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# **HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES**

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**Aurel Stein: A Tribute**  
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**Stein's Search for Codex Archetypus**  
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**Csoma Kőrös: Himalayan Hermit  
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**In Memoriam: Pandit Govind Kaul (1846-1899)**  
*Aurel Stein*

**Cultural Heritage of Indian Himalaya**  
*Seminar Report by G.L. Badam*

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## HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

**Editor : K. WARIKOO**

**Guest Editor : P.N. KACHRU**

**Assistant Editor : SHARAD K. SONI**

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## *Editor's Page*

Sir Aurel Stein, a reputed Hungarian-born scholar on Central Asia was one of the few European explorers who traversed the desolate desert of Taklamakan and retrieved a wealth of Central Asian Buddhist culture and the Brahmi manuscript store house of Dun-Huang. A sizeable collection of his explored wealth which was left by the explorer himself in India, now forms the Central Asian Section of Indian National Museum. Stein was the only scholar who salvaged the lonely example of chronicle writing of Indian history on which he researched for nearly five decades. During this period he spent most of his lifetime in Kashmir to locate the Codex Archetypus of the eleventh century chronicle of *Rajatarangini* authored by reputed chronicler Kalhana Pandita. Although Stein's idea of following the track of Alexander came to a dead end with his arrival in Afghanistan, his mentor and great scholar Dr. Buhler who had already made a headway in cataloguing and collecting the wealth of Sanskrit manuscripts, drew Stein's attention to this particular manuscript of *Rajatarangini*, of which Dr. Buhler had got its mere glimpse during his tour for collection of Sanskrit manuscripts in Kashmir. It was with this task of research that Stein discovered and came in close touch with the scholars, leading among whom were Sanskrit geniuses of Kashmir like Pandit Damodar whom he acknowledged as the "facile princep" amongst the scholars, Pandit Govind Kaul, Pandit Nityanand Shastri and Pandit Mukund Ram Shastri.

Aurel Stein was the first amongst western scholars who wrote and read Sanskrit. It was he who traversed the sands of Central Asia and discovered the Sanskrit manuscripts like well known "Bower manuscripts", the history of Sanskrit and the Indian cultural outflow of the Hindu Shahis of Afghanistan and its enrichment of the languages of Kafiristan and also the linguistic store house of the monasteries of Kuccha and all the ancient Central Asian centres of culture. Soon after Stein landed in the valley of Kashmir, he began his patient, long and tireless efforts to reach this source document. He made a detailed study of the

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tradition, myths, beliefs, customs, religion and philosophical contributions from the Pandits of the valley of Kashmir which he thought, was essential to serve as a correct approach and understanding for his research on the *Rajatarangini*, the only existent example of Indian chronicleship. It is, therefore, necessary to highlight Sir Aurel Stein's work and his contributions to the world of chronology.

Like Stein, Alexander Csoma De Kőrös too was a renowned Hungarian scholar, widely regarded as the Siculo-Hungarian pioneer of modern Tibetan studies. He devoted nearly two decades in the first half of the 19th century to his research work during which he also planned a trip to Central Asia via Sikkim and Tibet, but could not complete as he died of fever on his way at Darjeeling. However, his research project for the preparation of Tibetan dictionary and grammar did bring him to the Himalayan regions of Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh and Kinnaur. He collected relevant materials dealing with Tibetan science, geography, religion, history, literature and culture, and finally the whole text was published under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This was followed by Csoma's concentration on studying indepth the Sanskrit language besides improving his fluency in Bengali language as well.

It is against this backdrop that this special issue of *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies* is devoted to reflect upon the monumental works of Hungarian scholars particularly Sir Aurel Stein and Alexander Csoma De Kőrös who made significant contributions to the fields of Himalayan and Central Asian Studies. This issue is being brought out to give an insight and elucidation to Stein's and Csomos' research and scholarship. It is a matter of gratification and fulfilment that several scholars have contributed their write-ups highlighting Stein's contribution to the field of Indological chronicleship and his long association with Kashmiri scholarship. Dr. Lokesh Chandra deals with the Indian culture that flowed across the sands of Central Asia, which was exposed by Aurel Stein to the western scholarship. P.N. Kachru throws light on Stein's traumatic efforts for reaching the original and dependable source documents of the *Rajatarangini*, besides providing details of Stein's frantic efforts in delving into the Devnagari versions of the fascimiles of *Tarangini* from

