WESTERN SAILORS EASTERN SEAS

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German Response to Indian Culture

SISIR KUMAR DAS

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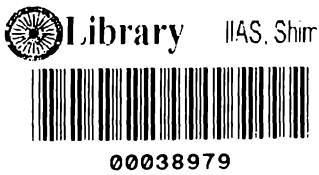

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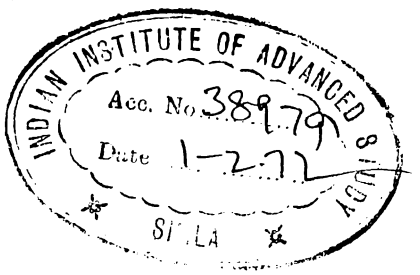

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Foreword

THIS essay bearing the title *Western Sailors: Eastern Seas* is very apt, for what else did the Western scholars in their quest for finding the sources of Eastern wisdom do but start on an uncharted voyage to its land of origin? To my mind, it has not yet been sufficiently realised that here is one of those rare human enterprises where the intellectual elite of a country takes the most lively and selfless interest in the culture of another nation, so much so that these scholars dedicated their life's work for this pursuit without ever expecting any gain or honour from it. It is as though they followed the behest of the *Bhagavad Gita* that our work should never be tainted by ambition or desire for gain and fame. "Do thy work and do not think of the fruit thereof."

We have to thank Dr. Das for having taken great pains in following the route taken by our indologists, starting with their first faltering steps till the present time when there is a very lively two-way traffic in our mutual relations and when indological studies in my country cannot only look back to great achievements made during more than one and a half centuries but look ahead with equal confidence to ever-increasing and widening activities. So often we Germans hear from our Indian friends how indebted India is for the research work done by our indologists which helped not only to make the intellectual elite conscious of India's cultural heritage but through their voluminous writings also projected abroad an image of India which lifted her up in the eyes of the world at a time when she suffered political oblivion. Yes, when names are mentioned like Schlegel, Bopp, Deussen and scores of others we feel convinced that they indeed were largely responsible for ushering in India's cultural renaissance in the 19th century.

And yet one also hears nowadays dissenting voices from quar-

ters that want to look forward unhampered by what they call the trammels of tradition. But for these, so it is argued, India would have forged ahead much faster and been along with the rest of the modern world in the vanguard of modern civilisation. The argument of these advocates of outright progress who want to break away from the very roots of India's culture cannot be brushed aside lightly, for they are too vocal to be overheard. And yet, we have to pause and ask ourselves whether the achievements of our indological friends in the west were really made in vain or whether modern civilisation with its overemphasis on matter and materialism will not have to draw strength from the deep well of India's ancient wisdom.

I for one am of the firm opinion that life is blossoming at its best only when the material needs of man are informed and regulated by spiritual values. And here India can and should play a decisive role in the world by not bartering away her culture's priceless treasures for a mess of pottage but rather nurture and allow it to act as a catalyst which will bring about a balance between spirit and matter and only then enable us to live an integrated life in relative material comfort and based on the rockbed of the spirit. Our world is made up of dualistic principles, the primordial amongst them being that between matter and spirit. Only when these two are in harmony with one another can a true culture come into being. None of these two must override the other and here it can perhaps be maintained with some justification that our indologists have laid too great a stress on the religious and metaphysical aspects of India's culture. In order to supplement their work and to show that German scholars are not only interested in India's past and pursue indological studies in the more literal sense but are now very much alive to the problems and plans of present-day India, we are just preparing a book called *German Scholars on India*, in which account will be given by German scientists on the work they carry out in their particular fields of research. I may refer here also to the South Asia Institute of the Heidelberg University where not only indology in the classical linguistic sense is taught but where the India of today in all her multifarious facets is the subject of research. And furthermore, there are groups of German scholars at present in India who are studying in situ local problems from

their particular scientific angles; problems that have a bearing on the further development of India's vast rural areas.

This is, indeed, as it should be, for only thorough knowledge of each other's difficulties will strengthen our mutual understanding and reinforce our friendship. That Dr. Das has so painstakingly worked towards this end is very gratifying and justifies in ample measure his being awarded my Government's Nehru Award.

GUENTER DIEHL

Preface

Western Sailors : Eastern Seas is a brief account of the cultural relationship between Germany and India. The subject is important and difficult. It is important because it is one of the illuminating chapters in the history of human understanding and because the discovery of ancient Indian wisdom by German scholars added a new dimension to disciplines of Linguistics, Religion and Mythology. It is difficult because like all human relationships, relations between nations are conditioned and shaped by national temperament and their sense of values. The present writer has only tried to outline the salient features of the history of the relationship between these two countries.

The sailors from Portugal, Holland, France and England came for material gains. They wanted a new territory for the extension of their trade and commerce and ultimately for their empire. Missionaries came to spread the Word. At last came the scholars to ship home the other treasures. British scholars were the first among their European counterparts to arrive in India and became pioneers in many fields of Indology. Many of them loved India. They translated the ancient texts, deciphered the language written in manuscripts and inscribed on the rocks. India remembers them with gratitude and respect. Germany had neither a colony in India nor had she any territorial interest in the country. Naturally the German scholars had to wait to arrive in the new field of Indology. Heine wrote that while other nations were interested in the gold of India the Germans had "all along been left to watch it. Today Schlegel, Bopp, Humboldt, Frank, etc. are our East Indian sailors. Bonn and Munich will be good factories." The Poet's hope was fulfilled. Though they were late the Germans gave a new direction to several disciplines when they discovered ancient India.

This discovery had its impact on India too. The educated Indian of the last century had but a vague idea about his own heritage. The Western Indologists presented him with the most precious gift he ever had from Europe. They discovered his own heritage for him which helped him to realize the significance of his role in the great human drama. He acquired new strength to cope with his present. It is not surprising that Lord Curzon was annoyed with Max Mueller because he thought Max Mueller's writings influenced the rebellious minds of young Indians.

The present paper has six sections excluding the conclusion, an appendix and a bibliography. The first section describes the initial romantic response of Germany to Indian thought, the second deals with the neo-grammarians in the main and their contributions to the Indic studies in general and the third with the nature of the response of philosophers to Indian religious thoughts. The next two sections are devoted to Max Mueller and Tagore respectively. The Indo-German relationship reached its climax in Max Mueller. His towering personality, great scholarship and love for India—both ancient and modern—distinguish him from all others working in the same field. His love and concern for India have made him the most honoured European scholar in India. On the other hand Germany's attitude to Tagore shows her keen awareness of the richness of the modern Indian thought. By honouring Tagore, in whom Indian renaissance found its finest expression, Germany honour modern India. The sixth section *Not by love Alone* discussess the observations of Max Weber on Indian religions. His analysis may not be very pleasant to many Indians but it is objective and original, perceptive though critical. This element of criticism is important for any healthy relationship. Cultural relationship is different from trade or political relations. Stream of wisdom flows even through the barriers of political expediency. Cultural relationship is a relationship of minds. It grows through mutual admiration and love but not by love alone.

We often talk of Eastern and Western thoughts and cultures. The validity of such distinction is open to question today when the world has become smaller with man's triumph over distance and any citizen of this small planet can claim all achievements of men as his own heritage. Any man's death diminishes it—it

is more than a poetic truth and the modern world is trying to realise the fact. This realisation is achieved through the establishment of relationship. German response to our culture is an example of such relationship.

This essay was written in the summer of 1969 and for it I was awarded that year's Nehru Award of the Federal Republic of Germany, University of Delhi. I am grateful to His Excellency Guenter Diehl, German ambassador to India, for his keen interest in my paper. I take this opportunity to thank his Excellency for the kindness he has shown to me. I also thank Mr. Hermann Ziock, the Press Counsellor, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, for making necessary arrangements for the publication of this essay.

SISIR KUMAR DAS
University of Delhi

A Land of Desire

Fuehlt ich mir eine Welt entstehn.
"I felt a new world grow in me."
FAUST: I. 778

THE DISCOVERY OF India by the Western man is one of the most significant events in the history of India and indeed in the history of human civilization. India was known to Europe for a long time. The Jesuit missionaries from Germany came to India to preach and some of them wrote grammars of several Indian languages.[1] How much praise they deserve today we do not know but certainly they could not arouse any interest in Germany. India remained a mere name of a country which attracted a number of traders and missionaries from different countries of Europe. The stately European ships returned home with cargo of pearls and diamonds, silk and cotton, and perfumes and rose-essence. Hegel wrote in his *The Philosophy of History* that nations rushed towards India to gain access "to the treasures of this land of marvels, the most costly which the earth presents; treasures of Nature... as also treasure of wisdom."[2] While the traders were busy collecting the treasures of nature the scholars hardly knew anything about the other treasures of wisdom. From the time the British scholars and particularly the German scholars came to know about the language and literature, philosophy

[1]H. Roth (1610-88) wrote a grammar of Sanskrit in Latin. So did Ernst Hauxleben (d. 1732). Both the works were never published. Bartholomenus Ziegenbaly (1683-1719) wrote a book on the Geneaology of the South Indian Gods in 1783. Joseph Tieffenthaler gave a general account of the history and the geography of India in his *Historisch-Geographische Beschreibung von Hindustan*, Berlin, 1785.

[2]Eng. tr. J. Sibree (New York, 1944), p. 142.

and religion of India, which in Hegel's words formed "an essential element in General History", India became so fascinating a subject to the German scholars that many of them could say like Keats when he first read Homer in Chapman's translation :

> Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
> When a new planet swims into his ken.

The discovery of the new 'planet' was indeed a revelation. Many years after this one German scholar gave a charming account of his own bewilderment and excitement when his teacher told the class that there was a language spoken in India which was much the same as Greek and Latin, and close to German and even Russian. He thought it was a joke. But when he looked at the black-board on which the parallel columns of numerals, pronouns and certain verbs in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin were written he could not believe his eyes. "All one's ideas of Adam and Eve, and the Paradise, and the tower of Babel, and Shem, Ham and Japhet, with Homer and Aeneas and Virgil too," he confesses, "seemed to be whirling round and round till at last one picked up the fragments and tried to build up a *new world* and to live with a new historical consciousness."[3] These are the words of Max Mueller who loved India with all the fibres of his being. But these words could have been of any German Sanskritist of the last century.

Sanskrit was introduced to Germany by Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829). In 1802 when Friedrich was a young man of thirty he met Alexander Hamilton (1762–1824), an Englishman who knew Sanskrit, at Paris. The existence of Sanskrit, an ancient language of India, was already known in some parts of Europe. As early as 1786 when Friedrich was a mere child Sir William Jones reported to the world with great eloquence that the "Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly be produced by accident,

[3]Max Mueller, F., *India: What Can It Teach Us?* (London, 1892), pp. 28-29.

so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine all three, without believing that they have sprung from some common source ...."[4]

This glowing tribute to Sanskrit responded to a view predominant among certain sections of scholars that grammar was "substantially the same and accidentally different" and to the notion that the development of language over time had been a process of progressive corruption, since Latin had long been held to be a kind of corrupt Greek—and here was Sanskrit, more perfect than Greek.[5] The linguistic implication of Jones' words, however, became significant when Sanskrit reached Germany through Schlegel who wrote *Ueber die Sprache ūnd Weisheit der Indier* (The Language And Wisdom of India) in 1808. He spoke the right words at the right moment when his listeners were ready to respond. His enthusiasm for Sanskrit stemmed from his romantic ideas that the study of Indian literature would bring about a revolution in European life as the revival of Greek learning once did. He concentrated on the India of the Vedas and contrasted it with the pagan Greek world. He found in Indian gods the deepest mystical profundities. Friedrich and his brother August Wilhelm, who was a teacher of Heine, were among the great exponents of the romantic movement in German literature and through their journal *Athenaeum* "established romanticism as an articulate 'school' of aesthetic doctrines in Germany".[6] Both of them had a penchant for romantic literature and an instinctive liking for mysterious and remote qualities in existing literature. Schlegel's love for Sanskrit literature is an outcome of his love for the exotic elements in literature as well as of his strong insistence on the identity of poetry and morals. Tymns remarked that no other German aesthetic pedagogue united so remarkably the intellectual and the irrational or the intuitive didactism as did Friedrich Schlegel.[7]

The initial response of the Germans to India was thus essentially

[4]"The Third Anniversary Discourses" delivered to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, on 2 February 1786. See Lord Teignmouth, *The Works of Sir William Jones* (London, 1807), iii, p. 34.

[5]Dinneen, F. P., *An Introduction To General Linguistics* (New York, 1967), p. 181.

[6]Tymms, Ralph, *German Romantic Literature* (London, 1955), p. 122.

