



Notes on the Life and Labours of Captain Anthony Troyer.

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During the laborious years, 1888–1899, spent by me at Lahore I devoted whatever scanty leisure could be spared from teaching duties and exacting administrative work, to the task of critically editing, translating and annotating Kalhana's *Rājataranginī*, the oldest extant Sanskrit Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir. In the course of these protracted labours supplemented by such antiquarian tours in Kashmir as vacations allowed me to make, I became necessarily interested in the person of Captain Anthony Troyer, a predecessor in this difficult task. His career had been very varied, and his life had been spent in many lands. Returning after two prolonged periods of service in India, first at Madras and after an interval of more than ten years at Calcutta, he published in 1840 at Paris an edition of the Sanskrit text of the first six cantos of the Chronicle with a French translation under the auspices of the Société Asiatique.¹ Twelve years later he followed this up with a translation of the remaining two cantos containing the greater portion of the work, an *editio princeps* of the whole of the text having been printed in 1835 at Calcutta.

Kalhana's 'River of Kings', as practically the sole extant product of Sanskrit literature possessing the character of a true chronicle, was bound to attract attention ever since European scholars became aware of its existence. Moorcroft, that intrepid but ill-fated explorer, had shown zeal and judgment when during his stay at Srinagar in 1823 he secured a copy from the oldest then known manuscript. But the *editio princeps* produced from it at Calcutta in 1835 was far too defective in many respects to serve for a serious interpretation. The grave shortcomings of Troyer's effort based on the same materials have long ago been recognized by all qualified Sanskrit scholars. The patient industry and perseverance of the aged scholar might well claim recognition; but there could be no doubt that the great Indologist, Professor George Bühler, was justified in

¹ *Rajataranginī—Histoire des rois du Kachmir*. Traduite et commentée par M. A. Troyer, Membre des Sociétés Asiatiques de Paris, Londres et Calcutta, et publiée aux frais de la Société Asiatique. 1840. Paris. Vols. I, II.

Vol. II contains in its second part an 'Esquisse géographique et ethnographique du Kachmir, ancien et moderne'



judging that Troyer had undertaken a task very much beyond his strength.

This failure was due largely, as I have explained elsewhere,¹ to the insufficiency, in general, of the materials available to European scholars at the time, and in particular to the fact that for the full comprehension of Kalhana's narrative such familiarity was needed with the topography, physical and economic conditions, and other local features of Kashmir as could not be obtained from outside then or since. But the shortcomings of the translator and commentator are still more readily understood—and excused if account is taken of Troyer's career and his preceding work in fields wholly different from Oriental research. It is the distinct interest presented by Troyer's personality and life which prompts me to record here what information the help received from a revered teacher, a War Office now defunct, and two kind friends has enabled me to gather from widely disparate sources in the course of decades.

It was from a fairly detailed obituary notice contained in the Annual Report presented in 1866 to the Société Asiatique by its Secretary M. Jules Mohl,² the distinguished Orientalist scholar, that I first became acquainted with the main outlines of Troyer's singularly varied life story. As Mohl tells us in the introductory remarks of this notice, the information he recorded was based solely on his recollections of conversations with Troyer when the latter, arrived at a very great age, was leading a life of studious seclusion at Paris. Mohl took care to warn his readers that these recollections were incomplete and might prove inaccurate on some points.

This warning, as we shall see, has proved justified in the light of later enquiries. It had been emphasized by that great Sanskrit scholar, Professor Rudolf von Roth, my master, when in 1893 in response to my enquiries about Troyer he showed me the great kindness of copying out with his own hand Mohl's notice. Roth, when working in Paris in 1845-6 under the guidance of Burnouf, had occasion to meet Troyer. He remembered some quaint features in the habits of the old gentleman who in his retirement was *inter alia* fond of putting his birth even earlier than that indicated in Mohl's notice. This would have made him nearly a centenarian at the time of his death. Roth's critical sense duly recognized the need of controlling Mohl's recollections by a search elsewhere for data

¹ *Kalhana's Rājataranginī*. A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, translated with an Introduction, Commentary and Appendices, by M. A. Stein. Archibald Constable & Co., 2 vols. quarto. Westminster, 1900. See Vol. I, pp. ix sq.

