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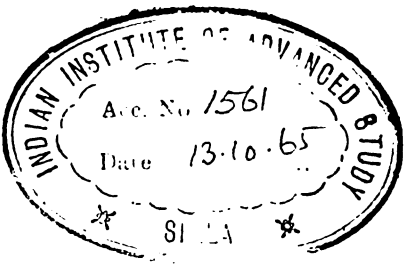

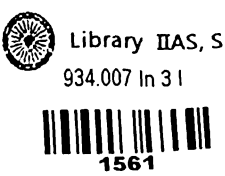

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INTRODUCTION

IN 1786, Sir William Jones announced to the world of scholars the great fact of Sanskrit being a language "more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either", and must be said to have thereby laid the foundation of Indological studies and research in the West. The linguistic similarities between Sanskrit and some European languages had, no doubt, been already pointed out by Filippo Sassetti, who had lived in Goa between 1581 and 1588, as also by the French Jesuit Coerdoux who had presented a paper on the subject before the Academie des Inscriptions in 1767; but the credit for drawing pointed attention of scholars to Sanskrit and for popularising the study of that language certainly belongs to Jones. A few years later, Friedrich Schlegel offered through his book, *Uber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (1808), a wider outlook in the historical evolution of languages and put forth, for the first time, the scheme of a 'comparative grammar'. In the trail so finely blazed by these savants followed Franz Bopp of Germany and Eugene Burnouf of France. Bopp's *Uber das Conjugationssystem der Sanskrit-sprache* (1816) and *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit* (1833-1849) and Burnouf's *De la langue et de la litterature sanscrite* (1833) must be regarded as the first truly scientific treatises in the field of Sanskrit philology in the West. Since then, the study of Sanskrit and Indo-European Linguistics has registered most impressive progress in Europe and the U.S.A., and the history of the development of Indology in the West through all these years constitutes a very fascinating and inspiring record of magnificent achievement.

Excellent surveys of the work done in the field of Indology in various countries of the West and in some countries of the East have appeared from time to time. E. Windisch for instance, published his monumental *Geschichte der Sanskrit–Philologie und indischen Altertumskunde* between 1917 and 1920. We also have monographs on the work in specific branches of Indology, such as Oldenberg's *Vedaforschung* (1905), Renou's *Les maitres de la philologie vedique* (1928), and Wust's *Indisch* (1929). Even in more recent times, scholars like Aalto (Finland), Barannikov (U.S.S.R.), Bloch (France), Emeneau (U.S.A.), Klima (Hungary), and Poucha (Czechoslovakia) have contributed papers to different journals on the progress of In-

dological studies in their respective countries. *The Indo-Asian Culture,* the quarterly journal of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, has also published articles relating to Indian studies in some Western countries.

It is, indeed, a very happy idea of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations to publish, on the occasion of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists meeting in India, this book entitled *Indian Studies Abroad*... In this book are included the articles on the subject which have already appeared in *The Indo-Asian Culture* as also some others which have been specially written for this volume. The Organising Committee of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists is itself publishing a book, entitled *Oriental Studies in India,* which contains articles embodying objective surveys of the work which has been done or is being done in India in several branches of Orientology since Independence (that is, 1947). The present publication of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations should prove a useful companion volume to that book.

The publication of this small volume may further be regarded as India's tribute of gratitude to the many foreign scholars who have devoted their lives to the promotion of the studies and research relating to India. May it also serve as a reminder to Indian scholars of their own obligations in respect of such studies and research relating not only to India but also to other countries!

POONA,
December 15, 1963

R. N. DANDEKAR

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The Indian Council for Cultural Relations gratefully thanks the authors for their contributions to this collection.

INDIAN STUDIES IN BRITAIN

[Prepared at the London School of African and Oriental Studies]

EVER since the war the advanced study of India and her peoples has grown steadily in Britain. The main centre in both teaching and research is the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. The School's aim is to cover all the major fields of study, and to build up its already large library. The School's provision in the fields of language, literature, philosophy, religion, history, archaeology, law, anthropology and musicology is already well known, and recently new fields have been opened in the study of economics, politics, sociology and geography. Other universities, in particular Oxford and Cambridge, have maintained their long-standing interest. Universities and institutions, such as the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Overseas Development Institute, which specialise in Commonwealth studies also naturally take a keen interest in India.

Anthropology and Sociology

British scholars had been active in the field of Indian anthropology long before the subject was established in any of the universities of the United Kingdom. Civil servants such as H. H. Risley, W. Crooke and E. Thurston laid the foundations of our ethnographic and anthropological knowledge of India, but the first professional anthropologist to work in India was W.H.R. Rivers whose book on the Todas was published in 1906. Not until some thirty years later did the appointment of Dr. J. H. Hutton, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, to the Chair of Social Anthropology in

the University of Cambridge secure Indian anthropological studies a prominent place in a British university. Since Professor Hutton's retirement in 1951 the centre of Indian anthropological studies has moved to the University of London where for the past thirteen years the Department of Anthropology in the School of Oriental and African Studies has developed a strong interest in Indian anthropological and sociological studies. Professor C. von Furer-Haimendorf, Dr. F. G. Bailey and Dr. A. C. Mayer as well as a number of younger scholars associated with the Department are active in research focussed on India. The first is well known for his published work on Himalayan tribal societies, and the last two for their studies on Indian political sociology. Since the establishment of the Department numerous field-projects have been carried out by the staff and some of the research students of the Department, and these have resulted in substantial publications. The Department offers both undergraduate and postgraduate courses, and the number of M.A. and Ph.D. students working on Indian subjects has been steadily increasing. One of the long-term projects of the Department is the compilation of *An Anthropological Bibliography of South Asia* (covering India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal). The first volume was published in 1958, the second volume is in the press and a third volume is in preparation.

Ever since the establishment of the Department of Anthropology in 1950, Indian anthropologists have been appointed as visiting lecturers, and Dr. Iravati Karve, Professor D. N. Majumdar, Dr. S. C. Dube, Dr. T. B. Naik, Dr. R. P. Srivastava and Dr. T. N. Madan have spent periods in London. Their contributions to research and teaching have greatly benefited the development of Indian studies.

Though none of the present members of the Faculty of Anthropology of Cambridge are themselves engaged in research on India, interest in Indian studies has been maintained by Dr. E. R. Leach, whose field of specialization covers Burma and Ceylon. In the past years research students of Cambridge have undertaken several successful field studies in India.

At Oxford Indian anthropological studies were initiated by Dr. Louis Dumont (now Professor at the Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris) during the years when he served on the staff of the Institute of Social Anthropology, and his successor, Dr. D. F. Pocock, continues the development of the subject and jointly with Professor Dumont edits the important periodical, *Contributions to Indian Sociology*.

In the other British universities studies in Indian anthropology are not yet firmly established, though some members of anthropology departments

(e.g. Dr. Scarlett Trent-Epstein of Manchester University) have made individual contributions to the subject.

History, Archaeology and Art

The most important centre of Indian historical studies in the British Isles is the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, where the South Asian section of the History Department has a complement of six teachers, under the general direction of Professor A. L. Basham. Specialised teaching on the pre-Muslim period, on Islam in South Asia, and on modern history, including economic history, is provided. The Director of the School (Professor C. H. Philips) continues, as far as his administrative duties permit, with research and publication on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Several members of other departments of the School are engaged in work connected with history, notably Professor K. de B. Codrington (Professor of Indian Art and Archaeology), Dr. Jose Pereira (Research Fellow in Indian Art), Professor H. R. Tinker (Professor of Asian Politics and Government). Dr. J. D. M. Derrett (Reader in Indian Law), along with his important studies in Hindu Law, maintains an interest in history. The work of Dr. A. D. H. Bivar (Lecturer in Iranian and Central Asian Art and Archaeology) also touches on the field of ancient India.

Among the most valuable contributions of the School to the development of South Asian historical studies is the training in research which it has given, and continues to give, to young scholars from countries throughout the world. Not only have many of the ablest historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon gained their research training at the School, but also teachers of South Asian history in other parts of Asia and in Australasia, America and Europe. In recent years important international seminars have been held under the auspices of the History Department on topics such as the Historiography of South Asia and the Date of Kanishka. Under the editorship of the Director, the School is producing a series of source-books on Indian history, the first volume of which on *The evolution of India and Pakistan, 1858-1947* has recently appeared. Also worthy of mention is the programme of research associateships in the history of South and South-East Asia, which has just concluded. This scheme, financed by the Rockfeller Foundation, for some years made it possible annually for five younger scholars from the regions concerned to visit London and work on historical research without any teaching or other commitments, and it has already resulted in the publication of works of considerable significance.

Other colleges of the University of London contain scholars who are

interested in Indian history. Among these we may mention Professor E. H. Warmington (Professor of Classics, Birkbeck College) whose work on the commerce between the Roman Empire and India is very well known and who has a wide knowledge of ancient Indian history; Professor F. E. Zeuner of the Institute of Archaeology, who has done work on Indian prehistory and has trained several Indian students; and, in the field of modern history, Dr. Mary Cumpston (Birkbeck College) and Dr. Vera Anstey (London School of Economics).

At Cambridge Dr. T. G. P. Spear and Dr. E. Stokes specialise in modern historical studies and Dr. F. R. Allchin in archaeological studies, and Dr. Gavin Hambly has recently been appointed to a fellowship in the study of 19th century India.

At Oxford Dr. C. C. Davies, who was for thirty years Reader in Indian History and who has trained many very able Indian scholars, has recently retired and been replaced by Dr. K. A. Ballhatchet, formerly of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University. Also relevant to Indian history is the fellowship in Indian Studies at St. Anthony's College, which was formerly held by Dr. Raghavan Iyer, and is now held by a former student of S.O.A.S., Dr. Saumyendranath Mukherjee.

Besides the scholars attached to universities, there are several persons connected with Indian history and related subjects, who should be mentioned. Foremost among these is Sir R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, formerly Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, who retains his interest in Indian archaeology. The museums have several very able scholars in the field of art-history, notably Mr. Douglas Barrett (British Museum), Mr. W. G. Archer and Mr. John Irwin (Victoria and Albert Museum, London), and Mr. Philip Rawson (Gulbenkian Museum, Durham). While on the theme of the history of art and architecture it should be mentioned that Mr. J. G. Burton-Page (Lecturer in Hindi at the School of Oriental and African Studies) has reviewed the neglected field of Islamic architecture in India, and has already published some important articles on the subject. The great authority on Indian numismatics, Dr. R. B. Whitehead, is now at a very advanced age, and is living in retirement at Cambridge. An able younger numismatist, Dr. W. Macdowell, although compelled by failing eyesight to relinquish his post in the British Museum's Department of Coins and Medals, still continues to work and publish on the subject of Indian numismatics. Numerous significant works on modern Indian history have been written by men who are not attached to any university, in particular Mr. Philip

Woodruff, Sir Percival Griffiths, Mr. Penderel Moon, and Mr. Michael Edwards.

Indological and Linguistic Studies

The staff of twenty-four teachers in the India Department of the School of Oriental and African Studies under the general guidance of Dr. J. Brough, Professor of Sanskrit, offers a wide range of courses in Indian languages, and in the last few years, for example, has had undergraduate students proceeding to Honours degrees in Bengali, Hindi, Urdu and Sanskrit. The supervision of research students for the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees also forms an important contribution. Teaching materials are steadily being prepared for publication, including at present courses on Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Urdu and Sanskrit. The School's Department of Phonetics and Linguistics provides tuition for undergraduates proceeding to degrees in Indian languages, and supervision for postgraduate students.

Co-operation with North American universities in work on Indian languages is becoming an increasingly important factor. Through the generosity of the Government of India the School has created a Tagore lectureship, the first holder of which was Professor Humayun Kabir. He has been followed by Professor S. B. Das Gupta.

The School's record in research is well known and particular reference may perhaps be made among recent publications to Professor Brough's *The Gandhari Dharmapada,* Mr. J. E. B. Gray's *Indian Tales and Legends,* and Mr. T. W. Clark's *Introduction to Nepali.* Since his retirement from the Directorship of the School, Sir Ralph Turner has been hard at work on his Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages. So far three fascicles have been published. Oxford University continues to maintain its interest in Indian studies through the well-known work of Professor T. Burrow who holds the Boden Professorship of Sanskrit and has a special interest in Dravidian languages; and at Cambridge the comparative work of Professor Sir Harold Bailey relates to Indian studies.

With the active encouragement of the Spalding Trust, the study of Indian religions has been maintained. Of unique value, too, has been the contribution to musicological studies of Dr. Bake of S.O.A.S. His recent death leaves a gap which cannot be filled. Worthy of note also is the centre of Tibetan studies which has been created in London under Dr. Snellgrove, also of S.O.A.S.

INDIAN STUDIES IN FRANCE

JEAN FILLIOZAT

IT is for me a great honour and pleasure to present to our friends some of the aspects of the work done by Frenchmen on India, from the beginning of that scientific interest created by French scholars for Indian literatures for over two centuries.

The French were not among the first Europeans to come into contact with India. But, as soon as it was discovered by some travellers, India awakened a keen interest in French literary circles. La Fontaine, our chief fabulist, was acquainted with Indian fables; as he himself said, he borrowed some of his fables from Pilpay whose name he knew from books. But he also heard about India from Francois Bernier who had been the physician at the Court of the Great Mogul. Nevertheless, in his time, that is, the seventeenth century, Indology did not yet exist. Its birth took place in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

For many decades attention, in France, had been centred on China, about which much was heard from the reports and enthusiastic appreciation of Jesuit missionaries, and on Siam from the diplomatic mission which Louis XIV exchanged with the Siamese monarch. Besides this, studies concerning Western and Middle Asia had been, for a long time, in great honour in France. Hebrew had been regularly taught at the College Royal, now called College de France, ever since its inception in the sixteenth century. The Syrian, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages were also actively cultivated. In 1718, Bignon, the king's librarian, had the idea of purchas-

ing from India and Indo-China all their chief works of literature. He asked Etienne Fourmont, Professor at the College Royal, to draw up a list of such works. A few names of books were already known, and Bignon asked travellers to purchase or copy out every book of note available in India or in regions where Indian culture prevailed. He also asked for grammars and dictionaries.

In India, his wishes were soon fulfilled. Calmette obtained copies of three of the Vedas, *Rg-Veda*, *Yajur-Veda*, and *Sama-Veda*, in South India. As regards the *Atharva-Veda* he was unsuccessful. In place of the original text, he was given an *Atharvanasastra*. That book was a compilation of such late texts as the *Devimahatmya*. The *Rg-Veda* was first sent to Paris in 1731, together with its *Aitareya Brahmana*. Other Sanskrit books, like the *Tattvacintamani* by Gangesa, then in great esteem, in South India as well as in Bengal, were also sent to France from the same part of India, and about the same time, by the Italian Jesuit Beschi, along with some Tamil books, a Tamil grammar, and a Tamil dictionary.

Many books were obtained from Bengal. Pons, who was stationed in Chandernagore, was able to collect the main works of the different branches of classical Sanskrit literature, epics, Puranas, Vyakarana, Nataka, Alankara, Vedanta, and chiefly Nyaya which comprised some important works of the Navya-nyaya. His catalogue was astonishingly accurate for its time, and contained one hundred and sixty-eight entries. The collection was not made haphazardly. Competent pundits were consulted, and Pons himself knew the Sanskrit language. He had added to the collection a Sanskrit grammar which he had written in Latin, following the *Samksiptasara*, and a Latin translation of the *Amarakosa*. Thanks to these men, Calmette, Pons, and others, it was possible to publish the first printed catalogue of Sanskrit literature in Paris in 1739. The following year, Pons gave, in a letter subsequently published several times, the first sound report on all aspects of Sanskrit literature.

Some Parisian scholars tried to utilize the abundant material thus collected. But the difficulties encountered in reading in Europe Indian manuscripts without the assistance of pundits were discouraging for men who knew how much help they could get from these pundits in India itself. They were obliged to wait, but were not inactive. Other ways were fortunately open to them for learning something about India. Arabic, Persian and Chinese books more than the Greek and Latin works, gave much information about that country, its history, its thought, and its customs. The collection of as much material on India as was then possible from Western

classical authors and from Arabic, Persian, and Chinese works, was Joseph Deguignes' main task, a task which remains to his honour.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Deguignes published a vast history of the Huns (*Histoire des Huns*). He wanted to enlarge the traditional scope of history by bringing within its limits the remotest parts of Asia. He knew many oriental languages and, though he was blinded in what concerns Chinese history by an impossible hypothesis of an Egyptian origin of the Chinese people, he was, on the contrary, remarkably accurate concerning the history of India.

Through Islamic sources, he was able to give a very fragmentary but valuable account of some yogic practices in Kashmir. Through Chinese sources, he proved the wide influence of Buddhism on Central Asian and Chinese peoples, and was able to give a tentative translation of a part of an ancient Chinese Buddhistic collection of sentences, the so-called 'Sutra in Forty-two Articles.'

But his chief achievement was the fixing of the basis of Indian chronology. On this point he was lucky enough to have invaluable help from an Indian scholar, Maridas Pillai, of Pondicherry. He was a Tamil scholar, and he also knew Latin and French very well. He eagerly desired to promote the knowledge of his country amongst European literary men. All French scholars who visited Pondicherry during that period were indebted to him for most of the valuable information. He apparently played a part in the discovery of original links between Sanskrit on the one hand and Latin and Greek on the other. The astronomer Le Gentil, one of the first who gave a substantial account of Indian astronomy, wrote that he himself had been a grateful pupil of Maridas Pillai and of another Tamil scholar of Pondicherry in that matter. Maridas Pillai was also responsible for some translations and analyses of Indian books. His translation of the *Bagavadam*, a Tamil version of the *Bhagavata*, was published twice. Before its publication, this translation of all its twelve *skandhas* (books) was sent to Deguignes, and in it he found the dynastic lists of kings who had reigned since Pariksit, including the name of Sandragoutten, i.e. Chandragupta. In this name, Deguignes immediately recognized the Sandrakottos of the Greeks, who was contemporaneous with Seleucus Nicator. The synchronism illustrating the chronology of India thus discovered was soon published in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*. This same synchronism was rediscovered or popularized subsequently by the illustrious founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Sir William Jones.

Thus, even before 1780, French Indologists had collected primar

materials of Indian philology, established the fact of the great value of Indian culture, and set the basis of Indian historical chronology.

At the same time, a new vista in the knowledge of India was opened by another French scholar, Anquetil-Duperron. His travel in India is famous, as is his translation of the *Avesta* studied in Surat. But Anquetil did not get an opportunity to learn Sanskrit in India. Nevertheless, after his return to France, he was able to prepare, from the Persian version, the first European translation of fifty Upanisads which was published at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which, after Wilkins' *Bhagavad-Gita,* first put the fundamental texts of Indian philosophy at the disposal of Western thinkers.

About the same time, following the great success of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, courses of Indian languages, and especially of Sanskrit, were opened at Hertford College in England for men of the East India Company. One of the professors, Hamilton, came to Paris in order to study the Sanskrit manuscripts which were preserved there. The war between Napoleon and England detained him in the French capital, and he thus had the opportunity of preparing a new catalogue of those manuscripts which were in Nagari or Bengali script. He also had the opportunity of teaching Sanskrit to a few students. One of these, a German, Frederic Schlegel, was soon afterwards to become one of the founders of Indology in Germany.

Another person, without the help of anybody, determined to master Sanskrit by himself. He was a young French Iranist, A. L. de Chezy. His heart was given to poetry; his soul was romantic. He had read William Jones's translation of *Sakuntala* and had been seized by the desire to read the masterpiece in its original. By persevering efforts and with the help of Pons's grammar and *Amarakosa* and later on Wilkins' translation of the *Hitopadesa,* he was able to read more and more difficult texts, and finally to realize his dream, to read and even publish Sanskrit and Prakrit texts of *Sakuntala.* That lover of poetry was also a grammarian.

In due course, he came to realize the necessity for Europe of becoming acquainted with the achievements of entire mankind. Many thinkers in France were of the same opinion and became more and more eager to study India as well as China. That is why, in 1814, a chair of Sanskrit and one of Chinese were created for Chezy and Abel-Remusat respectively. Although he was a Sinologist, or rather because he was a Sinologist in the same sense as Deguignes, Abel-Remusat was of much help to Indology by collecting Chinese data on India and translating the account of the Chinese

Buddhist pilgrim Fa-Hien's travels.

Both Chezy and Abel-Remusat were carried off by cholera in 1832, but their traditions did not die with them. Abel-Remusat's successor was Stanislas Julien who carried further researches on Indian antiquity through Chinese documents. Chezy was followed by several great pupils. Bopp, the German who was the founder of comparative philology of Indo-European languages, was one of them. Among his notable French pupils were Loiseleur Deslongchamps who published the *Manu Smrti* and the *Amarakosa*, and Langlois who was responsible for the first complete translation of the *Rg-Veda* and *Harivamsa* directly from the manuscripts. But the greatest of all was Eugene Burnouf.

Eugene Burnouf owed his knowledge of philology to his father, Jean-Louis. A Hellenist and a Latinist, Jean-Louis Burnouf also had been one of Chezy's first pupils. He was among the first to realize that great progress could be made in the morphology of European classical languages by a comparison with Sanskrit, a cognate language in which the analysis of the forms was clearer and had even been carried to a degree unknown elsewhere by grammarians of ancient India. He decided to launch his brilliant son on this career.

Eugene Burnouf started his study of Sanskrit with Chezy, but Sanskrit was not his sole aim; rather it was to him an instrument of scientific conquest. He felt no compulsion, like some others, to master it for the glory of possessing a language which was then commonly considered primitive and the mother of every language in the so-called Aryan world. He wished to make use of Sanskrit to penetrate deeply into Indian culture and to decipher other still unknown languages, so as to be able to peep thereby into the civilizations which had made use of them. It was not that he minimized in any way the study of languages for themselves, but he saw in the analysis of languages a means of knowing the human soul, always an essential means, never an end. He clearly defined his method in his inaugural lecture at the College de France: "Instead of making ambitious sketches, destined to remain incomplete for a long time, of the literary history of India, we shall analyse the scholarly language in which the people originally expressed themselves, we shall read the immortal works which are monuments of their genius. . . . Let us venture to add, however, if this course is to be devoted to philology, we shall not for that exclude the study of events and ideas. Our eyes shall not be shut against the most dazzling light ever to shine from the Orient, and we shall seek to understand the spectacle before us. This is India, with its philosophy and its myths, its

literature and its laws, which we shall study through its language.... It is our profound conviction that just as the study of words, in so far as it can possibly be conducted to the exclusion of ideas, is useless and frivolous, so words, as visible signs of thought, are a solid and productive branch of learning. There is no true philology without philosophy and history. The analysis of language processes is also an inductive science and, if not the science of the human soul, it is at least that of the most extraordinary faculty which it has been given to express itself." At the time he delivered this lecture, Eugene Burnouf had already prepared a course of general and comparative grammar; but, before all, he had, on two occasions, deciphered new languages, thanks to his knowledge of Sanskrit.

In 1826 was published *An Essay on Pali*, a joint work by Burnouf and his friend Christian Lassen, a young scholar from Norway, who was to become one of the foremost Indologists of Germany. Pali, then entirely unknown in Europe, was well known in Ceylon and in Indo-China, then called the 'Peninsula beyond the Ganges.' It was thus necessary to decipher it through the medium of Sanskrit, which led to the discovery of the rules of correspondence between ancient Indian and middle Indian stages of the language.

In addition to this, Burnouf had just finished one of his chief works, *Commentary on Yasna*. And thanks to his knowledge of Sanskrit, he found the key, then lost, to the language of the *Avesta*, the sacred book of the Parsis. This book had already been translated by Anquetil-Duperron. Unfortunately, the precise meaning of the language had been lost among Parsis for some time, and they had given approximate interpretations, according to a translation in Pahlavi or middle Iranian, which was itself only half understood. Compared with the original text, the French version arrived at in this way appeared to be of little help in studying the language. But, by rare good luck, Anquetil had also brought back a partial Sanskrit translation by Neriosengh of the Pahlavi version of the *Avesta*. By careful comparison between the original Avestic text and its Sanskrit translation, Burnouf obtained two results: the restitution of the rules of the Avestic language and its laws of relationship to Sanskrit. Thus, the real meaning of the chief Iranian religious writings was made available, and Indo-Iranian philology and linguistics were established.

Such a success was not due to an understanding of classical Sanskrit alone; what were at the time the latest findings in Indian philology had been involved and Burnouf had developed them thoroughly. The archaic and fundamental Vedic literature, gathered and catalogued a century before in

the Royal Library, had remained almost a dead letter till Burnouf's time. He was successful enough to be able to utilize it for comparison with Avestic. He also made very wide use of Panini's grammar, in order to trace points of similarity between Sanskrit and Avestic. Thus did Indological studies expand widely, giving rise to the study of Iranian philology as well. Far from losing in depth they gained in breadth and themselves became more profound. Above all, their real importance in the knowledge of the Orient was realized.

This is significant not only for Burnouf's glory, but also as an illustration of the value of a method in which specialization consists only in a precise identification of the problem under consideration, rather than in a limited examination of primary sources. Specialization, of course, if improperly understood, as limiting the fields of research, is sure to leave out much that is placed before us by the limitless reality.

The knowledge of India remained Burnouf's chief purpose. On the one hand, he undertook the translation into French of the *Bhagavata Purana* and, before his untimely death in 1853, he was able to publish the first nine *skandhas* of the work. On the other hand, he devoted himself to the study of Indian Buddhism.

The Societe Asiatique, the first among all oriental societies in Europe, was founded in Paris in 1822 along the lines of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. Brian Houghton Hodgson, British Resident in Nepal, sent to both societies, as also to London, a vast collection of Sanskrit Buddhist works from Nepal. Burnouf knew the interest which Chinese sources, discovered previously by Deguignes and elaborately studied by Abel-Remusat, created for the study of Indian Buddhism. He clearly understood the importance of the role played by Buddhism in the expansion of Indian culture abroad. He could not let go this opportunity of knowing what books and thought India had given to a great part of Asia. Following his usual method, he made a comparative study of Buddhist Pali and Sanskrit texts and wrote his famous *Introduction to Indian Buddhism* and published a translation of, and a commentary on, the *Saddharmapundarika* (*The Lotus of the Good Law*).

After his death, no one was able to take up his entire task, but many French and foreigners were ready to continue parts of it. Already one of his colleagues, the philosopher Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire, translator of Aristotle, with his help, published, or was about to publish, valuable studies on Nyaya and Samkhya. He directed his pupil Ariel towards Tamil studies, and the latter collected many Tamil manuscripts and translated a part of *Tirukkural* and documents on Auvaiyar. He helped Max Muller to publish the *Rg-*

Veda, and prepared Roth and Adolph Regnier to interpret it. Gorresio, an Italian disciple of Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire, was publishing from Paris a monumental edition of the *Ramayana* according to the Bengali manuscript of the poem. Foucaux undertook to utilize Tibetan studies for Indological purposes. Some others were ready to translate into French the well-known works of Sanskrit literature. Pavie translated the *Bhoja-prabandha* and fragments of the *Mahabharata;* Lancereau, the *Srutabodha,* the *Pancatantra,* and the *Hitopadesa.* But above all, Fauche, if not with sufficient care but in great abundance, rendered into French the *Satakatraya* of Bhartrhari, the *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva, all the works of Kalidasa, and *Dasakumaracarita* of Dandin, the *Sisupalavadha* of Magha, the *Mrcchakatika* of Sudraka, the entire *Ramayana,* and the first nine *parvans* of the *Mahabharata.*

Modern India was not neglected. Along with the teaching of ancient Indian philology by Burnouf, the teaching of Hindi and Urdu philology was actively carried on at the School of Oriental Studies, and was for a long time continued by Garcin de Tassy whose *History of Hindoui and Hindustani Literature* was translated into Urdu. He compiled each year a review of all publications in Urdu literature. Garcin de Tassy published many translations from Hindi and Urdu into French: the *Sundarakanda* of the *Ramacaritamanasa* by Tulsi Das, extracts from the *Bhaktamala, Gul o Sanaubar, Bag o Bahar,* the complete works of Wali, and the stories of Kamarupa of Bakawali. He also translated other pieces of literature from Persian. He wrote notes on Muslim religion as practised in India, a study of which was thus introduced with the scope of both French Indology and French Islamology.

Thanks to the works of these orientalists, literary men in France were frequently attracted to India. A kind of 'Oriental Revival' took place, chiefly in romantic circles. Chateaubriand had already paid just tribute to *Sakuntala.* Victor Hugo had imitated an Upanisad in his poem *Suprematie,* and Lamartine had devoted a choice place to Sanskrit epics, drama, and poetry in his *Familiar Lessons of Literature.*

Indian art became known much later. It is true that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Langles had grouped all available materials in his large work *The Monuments of Hindustan,* but the study of Oriental art, archaeology, and architecture was to develop to a great extent only when travel facilities increased and with the appearance of photography. It was after the year 1880 that Emile Guimet founded, first in Lyon and later in Paris, a special museum of history of religions, which became a museum of Indian and Far Eastern art and archaeology.

About the same time, there flourished in France Sanskrit scholars such as Regnaud whose chief work was on Sanskrit rhetoric and on *Bharatiya Natyasastra,* Hauvette-Besnault, and principally Barth, Bergaigne, and Senart. Barth, for more than forty years, devoted himself to the history of Indian religions and to the criticism of works published in every field of Indology. Bergaigne, on his side, completed an epoch-making work, the careful analysis of the *Rg-Veda.* His intention was to free Indian philology from hypothetic mythological interpretations and excessive laxity in comparisons. In his opinion it was safer to explain the Veda by itself rather than by reference to unconnected matter. His chief work *The Vedic Religion according to the Hymns of the Rg-Veda* was followed by other memoirs, among which *Researches on the Samhita of the Rg-Veda* is particularly worthy of note. This gave some idea of the process employed in fixing the canon of the collection. But Bergaigne was also attracted to a general knowledge of Indian civilization. Foucaux and Leon Feer worked on Buddhistic subjects as given in Sanskrit and Tibetan works. Foucaux published the *Lalitavistara* in Tibetan and French. Feer translated many texts from Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, Mongol, and Chinese. Both thus followed the French tradition of the complementary study of India in its foreign expansion and through foreign testimonies. Although at first purely a Vedic and Sanskrit scholar, Bergaigne, too, turned to Greater India and to the history of Indo-China. Sanskritic studies themselves were responsible for his turning to this field. Many inscriptions in very correct Sanskrit and frequently elaborated in *kavya* style were found in Cambodia and on the eastern coast of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, the ancient territories of the former kingdom of Campa. Bergaigne, along with Barth, did the important work of deciphering, translating, and publishing many of the epigraphs. He was soon able to restore, according to the data thus gathered, a part of the history of Campa. But Cham inscriptions were not all in Sanskrit, and Aymonier studied those in Khmer.