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Calcutta, Bombay and Lucknow, which Stein found unsatisfactory due to inaccurate translations, missing folios and mistakes. Presenting a detailed account of the relationship of Central Asian exploration with that of Stein's research of *Rajatarangini*, Dr. Margit Koves deals with Stein's days of work as Registrar of Punjab University in Lahore. P.J. Marczell provides an overview of Csoma Kőrös's explorations besides discussing his involvement in the Bengali Renaissance. S.N. Pandita highlights Sir Aurel Stein's tributes paid to Kashmiri scholars and to their high scholarship apart from bringing to fore Stein's intimate and valuable relations and his "long and lasting association" with Kashmiri scholars who provided valuable guidance and assistance in translating *Rajatarangini*.

We are also reproducing a personal tribute of Sir Aurel Stein to Pandit Govind Kaul whom he titles as "Kashmiri epiphany of Panini" in his special publication entitled *In Memoriam, Pandit Govind Kaul: 1846-1899* which came out in 1923 from Oxford. Besides, we also reproduce a letter of Sir Aurel Stein addressed from his camp in the valley to his cherished teacher and scholar friend Prof. Nityanand Shastri on August 9, 1931 following the communal rioting in Kashmir. This letter contains the only and ever expressed political statement given by Stein on Kashmir. This lonely statement of prophetic and penetrating nature has proved authentic to its last alphabet in the contemporary happenings of the valley. **Stein's prophetic statement runs thus: "I know enough of the history of Kashmir to have realized long ago that tame as the people apparently are in ordinary times, trouble may always rise if there is any sign of weakness about."**

*P.N. Kachru*





*Stein Auré*

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# AUREL STEIN

## *A Tribute*

*Lokesh Chandra*

It is very appropriate to talk about one of the great Europeans who in the beginning of the century came to India while it was fighting for independence. He came at a moment of our existence when the Bengal school of Renaissance was still in the offing. There were many foreigners like Kokakura Tenshing from Japan who sold the idea to Jagores in Calcutta that India was land of destiny; and Max Muller had worked in the field that there were Sanskrit texts in Japan still recited and sung, and still existing. The oldest manuscript at that time came from the Horiogi monastery dated about 600 A.D. That was the oldest manuscript in existence. Aurel Stein belonged to the long tradition of European scholarship, particularly of the Germanic dimension. I know the Hungarians won't like this word but, I think it is a very correct perspective. The Germans were fascinated by Indian land, and they conveyed this fascination to whole of Europe.

Aurel Stein came along as a born Jew but baptised early in his age. He read the classics and the classics fascinated him about the campaigns of Alexander to Aryana; and that is where the whole journey and his explorations begin. He studied with great masters in Germany, and had discovered the European's origin of their languages in Sanskrit. For example, in the sixteenth century they were trying to find out the word in their four major languages for God. From where did that word come? They thought, it should come from the language spoken in the Garden of Eden – that is from Hebrew. But unfortunately no word originated or came close to Hebrew. So, when we came to Sanskrit, every word had to go back to its root. This was something which came from the depths of European consciousness, and that is what Sir Aurel Stein presented. He had luck to be in India, and when he came to India he was fascinated by his great master Prof. Buhler. Never had a catalogue in five to eight