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 125.

emotional. Germany came to know about Indian literature in 1791 when the first German translation of *Shakuntala* was published. George Forster, the translator, sent a copy to his friend Johann Gottfried Herder, whose book *Brahmin's Thoughts* was published in 1792. Herder wrote back to Forster : "I cannot easily find a product of the human mind more pleasant than this one... a real blossom of the Orient, and the first most beautiful of its kind. ... Something like that, of course, appears once every two thousand years."[8] Herder (1744–1803) was one of the leaders of the *Sturm und Drang* (Storm and Stress) period of the 'seventies. The protest against the sophistication of art of the preceding period became violent under the leadership of the Schlegel brothers. Several poets and writers, including Herder, welcomed the spirit of Romanticism. It is no wonder that Herder should welcome *Shakuntala* with such warmth. In his essay *About an Oriental Drama* he described it as the essence of perfection and like a true Romantic he sought to learn about Indian life not from any authentic text but from Indian poetry.[9] His India was a haven of peace and his feeling for that country was similar to that of Dasa, a character in Hermann Hesse's story *The Indian Life* who coming near the hut of a yogi after a period of suffering and pain felt that "time had not moved here: there had been no conflict or murder here. It seemed to him as though life and time had become crystallized in the eternal."[10]

The Romantic spirit of Herder and Schlegel inspired several scholars and led to the foundation of German Indology. Herder's *Ideas to the Philosophy of History and Mankind* and Schlegel's *The Language and Wisdom of India* are important contributions to the better understanding of the East.

Herder sent a copy of *Shakuntala* to Goethe (1749–1832) who wrote a poem on the drama which is now famous. This is the first tribute to Kalidasa from a great European poet.[11] It records

[8]Heimo Rau, "On Goethe's Quatrain on Sakontala", Ed. R.K. Das Gupta, *Goethe On Indian Literature* (University of Delhi, 1965); reprinted in *Max Mueller Bhavan Year Book,* New Delhi, 1965.

[9]Nolle, W., *Impact of Indian Thought on German Poets and Philosophers,* (Etah, India, 1963), p. 39.

[10]*Magister Ludi,* 1946.

[11]This poem was written in 1791 and published in the same year in *Deutsche*

a genuine response of a great poet to a great piece of art. Tagore found in it a true criticism of Shakuntala. For years Goethe was filled with admiration for it, authentic traces of which are found in the "prologue on the stage" in *Faust*. He found in this play "humanities purest and most natural conditions". He read the play again in Chezy's translation and again found "the purest moral endeavour, the noblest majesty and the sincerest religious feeling".[12] He read the *Meghadutam* in H. H. Wilson's English translation in 1817 and found "a great ancient Indian treasure" and felt like translating the *Gitagovinda* when he compared the German version by Dalberg with Hones' English version published in 1802.

Goethe never thought of imitating Kalidasa though he admired him more than any one did. He liked Indian poetry not because it was exotic but because he saw in it an element of universality. He wrote poems on Indian themes long before his "Eastern period". His "God and the Bayadere" is based on an Indian legend but the legend was used to convey a "classical Christian conception of humanity".[13] In 1811 when *Faust* was three years old he wrote in a letter to Count Uvarov that he was tempted to use some of the Indian themes. He thought a "new world is bound to be born where we can live in greater plentitude, and where the peculiarities of our mind will be fortified and will be refreshed for new activity".[14] His response to Indian poetry and Indian themes is the manifestation of his idea of World Literatute. His attitude towards Indian literature was ambivalent : he loved it and yet criticised it. And thus he differs from Herder, Novalis or Heine. There was tradition to associate fantasy and myths with

Monatschrift. It was translated into English by E.B. Eastwick. Monier-Williams quotes Eastwick's translation which is as follows:

> Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline
> And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed?
> Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine?
> I name thee, O Sakontala, and all at once is said.

Also see Heimo Rau, *op. cit.*

[12]*Letters From Goethe*, Translated by Harzfeld, M. and Sym, C. M. (London, 1957), p. 514.

[13]Strich, Fritz, *Goethe and World Literature* (London, 1949), p. 140.

[14]See *Goethe on Indian Literature, op. cit.*, p. 27.

India even before Herder or Majer. Johann Arnold Kanne (1773–1824) thought of India as "a world of childhood", and Jean Paul Friedrich Richter (1763–1825) took Kanva of *Shakuntala* as the model for his Emmanuel Duhore in *Hesperus* where his love for mythical India is clearly visible.[15] Novalis (1772–1801) felt "homesick for the Indian motherland" and Hoelderlin (1770–1840) believed that the worship of Dionysus came from India and the origins of Greek gods even go back into the mysterious Asiatic past.[16] Heine's (1797–1856) well-known poem" "Auf Fluegeln des Gesanges" is the finest expression of the Romantic attitude towards India. In the poem, Ganga ceases to be a geographical reality and becomes a symbol of peace as the river Jamuna is a symbol of Vaishnava mysticism. Hegel called India "a land of desire" : the poet went a step further. He wrote :

On the wings of song, my dearest
I will carry you off, and go
To where the Ganges is clearest
There is a haven I know
In the moon-light's glow and glister
Fair gardens radiate
Eager to greet their sister
The lotus flowers wait.
Violets tease one another
And gaze at the stars from the vales
Roses are telling each other
Secretly, sweet-scented tales
And lightly, trespassing slowly,
Come the placid, timid gazelles
Far in the distance, the holy
River rises and swells.
Oh, that we too were by it
Beneath a palm by the stream
To drink in love and quiet,
And dream a peaceful dream.

[15]Willson, A. Leslie., *A Mythical Image: The Ideal India in German Romanticism* (Duke University Press, Durham), 1964.

[16]Salzberger, L. S., *Hoelderlin* (New Haven, 1952), p. 44. Also compare with Euripides' *Bacchae,* 13-16.

What's in the Scroll?

THE INITIAL EXCITEMENT and admiration for India in Germany did not become a part of her intellectual heritage. The discovery of Sanskrit, however, brought a revolution in the history of linguistic scholarship. The implications of this discovery can be understood when one looks at the history of linguistic thought; but since the aim of philology in the last century was "to learn what man is, by learning what man has been"[1] that discovery had an impact on general notions about human culture.

The knowledge of Sanskrit had far-reaching consequences on the linguistic research for the mere fact that scholars were unexpectedly confronted with another classical language and that was sufficient, as pointed out by Pedersen, "to shake their reliance on the easy-going ways of thinking that had satisfied previous centuries".[2] Friedrich Schlegel was first to speak of "comparative grammar" but he did not do any work in that direction. Jespersen has commented humorously that like Moses, "he only looks into this promised land without entering it".[3] Friedrich's brother August, who became a professor of Sanskrit in Bonn in 1818 gave a greater impulse to Sanskrit learning and encouraged his Norwegian pupil Christian Lassen to work on the language. The first scientific analysis of Sanskrit appeared in 1816 when Franz Bopp (1791–1867), a young man of twenty-five still studying Oriental languages in Paris, wrote his epochmaking book *Ueber das Conjugationssytem der Sanskritsprache in Vergleichung mit jenem der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen ūnd germanischen Sprache.*

[1]Max Mueller, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (London, 1859), p. 4.

[2]Pedersen, H., *The Discovery of Language, Linguistic Science in 19th Century.* Eng. tr. John Webster Spargo, 1931 (Harvard University Press 1962), p. 21.

[3]Jespersen, Otto, *Language* (London, 1922), p. 34. Page no. refers to 1950 reprint.

It is customary in Germany to date the birth of Comparative Philology from 1861. Bopp's interest was primarily that of a philologist but he had interest in literature too. He had included few specimens of Sanskrit in translation in his book. He became a professor in 1822 and wrote his famous *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Send, Armenischen, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Altslawischen, Gotischen und Deutschen,* which had two editions during his life and one edition after his death.

A survey of his work and criticism of his methods would lead us to a different field. It is sufficient to say that he placed Sanskrit in its legitimate place and tried to attack the romantic notion that Sanskrit was the parent-language. The knowledge of Sanskrit gave impetus to speculations in the *Ursprache,* the original language. Bopp made it clear that there was no reason to believe that Greek, Latin and other European languages were derived from sanskrit but "Sanskrit has preserved (the original tongue) more perfect than its kindred dialects".[4] The original language has not been discovered so far. Such a discovery seems almost impossible. But it has been possible today to reconstruct an earlier form of any language. No one can say whether the reconstructed form was ever really spoken by a human being. It has only a national existence, no more no less. Bopp worked in this area : he wanted to discover the origin of flexional elements but instead he discovered comparative grammar. In the words of A. Meillet, "Bopp a trouvé la grammaire comparée en cherchant à expliquer l'indo-européen, comme Christophe Colomb a découvert l'Amérique en cherchant la route des Indes."[5]

Along with Bopp, two names must be mentioned. One is Rasmus Rask (1787–1832), born of a Danish peasant family, who became one of the founders of Indo-Iranian studies in Germany and Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) the German folklorist. Jacob and his brother Wilhelm were interested in the culture of common people and collected ballads and fairy-tales.[6] Jacob

[4]Jespersen, *op. cit.,* p. 48.

[5]Meillet, A., *Introduction à l'e'tude comparative des langues Indo-européennes* (Alabama, 1964), p. 458.

[6]In 1883 when Lal Behari De published his *Folk Tales of Bengal* he acknowledged his indebtedness to the *Märchen* of the Brother Grimm and hoped that his collections "would be a contribution, however slight, to the daily increasing literature of folklore and contemporary mythology".

is also a famous grammarian. In the second edition of his grammar the *Deutsche Grammatik* in 1822 he set out clearly the sound correspondence he had found between Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, and the Germanic languages. He formulated a law, which is known as *Grimm's Law* which states of regular correspondences between Germanic obstruents and other languages of the Indo-European family. Indo-European T, A, and M became Germanic A, M and T respectively where T stands for p t k; A stands for bh dh gh (or f v x etc.) and M stands for b d g. The law showed the regularity of change in the sound system of the sister languages of the same family.

Grimm's contemporaries, however, soon found exception to this 'law'. For example, Gothic—*biudan* 'offer', *dauhtar* 'daughter', and *gagg* 'tree' correspond to Sanskrit *bodhami* 'I notice', *duhita* 'daughter' and *jangha* 'leg' respectively. According to Grimm's Law the Sanskrit cognates should have had initial aspirates. Hermann Grassmann showed that all such forms contained Proto-Indo-European aspirates in two successive syllables. Grassmann was classical scholar and a teacher of Mathematics. In fact had his book on the Theory of Extension, a treatise on Mathematics not been so much ignored by his contemporaries he might not have studied Sanskrit. He translated the *Rig Veda* in 1876 the year when Alfred Ludwig's translation of the same book appeared.[7] His great contribution in linguistics is the modification of Grimm's Law and his observation is known as Grassmann Law. His law states that Sanskrit and Greek cannot have two aspirates in consecutive syllables. It threw new light on the structure of Sanskrit as well as on the history of the development of Sanskrit. It showed that like Greek and Latin Sanskrit too had undergone several changes and it was not the *Ursprache.*

The *Junggrammatiker* or the neo-grammarians went too far in emphasing the importance of Sanskrit. But it must be admitted that Sanskrit was the lodestar of the early comparative linguists. The analysis of Sanskrit by Indian grammarians was a great help to the linguists. Bloomfield declared emphatically that Indo-European comparative grammar had (and has) at its service

[7]See Berger, Hermann, 'Hermann Grassmann', *Max Mueller Bhavan Year Book*, 1964.

only one complete description of a language, the grammar of Panini.[8] The amazing simplicity and adequacy of the grammatical description of Sanskrit by the Indian scholars was itself a great feat. Pedersen pointed out that the Indians observed carefully the vowel changes which took place in inflection and derivation and these observations passed over into the new comparative linguistics. The Greek grammarians did not notice such phenomenon in their language though Greek shows such changes. "What the Indian grammarians had discovered thus came to be applied in a way they never anticipated."[9]

The neo-grammarians were not wrong when they emphasised the importance of Sanskrit. They were wrong in their notion of its antiquity. Thus Grimm proved to be wrong when he concluded that the Gothic vowels were older than those of other Germanic languages and pointed out the Sanskrit vowel system which has three short vowels *a i u* like Gothic. He was wrong because two systems do not really correspond etymologically.

The exaggerated notion of the antiquity of Sanskrit was further challenged when August Schleicher (1821–68) created a precise method for phonological statements for the reconstructed forms. Later Graziadio Ascoli, an Italian scholar, and Karl Brugmann, a German linguist gave more evidence that Iranian was older than Sanskrit. Still later two German scholars Hermann Collitz and Johannes Schmidt and also de Saussure in France found that Sanskrit *c* which was assumed to be a reflex of the original language in fact developed from *k* followed by a vowel. This is known as the Law of Palatals. All these gave new insight into the history of Sanskrit.

The Sanskrit grammars, as pointed out by several scholars, gave great impulse to linguistic research. Panini's grammar was edited by O. Boehtlingk in 1839–40 and was translated into German by the same scholar in 1887. *Paniniya Siksa* was edited and translated by Boehtlingk even earlier (*Indische Studien,* iv, 1858,

[8]Bloomfield, L., *Language,* 1933, p. 11. Bloomfield describes Panini's grammar as "one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence".

[9]Pedersen, *op. cit.,* pp. 22-23. Also see Max Mueller's *Inaugural Address,* 1868. He says: "Sanskrit certainly forms the only sound foundation of Comparative Philology, and it will always remain the only safe guide through all its intricacies."

pp. 347–71). Study of Sanskrit grammar, particularly of Panini, is still considered important by the linguists. Max Mueller wrote that "there is no grammar in any language that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books".[10] I would like to quote few lines from the dedication of a book by a modern scholar.[11]

> I adore Boehtlingk because he reveals to us the spirit of Panini
> I adore Panini because he reveals to us the spirit of India
> I adore India because it reveals to us the spirit of spirit.