² See *Rapport Annuel* fait à la Société Asiatique par M. J. Mohl, Paris, 1866, pp. 13-18.

concerning Troyer's chequered life. But owing to absorption in my subsequent Central-Asian explorations and labours in other fields the opportunities for this came to me only after years. Hence in a note to the preface of my annotated translation of the Chronicle¹ I could do no more than reproduce an abstract of the essential statements contained in Mohl's biographical notice.

It is probable that even now additional facts of some interest concerning Troyer's life and manifold contacts in widely separate spheres might be brought to light from different sources. But since now the kindness of my friend Colonel R. H. Phillimore, late of the Survey of India, has recently made me acquainted with the result of his researches, illustrating what must be considered by far the most important portion of Troyer's life work and one hitherto left unnoticed, it seems time to sketch here what we know at present of his strangely diverse career.

According to Mohl's story Anthony Troyer was born in Austria about 1769 and having received his education in a military institution left it as an artillery officer. During the campaign of 1792 in Flanders he was stationed in an abandoned monastery and by a curious incident there was led first to Oriental studies. One day he found his artillery men about to make up cartridges for their guns with pages torn from a fine polyglot bible. Having saved the volume from their hands he beguiled his leisure with the study of an Arabic version of the New Testament. After his transfer to the Austrian army in Italy he was attached, evidently as liaison officer, to the English naval force co-operating at the siege of Genoa in 1800. In this capacity he made the acquaintance of Lord William Bentinck, and this changed the whole course of his life. Lord William Bentinck formed a friendship with the capable young officer and on his appointment as Governor of Madras in 1803 brought him out to India as a member of his staff. For this purpose, as Mohl tells the story, it was necessary for Troyer to hold a commission in the British army. So he was provided with a captaincy in a Ceylon Rifle Regiment about to be raised. He is said to have promptly sold his brevet and to have then proceeded as a retired officer to India with Lord William Bentinck. In Madras he then was, so Mohl tells from recollection, officially charged with a course of instruction in mathematics and thereafter became Principal of the Muhammadan College.

Vague and slightly anecdotic as this information about Troyer's start in life seemed, it was sufficient inducement to take the chance of my passage through Vienna in September, 1902, of making an enquiry at the Austrian War Office as to

¹ See Stein, *Kaṭhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, etc., Vol. I, p. x. note 7.

what might be found in its records about Captain Anthony Troyer. The result to my pleasant surprise was the receipt of authentic information unexpectedly prompt and detailed. When addressing my verbal request to the officer to whom I was directed in the Historical Section of the War Office he at once declared himself quite familiar with the name of Captain Anthony Troyer and his career also, as far as it had lain in the Austrian army.

There on his table lay a file concerning the planned publication of the materials contained in a history of the campaigns fought in 1794 by the Austrian forces in the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy, which Troyer had prepared in five foolscap volumes. On account of its excellence this history was declared in 1816 a model for similar official records of campaigns. I regret that I have since taken no steps to ascertain whether and when the intended publication of Troyer's work actually took place.

It was a curious play of chance when two days later by the courtesy of the Imperial and Royal 'Kriegs-Archiv' there was placed at my disposal a detailed and fully authenticated record (No. 2036 and No. 568, dated September 25th, 1902) of Troyer's career in the Austrian service. It comprised the time from his entry into the Military Academy at Wiener-Neustadt, founded by, and called after, the Empress Maria Theresia, until 1803 when his application for two or three years' leave to accompany the newly appointed Governor of the Madras Presidency was granted. Of Troyer's life after his departure for India nothing was known to the Historical Section of the Vienna War Office. Hence the succinct account I could in return furnish relating to his employment in the East India Company's service and his scholarly work later was welcome.