collections been in existence before Prof. Buhler; and that remains to this day a major exploration of Sanskrit manuscript wealth of India. Sir Aurel Stein was fascinated by one manuscript, and that was explored. During his time there was great rivalry between Russia and Britain, and the British officials of the Indian Civil Service were always going around hunting. Hunting in fact was a profile expression for intelligence to be gathered in the backyards of Central Asia. So, Sir Aurel Stein came along and he was fascinated to seek the hide out of the *Rajatarangini* which Moocroft had laid his hand on. Before we pass on to the importance of *Rajatarangini* itself, we must know that there have been three major traditions of its manuscript editions. One is the central Indian tradition represented by Devanagri script supported, more or less, by Bengali manuscripts. Then there is the South Indian tradition, and then the third tradition is shared by Kashmir and strangely enough by Kerala. And, for example, when I was working on the text of *Kathasarita Sagar* of Somadeva, the printed version and the Kashmiri version in the Sharada script (when I speak Kashmiri version I speak of Sharada script), the Sharada script was at least seventy to eighty per cent different from the Devanagri version. In Kashmir things remained frozen in time between thirteenth to fifteenth century, so the texts in Kashmir really deserve to be published as such, except a few rare works like *Ashtadhyayi* in which there is no change in Kashmir version and Devanagri version. So, the *Rajatarangini* was a fascinating text on many counts; and Aurel Stein came from Hellenic traditions. He was fascinated by the idea of following the tracks of Alexander the Great. Alexander is one of the twelve great Chakravarties of Europe; and in India in the *Rig Veda* and in the *Aitreya Brahman* we have twelve Chakravarties. While on a foreign tour I was astonished to find that there were twelve European Chakravarties whose statues were in the former imperial court now in Minsk. So, he (Stein) was to oblige him.

While in search of *Rajatarangini* Aurel Stein came in contact with Pandit Govind Kaul, thus having a great Sanskrit Pandit to help him, who took all the work of editing and the translation of *Rajatarangini* and its interpretation. The text is very important from many points of

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view, for example we can understand just before Islam had strong foothold in the north, how things were shaping themselves. How the Indian and Hindu point of view was projected in the *Rajatarangini*. It is a traffic which had never been really studied in depth, while the Hindu States had very close connections with Kashmir. The language of Kashmir happens to share very richly with the languages of Kafiristan and other parts of north and united India. It was here that Stein was trying to investigate *Rajatarangini* but at the same time his mind was always set on the tracks of Alexander. The later was a great Greek antiquarian who described the antiquities of ancient Greece and still remained the only guide to the ancient traditions and monuments of India. But here also Stein found another antiquarian in Huin Tsang. He read him and was fascinated by whole journey described by him. There was Prof. Buhler who provoked him to study *Rajatarangini* which ultimately appeared in 1900. And ever since, I think, it is the only editio princeps, the main edition of *Rajatarangini*. There are translations by others, but I think the Sharada text has been perhaps preserved somewhere. That should be published in fascimile because I always do not find the reading in *Rajatarangini* very clearly understandable. There is *Loka Prakash* also which deserves to be reedited. I have a manuscript, and two or three manuscripts might help. My father was interested, and I have long notes of him in two or three hundred pages on the *Loka Prakash*, which remains to be very crucial to the understanding of *Rajatarangini*. Although there are many aspects of Aurel Stein, the greatest contribution made by him is not in the domain of *Rajatarangini* but in unravelling the sands of Central Asia.

Central Asia had two routes- the Northern route and Southern route. On the Southern route were the Iranians who spoke Iranian languages, and the first expedition that Stein took to Khotan was a tremendous revelation. For the first time we had the earliest Indian manuscripts, all pre-dating the Japanese manuscripts. The Kharosti *Brahamapada* which also came from Central Asia was even earlier from second century B.C. It was indeed Stein who brought for the first time before the western world the idea that we not only need to look to Kashmir

for the earliest catch, but Central Asia perhaps is the land. May be even earliest Sanskrit manuscripts can be found. This was also provoked by the discovery of the manuscript by Lt. Col. Bower. In Kuchha he had gone to find out the criminal who had assassinated a British army official, and while they were trying to locate the criminal they located an ancient temple. There was a cow standing there and as they just opened the door the cow crumbled to dust and from the stomach of this cow came out the Sanskrit manuscript which was later known as “Bower manuscript”. This was the first proof to the fact that the Sanskrit manuscripts are very ancient which could exist in Central Asia. And it was also one of the major inspirations for Sir Aurel Stein to reach Central Asia and find out these facts.