French Indology was thus expanding towards the East. At the same time, that is, towards the end of the nineteenth century, it looked also in the direction of Central Asia. Travels and scientific missions were increasing. In Khotan, in Central Asia, Dutreuil de Rhins had the opportunity of purchasing a birch-bark manuscript in Kharosthi script, the writing adapted to Indian languages from Aramaic characters introduced into India during the Achaemenid period, before Alexander's invasion. That was a Buddhistic manuscript, and it contained a middle Indian version of the *Dharmapada.* It was studied and published by Emile Senart who, for a long time,

was acquainted with epigraphy. He published a new edition of Asoka's inscriptions and also of those found at Nasik and Karle. As to his Buddhistic studies, he edited the Pali grammar of Kaccayana and the *Mahavastu,* and wrote the *Essay on the Legend of Buddha,* in which he tried to show how the Buddhists introduced into the biography of their lord many elements borrowed from the saga of Visnu-Mahapurusa.

The discovery of Dutreuil de Rhin's manuscript was the first of a series of findings which came to light more and more with the increase of scientific missions. Since the end of the nineteenth century, such missions had been entrusted in France to the newer generation of scholars whose direct contact with India, Central Asia, Indo-China, Indonesia, China, and Japan were well suited for a widening of investigations.

In the first generation, there were four friends of slightly different ages, Sylvain Levi, Alfred Foucher, Edouard Chavannes, and Louis Finot.

Edouard Chavannes was really a Sinologist, but he gave so much help to Indology by his studies on Chinese pilgrims, Chinese inscriptions of Bodh Gaya, and Buddhist tales translated into Chinese, that he must also be counted amongst the Indologists; and his work cannot be separated from that of Sylvain Levi.

In 1894, Sylvain Levi succeeded Foucaux who had been before him the titular professor of Sanskrit at the College de France. He had been a pupil of Bergaigne who had founded the teaching of Sanskrit at the Sorbonne. Levi was himself followed by Victor Henry, an excellent teacher of Sanskrit and comparative grammar.

At the time of his appointment to the chair at the College de France, Sylvain Levi was very young, only 31, just like Burnouf when he had succeeded Chezy. And, indeed, he was, because of the versatility of his mind, another Burnouf. More fortunate than Burnouf, he was able to travel in India early in life. He stayed mainly in Nepal in search of inscriptions, manuscripts, and direct information, in order to add to the store of our knowledge, covering all the aspects of life and history of the kingdom. Previously, he had been devoted to the study of literature and Brahmanical texts. His first work was *The Indian Theatre.* The second was the *Doctrine of the Sacrifice in the Brahmanas.* The latter he wrote to help the work of a sociologist and ethnologist, Marcel Mauss, who could also be counted as an Indologist. Levi's findings in Nepal and his collaboration with Chavannes finally led him to Buddhistic studies. He soon mastered both Tibetan and Chinese. He was thus able to correct Sanskrit texts rediscovered by him, such as *Mahayanasutralankara* by Asanga, *Trimsika* and *Vimsatika* by

Vasubandhu, and *Mahakarmavibhanga* by comparison with their Tibetan and Chinese versions. Regarding the text last mentioned, he was luckier than others in that he was better equipped than anybody else to obtain fruitful results. The younger Sinologist, Paul Pelliot, in a scientific mission in Upper Asia, had discovered in 1908 many fragmentary texts from the kingdom of Kuca, describing a visit in the seventh century by the great Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang. Other texts were discovered by the missions of Sir Aurel Stein, the Germans Von Le Coq and Grundwedel, and the Japanese Tachibana. A fragmentary Sanskrit text was accompanied by its Kuchean version. Sylvain Levi, with the help of the linguist Antoine Meillet, was able to decipher the Kuchean language and thus get the contents of the original. He found among the Kuchean fragments part of a poem very similar to the *Karmavibhanga*. Again, when he visited the famous monument of Barabadur in Java, he recognized among the sculptures illustrations of the *Karmavibhanga*.

But, perhaps, the most striking feature of Sylvain Levi's personality was his universal human kindness and his solicitude for his friends and pupils, whose works he was always ready to help or lead. His memory lives on in the hearts of many.

Alfred Foucher, as also the great Belgian scholar, Louis de La Vallee Poussin, were very near to his activity. Foucher was a perfect humanist. He came to India early, long before he succeeded Victor Henry at the Sorbonne. He was attracted to Sanskrit litarature, Vyakarana, Nyaya, and archaeology. His chief work was to connect the art of India with that of Greece, showing the synthesis in the Greco-Buddhist art of the Gandhara school. Foucher repeatedly paid visits to all parts of India and Afghanistan. For a time he studied Indian art at the renowned museum at Calcutta. Like Levi, during a longer life, he won the sympathy of all who knew him and the gratitude of his pupils.

But Foucher was not content merely with research and the guidance of students. With Finot he undertook the foundation of permanent centres of research in Asia. Already at the end of the nineteenth century, French Indologists and Sinologists became conscious of the necessity of having on the very site of their studies an institution which would provide them with all that was indispensable for their work. They founded in Indo-China the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, and it is still in existence, constantly expanding its field of research.

Finot was the first director of the research institute, controlled by the French Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres for all countries under

the cultural influences of India and China. The first Indological task of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient was to preserve and study the monuments of Cambodia and Campa, without forgetting, of course, the very characters of Indo-Chinese achievements.

Foucher, on his side, founded the French Archaeological Institute at Kabul, in Afghanistan, and the Franco-Japanese Mansion at Tokyo. Many French Indologists have worked in these institutions as well as in the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient. To mention only those who are no longer with us, we have to recall the memory of Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch. Przyluski was first trained in Indo-China. He was attracted to Buddhistic studies and also to linguistics and ethnology, and wrote many books with the intention of tracing the remains of Munda or popular elements of non-Aryan origin in Indian documents.

Jules Bloch, on the other hand, was first trained in Paris, under Sylvain Levi, Meillet, the linguist, and Vinson, the specialist in Tamil studies. He came to India as a member of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient to learn on its very ground modern Indian linguistics. He had the good luck to work with Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, and the fruit of his mission was his *Formation of the Marathi Language*, in which he was able to apply to a modern tongue the method of comparative grammar.

We retain the memory of Jules Bloch who left us three years ago, shortly after Foucher and Rene Grousset, the loving historian of Asia and Indian civilization, thought, and art. We remember more than just the works of Jules Bloch, the *Description of the Indo-Aryan from the Time of the Veda to Modern Times, Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages*, recently translated into English at Poona, his new version of Asoka's edicts, and lastly *Les Tsiganes* (*The Gypsies*). Jules Bloch, too, was a friend of India and of entire mankind, and we, French Indologists, who now have the difficult task of succeeding such *gurus* have dear and clear examples to follow.

An agreement between the Indian and French Governments has enabled us to establish in Pondicherry an institute where work can go on, thus permitting us to keep in permanent touch with all aspects of Indian life and culture. The French Institute of Pondicherry will surely help India to know French Scientific researches better, but if, in India, French people have to present their culture, we French Indologists have to study India more deeply and enthusiastically.*

* From a lecture delivered at the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta.

INDIAN STUDIES IN GERMANY

LUDWIG ALSDORF

GERMAN Indology has played an important role in the history of Indo-German relations. They were fortunately never overshadowed by political clouds. Not infrequent experiences lead me to believe that even today some of the leading German Indologists are at least as popular in India as our greatest statesmen, poets or philosophers, and that in particular Max Muller, whose name is flatteringly Sanskritized as—moksa-mula, the root of salvation, is still perhaps the best known German in India. As a matter of fact, the German Indologist of today, when touring India, is occasionally embarrassed by somewhat exaggerated notions about the achievements of German Indology and the diffusion of Sanskrit knowledge in Germany; he feels diffident of his ability to live up to his reputation. Under such circumstances, I hope to be justified in the belief that a brief account of the past work of German Indology and of its present condition and prospects for the future will, so to say, meet a demand that it will show things in their true perspective and help to further the cause of Indo-German understanding and friendship.

It is difficult for us moderns to realize how great a sensation was the spiritual discovery of India by the West towards the end of the 18th century. Until then, the historical and cultural horizon of Europe had been practically entirely bounded by the Ancient East of the Bible, by Greece and Rome. Now it was suddenly widened by the first glimpses of the ancient civilizations of India and China. India had, on the strength of travellers' tales and missionaries' reports, even before been reputed as a

mysterious wonderland from where anything might be expected. And when now, thanks to the pioneer efforts of some interested British officials such as Sir William Jones, Wilson, Wilkins, Colebroke and others, the first original Sanskrit works were made accessible, the deep impression made by their contents was doubled by the sensational fact, leading at once to far-reaching speculations, that their language proved akin to Latin and Greek and the other languages of Europe while at the same time it was older and more refined than any of them. It was the discovery of Sanskrit alone that gave rise to a new branch of research viz. comparative philology and modern linguistics in general. The founder of this new science was a German, Franz Bopp; and it has remained a favourite domain of German scholars ever since. Sanskrit not only furnished to it important and even indispensable raw material; the masterly analysis of their sacred language by the ancient Indian grammarians opened up entirely new vistas and gave some decisive inspirations to modern Western scholars. The knowledge of Sanskrit has ever since been considered indispensable for every worker in the field of linguistics.

Of the first works of Sanskrit literature to become known in Europe, none perhaps caused a greater sensation in Germany than Kalidasa's master play, the Sakuntala. It was re-translated into German in 1791 from the English translation of Sir William Jones, and it is hardly possible to exaggerate the enthusiasm with which this German Sakuntala was hailed by the most celebrated poets of the time. It came at the very moment when the conception of a universal world literature was first developed, when enthusiastic literary explorers set out on voyages of discovery in the uncharted seas of hitherto unknown literatures and folk poetry. Johann Gottfried Herder, a great poet and eminent literary critic, was the author of a book entitled *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, in which he had drawn a highly idealized picture of India and the Indian character. He had also published a collection of folk poetry which he called *The Voices of the Nations in Songs*. To this man, the Sakuntala was a revelation. He published a detailed study and analysis of it, praising it in glowing terms and laying particular stress on the fact that this Indian play shattered the universal belief that the drama was the exclusive invention of ancient Greece. He passed the Sakuntala on to Goethe, and he, the greatest genius of Germany, gave vent to his unbounded admiration in two famous and off-quoted distichs:

"If the business of the early and the fruits of the later year, if what charms and delights, if what satiates and nourishes, if Earth and Heaven

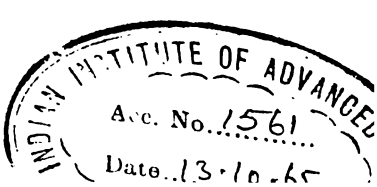
are to be comprised in *one* word—I name, Sakuntala, thee, and so all is said." Forty years later, the French Indologist de Chezy presented him with an edition and French translation of the Sakuntala, and his letter of thanks shows that his admiration for what he calls "that unfathomable work" continued unabated. In the meantime, when he composed the most famous of all his plays, the "Faust", he had opened it with an introduction entitled "Prelude on the Stage" in direct imitation of the customary opening of the Sanskrit plays by the *sutradhara* and his wife. In later years, he came to know another masterpiece of Kalidasa, viz. the Meghaduta; and he remarked: "The first acquaintance with such a work always marks an epoch in our life." Goethe's friend, the great Schiller, was also moved to enthusiastic praise of the Sakuntala, and he remarked that nowhere in the classical literature of Greece and Rome was there anything to be found that could be compared with this Indian picture of noble womanhood.

Neither Goethe nor Schiller knew Sanskrit. But two other distinguished German poets, renowned heads of the Romantic School, became the actual founders of German Indology. Friedrich von Schlegel learnt Sanskrit in 1802 in Paris from an English naval officer, Alexander Hamilton, who was living there as a prisoner of war and was then the only man on the European continent who knew Sanskrit. As the fruit of his studies, Schlegel published, in 1808, a book entitled *On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians*, and this event is justly considered as the birth of German Indology. Besides a good deal of comparative philology, the book gave the first description of Indian religion and philosophy based on original sources, and an appendix contained the first German translations made directly from Sanskrit originals: passages from the Mahabharata, particularly the Bhagavadgita, from the Ramayana, and the Manusmrti. Friedrich Schlegel did not further pursue his Indian studies; but his elder brother, August Wilhelm von Schlegel, whose translation of Shakespeare's plays is a German classic, became during the latter half of his life a full-fledged Sanskritist and was appointed in 1818 as the first professor of Indology in a German university, the newly founded university of Bonn. In the very next year he published a treatise *On the Present Condition of Indian Philology*, in which he describes the rich gains to be derived from a study of Sanskrit literature; he praises the creative abundance of imagination revealed in the mythology of the Indians, the delicacy of feeling in their poetry, the depth and clearness of spiritual conception of their philosophy. He stresses the fact that considerations of political utility, important for the English, are entirely outside the scope of the German; and claiming independence for a Ger-

man Indology and predicting its future greatness and superiority, he proudly exclaims: "Should the English claim a monopoly of Indian literature? That would be too late! Let them keep their cinnamon and cloves; these spiritual treasures are common property of the educated world." It was Schlegel who first insisted that the critical methods evolved in classical philology—of which he himself was a master—must be applied to Sanskrit texts with the fullest rigour. At a time when the printing of Sanskrit was in its infancy even in India, he established a Sanskrit press at Bonn. He himself, after a careful study of Sanskrit mss. in Paris, drew the Devanagari types and supervised their casting. The German professor invented important technical improvements for the printing of Devanagari and composed his first text, a critical edition of the Bhagavadgita with a Latin translation, with his own hands. He then started a critical edition of the Ramayana to which Goethe subscribed, but of which only the first volume came out.

Yet another German poet, famous and popular as such to this day, became an accomplished Sanskrit scholar. Frederich Ruckert's phenomenal gift for languages enabled him to master almost every Oriental language, including even Tamil which he learnt without a teacher in four months. But it is probably in the domain of Sanskrit that he produced the greatest number of works, and his unparalleled mastery as a translator has won for German literature a number of the masterpieces of Sanskrit poetry such as the Nalopakhyana, first discovered and edited by Franz Bopp, the comparative linguist, the Savitri legend, the Gitagovinda and the Amarusataka. The difficulties which beset the study of Sanskrit in Europe at that time, in the first half of the century, were there, but at the same time Ruckert's incredible energy and diligence may be illustrated by one instance. There existed then only one Sanskrit-English Dictionary, that of Wilson, a volume of 1100 quarto pages. Ruckert had, as a true poet and scholar, no money to buy it; so he simply copied it with his own hand, making, as his ms. shows, innumerable additions and corrections.

If great German poets delighted in Indian poetry, there were other distinguished geniuses to whom the discovery of Indian religion and philosophy was no less a revelation. Two names stand out prominently here: Humboldt and Schopenhauer. Wilhelm von Humboldt, celebrated philosopher and statesman, Prussian minister of education and founder of the university of Berlin, was perhaps most brilliant as a linguist interested in the phenomenon of human speech: he is the founder of the science of general linguistics. It was almost inevitable that he should be attracted by



Sanskrit, and he learnt it, essentially without a teacher, so thoroughly that he was in a position to publish, in the Indological journal founded by his friend Schlegel, contributions to Sanskrit grammar. What, however, will be for ever memorable is his study of the Bhagavadgita, which he read in Schlegel's critical edition. He published an extensive treatise on it in the publications of the Berlin Academy. In letters to his friends, he repeatedly expresses his thankfulness that destiny had permitted him to live to know this work, and in two more learned articles dealing with the text and its interpretation he states his conviction that—to quote him verbatim—"this episode of the Mahabharata is the most beautiful, nay perhaps the only truly philosophical poem to be found in all literatures known to us." And elsewhere he speaks of the Gita as one of the profoundest and sublimest works the world can boast of. It need hardly be pointed out how invaluable it was for the new science of Indology to have a friend and patron of Humboldt's standing. As Prussian minister of education, he opened the doors of the universities for it; but it is remarkable how soon in non-Prussian Germany as well almost every university established an indological chair.

Arthur Schopenhauer, one of the most popular and widely read of German philosophers, never learnt Sanskrit and so does not properly come under the heading of Sanskrit studies in Germany. But his intimate relation to Indian religion and philosophy is so unique, and his importance as an interpreter of Indian ideas to the widest German public is so great that it seems wrong to me to pass him over in the present context. What the Bhagavadgita was to Humboldt, the Upanishads were to him. He could only read them in a clumsy Latin re-translation of the old Persian translation made by order of the Moghul prince Dara Shikoh. This work became his Bible, and we have it from a friend of his that he actually used it as such before going to sleep. His words of praise are famous and oft-quoted: "On every page we meet profound, original, sublime thoughts, while a high and holy earnest pervades the whole of it. Everything here breathes Indian air and original existence akin to nature. It is the most recompensing and most elevating reading that (except the original) is possible in this world. It has been the comfort of my life and will be the comfort of my death." Elsewhere he praises "the almost superhuman conceptions laid down in the Upanishads." Schopenhauer published the most important of his works entitled *The World as Will and Conception in* 1818. At that time Buddhism was still practically unknown in Europe. When subsequently it did gradually become known, Schopenhauer claimed for his philosophy fundamental identity with the teachings of Buddhism, so much so that he occa-

sionally referred to himself and his followers as "we Buddhists." He bought an old Tibetan Buddha statue and had it specially gilded with a thick coat of the purest gold, and this statue he placed in his study. In the light of our present knowledge of Buddhism as well as of the Upanishads, we are constrained to state that Schopenhauer's philosophy cannot be regarded as identical with either the Vedantic teachings of the Upanishads or the philosophy of Buddhism. There are important differences, and there is, I dare say, fortunately, a good deal of originality and individuality on Schopenhauer's part. But yet he is and remains one of the most striking examples of that unexplainable but undeniable spiritual kinship between India and Germany that is felt to exist by Indians and Germans alike.

It would be easy to add a long and impressive list of other German poets, artists and philosophers who have acknowledged a spiritual debt of gratitude to India. I might speak of Nietzsche, the famous philosopher who became acquainted with Indian ideas through Schopenhauer and was particularly attracted by the Manusmrti but also studied the Vedanta system; or of Richard Wagner, the great poet-composer who was deeply interested in Buddhism and for a long time planned an opera with a Buddhist legend as its subject. But men like these two did not themselves take part in and further Sanskrit studies; they merely reflect the influence and success of the work done by the Indologists proper, and to these we shall now turn again.

I cannot, of course, give in short compass a complete history of more than a century of German Indology. But I shall try to point out some of its more outstanding achievements and to follow the most important lines of research.

Perhaps the most outstanding of all its achievements was the great St. Petersburg Dictionary by Bohtlingk and Roth. It takes its name from the fact that the cost of its printing was defrayed by the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences of which Otto Bohtlingk was a member. In our days of team work it sounds almost incredible that only two men between them should have compiled and written these seven huge folio volumes of nine and a half thousand pages and published them in the short space of 23 years between 1852 and 1875. And hardly had the last volume come out when the indefatigable Bohtlingk started composing a second shorter dictionary in two volumes, which, though assisted by contributions of colleagues and friends, he finished practically single-handed after fourteen more years of devoted work. These two dictionaries, the older one invaluable on account of its wealth of exact references to the texts, the younger and smaller indis-

pensable because it was enriched by countless new vocables from new texts, mark an epoch in the history of Indology. They put it on entirely new and truly solid foundations; they provided it with a tool of surprising perfection which might well be envied even by older and more developed sister sciences. In the seventy years elapsed since the completion of the younger dictionary, vast masses of new texts and whole layers and classes of literature unknown to Bohtlingk and Roth have become accessible; but though naturally the need of a new bigger thesaurus became increasingly urgent, only some unsatisfactory supplements were published here and there, and the Petersburg dictionaries are even now not superseded. And when recently the tremendous and difficult task of compiling a modern scientific Sanskrit thesaurus was taken in hand in Poona by Dr. Katre at the Deccan College Research Institute, it was a matter of course that the Petersburg Dictionaries of Bohtlingk and Roth served as a starting point and base on which to build up the new gigantic card index.

The Greater Petersburg Dictionary has a special significance which is not immediately obvious. Roth's share in the work had consisted in the lexicographical treatment of the Veda; and his contribution to the Dictionary is at the same time a contribution to Vedic research second in importance to none, not even to that first edition of the Rgveda that was to immortalize more than anything else the name of the great Max Muller.

The Veda, and more particularly the oldest and from many points of view the most important of vedic texts, the Rgveda, had remained outside the sphere of the pioneer generation of Western Indologists. Its existence was dimly known, but it was yet unaccessible. In India, on the other hand, the Veda has of course always been recognized as the infallible source, as the foundation and backbone of Hindu religion. But in actual practice, what was understood by Veda or *Sruti,* were almost exclusively the Upanishads, and apart from some *mantras* indispensable in ritual, actual knowledge of the Samhitas, particularly of the Rgveda-samhita, had become restricted to a narrow circle of *srotriyas,* and the role of the Veda in the religious and spiritual life of India in no way corresponded to the fundamental importance attached to it in theory.

Toward the middle of the 19th century, mss. of the Rgveda began to find their way to Europe, particularly to London and Paris, in spite of the endeavour of the Brahmins to keep the sacred book hidden from the *mlecchas.* A German, Friedrich Rosen, attempted an edition, but only the first *astaka* was published in 1838. With the help of this edition, which was as yet very imperfect as it had been undertaken with insufficient material,

the great French Indologist Eugene Burnouf of Paris tried to introduce his pupils into the Rgveda. Among them there was the young German, Max Muller, then 23 years old, and he, irresistibly attracted by, as he writes, the new world opened up before him, conceived the bold plan to prepare a complete edition of the text accompanied by the monumental commentary of Sayana. The greatest difficulty of course was to raise the enormous amount of money required for the printing of this voluminous text. How that money was eventually found is not an uninteresting story. The Honourable East India Company was at that time struggling hard against those who wanted that it should be abolished and the Government of India taken over by the Crown, as was actually done a few years later in 1858. The Directors of the Company sanctioned the money for the publication of the Rgveda and the upkeep of the editor because here was an excellent opportunity to show the world that the Company was not exclusively bent on profit-making and the exploitation of India but that it was a generous patron of learning and culture.

The first volume of Max Muller's edition appeared in 1849, the 6th and last in 1874; the row of bulky quarto volumes has been likened to a row of Indian elephants. This printed Rgveda caused a tremendous sensation in India. Some orthodox circles tried to ban it, pretending that it had been written by a *mleccha* with cow's blood. But its undeniable superiority over all mss. won victory for it. The German Indologist Hauf gives an interesting report of a meeting of *Srotriyas* in Poona. They had the printed text read out to them by a non-Brahmin as they could not touch the book with their own hands; but in the end they all corrected their mss. after Max Muller's printed text, and Max Muller himself relates in his autobiography how later on he was sent an *upavita* (sacred thread) and even received an invitation to act from a distance as priest in a sraddha ceremony. Indeed his feat was freely recognized by the leaders of Hindu opinion who assured him of their eternal gratitude for, as Raja Radhakanta Dev put it in 1855, the inestimable service rendered to the Hindus in giving them a correct and magnificent edition of their holy scriptures. What Debendranath Tagore, the poet's father, wrote to Max Muller in 1884 deserves also to be quoted: "By editing the Rgveda and the Upanishads you have made accessible to European scholars the thoughts and aims of our old Rsis hidden hitherto in illegible mss. It is to be hoped that the seed of the knowledge of our old literature may strengthen the bonds between two nations which, grown up under one roof, later separated and are scattered over remote parts of the globe but are once to be reunited by providence."

Max Muller's Rgveda edition was published at a time when in India, under the impact of Western influences, the movement of Hindu revivalism was just beginning, and this made the significance of what he had done immeasurably greater. He, as it were, helped to give that movement a more solid basis and to furnish it with an effective weapon. Perhaps it is not too much to say that without Max Muller's edition of the Rgveda, Dayanand Sarasvati's war cry "Back to the Veda" would not have been raised, or at least not raised in the way it was. Dayanand founded the Arya Samaj in 1876, exactly one year after the completion of Max Muller's Rgveda, and he particularly insisted on going back not to the Upanishads or other late Vedic texts but to the Rgveda as the oldest and most authoritative document of Aryan religion. It may here be added that also apart from Vedic studies the work done by Western—and that is to say primarily by German—scholars was not without significance for religious movements in India and even for the national movement, for, when these Western Indologists unearthed the literary treasures of India, making them accessible to the whole world and bestowing high praise upon them and when they recovered India's forgotten ancient history from newly deciphered inscriptions and coins, they strengthened India's self-respect, made Indians proud of their own culture and their glorious past, and helped them to shake off inferiority complexes, in short they helped the Indian genius to reassert itself against the spiritual onslaught of the West.

During the second half of the 19th century, and even in the beginning of the 20th, Vedic studies played a dominant part in Western Indology, and in those Vedic studies the share of the Germans was probably greater than that of all other westerners taken together. I cannot give here more than a brief and very incomplete enumeration of some of the more important names and works. Aufrecht published a second edition of the Rgveda, much used to this day, and an edition of the Aitareya Brahmana. Grassmann, a high-school teacher of mathematics, boldly printed the first complete German translation of the Rgveda and brought out in 1872 a Rgveda dictionary indispensable to this day on account of its complete references; sometime ago, the second anastatic reprint was published in Germany. Benfey had very early made the first edition of the Samaveda. To Roth's endeavours was due the discovery of the Atharvaveda of the Paippaladas, and the unique birch-bark ms. of which he published a magnificent fascimile edition is still in Tubingen. Albrecht Weber, a pioneer in many fields and a scholar of an almost prodigious industry and working capability, published besides almost innumerable other works an edition of the Taittiriya-Samhita and a

magnificent one of the whole of the White Yajurveda, while the Maitrayani and Kathaka-Samhitas were later edited by von Schroeder. The great names of a younger generation are Hillebrandt, Oldenberg, Pischel and Geldner. Hillebrandt, the great specialist in Vedic rituals, wrote the three volumes of his Vedic Mythology. Oldenberg, an all-round Indologist and brilliant philologist, contributed, besides a wealth of articles and treatises, a standard work, *Religion of the Veda*, a two volume commentary on the Rgveda and a volume of metrical and text-critical studies intended as the introductory volume of a critical and historical restoration of the original Rgveda text. The three volumes of Vedic Studies by Pischel and Geldner published between 1889 and 1901 mark the beginning of a long and bitter controversy about the value and reliability of the traditional Indian interpretation of the Rgveda as represented by the commentaries, especially that of Sayana. Geldner crowned a life's work devoted to the Avesta and the Vedas by his monumental annotated German translation of the Rgveda which was printed in the twenties of our century but, due to unfortunate circumstances arising after his death, published only five years ago as 3 volumes of the Harvard Oriental Series. And lastly, there was one eminent Vedic scholar hardly known as such during his lifetime but who has left to us as the fruit of the labour of more than four decades a work that will again mark an epoch in Vedic studies. I am speaking of my own revered guru Heinrich Luders whose three-volume book on Varuna, Vedic cosmology and the Rta it has fallen to my lot to edit and reconstruct after the most lamentable damages its ms. suffered during and after the War.

I am fully aware of the fact that we Westerners, when dealing with the Veda, are treading on delicate ground. I have been told by an Indian in so many words that whatever Western scholars had done with and said about the Veda was all wrong. I trust that not all my Indian colleagues hold quite the same view, but I know that there will always be bound to be differences of opinion. It is clear that the Veda—by which word we in Germany understand more especially the Rk-samhita—cannot have for us the same devotional value which it has for India and that there must be many who regard it as a sacrilege to subject it to the critical methods evolved in Europe. Now as a matter of fact these methods were first and with the greatest success evolved in dealing with the sacred texts of the Bible, evolved by devout Christians but not without loud protests of orthodox circles who could not admit a historical and critical treatment of revealed scriptures. But though such protests may sporadically be heard even today, we have long since learnt to reconcile true religion and critical treatment

of holy scriptures. Whether the same will come to pass in India is not for us to ask; neither do we mean to teach Indians how they should deal with their holy scriptures. We merely believe that the really great manifestations of any nation's genius belong not to that nation alone but to humanity and that, consequently, the Veda is a legitimate object of research for scholars of any nation. And the Rgveda in particular, being by far the oldest document of any Indo-European tongue, is of unique value and surpassing interest not only for the study of Indian religion and culture but also for a better understanding of our own cultural past and the spiritual ties that bind us to India.

Vedic studies are by no means neglected in present-day Germany but it is true that they do no longer hold the central position they occupied in the last century. Today, when in Indology just as well as in any other branch of research the specialist of one *sastra* has taken the place of the all-round man of former days, a survey of German Indologists would probably show that the number of those is greatest who specialize in Buddhism. On the importance of that branch of Indology I need hardly dwell. In the past history of Buddhistic studies the Germans played a very honourable part, though not such a predominant one as in the case of Veda. Oldenberg was not only a first-rate Vedic scholar but also one of the great pioneers of Pali philology. His monumental edition of the Vinaya-pitaka was undertaken even before the foundation of the Pali Text Society. His masterly translations, his books and articles are far too numerous to enumerate, but at least his brilliantly written book entitled *Buddha, His Life, His Teaching, His Order* should be mentioned because it was widely read in Germany and has done much to spread solid information on Buddhism. Wilhelm Geiger was another great Pali scholar and his Pali grammar is probably still the best book of its kind. He is particularly remembered by his edition and translation of the famous Ceylonese chronicle, the *Mahavamsa*, but he also became the leading authority on Sinhalese, so much so that when the Ceylonese planned a new comprehensive Sinhalese dictionary, he was invited to Ceylon to give his advice. I can only just mention the names of such brilliant scholars as R. O. Franke, Pischel, and Windisch, and must leave out many others, but I cannot pass over the special contribution of the Germans that consisted in the extremely rich results of several German expeditions to Chinese Turkestan, no less successful than the famous expeditions of Sir Aurel Stein. From innumerable fragments of mss. recovered from the dry sand of Turkestan and pieced together with infinite patience and skill in Berlin, there emerged considerable portions of the lost Buddhist

Sanskrit canon and remnants of many other important and unknown texts. The discovery by Heinrich Luders of the lost and forgotten Buddhist plays of the great Asvaghosa caused a little revolution in the literary history of India in that it pushed back the beginnings of the Indian drama by at least two centuries. Some mss. of undoubtedly Indian origin recovered from Turkestan are the oldest specimens of Indian mss. in existence and of considerable importance for the history of writing in India. Besides a number of interesting texts already published, Luders prepared a critical edition of the Udanavarga, the Sanskrit version of the famous Dhammapada, based on fragments of more than a hundred different mss. This edition, fruit of the patient labour of many years and an unparalleled masterpiece of critical philology, was irretrievably lost in the troubled times after the end of the War; there remains only the introduction, which is an exhaustive treatise on the original language of the Buddhist Sanskrit. This introduction, of fundamental importance for the history of Pali and Prakrit and refuting, in my opinion convincingly, some of the views put forward by Edgerton in his work on *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit,* has recently been published by my friend Prof. Waldschmidt of Gottingen, to whom we owe, besides other important publications, the reconstruction of the Sanskrit Mhaparinirvana-sutra. And the treasures of the Buddhist Sanskrit mss. brought to Berlin from Turkestan are by no means yet worked up. A number particularly also of younger German Indologists are still engaged in the difficult task of editing them with the help of parallel versions in the Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian canons and the traces of this Eastern dialect in Pali and Buddhist.