It is from that official record, provided with all needful references to the original documents, that I glean the following essential data. Anthony Troyer von Aufkirchen was born in 1775 at Klattau in Bohemia. This fact proves that his age at the time of his death, as recorded in Mohl's notice, was distinctly overestimated and confirms the doubt Professor von Roth had expressed on this point when writing to me on February 26, 1893. Troyer was the son of Lieutenant Joseph Troyer von Aufkirchen, of the Austrian Dragoon Regiment Josias Prinz zu Sachsen-Coburg-Saalfeld. In 1787 he was admitted into the Military Academy at Wiener-Neustadt, a famous institution which as long as there was an Austrian army, supplied the élite of its corps of officers. In 1791 he received his first commission as cadet-ensign in the Infantry Regiment No. 38 and was promoted in the same first to Ensign and then in 1793 to Second Lieutenant.

He took part with his Regiment in the campaigns in France, the Low Countries and on the Rhine, and was wounded

near Valenciennes in 1793. Attached to the Quarter Master General's Staff he greatly distinguished himself during the actions fought in 1795 near Düsseldorf and, in consequence, was in that year promoted to First Lieutenant on the Quarter Master General's Staff. On account of illness he did not take part in the campaign of 1796, but served in the following year in the Rhine army. In 1798 he was ordered to Italy for survey work, was subsequently attached to the army operating there and was wounded at the battle of Novi in 1799. Meanwhile he had received promotion as Captain in the Quarter Master General's department. He served during the campaigns of 1800 and by May 1801 was appointed to the newly established 'War Archive' or what corresponds to the Historical Section of a modern War Office. It was during this employment that Troyer was charged with preparing the record of the campaigns of 1794 in the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy, above referred to, the value of which was specially eulogised years later.

After nearly two years' work in that post Troyer applied for two or three years' leave in order to accompany Lord William Bentinck who had invited him to proceed to India as a member of his household. As he explained in his application, he could hope there to acquire a competence and therefore would renounce any claim upon future provision by the Austrian Government. His application was duly granted by an imperial resolution of February 23, 1803. In order that his post on the Quarter Master General's Staff might be filled he was transferred without pay as 'supernumerary on leave' to the Infantry Regiment No. 49. As he did not return from leave and no information about him was received, his name was at the Regiment's request removed from its cadre in March, 1809.

The record here reproduced affords ample evidence that Troyer's career as a young officer in the Austrian army, comparatively short as it was, had offered him opportunities to distinguish himself in the field and to display marked intellectual abilities. His four years' training at an early age in the foremost military institution of old Austria was bound to have played a chief part in developing them. It may safely be assumed in particular to have laid the foundation to his scientific knowledge of surveying methods and practice.

This, as we shall see further on, enabled him in Madras to render very important services to the army in India, by providing its first staff of officers specially trained for systematic topographical survey work. In this respect the reference in the record to his employment on topographical surveys in Italy is of special interest. It proves that as a young officer on the Quarter Master General's Staff, for which he, no doubt, had been selected on account of his superior training and mental capacity, he had opportunities to acquire practical experience in survey

work with the plane-table. The use of this he was to be thereafter the first to introduce for surveys in India.

The record makes no mention of the special circumstances which during the Italian campaign of 1799-1800 offered the opportunity for Troyer to come to the notice and acquire the friendship of Lord William Bentinck. On the strength of Troyer's recollection as reproduced in M. Mohl's notice, it may safely be assumed that it was the siege of Genoa in 1800 by the Austrian army under General Melas which by chance determined the whole course of Troyer's subsequent life. Lord William Bentinck, then a youthful Colonel, was attached as the military representative of England to the Austrian army in Italy during the years 1799-1801.¹ As such he was, no doubt, present before Genoa when the strongly fortified city, blockaded from the sea by a British naval force, was ultimately surrendered by Masséna owing to famine among its population.

If Troyer was acting as a kind of liaison officer between the Austrian army before Genoa and the British naval force he would have been bound to be often brought into contact with Lord William Bentinck. His abilities could scarcely escape so good a judge of men as Lord William Bentinck proved all through in the high offices which he was destined to fill. It may, perhaps, be conjectured also that Troyer's linguistic talents, as amply displayed later in his Indian studies, and indicated by the story of Mohl about his interest first aroused in Arabic, attracted Lord William Bentinck's attention. Troyer's selection as liaison officer with the British command may well have been due to a knowledge of English, an accomplishment probably very rare in those times among Austrian army officers.

