4 September 1948, M.E.P. 15.3. See also the letter to Brutus Coste from 6 September 1978; *Correspondență* III, p. 470. For their relations, see the journal entries of 5 April, 28 September, 29 November, 5, 16 December 1946; 8 February, 5 June 1947; 4 September, 13 October, 12 December 1948; 21 May, 23 October 1949; 30 July 1950; 29 July 1965; 26 August 1967; and 20 July 1968 (M.E.P. 15.1-4, 16.7, 16.10).
- ¹⁰⁴ In 1950 M. M. Davy will study Yoga with Sri Mahesh and later on will become a follower of Father Henri Le Saux, the well-known Christian monk "inculturated" in India as Swami Abhishiktananda.
- ¹⁰⁵ M. M. Davy, "Mircea Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga...*", *La Nef* (Paris), V, no. 50, January 1949, pp. 121-122.
- ¹⁰⁶ J.-P. Y., "M. Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga...*", *Le monde non chrétien* (Paris), n.s., III, no. 10, April-June 1949, pp. 241-243.
- ¹⁰⁷ "Eliade, Mircea, *Techniques du Yoga...*", in: G. Sarton & F. Siegel (eds.), "Seventy-eight critical bibliography of the history and philosophy of science and of the history of civilization (to December 1951)", *Isis* (Bruges), XLIII, no. 2, July 1952, pp. 128-208 (168).

- 108 A. Patri, "Les techniques du Yoga par Mircea Eliade », *Paru. Revue de l'actualité littéraire* (Monte Carlo), IV, no. 45, August 1948, pp. 107-108.
- 109 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 29 May 1948. For his relationship with Patri, see also the entries of 16 March 1947; 15, 26 June, 3, 10, 23 September 1948; 19 February, 28 March, 2 April, 30 November 1949; 20 January 1950; 3 September 1953; January 1959; 26 August 1960; 29 February, 8 October 1961; 20 October 1962 (M.E.P. 15.3-6, 15.9-10, 16.3).
- 110 "Mircea Eliade nous parle des méthodes de l'ascétisme indou", propos recueillis par Aimé Patri, *Paru*, no. 46, September 1948, pp. 49-54; reprinted in *Le Courrier des Indes* (Paris - Bombay), II, 1949.
- 111 A.-M. Schmidt, "Le yogi et le chrétien", *La Réforme* (Lausanne), 29 October 1948; reprinted in: A.M. Schmidt, *Chroniques de "Réforme" (1945-1966)*, Rencontre, Lausanne, 1970, pp. 117-121.
- 112 In a later review, he will underline that Eliade "remains a Christian" and calls him a "Christian Indologist"; A.-M. Schmidt, "Eloge de Mircea Eliade", *La Réforme* (Lausanne), 4 August 1956; *Dosar VI*, pp. 119-123.
- 113 M. Carrouges, "Spiritualité hindoue", *La Vie Spirituelle. Supplément* (Paris), II, no. 7, 15 November 1948, pp. 358-360.
- 114 Eliade made his acquaintance – and that of Paul Vulliaud, André Breton, and Aimé Patri – in the house of Henry Hunwald, occasion on which Carrouges offered him *La Vie Spirituelle* containing his review. They will become soon friends and by November were planning, together with Aimé Patri, a new journal called *Mythologies*. M. Eliade, *Journal*, 2 April, 27 June, 8 July, 30 November 1949, 20 January 1950, 20 February 1961, 18 July 1962, M.E.P. 15.4, 15.9, 16.2.
- 115 J. Desternes, "Le chant du bienheureux", *La Table Ronde* (Paris), I, no. 9, September 1948, pp. 1565-1573 (1565, 1571).
- 116 G. Bataille, letter of 26 May 1952; *Scrisori primite I*, p. 75; M. Eliade, *Journal*, 11 July 1962, M.E.P. 16.2.
- 117 G. Cavicchioli, "Che cos'è lo «Yoga». Un metodo offerto all'uomo per conquistare e superare se stesso", *Giornale dell'Emilia* (Bologna), V, 9 October 1949, p. 2. He recommends Eliade's book along with works by Giuseppe Tucci and René Guénon. Eliade knew this article and added it to a list of reviews of *Techniques* (M.E.P. 57.1), which means that he received it from Italy, probably from the author itself. Later on Cavicchioli reviewed *Le mythe de l'éternel retour*; "L'éternel ritorno", *Valori* (Bologna), II, no. 1, January-February 1951, pp. 10-21.