Sanskrit grammatical terms began to come into linguistic literature but they were not very welcomed by scholars of Greek and Latin. Jespersen described their reaction in his usual charming manner : "Those Sanskritists chatted of guna and vriddhi and other barbaric terms and even ventured to talk of a locative case in Latin, as if the number of cases had not been settled once for all long ago."[12] And almost after a century Sanskrit terms have become part and parcel of regular terminology of linguistics, both historical and structural.

Pedersen wrote that "India had to be discovered twice by the nineteenth century linguists", once they discovered the literary traditions to be found in books, and again they discovered the wisdom hewn in rocks. They deciphered the script used by an Indian king Ashoka who lived almost two thousand years ago. The Indians had forgotten him. James Prinsep, an Englishman, deciphered some of the Ashokan inscriptions in 1837 which again opened a new treasure—a source for Indian history, religion, and culture. After his sudden death the investigations were taken up by E. Senart, a Frenchman, and Georg Buehler (1837–98), a German Sanskritist. Buehler came to India in 1865 as teacher at the Elphinstone College and helped Sir Raymond West in the preparation of his famous *Digest of Hindu Law*. He translated the

[10]Quoted by S. C. Vasu, *Astadhyayi,* 1891, reprinted in 1962.
[11]Faddegen, Barend, *Studies on Panini's Grammar* (Amsterdam, 1936).
[12]Jespersen, *op. cit.,* p. 66.

Laws of Manu in 1886 and also wrote several articles on different branches of Sanskritic studies. But his fame rests on his researches on the oldest inscriptions of India. He was the first scholar to make a systematic study of Indian alphabets. He wrote a monograph entitled *Indische Palaeographie* in 1896. Among the theories current in his time about the origin of the Indian alphabet the most important were those of Cunningham, Weber and Deeck. He did not accept any one of them. Cunningham derived the Indian alphabet from hieroglyphics. Deeck found their source in South Semetic alphabet and Weber thought them to be a derivation from ancient Phoenician characters. Buehler found all these theories inadmissible. He believed that the Brahmi script had been derived from North Semitic alphabet, which shows the same type from Phoenicia to Mesopotamia.[13] He gives an illuminating survey of the growth of the Brahmi at a time when the Brahmins did not feel any urgency to acquire any system of writing since they possessed a wonderful method of memorisation for the preservation of the sacred word. In all probability the merchants adopted the Semitic script to record their business transaction and ultimately the Brahmi script developed from such humble beginning.

On the other hand the Kharosthi script was a derivation from Aramaic letters which could have been introduced by the administrative officers of Darius in North-Western India.[14] Buehler also gave the history of the scripts of the modern Indian languages. His book includes brief but important accounts of the growth of the *Nagari, Sarada,* Bengali, the Nepalese hooked characters, the Tamil and Vattaluttu alphabets as well as the symbols for the numerals.

The deciphering of the Brahmi script is a great event in the history of Indian culture. Europe, too, came to know of India's past with greater vividness. Max Mueller wrote in 1832 that the concept of the European man had been changed by his acquain-

[13]Buehler, G., *Indian Paleography* (Calcutta, 1959), p. 25.

[14]It is needless to say that Buehler's theory has not been accepted by all. I. J. Gelb, for example, in his *A Study of Writing* (Chicago, 1951), says that the forms of individual signs of the Brahmi writing show no clear relationship with any other system and were most probably freely invented (p. 187).

tance with India.[15] This was more true of the Indian man. He was passionately attracted to Europe with a sense of inferiority. Now his love for Europe became complimentary to his adoration for India.

Among the German scholars interested in modern Indian languages Rev. Hermann Gundert (1814–1893), grandfather of Hermann Hesse, is the most prominent of all. He is in many ways comparable to his nobel contemporary, William Carey, the British missionary working in Calcutta. Gundert reached India at the age of twentyone. He learnt Bengali, Hindi, Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam. Apart from his sixteen religious tracts in Malayalam, which are interesting specimens of early Malayalam prose, he wrote books such as *Nala Charita, Mahammada Charita,* etc., edited the *Keralopatti* (1843), a mixture of fact and fiction about the origin of Kerala, collected Malayalam proverbs in his *Parancola mala* (1845), the garland of old sayings; wrote a history of Kerala, the *Kerala Parama* (1868) which still remains an authentic document of the Portuguese period in Kerala from 1498 to 1541 and edited two journals : *Rajya Samacharam* (June 1847) and *Paschimodayam* (October 1847). Gundert's grammar of Malayalam *Malayala-bhasha Vyakaranam* (1851, 2nd, ed. 1868) and his Malayalam and English Dictionary published in 1872 are two landmarks in the history of Malayalam language and literature.[16] His interest in Malayalam was the direct expression of his desire to know and understand India.

To sum up the story of the works of German scholars on Indian languages, it is to be recognised that knowledge of new languages brought a revolution in the history of linguistics. The contributions of the neo-grammarians can hardly be exaggerated. Modern scholars have refined many of their tools and methods but they were the pioneers. Through their efforts Germany's initial romantic response to India changed into a relationship of mutual respect and love.

[15]Max Mueller, *India—What Can It Teach Us, op. cit.,* p. 29.

[16]I am indebted to Dr. O. M. Onujan who very kindly helped me to read U. S. Iyer's *Kerala Sahitya Charitam* (Travancore, 1957) and procured several books written by Gundert.

Ancient Voice : Modern Echo

Es ist ein gross Ergetzen
Sich in den Geist der Zeiten zu versetzen
Zu schauen, wie vor uns ein weiser Mann gedacht.
"It does seem so sublime
Entering into the spirit of the time
To see what wise men, who lived long ago, believed.
FAUST. 1. 570-72

INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL and religious thought inspired several great German thinkers and those who were not attracted by Indian philosophy could not ignore it. Indian religious thought was first introduced in Europe by the *Oupnek'hat*, a Latin translation of the *Upanisad* by a Frenchman Anquetil Duperron in 1801-02. This translation was made from the Persian adaptation of the *Upanisad* by Prince Mohammad Dara Shikoh, elder brother of Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughal emperors. Schlegel drew a picture of India as a land of exalted primitive wisdom.[1] Goethe shuddered at the very name of Hinduism and he called Indian religion "insane and monstrous".[2] Even Hegel who knew more about India found its religons vulgar and primitive.[3] Both Goethe and Hegel, however, did not study Indian religious texts. The little they knew they learnt from books which were not dependable.

Even when the Sanskrit texts were translated and the religious thoughts of India were interpreted by worthy scholars Europe thought Indian philosophy was essentially life-negating. Albert Schweitzer's book *Indian Thought and its Development* (1936) reveals

[1]Oldenberg, H., *Ancient India*, 1890 (Calcutta edition, 1962), p. 10.
[2]Strich, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
[3]Hegel, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-59.

the general attitude of European thinkers to Indian philosophy. It is life-negating and dismisses the world as meaningless and illusion and therefore encourages renunciation of all activities which aims at improvement of the conditions of life in this world. The European intellectual who is rooted in Greco-Roman culture can hardly sympathise with such philosophy of life. Schweitzer is not wrong when he thinks that the life-negating attitude forms the principal part in Indian philosophy but he has over-simplified Indian thought or, to be more precise, Hindu thought when he equates it with pessimism and life-negation. Indian thought is a body of several systems each different from the other if not contradictory. The Vedantists' attitude towards life is not the same with that of a dualist. A Vaishnava is so different from a Shakta in his philosophy of life. In fact Schweitzer finds it difficult to understand a Vivekananda who thought that "religion must be a religion of action", and a Gandhi in whose conception of *Ahimsa* he finds "ethical life affirmation", and a Tagore who was a poet of hope and joy. They do not fit in his framework of reference. And one cannot deny that India spoke through them.

A pessimist can of course find support from Indian thoughts as evidenced in Schopenhauer's philosophy which dismisses hope and love from life but a poet like Tagore found in the Upanisads a philosophy which dismisses all pessimism. And what about the *Gita*—is it a poem of action or of asceticism? The answer is, it is both. But the aspect of affirmation was hardly noticed in Europe.

When Schweitzer finds a life-affirming attitude in a modern poet or thinker he hesitates to believe that that is a part of ancient Indian wisdom. He points out that the interpretation of old texts by Tagore are his own. This is his general criticism of all interpretations of texts by Indian religious teachers. "They do not like to confess", he writes, "to themselves that they are the representatives of intuitions and convictions which had not yet found expression when the Upanisads and other sacred books were composed. So that is why they endeavour to find their ideas in the ancient texts. But the only way they can succeed in this is by using all their skill in reading meanings into them which are not really there."[4] Interpretation of ancient texts in India

[4]Schweitzer, A., *Indian Thought and its Development* (London, 1956), p. 225.

has varied from one generation to another. Different systems of religious practices have originated because of different interpretation by different teachers. "The teachings of our greatest prophets," writes Tagore, "gave rise to endless disputations when we try to understand them by following their words and not by realising them in our own lives. The men who are cursed with the gift of the literal mind are the unfortunate ones who are always busy with their nets and neglect the fishing."[5] This could have been written by any Indian religious teacher to counteract the criticism from an academic theologian.

Western scholars, such as Schweitzer, are highly critical about the claim of many Indians of the supremacy of Indian religious thought. Schweitzer thinks that they do not take into account that in "Western thought there is mysticism of a similar nature to *(sic)* and no less valuable than the mysticism of Indian thought".[6] One such similarity has been very admirably shown by Rudolph Otto in his very original book *Mysticism, East and West* (1924). He has examined the common features of the thought of Acharya Shankara and that of Meister Eckhart, the medieval German mystic. He writes: "both mystics express themselves in a metaphysics which seems to be essentially 'ontological', essentially a speculation as to the nature of Being, using methods which are startlingly alike, and a still more similar terminology".[7] Otto has shown with numerous quotations from each that both tried to seek a metaphysical or ontological relationship of the one to the many; according to both *Esse* or *Sat* is first concept of speculation, and the highest being is pure Nothing and both of them postulate a relationship between the supra-personal God head to the personal God. The following quotation from Eckhart is an example of the similarity between the two great minds.

> "I am that I am" the I is the pronoun of the person whose existence is His essence and who has no essence beyond existence which Being signifies.... But the pronoun by itself signifies unmixed Being, without accident (upadhi) without anything foreign to its nature (anyad), substance without quality

[5]Tagore, R., *Sadhana* (London, 1928), p. 72.
[6]Schweitzer, A., *op. cit.*, p. 254.
[7]Otto, R., *Mysticism, East and West* (New York, 1962), p. 20.

(nirguna) and without form (amurta; without namarupa) without this or that (na iti na iti). All these (negative) attributes areto be ascribed to God and to Him alone, who is above accidents, above species, above genus—to Him alone, I say.[8]

The Sanskrit words within the brackets have been inserted by Otto to show the striking similarity between Shankara and Eckhart. This is one of the many examples quoted by Otto. Features common in both in their doctrine of salvation, way of knowledge, soul, etc. are simply astonishing. This commonness between an Indian and a German, in spite of their many differences, reveal "a spiritual kinship of the human soul, which transcends race, and climate and environment".[9]

While the similarities between the thoughts of Shankara and Eckhart are remarkable coincidence, the ideas of Schopenhauer show an instance of influence of Indian thought on a German scholar. Schopenhauer wrote in the preface to the first edition of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung:* "if...the reader has already received and assimilated the sacred primitive Indian wisdom, then is he best of all prepared to hear what I have to say to him"[10] Schopenhauer's knowledge of Indian philosophy was not very intensive. He was introduced to Indian philosophy by Friedrich Majer who wrote a book on Hindu thought in 1819. During his stay at Weimar in the winter of 1813-14 Schopenhauer read first three volumes of *Asiatische Magazine* (1806-07), Madame de Bolier's *Mythologie des Hindus* (1809) and the *Oupnek'hat*. The discovery of the Upanisads by a man who never had mother's love but tasted a mother's hatred; who had no wife, no relations and who was "absolutely alone, with not a single friend; and between one and none there lies an infinity"[11] was a personal achievement. He wrote, "it has been the solace of my life and will be the solace of my death".[12] Many Indian thinkers could have written the same thing. They found in the Upanisads a vision of

[8]This is Eckhart's comment on the Personal I of Exodus, 3 : 14. "And God said unto Moses, I am that I am". Otto, *ibid.*, p. 26.

[9]Otto, *ibid.*, p. 95.

[10]Translated by Haldane, R. B., and Kemp, J., *The World as Will and Idea*, 1883. 1948 reprint has been used here (p. xiii).

[11]Nietzche, *Schopenhauer as Educator* (London, 1910), p. 122.