The exact information secured at Vienna about the early part of Troyer's career induced me next to apply to Mr. (now Sir) William Foster, C.I.E., late Superintendent of Records at the India Office, for data concerning Troyer's later employment in India. That ever helpful friend was kind enough to furnish me on December 5th, 1902, with a memorandum based on the records of the East India Company but not intended for publication as it stood. From this it was seen that Troyer accompanied Lord William Bentinck to Madras in 1803, having been provided, probably through the latter, with a commission as Ensign in His Majesty's 12th Foot. He was not attached at that time to the Governor's Staff.

¹ See Boulger, *Lord William Bentinck*, Oxford, 1892, p. 16. The interest subsequently shown by Lord William Bentinck in Troyer might, perhaps, be partly accounted for by what Boulger states in a note: 'In one of his despatches, he (Lord William Bentinck) bore eloquent testimony to the valour and devotion of the Austrian army, which he found far too few to appreciate it. "It is impossible to do justice to the valour and perseverance of the Austrian army," he wrote.'

In 1804 Lord William Bentinck proposed a plan for the establishment of a class for the special instruction of a certain number of cadets in topographical surveys. This proposal having been accepted by the Council, Major General Dugald Campbell, Commander-in-Chief at Madras, on November 12th, 1804, nominated, probably at the prompting of the Governor, 'Ensign Anthony Troyer, of His Majesty's 12th Foot', as Drawing and Mathematical Instructor for this class. This nomination was promptly followed on November 13th by his appointment to the post on a salary of 250 Pagodas per mensem. The plan and Troyer's selection for the post were finally confirmed by the Court of Directors on the 30th July, 1806, Troyer having meanwhile been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant.

The class soon developed under Troyer's direction into the Madras Military Institution. In a Military Letter, dated 24th October, 1808, as quoted in Sir William Foster's memorandum, the Madras Government speak highly of the results of the establishment of the Institution and praise the 'zeal, attention and ability' of Lieutenant Troyer. From this and other more incidental references to Troyer's work at Madras quoted in Sir William Foster's memorandum, it became abundantly clear that his activity during the first period of his Indian service soon fully justified the judgment displayed by Lord William Bentinck in bringing his friend to India and in providing for him a field of work worthy of his capacity and to the advantage of Government.

But it was only when I turned lately to Colonel R. H. Phillimore for any information which, as a late Officer of the Survey of India, he might be able to trace about Troyer's activity at Madras, that I became aware of the importance which must be claimed for it. For several years past Colonel Phillimore has been engaged on a full history of the Survey of India, that great department of the Indian Government which for nearly a century and a half has rendered very notable services not only to the administration of the sub-continent but to geographical research over a still vaster area of Asia. In the course of painstaking search in the archives of the Madras Government he collected much interesting information about the working of the Madras Military Institution which owed its creation to Lord William Bentinck's initiative and its success to Troyer's zealous direction. From this I have been enabled through Colonel Phillimore's kindness to gather the following data.

"Stimulated by a recommendation made in 1804 by the Surveyor General in Bengal to the Bengal Government, the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, General James Stuart, had urged his Government that more officers should be trained as Surveyors in order to facilitate the extension of surveys into the unmapped territories added to the Presidency since the defeat of Tipu in 1799. Lord William Bentinck took up the matter

with enthusiasm and in a minute of September 24th, 1804, proposed that 'a select number of the Gentlemen Cadets at Tripasore shall be instructed in the art of topographical surveys by an instructor capable of giving the double lesson in Geometry and Military Drawing'. The suggestion having been accepted by the Council the succeeding Commander-in-Chief at Madras, General Dugald Campbell, recommended the appointment of Ensign Troyer, of His Majesty's 12th Foot, to the proposed post. To this he soon after added the significant recommendation that 'the plan in question having originated with the Right Hon'ble the Governor, . . . the first arrangements of it may take place under His Lordship's superintendence', as stated in the Madras Military Consultations, 13th November, 1804.