There is a third branch of Indology which, if not a German monopoly, yet may be said to be the creation and special domain of the Germans, namely Jainism. Jacobi, Weber and Leumann are the great pioneers in this field. Hermann Jacobi was undoubtedly one of the greatest—not only of German—Indologists, and I believe his name is remembered with respect and affection in India to this day. He has to his credit fundamental contribution to almost every section of Indian studies, but his work in connection with Jainism alone would have been quite sufficient to place him in the front rank of Indologists. It was he who first proved the original independence of Jainism which was until then believed to have been a mere sect or offshoot of Buddhism. To him we owe the first scientific editions and translations of canonical Prakrit texts, and his *Selected Maharashtri Tales* with accompanying grammar and glossary are still unsurpassed as an introduction into Prakrit. When on the eve of the first World War Jacobi paid

his second visit to India in order to deliver lectures at the University of Calcutta, the Jain community honoured him by conferring on him the title of Jaina-Siddhanta-Divakara, i.e. the Sun of the Jain Scriptures. And during this visit he discovered the first works of an extensive Apabhramsa literature, the very existence of which had then not been suspected. His editions of two lengthy Apabhramsa Texts, preceded by detailed and fundamentally important introductions, opened up a new chapter in the linguistic and literary history of India.

Weber, the editor of the White Yajurveda, is as memorable, on account of his magnificent catalogue of the valuable Berlin Collection of Jain mss., in which he gave copious extracts from all canonical and many non-canonical works; of this catalogue he himself once wrote: "A good deal of my eyesight lies buried in it." In a separate treatise he gave the first detailed and reliable critical survey of the whole Svetambara canon. The difficulty of working through this highly technical and till then totally unknown literature in a language without a dictionary but abounding in unknown words can hardly be exaggerated; even today the canonical texts bristle with difficulties and often enough baffle our attempts at understanding them.

The Berlin Jain mss. had been acquired through the good offices of Buhler about whom I shall presently have to say a word in another context. He collected manuscripts in India for the Indian Government and had obtained permission to buy duplicates for Berlin. To Jain studies he chiefly contributed a short but excellent monograph on the famous polyhistor Hemacandracarya.

Ernst Leumann's editions of canonical and non-canonical texts, his literary and historical studies bear witness to an astounding familiarity with scores of unprinted texts which he had read in mss. acquired by him for the then German University Library of Strassburg. He might be said to have been ahead of his times by decades. Numerous and important as his published works are, they represent only a fraction of what he wrote or began to write. Many hundred copy-books filled with his clear and careful handwriting are kept in my institute in Hamburg and made use of from time to time as a mine of information and unpublished sources.

I may call Leumann my guru-pitamaha since I am a pupil of his pupil Walther Schubring, my retired predecessor at Hamburg University and still an active worker in the field of Jainism, whose intimate knowledge of the Jain Canon is probably unrivalled outside India. It enabled him to write his comprehensive work on Jainism, *Die Lehre der Jainas,* (The doctrine of the Jains,) a standard work that will take a very long time to supersede.

By him and by Jacobi's pupil von Glasenapp—to mention only the two most outstanding names—the tradition founded by the great triad Jacobi-Weber-Lieumann may indeed be said to have been worthily upheld.

It is particularly gratifying to state that our work has long since called forth a hearty response from the Jains themselves. It was particularly the late lamented Acharyamaharaj Vijaya Dharma Suri, one of the greatest spiritual leaders of modern Jainism, who inaugurated a most fruitful cooperation between Jain monks and laymen and Western scholars—a cooperation that has become vitally important for us and from which, I trust, the other side also has derived great benefit. And I am glad to take this opportunity publicly to acknowledge my personal heavy debt of gratitude to devoted and scholarly Jain monks like Acharyamaharaj Vijaya Indra Suri, the late Munimaharaj Jayantavijaya and particularly that indefatigable worker Munimaharaj Punyavijaya who has earned the eternal gratitude of his community and of every scholar by making accessible and preserving for posterity the invaluable mss. treasures of the Jain Bhandars.

II

The first pioneers of Indology had been British officials working in India; British Indologists always profited from the political relation of their country of birth with the country of their studies. German Indologists were less fortunate. None of the first generation, and rather few until quite recent times, could see with their own eyes the country to which their life-work was devoted, or they could see it only too late towards the end of their career. There were, however, a few very notable exceptions. In 1859, Martin Haug, mentioned before in connection with Max Muller's Veda edition, was appointed professor of Sanskrit in Poona, to be succeeded in 1866 by another German, Franz Kielhorn. In 1863, Georg Buhler was appointed professor at the Elphinstone College in Bombay. Of the two last-named scholars, Kielhorn's pupil Luders writes: "It was through Buhler and Kielhorn that a real penetration and mutual impregnation of Western and indigenous scholarship came first to pass. Both of them always unreservedly acknowledged how much they owed for their work to the help and instruction of the Pandits. On the other hand, it was they who first made indigenous scholars acquainted with the historical outlook and the critical methods evolved in the West in the course of the 19th century. The men who had been working in India before them had not been able to do this

as they were not themselves philologists or historians in the proper sense and had, besides, no opportunity to give instruction as teachers."

It has long since become unnecessary to call Germans to Indian universities to teach Sanskrit there. From the seed sown by men like Kielhorn and Buhler, a strong and vigorous Indian Indology has sprung up, and it is now of absolutely vital importance for us Western Indologists to come to India not only to see the country, its people and its splendid monuments and to imbibe the invaluable and irreplaceable tradition so wonderfully kept by the old-style pandits, but also in order to establish and maintain as close a contact and cooperation as possible with our Indian colleagues. It is clear that a short visit of at most a few months' duration will hardly suffice for these purposes, and also that the desirable longer visit should be paid as early in life as possible. This is why we are so exceedingly grateful to the Government of India for creating ten scholarships enabling German students or younger research scholars to spend two years at Indian universities. It is impossible to overestimate the value of the opportunities so offered for Sanskrit studies in Germany, and the impetus they are thus receiving will certainly bear rich fruit. And we trust that in future schemes of increased and intensified Indo-German cultural contacts and exchanges, Indology too will have its full share.

Now this has already brought me to the present condition and future prospects of German Indology, and in dealing with this part of my subject it seems advisable to begin with and to try to show you things in their proper perspective. The first thing to realize is that Sanskrit studies in Germany are not an isolated or unique phenomenon. We, and the same is more or less true of other Western nations as well, are, at least theoretically, equally interested in every expression of the human mind, in the history and culture of all humanity; and we apply exactly the same methods of study and research to the political and cultural history, to the languages and literatures and religion and fine arts of any nation of the globe, of England or France or Italy just as well as of China or Japan or India or, last but not least, of our own country and nation. In practice, of course, there is the limitation that not every university can afford departments or professorships for every possible subject; thus for example my own university of Hamburg is the only one in Germany with a separate Department for African languages and with another for the languages and cultures of Indonesia and the South seas. There is further the practical, and natural, difference that while a French or English or Latin department is likely to count several hundred students, any orientalist one will hardly have more than a dozen or a score. It is

only after these preliminary remarks that we can now ask what the present position of German Indology is and appreciate the answer that in the set-up just described it still occupies a favourable position and still is strong and vigorous. It is true that in the times of economic depression after the first world war and during the world economic crisis a few indological chairs became victims of retrenchment. A further lamentable loss was suffered when after the last War the East German universities of Konigsberg and Breslau were taken away by the Russians and Poles. But even now there are Professorships of Indology at eight German universities, viz. Berlin, Hamburg, Gottingen, Marburg, Bonn, Tubingen, Munich and Leipzig. There are several more universities where there are the so-called Privatdozenten—approximately corresponding to Readers or Lecturers—of Indology or where Professors of Comparative Philology also teach Sanskrit. There are even some universities where there is a Privatdozent besides the Professor-in-ordinary. The tradition that a full-fledged university should have a chair of Indology or at least offer some facility for the study of Sanskrit is still unbroken. And now to that question so often put to me not only in India but also at home: How many students have you? I do not think I need apologize or feel ashamed for having no more than a dozen or sometimes even less. I have been told that even in India the ardent desire to promote Sanskrit studies and increase the number of students of Sanskrit is thwarted by the difficulties met with in finding for these students openings in life afterwards. It need hardly be pointed out that this difficulty must be immeasurably greater in Germany where Sanskrit cannot, of course, be included in the curriculum of High Schools. Apart from a very few posts in libraries and museums, practically the only regular career open to a Sanskritist is the academic one. So the Indologist who accepts a young man, however promising, as his pupil and encourages him to become a full-fledged Sanskritist, takes a somewhat heavy responsibility. As a matter of fact, we are quite satisfied to have even more promising young Indologists than are needed to fill our chairs. There are, of course, always also a number of students who take up Sanskrit as a subsidiary subject only. The number of such students was indeed somewhat greater some decades ago, say before the first World War, when there might even be some students who could afford to study Sanskrit just for the love of it without regard to financial consequences. Now-a-days, when most of our students have, besides working for their studies, to work for their living, when practically all of them are hard pressed by the need of completing their studies in as short a time as possible, they do not often enough even find the time and strength for things that

would be badly needed to widen their horizon beyond the narrowest circle of their special subjects; this is indeed one of the great problems with which our educationists are faced today. But I can only repeat that as to serious recruits for Indology our problem is one of plenty rather than of need. We can and do look into the future of German Indology with full confidence, the more so as we are encouraged by the moral support of the kind interest taken in our work by the Government of free India and the material benefit we derive from its active assistance.

There is one more point that should at least be briefly mentioned, the meaning of the word "Indology," the extent and scope of Indological research that have undergone great changes since the time of Schlegel and Humboldt, of Weber and Max Muller. I have already alluded to that growing specialization which is by no means peculiar to Indology but a much lamented and yet unavoidable trend in every branch of learning—unavoidable because it is due to the constant widening of scope, constant and rapid increase of matter, constant addition of new problems and subjects. Whether we envy or merely admire the former all-round Indologists, we moderns cannot hope to emulate them, and it is one of our fundamental problems not to lose sight of the whole while working at some small part only. That first generations of Indologists were Sanskritists in the strict sense of the term. Indology was developed on the lines of the model science of classical philology, and just as the latter dealt exclusively with classical antiquity and not with modern Italy and Greece, it was the natural thing that Indologists should be interested in modern Indian languages, whether Aryan or non-modern India. This attitude has, of course, totally changed. Today we study Sanskrit and the culture of ancient and medieval India not only for their own sake but particularly because without a proper knowledge and understanding of them no real understanding of modern India is possible. And we are just as interested in modern Indian languages, whether Aryan or non-Aryan, as in Sanskrit. I may here mention that in Hamburg University there exists since its foundation after the first World War the post of an Indian lecturer for modern Indian languages, and similar posts are being created in other German universities with a view to spreading the knowledge of Hindi and other modern tongues. But once more we are faced with the practical impossibility of tackling everything at the same time and as Sanskrit must always be and remain the foundation and backbone of our science, modern languages and literatures of India can for most of us only be a side-line. Still there are at least some younger scholars who have taken up the scientific study of Hindi, Bengali, etc. in full earnest, and if

Dravidian languages are at present sadly neglected in Germany it is certainly not because they are believed to be unimportant and not worth studying.

I hope it has become clear from all I have said that I do not wish in any way to minimize the most valuable and rich contributions to Indology by almost every Western nation, particularly the English and French, but also Americans, Dutch, Danes, Italians and others. I have tried to make equally clear that, there being no limits to human interest and intellectual curiosity, in Germany as well as in other Western countries, Chinese and Arabic and Turkish and other languages of Asia are just as well studied as Sanskrit. And yet when all is said there remains something peculiar about Sanskrit studies in Germany, about the influence of German Indology on the spiritual and cultural history of modern India. Why the Germans should take such a particular interest in India is difficult to say. I have myself often been asked what had induced me to become an Indologist, and I could give no satisfactory explanation but just say that India just attracted and fascinated me. The same, I presume, must be the case with Germans in general. But I hasten to add that this attraction is by no means one-sided but mutual. It is a common experience that when Indians and Germans meet there is usually quick mutual understanding and sympathy. I think we had better not worry about the reason but simply be glad that it is so. And so let me conclude by expressing my hope and wish that this mutual sympathy may continue and grow and that German Indology may also in future be instrumental in furthering the traditional friendship between our two nations.

INDIAN STUDIES IN HUNGARY

STEPHEN SIPOS

THE origin and development of Oriental studies in Europe was in many respects related to economic and political interests; colonisation provided an important stimulus. In Hungary, however, interest in such studies was more by way of a romantic search for the original home. This did not prevent it from producing scientific results. Oriental research in Hungary worked towards pre-determined scientific targets. Indology was not the foremost to receive the attention of Orientalists; interest first centred on proving affinity with the Turkish, Tartar, Mongol, Finnish and Ugraian peoples among others. The first Indologist of eminence was de Koros.

Alexander Csoma de Koros (1784-1842). He is known as the pioneer in Tibetology. He studied oriental subjects at the University of Gottigen and after graduating resolved to travel out to Asia in search of the original home of the Hungarians which he believed to be somewhere in Central Asia. In November of 1819, he set out on his journey, a considerable portion of which had to be performed—for want of means—on foot. In 1822, he is already in Lahore and in contact with Moorecroft, agent of the British Government who engages him in the study of the Tibetan language. He takes up this study in 1823, not abandoning his private search, in the hope that it will be illumined by his researches into Tibetan. In 1834, The Asiatic Society published his *Tibeto-English Dictionary and Grammar*, a pioneer work of great value and promise for linguistics. During his stay in Calcutta, he learns, apart from Bengali, Sanskrit, Hindusthani and Marathi.

Unfortunately, part of his notes and correspondence have disappeared leaving no trace of what he may have achieved in the study of these languages.

De Koros is of importance to Hungarian Indology: succeeding Indologists found matter for study in his work and life and the papers which posthumously same to light.

Tivadar Duka (1825-1908). Part of Duka's studies had to be continued in England where he emigrated after the Hungarian freedom fight (1848-49). Having qualified as a physician, he joined the British Indian Military Service where he served as a surgeon, from 1854-74. In the course of his service here he tried to recover from the Asiatic Society of Calcutta the posthumous papers of de Koros; *the Essays of Alexander Csoma de Koros*, published in English in 1885, was a result of this search. It also appeared in Hungarian translation at Budapest. In the course of his labours, he came to be interested in Indian languages and manners and customs and through several articles in Hungarian periodicals and newspapers awoke interest in India among the Hungarians. A significant work is his *Essay on the Brahui Grammar*, prepared on the basis of a similar book by Prof. Trump of Munich, and published by the Asiatic Society in 1887. Duka's book was used as a source by Sir Denys Bray in his handbook *The Brahui Language* published in 1909.

The study of Max Muller's works, the efforts of these two Indologists, de Koros and Duka and the development of Indo-European linguistics brought the study of Indology and Sanskrit more and more into the foreground.

Karoly Fiolk (1857-1915). It was the translations from Persian and Sanskrit of this college teacher of Greek and Latin that first attracted attention. In 1885, he translated a part of the Mahabharata under the title *Nala and Damayanti*. In his foreword to this book he tells briefly of the Mahabharata and refers to the works of Professors Bopp and Monier Williams as his sources. He translated tales from Indian mythology with explanatory notes. He contributed an essay on Sanskrit literature in *The History of World Literature* published in four volumes in 1903. This is the first comprehensive work of this character in the Hungarian language. His other translations include *Shakuntala* by Kalidasa, tales from the *Hitopadesa* and *Panchatantra* and several fragments from Sanskrit drama and poetry.

Mano Michalek. Teacher and librarian. He too translated the episode of Nala and Damayanti from the Mahabharata though it was not as faithful or successful as Fiolk's, a year earlier. The name of Franz Bopp, famous Indo-European linguist of Germany, figures in his preface.

Sandor Kegl (1862-1920). In 1889-90, he visited Persia on a study tour and though chiefly interested in the Persian language, developed an interest in Sanskrit also. The year 1898 records the reading by him of a substantial paper at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on the Bhagwad Gita; he sketched the structure of the Gita philosophy, in support of which he translated several shorter passages from the original work, especially in connection with the dialogues of Arjuna and Krishna.

Gabor Szentkatolnai Balint (1884-1915). Exceptionally good at linguistics, he had mastered 30 languages, 12 of them by the end of secondary school. In 1877 he visited Asia for the second time, as the companion of Count Bela Szechenyi. By 1878 he is in Bangalore studying Dravidian languages; he sends home a short piece: "The Tamul Language is the Sanskrit of the Turanian languages." He continues till the spring of 1891 when, with the Count's help, he publishes his comprehensive work *Tamul-Dravidian Studies*, in two parts, Part One: "Tamul Grammar with Romanised transliteration—with regard to the other eleven related languages and Hungarian"; and Part Two: "Hungarian-Tamul Root-investigating Dictionary—with regard to major languages of middle Turanian". This book is the only one of its kind in Hungarian even today.

Aurel Stein (1862-1943). A well known orientalist, a British citizen of Hungarian origin, his contribution to Indology is well-known. In India and Central Asia, he carried on geographical, archaeological and linguistic studies which were invaluable, and among which are *Ancient Khotan*, *Innermost Asia* and *Serindia*. A great part of Stein's work appeared—some in condensed form—in the Hungarian language and he also lectured at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on several occasions. He retained a love for Hungary till the end and after his death left a great part of his library and his correspondence to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Josef Schmidt (1868-1933). His contribution to the development of Indian studies in Hungary is of importance. He held the chair of Indo-European linguistics in the Department of Philology at the University of Budapest. During the years of the Hungarian Soviet Republic he accepted the directorship of the Training Institute for Secondary School Teachers for which, later, he was pensioned off before his time. Even after leaving University his pen remained active and we have works like *Indian Philosophy*, *The History of Sanskrit Literature*, *The Light of Asia—the life, teaching and Church of Buddha*, *Indian Epics*. The layman in Hungary, through these works, had access at last to the culture of India. Schmidt's translations also

are significant. Two of the more significant ones were the *Panchatantra* (published for the second time in 1959 with a preface by Prof. Janos Harmatta, the present head of the Institute of Indo-European linguistics) and the drama of *Malvika and Agnimitra* by Kalidasa.

Zotan Felvinczi Talkats (1880). As art historian, he was responsible for showing a new facet of Indian culture to the Hungarians. For many years he was Director of the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic art at Budapest. His *Art of the East* surveys the development of Indian art. As Director of the Budapest Museum, he developed the Indian collection to parallel the best in Central Europe. At present he is working on a biography of Ferenc Hopp founder of the Museum.

Ervin Baktay (1890-1963). Also an art-historian, he spent three years in India during the nineteen-twenties (1926-29). On his return to Hungary he published several works on the history, customs, art and culture of the Indian people, among which *India* is well known. In two volumes suitably illustrated, he tells of his experiences. He has also dealt with Tagore and Gandhi. His two books on the life and activity of Alexander Csoma de Koros were published in several editions. His *Ramayana and Mahabharata*, published in 1960, is a prose condensation of the epics. His *The Art of India* appeared earlier in 1958, and is now being translated into German. His *Indian Sagas and Legends* appeared posthumously. His Hungarian translation of the Bhagwad Gita with explanatory notes is awaiting publication—and will be the first such translation when it appears.

As art historian, he worked for some years at the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Art of which he was also a director. Apart from his outstanding contribution to Indology, he was responsible for harnessing popular interest in its cause.

Charles Louis Fabri. Art-historian, pupil of Schmidt and Felvinczi, and younger contemporary of Baktay, he has been living in India for over thirty years. For a short period he collaborated with Stein in the thirties, later he worked with the Archaeological Survey of India, then as Director of the Lahore Museum, whence he came to Delhi. He writes on Indian art and aesthetics.

Among those researchers of Hungarian origin but living outside Hungary, it is important to mention:

Vilmos Hevesy; among his works are *Munda-Magyar-Maori, Finnisch-Ungarisches aus Indien* etc. He is thought to have discovered a relationship between Hungarian and Indian languages.

Janos Harmatta; head of the Institute of Indo-European linguistics at the Eotvos Lorand University of Sciences, Budapest. An expert in Sanskrit he has published several studies.

Csaba Tottossy; lecturer of Sanskrit, translator of *Sukasaptati;* **Arpad Debreczeni;** the first to prepare a Hindi text book for Hungarians; **Jozef Vekerdy;** Sanskritologist and translator. His *Savitri* has already been published. In 1961, he edited a selection of the works of Kalidasa; **Ferenc Hopp;** art collector who left most of his collection to the Hungarian State; **Tibor Horvath;**Director of the Ferenc Hopp Museum whose *The Art of Asia* deals with its collection;

Edit Toth; translator of Kalidasa's *Meghdoota* and *Hitopadesa,* at present working on the Mahabharata; and

Gyorgy Govacs; librarian at the Museum, linguist, and teacher of Hindi.

And though he is not an indologist, we cannot close this essay without mention of **Julius Germanus,** who spent three years at Santiniketan at Tagore's invitation lecturing on Arabic language and literature. He has published articles on India and his experience there.

Indian studies in Hungary may not have reached the advanced levels which they have attained in other countries of Europe but nevertheless they have constituted a tradition in Hungary which is cherished within the wider tradition of enrichment of the world of knowledge and science.

INDIAN STUDIES IN ITALY

CORRADO PENSA

KEEN interest in Indian civilisation, particularly in its thought and literature, was a central factor in German romanticism and owed much to the work of Schopenhauer, Schlegel, Herder and Schelling. From it was to develop the modern, scientific study of Indian civilisation common today which we may term Indology. The starting point for this interest, and the enthusiastic research it gave rise to, may be traced back to the uninterrupted contacts established between the West and India in preceding centuries, and to the benefits missionaries, merchants, diplomats and travellers of every sort were able to derive from it. Although Italy's contribution to the dawning of Indology in the strict sense—occurring around the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th centuries—was less, philologically speaking, than that of other European countries, it appears to be predominant in the period leading up to it and covering part of the 16th century as well as the 17th and 18th centuries.

The missionary activity unleashed by the Counter-reformation and the intensification of trade with the East as a result of western conquest are, as is known, two factors accounting for the rise of Orientalism. A third may be added: the indiscriminate thirst for knowledge blended with love of adventure that were peculiar to the Renaissance and now found their fullest gratification in the unknown, mysterious and shadowy East. In India as in other parts of the Orient many Italian travellers, whether missionaries or laymen, left written records. The evangelical work of the former required

them to learn languages and undertake a comparative study of the religions and philosophies in the countries they were sent to; and they left behind them grammars, dictionaries and catechisms, written in the local language, as well as other information, and mainly fragmentary gleanings about beliefs, religious rites and so on. Travellers who were not missionaries (for example, merchants, soldiers in the service of eastern princes, diplomats or adventurers with no fixed objective) sometimes directed their attention to similar subjects but were mainly interested in political matters, in the history, customs and way of life of the native population. Thanks to the work of both these types of visitors the age-old notion of India as a country of fable and legend was gradually replaced by another reality representing men, facts and ideas.

The first important lay traveller, both in terms of Indology and comparative philology, was the Florentine Filippo Sassetti who was a humanist in the true sense of the word, obliged to sell wares for a livelihood. He left for India in 1583 and met his death there at Goa in 1588. In his letters he was the first to suggest the resemblance between Italian and Sanskrit revealing a presentiment of Indo-European linguistic unity. He also appears to be the first to take an interest in Indian medicine and he studied original treatises with the help of some teachers. In addition he interested himself in Astrology stressing its complete identity with western notions, and described Indian beliefs, customs and institutions with much insight revealing an exactitude that was lacking in others who came after him.

A student of historical and political questions was Nicolo Mannucci who left to seek his fortune in the East in 1653 and died, it seems, in Madras in 1717 after ceaseless wanderings. The most notable contribution he made to our understanding of India was a history of the Moghuls from Tamberlain down to his own day. It is highly charged with personal resentment and a far from impartial work; but apart from the period ending with Akbar where his treatment is based on oral and not on written sources, his account grows lively and provides useful data when he begins to describe those events which he witnessed, or in which he participated himself. Moreover, we find in this history a description of Indian religion in which some of the fundamental ideas of Indian speculative thought begin to be adumbrated. With regard to the Karma, for example, it is made clear that the Hindu Hell is not a place of eternal affliction but rather a sort of Purgatory; and there are also references to the concepts of the soul held by the various schools. Next, though of more interest to students of Chinese and Japanese civilisation, we cannot overlook the "Ragionamenti" written by the Florentine Fran-

cesco Carletti who undertook an adventurous journey around the world between 1594 and 1606. He was of an observant spirit, and with the help of interpreters managed to note down all the most characteristic aspects of each country he visited and stayed in. After a short stay in Goa he devoted one of his "Ragionamenti" to India. The Roman, Pietro della Valle, did not travel so far afield, visiting only Turkey, Persia and India, but was far more cultured than Carletti; for he had a thorough knowledge of Turkish and Persian and was a poet and musician. This man, of an original as well as an adventurous turn of mind, in his letters dealing with contemporary events, provides a record of first-hand value even when he mentions small items. To appreciate their true importance we should bear in mind that during the first half of the 17th century Persia and India were passing through one of the crucial moments of their history; for they were being harassed by the Portuguese, British and Dutch who were fighting for new markets and seeking to establish their own supremacy.

Another tour round the world was undertaken between 1693 and 1698 by Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, and the outcome was the work *Giro del Mondo* in several volumes, one of which is devoted to India. It contains, indeed, little that is original and is largely based on reports gleaned from other travellers; but it is diligently put together and rich in information.

While the travellers so far mentioned had the great merit of being the first to provide information about India based on fact rather than on legend, we are indebted to the missionaries living in those or later times for being, substantially, the originators of Indian philology. As was pointed out, they not only set about translating Christian writings into Oriental languages, but also sought to achieve some knowledge of the letter and spirit of sacred Hindu texts. And so the study of Indian doctrines and literature began in a way that was to some extent methodical. Roberto De Nobili, who landed in India in 1605 and died there in 1646, is a case in point. He did not hesitate, for instance, to assume the dress and way of life of those he thought to evangelise—the orange-coloured tunic and vegetarian diet, that is to say—attempting thereby to transfer Christianity to an Indian context. However, this earned him the dislike of his colleagues whose accusations found their way to Rome. In reply, De Nobili wrote an *Apology* that led to some measure of rehabilitation. In it, he goes beyond justifying his own work, drawing up an accurate account of Hinduism (the first European to do so) based on direct knowledge of the texts: a task which he found possible because of his familiarity with Sanskrit and Tamil. It is not difficult to see, then, that his work is equalled in importance only by that of Matteo Ricci in China,

Ippolito Desideri in Tibet and the Jesuit, Giacomo Fenicio in India itself. The latter, who died at Cochin in 1632, wrote that indispensable book *Livro da seita dos indios orientales* in Portuguese. For the first time it describes and summarises myths and heroic legends. The work is based, above all, on the Puranas. The efforts made by De Nobili to adapt himself to native customs were continued by Constantino Beschi who lived in India from 1710 until his death in 1742. It may be said of him that his missionary was equalled by his literary activity, since he gained such a knowledge of Tamil that he was able to write poetic compositions in it that are today, by common consent, considered to be real classics. And he not only did much to promote Tamil literature; by means of grammars and dictionaries he founded and fostered Tamil philology. In the second half of the 18th century, the Franciscan Marco della Tomba, though poorly endowed linguistically, made Ramananda and Kabir known in Europe, and outlined a classification not only of the various sects but also of the six darsana classics. Particular mention must also be made of the mission in Burma that gained a firm hold during the latter part of the 18th century thanks to Percote who, with Carpano, Amaduzzi and San Germano, inaugurated the study of Pali and paved the way for Bourcuf and Lassen. In conjunction with the growth of research into Indian civilisation, the publishing activity of the Instituto di Propaganda Fide (Institute for Propagating the Faith) was stepped up: a whole series of grammars and dictionaries were brought out. One of these was the *Alphabetum brahmanicum seu indostanum universitatis Kasi* which was published in Rome in 1771 with a preface by Amaduzzi.