[12]Quoted in Wallace, W., *Life of Schopenhauer*, (London, 1890), p. 106.

bliss. The world of despair and disorder dissolves into beauty and joy when truth is realised. Schopenhauer found that life was eternally engulfed by a sea of suffering. The Upanisads, Schopenhauer felt, helped him realise the mystery of life. He wrote: "The life of every individual, if we survey it as a whole and in general, and only lay stress upon its most significant features, is really always a tragedy, but gone through in detail it has the character of a comedy...the never satisfied wishes, the frustrated efforts, the hopes unmercifully crushed by fate, the unfortunate errors of the whole life, with increasing suffering and death at the end, are always a tragedy. Thus, as if fate would add derision to the misery of our existence, our life must contain all the woes of tragedy, and yet we cannot even assert the dignity of tragic characters, but in the broad detail of life must inevitably be the foolish characters of a comedy."[13]

And here he found solace in the Hindu ideas. Writing on the sufferings of life he says: "Between the ethics of the Greeks and the ethics of the Hindus, there is a glaring contrast. In the one case (with the exception, it must be confessed, of Plato), the object of ethics is to enable a man to lead a happy life; in the other, it is to free and redeem him from life altogether—as is directly stated in the very first words of the *Sankhya Karika.*"[14]

Schopenhauer was acquainted with Buddhism around 1818. The Buddhist doctrine attracted him very strongly. He found in *Nirvana* the final refuge. There is *will* to live and life is suffering. Therefore man can be saved only when he is not born. Schopenhauer, the poet of pessimism, could say with Heine,

> Sweet is sleep, but death is better
> Best of all is it never to be born.

The Buddha's doctrine of *nirvana* promises salvation to man. The Buddhist says *bhava nirodho nibbanam* "to cease becoming is Nirvana".[15] The doctrine of suffering is certainly one aspect of the Buddhist thought but it is more a doctrine of cessation of suffering.

[13]Schopenhauer, *op. cit.*, I. p. 415-16.

[14]Schopenhauer, *Essays from the Parerga and Paralipomena,* Tr. T. Baily Sounders (London, 1951), p. 15.

[15]*Anguttaro Nikaya, V; Samyutta Nikaya,* II, p. 115.

One Buddhist writer has charged Schopenhauer that his understanding of suffering is not according to the Buddhist understanding. "Were it so," he writes, "he would have along with it also comprehended its cessation and the way to its cessation and above all *lived* it out."[16]

Coomaraswamy pointed out that Buddhism was interpreted in terms of Western belief. *Nirvana* was understood as absolute annihilation of soul.[17] But to a Buddhist it is a state of happiness in escape from evil and from *dukkha* and *tanha* and from the prospect of rebirth.[18] The following lines from *Thera-Theri Gatha* describes the state of *nirvana:*

> E'en as the high-bred steer with crested back
> lightly the plough adown the furrow turns,
> So lightly glide for me the nights and days, now
> that this pure untainted bliss is won.[19]

This is enough to suggest that Schopenhauer's thoughts differed from the traditional Buddhism. This is quite natural. He was a creative thinker and an interpreter of ancient Indian texts. He was inspired by Indian thought but his philosophy was not a slavish imitation of Hindu-Buddhist thought. One can hear a distant echo of ancient India in his philosophy but one cannot miss the majestic voice of Schopenhauer himself. Whittaker has made this point perfectly clear. He writes: "...Schopenhauer recognized his kinship with Indian thought, of which he was a life-long student. To call his doctrine a kind of Buddhism is, however, in some ways a misapprehension. Undoubtedly he accepts as his ideal the ethical attitude that he finds to be common to Buddhism and the Christianity of the New Testament, but metaphysical differences mark him off from both....Nor can he be precisely identified with the Vedantists or orthodox Hinduism."[20]

Similarly, Schopenhauer's attitude towards women is a

[16]Wettimuny, R. G. de S., *Buddhism and its Relation to Religion and Science* (Colombo, 1962), p. 229.

[17]Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism* (1916). Revised edition (New York, 1964), p. 116.

[18]*Ibid.*, p. 129.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 119. Translated by C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

[20]Whittaker, Thomas, *Schopenhauer* (London, 1916), p. 84.

personal attitude in support of which he mentioned the Hindu attitude. The early Buddhist or the Hindu ascetic attitude towards women is unsympathetic. But this is typical of monastic sentiment in Christian world too. The abstinence from sexual life is a part of ascetism in almost all religions. Does not the Bible refer to some who had "made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake".[21] Virginity was exalted by St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. In the middle ages celibacy was imposed by Cannon Law upon all clergy.[22] On the other hand Hindu attitude towards women is not necessarily unsympathetic. A great part of Sanskrit literature and Indian art is erotic and exhibits passion for feminine charm. The popular Hinduism and the *Tantra* conceived of the ultimate being as a female divine. At this point a reference may be made to a Bengali poet who addressing Schopenhauer in a poem as *svapnahar*," the dispeller of dreams", declares:

> The dream which you want to dispell, Oh, Dispeller of Dreams I am enchanted by its magic.

This poet is a Hindu but not a Vedantist but a Tantrik.

Amongst those who were attracted to Schopenhauer's thought was the musician Richard Wagner (1813-1883). Thomas Mann has called Wagner's acquaintance with Schopenhauer a great event in the latter's life. He read the *World as Will and Idea* five times in a space of nine months, and became a devotee of its writer. Lea writes that Wagner declared "that the right name for 'necessity was the will', that the 'love' which, so he said, sprang from a reunion of instinct and intellect, marked really the suppression of instinct; that it could only be conceived as the symbol of a total renunciation, and that music was the speech of Nirvana. It was in the first flush of this new infatuation that he gave birth to *Tristan and Isolde.*"[23]

The extent to which Wagner became interested in Buddhist

[21]St. Mathhew, 10 : 12.

[22]Thomas, George F., *Christian Ethics and Moral Philosophy* (New York, 1955), pp. 222-27.

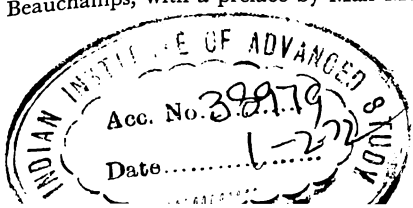
[23]Lea, F. A., *The Tragic Philosopher, A Study of Friedrich Nietzsche* (London, 1957), p. 28.

thought can be seen from one of his letters written in 1859, the year of the publication of Carl Friedrich Koppen's *The Religion of Buddha*. He wrote: "You know how I have unconsciously become a Buddhist ... yes, child, it is a world view, compared with which every other dogma must appear small and narrow."[24]

Like Schopenhauer again he interpreted Buddhism for his personal need. Critics have noticed that his literary writings are a queer mixture of Schopenhauer, Aryanism and Buddhism and his play *Parsifal* is an "odd mélange of Christianity and Buddhism".[25] The story of Parsifal's Kundry, the princess who induced Parsifal to sacrifice his chastity, an Indian would find similarity with several Hindu-Buddhist legends. There is the story of Rishyashringa in the Ramayana and the story of Prakriti and Ananda in the *Divyavadana*. Mr. Neolle gives an interesting information, though I could not check its source, that the story of Prakriti and Ananda was in Wagner's mind when he first took up the plan of writing *Parsifal*.[26] It is interesting that Tagore wrote a play on this theme. Tagore was very much inclined to the thoughts of the Buddha. He found in his thought peace and harmony. Like Wagner his response to Buddhism was also essentially personal and artistic.

If Wagner's attraction to Buddhist philosophy was a personal matter Hegel's criticism of Indian philosophy or Nietzsche's disillusionment with it cannot be considered as representative of German response to India. Kant drew attention to the religious tolerance of the Hindus. His knowledge of Hindu wisdom was not very wide. Some of his observations can be found in H. Von Glasenapp's *Kant and the Religion of the East* (1954). Hegel took more interest in Indian thought. In his *Philosophy of History* he has devoted one full chapter to Indian thought. His sources of information were unfortunately not adequate. He read Abbe Dubois' *Hindu Manners, Custom and Ceremonies*.[27] This book contains

[24]Quoted in Alex Aronson, *Europe looks at India* (Bombay, 1946), p. 106.
[25]Brockway, W. and Weinstock, H., *Men of Music* (New York, 1950), p. 422.
[26]Nolle, *op. cit.*, p. 50. Thomas Mann, in his essay on Wagner, collected in *Essays of Three Decades*, mentions a letter written by Wagner from Venice to Franz Wesendonk in 1858 and there he discusses the plan of this play.
[27]Tr. from French by H. K. Beauchamps, with a preface by Max Mueller, 1897.



some valuable information but it is full of gross exaggeration of defects in Indian character and was written with arrogance. Hegel found Hindu character extremely deplorable and hardly found anything worthy of praise.[28] In his *Lectures on the History of Philosophy* again he included a section on Indian philosophy. He was critical about the complete lack of chronology in Indian history. His source in this book is H. T. Colebrooke's paper on the *Philosophy of the Hindus* published in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1824). Hegel observed that Indian culture was developed to a high degree and it was imposing but its philosophy is identical with its religion. "Indian philosophy stands within Religion just as scholastic Philosophy stands within Christian dogmatism".[29] He talks of the systems of *Mimamsa, Nyaya* and *Shankhya*. His criticism of Indian thoughts is that the Idea has not become objective and therefore the external and the objective has not been comprehended with the Idea.[30] Whether one accepts Hegel's views or not, his writings on Hindu thoughts are significant. He is the first great European philosopher to judge Indian philosophy against the background of the Western thought.

Nietzsche came under the influence of Indian thought, particularly through his association with the writings of Schopenhauer. He was a friend of Wagner, whom he ridiculed later.

Wagner contributed much towards Nietzsche's understanding of Indian thought. He knew about India and had a vague admiration for the Upanisads. When young Nietzsche met Wagner for the first time it was a great moment in his life. He discovered in Schopenhauer the philosopher of his dreams. In Wagner Nietzsche found the very incarnation of his ideal.

When his friend Paul Deussen disclosed to him his plan to translate the Upanisads Nietzsche was overjoyed. But there was no hard core of learning in his youthful fascination for the Buddha. Naturally it faded away. He found his new god elsewhere. In 1883 Deussen published his *System of the Vedanta*. Nietszche

[28]Hegel, *Philosophy of History, op. cit.*, pp. 157-59.

[29]Hegel, *History of Philosophy*, Tr. E. S. Haldane (London, 1892). Reprinted in 1953, p. 117.

[30]*Ibid.*, p. 145.

did not pay any attention to it. His *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* was in the press. He discovered at last that the Buddha's doctrine was life-negating. He completely discarded the Buddha in his next book *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886). Nietzsche sent a copy of that book to his friend Deussen and wrote with his usual flippancy, "I hope it will learn near you some 'morality' and Vedantic dignity which it so sadly lacks from the paternal side".[31]

Paul Deussen, Professor at the University of Kiel, was primarily a student of philosophy. He learnt Sanskrit to study Indian philosophy. He is the first German student of philosophy who could handle Indian sources directly. He studied Sanskrit under Lassen and the result of his labour is embodied in his authoritative works, *The System of the Vedanta, The Philosophy of the Upanisads* and his translation of the Upanisads. Since then Indian studies have been based on a sound knowledge of Sanskrit and academic training in Indian philosophy and history. With Deussen the study of Comparative Philosophy assumed a new dimension and Indian philosophy became a subject of serious study. The mythical image of India which had cast her spell on the poets and philosophers of Germany was no longer a centre of attraction. Later scholars gave a different picture of India. While the poets' response to India was personal the scholars' response stemmed from knowledge, not from emotion.

[31]Quoted in Alex Aronson, *op. cit.*, p. 109. Nietzsche wrote this letter in September 1886.

The Vedavyasa of the Kali Yuga

Einen Mann zu sprechen und zu kennen
Den alle mir mit Ehrfurcht nennen
"To meet that gaint intellect
Whom all refer to with respect."
FAUST, I, 1870-71

THE SPIRIT OF cultural exchange between Indian and Germany attained its greatest height in the life and works of Max Mueller. His interest in India was wider and deeper, than merely of archaeological curiosity. Vivekananda once asked him, "when are you coming to India? Every heart there would welcome one who has done so much to place the thoughts of their ancestors in the true light." The face of the scholar brightened up and his eyes became moist. He answered, "I would not return then, you have to cremate me there."[1] Such touching words came from the depth of his heart full of love and admiration for India. Vivekananda's statement too was not an exaggeration. R. C. Dutt dedicated his translation of the *Ramayana* to Max Mueller with the words in which Indian attitude to him found its congenial expression: "My countrymen have looked upon Professor Max Mueller not only as the best interpreter of ancient Indian literature but also as the truest friend of modern India."

The principal objective of Max Mueller's study of Indian literature and language was to study the philosophy of India and to correlate it with the philosophies and religions of the world. In 1845 A. Kuhn, a German scholar, in his book *Zur aeltesten Geschichte der indo-germanischen Voelker* (On the most Ancient

[1]See *Emminent Orientalists*, G. A. Natesan & Co. (Madras), p. 204.

History of the Indo-European Nations) pointed out that the study of different religions was an important area of investigation. Rammohun Roy for whom Max Mueller had great admiration was one of the earliest students of Comparative Religion. Monier-Williams wrote: "probably Rammohun Roy was the first earnest-minded investigator of the science of comparative religion that the world has produced."[2] He read the Quran in Arabic, learnt Hebrew and Greek to read the Bible and studied Sanskrit to know the proper nature of Hinduism. In some of his writings he compared certain aspects of Hinduism with Christianity. If Rammohun was one of the firsts in this field Max Mueller was one of the greatest investigators. Equipped with an excellent knowledge of the Vedic, Classical Sanskrit and Pali languages Max Mueller knew the Hindu scriptures thoroughly well.