"The Military Seminary" was thereupon established, and Lord William Bentinck laid before Council on November 17th, 1804, detailed regulations for the conduct of the Institution, together with a 'plan of instruction'. It was to include from the start 'the practical part of surveying with the plane-table'."

The promptness, unusual in those days and parts, with which these regulations were prepared strikingly illustrates the keen interest with which the Governor followed up the scheme. That its inspiration came largely from Troyer is definitely indicated by the mention of practical surveying with the plane-table, a method not applied then in India but of well-established use where Troyer had received his own training.

"By April 1805 the first class of cadets passed into the Institution and like those which until 1814 followed annually in succession remained for two and a half years under instruction. Troyer's first report submitted in October, 1806, shows the extent of the scientific instruction imparted and refers to specimens of drawings of survey work done by the cadets in the field as 'exhibited every month to your Lordship'. In May 1807 Troyer submitted a long review of the course of instruction to Lord William Bentinck. A memorandum on this course and the future employment of the officers trained was submitted by him after Lord William's departure in that year and was favourably commented upon by Lambton, the founder of the Indian Trigonometrical Survey, the Astronomer at the Madras Observatory and the Quarter Master General at Madras to whom it was circulated.

"In December 1807 Troyer's hands were strengthened for the purposes of discipline by the Institution being placed under the control of the Quarter Master General under whom it still remained after the establishment of a Surveyor General at Madras.¹ In a report to Government submitted in 1808 Troyer

¹ Information extracted by Colonel Philimore from the Madras Military Consultations and kindly communicated to me helps to throw light on this step. It illustrates the personal interest which Lord William

indicates his intention of giving lectures also on 'those astronomical problems which are in the strictest connexion with geography and of the greatest practical use'.

"The partial withdrawal of the East India Company's trading privileges by the Act of 1815 induced the Court of Directors to effect reductions in their Indian establishments. A despatch addressed by them to Madras on 5th May, 1815, ordered, among other economies, the abolition of the Military Institution, on the ground that the existence of a similar institution in England rendered the Madras one superfluous. Sir Thomas Hislop, Commander-in-Chief at Madras, recorded a protest (15th January, 1816) strongly emphasizing 'the great mass of geographical and topographical materials with which... the students of the Madras Institution have enriched the records of the Company and in some instances of the civilized world'. It points out the great value of the scientific training imparted to young officers, also that in the course of it 1,620 square miles on the average had been annually and most minutely surveyed. Stress is laid on the services rendered by pupils of the Institution when attached as Surveyors to successive expeditions outside India they 'compiled the best map of the countries between the Indus and the Nile that has ever yet been given to the world' and produced topographical information of the utmost value in territories as widely apart as the Deccan and Java.

"The Governor and Council, however, decided that the orders of the Court of Directors left them no discretion in the matter, and a General Order was approved abolishing from the 31st May, 1816, the Military Institution and the Survey branch of the Quarter Master General's department. At the same time

Bentinck continued to take in the Institution created under his auspices and indicates also a characteristic feature of Troyer's personality. After Lord William Bentinck had left Madras in 1807 Mr. William Petrie, the acting Governor, proposed that steps should be taken for the better maintenance of discipline at the Institution, Bentinck's supervision no longer existing. 'Discipline would be much better maintained if entrusted to Troyer who is always on the spot.'

It was accordingly proposed to give to Captain Troyer the appointment of Assistant to the Quarter Master General. After noting that Troyer had hitherto been in no way responsible for the discipline of the pupils, the minute states: 'Every praise is no doubt due to Captain Troyer for the universal satisfaction which he seems to have given to the Gentlemen who were placed under his tuition; but probably he would not have been less fortunate, had he, at the period of his first appointment, been invested with more extensive authority.' Troyer's appointment as A.Q.M.G., 'placing him ostensibly under the first public officer of the Army, will no doubt (combined with the mildness of his manners) give him sufficient weight to maintain discipline'.