Sir Aurel Stein extended the history of Sanskrit and the cultural interflow of the ancient world. The Northern route was not very much studied by him. He mainly concentrated on the Southern route. The Northern route was mainly manned by Tukharians. About two hundred dead bodies of these Tukharians have been found in a very worn condition and one could see the complexion of these Tukharians. They were the people who spoke a language similar to Dano-celtic family of language. Europeans by their own count were on the frontiers of China in the very first millennium B.C., hence whole of the ancient world was closely linked, and the discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein opened a new window to the history of mankind. They are not just the sands which are so important in Central Asia. The sands also are a tremendous pleasure to drive through. I have driven through these Central Asian sands, and all through we get the feeling that we are going to see an ocean. However, there is just the sand, and no water anywhere to be seen. So, after the retirement it becomes depressing sight because man, I think, is essentially wedded to water and not to sand.

Sir Aurel Stein’s major achievement is discovery of manuscripts of Dun-Huang. These manuscripts are being studied to this very day. They give an insight into the evolution of Chinese political strategies in Central Asia which are going to become very crucial in the next ten years. I don’t think that is only part of history what Stein has revealed to us but

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part of the historic process which still conditions the mind of man. The Chinese nuclear installations are all in Central Asia and, therefore, these areas are extremely important from the point of view of strategic implications in the future. The work of Sir Aurel Stein gave to us the very temperature and the topography of Central Asia. Too many things have been revealed by him which are relevant even today. His work in Dun-Huang caves revealed so many new languages. They gave a new vision to man of the interflow of the world, with East and the West. Formerly we had thought the Mongols had opened up the western gates; still we had thought that Alexander had opened the East to the West, but in these areas we find that before thousand B.C. there were close contacts between Tukharians and Chinese. Therefore, the whole world has been an international contact, more or less, where the horse was the uniting factor and not the wheels and aeroplanes. So the Garuda was not so important but the Horse was. The work of Sir Aurel Stein at Dun-Huang and the discoveries he made are still to be investigated and in another hundred years we still have to feel for him as a discoverer. Personally I am fascinated by his works from many points of view. He was led to all this by the images in the Lahore Museum- the Gandhara images. As a small child I had been to this museum with my father who almost visited every year twice and after having seen these images I had the feeling that Indians and Europeans have many things to share including meditation. I saw the meditating Gandharan images that left an everlasting impression in my mind; and I came to Buddhist Iconography because of the Gandharan images. I think the Gandharan images were very crucial in the life of Sir Aurel Stein. For example, his paintings and the drawings from Dun-Huang kept in the British Museum deserve to be studied. There are rough sketches of the artists which were never converted into paintings. There are many political statements in those sketches, and I see many political nuances in those sketches. And these nuances have been to me as valid in the Chinese Sinocentric view of the world at the time when they were done.

Dun-Huang means the “blazing beacon”. This was the last post of the Hun empire; and one can see the remnants of Hun wall, and it was

here that the Chinese came in touch with these people. It was here that they came in contact with Indians. The first Indian who went to this area to create the caves of Dun-Huang was called Lo-chau. I think the Indian equivalent word is Laxman. From which part he came is not mentioned but he was an Indian. He started the engineering of these caves; and the Chinese took them because it was a part of the defense preparedness to see that China is not invaded by the Barbarians. And they used to have their torches made of rice husk. They would start burning them in Dun-Huang, and it would take them eight hours to traverse about two thousand miles to Cha-an the ancient capital. Chinese had watch towers in this part of the world. These watch towers are strategically located even to the contemporary point of view. It was Stein who had studied these watch towers. I don't think they are purely archaeological. Archeology is not a discipline which exists in vacuum, but it is a part of life, and of course defence is also a part of life. In my view Stein did something which is going to condition life of our country at least for a century. His basic findings deserve to be put in a more modern context. Not only within the context of history, but within the context of Sanskrit studies as well. Stein was a great Sanskrit scholar, and one of the very few Europeans who wrote Sanskrit. As a great friend of my father, when he was going to Afghanistan he wrote to my father and my father went to see him in Lahore at the station. He was going to Afghanistan where he died. He used to write as "stena," which means a thief in Sanskrit. The Pandits pointed it to him, "why do you write "stena"? Then he started writing 'stena'. He should have really translated his name as *Ashmakai*, which means a stone. It would have been a better name. He in fact was a stone, a peter. "I am the rock" as St. Petre is supposed to have said when he went to Rome.