Max Mueller's interest in Comparative Religion came from two sources. His study of Indian texts created in him a love for India. Secondly, there was a change in his religious attitude. Once he wrote that "every religion, even the most imperfect and degraded, has something that ought to be sacred to us, for there is in all religion a secret yearning after the true, though unknown, God".[3] He was a devout Christian and also dreamt of a Christian India. But there was a change in his attitude partly due to the atmosphere in contemporary Oxford and partly because of the impact of the publications of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) and Friedrich Strauss' *The Old and New Faith* (1872) on the religious thinking of the nineteenth century. The traditional dogmas of Christianity met with a new challenge. Max Mueller realised that when he wrote in 1873, "each of us may have his own feeling as to his own mother-tongue, or his own mother-religion, but as historians we must allow the same treatment to all".[4]

Max Mueller was in a better position to criticise the sacred writings of the Brahmins, not with proselytizing zeal of a missionary but with the impartiality and earnestness of a scholar. The Indian texts gave him opportunities for a real study of the

[2]Monier-Williams, M., *Religious Thought and Life in India* (London, 1883), p. 479.

[3]Max Mueller, *Chips from a German Workshop* (London, 1894), Vol. I, p. 23.

[4]Max Mueller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion* (London, 1873), p. 281.

genesis and growth of religion[5] and offered him evidences to support his own theory about it. He wrote: "there is hardly any department of learning which has not received new light and new life from the ancient literature of India, yet nowhere is the light that comes to us from India so important, so novel and so rich as in the study of religion and mythology."[6]

A study of the Vedic gods opened a new area of religion and mythology which changed early notions about polytheism. The Western scholar was familiar with Greco-Roman system where all other gods were subordinated to a supreme god. The Vedic polytheism was different. Every god is the supreme god.

Max Mueller invented new names : *kathenotheism* (καθ ἑν one by one' > καθεν) which means the worship of one god after another; or *henotheism* ('εν, neuter of (εις 'one' i. e. the same), the worship of the same god.[7] He observed that it was difficult to treat the Vedic gods according to any system because the concepts of those gods sprang up spontaneously without any pre-conceived notion. He classified the ancient gods into three groups: terrestrial, aerial and celestial and pointed out their similarities. The veneration for Earth in the Vedas, for example, is comparable with the Homeric hymn where Earth is addressed as Χαιρε θεων μητηρ αλοχ' οιρανου *αστεροεντος* (mother of gods, the wife of the starry heaven). The marriage between earth and heaven is a theme found in Greece, Rome and India and also in the Polynesian islands.[8] The study of comparative religion and mythology should be treated as a chapter of the science of language.[9] As in religion so in mythology the most important tool was language. He wrote, "language was fossil poetry." The language gave clue to the history of early civilization. He found that mythology of the Vedas is to comparative mythology what Sanskrit has been to comparative grammar.[10] In the Veda he

[5]Voigt, J. H., *Max Mueller* (Calcutta, 1967), p. 17.

[6]Max Mueller, *India—What Can It Teach Us, op. cit.*, p. 141.

[7]These terms were criticised by Bankim Chandra Chatterji. He found that Max Mueller's point of view was exclusively European. See Das Gupta, R. K., "Max Mueller As An Indologist", *Max Mueller Bhavan Year Book* 1962, pp. 97-98.

[8]*India What Can It Teach Us, op. cit.*, p. 158.

[9]*Chips from A German Workshop*, Vol. IV, Preface, vii.

[10]*Ibid.*, p. 83

discovered the real Theogony of the Aryan races, while that of Hesiod was a "distorted caricature".[11] Thus the study of the Vedas led to the foundation of scientific study of comparative mythology.

Max Mueller's contribution to Sanskritic studies is almost astonishing. He translated several texts: the *Hitopadesha* and the *Meghadutam* (1847) in German. The forty-nine volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East* (1874-1910) edited by him contain few more translations by him, for example, the *Dhammapada* (1870). His *Rig Veda Samhita,* later published under the title *Vedic Hymns* (Sacred Books of the East, vol. 32) and *Rig Veda* with Sayana's commentary in six volumes (1849-73) and *Rig Veda Pratisakhya,* text with German translation (Leipzig, 1856-57), to mention the important few, are indispensable for any scholar in this field. His interest was extremely wide: literature, philosophy, religion, mythology, comparative grammar—all appealed to him. He wrote on minor themes like migration of Indian fables to Europe or a biography of Ramakrishna. His fame will not rest on such works but they show the keen interest he had in India. In this respect he anticipates Romain Rolland. In his efforts the study of Indian history gradually became a study of Indian affairs.

Max Mueller was deeply involved with the history of modern India. When Europe started taking interest in the ancient learning of India, Sanskritic studies were virtually dead in India at that time. The middle-class Indian was more attracted to European learing since it promised a better future and financial gain. A Sanskrit pundit was inevitably a poor man since Sanskrit had very little prestige. In 1816 when Bopp published his book on the conjugation system of Indo-European languages, leading citizens of Calcutta, desirous of establishing a school where their children could get English education, arranged a meeting. In 1823, the year of Max Mueller's birth, Rammohun Roy wrote a letter to Lord Amherst requesting him to introduce the European system of education in India. The educated Indian questioned the adequacy of indigenous learning in a developing society. The German orientalists and particularly Max Mueller made the Indians realise the relevance of the ancient learning

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

to modern life. Max Mueller had many Indian friends and most of them were gifted men. He did not see Rammohun who died in Bristol in 1833. He came to know of him through his writings. He was a friend of Prince Dwarakanath Tagore, a friend of Rammohun and father of Maharshi Devendranath, leader of the Brahmo Samaj. He knew several leaders of the Brahmo movement, the progress of which he followed with profound personal interest.

Rammohun Roy, according to Max Mueller, was the "first who came from East to West, the first to join hands and to complete that world-wide circle through which henceforth, like an electric current, Oriental thought could run to the West and Western thought return to the East".[12] In this interchange of thought Max Mueller played an important part. Modern India has made the heritage of Europe a part of her own heritage. Modern movements in creative art and political and social thought in India have affinities with European tradition. Max Mueller wanted that Europe, too, should accept Indian heritage as her own. He wrote: "as the world beneath us grows wider and larger, our own hearts seem to grew wider and larger and we learn to embrace the far and distant."[13] He learnt what he thought we should learn.

Max Mueller's concern about modern India was so great that he criticised certain aspects of British rule in India. He expressed his opinion very strongly during the agitation against the Ilbert Bill. Lord Curzon was annoyed with him because he thought the influence of Indian studies upon the young Indians was unfortunate. It is not surprising that Lord Salisbury did not welcome the Queen's recommendation to bestow on Max Mueller an order for his services towards the Indian Empire.

When Bal Gangadhar Tilak was sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment for his alleged connection with the murder of Rand he was not allowed to read his prayer book in prison. Max Mueller sent a copy of his *Rig Veda* to Tilak. He had no interest in Tilak's political views but he considered it uncivilized on the part of the Indian Government to imprison a man and

[12] *Biographical Essays* (London, 1884), p. 13.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

to refuse him the right to read his prayer book.[14]

Indians of the last century displayed great faith in Max Mueller. He was held as an exponent of the Hindu thought. He defended the Hindu religion when many people in Europe believed that it was nothing but idolatry and superstition. Radhakanta Dev, one of the orthodox Hindu leaders of the last century, wrote a delightful letter to Max Mueller where he called the European scholar a *Rishi* and the Vedavyasa of the Kali Yuga. Vedavyasa was the compiler of the Vedas in ancient times. Max Mueller is the Vedavyasa of the Kali Yuga, the modern times.

[14]Quoted by Das Gupta, R. K., *Max Mueller Bhavan Year Book* (New Delhi, 1962), p. 91.

The Goethe of India

The poet strikes his lute and sings out:
Victory to Man, the new-born, the ever-living.
TAGORE: *The Child*

MAX MUELLER died in 1901. Indian politics took a new turn within a few years of his death. Finally the Indian political struggle reached its climax under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. In the 'twenties of the present century waves of nationalism swept all over the country and trends were noticed among a certain section of our people to reject all that was Western. Nationalism had already taken a monstrous form in Europe and Asia. Rabindranath Tagore who was deeply involved in Indian politics for a considerable period in his lifetime was the first in this century to denounce nationalism vehemently. He was unpopular when he spoke against the frenzy of patriotism. Japan was cold to him when he criticised her aggressive nationalism. His lectures on nationalism made many people unhappy both in Europe and in America. Nationalism was not his god. His god was god of man.

Albert Schweitzer has not only noticed a life-affirming attitude in Tagore but also his humanism. He writes: Tagore, "the Goethe of India gives expression to his personal experience that this is the truth in a manner more profound, more powerful and more charming than any man has ever done before him. This completely noble and harmonious thinker belongs not only to his own people but to humanity."

In 1921 Tagore visited Germany, a country for which he had special attraction like most of his contemporaries and his works were known throughout Europe. The German translation of the *Gitanjali* appeared in 1914. Many writers and philosophers were

already acquainted with his ideas. Just after his sixty-fifth birthday in 1921 when Tagore was in Lucerne he received news that a committee, formed in Germany, celebrated his birthday with a gift of large collection of German classics to the Visvabharati. The members of this committee were Thomas Mann, Rudolph Eucken, Herman Jacobi, Hauptmann, Keyserling and few other intellectuals. The poet was deeply touched. He wrote, "I truly feel that I have had my second birth in the heart of the people of that country who have accepted me as their own. Germany has done more than any other country in the world for opening up and broadening the channel of the intellectual and spiritual communication of the West with India, and the homage of love, which she freely has given today to a poet of the East, will surely impart to their relationship the depth of an intimate and personal character."

Germany gave an enthusiastic welcome to the Indian poet. His lectures were attended by thousands of people. Newspapers reported of "scenes of frenzied hero-worship". A complete edition of his works available in German, published in eight volumes, was sold in large numbers. Tagore's son records an incident at a park at Darmstadt where the poet was taking a stroll with Keyserling. About two thousand people gathered round him and burst into song which continued for an hour in perfect harmony. On 5 June 1921 in Munich Tagore met some of the great German writers, including Mann, and on 7 June, he delivered a lecture at the university of Munich. Tagore donated the proceeds of his lecture for the benefit of "famished children" of Munich. He went to Darmstadt where Keyserling founded *Schule der Weisheit* "school of wisdom" in 1920. The philosopher met the poet in 1911 in Calcutta and was overwhelmed by his personality. After ten years he met Tagore again. He writes: "In the land of the sinking sun there is a town, Dharmanagara by name. And in it there lives a friend of Rabindra, a Kshatriya. He had built a school and to him he came. And whatever his friend the Kshatriya had taught, according to the fashion of the land of the sinking sun, of kingly life, of light fulfilling existence, it appeared now in person among men of the West, a living symbol of the eternal one personified by the man from the East." Tagore lived in

this city for one week and it was known as *Tagore Woche.*[1]

Tagore visited Germany again in 1926. He was received with great cordiality. The British press concluded that the ovation to the poet was propaganda in origin, contrived by German industrialists to cultivate a good opinion among Indian intellectuals as a stepping stone towards the capture of the Indian market. It was even hinted that Tagore was involved in German espionage.[2]

It is unnecessary to refute the malicious charges made by the British press. It is clear that Germany welcomed the voice of peace and hope and freedom which they found in Tagore's writings. It is not true, as written by Aronson, that Tagore's popularity in Germany was due to its "tendency towards the irrational and pseudo-mystic". The Germans found in him a life-affirming philosophy. When Tagore met Albert Einstein in 1930 he said that he did not believe in the existence of any transcendental reality independent of man. While the scientist believed in a reality independent of human experience and existence the poet discarded such a proposition. If there is a strong element of mysticism in Tagore there is equally strong element of rationality and humanism in his writings. "Tagore's message was but a translation of the basic theme of his poetry. His writings are permeated by a mood of longing and expectation. The imagery of waiting and coming, searching and wandering is ever present in his poems. This mood has a special significance to the German mind preoccupied as it is with the idea of becoming and striving."[3]

German scholars read Sanskrit literature with admiration but had little knowledge about the modern literatures of India. Weber's *History of Indian Literature* is a history of Sanskrit literature. The treasures we have in modern languages, for example in Tamil poetry of the Sangam period, the devotional poems in

[1]For details see Mukherji, P. K., *Rabindra Jibani,* Vol. III, 1952. Das Gupta, R. K., "Tagore in Germany", *Life Line,* 1961; also *Rabindranath Tagore in Germany,* Max Mueller Bhavan Publications, 1961.

[2]Aronson, A., *Europe Looks at India* (Bombay, 1964) and also Kripalani, K., *Rabindranath Tagore* (Oxford, 1961).

[3]Rothermund, D., *Rabindranath Tagore in Germany,* Max Mueller Bhavan, 1961, Introduction.