It does not appear from the records consulted by Colonel Phillimore that "Troyer ever signed himself, or was listed, as A.Q.M.G. But he is hereafter frequently designated Superintendent of the Institution, which title was probably recognized as covering his complete responsibility, in addition to being Instructor".

testimony was borne to the excellent way in which Captain Troyer and his staff had carried out the duties entrusted to them." The lasting value of the work directed by Troyer and its far-reaching effect upon the topographical surveys carried on since all over India and great adjacent regions by the Survey of India are thus summed up by Colonel Phillimore, its very competent historian.

"During the 11 years that the Military Institution existed, it remained under the charge of Troyer and he was entirely responsible for the methods of survey in which the pupils were taught and trained. Survey was carried out by plane-table on the scale of 4 inches to the mile. The plane-table survey was based on triangulated points as fixed by Lambton's triangulation, minor triangulation being carried out by Troyer or the more senior pupils. Where surveys extended beyond the area covered by Lambton, special triangulation was carried out by Garling, Troyer's most successful pupil.

"Survey by plane-table was thus introduced as a regular method of survey for the first time in India by Troyer, and all officers of the Madras Military Institution were thus brought up to regard it as the normal method of survey. Through the influence of the officers of the Institution the plane-table was, about 1824, declared to be the standard instrument of survey for all Madras surveys The methods taught by Troyer gradually extended to the Bengal Presidency as Madras trained officers were eventually brought up to Bengal

"The choice of Anthony Troyer as Instructor for the Madras Military Institution was a most happy one and of particular interest. Starting the surveys of the Institution shortly after Lambton had completed his first series of triangles along the Madras coast, he was able to introduce for the first time into India the soundest principles of topographical survey, breaking down the main triangles of the trigonometrical survey by his own minor triangles and filling the detail by plane-table, laying out the plane-table sections in a continuous rectangular grid. Holding the post of Instructor for eleven years he trained a large number of officers in this system which in its main principles has persisted to this very day."

There can be no doubt that the work done by Troyer at Madras was by far the most important achievement of his life. Yet he seems, if we may judge from Mohl's very scant reference to it, to have been strangely silent about it in the communications of his retired old age. But about a personal aspect connected with his employment at Madras the official records consulted by Sir William Foster at the India Office supply some interesting information. As it throws light on Troyer's position and also curiously illustrates military procedure at the time it may be quoted in full.

"Lieutenant Troyer had not as yet joined his regiment (His Majesty's 12th Foot), and as the Commanding Officer had resolved not to recommend him for a Captaincy unless he did so, he caused a letter to be written on 7th February, 1812, from Port Louis, Mauritius, where the regiment was then stationed, summoning Troyer either to join or to exchange into some local regiment. On 16th September, 1812, Troyer forwarded this letter to the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, and asked for instructions. In doing so he stated that he was extremely desirous of remaining in his present post without losing his position in his regiment.

"The Commander-in-Chief replied that he had no power to give leave of absence from a regiment not under his command, but he would write to the General Officer Commanding at the Isle of France and also to H.R.H. the Duke of York at home, requesting that leave of absence might be granted to Troyer without detriment to his promotion. This reply was communicated (27th September, 1812) by the latter to the Officer Commanding his regiment, with the request that the indulgence already shown to him might, if possible, be extended until he should have obtained the rank of Captain.

"On 1st April, 1813, he received a brief answer, dated 11th November, 1812, to the effect that the Officer Commanding could not grant him any leave whatever; that he had now been returned as 'absent without leave'; and that the Duke of York had approved of his being passed over in a recent selection for a captaincy. Troyer thereupon forwarded the correspondence to the Governor of Madras, pointing out that possibly the matter might yet be reconsidered, as evidently a decision had been taken before the arrival of the promised letter from the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, but stating that if his promotion in his Corps were incompatible with his retention of his post at the Military Institution, he should not hesitate to give up his prospects in the army and rely upon the favour of the Madras Government.