Early in the 19th century missionary activity ended in India following the death of Cardinal Stefano Borgia, the secretary of Propaganda Fide and a great supporter of Oriental studies. From this time onward Indological studies in Italy lay dormant for several decades apart from a few translations at second or third hand by Romagnosi, Berchet and others. In other European countries, on the other hand, Indology flourished in conjunction with the rise of romanticism, the birth of glottology and, lastly, the consolidation of Britain's colonial empire. Italy's return to the field of Indological studies occurred only in 1843 when a fundamental work appeared: a critical edition of the Ramayana with a translation. It was by the Piedmontese Gaspare Gorresio, the father of scientific Indology in Italy, thanks in part to the help and favour he received from Charles Albert. At this time in Italy, Indology and all Oriental studies were cut off from the general public and general culture because they were subjects taught in Universities. The first Chairs of Oriental Studies were to be instituted only after 1870 when

the Kingdom of Italy was formed. A specialist of linguistics at that time who cannot be overlooked was Graziadio Ascoli: he was called to Milan, and contributed notably to the study of Indian languages even though he was not an expert. Ex-professor in Sanskrit, Giovanni Flechia, self-taught, belongs to the same period. He was elected to the Chair of Sanskrit at Turin University, and his principal work was a scientific grammar published in 1856: it was the first of its kind in Italy and one of the best in Europe. At this time the most important centre of Oriental Studies in Italy was Florence. How did this city win this foremost place? It was largely due to the scholar, Angelo De Gubernatis, who was responsible for the appearance there in 1867 of the first number of the *Rivista Orientale Italiana*. He set about collecting manuscripts in India, delved into the history of Italian missionaries in the East editing the writings of some of them, and wrote frequently about the Vedas. But informed by a humanism which influenced other Indologists, De Gubernatis' interests were spread out over many and disparate fields besides Indian studies; and this perhaps militated against the depth of his investigations. A figure somewhat his junior, Francesco Lorenzo Pulle, who was first and foremost a linguist, initiated that study of Jainism that is one of the features common to Italian Indologists of former generations. Another member of the Oriental School of Florence was Warlo Puini to whom Italy attributes the merit of having been the first to investigate Buddhism by a method which was to assert itself; through the comparison, that is, of Indian, Chinese, Tibetan and Mongol sources. Something of a solitary was the scholar Emilio Teza, also of that time, who was master of a great variety of Oriental languages and literature as well as Sanskrit: he left no sizable work behind him but a large number of articles and notes all characterised by a high standard of philological scrupulosity. Naples, too, in this period was a busy centre of Oriental studies, those devoted to India being inspired by Giacomo Lignana. From 1866 onwards, Michele Kerbaker taught in this city. His background and training were deeply romantic, and he eschewed philological research in the strict sense seeking to relive the poetry of ancient India and make it live again in its turn. In verses very close to the original and of high literary worth, he translated the *Cart of Clay* and a large part of the Mahabharata; it is exemplary work; and the latter was published posthumously from 1933 to 1939, thanks to the labours of Formichi and Pisani. Paolo Emilio Pavolini, who died in 1942, followed in the footsteps of Teza: his interests covered many and discrete fields ranging from Sanskrit to Finnish, Hungarian to Pali, and from Polish to Malay; and this probably prevented his achieving large-scale work

of synthesis. In the Indological field he is known for his work in the study of Buddhism which served to stimulate interest in an as yet unknown world. Besides his manual of Buddhism, one may recall the *Testi di Morale Buddhistica* translated in 1919. A gifted disciple of Pavolini was Luigi Pio Tessitori who unfortunately died at an early age in 1919. An enthusiastic scholar of Prakrit, he made a fruitful study of Maharashtrian Jainism and the medieval chronicles of Rajputana. He also published a fundamental philological work on Tulsi Das' *Ramcharitmanas*.

The path taken by Carlo Formichi, a professor of Sanskrit and English literature who died in 1943, was a humanistic one. He was a very sensitive translator, and his version of Asvaghosa's *Buddhacarita* and of the *Raghuvamsa* are now renowned. He also set out to draw attention to the practical, active side of the Indian character to balance the too-much praised mystical aspect; and devoted his efforts to clarifying the political science of ancient India. He was deeply interested in Buddhism and dealt with it in several writings of which I shall mention the well-known and perceptive *Apologia del buddhismo* which came out in 1923 and was translated into various languages. Ambrogio Ballini, who died in 1950, was trained in the school of Formichi and Jacobini; he concentrated his attention on Prakrit and thereby examined various texts belonging to the Jainist tradition. His is also the merit of having provided Italy with an accomplished treatise on classical metric, which, together with Ferdinando Belloni-Filippi's work on the Vedic metric, made up the volume to metrical questions. Belloni-Filippi devoted himself to the study of Buddhism and Indian philosophical systems. Luigi Suali, recently deceased, took the same path; he studied and wrote on philosophical systems and classical literature, and in 1925 completed a life of Buddha entitled *L'Illuminato* that was translated into several languages.

All along Giuseppe Tucci has renewed and strengthened not only Indian and Buddhist scholarship but studies of many other branches of Oriental civilisation, such as Tibetology; and his work has invaded equally the realms of philology, history, art and archaeology. He holds the Chair of Indian and Far Eastern Philosophy and Religion at Rome University and is President of the Middle and Far East Institute that was founded in the Italian capital in 1933. His extended sojourns in India and frequent expeditions to countries coming under India's religious, cultural and artistic influence such as Nepal and Tibet, have borne valuable fruit at every level. Both he and his team of scholars and collaborators have examined countless manuscripts and inscriptions, and the survey of artistic treasures has been embodied in large-scale works like *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* which does not

confine itself to stressing the Indian influence on Tibetan art, but also illustrates Tibetan civilisation in all its aspects. Coming to the study of Nepalese history to which Tucci and the Rome school have given decisive impetus, Tucci's discovery—outlined in *Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*, Rome 1956—concerning the Malla dynasty reigning in western Tibet, deserves special mention. For through study and comparison of the Nepalese and Tibetan sources, Prof. Tucci reached the conclusion that the Malla, far from being descendants of Tibetan kings, belong to the Indian dynasty of the Khasiya. Two publications—the periodical *East and West* and the collection, mainly philological in character, known as *Serie Orientale Roma*,—which are brought out and edited by the above-mentioned Institute owe their origin to the promptings and stimulus of Prof. Tucci. Nobody is unaware of the importance for the study of north-west Indian civilisation afforded by the annual archaeological campaigns conducted by the Institute under his guidance. An example of one of the most interesting of recent results is the identification of a number of tombs as those of the Assakenoi referred to by Arrian in his account of the expedition of Alexander the Great. The credit for having notably enlarged the field of Buddhist studies is also Prof. Tucci's: in essays and critical editions he has done much to deepen our knowledge of forms of Mahayana thought, of logic and the Tantra school. Among works of a general character are *Il Buddhismo* dating from 1926, *Teoria e practica del mandala* dating from 1949, the *Storia della filosofia indiana* which came out in 1957, and also the series of "Indo-Tibetan" volumes which were published in Rome in the years between 1932 and 1941. Among many writings of a philological character we may mention *Pre-Dinnaga Buddhist Texts on Logic*, Baroda 1932, the edition of the Prajnaparamitapindartha in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1947, and the two volumes of *Minor Buddhist Texts* containing among other things the comments of Asanga and Vasubandhu on the Vajracchedika and the first Bhavanakrama by Kamalasila, published in Rome from 1956 to 1958. Lastly, numerous critical editions are being prepared by Tucci and his fellow scholars. Examples of these are: the Samghabhedavastu of Vinaya of the Sarvastivadins which will soon be published; the Abhidharmasamuccayakarika by Samghatrata, a summary of the doctrine of the Sammitiya; the Manicudajataka by Sangharaksita, which is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit; the Abhisamayalamkaravyakhya of Aryavimuktisena, which is being edited by Dr. Pensa, and the Prajnaparamitopadesa by Haribhadra. Two pupils of Prof. Tucci are Alfonso Ferrari and Raniero Gnoli. The first, who died prematurely, won renown with a critical edition

and translation of the Arthaviniscaya appearing in 1944, the Paramitasamasa by Aryasura appearing in 1946, and the *mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet,* published posthumously in 1960. The second made a far-reaching contribution to the study of Buddhist logic with an edition of the 1st chapter of the Pramanavarttikam by Dharmakirti, and has also undertaken a penetrating study of Kashmir Sivaism and of aesthetics. His translation of the Tantrasara by Abhinavagupta published in Rome in 1960, his book *The Aesthetic Experience according to Abhinavagupta,* published in Rome in 1956, and his edition of Udbhata's commentary on the Kavjalamkara by Bhamaha, published in Rome in 1962, all made their mark. A sound contribution to the history of Nepal is his *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters* (Rome 1956). Other members of the Rome school are Luciano Petech and Mario Bussagli who are permanent Lecturers at the University, the former in the history, and the latter in the art, of the Middle and Far East. Petech is the author of a *Medieval History of Nepal* (Rome 1958), which is of foremost importance, a full-scale work in several volumes dealing with Italian missionaries in Tibet and Nepal. Bussagli is first among those in Italy encouraging the study of Indian art. His studies on Gandhara and Central Asia are well known as also, from an historical point of view, are his researches into the subject of the Kushanas. Let us not omit mention of a recent and ample historical work of his: *Profili dell'India antica e moderna* (Rome 1959). Mario Vallauri and his younger collaborators, Oscar Botto and Carlo Della Casa, direct the Turin school which is an active one. Vallauri has behind him several decades of intense scientific activity: he has made his mark in the study of the Puranas, and above all in the study of Indian sciences, producing various monographs about medicine and law in ancient India. Botto has undertaken fruitful investigation of the *niti,* and recently published the *Nitivakyamrta;* while Della Casa is the author of a recent and balanced book on Jainism (Rome 1962). In Milan, Vittore Pisani is concerned with all branches of Indian literature and his interests are principally linguistic: he is the author of a basic work, a *Grammatica sanscrita storica e comparativa.*

INDIAN STUDIES IN JAPAN

HAJIME NAKAMURA

IN the preface to his work, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, the late M. Winternitz said: "I had to avail myself of the valuable work done during the same period by European, Indian and Japanese scholars in the field of Sanskrit Buddhist Literature." The tradition of Sanskrit and Buddhist scholarship has been kept alive in Japan for nearly 1400 years in the Buddhist colleges attached to the great Buddhist cathedrals. You will find in the world no other country where so many students are learning Sanskrit, except for India. Thousands of students have at least a rudimentary knowledge of the Sanskrit and Pali languages. There are many universities where they are taught. A great many books concerning these languages have appeared, some of which, I make bold to say, are not inferior to those published in India, Europe and America. It is regrettable, however, that the labours of the Japanese Indologists are not available to the Indian student on account of the latter's ignorance of the Japanese language.

The reason why studies of ancient India are carried on so earnestly in Japan is that the Japanese are mostly Buddhists. As Buddhism originated in India, most of the Japanese regard India, so to speak, as their spiritual motherland. They are highly interested in Indian culture and want to know the background of Buddhism. That is the reason why so many students are engaged in the study of Sanskrit and Indian culture in Japan. It may safely be said that Japan is perhaps next to India in the number of students of Sanskrit and Indian thought.

It would be needless to say that the study of India comprises so many aspects, but in Japan studies are growing chiefly under the name of Indian Philosophy. By the term "Indian Philosophy" we mean studies of the philosophical and religious thoughts of India, as well as studies on the phases of their development in the Orient in general.

In present-day Japan studies both of the society as well as of the civilisation of India in general are being carried on by the students of Indian Philosophy. As Buddhism had its origin in India, a much greater importance is attached in Japan to studies on Indian Philosophy inclusive of Buddhism than in India, Europe or America.

Indian Studies in Old Japan

Buddhism was introduced in the year 552 A.D. into Japan through Korea. Under the reign of Prince Shotoku (593-621) the Japanese got in direct touch with Chinese Buddhism. In the year 607 A.D. Horyuji, the most ancient temple extant of Japan was established where Prince Shotoku gave lectures on some Mahayana-sutras, especially the Saddharmapundarika, the Vimalakirtinirdesa, and the Srimala-devi-simhanada-sutra. His commentaries upon them have been preserved intact. Later the Horyuji Temple became a great centre for the study of Buddhist Idealism (vijnaptimatrata). Even now lectures are given there annually.

In the Nara Period (710-784 A D.) there flourished the studies of (i) the Disciplines (Vinaya), (ii) the *Abhidharmakosa* by Vasubandhu, (iii) the *Satyasiddhi*, a treatise by Harvarman, (iv) the works of Nagarjuna and Aryadeva, (v) the works of Buddhist Idealism and (vi) the Gandavyuha-sutra. These are called "the Six Schools of the Ancient Capital."

The *Abhidharmakosa* of Vasubandhu and the *Vijnaptimatratasiddhi* of Dharmapala have become known to the West only through the French translations by L. de La Vallee Poussin. In Japan there have been composed hundreds of treatises upon them, where you will find copious references to other works.

Buddhist Logic also was introduced into Japan in a very early period. At the time of Emperor Kotoku, Dusho (who died in 700 A.D.) went to China and studied with Tzu-en (Jion) under Hiuen Tsang the system of Buddhist Idealism (vijnaptimatrata), which was then the newest thought, and besides this, the system of Buddhist Logic. Having come home in 661 under Emperor Saimei's reign, Dusho transplanted the system of logic into Japan. As he disseminated his newly acquired knowledge at the Gango-ji temple, this tradition beginning with him is generally referred to as 'the tea-

ching at the Southern Temple'.

It was only sixteen years after Buddhist logic was introduced to China that it was, further, conveyed to Japan. Later on, in 716, Genbo went to China to study Buddhist logic under Chih-chow (Chishu), the third descendent of the founder of the Hosso-sect (Buddhist Idealism). After he came back to Japan, he propagated the learning at the Kofuku-ji Temple, which is referred to as 'the teaching at the Northern Temple'. Since that time, this system of logic came to be studied in the Hasso sect as a discipline subordinate to the study of the Buddhist Idealism and the *Abhidharmakosa* (a compendium of Sarvastivada doctrine). The number of books written in Japan on Buddhist logic amounts to a considerable figure, and even the bibliography entered at the end of the *Immyo Zuigenki* (The Origin of Buddhist Logic) written by Hotan in the middle of the Tokugawa Period (in the first half of the 18th century) comprises eighty-four Japanese works of the kind. It seems that more than two hundred works were composed before the advent of Western influence.

Kukai or St. Cobo (774-835) introduced Esoteric Buddhism (Vajrayana) from China into Japan, together with the learning of Sanskrit characters, which has been called "shittan". It is a Japanese transcription of the Sanskrit word "siddham", which you will find at the beginning of ancient Indian inscriptions and works. Some Sanskrit texts have been transmitted to us by way of Chinese transcription.

Sanskrit scholarship was re-established in modern Japan by Jogon (1639-1702). He edited some Sanskrit dharanis, which will be utilized in the critical edition scheduled to be published soon by Dr. R. O. Meisezahl, the German Sanskritist. He composed a wonderful masterpiece in Sanskrit learning, entitled *shittan-sanmitsusho*. St. Jiun (1718-1804 A.D.) succeeded in compiling a thesaurus of many extant Sanskrit manuscripts of the kind, which consisted of one thousand volumes. Some portion of it was edited last year by the "Jiun Sonja One Hundred Fiftieth Death Anniversary Commemoration Society".

Although the common people in Japan do not know Sanskrit, yet Nagari characters have been familiar to them. You will find in Japanese cemeteries many wooden boards, on which ancient Nagari characters are written, erected for the spiritual beatitude of the deceased. In Japanese Temples you will find many images of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other godlike beings, on which Nagari characters are inscribed. They are called their seeds (*bija*).

The Development of Indian Studies in Modern Japan

In the year 1879 a lecture course of Buddhist learning was opened by Tanzan Hara who was a Zen priest of the Soto sect, in the Imperial University of Tokyo (the appellation 'Imperial' has been dropped following the second World War). Subsequently in 1881, a regular course entitled "Indian Philosophy" was formally established there. He made use of the *Yuimakyo* (the Chinese version of the Vimalakirti-nirdesa-sutra), the *Fukyo-hen* and the *Mahayana-Sraddha-Utapada-Sastra* (the Awakening of Faith in Mahayana Buddhism) of Asvaghosa.

This was only some years after the realisation of Meiji Restoration in which the abolition of Buddhism as a national religion was emphasized as one of the general principles, and it was thought undesirable that a lecture-course on Buddhism should be held in the national University, so the course of Buddhist studies was introduced under the name "Indian Philosophy" which sounded irrelevant to any specific religion. However, it was actually Buddhist doctrine that was taught then. The very fact that a Chinese book such as *Fukyo-hen* was selected as one of the text-books, at once implies a sort of vindication of Buddhism against attacks from outside, chiefly from narrow-minded Shintoists. The title "Fukyo-hen" means vindication of Buddhism by making it clear that the true purpose of Buddhism does not contradict with Confucianism or Taoism. The conciliatory argumentation of this sort could apply to attacks by Shintoism also. The *Mahayana-Sraddha-Utpada-sastra*, moreover, was one to which great importance had been attached from ancient times as essential for the comprehension of Mahayana Buddhist Philosophy. For sometime more, however, Buddhist doctrine was virtually treated of in lectures under the denomination "Indian Philosophy".

In 1904 an independent chair of Indian Philosophy was established in the University of Tokyo in which Junjiro Takakusu opened a lecture course under the title of "History of Indian Philosophy". For the first time then, a branch of learning was set up for the historical, objective and critical study of the philosophical ideas in India, inclusive of Buddhism proper. This actually corresponded to what is called by the name "Indian Philosophy" in the Occident. Both Taiken Kimura and Hakuju Ui followed this tradition, and now the author of this article is the successor to the latter. On the other hand, Buddhist doctrine or theology, for convenience's sake, has been lectured on and studied under one and the same denomination of "Indian Philosophy". Such scholars as Sensho Murakami, Daijo Tokiwa, Daito Shimaji, Prof.

Shoson Miyamoto and Prof. Shinsho Hanayama belong to this tradition. They were highly versed in traditional lore of Buddhist theology and history, and yet they advanced their studies from a critical and scientific view-point. Sanskrit study has been established as another chair, which Prof. Naoshiro Tsuji is holding now. In the national Universities of Kyushu, Hokkaido, Nagoya and Osaka, too, studies and lectures on the above-mentioned branches are pursued and delivered under the one title "Indian Philosophy". In the University of Kyoto, historical and critical studies on Indian Philosophy in general are studied and lectured on in a course of the department of Philosophy, and those of Buddhist doctrine in a course of religion, whereas Sanskrit studies belong to the department of Literature. In Tohoku University at Sendai, two chairs for Indian studies have been established, which in effect are chiefly for the studies of Indian Philosophy and Buddhism. There are many colleges established and maintained by different Buddhist denominations. In Tokyo there are Komazawa, Taisho, Rissho and Toyo Universities; in Kyoto Ryukoku, Otani, Hanazono, Bukkyo Shuchiin and Seizan Universities or colleges; in Wakayama prefecture, Koyasan University; in Shiga prefecture Eizan College; in Nagoya Tokai-dobo and Aichi-Gakuin Colleges; in Shizuoka prefecture Sozangakin College. Besides these there are colleges and schools set up by some of Buddhist colleges and sects. The universities and colleges are, one and all, institutions established with the specific purpose of giving education mainly to the disciples of Buddhist priests expecting them to acquire culture high enough to enable them to take active part in the world as religionists. In these institutions, what is studied in the main is the doctrine and history peculiar to each sect and the studies of Indian Philosophy are pursued only incidentally. A general introduction to Indian Philosophy is, however, prescribed as a requirement.

Indian studies in modern Japan began with exploiting, in Chinese versions, Indian texts in the Western light. Chinese versions of the Buddhist texts and other Chinese books of importance, investigated in the light of Indian studies, were actively introduced to the Western world. Many works were translated into the languages of the West. In this respect specially remarkable are the achievements of Bunyu Naijo and Junjiro Takakusu. They found many ancient manuscripts of Sanskrit Buddhist Sutras in some ancient Japanese temples and edited them at Oxford in collaboration with F. Max Muller and other scholars in the series *Anecdota Oxoniensia*. Some of them were written in archaic Brahmi scripts, and they are regarded as the most ancient ones extant, except those found in Central Asia. Other manuscripts were written in Chinese transcription and they reduced them to Sans-

krit. Nanjo published an epoch-making catalogue of the Chinese versions of Buddhist sutras. It has served as a guide for researches on Chinese versions of Buddhist Scriptures. Takakusu translated the Chinese version of the *Suvarnasaptati*, a commentary on the Samkhya-Karika of Isvarakrsna, into French with full annotations. This commentary is very similar to that of Mathara and yet not completely the same, and it is supposed to be the most ancient commentary on the Samkhya-Karika. Takakusu translated I-tsing's Travel Records into English, which were enthusiastically welcomed by all historians.

The late Unrai Wogihara made a great contribution by publishing the Sanskrit Texts of Yasomitra's *Abhidharmakosavyakhya*, Maitreya's *Bodhisattvabhumi*, Haribhadra's *Abhisamayalankaraloka* and the *Saddharma-pundarika-sutra*. His dissertation *Lexikalisches aus der Bodhisattvabhumi* is very valuable for the understanding of some Buddhist Sanskrit terms.

The early historical studies on Indian Philosophy consisted chiefly of the introduction and importation of the method and results of studies achieved by Western scholars. Especially remarkable was the influence of Paul Deussen, the German scholar, which was recognizable in Taiken in Kimura's line of studies. Kimura's works were highly welcomed by intellectuals as good guides for understanding Indian thought. He published works on the Veda, the six systems of Indian Philosophy, early Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism.

Contemporary State of Studies

Indian studies were furthered remarkably by Dr. Hakuju Ui. Having studied under Richard Garbe in Germany and F.W. Thomas in England also, he introduced into this country a precise historical method of study, and making references to materials formerly rendered from the original into Chinese, he could achieve independent results in the field of his specialisation. He translated into English the Dasapadartha-sastra of Maticandra which has been preserved only in a Chinese version. This was published by the Royal Asiatic Society, (London) in 1917. It is well known that the Vaisesika Philosophy assumes six or seven categories only whereas this sastra upholds ten categories. No historian of Indian Philosophy could ignore this treatise. He studied the origin of the Six Systems, with special reference to notices thereon in Chinese versions of Buddhist scriptures. He could fix the date of schools more precisely. He studied the development of the scriptures of Early Buddhism in minute details. We would venture to say that no Western scholar could ever rival him in this respect, because he could fully

utilize Chinese versions in comparison with Pali texts. He carried on the study of Mahayana Buddhism, availing himself both of the long tradition of traditional Buddhist scholarship in Japan and of the Western philological method. Recently he published a study on the Vimsatika and Trimsika of Vasubandhu. He asserted there was a historical personage called Maitreya before Asanga as the founder of Buddhist Idealism (*Zeitschrift fur Indologie and Iranistik VI*, 1928, pp. 215ff. and *Lanman Studies*, Harvard University Press, 1929).

He thus systematized the outlines of a "History of Indian Philosophy" chronologically speaking, the most minute and elaborate yet produced. *Studies in Indian Philosophy* in 12 volumes written by him is a magnificent monument. All his publications would amount to forty volumes. Dr. Ui, an ex-Professor of the Tokyo and Tohku Universities and a member of the Academy of Japan, was awarded the Cultural Order. This is the greatest mark of distinction, still current in Japan, which is given by the Emperor to those who have made the most signal contributions in the field of cultural understanding.

Indian studies are very alive in different universities. Dr. Naoshiro Tsuji, a member of the Academy of Japan, published an elaborate work entitled *The Bhagavadgita* (1950) and *The Vedas and Upanisads* (1953).

In nearly the same field, Dr. Gisho Nakano, ex-President of Koyasan University, published Japanese translations of the Manavadharma-Sastra, the Yajnavakkya-smrti and the Kautilya Arthasastra. The late Prof. Hisao Sakai of Hokkaido University had been continuing his studies on the Upanisads. His posthumous work *Religions of India* was published.

Dr. Yensho Kanakura, Professor emeritus of Tohoku University, Sendai, and a member of the Academy of Japan, has translated many Jain works, the Tarkabhasa and other philosophical works, into Japanese. His elucidation of Indian Philosophy is very popular. He was awarded the Academy prize for his excellent work *A History of Ideas in Medieval India*, 2 vols. which followed his *A History of Indians, in ancient India*. The writer of the present article completed and published a 4-volume work on Pre-Sankara Vedanta.

Dr. Nikki (Ryukan) Kimura, Professor emeritus of Rissho University, studied under Haraprasad Shastri and lectured at the University of Calcutta, his stay there amounting in all to nineteen years. His work, *A Historical Study of the Terms Hinayana and Mahayana*, Calcutta 1927, is well-known to scientific circles in the West. Mr. Shinjo Suguro is his successor in the same university. Prof. Gikai Matsuo of Kyoto University has been engaged in the study of Nyaya and Yoga. Studies on Indian logic by the

method applying symbolic logic was carried on by Prof. Toru Yasumoto of Hosei University, Mr. Atsushi Uno of the University of Kyoto, and by the present writer. An English translation of Sigraja's Pramana Samucharya is going to be published by Prof. Masaaki Hattori of Kyoti University, and that of Dharmakirti's Bhamana varttika by Prof. Masatoshi Nagatomi of Harvard University, both in Harvard Oriental Series. Studies on early Buddhism are also prosperous.

The late Masaharu Anesaki published a preliminary work on the concordance of Pali texts with their Chinese versions and this work was completed by the late Chizen Akanuma. Dr. Shunto Tachibana, ex-President of Komazawa University, who wrote a work on Buddhist ethics in English, and Dr. Makoto Nagai, ex-Professor of the University of Tokyo, were pioneers of Pali studies in this field. Both of them wrote Pali grammars in Japanese. Dr. Nagai edited at the Pali Society in London the Samantapasadika, a commentary on the Vinaya, in collaboration with Prof. Kogen Muzuno who has published many valuable papers on Pali Buddhism. Prof. Kogen Midzuno of Kamazawa University and formerly of the University of Tokyo, has published many valuable books on Pali Buddhism and a voluminous Pali grammar, and has translated many Pali books into Japanese. His index to the Pali Tripitaka (3 vols.) is very helpful to scholars. Dr. Shozen Kumoi, Professor, Otani University published a practical Pali dictionary. Dr. Baiyu Watanabe wrote many excellent works, not only in Japanese but also in English. Professor Ryusho Hikata, Prof. emeritus of Kyushu University has published a work on the Jatakas. The elaborate concordance of the Jatakas compiled by him might be available for foreigners who have a rudimentary knowledge of Japanese. Prof. Akira Hirakawa of the University of Tokyo is specializing in the study of the Vinaya; a part of his studies was published in his *Studies in the Vinaya*, Tokyo, 1960. Prof. Kyosho Hayashima of the University of Tokyo completed a voluminous study on Southern Buddhism, emphasizing the climatological and sociological background, which is soon to be published. Prof. Kotatsu Fijita of Hokkaido University and Prof. Egaka Mazeda of Tokai Doto University made remarkable contributions.

As Japan claims to be the "Land of Mahayana", studies in Mahayana are very alive. The Saddharmapundarika-sutra, the most popular among Mahayana-sutras in our country, is a favourite subject of study. The late Giei Honda published some fragments of it found in Central Asia. Professor Kagaku Fuse carried on historical studies on it. Prof. Shinya Kusugal, now at Santiniketan has euthusiastically engaged in the study of the sutras of Pure Land Buddhism.

Prof. Atsuaji Achikaga of Kyoto University edited a gatha portion of Sukhavati-vyuha-sutra based upon a newly found manuscript. Dr. Shoson Miyamoto, Professor emeritus of the University of Tokyo, who has a deep knowledge of Mahayana, has nearly finished an English translation of Pingala's commentary on Nagarjuna's Madhyamaka-sastra. A study by Prof. Mitsuyashi Saigusa of Kokugakuin University on Nagarjuna's Prajnaparamitasutra-upadesa will be published in Germany. Professor Giyu Nishi of Toyo University published a large work, elaborating the conception of "wisdom" (prajna). Professor Yukio Sakamoto of Rissho University is an authority on the Gandavyuhasutra. Professor Ryujo Yamada has investigated the social background of Mahayana Buddhism and made an exhaustive survey of Sanskrit Buddhist texts.

Professor Susumu Yamaguchi, ex-President of Otani University, Kyoto, who is very famous even in the West for his critical edition of the "Madhyaantavibhagasastra", published a work on Buddhist Idealism, which contains a Japanese translation of Vinitadeva's commentaries on the Vijnaptimatratavimsatika and the Trimsika of Vasubandhu, Sthiramati's commentary on the latter and a study on Dignaga's Alambana-Pariksa together with its Tibetan text and its rendering into Sanskrit. This work, together with his former ones bears testimony to the high standard that Japanese scholarship has attained even in the purely philological department of Indian studies. Buddhist Idealism is a favourite subject for Japanese scholars. Prof. Yoshifumi Ugeda of Nagoya University published an ingenious work on it. Dr. Jikito Naomichi Takasaki of Komazawa University made noteworthy contributions in the study of the Mahayana Uttaratantrasastra (to be published by ISMEO). Not a year passes without several dissertations being submitted to the various Universities on the subject of Buddhist Idealism. The special merit of Japanese scholarship lies in the comparative study of Indian texts with the Chinese and Tibetan versions, as has been already mentioned. So Indian studies in Japan have their own merit which might not be expected so easily in those by foreign scholars.

Tibetan studies also have reached a high standard. Mr. Tokan Tada, ex-Lecturer of Tohoku and Tokyo Universities, who was teaching at the American Academy of Asian Studies, San Francisco, and Prof. Hakuyu Hadano published last year on the advice of and in collaboration with Prof. Yensho Kanakura and Ryujo Yamada, "A Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan works on Buddhism at the Seminar of Indology, Tohoku University, Sendai". This forms a sequel to "The complete Catalogue of the Sde-dge edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon" published by

the same Seminar some years ago. Professor Hidenori Kitagawa of the University of Nagoya is going to publish an English translation of Dharmakirti's Samtanantarasiddhi.

In Kyoto also Tibetan studies are flourishing, encouraged and stimulated by Dr. S. Yamaguchi and by others. Prof. Shuki Yoshimura has been very actively publishing works on Tibetan Buddhism. Dr. Shoju Inaba of Otani University is going to publish an elaborate Grammar of Tibetan which could be comparable to Prof. Lalou's. Prof. Gadjin of Kyoto University, Dr. Seisho Nazawa, ex-professor of Koyasan University and Mr. Kensho Hasuba of Otani University are carrying on noteworthy studies in this field.

As for modern India, it is regrettable that studies in our country are terribly poor. Profs. Reiichi Gamo and Kijuya Doi of Tokyo Foreign Language University are two of the few experts in that field. Prof. Masakiyo Miyamoto of Osaka University translated Romain Rolland's works on Ramakrishna and Gandhi into Japanese. Works of Gandhi and Nehru have however, been translated to a considerable extent.

It would be needless to say that studies of Japanese Buddhism are prospering in our country. Dr. Shinsho Hanayama, Professor emeritus of the University of Tokyo, an authority in this field, now heads the Buddhist Churches of America as bishop, whose headquarters are located in San Francisco.

As for Zen Buddhism, it is a well-known fact that Dr. D. T. Suzuki has made an enormous contribution in Western languages. He has now attained world-wide fame and we need scarcely say anything about his achievements. Prof. Reito Masunaga of Komazawa University has recently translated some fundamental texts of the Soto sect of Zen Buddhism. Even a Catholic priest, Dr. H. Dumoulin who lives in Japan, has achieved remarkable results in this field. Cultural interchange between Buddhism and Taoism was made clear by Prof. K. Fukui of Waseda University and others.