Hindi and Marathi, or the lyrics in Urdu, were little known to the world. The recognition of Tagore is the beginning of the appreciation of modern Indian literature. The bibliography prepared by Glasenapp for his book *Die Literaturen Indiens* (1961) gives ample evidence of this growing interest in modern Indian languages and literature.

Tagore visited Germany again in 1930 when he was hailed as a powerful painter. Exhibitions of his paintings were arranged in the Gallery Moller and in the Gallery Casperi. During this period he wrote a poem *The Child*[4] being inspired by the Passion play he saw at Oberammergau. Tagore depicted the birth of Christ with great feeling and power. The poem ends in a note of faith and hope.

> The poet strikes his lute and sings out;
> Victory to Man, the new-born, the ever-living.
> They kneel down—the king and the beggar, the saint and the Sinner,
> The wise and the fool, and cry;
> Victory to man, the new-born, the ever-living.

The question, however, remains why Tagore has lost his appeal to the modern generation. It must be admitted first that there has been a change in literary taste during the last three decades. In the 'thirties there was an anti-Tagore attitude among many writers in Europe. D. H. Lawrence found in Tagore's ideas a grave danger to the European culture. Both Yeats and Ezra Pound became cold to Tagore. The general reader in Europe and America today finds him vague and insipid. By reading Tagore in available translations one can say like Goethe who wrote about the Indian literature in 1826 that it "drew my imagination into the formless and diffuse".

The translations of Tagore are unfortunate and have caused much damage to his reputation. It is impossible for an European to form any idea about Tagore's infinite variety and wide range of themes and his mastery over his medium of expression through translations. Tagore wrote once that "languages are jealous.

[4] *The Child* (London, 1931). Translated into Bengali under the title *Sisu Tirtha*, 1931.

They do not give up their best treasures to those who try to an alien rival."[5] He read Dante in English and never learnt to appreciate him. He read *Faust* in original and confesses, "I believe I found my entrance to the palace, not like one who has keys for all the doors, but as a casual visitor who is tolerated in the same guest-room, comfortable but not intimate. Properly speaking I do not know my Goethe, and in the same way many other great luminaries are dusky to me."[6] And in the same way Tagore is misunderstood. Another point must be noted. Several great minds of Germany admired Tagore but that admiration was not really for his poetry but for his thought. When Eucken was delighted by the beauty of the *Gintanjali* he did not talk about the poetic quality of the book. Keyserling thought Tagore's "depth which is manifest in his life and speech" was more important. But philosophy is not a substitute of poetry. Tagore is a poet and a poet can be understood only through his poems. Europe may one day discover Tagore the poet, and through him modern Indian literature.

[5]Tagore, *Religion of an Artist* (Calcutta, 1953), p. 8.
[6]*Ibid.*, p. 9.

Not by Love Alone

With a golden vessel
The Real's face is covered o'er
That do thou, O Pushan, uncover
For one whose law is the Real to see.
ISOPANISAD

INDIAN RELIGION, like Indian literature, was first studied from its romantic interest by German scholars. Herder said about the Hinduism that its followers were supremely tolerant even amidst the intolerance of other religions of India and that it was the noblest faith of the Orient. He found in Hinduism a great human religion and the pantheistic conception of the Hindu God-head was parallel to Christianity.[1] Though very few scholars would agree with Herder he was right in some of his observations particularly in his understanding of the relation between Indian religion and art and several other intellectual activities in ancient India. He thought that the shape of Indian art was determined by Hindu religion. The symbolic aspects of the triadic deity, the sub-deities and the lower orders of the mythological creatures were depicted in the plastic arts. According to him in the history of the human mind Indian art would remain as a monument of philosophical system. One may not accept his views on art but his emphasis on the relationship between religion and art is important. This relationship was later described so admirably by Zimmer in his *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization.* Goethe who was not idealistically prepared to appreciate Indian art, found it repulsive to some extent. He looked at Indian art, particularly the forms of Indian

[1]Willson, *op. cit.,* pp. 59-61.

gods, not from any religious perspective but as an artist; and found it monstrous.[2] Goethe was perfectly right in looking at Indian art the way he looked.[3] But a proper understanding of the Indian religion would undoubtedly be of great help in appreciating many aesthetic activities in India as an understanding of Hellenic and Hebraic religions is important for the study of European art and literature. Herder was the first man to understand that.

Majer finds Indian religious attitude a mixture of reason and fantasy: reason represented by the metaphysical conception of the highest Being held by the priest and the wisemen fantasy exemplified in the mythologies where the metaphysical concepts are hidden behind symbols. Majer planned to write a history of Indian religions but when he died he had completed only one of the four books he planned to write.

Johann Arnold Kanne (1773-1824) was one of the first to recognise the importance of India in the history of Religion. He too, saw in India a mythical image, and thought that the ancient primal truth is preserved only in that land. In his *Erste Urkunden* he essays a philosophical comparison between the names of Greek and Indian gods and to show that Greek culture came from the Orient. Several other scholars believed in this notion that India was the original home of religion and culture. Johann Joseph von Goerres (1776-1848) wrote in an essay *Religion in der Geschichte*[4] that the mystery of religion originated in India.

The proper study of Indian religion began with Deussen and

[2]See Goethe's *Zahme Xenien*, I, 3, 251, 257. *Auf ewig hab ich sie vertrieben/Vielkoepfige Goetter trifft mein Bann/So Wischnu, Kama, Brahme, Schiven/Sogar den Affen Hannemann/*"I have been driving them out forever those many-headed gods have been cursed by me—Vishnu, Kama, Brahma and also Hanuman". I am thankful to Dr.A.R. Das Gupta who kindly translated these lines into English.

[3]Goethe's remarks caused F. Schlegel to write to his brother on 13 November 1819, "What do you say about Goethe's Divan? Are you going to let him an outsider, get away with impudently villifying everything Indic?" Compare Ruskin's remarks on Indian Art: "The art of India indicates that the people practise it are cut off from all possible sources of healthy knowledge". See Willson, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64.

[4]This essay is available in *Studien* edited by Karl Daub and F. Creuzer. See Willson, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-05. This attitude of Kanne is but an expression of the romantic notion in general prevalent in Germany at the time. It was not different from that of Herder or Heine or Hoelderlin, *supra*, p. 9.

Max Mueller. Both of them were equipped with a sound knowledge of the ancient languages of India and read the ancient texts in detail. It has been pointed out that they explained the fundamentals of the religious philosophy of India not only to the Western world but also to the educated Indian. Their works are not only evidence of great scholarship but also of their great love for India. When judged against this background Max Weber's *The Religion of India* is a complete departure from the line of study already established by Deussen and Max Mueller.

Weber (1864-1929) was not an Indologist. He was a sociologist. He interpreted several religions including Hinduism and Buddhism, according to his own concepts of sociology such as social action, ligitimate order, etc. and described several human organizations and productions, politics, law and, of course, religion. His incomplete work *Economics and Society* (Wirstschaft und Gesellschaft) could provide a new and extra ordinary sociological system had he finished it. But from the writings of Weber we have now it is clear that his study of religion was largely guided by his interest in the inter-relation between religion and society. Other contemporary scholars such as Emile Durkheim, Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown studied religion from a different point of view. Weber inaugurated a new phase in the understanding between religious aspects and their relation with other aspects of human behaviour.[5] He differed from the historical school of social study in Germany in the late nineteenth century. That tradition was rooted in the idea that the studies of human culture should be made by "ideographic" method and not by "nomothetic" method employed in other natural sciences.[6]

Weber did not start his analysis of religion with a pre-conceived theoretical frame-work. His theory grew from his empirical studies. He wrote on China, India and on ancient Judaism. Of course the theory was there, sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly. But the theory was later developed by him. It is not possible to discuss his theory here which will lead us to a different

[5]See introduction to *The Sociology of Religion,* Max Weber, Tr. E. Fischoff from the fourth German edition (1956) in 1963.

[6]*Ibid.* xxii; also see Talcott Parsons, Max Weber's "Sociological Analysis of Capitalism and Modern Institution", *An Introduction to The History of Sociology,* Ed. Harry Elmer Barnes (Illinois, 1950), p. 290.

field. We will introduce some of the basic ideas of Weber in his discussion of religion. He asserts like most of the modern anthropologists that there was no society without a religion or a belief in the supernatural. The initial interest in the belief in the super natural was not necessarily for any mystic realisation but for basic mundane interest. Then Weber proceeds to explore how the primitive religious state develops into more complex social force and uses a phrase "break through" to mean the process of such development. The cause or the causes for such development is or are always dormant under the existing social pattern. Parsons explains clearly another concept of Weber, that of "differentiation".[7] The differentiation is not "only between the spheres but also within each sphere to the extent that situations are differently defined with reference to action". Weber abstracts from the total social process a set of two principal alternatives of social structuring and attempts to explain the differences as well the affinities between them. He makes a primary distinction between two directions of change in a society: a direction which makes for a source of evolutionary change in the established order and another direction which tends to change the order. Weber's primary interest in religion is, therefore, to understand the dynamics of social change and not from any interest into theological learning. Thus Weber stands apart from the Indologists.

Weber finds that Hinduism is exclusive like a sect and a sect in the sociological sense is "an exclusive association of religious virtuosos or if especially qualified religious persons, recruited through individual admission after establishment of qualification". He substantiates his view from the facts how Hinduism was spread among different tribes by slow but sure acceptance of food habits, marriage rituals and baptization of gods and goddesses of another tribe. This slow absorption of Hinduism has characterised it as a great social force in India. In the words of Weber it is an "almost irresistable social force. For centuries two salvation religions, expressly hostile to the Brahmins—Jainism and to a greater extent, Buddhism—have contended with Hinduism throughout the Indian culture area."[8] Buddhism has virtually

[7]Parsons, *op. cit.*, xxix.

disappeared from India and Jainism is confined to a handful of people. Weber thinks, "truly sanguine persecutions of these heterodoxies were not indeed lacking during the restoration, but they obviously account for the unusually quick victory of Hinduism. Favourable political circumstances contributed to the victory. Decisive, however, was the fact that Hinduism could provide an incomparable religious support for the interest of the ruling strata as determined by the social conditions of India".[9] Weber has discussed these problems of castes and tribes, caste and status group, and how social ranks were determined. He shows how the anti-Brahmanical religions were affected by the caste system of Hinduism. Many religions which were essentially anti-caste in character ultimately returned to caste system.

Weber has distinguished between *dharma* and *mata:* the former is the ritual and the latter the metaphysical theology. This is an important distinction. Several people have misunderstood Hinduism either by confusing the two or by emphasing one or the other. Religious controversies in India in the last century were often confounded because of the confusion. Rammohun Roy rejected the popular rituals and tried to discover Hinduism only in the Vedanta. Bankim Chandra Chatterji objected to several popular rituals and beliefs in his quest for a historical Krishna. While several militant leaders declared that the external rituals are no less important than the theology itself. Weber finds a complete lack of dogma in Hinduism because a Hindu can accept any doctrine of other religion and still remain a Hindu. This is, however, only partly true. A Hindu has his own dogmas too but it is difficult to define the term Hindu and the criterion of *dharma* is often misleading. *Dharma,* Weber thinks, is a sacred body of external rituals. It depends upon traditions which are held as sacred, and upon the adjudication and the "literary and rationally developed teachings of the Brahmins". The Vedas which are considered to be the basis of Hinduism contain nothing about the "divine and human affairs fundamental to Hinduism. The

[8]Weber, *The Religion of India,* Tr. & Ed. Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale (Illinois, 1958), p. 18.

[9]*Ibid.,* p. 18.

three great gods of Hinduism, even their names are hardly mentioned."[10] According to Weber both *dharma* and *mata* are later developments in Hinduism. It is difficult to accept Weber's view's on the Veda. Other students of Indian religion find something very significant in the Vedas. Deussen who thinks that the *Rig Veda* cannot claim a specially high position finds in it certain thoughts with which Indian philosophy begins—the thoughts of the unity in particular.[11] The *Rig Veda* contains the following sentence: *ekam sat viprā vahudha vadanti agnim yamam mātariśvānam* (i, 164, 46)—there is one reality, sages call it by various names, they call it Agni, Yama and Matarisva.

Weber points out that there are two basic concepts of Hinduism. They are *samsara* and *karman*. The former is the belief in the transmigration of soul and the latter is the doctrine of compensation. Any single act is as important as the other since it determines or helps to determine the fate of the actor and the idea of *karman* is deeply related to the actor's social fate in the social organisation and thus in the caste order. In a system like this there cannot be any eternal heaven or hell since the reward or punishment will be determined by the total act of an individual in his life. There cannot be infinite peace or infinite pain for finite doings. Heaven and Hell, according to Weber, plays a secondary rôle in Indian thought. "Karma doctrine," writes Weber, "transformed the world into a strictly rational, ethically-determined cosmos, it represents the most consistent theodicy ever produced in history. The devout Hindu was accursed to remain in a structure which made sense only in this intellectual context; its consequences burdened his conduct."[12]

In his criticism of Hinduism, Weber points out that the doctrine of *karma* not only gave a strong motivation for caste organisa-

[10]*Ibid.*, p. 27.