"The Government of Madras addressed a letter to the Governor of the Isles of Mauritius, Bourhon, etc. (11th May, 1813) apologizing for having detained Lt. Troyer from his duty; eulogizing his services and intimating that the Court of Directors would be asked to arrange if possible for the continuance of his employment at Madras. The Court of Directors was addressed accordingly (25th August, 1813).

"Nothing further on the matter has been traced; but it appears from the (British) Army List of 1814 that Troyer was appointed to the 4th Ceylon Regiment, the date of his regimental rank being given as 15th July, 1813. He was placed on half-pay on 25th July, 1815 (Army List of 1824) and remained so till his death."

From Mohl's notice it is known that Troyer while at Madras had married a French lady at Pondicherry; at what date is not

stated.¹ This explains the record contained in the Madras Military Consultations of 15th June, 1816, as kindly communicated by Colonel Phillimore: 'The Commander-in-Chief . . . at the earnest request of Captain Troyer permitted that Officer to accompany his family to Pondicherry, where he proposes to reside until an opportunity shall occur for proceeding to Europe.' Colonel Phillimore adds the information that Troyer was probably still in India when Mackenzie left Madras in July 1817; for Mackenzie writes to Mountford in October 1818: 'What is become of Capt. Troyer? Recommend me to him.'

That Troyer during his employment at Madras took up the study of Indian languages can safely be concluded from Mohl's statement that he studied there Tamil, Hindustani and Persian. But there is no evidence of his having ever been in charge of the Muhammadan College there, as Mohl indicated. But his reference to Troyer having at Madras commenced a translation into German verse of episodes from Firdausi's great epic, the *Shāhnāmāh*, may be accepted as correct. Mohl was bound to have been specially interested in this proof of Troyer's Persian study as he himself published later a monumental edition and French translation of Firdausi's *Shāhnāmāh*. He declares to have had portions of Troyer's manuscript version in his hands. It deserves also to be noted that the 'plan of instruction' for the Military Institution, which was proposed in 1804 by the Governor (Madras Military Consultations, November 17th, 1804) and was probably drawn up under Troyer's inspiration, specifies 'one of the native languages' in the first place among the subjects to be taught.

It is much to be regretted that we have no definite information about the years spent by Troyer after his retirement to Europe after 1817. According to Mohl he lived with his wife at Paris, continuing his Oriental studies '*dans une retraite silencieuse*'. It would be interesting to know something about the contacts he might easily have formed there with that leading master of Oriental studies, Sylvestre de Sacy, and other French scholars of note. It would be, perhaps, still more useful if evidence could be traced as to the way in which personal touch was maintained by Troyer with his friend and patron Lord William Bentinck.

That this contact, so important for Troyer's life, remained unbroken after Lord William Bentinck's departure from Madras and also during Troyer's subsequent stay at Paris is proved by the fact that Troyer accompanied Lord William Bentinck when he returned to Bengal on his appointment as Governor-General.

¹ The enquiries which my friend Colonel Reginald Schomberg, British Consul General at Pondicherry, was kind enough to make at my request both at Pondicherry and at Madras, have failed to trace any record relating to Troyer's marriage.

Sir William Foster's memorandum shows that the list of persons permitted to accompany Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General designate, to Bengal, as contained in the Court of Directors' despatch to Bengal, dated 28th December, 1827, includes 'Captain Anthony Troyer on the half-pay of the 2nd Ceylon Regiment (an error for 4th Ceylon Regiment) as Aid de Camp'. In the same memorandum Sir William Foster adds the following: "The India List shows him in this post during the whole of Lord William's tenure of the Governor-Generalship. He is not shown as acting in any other capacity, nor can I find him mentioned in the letters from the Government of India to the Court of Directors. I believe, however, that the Calcutta Sanskrit College was not under the direct management of the Government, and it is possible therefore that Troyer may have had some connection with that institution without official notice being taken of it."