A national body of scholars, under the name of the "Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies" has been in existence for over eleven years. The inaugural ceremony took place on the 15th of October 1951 in the campus of the University of Tokyo. This association has about 1900 members and is headed by Dr. Shoson Miyamoto, who has made enormous efforts in bringing up the society and is regarded as the doyen among scholars in this field. The head office is located at the Seminar of Indian Philosophy of Tokyo University and it publishes a journal regularly.

Scientific journals are now being published by different universities after a long interval of suspension due to the war. *The Young East*, an English journal, has resumed publication: this journal will provide introduc-

tory knowledge of each sect of Japanese Buddhism.

As a private one, the Okurayama Institute for Cultural Researches, Yokohama, which is a graduate Institute for Indology was founded by Mr. Kunihiko Okura about thirty five years ago and its present President was the late Yasaburo Shimonaka. At present the emphasis of study has been laid here on Indian Philosophy, and the writer of this article has been called to head the staff. We should not forget to mention that the work of compiling *The Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* is going on in collaboration with the group of Ceylonese scholars headed by Dr. G. Malalasekera. Profs. K. Hayashimu and Shuyu Kanaoka were sent to Ceylon as assistant Editors, and now Mr. Koyu Tamura has succeeded them.

Since the war Japanese scholars engaged in Indian studies have been suffering from many difficulties. On account of the strict regulations by our government due to financial shortage, students could not go abroad on their own account. Purchase of material for study was not so easy. Opportunities for publication in western languages were extremely rare. Although difficulties are still lingering, we are making efforts however to overcome them hoping for the advent of better days for the cause of mutual understanding.

SANSKRIT STUDIES IN THE NETHERLANDS

J. W. DE JONG

THE Dutch are taking a great interest in Indian culture, an interest which was already very lively in the seventeenth century, when Dutch merchants were trading on the coasts of Southern India. In 1609 the first Dutch establishment was founded at Pulicat. To this place not only merchants were being sent but also ministers of the reformed church to take care of the spiritual needs of the Dutch colonists and to spread the teachings of the Gospel.

One of these ministers, Abraham Rogerius, became acquainted with two Brahmans who spoke Portuguese. Rogerius carefully collected the information he received from them during his ten years' stay in Pulicat in order to give a comprehensive account of Hindu mythology, rites and customs. The result of his study was published in 1651, two years after his death.

His book, which subsequently has been translated into German and French, contains the first detailed description of Hinduism and even in 1898 Burnell has given high praise to it in the following words—"It is still, perhaps, the most complete account of Southern Indian Hinduism, though by far the earliest." Moreover, Rogerius was the first to make known to the European reader a famous Sanskrit work, the Centuries of Bhartrhari, two of which, the Vairagya and the Nitisataka, have been rendered into Dutch in this book. This translation, of course, is far from being literal, for Rogerius had to rely on his Portuguese speaking informants.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many other ministers or officials recorded their experiences of Hindu life and habits during their stay in India or on the occasion of official visits to the court of the Moghuls, but I will refrain from enumerating their names and accomplishments.

During these two centuries much information about India became known, but, of course, no systematic study was being made of Hindu culture. Moreover, although several Dutchmen acquired some knowledge of modern Indian languages like Hindustani, Tamil and Telugu, nobody knew Sanskrit with the sole exception, perhaps, of Herbert de Jager, a very gifted man who studied oriental languages and mathematics, botany and astronomy at Leyden University.

From 1670 to 1680 he stayed in Coromandel and studied Tamil and Telugu and probably also Sanskrit, for in a letter to the famous botanist Rumphius he observed that the High Javanese language consists for the greater part of words borrowed from Brahmanical and Malabar languages, that is to say, from Sanskrit and Tamil.

It is a great pity that his nots have not been preserved and nothing more is known about the Sanskrit studies of de Jager who must have been a man with a passionate interest in the studies of Indian languages and culture. His example was not followed and during the next century, the 18th, the study of Hinduism continued to be stimulated only by the practical needs of commerce, official relations and the desire to propagate the Protestant religion.

It was only in the 19th century that a pure scientific interest was revived. The academic study of India started later in Holland than in other European countries such as England, Germany and France. The first University professor to teach Sanskrit at Leyden University was Hamaker, who stimulated the study of comparative linguistics and Sanskrit in the twenties and thirties of the 19th century.

After his death, Sanskrit was being taught by the professor of Hebrew, Rutgers, but the real foundation of Sanskrit studies is due to one of his pupils, Hendrik Kern. In 1851 Kern came to Leyden and devoted himself with tremendous energy to the study of Germanic, Slavic and Indo-Iranian languages, but his primary interest was in Sanskrit. After having received in 1855 his Ph.D. at Leyden University, with a thesis on the information given by Greek authors about the monuments of the old Persian kings, he went to Berlin where the celebrated German Sanskritist, Weber, was an outstanding promoter of Sanskrit studies.

On his advice Kern started copying manuscripts of a famous astronomical

text, Varahamihira's *Brhatsamhita*, of which he published an edition in the Bibliotheca Indica and the translation in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. In 1858 Kern returned to Holland and during several years taught Greek at a college, at the same time using all his leisure to continue his Sanskrit studies which resulted among other things in the translation of the *Sakuntala*.

This work evoked great interest in Holland and his University teachers advocated the foundation of a chair for Sanskrit at the University of Leyden, but without immediate success. Disappointed, Kern left Holland and went to London where he received an invitation to become professor at the Brahmana and Queen's College at Benares.

During the two years he stayed at Benares he felt very happy and in his later life he always liked to talk about this period, in which he became intimately acquainted with many Indian pupils. One of these pupils presented him with a highly intricate poem, in which he made a word-play on the different meanings of the word *Karna*, used to render Kern's name into Sanskrit.

In 1865 the University of Leyden finally decided to ask Kern to become the first professor of Sanskrit at that University, and not without hesitation—for he loathed the idea of leaving India and his beloved pupils—Kern accepted this invitation and returned to his home-country.

During almost 40 years—he retired in 1903 at the age of 70—Kern instructed many generations of pupils, several of whom became well-known scholars. Besides being an inspiring teacher Kern had close relations with almost all the great Sanskrit scholars of that time. By his publications and his contributions to the Petersburg Dictionary he substantially advanced the study of Sanskrit. As regards his scientific work, it would be impossible to enumerate all his writings, but I will restrict myself to indicating the main fields covered by his activities.

After having edited Varahamihira's *Brhatsamhita* he also edited the *Yogayatra*. In 1874 he published in Leyden the *Aryabhatiya;* this work is the first text published in Devanagari script in Holland. Great attention was paid also by Kern to Buddhist studies; he published an extensive history of Buddhism, a translation and an edition of the Lotus of the Good Law, an edition of the *Jatakamala,* valuable additions to Childer's Pali Dictionary and a Manual of Indian Buddhism in the series of Manuals of Indian Studies. Among his activities special mention has to be made of his fundamental work on Old Javanese literature in which Sanskrit influence is preponderant.

When Kern died in 1917 at the ripe age of 84 Sanskrit studies in the Netherlands had made great progress. He had been able to train pupils capable of carrying the torch. His successor at Leyden University, Speyer, distinguished himself mainly in the study of Sanskrit syntax—of Buddhist texts, he edited the *Avadanasataka*, translated the *Jatakamala* and proposed many emendations in the text of the *Divyavadana*, *the Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarananda*—and finally in the study of story literature by publishing his "Studies about the *Kathasaritsagara*."

While Speyer was working at Leyden University another scholar brought fame to Utrecht University by his excellent work on the literature of the Brahmanas and the Sutras. Everybody acquainted with this branch of literature knows the name of Caland. Although he was never able to visit India, many of his text editions were published there. Caland also was very much interested in the study of Old Dutch, Portuguese, German and French accounts of India, and he has added much to our knowledge of the history of Indian studies.

An entirely different field of study has been explored by a man whose name I so often heard from the mouth of Indian scholars, Professor Vogel. Before the First World War he worked during thirteen years in the Archaeological Survey where he made many Indian friends. In 1914 he returned to Leyden to occupy the Chair of Sanskrit archaeological Studies and obtained a firm footing in the Netherlands. In order to promote these studies in a more efficient way he founded in 1925 an institute for the study of Indian and Indonesian Archaeology, the Kern Institute.

The *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, published by the Institute, is a precious tool appreciated highly by the students of archaeology who for more than 30 years consulted this valuable guide in the overwhelming mass of literature on this subject. Almost 60 years ago, in 1897, Professor Vogel published his first work, a beautiful translation of the famous *Little Clay Cart* of Sudraka. His last work *The Goose in Indian Literature* has been published posthumously in 1962.

Let me conclude with a bird's eye view of the present state of Sanskrit studies in the Netherlands. Chairs of Sanskrit studies exist at the Universities of Leyden, Utrecht, Amsterdam and Groningen. The Chairs of Leyden, Utrecht and Groningen are occupied by a full professor, the Chair of Amsterdam by an associate professor.

At Leyden University Professor Kuiper, the successor of Professor Vogel, occupies himself with Indo-European linguistics, Indian linguistics, Vedic and Iranian studies. Moreover, he is one of the few European

scholars who have a thorough knowledge of Dravidian and Munda languages. His work on Proto-Munda words in Sanskrit, published in 1948, gave rise to many discussions.

At Leyden University, where Oriental studies have been actively fostered since the 17th century, two other chairs are of direct importance for Indian studies, a chair of the archaeology and history of South-Eastern Asia, held actually by Professor Th. P. Galestios, the successor of the former Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of Indonesia, Professor F.D.K. Bosch, and a Chair of Buddhism and Tibetan which was created in 1956.

At Utrecht University the Chair of Sanskrit studies is occupied since 1932 by Professor Gonda who has published many works in the field of Old Javanese and Sanskrit literature. One of his most important studies, entitled *Sanskrit in Indonesia* has been published by the International Academy of Nagpur. Among his latest publications have to be mentioned his *Aspects of Early Vishnuism* and his *Die Religionin Indiens. I: Veda und "alterer Hinduismus."*

At Amsterdam Faddegon has been teaching Sanskrit for almost forty years. He has contributed much to the study of Indian philosophy—his great book on the *Vaisesika* system is well known—and to the study of Panini and of Indian music. Before him Indian philosophy had been rather neglected in the Netherlands, with the sole exception of Bruining who already in 1871 before Deussen partially translated Sankara's commentary on the *Brahma-sutras.* We are confident that this field will not be abandoned, for a young Dutch scholar, Professor Van Buitenen, at present Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Chicago, has proved his abilities in this domain by his translation of Ramanuja's *Gitabhasya.*

After the war Faddegon has been succeeded by Prof. Scharpe, the author of a translation of the *Kadambari* and actually engaged upon the study of Kalidasa's works. Professor J. E. Van Lohuizen-de Leemer, the author of *The 'Scythian' period* holds the chair of the archaeology and history of South-Eastern and Southern Asia. New Indian languages and their lierature are being taught by Professor K. S. J. M. de Vrees. At Groningen University Professor Ensink, devotes himself to the study of the *Samkhya* system, after having already published translations of Buddhist Mahayana texts into English and Dutch. I sincerely hope that in this short and very incomplete picture of Sanskrit studies in the Netherlands I have nevertheless been able to give an idea of the intensity of our interests in Indian culture, which is of such a great and lasting interest to mankind.

INDIAN STUDIES IN POLAND

EUGENIUSZ SLUSZKIEWICZ

INDIA had been heard of in Poland as early as the Middle Ages. That knowledge, however, derived from Latin compilations of the epoch of the declining Roman Empire and recorded in chronicles and geographical works, was naturally extremely hazy and simply swarmed with fantastic stories and tales.

When in the year 1498 Vasco da Gama reached the port of Calicut and opened up a new era of relations between Europe and India, he found that there had already been on the sub-continent a Jew from Poznan (a Polish city whose existence has been recorded since the 10th century) for over a quarter of a century. This man was in the service of the Ruler of Bijapur who sent him to gather secret information about the newcomers. The Portuguese captured him as a spy and took him to Portugal where he was baptized and received the name of Gaspar. This Gaspar da Gama, alias Gaspar da India, provided the first definite information about the country to the Portuguese.

About the middle of the 16th century Erazi Kretkowski was said to have visited India, but the only information regarding it is found in a brief epitaph written by the great poet of that century, Jan Kochanowski. An authentic travel account was given for the first time by Krzysztof Pawlowski of Pomerania who made his voyage to India on a Portuguese ship and reached Goa in 1596. That account describes the flora, fauna and the products of the country as well as its inhabitants.

In the 17th century quite a number of Poles had travelled from Lisbon to Goa. Nearly all of them are known by their names although there were some whose names have not been recorded. They were Christian monks, mostly Jesuits. Missionary work in the East had been initiated about the middle of the 16th century by the Jesuit Francis Xavier, canonized seventy years after his death, and gained in course of time increasing popularity. Among the Jesuits who had spent a certain period of time, not too long, in India were: Andrzej Rudomina, Wojciech Mecinski, Mikolaj Smogulecki and Michal Boym. Their real field of work, where they brought immense credit to Poland, was China. Gabriel Letowski was the only missionary who had spent over forty years in India (1617-1659), but unfortunately exact facts about his activities are not available. We also know that certain Carmelites did missionary work in Goa. The most prominent among them were Mikolaj Kazimierski (about the middle of the 17th century) and Jan Drzewiecki (towards the end of the 17th century). It is to be regretted that we do not possess detailed knowledge of the activities of those Polish missionaries who had spent long periods of their lives in India.

It should be emphasized here that contrary to mission work done by representatives of many other countries, Polish missionaries had no ulterior secret motives, and that religious activities sprang from nothing other than a spirit of devotion and pure love of fellow man. Poland had never entertained any intention of extending her commerce to Asia and still less of acquiring colonies. Among the missionaries there must have been other Poles as well. But it is extremely difficult to prove their Polish origin merely from the names given them by their respective orders.

By the 18th century Polish missionaries were no longer so numerous. We should mention above all Mikolaj Szostak, the Carmelite who went to Malabar in 1736, and was consecrated as Bishop of Verapoli (Travancore) in 1748. Beginning from the middle of the century there appear in India Polish soldiers seeking adventure and being drawn into the services of the Dutch or the French. Michal Dzierzanowski, for instance, and above all the two authors of memoirs, in a manner supplementing each other's work: Maksymilian Wiklinski and Teodor Dzwonkowski. The memoirs of the latter deal, however, mainly with Indonesia and to some extent with Ceylon. There was an Antoni Wodzicki, who also served in the Dutch Company and died at Batavia.

It was not, however, till the beginning of the 19th century that India, ancient India that is, became the subject of scientific interest in Poland. This is easily understood when we take into account Poland's lack of mate-

rial interests and her tragic political condition in the second half of the 18th century, at a time when other European countries took an increasingly active interest in the languages, culture and literatures of India. The stimulus behind such interests in our country was supplied partially at any rate, by the fashion of the exoticism in aristocratic society with King Stanislaw August Poniatowski at its head. This fashion found its way into the country from France and was centred round India above everything else. Among the works of art collected by this last Polish king, there were paintings and drawings of Indian gods and goddesses.

Walenty Skorochod Majewski somehow procured a copy of a Sanskrit grammar, published at Serampore in 1806, and devoted himself earnestly to studying the language. Beginning from 1809 he spoke on the Sanskrit alphabet, at meetings of the Warsaw Society of Friends of Sciences read out excerpts of Sanskrit texts, compared Sanskrit words with Polish, summarized the Ramayana, and in 1816 published a book containing some of those lectures. In the introduction to that book he dealt among other things with the "brotherhood" of the inhabitants of India and the ancient Slavs. He also included in the work two fragments of the Ramayana based on A. Chezy's translation. He got Sanskrit types founded at his own expense, and used them for publishing a text entitled Brahma-vaivarta-purana along with a Latin translation by Stenzler and his own Polish version, which last was, it must be admitted, rather fantastic.

Of greater value than Majewski's writings was "Ancient History of India" by the famous Polish historian Joachim Lelewel, published in 1820 and based on works of foreign scholars of those days. The book contained a little geography, some mythology and that much real history which he could gather from his studies of Greek and Latin authors, for which he could not very well be blamed.

A detailed Sanskrit grammar with a comparative study of Sanskrit and Old Slavonic as well as Polish was written by Rev. Franciszek Ksawery Malinowski. It was published between 1872 and 1880 and was based on the grammar by F. Bopp. But owing to lack of a scientific background of the author, who was self-educated, the book was of no use to linguists despite all the ardent and hard work behind it. It should be noted here that in Cracow University Bernard Juelg, the classical philologist, lectured on Sanskrit in 1860-1861, and subsequently Jan Baudouin de Courtenay conducted a course from 1894 to 1898. Also Jan Rozwadowski lectured on Sanskrit from 1899 to 1926 with periodic interruptions. These lectures were, however, meant for specialized linguists.

The first Polish Sanskrit scholar was Leon Mankowski. After publishing his treatise on the significance of the altered version of the Panchatantra by Ksemendra (Der Auszug aus dem Pancatantra in Ksemendra's Brhatkathamanjari, 1892) he was appointed to the Chair of Indology, created in Craco University. Subsequently he published another dissertation on the Kadambari by Bana (WZKM, 1901-1902), but could not contribute a great deal to Sanskrit studies owing to ill health and finally died in 1909 without training any successor.

The lectures in Cracow were taken over four years later by Andrzej Gawronski, who had received his doctor's degree in Indic Philology in Leipzig (the same University where Mankowski too had studied) as a student of E. Windisch. In 1907 Gawronski published his treatise howing on ground of morphological and syntactic data that the ascription of the drama "Mrcchakatika" to Dandin was an improbable hypothesis ("Sprachliche Untersuchungen uber das Mrcchakatika und das Dasakumaracarita"). Soon afterwards while preparing a glossary of Prakrit to that drama, he dealt with the problem of its age and the question of the number of Prakrits used in it. In his opinion the author must have lived before Kalidasa, probably in the 3rd or the 4th century, and the Prakrits were, despite impressions to the contrary, only three, viz. Sauraseni, Magadhi and Maharastri (Am Rande des Mrcchakatika, KZ, 1911). Unfortunately the glossary has remained unpublished; all that has been left behind is a collection of unfinished materials. Extreme ill health—he struggled against T.B. till the end of his short life—interfered with conducting his researches and his pedagogic work as intensely and fruitfully as he had desired. And it was only thanks to his extraordinary will power that he succeeded in achieving whatever he had done despite the serious handicap.

In 1915 two of his dissertations appeared. They were on a poem by Asvaghosa and on an epic by Kalidasa ("Gleanings from Asvaghosa's Buddhacarita" and "The digvijaya of Raghu and some connected Problms" RO, I).

The following year he was appointed Professor in Cracow University. But in 1917 he moved to Lwow University, where he took an increasingly important part not only in academic and pedagogic work but in organizational activities as well. Among his other scientific contributions, we should mention his further researches on Asvaghosa ("Studies on the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature," 1919; "Notes on the Saundarananda," 1922 and 1928), which brought him recognition of such men of learning as E. Hultzsch and E. H. Johnston; also further studies on Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti ("Notes

sur les sources de quelques drames indiens"), cited by A. B. Keith among others. Gawronski devoted a great deal of attention to Sanskrit drama and prepared special studies about its origin, refuting in detail the groundless theory about its dependence on Greek influence. That work was published as late as thirty years after the death of its author in Polish with a resume in French (vide review by L. Sternbach in JAOS, 1949, pp. 104-106). Similarly a posthumous publication was the first independent Sanskrit grammar in Polish (with fragments of Sanskrit texts and a vocabulary) by Gawronski, which appeared in 1932 and has been used till today as a text-book in all the Polish universities. Gawronski was so deeply interested in Asvaghosa that he translated some of the poems and published them under the title "Selected Epic poems of Asvaghosa" shortly before his death.

Gawronski was a scholar—a philologist as well as linguist— of exceptionally wide horizons which make him comparable only to European humanists. I cannot here touch upon his linguistic works, nor his polyglottism of a degree rare not only in Poland, nor his profound interest in philosophy, which prompted him to translate Rabindranath Tagore's "Sadhana" with interesting annotations and to write about the Upanishads in Polish. That man of learning, combining uncommon quickness of thinking and critical sense with an extraordinary gift for synthesis, and gigantic, astonishing scholarship with a rare intellectual intuition, was also an efficient organizer. He was one of the founders of the "Annual of Oriental Studies" (Rocznik orientalistyczny) which reached its 27th volume (the second part of the volume is now being printed), and organized the Lwow Oriental Institute, which continued to exist till 1940, i.e., till the first years of the war. Gawronski's death in 1927 meant for Oriental studies in general and for Indology in particular in Poland an irreparable loss.

Gawronski's successor to the Chair of Indo-European Philology in Lwow was one of his small number of students, J. Kurylowicz, now widely known outside Europe, and to the Chair of Indology was Stefan Stasiak, who had been brought over by Gawronski in 1925 from Paris, where the former had spent many years of his life. Among the works of Stasiak, unfortunately only a few, must be mentioned a thorough study of the Cataka ("Le Cataka," RO, II), a critical edition of the account of Krzyszt of Pawlowski, mentioned above, with a French translation and notes, subsequently supplemented by two series of excurses (RO, IV & V) and finally a handful of translations, particularly of a hundred Sanskrit aphorisms (1931). Stasiak's subjects of special interest were Philosophy and Religion. After the war he went to England where he lived until his tragic death in 1962.

Gawronski had qualified Stanislaw Schayer for a university appointment in 1924. Schayer had studied in Germany, precisely in Heidelberg, Freiburg (Baden) and Munich. His main field of research was philosophy and Religiology, and he published quite a number of long and short contributions in foreign periodicals (ZII, ZfB, AO) as well as in the Rocznik Orientalistyczny. Considerably younger than Stasiak, he was, however, much more active and productive. Just as Gawronski had done in Lwow, Schayer, a privat-docent since 1925 and a professor since 1930 in Warsaw University, was instrumental in founding the Warsaw Oriental Institute, which continued its active existence till the outbreak of the war. It was thanks to his initiative that the organ of the Institute "The Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies" was started (two volumes of the journal were published). He also founded "The Society of Friends of India", whose object was to popularize knowledge about India and her culture in Poland. Schayer did not refrain from writing popular-scientific articles, and wrote among other things a fairly detailed history of Indian literature, the first to appear in Polish and not exclusively based on second-hand information. He also translated a good deal of fragments of works, above all Kalidasa's Sakuntala, published in 1924; the translation has been revised with slight alterations and with a detailed introduction about the poet and his works as also about translations into other European languages; the revised version was published in 1957. Since Schayer had written quite extensively, we have to restrict ourselves to a reference to his contributions as given in a bibliography published in the RO, XXI, pp. 24-27. Schayer fell a victim to tuberculosis at the age of 42, exactly like Gawronski and at the same age.

Beginning from 1927 Helena Willman-Grabowska tried to fill the gap created in Cracow by Gawronski leaving. She had spent long years in Paris and lectured on Sanskrit and Pali at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes from 1920. Considerably older than Schayer, she had a much longer life, possessing exceptionally good health, and died only in 1957. In her numerous works, not long as a rule, she dealt principally with linguistic matters, not confining herself to Sanskrit and Pali (she wrote on composition, use of cases, on genders etc); she also wrote on mythology and religion, folklore and India's constitutional and state problems. We should also mention her translation of parts of the "Kathasaritsagara" including 25 Vetala stories with a detailed introduction.

Indic Studies are now represented in Poland at the universities of Warsaw (Eugeniusz Sluskiewicz), Cracow (Tadeusz Pobozniak), Wroslaw (Ludwik Skurzak), and Lublin (Franciszek Tokarz). In Warsaw the post

of Head of the Department is filled by a professor in ordinary, while in the other universities mentioned above the courses are conducted by docents or lecturers.

The late docent Stanislaw Michalski (1881-1961), a student of L. von Schroeder, is primarily known as translator of selected hymns of the Rgveda, excerpts of the Upanishads, of Dhammapada and some other texts. Besides these, he is known as a research worker in the field of philosophy and religion of ancient India. Franciszek Tokarz, of about the same age, represents the same subjects. E. Sluszkiewicz, Gawronski's pupil in the field of Indian Philology, worked on the linguistic and stylistic side of the text of Kautilya's Arthasastra, on the recensions of the Ramayana and on the relationship of various Sanskrit and Prakrit epic poems and Sanskrit dramas to the Ramayana. He has also worked casually on other subjects such as folklore, etymology, cultural history etc. L. Skurzak, a pupil of Stasiak and Sluszkiewicz, is the author of a study on asceticism in Ancient India, and is generally interested in social and religious matters. T. Pobozniak is interested rather in Gipsy and modern Indian languages. Researches on the Gipsies and their language have a great deal to their credit in Poland; texts and vocabularies were prepared by Jan Rozwadowski and Izydor Kopernicki, while linguistic studies were given by Edward Klich. While on the subject of younger Gipsologists, we should mention the name of Jerzy Ficowski, who is a poet and has devoted many years of his life to the study of the Gipsies.

Before we conclude this brief sketch, we should mention the fact that there are also Polish Indologists outside Poland. The oldest of them is Maryla Falk. She lived in India during the last war and taught at the University of Calcutta for a time, being actually a lecturer at the University of Rome, as far as we know.

Arnold Kunst, a student first of Stasiak's and then of Schayer's, author of "Probleme der budhistischen Logik in der Darstellung des Tattvasamgraha" (1939), went to London before the war and was appointed lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies. After the war he settled down in the U.S.A., where he is employed in the United Nations Organization. Ludwik Sternbach, a pupil of Willman-Grabowska, who spent some time in India during the war, has also been living in the U.S.A. and working in the United Nations Organization for several years. He is an honorary professor of the Bombay University and has won distinction as author of quite a number of treatises and articles on subjects relative to literature and law in ancient India. Wanda Dynowska has been living in India for a considerable length of time. She is known in India as Uma Devi and is

the publisher of a number of volumes of "Indian Anthology" ("Polish-Indian Library").

In view of the long and sustained interest Poland has taken in India and her culture, one can entertain the hope that the recent quickening and strengthening of Indo-Polish relations will bring about further flowering of Indic studies in Poland.

INDIAN STUDIES IN POLAND
STANISAW SCHAYER

ARNOLD KUNST

I

THIS article presents Schayer's contribution to Indian studies in Poland and his role within the framework of Polish endeavours in this direction during the period of his lifetime. In this context, it is not the author's object, or indeed ambition, to offer a comprehensive historical picture of Indian studies in Poland but rather to suggest to the reader what image of the totality of efforts of Polish scholarship may be gleaned from the activities of one prominent scholar set against the background of historical, ideological and "professional" developments related to Indian studies in Poland. The sum total of these developments may be of particular interest for the pre-war period since a multitude of influences and interpretations of Indian philosophy, literature and history converged on Poland since the time when Poland was in a position to establish systematic studies of Sanskrit and Indian culture.

A comprehensive history of Polish achievements in the field of Indian studies would have to include an analytical account of contributions of several orientalists whose share in the promotion of our knowledge of India,

This article has originally appeared under the title "Stanisaw Schayer" in Vol. XXI of the Rocznik Orientalistyczny which was in its entirety dedicated to the memory of the late Stanisaw Schayer (1899-1941), one of the most prominent Polish scholars of Indian philosophy and culture. Later on, with some slight revisions and under a somewhat different title, it was published in The Indo-Asian Culture (Vol. VII, No. 2). In its present form, the article is essentially close to the original.

old and new, has gained recognition also outside of Poland. If the list of the names of such scholars were to be confined only to Schayer's contemporaries, the prominent position of Andrzeg Gawronski and the names of H. William-Grabowska and Stefan Stasiak would be basic for any evaluation of the history of Indian studies in Poland for that period and the period to follow.

Until the twentieth century, Poland could not claim any independent achievements or, in fact, any tradition established in the field of study of Indian culture. Outbursts of interest by the 19th century scholars such as J. Lelewel (contributions to Indian history, astrology and astronomy), Dunin L. Borkowski (translations from *Bhartrhari*) and W. S. Majewski (the first Sanskrit grammar to appear in Poland in Devanagri print), were only glimpses into some of the fragments of systematic studies and discoveries in Indian culture occupying Europe at that time. In the early decades of the twentieth century, organized studies of Indian philology existed practically all over Europe, and the period of publishing synthetic documentarily well-substantiated studies, embracing broad fields of Indian religions, history, philosophies, logic, and literature was in full bloom.

Due to obvious circumstances, actual studies on India did not begin in Poland till 1919, when Gawronski established his Institute at Lwow. Soon thereafter, a small but select group of Polish scholars established itself in the country.

Schayer's contribution to research in religions and philosophies of India is, in the light of his short life, particularly significant. His role of an organizer of Indian studies in the Polish capital is equally outstanding.

Three years after his death in Otwock in December of 1941, it was remarked in connexion with his role in the organization and promotion of Oriental studies in Warsaw, that with the establishment of the Oriental Institute at the Warsaw University, which was largely the result of his efforts, Indology in Poland was fixed as a branch of studies on a basis equal to other humane studies.

To begin his biography from the period near to its end, and close to myself who intensely participated in this phase of his life, Schayer arrived with his wife in London towards the end of August 1939. Impervious to any suggestion to stay on in England, worn out and prepared to face the worst—his habitually clear thinking bore no illusions—he packed up and left after three days of an unhappy sojourn in London. After a roundabout journey through Scandinavia, Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, he and his wife reached Warsaw on the 7th of September 1939, the date

when the general exodus from the capital was sounded.

Soon thereafter, the Institute of Oriental Studies of the University of Warsaw at Krolewska Street in Warsaw was bombed out and burnt down with much of its valuable library acquired largely as the result of Schayer's efforts and organizational ability. Schayer's health was giving way, asthma appearing to give more trouble than the chronic TB. By a fortunate concurrence of events, he suffered no great material hardships during a part of the war and was reasonably well looked after in the Otwock sanatorium, where he died at the age of 42.

In 1916 he entered the recently (1915) re-opened University of Warsaw, where he studied classical languages under the guidance of Prof. Ryszard Ganszyniec. His study in the Warsaw University was, however, of short duration. He soon moved to Germany, where he embarked at the Heidelberg University for the first time on systematic studies of Indian philology. There he was a pupil of the two wellknown scholars, Bruno Liebich and Max Walleser. He did not neglect his philosophical training which he was undergoing under Hans Driesch, the then notable German biologist, philosopher and psychologist.