- 118 See Evola's letter to Eliade from 10 January 1952; *Scrisori primite V*, p. 350. In Eliade's Paris library there is a copy of Cavicchioli's book *Favole* (1951) with an autograph dedication dated July 1951 (F.M.E.).
- 119 See the review by **Guy A. Deleury** S.J. (b. 1922), French scholar of Indian literature, to the book of father P. Johanns, long time missionary in India; "Pierre Johanns, S.J., *La pensée religieuse de l'Inde*, Bibliothèque de la

- Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de Namur, 1952”, *Études* (Paris), 86, no. 278, July-August 1953, p. 122.
- 120 J. Bruno, “Eliade (Mircea), *Techniques du Yoga...*”, *Revue Métapsychique* (Paris), n.s., I, no. 4, October-December 1948, p. 242.
- 121 *Atlantis* (Vincennes), XXII, no. 139, January 1949, p. 61.
- 122 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 4 December 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 123 See more recently his inclusion in François Pouillon (ed.), *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, 2nd ed., Karthala, Paris, 2008, pp. 465-466.
- 124 *Études Traditionnelles* (Paris), 47, no. 249, January-February 1946, pp. 250-253; 49, no. 269, July-August 1948, p. 186; reprinted in R. Guénon, *Comptes rendus*, Éditions Traditionnelles, Paris, 1986, pp. 187-189, 198-200.
- 125 R. Guénon, “Mircea Eliade, *Techniques du Yoga* (Gallimard)”, *Études Traditionnelles* (Paris), 49, no. 272, December 1948, pp. 371-372; reprinted in *idem*, *Études sur l’hindouisme*, Éditions Traditionnelles, Paris, 1968, pp. 210-212.
- 126 *Enstasis* (*enstase*) was a neologism in French, but it existed, with different meanings, in ancient Greek and early Christian literature. As a complement to ecstasy, the word was used by some German theologians in the 19th century. However, Eliade coined the word independently of them.
- 127 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 6 November 1949, M.E.P. 15.4.
- 128 M.E.P. 120.9. Most probably he copied it because he couldn’t get a copy of the journal. However, this is the only review in his archive transcribed by himself. Probably, it is Eliade who reported it to his friends from the “Radio Free Europe”. When presenting the way in which “almost all specialised journals” have received the book, they chose as examples the reviews of J. Filliozat, L. Gardet, M. M. Davy, and R. Guénon. Nevertheless, the text “Activitatea culturală a românilor din străinătate” (15 December 1950) – written by Monica Lovinescu or Virgil Ierunca – was not aired by the censors. See *Dosar VI*, pp. 80-81.
- 129 “Les *Techniques du Yoga* selon Mircea Eliade”, cf. *Thalès. Recueil annuel des travaux de l’Institut d’histoire des sciences et des techniques de l’Université de Paris*, 1949, p. 137.
- 130 “Travaux relatifs à l’Inde faits en France dans les dix dernières années », lecture delivered during the winter 1948-1949, and printed in: Louis Renou, *Sanskrit et culture. L’apport de l’Inde à la civilisation humaine*, Payot, Paris, 1950, pp. 80-94 (91). See also L. Renou & J. Filliozat, *L’Inde classique. Manuel d’études indiennes*, vol. I, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1949, p. 45.
- 131 See L. Renou’s letter of 18 November 1951 about a conference in London; *Scrisori primitive IV*, p. 44.
- 132 J. Gonda, *Inleiding tot het indische denken*, Standaard-boekhandel, Antwerp, 1948, pp. 67, 151; *idem*, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur, 1952, pp. 165, 166; 2nd edition, 1973, p. 266; *idem*, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, A. Oosthoek, Utrecht, 1954, p. 37.

- 133 G. Dumézil, *L'héritage indo-européen à Rome*, Gallimard, Paris, 1949, pp. 58-59, 242.
- 134 E. Lamotte, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra)*, tome II, Muséon, Leuven, 1949, p. xix.
- 135 A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur le « cent chemins ». Recherches sur le Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, tome I, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1949. A copy of the book is preserved in Eliade's Paris library with the autograph dedication: "A Monsieur Mircea Eliade, hommage d'un modeste grammairien" (F.M.E.).
- 136 P. Masson-Oursel, *Le Yoga*, P.U.F., Paris, 1954. Cf. Sergiu Al-George, *Arhaici și universal. India în conștiința culturală românească*, Eminescu, Bucharest, 1981, pp. 164-166.