Mohl states that Troyer took charge of the 'Brahmanical College' at Calcutta before Lord William Bentinck left India and directed it until his own departure in 1835. Information kindly communicated by the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India shows that Troyer was Secretary to the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, up to January 1835. This confirms the statement made by Troyer in the Preface to his translation of the Kashmir Chronicle as to his having held the post of Secretary to that College where certain Pandits were employed for correcting the proofs of Sanskrit texts which were being published at the expense of Government. In the same Preface Troyer mentions having left Bengal in February 1835.¹ Among the various manuscript materials which Troyer is stated to have brought back on his return to Paris as fruit of his scholarly labours at Calcutta, were those he had prepared for his edition of the Sanskrit text of Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir and his translation of the same.

We have no exact information as to when Troyer's study of Sanskrit had started. Nor do we know to what extent his interest in India's classical language and its vast literature may have been stimulated by the influence of such great scholars as Horace Hayman Wilson, James Prinsep, Csoma de Körös whom Calcutta could claim at the time of his own stay there. Wilson had been the first to acquaint European students with the general character of Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir by publishing in 1825 a critical abstract of its first six cantos. It was James Prinsep, the famous decipherer of Indian inscriptions

¹ Colonel Phillimore points out to me that as Lord William Bentinck's departure on relinquishing charge as Governor-General of India took place on March 25th, 1835, and, perhaps, counted from his embarkation at Madras, it is possible that Troyer accompanied him on the homeward voyage.

and coins, who, if Mohl's statement apparently based on a communication of Troyer can be trusted, made it possible for the first edition of the text, very imperfect as it was, to appear in print at Calcutta in 1835. Either of them might well have drawn Troyer's attention to the importance of the Chronicle.

I have already in my introductory remarks had occasion to point out that Troyer's equipment was inadequate for the difficult task which he had undertaken and to which he devoted himself with such assiduity for many years. A quasi-pathetic proof of this was afforded to me by a letter written by Troyer from Paris on 5th June, 1845, to Professor Horace Hayman Wilson which my friend the late Mr. A. H. Wilson allowed me to see and copy from his grandfather's very valuable store of correspondence. It deals mainly with his labours on the Kashmīr Chronicle.

Referring to his translation Troyer says that he is 'undergoing a hard struggle with the two languages, Sanskrit and French', and expresses his belief that the two last cantos he was engaged on translating are not the work of Kalhana. In reality this is the most authentic and critically valuable portion of the author's historical record, but rendered often difficult by the lavish display of characteristic rhetorical skill specially appealing to Indian scholars' taste. On reading that letter, written by Troyer in his seventieth year with a remarkably clear strong hand, I felt much impressed with the remarkable perseverance which enabled the aged scholar to complete his 'arduous work', as he calls it, seven years later.

The only other work which was published by Troyer after his final retirement to Europe, was an English translation of the *Dabistan or School of Manners*, a Persian treatise of which David Shea had finished two-fifths and which Troyer completed with notes and an elaborate preliminary discourse. It was published in 1845 on behalf of the Oriental Translation Committee. It deals principally with the religious doctrine patronized by the Emperor Akbar. M. Mohl emphasizes the thoroughness with which manifold problems raised by this curious work are treated in Troyer's introduction but expresses no definite opinion as to the solutions proposed for them.

As Mohl tells us, Troyer continued to pursue his scholarly labours all through the long years of his remaining life spent in Paris, but published none of their fruits. This bears out Mohl's description of Troyer as a man wholly indifferent to fame and content to satisfy his interest in study for its own sake. From the record at Somerset House of Troyer's last will which Colonel Phillimore inspected, it is seen that he died at Royaumont on the 2nd June, 1865, in his ninetieth year, leaving two married daughters and a son (under interdiction). His wife had predeceased him.

We are told by Mohl that the tranquillity of his spirit in old age was such that neither good nor bad fortune could disturb his serene composure. Yet he seems for all that to have retained to the end a bold independence of opinion, which the perfect calm of expression made all the more striking. He is said to have faced undisturbed whatever personal losses and disappointments befell him, heavy as they seem to have been. It is hence pleasant to think that the British half-pay which good health allowed him to draw for fully fifty years, spared him serious material cares. It was a reward well deserved by the services he had rendered in India and by his devotion to India's intellectual interests.