Schayer often mentioned Driesch as a teacher, to whom he owed much. It is possible that in his article on "Somatism in Indian Psychology" (*Bulletin International de l'Academie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres*, Cracow, 1936) it was the inspiration of Driesch, the pioneer of anti-mechanism in psychology and of dynamic vitalism, that caused Schayer to go into the analysis of the systems of Indian psychology.

After a while Schayer moved to Freiburg in Breisganin Baden. There he studied philosophy with Heinrich Rickert the main, and after Wilhelm Windelband's death, the leading member of the South-west German school of Neo-Kantianists. His theory of culture values and studies on epistemology experienced a new turn with the rising of Husserl's principle of phenomenology. Whether or not Schayer was attending Husserl's lectures in Freiburg, I could not establish for certain. In Freiburg, at the age of 22, Schayer obtained his doctor's degree for the thesis on the *Vorbereiten zur Geschichte der Mahayanistischen Erlosungslehre* (*Zeitschrift fur Buddhismus*, Munich, 1921), probably under the guidance of E. Leumann. Soon thereafter he moved to Munich where he continued his study under Lucian Schermann. Schayer's sojourn in Munich fell in the most critical time which Germany was undergoing in the post-Versailles period, both intellectually and economically. It was the peak of inflation and severe food shortages. Hardships suffered by Schayer at that time are likely to

have prepared the background for his TB which set in so forcefully a few years later. These were also the days of the revolutionary fight in Germany which in Munich began in November 1918.

Having decided not to pursue his career in Germany, Schayer returned to Poland and was habilitated in 1924 by Professor Andrzej Gawronski at the University of Lwow; two years later the habilitation was transferred to the Warsaw University. As the position of a "docent" was unpaid, he taught German, elementary philosophy and classics in a secondary school of a little provincial town. He eagerly accepted, a little later, teaching offers from three schools in Warsaw, which gave him the opportunity of being closer to the University and the literary and scholarly events. When he married in 1925, he already was paid for commissioned lectures at the University of Warsaw. He became extraordinary professor of Indian philology at the end of 1930; the chair of full professor was granted him in 1938. For all practical purposes he held it for one year only.

In 1928 he was overtaken by tuberculosis which was never to leave him. Yet in all the years of ailment I never remember him to have missed a lecture or to delay what was to be accomplished at a given deadline. He was well looked after and was master of his time which he scrupulously divided between work and recuperation. The disease seemed at times to lend him added energy and speed. He was never bashful about it nor did he ever burden anybody by talking about it. He was conscious of his health but never fussy or frightened; he looked after it in so far as it was necessary to live a normal and active life.

Schayer's scholarly activity may be described as clearly falling under two categories which completely supplement each other.

The first is his organizational work in the field of Indian studies. When he emerged in Poland in 1924 after completing his thesis in Germany, there was no organized study in Indian philology in Warsaw. Lwow was at that time leading in studies in Sanskrit under the guidance of Andrzej Gawronski, the actual founder of systematic scholarship in this field in Poland. After Gawronski's death in 1927, Lwow, with an already established Oriental Institute at its University, was conducting regular studies under Stefan Stasiak, professor of Indian philology, and with Eugeniusz Sluszkiewicz, now professor of Indian philology in the Warsaw University, attached to the chair of comparative linguistics occupied by Jerzy Kurylowicz. Indian studies were also conducted in Cracow by Helena Willman-Grabowska, and Sanskrit was taught by Rozwadowski. With the exception of comparative linguistic studies, where Sanskrit was

studied in an ancillary manner, no Sanskrit courses and, even less so, courses of Indian culture, literature or philosophy were held anywhere at the University of Warsaw.

Schayer's ambition was to establish in the capital of Poland an institute which not only would open opportunities for young people for regular study of Indian culture and languages, but would also provide for an outpost enabling students to study other Oriental cultures. Lwow had an institute headed by Z. Smogorzewski and W. Kotwicz, Cracow conducted Oriental studies under the leadership of T. Kowalski. There were other prominent or promising scholars in the two universities or even in Warsaw, who were either teaching under the camouflage of another chair—Schayer himself was first appointed in 1929 associate professor for philosophy—or were attached as assistants to professors who had no more suitable placement for them.

On the 6th of November 1932 the Oriental Institute at the University of Warsaw eventually came to life, the result of unremitting efforts of Schayer, and others' assisting him.

First a humble room on the premises of the University, then in its own location in Krolewska Street, it offered hospitality to scholars of high calibre like A. Zajaczkowski, J. Jaworski, W. Jablonski, R. Ranoszek, S. Przeworski and others. Schayer's seminar for Indology soon housed a library, small but well selected, reputed to be better than some in the leading European Universities.

In order to realize the importance of Schayer's achievements it should be remembered that the knowledge of the East was in Poland saturated with many prejudices. Some of them worked directly against the development of genuine research; others could easily lead it astray. Thus, a number of people believed that Poland faced many more important matters than studies on India or other Asian countries. Right or wrong, this conviction seemed to draw some justification from the economic and political situation of the country. This view was shared, for instance, by some departments of the Ministry of Education. As a result, the needs of Oriental studies did not find too much understanding in the official circles.

On the other hand, there was in the Polish public as in some other countries of Europe and America, a kind of an uncritical enthusiasm for everything Eastern, "a wide-spread admiration for the Oriental wisdom" ("ex Oriente lux") and similar phenomena. India was the first and foremost victim of this enthusiasm. Philosophy and religion of Hinduism and Buddhism were at first imported to Europe mostly by English, French and German

theosophists and presented to the public in their own interpretation. Owing to this, more serious interests did not reach beyond a small circle of scholars. Instead, a conception of cheap and primitive philosophical and religious ideas was introduced to the Polish public as the quintessence of the "Oriental wisdom." It is obvious that this view took particularly firm roots in countries where the scope of Oriental studies was limited. The work of a small group of scholars could not effectively counteract the unscholarly approach.

With the platform firmly established and the prestige to Indian studies duly accorded in the faculty, Schayer felt more secure in disseminating his views on both the knowledge and the substance of Indian culture, religions and philosophy, for the benefit of the Polish lay public at large. Quack-Orientalists from Germany were still fresh in his mind. He had found Herman Kayserling's performance, his school of Wisdom and the *Tagebuch eines Philosophen* particularly disgusting. He saw in Keyserling's "Academy" of Psychoanalysis and Yoga, arranged in the early twenties in Darmstadt, an act of a shallow and pompous farce, all tending to mislead the public in the correct understanding of Indian philosophy, and to warp the essential tenets of this philosophy. He had equally resented the anthroposophical activities of Rudolf Steiner and his "Free High School for Spiritual Science" established after Steiner's exclusion from the theosophic association.

Schayer's resentment did not have its roots merely in the superiority of an expert in a subject misrepresented by amateurs. His was an indignation of an honest and clear thinker at the intellectual dishonesty and cheap and pompous idealism under the disguise of peudo-science. humanitarianism and search for "Weltanschauung."

It may be said that Schayer developed an allergy to any atmosphere that reverberated these moods. He had found, as has been mentioned before, though to a lesser degree and in not so well an organized manner, similar dispositions in Poland. To remedy these, he embarked on a series of activities, one of which was the publication of popular books which would familiarize the Polish public with the principles of Indian philosophy and religions, and with Indian literature and culture. In this period fall his major popular publications on Brahmanism, Buddha and Buddhism, on the philosophical methods of the Indians and Indian and Iranian religions. In the period preceding these major, popularly written religiological and philosophical works, he published some of his translations from Sanskrit, amongst them Kalidasa's *Sakuntala,* Tagore's poems from Bengali, and some essays on the Indian theatre, literature, the Upanishads, etc. [1]

1. See bibliographical list.

Another step towards informed popularization of knowledge of Indian culture was the founding of the "Society of Friends of India" ("Towarzystwo Przyjaciol Indii") which held its periodical meetings with the objective of exchanging information and views on ancient and modern art, literature, political and current events in India.

Yet another organizational activity of Schayer, this time intended to attract attention from abroad to Polish achievements in Oriental scholarship, was marked by the foundation of a periodical *Bieuletyn* with the English subtitle *The Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies.* It was an organ of the Institute and the Oriental Section of the "Warsaw Society of Learning" ("Warszawskie Towarzystwo Naukowe"). This periodical contributed to the partial settlement of the then prevalent argument in Poland as to whether the Polish Orientalist should preferably publish the results of his finding in the Oriental field in Polish or in a foreign language. In the Bulletin,[2] Polish scholars were encouraged to write in English and French. At that time preference was given to Polish in the "Rocznik Orientalistyczny." Publications of the "Polish Academy of Science" (Oriental Committee) were favouring monographs in foreign languages. The non-Polish preference served also the purpose of allowing foreign scholars to print in Polish periodicals.

A close contact between Polish and particularly French, British and Belgian scholars in the field of Indian research was one of Schayer's successful achievements. During the holding of the chair by Schayer, prominent scholars such as V. Lesny, Paul Tuxen, Jean Przyluski [3] visited Warsaw and delivered lectures. Graduates or well-nigh established scholars like L. Skurzak and C. Regamey went for further education to France and England, while lecturers of modern languages or scholars from abroad, like Maryla Falk, came to work in Warsaw.

Nobody was ever more conscious than Schayer of the difficulties faced as a rule by a student entering the University: difficulties in the pursuance of his studies and difficulties of financial nature. A student embarking on Oriental studies faced perhaps double difficulty: he had practically no textbooks in Polish (Gawronski's Sanskrit Grammar was not published before 1932) and to the current financial difficulties were added poor prospects for the future. The solution to the first category of difficulty Schayer envisaged in the publication of textbooks familiarizing the student with, at least,

2. Two numbers only saw the daylight. The second number on the ever of the Second World War.
3. PRZYLUSKI obtained an honorary doctor's degree in Warsaw.

the elements of the problem. In 1930, he published his history of Indian literature, and later the textbook on religions mentioned before. He had further plans, but life was shorter than designs. He was indefatigable in his efforts to meet the other type of students' difficulty: funds. Scholarships for study in Warsaw and abroad were very difficult to obtain and *a fortiori* more difficult for such impractical subjects like Indian philology. Yet Schayer usually succeeded in obtaining them for those whom he considered deserving vis-a-vis others, according to his own words, he practised eugenics and with supreme competence attempted to dissuade from Oriental studies persons whose intentions he did not consider steady or solid.

As has been said, Schayer began his study of India in Germany. His professors were scholars of high standing, but of interest not always and entirely corresponding to his desires. From scholars like Bruno Liebich and Ernst Leumann he could acquire a thorough knowledge of language and literature. His work with Max Walleser of Heidelberg, the expert in Buddhism and particularly in the Madhyamika School, may not have been very fruitful, as it fell in the earliest stage of Schayer's university studies, when he was not yet sufficiently equipped to be affected by Walleser's theories. Whatever the case, Schayer's philosophical and religiological predilection led him to divide his time of university study into two major subjects which he followed scrupulously to the end: Indian philology and Western philosophy. The latter was to help him in the formulation of Indian philosophical principles which, he believed, were to a high degree translatable into Western conceptions without losing their intrinsic originality. However controversial this interpretation may be, Schayer gave in his work ample evidence that Western methods and terminology are supple enough to be used as an instrument for finding solutions to problems of Indian philosophies and logical systems. His thesis on the *Vorbereiten zur Geschichte der Mahayanistischen Erlosungslehre* already reveals this method of analysis. The thesis was translated into English by R. T. Knight in 1923 and published by Probsthain as *Mahayana Doctrine of Salvation.*

While mainly engaged in philosophic and soteriological problems of the Mahayana Buddhism, and more particularly in the Madhyamika exegesis of Buddha's doctrines, he contributed largely in the period till the early thirties to the knowledge of Hinduism by articles on the structure of the magic conception according to the Atharva-Veda and the Brahmanas,[4] on the meaning of the word "Upanisads,"[5] Indian Philosophy as the Problem of

4. See bibliographical list No. 10.
5. See bibliographical list No. 15.

the Present Times,[6] the Transience of Existence (*anityata*),[7] on Indian logic and the methods of the Nyaya-analysis.

It may be said that in this period, roughly till 1930, his work is passively under the influence of his German teachers whose many doctrines he could never wholly accept, but whose methods of research he followed, possibly by force of habit. The methods acquired were no doubt thorough, and even if often founded on anthropological or metaphysical misconceptions, could serve as a sound instrument to be used in further research.

Open opposition to German interpretation of Indian and Buddhist philosophy and religion, voiced sporadically and in general terms by Schayer before, through small articles or statements, had not become part of Schayer's approach to his study of India and Indian philosophy before approximately 1930.

This opposition which reflects Schayer's interest and development of his work can be broadly described to fall into three main categories, i.e. the general approach to Indian culture, the conception of Buddhism, and the interpretation of logic.

The first category, which will also branch out into other fields of interest, is marked by Schayer's rebellion against the "Indo-Germanisch" or the Indo-European approach to Indian culture, applied by German Indology. Beginning with the romantic writers, Friedrich Schlegel and Wilhelm Schlegel, the Vedic Aryans represented to the Germans their Indo-Germanic ancestors, while the Aryan culture was but a predecessor to German culture, unblemished by any later influence. The whole civilization of ancient India was thus viewed as the creation of Indo-Aryans. This was later reflected in the big encyclopaedic publication founded by G. Buechler under the general title *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde,* and perpetuated in one form or another in the various analyses of India's culture and her philosophies including the Vedas, Upanishads and Buddhism. Schayer's sensitivity to the thus arisen inaccuracies and the sterility of results attainable on the basis of these theories, turned his mind towards the further West, and particularly France, where to the forefront came the name of Jean Przyluski and his theories, initiated by an at first seemingly insignificant article *De quelques noms anaryens en indo-aryen* ("Memoires de la Societe de Linguistique," Paris, 1921). This and other contributions of Przyluski tended to establish the now obvious truth that the Aryan element was one, the young-

6. See bibliographical list No. 17.
7. See bibliographical list No. 26.

est, amongst other elements contributing to what is known as Indian culture. Przyluski's interest was mainly directed towards the separation of the Australo-Asian element from the material known to the scholar heretofore. The existence of the Australo-Asian factor in the languages of India was already recorded by others and particularly by Sylvain Levi. On the other hand, the revival of Dravidian studies in India corroborated the correctness of the newly entered path of research. It would be outside the scope of this note to go into the scientific details of this branch of research and its accuracy, soon shaken by later discoveries and by the establishment of influences of the Uralo-Altaian group of languages. The general acceptance of the not-solely-Aryan theory was a revelation to Schayer, and it would seem that not only his mind was relieved by the new discovery, but so was also his conception of ethical approach to scholarship. He had rebelled before against the romantic approach perpetuated by German scholarship, but he lacked the scientific proof to combat it. French Indology succoured him, in that it provided the necessary evidence which had been wanting or vaguely scattered in conjectures. When he delivered his speech at the bestowal of the honorary doctor's degree to Jean Przyluski in Warsaw, he said amongst other things: "As early as in the Rgveda we encounter non-Aryan elements of most diverse origin. Thus the myth is exploded of the 'pure' Aryan culture of India, which, in the eyes of German romantics and their followers, was to justify the purpose and value of study of Indian culture."

Schayer's general interpretation of the value of Indological studies became thus defined as being directed towards the discovery of the complex stages of development of Indian culture within the framework of the history of events inside Asia. As such it militated against the German conception of such studies purporting to enquire into the allegedly Indo-European element in Indian culture, its origin and formation. This so defined objective of Schayer's research found its particular reflection in his interpretation of Buddhism, its historical background, doctrines, and specific religious and philosophical aspects.

An excerpt from Otto Strauss' review of Schayer's *Ausgeuahlte Kapitel aus der Prasannapada,*[8] in the "Orientalistische Literaturzeitung[9] is cha-

8. See bibliographical list Nos. 20 and 21. Incidentally the *Cing Chapitres de la Prasannapada* by J. W. de Jong, Buddhica ix, Paris 1949, makes copious use of Schayer's work on the Prasannapada.

9. Schayer, *Augewahlte Kapitel dus der Prasannapada.* Resprochen von Otto Strauss. OLZ, 36, Jahrgang 8/9, Seinsic 1933, pp. 571-572.

racteristic enough to show the reaction of an eminent historian of Indian philosophy to Schayer's views. O. Strauss says: "Next Schayer turns quite sharply against the interpretation by a generation of scholars whom we recognize as our teachers. This interpretation, according to Schayer, has, under the influence of protestantism, drawn particular attention to the reconstruction of the authentic doctrine of the original Buddhist community, and has considered as a digression everything younger than this original community. Schayer believes that the ascertainment of the original doctrine, though he will not deny its importance, 'is neither the only nor the most important problem.' It is obvious that it is not the only problem, since, thanks to the translation from Chinese of the Abhidharmakosa by de la Vallee Poussin (1872-1931) we have now gained knowledge of the scholastic Hinayana, that was denied to the preceding generation of scholars. Those [like Schayer] systematically disposed, trained in the subtleties of modern philosophy and well-versed in Buddhist scholastics, will always hold the exegesis of more recent systems to be of greatest importance; they will also give preference to this task, because here the results are within easy reach and are based on unequivocal evidence." [10]

This diplomatically phrased passage, which simultaneously bows to the ancestors and lights a candle to scholarship, salvages the importance of the Hinayana orthodoxy and flatteringly snubs Schayer and those like him for search of easy results: it eschews however any reference to the principle which was at the bottom of Schayer's contention—the refutation of the trend to study India as an Indo-Germanic myth instead of India in the setting of Asia's true historical and anthropological background.

For Schayer, Buddhism was an historical phenomenon, an act of evolution, the origin of which is not to be sought in the appearance of an individual teacher, nor is the end of it to be sought in Gautama Buddha's death. The Hinayana tradition upheld by the Theravadins was neither closer nor more orthodox or purer than the Mahayana, both being various phases of development of one religio-philosophical movement. The thesis of Glasenapp, that not before Asoka did Buddhism develop into a universal religion,[11] the theory of T. Stcherbatsky that Buddhism was not a religion before its Mahayana phase, as well as other similar theories, including those of B. K. Sarkar, was vigorously denied by Schayer. Along with Senart, de la Vallee Poussin and Przyluski, Schayer maintained that Bud-

10. The translation from German is mine.
11. H. Von Glasenapp. *Der Buddhismus in Indien und im fernen Ostin.* Ber in 1936.

dhism was in the first place a religion, and that its philosophy was only a superstructure imposed on the emotional and irrational, i.e. religious experience.

This conception was closely accompanied by the belief in the principle that, no matter at what stage of its history and in how many diversifications through numerous sects and schools Buddhism developed, it always remained a homogeneous religious movement and was to be viewed as such. In his *Das mahayanistische Absolutum nach der Lehre der Madhyanikas* which is conceived as a reply to Stcherbatsky's review of Schayer's *Ausgewahlte Kapitel aus der Prasannapada.*[12] Schayer, referring to Stcherbatsky's Kant-pervaded exergesis of the Madhyamika conception of the absolute, repeats what he had said once in the *Ausgewahlte Kapitel.* He had objected there, as he did later, to the danger of isolated treatments of certain elements in a philosophical system without having first established the position of these elements in the system itself.

It is indeed impossible to venture in this note into the details of interpretation given by Schayer in his elaborate analysis of various concepts included in the Mahayana philosophical speculations. But the foregoing may serve as sufficient evidence to support the view, that his main effort was to understand Buddhism as a homogeneous religion and philosophy, where diversified theses and theories were not to demonstrate the haphazardness leading to the formation of schools and sects, evidence was given of the deep and living interest of the devouts in the essential principle of the Buddhist system. In this vein Schayer's further elaboration of the concept of Nagarjuna's *sunyata* to be conceived not as a nihilist approach but as a positive conception of the absolute, gained its recognition amongst scholars as coinciding with the general interpretation of the Madhyamika philosophers. Schayer's disappointment with Stcherbatsky's disavowal of his own theory of the absolute as originally presented in his *Conception of Buddhist Nirvana* gave him occasion for a very clear presentation of views on the subject,[13] where in most cases he refutes Stcherbatsky's Kantian approach. To my knowledge, Schayer never expressly quoted in his work Husserl, with whose theory of phenomenology he was familiar. Whether or not his otherwise philosophically well substantiated refutation of the Kantian approach is based on Husserlian approach is not easy to judge; nor is it obvious to attribute to Schayer the use of the Husserlian method in his analysis of the

12. Stcherbatsky. *Die drei Richtungen in der Philosophie des Buddhismus* "Rocznik Orientalistyczny," Vol. X, Lwow 1934, pp. 1-37.
13. Op. cit.

Mahayana absolute; he may have found himself compelled by the nature of the substance to apply this method no matter whether he was familiar with Husserl or not. The Mahayana absolute contains the elements of consciousness, and in the concept of the *sarva-sattva-citta* of Avatamsa is implied the immanent consciousness of all living beings similar to the concept adopted by Husserl.

Being engaged ever more deeply in the research on Buddhism, in the later years of his work Schayer learnt Tibetan and the elements of Chinese to widen the scope of his knowledge. Thus was a field opened to him which he hoped to exploit, but which he did in a limited way only, as the interruption of his scholarly career by war and its conclusion by death left little opportunity.

The preoccupation with the ontological and the metaphysical in Buddhism [14] also somewhat reduced Schayer's interest in his later years in the study of Indian or, more particularly, Buddhist logic. During his visit in London he mentioned to me that he had had enough of his subject and "would rather leave it to his successors." His contribution to Indian logic, though scarce in volume [15] is of quite particular interest, as he has for the first time attempted to formulate formalistically the *nyaya* and the Buddhist types of syllogism.

His contention that the Indian *anumana* cannot be either identified with the Aristotelian syllogism, or analysed by Aristotelian methods, was based on the premise that the Indian logic operates as a rule with assertions and assertion variables, whereas Aristotle deals with names and name variables. Such interpretation, he maintained, can already be attributed to Indian texts which, as for instance the *Kathavatthu* and the Commentary of Buddhaghosa, knew the principles of the assertion variables. The examples given by Shwe Zan Aung in his *Points of Controversy*, in which name variables are used, point to the application of the *modus tollendo tollens*, which, however, contrary to Aung's analysis, operate with relations of assertions not names. Whereas the *modus tollendo tollens* may be said to be universally applied by the Buddhist in defeating his opponent, the Madhyamika, as opposed to the Theravadin or even the *Naiyayika*, modifies this method by its application to negative dialectics, which is eventually reduced to the *prasanga-*

14. See also his *Contribution to the Problem of Time in Indian Philosophy*. Polish Academy of Science. Cracow. 1938. The greater part of this is devoted to the conception of time in Buddhism. Part III of the publication forms the translation and analysis of the *The Three Times* of Santaraksita with Kamalasila's Commentary.

15. See bibliographical list, numbers 22, 24 and 25.

vakya, i.e. the theory of, so to say, *reductio ad absurdum* of the opponent's statement. (*Reduction ad absurdum* is not an absolutely precise rendering *of prasanga-vakya.*) In his series of small articles entitled *Studies of Indian Logic* Schayer endeavoured to prove his points and went into details, the analysis of which is far beyond the scope of this note.

The repercussion of his theories cannot be claimed to be vigorous or enthusiastic, nor can the opposite be stated. Indian logic has so far not become the subject of study for logicians in general. It is even a fact, and indeed a regrettable one, that with very few exceptions even Sanskrit scholars give so little of their time to this important subject. The greater therefore is Schayer's merit in not only encouraging the study of Buddhist logic but giving it a slant, which may make it a fascinating subject for further inquiry.

To conclude this sketch, in which an attempt has been made to show Schayer as a man of high scholarship measured by his achievements and a scholar of promises unfulfilled because of the tragic severance of his young life, it should be added that his interest in modern India, her struggles for independence and her contributions to the world culture were not alien to him. The establishment of the "Society of Friends of India," translations from Tagore, reviews of modern works (Gawronski's translation of Tagore's *Sadhana,* Romain Rolland's monograph on Mahatma Gandhi) bear testimony to this interest.

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FIRST INDIANISTS OF THE XIX CENTURY IN RUMANIA

VLAD BANATEANU

THE huge interest for all matters concerning India, which had been aroused in Western Europe by the "discovery of India" by an Englishman, Sir W. Jones who, in 1789, had translated Kalidasa's "Sakuntala", had reached by that time the Rumanian Principalities.

In the West, the interest in India had increased after Rucker's translation of the *Nala and Damayanti* (1828), of the *Savitri* (1839), and after the publishing of his book on *The Brahman's Wisdom* (1836-1839), which had been preceded at a short interval by Fr. Bopp's famous *Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit and Zend languages* and so on. The scanty information which had reached the Rumanian Principalities at the beginning of the XIX century, probably through the Transylvanian press, show up in the different notes with reference to India's history, geography, culture and art, which were published steadily from 1837 onward in the weekly *Foaia Duminicii*, from 1838 onwards in *Curierul de ambe sexe* and *Alauta Romineasca*, and from 1839 in *Curierul Rominesc*, as also during the following years in a few other periodicals.

The studies of Heliade Radulescu and Gheorghe Asachi, who were famous authors during 1828 and 1877, also widened the knowledge about India; both of them published a large number of text-books on history, geography, etc., containing a certain amount of data about India. The interest shown in India by Gh. Asachi is explained by the fact that his father, Leon Asachi, had already published a translation of *The Indian Hut* (1821).

From these first endeavours however, to a scientific treatment of problems concerning India's language and culture, religion and philosophy, there was still a long way. During these years, the problems of the Sanskrit language did not form the object of Rumanian philologists of that day. The libraries in Bucharest and Jassy however contained already at the beginning of the second half of the last century a series of works related to Indianistics or to oriental studies in general; this is shown by the catalogue of the *Biblioteca Colegiului National* in Bucharest, of I. Gentile in 1847.

It is only as late as the second half of the XIX century that a few Rumanian philologists begin to use the knowledge of Sanskrit in their studies. We refer specially to Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, who had studied Sanskrit at the University of Lwow (a town belonging to the former Austro-Hungarian Empire), where Sanskrit studies at that time, as in the whole of Western Europe, were already quite advanced.

Another Sanskritist was Lazar Saineanu, a pupil of B. P. Hasdeu: we will also mention C. D. Georgian, Vasile M. Burla, Vasile Pogor and Teohari Antonescu. Some of these were philologists, others studied problems concerning Indian literature, culture and philosophy. They must be considered as the pioneers of Indianistic studies in our country. They gave place during the first half of the XX century to another group of young Sanskritists.

B. P. Hasdeu's inclination towards the study of the Sanskrit language had of course been greatly encouraged by his father Alexandru Hasdeu, who was interested in these studies himself. It is known that he had studied Fr. Bopp's comparative grammar, and a note has been found mentioning his translation of it into Russian.

In some of the more important works of B. P. Hasdeu, in which he studies problems of Sanskrit literature or linguistics, he gives the etymology of a number of words and compares them with Sanskrit terms. From the year 1874 onwards, the review *Columna lui Traian* published his "Principle de filogia comparativa." It was in the same periodical that he also published in the following years a series of articles and excerpts, in which he reveals a deep knowledge of the Sanskrit language and its literature.

It is interesting to note the fact that the authorities did not look favourably upon the interest shown by Rumanian scholars in the oriental world, including India. A proof of this lack of enthusiasm is the fact that in 1874, the Ministry for Public Instruction had suspended the course of comparative philology which B. P. Hasdeu had inaugurattd; by this course he had sought to make accessible to a large audience the problems of Indo-Iranian languages. The suspension lasted two years. This lack of understanding

on the part of school authorities was also proved in 1876 when another specialist of Sanskrit, Vasile Burla, asked to be granted permission to start a free course of Sanskrit at the Bucharest University. He did not obtain this permission.

Dicussions had at one time arisen as to the knowledge B. P. Hasdeu had of the Sanskrit language. We believe however that the use he made of Sanskrit quotations in the argumentation of his theses, the reviews of books he published, as well as the list of works on Indianistics he had studied, are sufficient proof of his deep knowledge of this language.

It is interesting to note that the Sanskrit grammars as well as the grammars of modern Indian languages belonging to B. P. Hasdeu's personal library in Campina, which are now in the possession of the Library of the R.P.R. Academy, are full of marginal notes and comments in his own hand.

Lazar Saineanu was a disciple of B. P. Hasdeu and seconded him as his substitute for lectures between 1890 and 1892. After having finished his studies in Rumania, he went to Paris where he studied Sanskrit at the Sorbonne with Abel Bergaigne. Although he knew Sanskrit well, Lazar Saineanu seldom used his knowledge of this language and its literature in his works. He was more interested in the study of oriental influence upon Rumanian literature and folklore.

Another noteworthy Sanskrit scholar is C. D. Georgian, the first lecturer of Sanskrit language at the University of Bucharest; his capacity as a Sanskritist has been described in the review *Convorbiri Literare* (1907) by his intimate friend P. Iordanescu.

Born in 1850, C. D. Georgian, after taking his scholarship at the University of Bucharest in 1872, was sent to Paris to complete his studies. Here he was the pupil of Gaston Paris for Romanic languages, of Breal for comparative grammar, and of Abel Bergaigne for Sanskrit. In 1875, he studied Sanskrit in Leipzig with Professor Brockhaus. Although his studies included comparative grammar and Sanskrit philology, his thesis for a Doctor's Degree, published in 1876, treats of Rumanian vocalism. In 1876, a notice appears in *Columna lui Traian*, announcing that C. D. Georgian will inaugurate a course of Sanskrit language at the University of Bucharest. It is almost certain that this course, owing to the fact that C. D. Georgian was sent abroad as secretary to the Rumanian Legation in Berlin, could no longer have been held that year. In Berlin, he started to work with Professor Albrecht Weber, on the editing of a few Sanskrit texts. In 1877, however, he was recalled, and on coming back was given a class of Latin at the Nifon Seminary. For a few years he held a series of lectures and at last in 1883,

he was officially allowed to hold a free course of Sanskrit. The information we have concerning these lectures is not clear, but we may safely assume that as given by T. Iordanescu who was Georgian's best friend up to the time of his death in 1904, it is the most reliable. According to it, the lectures were attended by a few of B. P. Hasdeu's own pupils. Among these, the most enthusiastic was Lazar Saineanu. We do not know what became of C. D. Georgian's private library or of his manuscripts left over at his death.