[11]Deussen, *Outline of Indian Philosophy* (Berlin, 1907), pp. 10-12. Also see Das Gupta, S. N., *A History of Indian Philosophy* (Calcutta, 1951). Das Gupta writes, "an orthodox Brahmin can dispense with image worship if he likes, but not so with his daily Vedic prayer or other obligatory ceremonies....Systems of Hindu philosophy not only own their allegiance to the Vedas, but the adherents of each one of them would often quarrel with others and maintain its superiority by trying to prove that it and it alone was the faithful follower of the Vedas....[Vol. I, p. 11]".

[12]Weber: *The Religion of India*, p. 121.

tion, but also the rank order of divine, human and animal beings of all degrees. He concludes that in Hindu thought "men were not...in principle equal, but for ever unequal. They were as unlike as man and animal. All men, however, has equal opportunities but not in this life. Through rebirth they could either achieve heaven or descend to animal kingdom or to hell."[13]

A modern interpreter of Hindu caste system says just the opposite. According to Radhakrishnan, caste system is democratic and insists on the spiritual equality of men because it assumes that every human being has the right to grow in his own way. However, Radhakrishnan knows full well that the philosophy behind caste system is not in operation in actual practice. It has become hereditary. Radhakrishnan thinks that men are basically divided into four *classes* according to individual ability but ultimately classes degenerated into castes.[14] Weber is right in his analysis of caste system and in showing how tremendously the system has affected the Hindu mind. But he goes too far when he says that "it excluded for ever the rise of social criticism, of rationalistic speculation and abstractions of natural law type and hindered the development of any sort of idea of "human rights."[15] Weber knows that Buddhism and Jainism grew out of discontent against Hinduism and in their initial stage they were anti-Brahmanical and anti-caste in character. The spirit of criticism was always there. Weber has overlooked it.

Another important observation of Weber is that the social theory of Hinduism does not furnish any principles for an ethical universalism which would raise general demands for life in the world.[16] He has said elsewhere that "...Indian religiosity...is the cradle of those religious ethics which have abnegated the world, theoretically, practically, and to the greatest extent."[17] This reminds us of the criticism of Schweitzer that Hindu philosophy is essentially life-negating. Radhakrishnan tells us that Heiler in his *Prayer* makes the same criticism against Indian mysti-

[13]*Ibid.* p. 144.

[14]Radhakrishnan, S., *Indian and Western Religious Thought,* p. 247.

[15]Weber, *The Religion of India,* p. 147.

[16]*Ibid.* p. 147.

[17]Weber, "On Religious Rejection of the World", *Theories of Society,* Ed. T. Parsons and others (New York, 1961), Vol. 1, p. 1120.

cism which according to him is of "feminine nature". Christian mysticism has been derived from Indian sources while the *prophetic* tendencies, by which he means the religions of masculine character, are based on Jewish revelation. Radhakrishnan points out that there are certain features in Hinduism such as four stages of life, the doctrine of *karma*, etc. which imply action in a real world. The Buddhist ethics is positively life-affirming. Radhakrishnan maintains that when Ramanujam and the theists who followed him affirm the reality of the world we need not treat that as a departure from the main tradition, nor should we try to explain the ethical views of Tagore and Gandhi through their contacts with the Christian West. Weber has made the same mistake when he has sweepingly dismissed the nineteenth-century religious movements in India as departures from the real tradition of India. At certain phases of Indian religion, however, Weber finds a strong life-affirming attitude. The ethics of Gita earns his praise. In religious literature as well in art at times he notices that "everything in life receives its due: the wild battle fury of the hero, then the yearning for salvation, for the ever-new pains of separation composing life, the place of solitude for meditation, and again, the radiant beauty of spring and happiness of love. In the end all this is immersed in a melancholy dream-mood pervaded by resignation which the idea of the maya-veil must produce and into which finally everything is woven, the unreal and passing beauty like the horror of the struggle of men against men."[18]

From the above analysis it is clear that Weber stands apart from other German students of Indian religion. In the study of a religion he makes a distinction or a theoretical dichotomy between the functions of the magicians and those of the priests. A magician serves the *ad hoc* interests while a priest tries to establish a systematic and stabilized cult. Weber, however, is not satisfied only in making a distinction between the functions of a magician and a priest in mediating between the human and the supernatural but tries to analyse the problems of a normative social order based upon "religious ethics" and upon "taboo". Religious ethics is mainly concerned with enforcing a pattern

[18]Weber, *The Religion of India,* pp. 190-91.

which is dependent upon a conception of divinity. Religious ethics is formed at a higher level of generality than a system of taboo which is more primitive and less logical. Therefore the observance of a religious ethics requires a high level of sophistication and responsibility. These distinctions formulate the framework of study of religion as a force of social change. During his study of any particular religion Weber asks these questions: under what conditions religious situations can progress and "break through" take place? Through what agencies and types of social organisation such "break through" is possible? And he tried to answer these questions. His conclusion about the nature of Oriental religions is that they all "left room for the acquisitive drive of the tradesman, the interest of the artisan in sustenance... and the traditionalism of the peasants. The popular religions also left undisturbed both philosophical speculation and the conventional class oriented life-patterns of the priviledged groups."[19]

Max Weber's study of Indian religion is important since it throws new light on the history of Indian society. He is critical but always perceptive and sincere in his analysis. He began his work from the point where Indologists had stopped.

[19]Weber, *The Sociology of Religion,* p. 269.

Conclusion

WHILE MOST OF the German scholars in the nineteenth century were busy reconstructing and revaluating India's past some were equally interested in contemporary India. Max Mueller was one of them. But the most important of thinkers of Germany to take interest in the political situation of India was Karl Marx. He noticed "however changing the political aspect of India's past must appear, her social condition has remained unaltered since her remotest antiquity, until the first decennium of the nineteenth centry".[1] Marx studied Indian history seriously as it is evidenced from his *Notes on Indian History*.[2] His sources of information were inevitably the books written by British authors Elphinstone's *History of India* and Robert Sewell's *the Analytical History of India*. His deeper involvement with contemporary India is much more evidenced by his extremely interesting articles for *New York Daily Tribune* on Indian political situation during 1857-59.[3]

Marx described India as a "strange combination of Italy and Ireland"—Italy in respect of geographical similarity and Ireland in respect of society. He found in India a "world of voluptuousness and a world of woes". Marx found in its religion—he meant Hinduism—"a religion of sensualist exuberance, and a religion of self-torturing asceticism; a religon of the Lingam, and of Juggernaut; the religion of the Monk and of the Bayadere".[4] Marx most probably did not study the Hindu religious texts, some of which

[1]The British Rule in India", *Selected Works*, Vol. 1. (Moscow), p. 348.

[2]Published from Moscow in 1947. We are told in the preface to this edition that this book holds a "prominent place among the manuscripts written by Marx in the last years of his life".

[3]Later published under the title *The First Indian War of Independence:* 1857-1859 (Moscow, 1959).

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 5.

were already edited by the scholars in Germany but his remarks on popular Hinduism are valid to a great extent. At times his criticism of Hinduism strikes a parallel note to that of Goethe and when he writes that "we must not forget that these little communities were contaminated by distinctions of caste and by slavery, that they subjugated man to external circumstances instead of elevating man to be the sovereign of circumstances, that they transformed a self-developing social state into never changing natural destiny and thus brought about a brutalizing worship of nature, exhibiting its degradation in the fact that man, the sovereign of nature, fell down on his knees in adoration of Hanuman, the monkey, and Sabbala the cow" he seems to echo the contemporary Christian criticism of Hinduism with greater sophistication and not with any sense of religious superiority and arrogance but with an idea that mankind cannot "fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia". Marx's observation on the Nature worship in India shows a sharp contrast to the views expressed by Max Mueller who explained it in a different way but his observations on the social impact of the caste system anticipate Max Weber's.

What is significant in Marx's writings on India is his awareness of the political change in India with the advent of British power in India. In his letter of 22 July 1853 Marx noticed that England "has to fulfil a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerative—the annihilation of old Asiatic society and the laying of the material foundations of western society in Asia".[5] He noticed that the work of regeneration has begun, firstly by the consolidation of the political unity, imposed by power of sword and also by quick communication system, by introducing a free press and by creating an educated middle class in India thus opening the way of India's annexation to the western world. The contemporary Indian intellectual appreciated this. Marx welcomed the introduction of railways and other modern systems of communication and production in India knowing full well that they were primarily to serve the interest of the British traders. But he realised that, "modern industry, resulting from the railway

[5]Published in *The First Indian War of Independence* under the title "The Future Results of the British Rule", also included in *Articles on India*, within introduction by R. P. Dutta (1st Indian edition, 1943).

system, will dissolve the hereditary divisions of labour, upon which rest the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian power".[6] Aksay Kumar Datta wrote in 1854 a small book welcoming the introduction of railways in India and expressed his happiness at the prospect of expansion of trade and knowledge.[7] Bankim Chandra Chatterji in spite of his bitterness towards the English rulers wrote: "Modern India is ruled by foreigners and ancient India was ruled by the Brahmins. For the common man this difference is negligible".[8]

Marx observed: "The Indians will not reap the fruits of the new elements of society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie, till in Great Britain itself the now ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till the Hindus themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether. At all events, we may safely expect to see, at a more or less remote period, the regeneration of that great and interesting country, whose gentle natives are, to use the expression of Prince Saltykov, even in the most inferior classes, 'plus fins et plus adroits que les Italiens', whose submission even is counterbalanced by a certain clam nobility, who notwithstanding their natural languor have astonished the British officers by their bravery, whose country has been the source of our languages, our religions, and who represent the type of the ancient German in the Jat and the type of the ancient Greek in the Brahmin." The eloquent praise of Indians by Marx reminds one of the attitude of the early German Orientalists but his understanding of the political situation stems from his strong sense of realism. The nineteenth-century intellectual in India also felt and expressed in a similar manner. Bankim Chandra Chatterji pointed out vividly the nature of social destitution amid the plenty of a handful few in his various essays. When Marx wrote this essay the movement for political freedom was at its embryonic stage but within twenty years that movement gathered momen-

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[7] *Baspiya Ratharohidiger Prati Upadesh*, Ed. Nabendu Sen, *Eksan*, Puja Number, 1966.

[8] Bharatbarsher Svadhinata Ebam Paradhinata", *Bibidha Prabandha* (Calcutta, 1892), also see Keshab Chunder Sen's speech at Welcome Soiree, Keshub Chunder Sen in England, vol. 1 (Calcutta, 1881), pp. 21-22.

tum and by the beginning of the twentieth century it became the greatest movement in the history of modern India.

Marx's attention to the profound hypocrisy and double standards of British administration, one at home "where it assumes respectable forms" and one in the colonies "where it goes naked" is perhaps one of the earliest attempts to draw the attention of the civilised world. This was what the Indian fighters of freedom, the poets and thinkers tried to explain and expose to the rest of the world in twentieth century.

Marx's observations on the military uprising of 1857 are significant firstly because of his detached description of the uprising and secondly, because his analysis has emerged from a point of view so different from the ruling class as well as from that of the Indian middle class. Marx thought that the Sepoy Mutiny was an indication of anti-colonial liberation struggle as it is believed by several well-known historians today. The nineteenth-century Indian intellectual welcomed British rule in India which promised a stable government and a rule of law. He thought, as Dutt suggests, "it was the decaying reactionary elements, the discontented princes and feudal forces, which led the opposition, and whose leadership culminated and founded in the revolt of 1857".[9] It must be admitted, however, that the Indian educated class watched the movement with great interest and the heroes of the insurrection soon caught their imagination and became a source of inspiration to the later revolutionaries. When Paul Deussen visited the site of 1857 Rebellion at Kanpur he remarked, "had the rebels attained their ends, and for a time there was some prospect of their doing so, they would have been held in honour as we honour Schiller, Scharnhorst, Bluecher and other heroes of the War of Liberation".[10]

Like some of the European scholars Marx too made the Brahmins responsible for the social plight in India. But he found "the misery inflicted by the British on Hindustan is of an essentially different and infinitely more intensive kind than all Hindustan had to suffer before". Marx was attracted to this Hindustan, a country which was not Heine's "haven of peace" but a country "thrown into a sea of woes". While the educated Indian of the

[9]Dutt, R. P., *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

[10]Biswas, K. P., *An Indian in Germany* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 198.

last century was proud of their ancient heritage they could not forget their present misfortune. The German interest in India was a great comfort to them. It was an inspiration for them to work for a bright future. The German Orientalists gave them a sense of pride and thus they helped indirectly to revive a sense of past glory and to create a discontent for the present—both are important elements for the growth of nationalism in a colonial situation.

The question, however, remains what Germany gained through her association with India. The answer is to be found in her attitude towards life which is best expressed through her scholars and poets, philosophers and musicians. One would notice that the initial romantic response of Germany to India was soon changed into a more mature intellectual relationship. Many German scholars responded to Indian wisdom according to the peculiarity of their genius. Total acceptance of any system of thought is not necessarily an indication of catholicity of mind.