- 137 M. Eliade, letter to Brutus Coste, 7 September 1948; *Corespondență III*, p. 472; See also *Journal*, 17 November 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 138 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 17 May 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 139 *Ibidem*, 29 May 1948.
- 140 *Ibidem*, 24 May 1948.
- 141 *Ibidem*, 3 July 1948.
- 142 Letter of 6 July 1948; *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, p. 186.
- 143 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 6 June 1948, M.E.P. 15.3. He already congratulated him for the article "Le problème du chamanisme" (1946): "Plein d'admiration pour la façon magistrale avec laquelle vous avez su démêler l'écheveau compliqué des origines du chamanisme. Il fallait pour cela toute l'érudition et l'information que vous êtes seul à posséder sur un sujet aussi spécial..." *Ibidem*, 5 August 1947.
- 144 *Ibidem*, 24 February 1949.
- 145 *Ibidem*, 28 August 1950, M.E.P. 15.4 (*Jurnal I*, p. 173).
- 146 *Ibidem*, 10 March 1949, M.E.P. 15.4; M. Brion's letter of 28 September 1953; *Scrisori primite I*, p. 116.
- 147 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 4 September 1967, M.E.P. 16.10.
- 148 Letter of 2 August 1948 from his secretary, Aniela Jaffé; *Scrisori primite II*, p. 283.
- 149 M. Eliade, *L'épreuve du labyrinthe*, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
- 150 Friedrich Otto Schrader, "Indische Beziehungen eines nordischen Fundes", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig), 88, 1934, pp. 185-193.
- 151 Letter of 15 October 1948; Mircea Eliade - Stig Wikander, *Întotdeauna Orientul. Corespondență (1948-1977)*, ed. by M. Timuș, Polirom, Iassy-Bucharest, 2005, p. 103.
- 152 M. Eliade, letter of 2 November 1948; *Corespondență III*, pp. 249-250.
- 153 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 27-29 September 1950, M.E.P. 15.4. The book referred to here could be *Art d'aimer et continence conjugale*, Editions Familiales de France, Paris, 1949.

- 154 M. Eliade, "Préface", in Roger Godel, *Essai sur l'expérience libératrice*, Gallimard, Paris, 1952, pp. 7-13. See *Journal*, 2 October 1950, 18 February and 9 July 1952, M.E.P. 15.4-5. The book, with a warm autograph dedication of the author, is preserved in Eliade's Paris library (F.M.E.).
- 155 Corrado Pensa, "On the purification concept in Indian tradition, with special regard to yoga", *East and West* (Rome), XIX, no. 1-2, March-June 1969, pp. 194-228 (198, 204); Joachim Friedrich Sprockhoff, "Der Weg zur Erlösung bei Lebzeiten, ihr Wesen und ihr Wert, nach dem *Jīvanmuktiviveka* des Vidyāraṇya", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie* (Vienna), XIV, 1970, pp. 131-159. See also *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* (Naples) XIX, 1969.
- 156 See M. Eliade, "La méthode de Roger Godel", in: *Roger Godel, de l'humanisme à l'humain*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1963, pp. 99-105; reprinted in: *idem, Briser le toit de la maison. La créativité et ses symboles*, Gallimard, Paris, 1986, pp. 251-260.
- 157 M. Eliade, *L'épreuve du labyrinthe*, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.
- 158 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 29 May, 15 June 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 159 Jean-Pierre Laurant, *René Guénon. Testimone della Tradizione*, Ed. Mediterranee, Rome, 2008, p. 190.
- 160 Letter of 9 October 1948; Cesare Pavese & Ernesto de Martino, *La collana viola. Lettere, 1945-1950*, ed. by Pietro Angelini, Bollati Boringheri, Turin, 1991, pp. 107-108.
- 161 Not only the Romanian legation in Rome opposed its publication, but also some Italian communist intellectuals: the politician Antonio Giolitti (1915-2010), the literary critic Carlo Musceta (1912-2004), and the historian of religions Ambrogio Donini (1903-1991). Interestingly, the last one was a student of Ernesto Buonaiuti – equally admired by Eliade –, whose "spiritual heir" he appeared to be for some time. Eliade suspected also an anonymous letter from Claudiu Isopescu (1894-1956); *Journal*, 8 June 1960, M.E.P. 15.8.