It is a well-known fact that Vasile Pogor as well as Vasile M. Burla belonged to the literary circle "Junimea". The circumstance of T. Maiorescu, a literary critic and president of this circle, having had a certain amount of knowledge of Indianistics, especially as to literature and Buddhist philosophy (as we see in his brief notes on Sanskrit studies in *Convorbiri Literare* (1866), thoroughly explains the fact that many studies on Indianistics appear in this periodical. These are especially concerned with literature, history, culture and religion. Most of these studies were published by the members of this literary circle; among them we mention Vasile Pogor, Vasile Burla, and the remarkable scholar who was a pupil of the scholar and author Al. Odobescu: Teohari Antonescu. The great number of studies in Indianistics which were published in this paper may be due to the fact too, that most "Junimists" had made their studies in Germany and were familiar with the problems of Indianistics and with Sanskrit language and literature. Information and detail on Vasile Pogor and his studies on Buddhism are to be found in the *Memoirs of the Junimea,* published by I. Negruzzi and Gh. Panu. Vasile Burla had studied Latin, Greek and Sanskrit at the Universities of Vienna and Graz. Upon coming back to his country he had been appointed professor at a college. He had then asked, without success, to be allowed to hold a free course of Sanskrit. Upon his admission to the circle of the "Junimea", he published from 1876 to 1878 a series of articles, in which his theses were upheld by examples from Sanskrit.

Teohari Antonescu, after having made his studies in Paris, Heidelberg and Berlin, came back to his country in 1894. He was first appointed professor of Greek at a secondary school, and then professor of archaeology at the University in Bucharest. His thesis for scholarship bore the title: *The cult of the Habirs in Dacia* (1899). Among the studies he published in *Convorbiri Literature* we mention: "A survey of the philosophy of the Upanishads" (XXXVIII 1894), and "Buddhism and the Nirvana (XXXVII, 1903). His more important work is that on the philosophy of the Upanishads, the first to deal with such a problem in its entirety.

We find more and ample information concerning India in the second half of the last century; even text-books contain wider reference to India's history, philosophy, literature and art.

This school of Indianists continues its activity during the first half of the present century when there appear a number of Indianists too. Among these we will mention C. D. Georgian's friend T. Iordanescu (who died only a few years ago, in 1954). He had studied in Halle with Professors Pischel, R. Schmidt and Hultzsch. He was one of the first Rumanians to take an active part at a congress of orientalists, that is, at the Congress which was held in Oxford in 1928. To this Congress he contributed a paper about the Gypsies. His works, among which we will mention a study of the Indian drama, were published in *Convorbiri Literare*. Another Indianist worth mentioning is Ion Mihalcescu who published in 1920 a study of over 400 pages: *The law of Manu, or the Religions and Institutions of India.*

Among the younger generation of orientalists are a few Indianists, viz. Th. Simensky, professor at Jassy University, known by his translation of the Pancatantra, the Mahabharata, the Katha-Upanishad, the Mundaka Upanishad, the Bhagavadgita, Pururavas and Urvasi, as well as other works. At present he is publishing a grammar of Sanskrit and other translations from the Pancatantra.

Aram Frenkian and Vlad Banateanu have both studied in Paris with A. M. Meillet, Jules Bloch and Louis Finot. They returned to their own country and carried out studies in different branches; the former on oriental philosophy, the latter on comparative philology and orientalistics. Aram Frenkian published: "Purusa-Gayomard-Anthropos", in *Revue des Etudes Indo-Europeennes*" 1943; "Punarmrtyu et la seconde mort" in *Revue des Indo-Europeennes,* 1943; "La theorie du sommeil d'apres les Upanisads et le Yoga" in *Studia et Acta Orientalia,* I, 1957; and "Greek Scepticism and the Indian Philosophy" (1957). Vlad Banateanu published a series of articles on Indian literature and a monograph on Tagore; at present he prepares another monograph: *Kalidasa and his work.*

Some younger orientalists viz. Dr. S. Al. George, A. Rosu, A. Frenkian and Th. Simensky have published several studies.

Today the circumstances leading to the development of Indian studies in Rumania are more favourable than ever in the past. Rumanian Indianists will do their utmost to develop cultural relations with India and to form new elements which will dedicate themselves to the study of Ancient India and of the linguistic. literary and artistic realities of Modern India.

INDIAN STUDIES IN SPAIN

JUAN ROGER RIVIERE

I

SPAIN has been always more drawn to Islamic and Arabic studies, owing to her geographical and historical position, than to Asiatic researches. For many centuries, some parts of Spain were kingdoms of Arabia and the compenetration was long. There are still many pockets of influence of this Islamic presence, above all in the South of Spain: Alhambra of Granada, Mosque of Cordoba, Arabic architecture in Toledo and many other Spanish cities, above all in the construction of churches (Mudejar style).

If Indology did not evoke great interest in Spain, it was due, perhaps, to the fact that this country had not any relation with Asia: without any colonial contact or commercial exchange with India and South Asia, Indological studies could not prosper here. As in other countries, Sanskrit was studied in Spain from the philological angle, specially in Indo-European studies. Here, the first name of importance is P. Hervas y Panduro (1735-1809), called "the father of comparative philology," who won the praise of Max Muller.

This philological tradition was transmitted faithfully in the XIX century in the Spanish Universities where philological studies included some elements of Sanskrit by way of introduction to the comparative study of the Indo-European languages. The first Chair of Sanskrit was created in 1877. The first Sanskrit grammar which merits this name, and which was not a translation as that of Mr. Rivero, was *Manual de lengua sanskrita* (Handbook of Sanskrit language) by Juan Gelabert y Gordiola, Madrid 1890. In

the philological field, the works of the orientalist Francisco G. Ayuso must be mentioned: *Estudio de la Filologia* (Study of the Philology) (1871), Sakuntala y Vikramorvasi (1874-1875); *Gramatica comparada de los idiomas indoeuropeos* (A comparative Grammar of the Indo-European languages) (1886).

Professor Alemany y Bolufer, a specialist in the Greek language, translated the Hitopadesa (1895).

This Indology in Spain was always the concern of a minority. Above all of the philologists, the names of Alemany, Urbano de la Calle and Echauri may be mentioned. We must also mention Dr. Mariano Bassols de Climent, Professor of Latin Philology in Barcelona University who gives a course on Sanskrit. In Madrid, since 1934, Dr. Ramos de Audres has been teaching Sanskrit and has translated some works of Kalidasa. Dr. Francisco Rodriguez Adrados is Professor of Greek Philology in Madrid and has written a *Gramatica de Vedico y Sancrito clasico* (Grammatic of Vedic and classic Sanscrit) (1953).

In 1960, the Madrid University inaugurated a series of courses in oriental studies treating of the culture of the Far East, Indology, the Ancient culture of Mesopotamia and Egyptology. The course on Indology is developed by Professor Juan Roger Riviere, who has doctorate from the University of Paris and Madrid, and is a member of the Higher Council on Scientific Researches in Madrid and of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta.

An impulse has so been stimulated towards the knowledge of Indology; by means of lectures, under the patronage of the Indian Embassy in Madrid and articles published in magazines and books, it is hoped to create interest in Spanish cultural circles as well.

In 1958, Dr. Riviere published *El arte y la estetica del Budismo* (Art and aesthetic in Buddhism); in 1960 *Pensamiento filosofico de Asia* (Philosophical Thought of Asia); in 1962 *La India.* He is going to publish in 1963 a great *Historia del arte de la India* (History of the Art in India) in the collection *Summa artis.*

The course on Indology in Madrid is more an introduction to India and Indian culture than a research study. During a period of three years it treats of the Literature and Philosophical systems, the History and Sociology, the Art and aesthetic thought of India.

SANSKRIT STUDIES IN SWITZERLAND

PAUL HORSCH

THE study of Sanskrit was introduced into Switzerland during the first half of the 19th century by Bernard Hirzel (died 1847). He was a clergyman and professor of theology, but from 1833-1837 he was teaching Oriental languages at the newly founded University of Zurich. On his dramatic existence, which ended with suicide in Paris, a novel was written by Adolf Frey (*Bernhard Hirzel*, Zurcher Roman, Zurich, Rascher 1918). He translated the following works from Sanskrit: *Sakuntala oder der Erkennungsring* (Zurich 1833); *Urwasi und der Held* (Frauenfeld 1838); *Prabodhatschandrodaya oder der Erkenntnismondaufgang;* and *Meghaduta* (Zurich 1846).

Charles Rieu (1820-1902) (cf. the necrology in JRAS 1902, p. 718 ff.). He studied Sanskrit in Bonn, under Lassen. In St. Petersburg he got acquainted with Bohtlingk, later he became Adams Professor of Arabic in Cambridge. He was the initiator of the first edition of Hemcandra's Abhidhanacintanamani. *Ein systematisch angeordnetes Synonymisches Lexicon. Herausgegeben, ubersetzt und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von Otto Bohtlingk und Charles Rieu,* (St. Petersburg 1847). This work gave an enormous impetus to Sanskrit Studies in Europe.

Franz Heinrich Trithen (1820-1854). Studied Sanskrit in Berlin from 1838 to 1840. He edited for the first time an important Sanskrit drama, the *Maha-Vira Charita,* or the History of Rama, a Sanskrit play by Bhatta Bhavabhuti (London 1948).

Friedrich Haag (1846-1914). Studied Sanskrit Schweizer-Sidler, a disciple of Hirzel), Gottingen and *Vergleichung des Prakrit und der romanischen Sprache* 1873 he became Privat-Dozent for Sanskrit at Zurich U became Professor of Classical Philology. He on Sanskrit: *Zur Textkritik und Erklarung de* (Frauenfeld 1872) and *Beitrage zu Visakhadatta's Mud* 1886).

Of much greater importance for the history of I Switzerland is Hermann Brunnhofer, who was born in 18 in 1917 in Munich. In Sanskrit he was in particular a (Berlin). In 1866 he went to England, where he first Monier Williams in Oxford. In 1867 he contributed the Rig-Veda of Max Muller. He lived for a while and Russia. He got his "Habilitation" in 1901 in Berne *und historische Geographie des Orients* (Prehistory and of the Orient). His first essay reveals the romantic ins its title: *Ueber den Geist der indischen Lyrik, mit Ori aus der Hymnensammlung des Rigveda, den Spruc Anthologie volkstumlicher Liebeslieder* (Leipzig 1882) long interest was the investigation of Vedic geographic tions with Western peoples, especially with the Irania the Veda (dated by him between 3000 and 2000 BC) in its greater part, before the Aryans entered India. E the names of persons, tribes, rivers, countries, etc.—of very bold etymology—references to people living in the Iranians, Babylonians, Hittites, Turks, etc. Thus, he ir Sakaputa (RV 10, 132, 5) as Saka-putra, i.e. son of Sa name for the Iranians). In the same way Buddha wa hofer of Turanian descent. His works bearing main are the following:

Ueber Dialektspuren in vedischen Gebrauch Kuhns Zeitschrift XXV (1881, p. 329-377).

Ueber das genenseitige Verhaltnis der beiden Sata pathabrahmana nach Massgabe der in ihne tivformen, Bezzenbergers Beitrage X, p. 234-266

Iran und Turan. Historisch-geographische und suchungen uber den altesten Schauplatz der I (Leipzig 1889).

Vom Pontus bis zum Indus. Historisch-geographische and ethnologische Skizzen (Leipzig (1890).

Vom Ural bis zur Gauga. Historisch—geographische und ethnologische Skizzen zur Urgeschichte der Menschheit (Leipzig 1892).

The above three works were later published in one volume: *Urgeschichte der Arier in Vorder—und Zentralasien. Historisch-geographische Untersuchungen uber den altesten Schauplatz des Rigveda and Avesta.*

Culturwandel und Volkerverkehr (Leipzig 1891).

Arische Urzeit, Forschungen auf dem Gebiete des alesten Vorder-und Zentralasiens nebst Osteuropa (Bern 1910).

Oestliches Werden. Kulturaustausch und Handelsverskehr zwischen Orient und Okzident von der Urzeit bis zur Gegenwart (Bern 1907).

Paul Oltramare (no biographical data are available to the present writer) was Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Culture at the University of Geneva. His two most important works are: *Histoire des idees theosophiques dans l'Inde.* (Tome premier: La Theosophie brahmanique Tome Deux: La Theosophie bouddhique) (Paris 1906, 1923). Let us add his important essay on the Buddhist conception of casualty: *La formule bouddhique des douze causes, son sens originel et son interpretation theologique* (Geneva 1909).

A Swiss Indologist also of international reputation was Ernst Leumann (1859-1931), who taught as Professor of Sanskrit at the two German Universities Strassburg and Freiburg in Breisgau. His main work, however, was devoted to Prakrit, in particular to the language of the Jaina canon. He edited its first Upanga, the *Aupapatikasutra* (Leipzig 1883) and therewith was a pioneer in a field so closely connected with Sanskrit studies. He translated from Sanskrit the Jaina novel: *Die Nonne. Ein neuer Roman aus dem alten Indien* (Munchen-Neubiberg, Schloss Verlag, 1921. He prepared together with Cappeller the second edition of Monier-William's *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, a work that ever was of enormous help to Sanskrit scholars both in Europe and in India.

This account shows that the older Swiss Indologists mostly studied abroad, in particular in Germany, and very often even made their living there. Sanskrit from the very beginning in Switzerland was not—as for example in Germany—a field of study in itself but auxiliary to the study of Comparative Grammar, Indo-German Languages, etc. It always remained very closely allied to grammatical, linguistic investigations and it is no doubt here that Switzerland contributed most to the advancement of Sanskrit studies. Already Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) (University of

Geneva) in his theory of structural linguistics based many of his valuable observations on the Sanskrit language. In his main work *Cours de Linguistique Generale* (3rd ed., Payot, Paris 1931, p. 14 ff.) he describes the importance of Sanskrit for the study of Indo-European languages.

H. Schweizer (University of Zurich) about the middle of the 19th century published in the *Zeitschrift fur die Wissenschaft der Sprache* two papers on Sanskrit grammar: "Ueber den Ablativ im Rigveda" (ii p. 444 ff.) and "Ueber den Instrumentalis im Rigveda" (iii 348 ff.).

The greatest contribution by Swiss scholars to Indology is the Sanskrit Grammar written in German: *Altindische Grammatik*. Its initiator was Jacob Wackernagel (1853-1938, Professor in Basel, etc.). Biographical details (with photograph) and a bibliography will be found in the *Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel* (Gottingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1923). He wrote a great number of papers mainly on Sanskrit grammar, which will be found in the bibliography and collected in *Kleine Schriften* (Gottingen 1955). The grammar consists of the following works:

"Altindische Grammatik" I. Lautlehre. Gottingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1896.

"Altindische Grammatik", 11, 1. Nominala Stammbildung, 1905.

The other volumes of this great work were done in cooperation with and published by his equally reputed Swiss pupil Albert Debrunner (1884-1958) who was Wackernagel's successor in Basel and afterwards Professor in Berne. His Festschrift *Sprachqeschichte und Wortbedeutung* (Berne 1955) contains a photograph and the bibliography).

"Altindische Grammatik" Band 11, 2. Die Nominalsuffixe von a. Debrunner, Gottingen 1954.

"Altindische Grammatik", Band 111 von A. Debrunner und J. Wackernagel: Nominalflexion–Zahlwort–Pronomen. Cottingen 1930.

A. Debrunner has also prepared the last volume concering the Verbum, but died before he could publish it. Nevertheless the work is expected to be edited soon.

This is no doubt the greatest and the most complete Sanskrit grammar that ever existed and will remain a standard work. It is largely based on a thorough knowledge of Panini, his commentators and other Indian grammarians. But it also added new important facts. First of all it indicates the various grammatical forms with their occurrences throughout the history of Indian literature. In this sense it also constitutes an historical grammar of the Sanskrit language. Moreover it incorporates the new perspectives gained through the comparative investigation of Indo-European languages.

Sanskrit also contributed to the research work of other Swiss Professors of Indo-European languages although not to the same degree as was the case with Wackernagel and Debrunner.

Adolf Kaeqi (1849-1923, Professor at Zurich University) became mainly known through his works on the ancient Greek language, but he was—at least in his youth—very interested in Vedic Sanskrit. He translated a number of hymns from the Rigveda, which was even rendered from German into English: *The Rigveda: the Oldest Literature of the Indians* translated by R. Arrowsmith (Boston 1902 cf. "Festgabe Kaegi". Frauenfeld 1919).

Ed. Schwyzer (1874-1943) who taught in Zurich and wrote a famous Greek grammar also made some valuable contribution to Sanskrit grammar to judge from his two papers: "Ca 'wenn'", *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Band XXIII, p. 163 ff. "Ueber die altindischen und altiranischen Worter fur qut und bose". *Festgabe Kaegi*, p. 12 ff.

Manu Leumann (born 1889, Professor in Zurich), son of the above-mentioned Ernst Leumann (cf. p. 4). His special field was Latin grammar. Among his numerous papers the following have a special bearing on Sanskrit:

"Der altindische Typus krtavan".
"Zur Stammbildung der Verben im Indischen".
"Idg. sk im Altindischen und im Litauischen".
"Vokaldehnung, Dehnstufe und Vrddhi".
"Der Indogermanische Bildnergott Twarstar".

All these papers have been re-edited in: *Manu Leumann*, Kleine Schriften. (Zurich, Artemis, 1959, p. 296 ff.).

Scholars whose contribution to Indology is not so much to linguistics as to Indian culture, literature, religions, etc. are:

Emil Abegg (born 1885). He is a student of Windisch in Leipzig and lectured at the University of Zurich for almost forty years mainly on Indology. A complete bibliography of his publications up to 1952 is found in his Festgabe: *Asiatische Studien* (Band VIII. 1954). "Festgabe fir Emil Abegg" (Bern, Francke, 1954). We shall here mention only his greater works and the papers that appeared after the said Festschrift.

"Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran. Auf Grund der Quellen dargestellt". Berlin, 1928.

"Der Pretakalpa des Garuda-Purana. Eine Darstellung des hinduistischen Totenkultes und Jenseitsglaubens". Aus dem Sanskrit ubersetzi und mit Einleitung, Ammerkungen und Indices verschen. Berlin 1921.

"Die Indiensammlung der Universitat Zurich". Zurich 1934-35.

"Indische Psychologie". Zurich 1945.

"C. G. ung und Indien". Asiatische Studien. IX 1955. p. 6 ff.

"Indische Traumtheorie und Traumdeutung". *Asiatische Studien.* XII. 1959. p. 5. ff.

Constantin Regamey (born 1907), a disciple of St. Schayer (Warsaw), teaches at the Universities of Lausanne and Fribourg in Switzerland. His main interest: Mahayana Buddhism. He has edited for the first time part of an important Mahayana-Sutra together with its Chinese and Tibetan versions accompanied by a translation: "Three chapters from the Samadhirajasutra". Warsaw 1938.

Furthermore he is now editing the Sanskrit version of the Karanda Vyuha, one of the great Mahayana Sutras. Worth mentioning in this connection is also his description of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Historical Museum of Berne:

"Manuscripts sur Feuilles de Palmier. Les manuscrIpts indiens et indochinois de la section ethnographique du Musee historique de Berne". *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums.* XXVIII. Jahrgang 1948.

He described the Indian Religion (Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism) in *Christus und die Religionen der erde, Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (hrsg. von Franz Konig. 3 Bde. 1951).

Jacques May, a disciple of C. Regamey, also deals mainly with Mahayana Buddhism. He has published a most important Ph.D. thesis—the translation of a Sanskrit text with the help of the Tibetan and Chinese: *Candrakirti, Prasannapada Madhyamakayrtti. Douze chapitres traduits du sanscrit et du tibetain, accompagnes d'une introduction, de notes et d'une edition critique de la version tibetaine* (Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1959). He is now continuing his research with the help of the "Schweizerische Nationalfonds" in Japan.

Paul Horsch is also a disciple of C. Regamey and L. Renou, Paris. His field of studies: Indian Religion and Philosophy. He was lecturer for French at Santiniketan University from 1952 to 1956. Since 1959 Privat-Dozent for Indology at Zurich University.

Sanskrit is taught at present in Swiss Universities by all Professors of Indo-European languages.

Ernst Risch (Zurich), successor of Manu Leumann.

A. Bloch (Basel).

G. Redard (Berne and Neuchatel).

M. Scheller (Zurich and Fribourg).

H. J. Seiler, a Swiss scholar and as M. Scheller, a pupil of Manu Leumann, has become Professor of Indo-European languages at the University of Cologne, Germany. M. Scheller has published a work that has some bearing on Vedic philology: *Vedisch priya und die Wortsippe 'frei', 'freien', 'Freund'* (Gottingen 1959).

This account shows that in Switzerland the role of Sanskrit was and still is intimately connected with Indo-European linguistics. It is in general only taught from this particular point of view. Thus, as in each Swiss University there is a chair of "Indogermanistik" there will also be an opportunity for students to learn at least the fundamentals of Sanskrit grammar. This introductory part lasts in general two terms. At the greater University, especially in Basel and Zurich, there follows a short course of readings, mainly concerned with easier texts of Sanskrit literature, extracts from the epics, and so on. But there are also courses on the Rigveda as this work is particularly important from the linguistic standpoint. A course generally consists of one, maximum two, lessons a week. The number of students varies from term to term and mainly from University to University. The greatest number is of course met with in Basel and Zurich. At the beginning there may be up to 8 students, at the end perhaps four. There is by no means a lack of interest, but the time that is needed to learn Sanskrit and its material or financial usefulness keep many students away from pursuing this field of studies.

As to scholarships there exist no special regulations in Switzerland as far as Sanskrit is concerned. Still there exists a national foundation, namely the "Schweizerische Nationalfonds zur Forderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung", which has been created about ten years ago and which affords scholarships also to students of Sanskrit. But as these scholarships are in general only granted for postgraduate research the number of students that can avail of it is naturally very small. Nevertheless it constitutes an excellent starting point for furthering the study of Sanskrit in Switzerland not only from the grammatical but also from the cultural and religious points of view. In this respect the prospects for the future development of Sanskrit studies in Switzerland are very bright.

SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES

W. NORMAN BROWN

INDIAN studies in the United States begin with Edward Elbridge Salisbury (1814-1901) of Yale. He was appointed Professor of Sanskrit and Arabic there in 1841 and held the double chair until 1854, when he gave up the Sanskrit work to his pupil Whitney. Salisbury had graduated from Yale in 1832 and then spent several years abroad, chiefly in France and Germany, where he studied under Bopp in Berlin and Garcin de Tassy and de Sacy in Paris. After his appointment at Yale he went abroad again and studied Sanskrit under Lassen at Bonn and Burnouf in Paris. Thus, when he entered upon his duties at Yale in 1943, he brought with him the German and French traditions of Indic learning. Salisbury himself did not produce a great deal of original work but he was Whitney's teacher, early recognized Whitney's brilliance and promise, and prevailed upon Yale to establish a separate chair of Sanskrit with Whitney as incumbent. Being a rich man himself he contributed substantially to the endowment of the chair. Fifteen years later in 1869, when Harvard, during the first year of President C. W. Eliot's progressive administration, offered Whitney a chair, Salisbury provided the funds to increase the endowment of the Yale chair and so retain Whitney.

This was not all that Salisbury did to advance Indian studies. In 1842 a group of men, most of them from Boston and nearby, and nearly all sparked by a missionary interest though not themselves missionaries, founded the American Oriental Society. Salisbury, whose interests were scholarly, was one of the earliest members of the Society, served as its Secretary from 1846 to 1857, its President from 1863 to 1866 and again from 1873 to 1880 and

made large financial gifts toward the Society's support. Since the American Oriental Society has been the chief American organ of publication for Oriental scholarship and specially for Indic scholarship, Salisbury must be honoured for the part he had in bringing the Society to that position. Salisbury, therefore, did three important things for Indic studies in the United States; he discovered the first great American Sanskritist; he got him a secure position in a great university where he could work to his full capacity and provided for perpetuity of the chair then established; and he helped more than anyone else to create a means of publication for scientific Oriental studies.

The first great American Sanskritist was William Dwight Whitney (1827-1894). On receiving his baccalaureate degree from Williams College in 1845, he took non-academic employment for several years, during which time he began to study Sanskrit, and then went to Yale for the year 1849-50 to study under Salisbury. From there he went to Germany and spent three winters in Berlin,where he studied mostly with Albrecht Weber, and two summers in Tubingen, where he worked with Rudolf von Roth. Not long after his return to America he was installed in his professorship at Yale (1854) which Salisbury had arranged. In 1870 he was also named to a professorship of comparative philology there, and the joint title of Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology was usual for many decades afterwards in American universities. Whitney was a man of wide scientific attainments. He and Roth jointly produced the *editio princeps* of the Atharva Veda (1855-56), and he himself made a translation of the Atharva Veda with notes in two volumes, which was completed and published after his death by Lanman (1905). He published an *Index Verborum of the Atharva Veda* (1881), edited and translated the *Atharva Veda Pratisakhya* (1862) and the *Taittiriya Pratisakhya* (1871), produced a masterly *Sanskrit Grammar* (first edition 1879, second edition 1889), supplemented by his *Roots...of the Sanskrit Language* (1885), translated the *Surya Siddhanta* (1860), wrote extensively on linguistic science and Indo-European philology in his *Language and the Study of Language* (1867), *Oriental and Linguistic Studies* (1873, 1875), *The life and Growth of Language* (1875), *Language and its Study* (1876). He was one of the four "faithful collaborators" of Bohtlingk and Roth in the production of the monumental seven-volume Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary. Added to these major works were a large number of papers. In other fields he produced a German grammar, a German reader, a German dictionary, an English grammar, a French grammar, and was the editor in chief of the *Century Dictionary* (1889-91), a scientific work not paralleled at that time. He establish-

ed Indo-European philology and scientific linguistics in the United States. His influence was widely felt throughout the American academic world. With respect to the Indic field, Richard Pischel truly said in writing to the Secretary of the American Oriental Society at the time of Whitney's death "...all the Sanskritists of your country either directly or indirectly are pupils of Professor Whitney." Whitney did indeed establish a *vamsa* which, with just a few notable exceptions, has included every Sanskritist teaching in America since his time. To one who belongs in that *vamsavali* but never saw Whitney, the greatest misfortune the founder suffered seems to be that he never visited the land to which he devoted his life.

Younger than Whitney and spanning the 19th and 20th century were four great Sanskritists working in America: Charles Rockwell Lanman (1850-1941), Maurice Bloomfield (1855-1928), Edward Washburn Hopkins (1857-1932), and A (braham) V (alentine) Williams Jackson (1862-1937). Lanman and Bloomfield studied directly under Whitney. Hopkins never studied under any American Sanskritist, though he learned his first Sanskrit as an undergraduate by using Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*. Jackson was a pupil of Hopkins, when the latter was teaching at Columbia. All four of these scholars studied in Germany, and all four therefore were in the German tradition of Indological scholarship.

For the western scholarly world in the 19th century the discovery of Sanskrit at the end of the 18th century had not only provided the key to understanding India's civilization but had also stirred the imagination romantically by identifying the Aryans of the Rig Veda and their descendants with the Hellenes, the Italic peoples, the Germanic tribes, the Celts, the Slays, and the rest of the human cultural family known as Indo-Europeans. In a concrete way it led to the studies generating the department of learning called "comparative philology" and through that inspired the development of modern linguistic science. Sanskrit illumined not only the processes of its own grammar, thanks to the achievements of Panini and the other Indian grammarians but also the grammatical processes and development of word stock in the other Indo-European languages. Indic studies quickly acquired the double aspect of study of India and study of comparative philology, and the natural place for both was oftener than not considered to be the chair of Sanskrit. This was true in Germany and France and came to be true in Great Britain as well, and it was true in the United States too. In the United States every professor of Sanskrit dealt with both.

After Yale, Johns Hopkins was the next to recognize Sanskrit. When this university was founded in 1876, it was designed by its first president and

policy-maker, Daniel Coit Gilman (1831-1908), to be unlike any existing American university and more like the continental European institutions. Sanskrit was a field which he felt should be in its program. He was a member of the American Oriental Society (later in 1893 he was elected president), and knew the status of Oriental learning in the United States. In 1878, therefore, he appointed C. R. Lanman, a pupil of Whitney, who had also spent three years in Germany at Berlin, Tubingen and Leipzig, to a Sanskrit professorship. Lanman stayed at Johns Hopkins only until 1880, when he was called to Harvard, and there he built a Sanskrit department and had his career. His principal publications were on grammar, chiefly of the Rig Veda, but his great labour was as editor of the Harvard Oriental Series. This important undertaking was projected and founded by him and one of his pupils, who had also been a pupil of Bloomfield, named Henry Clarke Warren (1854-1899), a man of great intellectual brilliance and unremitting industry but victim of a crippling spinal injury in childhood, leaving him until his death in constant, severe pain. Warren was a profound scholar of Pali. He was also wealthy and he provided the funds to endow the Harvard Oriental Series, which has now published over forty volumes, including such works as Warren's own *Buddhism in Translations* (1896), Whitney's *Atharva Veda* (1905), Bloomfield's *edic Concordance* (1906), Burlingame's *Buddhist Legends* (1921), Keith's *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (1925), Edgerton's *Bhagavad Gita* (1944), Geldner's translation of the *Rig Veda* (1951). Lanman was an assiduous and painstaking editor, and the Series is his great monument. He was also a great teacher and his *Sanskrit Reader* (first published in 1884) still serves beginners in Sanskrit, especially in the United States. With Lanman was also associated James H. Woods, who translated Patanjali's *Yogasutra* (1927).

On Lanman's retirement in 1926 he was succeeded in 1927 by one of his pupils, Walter Eugene Clark, who was called to Harvard from Chicago, where he was Professor of Sanskrit. Clark worked principally on Indian mathematics, early Indian history, Buddhist Sanskrit. On his retirement he was succeeded by one of his pupils, Daniel H. H. Ingalls, whose published work is chiefly in the fields of Indian philosophy and Sanskrit poetics. He is also editor of the Harvard Oriental Series.

At Johns Hopkins the chair vacated by Lanman in 1880 was given to Maurice Bloomfield who had been a pupil of Whitney at Yale and then of Lanman at Johns Hopkins. Bloomfield's work included above all a large number of books and articles on the Rig Veda and the Atharva Veda (*Vedic Concordance, Rigveda Repetitions, Hymns of the Atharva Veda, The Athar-*

va, *The Kaucika-Sutra of the Atharva Veda*, *Vedic Variants*, *The Religion of the Veda*, and many articles on diverse Vedic topics), works in the field of Jainism (*The Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Parcvanatha*) and a great many articles treating linguistic problems. He was much interested in Indian literary and oral fiction, and planned an Encyclopedia of Hindu Fiction Motifs, to contain a number of papers which he and some of his pupils had published and many others which he hoped would be produced by other scholars.