Heinrich Zimmer in his *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* observes that the Christian western tradition had long refused to accept the wisdom of the pagans. Max Mueller wrote long ago that it was a mistake of the early fathers to treat the heathen gods as demons or evil spirits. Since the beginning of the last century through the efforts of several scholars a new world-consciousness emerged amongst a section of intellectuals. The studies of Comparative Philology, Religion, Mythology helped develop that consciousness. Even the concept of World Literature came into being in this century. Goethe's *Weltliteratur* did not include oriental literature about which Europe did not know much at that time. Tagore in an article on World-Literature *(Visva Sahitya)* dealt with the same theme. Goethe's World Literature is, in fact, meant for the understanding of the world mind. Tagore wrote that the significant aspect to be considered in World literature was the universal element in human life and human expression. World Literature has not yet emerged as a discipline but the world-consciousness is fact developing in man.

The time has come to realise that truth is not a monopoly of any particular country or religion. The Hindu who declares that Hinduism alone is the way to salvation has failed to learn from

the researches of so many scholars that other cultures are not less significant than his. And the Western man who feels that Western values of life provide answers to all questions is ignorant of the long story of East-West relationship. Zimmer tells an old story of a faithful Rabbi Eisik who heard a voice in a dream asking him to go to a town where he would find a hidden treasure buried beneath a bridge. He went there but could not dig out the place since the sentries were on guard. After his third visit to that place one sentry became curious and asked him about his purpose. The Rabbi told him the truth. The sentry laughed and told him not to waste any more time on that. He, too, had a dream and was told by a voice to go to a village where he could find buried treasure in the house of one Ṛabbi Eisik. But what was the use of going there. After all that was a dream. The Rabbi came back home and dug out a place in his house and got a treasure. Zimmer writes that real treasure is never far away. "Hindu myths and symbols, and other signs of wisdom from afar, in just such a way will speak to us of the treasure which is our own. And we then must dig it up from the forgotton recesses of our own being."

Germany tried to discover treasure for her which was buried in ancient India. Indo-German relationship is one of the brightest chapters in the history of human understanding since it stresses a very fundamental truth that every nation is involved with the fate of entire mankind. Germany spoke through Goethe's *Wagner:*

> Allein die Welt! Des Menschen Herz und Geist.
> Moecht jeglicher doch was davon erkennen.
> And yet the World. Man's heart and Spirit. Oh
> That every body knew part of the same.

APPENDIX

A CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS RELEVANT TO INDO-GERMAN CULTURAL RELATIONS

1791 *Shakuntala* translated by Georg Forster. Goethe's quatrain on *Shakuntala* published.
b. Franz Bopp.

1792 Herder's *Brahman's Thoughts,* an anthology of Indian verses.

1793 Jean Paul Friedrich Richter (1703-1825) publishes a novel *Die unsichtbare Loge* which shows his interest in Indias religion.

1795 Richter's novel *Hesperus.* Kanva, the foster-father of Shakuntala is the proto-type for Emanuel, a character in the novel.

1797 *Laws of Manu* translated into German.
Goethe's ballad *Der Gott und die Bajadere* (The God and the Dancing Girl). Goethe found this story in Indian legends in the German translation of Sonnerat's travel book 'Journey to East India and China'.

1802 *Gita Govinda* translated by F. H. von Dalberg.

1803 F. Schlegel studies Sanskrit in Paris.

1805 Karoline von Guenderode (1780-1806) publishes a play *Udohla.* The action of the play takes place in Delhi where a Hindu ruler is killed by a Muslim Sultan for instigating an uprising.

1808 F. Schlegel's *Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder.*

1816 Bopp's *Ueber das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache* etc.

1817 *Meghadutam* in English translation is read by several German scholars and poets including Goethe.

1818 August Schlegel is appointed Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn.
b. Karl Marx.

1819 Majer's *Brahma.*

1822 Hegel's *The Philosophy of World History.*
Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Send* etc.

1823 *b.* Max Mueller.

1824 Goethe's poem on Indian theme: *Pariah.*
Heine's poem on the Ganga: seventh poem of *Die Heimkehr.*

1826 Heine's *Harzreise.* In the appendix the poet extolls the character of the Indians: *Am Ganges, am Ganges wohnen Menschen,* iv, 422.

1827 Heine's *Book of Songs.*

1828 Hegel's *The Philosophy of History.*

1830 Rammohun Roy meets Friedrich Rosen in London. Rosen publishes a specimen of the hymns of the Rig Veda

1833 Second edition of Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik*, etc.
Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Idea.*

1838 Rosen's translation of the first book of the Rig Veda posthumously published.

1839 *Kathasaritsagara* translated by H. Brockhaus, Leipzig. *Panini*, Ed. O. Boehtlingk, Bonn.

1840 *Ritu Samhara* translated by P. V. Bohlen, Leipzig.
b. Franz Kielhorn

1841 Max Mueller starts studying Sanskrit at Leipzig.

1842 *Shakuntala* ed. Boehtlingk.

1844 *Hitopadesha* translated by Max Mueller.
Enlarged edition of *The World as Will and Idea.*

1845 A. Kuhn's *Zur aeltesten Geschichte der Indo-Germanischen Voelker* (On the most ancient History of the Indo-European Nations).

1846 Rudolph Roth's *On the Literature and History of the Veda.*

1847 *Meghadutam* translated by Max Mueller, Koenigsberg.

1849 First volume of the Rig Veda with Sayana's commentary edited by Max Mueller. Last volume is published in 1874.
b. Richard Pischel.

1851 *Malayalabhasa Vyakaranam* by the Rev. H. Gundert.

1853 Karl Marx's *The British Rule In India.*

1854 K. Graul's *Bibliotheca Tamilica* in four volumes, Leipzig.

1856 Graul's *Der Kural*, Leipzig.

1857 *Paniniya Siksa* ed, and translated by A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, iv, pp. 347-71.
Karl Marx's *The Indian Insurrection* collected in *The First Indian War of Independence*, Moscow, 1959.

1859 Max Mueller's *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London.
Panchatantra translated by Th. Benfey, Leipzig.

1860 *The Dhammapada* translated by A. Weber.

1862 Chair of Sanskrit in Goettingen University. Occupied by Oldenberg, E. Walschmidts and other emminent scholars later.

1863 *Pingala Chanda Sastra* ed. and translated by A. Weber in *Indische Studien*, viii, p. 209 ff.
Buehler comes to India.

1866 *Vetala Panavimsati* translated by B. Juelg:

1867 Max Mueller's *Chips From German Workshop*, vol. 1.

1868 *Kerala Parama* by H. Gundert. (First ever book on the history of Kerala)
Chair of Sanskrit at Marburg.

1869 *The Dhammapada* translated by Max Mueller. Later reprinted

1870 in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. X. Max Mueller lectures on the immigration of fables, collected in *Chips from German Workshop* later.

1871 Weber's *Ueber ein zum weissen yajns gehoeriges phonetisches Compendium des Pratigna Sutra*, Berlin.

1872 Max Mueller donates his honorarium to the endowment of a Sanskrit lecturership at the Universtiy of Strassburg.

1873 *A Malayalam and English Dictionary,* Compiled by H. Gundert.
Max Mueller's *Introduction to the Science of Religan.*

1875 Max Mueller starts work of *The Sacred Books of the East.*
Buehler edits *Vikramadeva Charitra* by Bilhana from a manuscript which he discovered in India.

1876 *Shakuntala* translated by F. Rueckert, Leipzig.
Rig Veda translated by H. Grassmann; another translation by Alfred Ludwig.

1877 *b.* Hermann Hesse.
Adolf Graf von Schack's *Stimmen vom Ganges* (Voices of the Ganges).

1878 Max Mueller gives Hibert Lecture: "On the growth of Religion" as illustrated by the religions of India.

1879 *Sacred Books of the East,* vol. 1.
Jacobi's *Introduction to Kalpasutra,* a study on Jainism.
Mricchakatika ed. L. Frotze, Leipzig.
H. Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben: die Cultur der Velischen Arier* (Ancient Indian Life: the Culture of the Vedic Aryans).

1880 *Vikramorvashi* ed. and translated by L. Frotze, Leipzig.

1881 H. Oldenberg's *Buddha His Life, Teachings and Community.*

1882 Max Mueller's *India—What Can It Teach Us.*

1883 Karl Jaspers' *The Origin and Aim of History.*
P. Deussen's *System of the Vedanta.* Max Mueller delivers address on Rammohun Roy in the Bristol Museum.

1884 Max Mueller's *Biographical Essays.*

1886 W. S. Olf's *Bilhana*

1887 *Astadhyayi* ed. and translated by O. Boehtlingk.
Buehler's *The Indian Sect of the Jains.*

1890 *Kavyadarsha* translated by Boehtlingk.
Oldenberg's essays on Ancient India published in *Deutsche Rundschau,* Berlin.

1892 Weber's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. of the Royal Library.*

1893 Max Mueller's *Indian Fables and Esoteric Buddhism.* Later included in *Last Essays.*

1894 Max Mueller's *Three Lectures on the Vedanta Philosophy.*

1895 *Upanisads* translated by Deussen.

1896 Buehler's *Indische Palaeographie.*

1897 *Kamasutra* translated by R. Schmidt.

1898 Max Mueller's *Ramakrishna: His Life and Sayings.*

1899 Max Mueller's *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy.*
Deussen's *Die Philosophie der Upanisads.*

1900 W. Geiger's *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen,* Strassburg.

1902 A. Baumgartner's *Die Literaturen Indiens und Ostasiens,*

1903 H. Jacobi's *Das Mahabharata,* Bonn,

1904 English version of Buehler's book on Indian paleography published in *Indian Antiquary.*

1905 *Suttanipata* translated by Karl Eugen Neumann.

1906 *Das Mahabharata* translated by Deussen and O. Strauss.

1907 *Chaitanya Charitamrita* translated by O. Sturberg.

1908 *Alamkarsarvasva* translated by Jacobi.

1910 Jacobi's *Die Poetic und Asthetic der Inder.*
H. G. Keyserling visits India and meets several Indians including Rabindranath Tagore.

1912 H. W. Schomerus' *Der Caiva Siddhanta.*

1913 *Kumarasambhava* translated by O. Watter.

1914 *Gitanjali* appears in German. *Raghuvamsha* translated by O. Watter. Chair of Sanskrit at Hamburg.

1915 P. Haffmann's *Indien und der Deutsche Geist von Herder bis zur Romantik.*
Tagore's *Raja* translated by H. Lachmann: *Der Koenig der dunklen Kammer.*

1916 W. Geiger's *Pali Literatur und Sprache.*

1917 Ernst Windisch's *History of Sanskrit Philology.*

1918 F. v. D. Leyen's *Indische Maerchen,* an anthology of Indian fables.

1919 Keyserling's *Indian Travel Diary of a Philosopher.*

1920 Sten Konow's *Das Indische Drama,* Berlin.

1921 *Fruchtlese,* translation of Tagore's poems.

1923 Hermann Hesse's *Siddhartha.*

1924 Rudolph Otto lectures on *Western and Eastern Mysticism* at Ohio.

1925 Helmuth von Glasenapp's *Jainism.*

1926 Reinhard Wagner's Sammlung *Moderner Bengalischer Prosa,* Berlin.

1927 Hauer's *Der Vratya,* Stuttgart.

1928 A. Vath's *Im Kampfe mit der Zauberwelt des Hinduismus* a biography of Brahma Vandhab Upadhyay.

1930 Otto's *India's Religion of Grace and Christianity.*
Rabindranath Tagore Bekenntnis.

1931 *The Child* was written by Tagore.

1934 Glasenapp's *From Buddha to Gandhi.*

1935 Schweitzer's *Indian Thought and its Development.*
Walter Schubring's *The Doctrine of the Jains.*

1936 M. Winternitz's *Rabindranath Tagore.*
Schomerus' *Meister Eckhart und Manikkavasagara,* Guetersloh.

1937 L. Alsdorf's *Apabhramsa Studies.*

1940 Glasenapp's *Buddha Mysterien,* Stuttgart.
Heinrich Luders' *Philologia Indica,* Goettingen.

1942 English translation of *Buddha Mysterien.*

1943 Glasenapp's *Die Religionen Indiens.*

1943 Hermann Hesse's *Magister Ludi.* Glasperlenspiel.
Glasenapp's *The Tradition of the End of Buddha's Life.*

1946 H. Zimmer's *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art.*

1947 W. Ruben's *Die Philosophen der Upanisaden.*
1948 Arno Lehmann's *Die Sivaitische Froemmigkeit der Tamulischen Erbaungsliteratur* (Saivaite Piety in Tamil Devotional Literature), Berlin.
1951 H. Lueders' *Varuna,* Hamburg.
M. Meyerhofer's *Handbuch des Pali,* Heidelberg.
1953 W. Ruben's *Karl Marx ueber Indien* (1853) *und die Indienliteratur von ihm.*
1954 W. Kirfel's *Das Purana vom Weltgebaeude,* Bonn.
1956 W. Ruben's *Kalidasa,* Berlin.
1957 Karl Jaspers' *The Great Philosophers.*
1958 George Grimm's *The Doctrine of the Buddha,* revised edition.
1960 Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi translated by F. Kraus.
F. Wilhelm's *Politische Polemiken im Staatslehrbuch des Kautilya.*
1961 Glasenapp's *Die Literaturen Indiens,* Stuttgart.
1962 Ruben's *Rabindranath Tagore's Weltbedeutung,* Berlin.
1964 Ruben's *Indische Romane,* Berlin.

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