- 162 C. Pavese & E. de Martino, *ibidem*. Eliade's name is occurring regularly in their correspondence, pp. 107-179 (and pp. 182-183 for the letters to Einaudi). See also R. Pettazzoni's letters; *Correspondance Pettazzoni*, pp. 195, 196, 240, 242 (25 October, 29 December 1948, 11 and 20 February 1952), and that of E. de Martino to Eliade; *Scrisori primite* III, p. 154 (1 March 1952). Apparently, the last one asked Palmiro Togliatti to intercede with Einaudi. M. Eliade, *Journal*, 12 September 1949, 23 June 1965, M.E.P. 15.4, 16.7; *Memorii*, pp. 425-426.
- 163 Paolo Boringhieri to M. Eliade, 19 May 1951, M.E.P. 73.26; published in the *Addenda* to my article "The difficult encounter in Rome. Mircea Eliade's post-war relation with Julius Evola's - new letters and data", *International Journal on Humanistic Ideology* (Cluj), IV, no. 2, Autumn-Winter 2011, pp. 125-150 (156-157).

- 164 Eliade received it on 28 January. See *Journal*, 31 January 1952, M.E.P. 15.5.
- 165 "Scheda bibliografica Einaudi, no. 4, Gennaio 1952". The text is written probably by E. de Martino. A copy is preserved with the book in Eliade's Paris library (F.M.E.).
- 166 E. de Martino, letter of 16 December 1951; *Scrisori primite* III, p. 152-153.
- 167 E. de Martino, "Prefazione" in: M. Eliade, *Tecniche dello Yoga*, tr. by Anna Macchioro de Martino, Einaudi, Turin, 1952. pp. 9-11.
- 168 E. de Martino, "Prefazione", in M. Eliade, *Tratato di storia delle religioni*, tr. by Virginia Vacca, Einaudi, Turin, 1954, pp. xi-xiv; *idem*, "Mircea Eliade...", *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), XIII, 1951-1952, pp. 148-155. See also, *Il mondo magico. Prolegomeni a una storia del magismo*, 2nd ed., Edizioni Scientifiche Einaudi, Turin, 1958, p. 313.
- 169 He criticised the "historicist idealism" of de Martino when he reviewed his book; see the two articles cited above (n. 97).
- 170 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 11 September 1959, 29 October 1960, 19 January 1961, 23 June 1965, M.E.P. 15.6, 15.9, 16.7; *Jurnal* II, p. 163 (June 1974). Our interest in de Martino - Eliade debate is restrained here by the limits of our topic. For a larger discussion see especially the works of Pietro Angelini, "Il rapporto con Ernesto de Martino", in *idem*, *L'uomo sul tetto. Mircea Eliade e la "storia delle religioni"*, Bollati Boringhieri, Turin, 2001, pp. 76-101; "Eliade, de Martino e il problema dei poteri magici", in Giovanni Casadio & Pietro Mander (eds.), *Le forme della tradizione e del sacro in Mircea Eliade*, Ed. Mediterranee, Rome, 2012 (forthcoming).
- 171 M. Eliade, letter to Vintilă Horia, 7 February 1952; *Corespondență* I, p. 448.
- 172 G. D[orfler], "Mircea Eliade, *Tecniche dello Yoga...*", *Aut Aut* (Milan), II, no. 10, July 1952, pp. 371-373.
- 173 J. Knobloch, "Mircea Eliade, *Tecniche dello Yoga, 1952...*", *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft* (Vienna), VII, no. 1, 1954, p. 111.
- 174 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 20 October 1948, M.E.P. 15.3.
- 175 J. Evola, letters of 15 December 1951, 10 January, and 8 July 1952; *Scrisori primite* I, p. 277; IV, p. 349, 353.
- 176 L. Renou, letter of 30 March 1952; *Scrisori primite* IV, p. 44.
- 177 His name is more commonly spelled Susil Gupta. Eliade would have been in the company of such authors as Max Müller, Paul Deussen, Helmuth von Glasenapp, Th. Stcherbatsky, Reinhold Friedrich, and of writers in English like J.R. Ballantyne, H.H. Wilson, M. Monier-Williams, T.W. Rhys Davids, R.S. Whiteway, G.H. Westcott, Samuel Beal, Richard Temple, etc.
- 178 M. Eliade, *Journal*, 7 December 1951, M.E.P. 15.5. The translation appears to have been engaged in 1949. See Eliade's letter to Brutus Coste, 28 July 1949; *Corespondență* III, p. 483. A year later, on 6 December 1952, the editor Eugen Diederichs seemed to be interested in a German version of the book; *Journal, ibidem*.