After Bloomfield's retirement the chair at Johns Hopkins remained vacant for several years until Paul-Emile Dumont, a Belgian scholar was called. He has worked extensively in Brahmana literature and certain devotional sections of the Mahabharata. Dumont has retired from active teaching and the Johns Hopkins chair has not been filled, though elementary Sanskrit is still taught there by a member of the Classics department.

When Whitney died, the Yale chair was given to E. W. Hopkins, who had taken his doctorate at Leipzig in 1881, had been tutor in Latin at Columbia (1881-1885), where he also gave instruction in Sanskrit and Avestan, and had then gone (1885) to Bryn Mawr, as Professor of Greek, Sanskrit, and Comparative Philology, where he was located when called to Yale. Hopkins' published work dealt with social institutions (*The Mutual Relations of the Four Castes according to the Manavadharmacastra*, *The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India*), law (*The Ordinances of Manu*, translated by Burnell, completed and edited by Hopkins; chapters in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I), the epics (*The Great Epic of India*, *Epic Mythology*), religion and ethics (*The Religions of India*, *The History of religions*, *Origin and Evolution of Religion*, *Ethics of India*), and numerous articles on specific topics in these and other fields. During the tenure of Whitney and Hopkins, Hans Oertel, a German scholar, also held an Indic professorship at Yale (1890-1914). He worked chiefly in the Brahmana literature, especially the Jaiminiya or Talavakara Upanishad Brahman.

On Hopkins' retirement in 1926 Franklin Edgerton was called to the Yale chair. He had been a pupil of Bloomfield, had studied in Germany, and had been brought to the University of Pennsylvania in 1913 to inaugurate a Sanskrit chair. He retired from Yale in 1953. He has worked in many fields: story literature (*The Panchatantra Reconstructed*, *Vikrama's Adventures*), Vedic studies (*Vedic Variants*), religion (*Bhagvad Gita*), language (*Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*—grammar, dictionary, reader), with many articles in these and other fields. When he retired Yale called Louis Renou of the University of Paris, who, however, stayed at Yale only briefly. Yale then called

Paul Thieme from Frankfort am Mein, Germany, in 1954, who remained until 1962 when he accepted professorship at Tubingen. The Sanskrit work at Yale is now in charge of Paul Tedesco who came from Austria in 1938 to the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton and went to Yale in 1944. He works chiefly in Sanskrit, Prakrit, modern Indian and Iranian linguistics.

At Columbia the great figure in Indian and Iranian studies was A. V. Williams Jackson, who first studied Sanskrit with E.W. Hopkins at Columbia, and then studied at Halle in Germany. Columbia first appointed him instructor in Anglo-Saxon and the Iranian languages (1889-1891), then adjunct professor of English language and literatures (1891-1895), and then Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages and Literatures (1895-1935). His publications are very many in the fields of Avestan, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism (*A Hymn of Zoroaster: Yasna 31; An Avesta Grammar in Comparison with Sanskrit; Avesta Reader; Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran; Die iranische Religion; Persia; Past and Present; Zoroastrian Studies; Researches in Manichaeism*). His principal Sanskrit publication is a joint translation with Nariman and Ogden of King Harsa's *Priyadarsika*. He wrote with great literary skill, delicacy, and poetic imagery, all reflecting his own personal charm.

Jackson was succeeded by his pupil and associate, Louis H. Gray, also an Avesta scholar, a student of linguistics, editor of *Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, and a Sanskritist. For some years after Gray's retirement in 1944 the chair was vacant. In 1957 an appointment was made of Royal W. Weiler, pupil of W. Norman Brown, to teach Sanskrit and lecture on Indian civilization in an undergraduate program. At present the chair is vacant again.

Besides the chairs at the universities mentioned above, positions were opened in other universities. The University of Chicago appointed Walter Eugene Clark, a pupil of Lanman to a Sanskrit chair (1908); on Lanman's retirement he went to Harvard in 1927 (see above). He was succeeded by George V. Bobrinskoy, a pupil of Edgerton, who in his turn has been succeeded by a Dutch scholar, J. A. Van Buitenen, who publishes in several fields including Samkhya philosophy and Indian fiction.

The University of California (Berkeley) established a chair with Arthur W. Ryder, one of Lanman's pupils and assistant at Harvard, as incumbent (1906-1938). His works were chiefly translations of dramas and lyric poems. After his death the chair remained vacant until Murray B. Emeneau, a pupil of Edgerton, was called to it (1940) and still holds it. His many publications deal with Vedic grammar, linguistics, both Sanskrit and Dravi-

dian (in which latter he has produced many studies), folklore and anthropology, Sanskrit fiction and Sanskrit drama.

The University of Pennsylvania established a Sanskrit Chair in 1913, calling Franklin Edgerton to fill it; he left to take the chair at Yale in 1926 (see above). The chair was then given to W. Norman Brown, another pupil of Bloomfield, who still occupies it. He has published in the fields of Indian literary and oral fiction, Jain hagiographical texts, Prakrit and Old Gujarati, Sanskrit religious lyrics, Vedic mythology and cosmological speculation, miniature painting. Also at Pennsylvania are Ernest Bender, one of his pupils, Mark J. Dresden, pupil of Gonda at Utrecht and Franklin C. Southworth and George Cardona, both pupils of Thieme while Leigh Lisker, who has his doctorate from Pennsylvania, is employed for Dravidian languages, Stella Kramrisch for South Asian art and George F. Dales for South Asian archaeology.

At Princeton Harold H. Bender, a pupil of Bloomfields', though appointed for Germanic philology in 1909, taught Sanskrit. Samuel D. Atkins of the Classics department, but also a pupil of Bender, now offers Sanskrit there.

In recent years Sanskrit has been offered at Michigan by Herbert H. Paper, at Minnesota by Karl Potter (pupil of Ingalls), at Wisconsin by Alex Wayman, pupil of Emeneau, while Buddhism is taught there by Richard H. Robinson. At the University of Hawaii two positions have been opened up, one being filled by George T. Artola, pupil of Dumont, and the other by Walter H. Maurer, pupil of Norman Brown. At Cornell Sanskrit is given by Gordon H. Fairbanks, a pupil of Edgerton; at Syracuse, by Agehananda Bharati, originally from Vienna; at Texas, by Winfred P. Lehmann, who is primarily in the field of Germanic philology. Union Theological Seminary long had a Sanskrit scholar, E. H. Hume, translator of the Upanishads. The Hartford Theological Seminary has had Sanskrit for a number of years; first, George W. Brown (1929-1932) and now Henry Allen Gleason.*

*The present paper has not tried to include notice of Indologists not having regular academic appointments in programs of Indological teaching. Henee nothing is said about such persons as Justin E. Abbott, John Avery, A.H. Edgren, L.C. Barret, E.D. Perry, William W. Rockhill, George C.O. Hass, Charles J. Ogden, Montgomery Schuyler, E.W. Burlingame, G.W. Briggs, H.S. Gehman. Truman Michelson, E.H. Tuttle. Neither is notice taken of American trained scholars who went abroad to work in India, such as A.W. Stratton, Arthur H. Ewing, George W. Brown, S.H. Kellogg. Nor does this article account for all that has been done by American museums in collecting Indian art: Museum of fine Arts in Boston, Metropolitan Museum in New York, Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Freer Gallery the, Cleveland Museum of Art, the Detroit Institute of Art, the Toledo Museum of Art, the William Nelson Rockhill Museum in Kansas City, and other museums which recognize Indian art.

Indological studies in the United States were greatly enriched when Ananda K. Coomaraswamy took a position as Keeper of Indian and Muhammadan Art at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (1917), where he remained until his death in 1947. His voluminous publications in the field of Indian architecture, sculpture, painting, and the other arts were widely read. Harvard University and the Fogg Museum have had Benjamin Rowland on their staff for Indian art since 1930 and his many publications have also increased the resources of Indic studies at Harvard. In 1950, Stella Kramrisch came from the University of Calcutta to the University of Pennsylvania, where she is Professor of South Asian Art, while in 1954 she was made Curator of Indian Art in the Philadelphia museum of art. She also has published voluminously in Indian art history (architecture, sculpture, painting) and in Indian religion, especially Vedic religion. At Chicago, Ludwig Bachofer has been teaching Indian art and publishing on it and numismatics since the late 1920's.

One of the most important resources for Indic studies in the United States was created in 1938, when the Carnegie Corporation of New York gave the Library of Congress funds to appoint an Indian specialist in the Division of Orientalia. This was filled by a pupil of Norman Brown, Horace I. Poleman, who is now chief of the Division. Under his direction the Library of Congress has built up a large collection and has given advice and help to university libraries in improving their own Indian holdings.

Publication resources for Indological works were enlarged when the American Oriental Society inaugurated the American Oriental Series in 1925. A number of Indological works have been published in this series and in publishing monographs it continues in effect the early policy of the Society to use its Journal for large works, rather than for articles, which were then put in the Proceedings. For over sixty years the Society's Journal has not included large monographs.

During the interwar period the American Sanskritists in 1926 organized a Committee on Indic and Iranian Studies under the sponsorship of the American Oriental Society. This became a committee of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1930. Its prime object was to establish a School of Indic and Iranian Studies in India, undertake archaeological work, and promote humanistic scholarship on India generally. The School was incorporated in 1930, but never could get adequate financial support, though it raised some funds, as for an archaeological excavation at Chanhudaro in Sind (1935-1936) conducted by Ernest J. H. Mackay. It sponsored linguistic research by M. B. Emeneau and anthropological research by

D. G. Mandelbaum and by Dorothy M. Spencer. With World War II the School, which had never had a base in India, went out of existence. The Committee, however, continued and assisted in the development of a number of kinds of Indological work in the United States, the most important of which was the establishment of a section for Indian Studies in the Library of Congress (see above). In 1949, on the Committee's own initiative, it was replaced by a Joint Committee on Southern Asia of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. In 1951 the latter Committee produced a plan for "Southern Asia Studies in the United States" to promote activities which will be indicated later in this paper.

II

The scope of Indian studies in the United States was greatly enlarged after the Second World War. The picture in the preceding part of this article has been one of teaching and research in the classical languages, the inherited culture, ancient and medieval history, with only occasional attention to modern languages, folklore, and anthropology. Even modern literatures in India were rarely mentioned by American scholarship dealing with India, though to be fair we must note that such literatures were only scantily treated in Europe too. Before the First World War eight universities had Sanskrit chairs, namely, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, California, Princeton, Pennsylvania. Between the two world wars these eight and two theological seminaries had Indic chairs—Hartford and Union. The total Indological tradition in the United States up to World War II was a distinguished one, with a high place in American humanistic education and scholarship. It is a tradition which has continued to the present and has been extended since World War II, as we have seen above, and other universities than the eight already mentioned now offer Indological work—Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Cornell, Hawaii, Syracuse, Texas. The record is one of which American education may be proud, even though Indologists in America would not be content to see the expansion stop but hope to continue it much farther.

Yet the scope of coverage was not broad enough after the war to satisfy the needs of American education that by then had arisen concern-

ing India—or South Asia, to use the current designation for India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal and Afghanistan. For before World War I there had been no body of social science knowledge concerning India in the United States, and hardly an American economist, anthropologist, sociologist, geographer, political scientist, or recent historian who was competent in respect to India. None of the social sciences was represented in an American university by a chair designated for India. In the interwar period a very small number of American social scientists, such as the economist Buchanan and the historian and political scientist William Roy Smith, not over a dozen in all, acquired an Indian competence and published books. But few, if any, of them made India his continuing field of research.

The study of India in the United States, therefore, had a lopsided structure, well developed and mature on the humanities side, but only in the embryo stage in respect to the social sciences. The humanistic scholars themselves recognised the ominous defect in this situation, for they saw India not only as the homeland of one of the world's great historic civilizations, but also as an area of concern to the modern world. Through the Committee on Indic and Iranian Studies mentioned above, they urged wider expansion of Indian studies, including as one feature of their proposals the training of a few social scientists in the Indian aspects of their field. This, however, had little effect. During the interwar period persons other than the Indianists were with very few exceptions unconvinced that a real need existed.

The Second World War, however, suddenly and forcefully made the need apparent. The United States Government agencies engaged in war time activities had a demand for staff to deal with the Indian role in the war and with India's relations with Britain, Japan, China, and the various parts of Southeast Asia (Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya) and to a lesser extent with the nations of Western Asia. Persons with such specialized knowledge, however, were in very short supply and the agencies had to use whatever help they could find, whether trained for the kind of duties assigned them or, as in most cases, trained in something of peripheral pertinence and therefore compelled to adapt themselves to the demands of the unfamiliar fields in which they were working.

It also became evident to many government administrators and educators that this need would continue after the war. India was sure to gain full self government, as were also many other nations in Asia and Africa that were being ruled by European powers. India's area, population, resources, historic achievements, intellectual development, and prestige in Asia

made it certain that it would have an increasing importance in world affairs and the rest of the world's nations would have to educate themselves about its modern life so as to establish and maintain mutually profitable relations with it in its new political status. When in 1947 India at last won independence, though at the cost of being partitioned, and when shortly afterwards in 1948 Ceylon too became independent, to be followed by Burma, it was still more evident that the whole region of South Asia with its increasingly complicated political structure should get intensive study in the American educational system.

The great philanthropic foundations took the lead in promoting such studies, both of South Asia and of other developing regions. The method was to make a substantial financial contribution as a supplement to resources already available at a university where there was an initial interest and some existing competence in respect to the region concerned. The Carnegie Corporation of New York first gave funds (1947) to support South Asian studies. It was quickly followed by the Rockefeller Foundation (1947) and then by the Ford Foundation when it came into existence. With their aid a number of graduate ("postgraduate" in Indian terminology) programmes of South Asian or Indian studies were established, devoted to teaching and research.

In 1949 the Carnegie Corporation of New York also appropriated funds to set up the Joint Committee on Southern Asia of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council mentioned above. This Committee, having eight members, was composed equally of humanists and social scientists, and it covered not only South Asia (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal, Afghanistan) but also Southeast Asia (Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia, the Philippines [using the designations then current]).

The Committee issued its report in 1951, under the title "Southern Asia Studies in the United States: A Survey and Plan." Its plan called for development under eight heads: (1) grants-in-aid to University Centers of Southern Asia Studies; (2) provision of scholarships for graduate study, field research, and summer study; (3) establishment in India of an American Institute of South Asian Studies; (4) funds for monograph publication; (5) support of a Quarterly Accessions List of Southern Asia Material acquired by the Library of Congress; (6) a conference on Southern Asia studies in undergraduate education; (7) a conference on library services for Southern Asia studies; (8) establishment of a committee on Southern Asia studies. The report was given a good deal of circulation, had much in-

fluence in quarters that counted, and within ten years after its issuance every item in the plan had been put in execution. In many cases the means and manner of executing an item were different from those foreseen by the committee; in *every* case the support was far beyond the modest hopes of the committee and the corresponding activity was therefore far greater. Funds that became available for South Asian studies alone exceeded by many times the total amount the committee had recommended for all Southern Asia. The committee also had thought chiefly of support by the Foundations; it had not foreseen in 1951 the massive support that Southern Asia studies (like studies of other insufficiently studied areas) would get from the United States federal government.

In 1949 the United States Government had begun to support these studies. Under Public Law 79-584 (Fulbright Act) United States Government funds lying in many countries, including India and Pakistan, were made available for grants to send American faculty members and students to those countries for study and research. Further, the Ford Foundation when it began operations set up a fellowship programme for training in international affairs, and students of South Asian areas were eligible for awards under it. In 1959 the United States Government inaugurated a wide programme in American universities to support the study of critical foreign languages and their related cultures. This was administered under the Office of Education, which gave financial aid to universities and fellowships to graduate students. In 1960 and 1961 the Ford Foundation made very large grants to a number of South Asia centers. In 1962 under authorization of Congress and administration by the Library of Congress, Public Law 83-480 funds lying in India and Pakistan were also made available to provide a number of American university libraries with publications appearing in those countries. That same year fifteen American universities formed a corporation to establish an American Institute of Indian Studies devoted to research in India by staff members and graduate students of American universities. This is supported by financial contributions from those universities, the Ford Foundation, and Public Law 480 funds.

The first South Asian language and area programme in the United States was established at the University of Pennsylvania in 1947. Since then a number of other programmes have been set up, so that now in 1963 there also exist or are in process of development South Asian programmes at the universities of California (Berkley), Chicago, Claremont, Cornell, Duke, Hawaii, Minnesota, Michigan, Rochester, Wisconsin, Syracuse, while various other institutions offer courses dealing with South Asia, such as

California (Los Angeles), Columbia, Princeton, Yale, Harvard, North Carolina, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Arizona, American University, Texas, Colgate, Rutgers, New York State University, Washington, Utah, Hartford Technological Seminary. A number of colleges have also introduced some work on India, such as Oberlin, Sweet Briar, Denison, Wake Forest, Gettysburg, Morehouse.

In the South Asia language and area programmes one or more modern languages of the area are taught and often some of the classical languages. Hindi and Urdu are the languages most frequently offered; others are Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Nepali, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, Sinhalese, Persian, Pashto. Area courses are offered in various of the following fields (no programme covers them all): geography, economics, anthropology, sociology, history, political science, law, art history, archaeology, music, literature, religion, philosophy, public health. Modern teaching materials for languages of the area have also been prepared with financial assistance from the United States Office of Education.

III

The picture of South Asian studies in the United States today is one of study of the classical languages and the modern languages, of the humanities and the social sciences, of the ancient and the modern. The old imbalance between the humanities and the social sciences has been eliminated. The number of regular staff members in American universities specifically appointed for South Asian fields is in the hundreds. The number of graduate students is considerably more. A large volume of research is published every year. Further, the scope of such studies, the range of research, and the volume of publication are accelerating. This is an expression of American consciousness of India's historic greatness and the importance of South Asia in the modern world. It constitutes one of the new and significant modern developments in American education. It is far different doubtless from what Salisbury might have foreseen when he became professor of Sanskrit and Arabic at Yale in 1841. Whitney, too, could hardly have forecast it when he entered upon his duties as Professor of Sanskrit in 1854. Yet one may venture the guess that with his wide range of interests which were not restricted to Sanskrit or languages and linguistics, but included mo-

dern languages, music, geology, mathematics and astronomy, ornithology, botany, the British occupation of India, China and the West, education in the wide sense, Darwinism, municipal affairs, even the keeping of accounts, that with all these interests he would, if living today, approve the new range of South Asian studies in the United States and would support it. All he would demand would be accurate and scholarly methods. For, as Lanman put it, with Whitney it was not the *what*, it was the *how*!

INDIAN STUDIES IN THE U. S. S. R.

A. H. WAFA
L. A. GORDON

INTEREST in Indian civilization has long been felt in circles of social and scientific thought in Russia. The late 19th–early 20th century witnessed the heydey of the Russian school of classical Indology. The names of I. P. Minayev, Z. I. Shcherbatskoy, S. T. Oldenburg and others, continue to enjoy world renown. They dealt in their works with problems of ancient Indian philosophy, the history of India's culture and religion, philology and linguistics.

After the October Revolution, the scale of Indological studies greatly expanded. Soviet Indologists have been continuing the tradition of classical Indian Studies, at the same time considerably broadening the field of Indological research. This resulted in a greater interest in the problems of contemporary Indian history and culture, particularly in the development of the national liberation movement, as well as in various economic problems. In other words, the study of the laws of social evolution in the present-day period occupies a significant place in the works of Soviet Indologists.

The tackling of new subjects in Indology meant that work in many fields had to be carried on from the very beginning. Difficulties and even some mistakes were inevitable. By today we may also note achievements made possible by the work of the older generation of Soviet scholars—I. M. Reisner, N. M. Goldberg, K. A. Antonova, V. V. Balabushevich, A. M. Dyakov, A. M. Osipov, P. A. Ulyanovsky and many others.

The results of many years of the pursuit of Indology in the USSR have become especially manifest in the recent decade. First of all, mention should be made of the studies in economic history and contemporary economics of India which were considered to be of paramount importance for the understanding of the progress of India both in the past and today. Among the works on the subject there is A. I. Levkovsky's monograph on the *Characteristics of the Development of Capitalism in India* (Moscow 1963) published recently.[1] The book sums up the results of the author's research of many years which covered, among other such problems as the functioning and structure of British capital in India, the specific features of the development of the lower forms of indigenous capitalist business, the formation and growth of the developed Indian capital, indigenous monopolies and their characteristics, the nature and characteristics of the national bourgeoisie, the state capitalism and the general tendencies in the development of Indian capitalism in the post-independence India.

Not a few works by Soviet authors deal with the economic problems facing India after 1947. Soviet scholars undertook the study of the growth of modern large-scale industry and factory production in India.

All these problems, with different emphasis, are treated in the works by V. A. Kandratyev (*Indian Industry*, Moscow, 1963); Y. A. Yershov (*Oil and India's Struggle for Economic Independence*, Moscow, 1961); A. L. Batalov (*Transport in India of Today*, Moscow, 1961), etc.

Several interesting monographs deal with the finances, credit and currency system of India. But this subject requires further detailed study.[2]

Soviet Indology has long displayed an interest in the problems of the agrarian structure of India. Works by Soviet scholars, published recently, cover the problems of the agrotechnical basis of Indian agriculture, the community projects and national extension services and the cooperative movement in agriculture (see R. P. Gurvich: *India's Agriculture and the Conditions of Peasants*, Moscow 1960), as well as the study of the prerequisites, implementation and results of land reforms.[3]

1. The English Translation is going to appear soon.
2. See: N. A. Grodko: *Credit and Currency System of Colonial India*, (Moscow, 1956);
   L. I. Frey: *Currency and Credit System and International Payments of the Republic of India*, (Moscow, 1956);
   N. V. Shein: *State Finances of India*, (Moscow, 1961);
3. G. G. Kotovsky: *Land Reforms in India*, (Moscow, 1959);
   M. A. Maximov, A. A. Masiennikov and V. G. Rastyannikov: "Agrarian Problem in the East," (in *Mirovaya Ekonomika, and Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniya*. Moscow, 1959, N 5);
   A. I. Medovoy: *Moneylenders and India's Agriculture*, (Moscow, 1962)

Economic studies always involve research in the structure of Ind society. No doubt, the study of this aspect of the social process forms integral part of any socio-political research. But a separate branch of so economic and socio-historical studies has grown up in Soviet Indology, h ing as its subject the structure of Indian society.

Works by the late I. M. Reisner, Professor of the Moscow State U versity, were instrumental in the initiation and progress of these stud Prof. Reisner's pupils have recently come out with a number of interest papers including articles by L. B. Alayev on the medieval Indian comm nity, by E. N. Komarov on the Bengali village, by A. I. Chicherov on medieval handicraft production, a monograph by V. I. Pavlov on the gen of Indian bourgeoisie; and works on the conditions of Indian peasantry the working classes.[4]

A significant feature of the study of Indian Sociology in Russia is t it combines the study of the contemporary conditions of various classes social institutions with that of their historical evolution in the preced centuries.

Soviet Indological literature also includes works on the civil history India of all periods, the history of philosophy and social and politi thought, the history of Indian culture and on ethnography. All these stud form one broad current, being a logical continuation of economic and so research, and are closely interlaced.

As mentioned above, the interest of Soviet historians studying India been focused on the problems of modern and contemporary history. T

4. E. N. Komarov: "Bengali Village and Peasant Economy in the Second Hal the 18th Century," in *Proceedings of the Institute of Orie Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 18, (Mosc 1957);

V. I. Pavlov: *Formation of Indian Bourgeoisie*, (Moscow, 1958—is b translated into English);

A.I. Chicherov: "On the Economic Conditions of Artisans and Merchant South India in the 14-16 Centuries," in the *Abstracts of Institute of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences*, N. (Moscow, 1961);

L. B. Alayev: "Some Problems of the Evolution of Indian Community in Late 18th—Early 19th Centuries," *Voprosy Istorii*, N (Moscow, 1962);

L. A. Gordon: *From the History of the Indian Working Classes* (Mosc 1961)

T.S. Pokatayeva: "Conditions of the Working Classes in India," Mosc 1960.

late Professor I. M. Reisner worked out the periodisation and the framework of problems of Indian history in modern times. Works of V. V. Balabushevich, A. M. Dyakov, L. Geller, B. Seigel and others on the national liberation struggle and the labour and peasant movement, laid the foundation for the understanding of the processes of contemporary history.

The new generation of scholars joining the ranks of Indologists made it possible to pass from studies of particular subjects to comprehensive general works. To this category of work belong collective monographs *Modern History of India* (Moscow, 1961) and *Contemporary History of India* (Moscow, 1959), prepared by the Indian Section of the Institute of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences. These books are going to appear in English soon.

The appearance of works of general nature in their turn, give a new fillip to further monographic studies of specific problems of modern and contemporary history, Works of this kind by K. A. Antonova, N. I. Semyonova, M. N. Yegorova, V. P. Nikhamin, T. F. Devyatkina, L. V. Shaposhnikova and I. Khashimov [5] were published in recent years.

Fruitful consideration of economic, social and political problems made possible the study of such a complex and peculiar phenomenon as the history of Indian philosophy and social and political thought. A volume on *Indian Political and Philosophical Thought* (Moscow, 1963) and a stimulating book by A. M. Pyatigorsky: *Materials on the History of Indian Philosophy* (Moscow, 1963) were published in 1962 and 1963. At present L. R. Gordon-Polonskaya has completed an important monograph on the history of Islamic schools of social thought in India and Pakistan.

The interest in contemporary history has not resulted in ignoring the ancient and medieval periods. K. Z. Ashrafyan, A. M. Osipov, G. M. Bon-

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5. K.A. Antonova: *British Conquest of India in the 18th Century*, (Moscow 1958);

I.M. Reisner: *Popular Movements in India in the 17-18 Centuries*, (Moscow, 1961);

N.I. Semyonova: *The Sikh State*. (Moscow, 1958);

V.P. Nikhamin: *Studies in Foreign Policy of India (1947-1957)*, (Moscow 1959);

I. Khashimov and L.V. Shaposhnikova: *On the history of Labour Movement in India*; (Moscow, 1961)

M.N. Yegorova: *Labour Legislation in India*, (Moscow, 1962);

T.F. Devyatkina: *Abolition of Princely States in the Present-day India*, (Moscow, 1961);

gard-Levin, G. F. Ilyin and others successfully explore this field.[6] Of very great value are the discoveries of Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia. Quite recently L. Albaum and B. Stavisky found a great number of Indian documents written in the Brahmi script and Indian inscriptions on vessels in Brahmi and Kharoshti scripts.

The study of Indian literatures forms an integral part of Soviet Indology. Even before the October Revolution a good deal had been done in the field of translation and study of the most representative works of Indian literature. But it was only after the Revolution that this work expanded on a truly large scale. A specific feature of Soviet Indology is its deep interest not only in the ancient and medieval literature but also, and in particular, in modern literature. The first name to be mentioned in this context is that of Academician A. P. Barannikov who translated Tulsi Das's *Ramayana* and worked out many problems of modern Hindi and Urdu prose and poetry as well as important linguistic questions.[7]

Under way is the study of new Indian literatures in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu and other languages. The efforts of scholars are focused on fundamental problems the understanding of which will throw light on main laws of the literary process. Among them are the ideology and aesthetics of the most outstanding Indian authors, the forms and substance of the links between literature and the life of the people, the interaction of tradition and innovation, the variety of ways of expression. A greater part of these problems has found elucidation in the volumes Poetry of the Peoples of India (Moscow, 1962,) Modern Indian Prose (Moscow, 1962) and Indian Drama and Theatre (Moscow, 1961) published recently, as well as in a number of interesting monographs on specific problems of

6. K.Z. Ashrafyan: *Delhi Sultanate* (Moscow, 1960);
A.M. Osipov: *A Short History of India Prior to the 10th Century*, (Moscow, 1948).
G.F. Ilyin: *The Ancient Indian City of Taxila*, (Moscow, 1958);
G.M. Bongard-Levin: "The Harappa Civilization and the 'Aryan Problem,'" in the *Sovetskaya Ethnographia* N. 1. (Moscow, 1962).

7. *Tulsi Das*, "*Ramayana*", (Moscow-Leningrad, 1948), translated by A. P. Barannikov.
A.P. Barannikov: *Indian philology* (Moscow, 1959).
S.I. Potabenko: *Hindi Drama in the Fight for India's Freedom and Independence*, (Moscow, 1962);
I.D. Serebryakov: *Ancient Indian Literature* (Moscow, 1963);
P.A Grintser: *Ancient Indian Prose*, (Moscow, 1963), and a number of publications on Rabindranath Tagore's Work.

literary history. [8]

The study of Indian languages is, as was noted above, a tradition of long standing. It has not only provided a sound foundation for the research history, economics and literary history and criticism, but has also been instrumental in increasing the number of persons with a mastery of the new Indian languages. This resulted in publication of dictionaries, grammars, conversation books, textbooks and manuals on various Indian languages.

Purely linguistic problems have been treated in special collections of papers and monographs. Soviet Orientalists attach great importance to the *Languages of the Peoples of Asia and Africa* series which comprises brief outlines of almost all principal languages of India.

Carrying on the tradition of classical Indian studies, Soviet Orientalists continue with the translation and publication of historical and cultural works on India. Their publication in the USSR enables broad circles of the Soviet public to get acquainted with the masterpieces of Indian culture.

The study of India in the USSR has an organised and purposeful nature. The main research centre in this field is the Institute of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Indological studies are also conducted at the Academy's Institute of World Economy and International Relations and Institute of Ethnography, at the Oriental Languages Institute of the Moscow State University, the Oriental Faculty of the Leningrad State University, the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, and the Oriental Faculty of the Central Asia State University.

Interest in Indology is to be found in several scientific and political journals. Indological studies are, of course, prominent in the special publications dealing with Oriental Studies—*Peoples of Asia and Africa Today* and *Abstracts of the Institute of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences.*

Soviet Indologists hope that their study of Indian history and culture contributes to the strengthening of friendly relations between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union.

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8. The recent years alone saw the publication of *Mahabharata* Vol. 1-5 (Ashkhabad, 1959-1962); *Dhammapada,* (Moscow, 1962); *Jatakamala,* (Moscow, 1962); *Laws of Manu,* (Moscow, 1961); *Arthashastra,* (Moscow, 1959), etc.