Thus, Stein was the bed-rock of India's archaeology, its history, its international relations as well as its strategic interest in Central Asia vis-a-vis China; and he called this area Sirindia. He opened the silk route, but the Chinese never traded in silk. This was, more or less, a Sutra route from where culture passed. So culture was the greatest pilgrim on this route; and there were people from China, people from

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Japan, people from Korea to traverse these regions. These regions are very hostile. It was an inhospitable land which posed a challenge. The way Stein was walking in the shoes of Alexander the great, it was really a challenge which was a part of his life. I would like to pay my homage to the great pilgrim, the great scholar, to the great adventurer and one who opened for us the new vision; and the vision is going to stand us in good stead in the years to come.



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# STEIN'S SEARCH FOR CODEX ARCHETYPUS

*P.N. Kachru*

*Rajatarangini*, practically the sole extant product in Sanskrit literature possessing the character of a true chronicle, had been eluding till Sir Aurel Stein the renowned Indologist barged upon the idea of discovering the source document. Though the casual hints and references like Dr. Bernier's *Histories of the Ancient Kings of Kachemire* had attracted attention of Aurel Stein, it were from the Persian chronicle of Haider Malik of Tsodur of Kashmir, who in turn had literally copied the source material from *Rajatarangini*. The summary of Kashmir rulers, during Jehangir's time, later after a century reproduced by Father Tieffenthaler in *Description de l'Inde* was nothing but the abridged rendering from Bernier. Gladwin's translation of *Ain-i-Akbari* did again refer to Kalhana's chronicle as a historical authority which passed through Stein's observation.

Sir William Jone's *Asiatic Researches* also did only refer to the chronicle. Colebrooke secured an incomplete and unsatisfactory Devnagari fascimile in Calcutta in 1805. Dr. H.H. Wilson's *Essay on Hindu History of Kashmir* published in *Asiatic Researches* in 1825 gave only a general character and a critical abstract of only six cantos, the source material being the defective transcription from Sharda to Devnagari script. Before the publication of Dr. Wilson's *Essay*, Moorcroft in 1823 had made successful endeavour, in Kashmir itself, to obtain better textual materials. He got a Devnagari transcript prepared from an old Sharda manuscript, later on found by Stein to be the Codex Archetypus of all extant Kashmirian manuscripts. In 1835 there appeared the editio-princep of *Rajatarangini* through Asiatic Society of Bengal, based on Moorcroft's Devnagari transcript. The versified colophon reproduced at the end of editio-princep reveals that the original manuscript from

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which the transcript was made for Moorcroft, had been in the possession of one learned Kashmirian, Pandit Sivaram, belonging to the lineage in Kashmir who exclusively and always preserved a copy of the Royal chronicles. The Pandit is praised, in the colophon, as the representative of this ancient family. This too failed to furnish critically reliable text of the chronicle due to unintelligible passages, faulty transcription from Sharda into Devnagari characters, and also due to Calcutta Pundits being unable to follow in many places the details of Kalhana's narrative owing to want of familiarity with the topography, traditions and other local lore of Kashmir. These facts had altered the entire text in an unscrupulous manner. But all the same even with this defective condition this text obtained from Kashmir was better compared to the transcriptions of Calcutta and Lucknow which formulated the basis for Dr. Wilson in 1825.

In 1840, A. Troyer, Principal, Calcutta Sanskrit College published on the basis of a preceding issue of editio-princeps, a French translation. This publication too inherited all the drawbacks of Calcutta edition. Besides, this too could not proceed beyond first six chapters. The grave mistakes in Troyer's work, as in the words of George Buhler, "has seldom been able to make out the meaning of the text except where Kalhana uses the simplest, plainest language." Besides, the main hurdles were the insufficiency of the material available to the European scholars for the comprehension of Kalhana's narratives which are connected with the history, topography, locale, shrines, spots, socio-economic conditions and local features of Kashmir.

It became clear for Stein to search for the trustworthy and authentic materials before the chronicle could be made available for critical and antiquarian study. There were no such attempts available until in 1875 the reputed Indologist and scholar, George Buhler visited Kashmir in search of Sanskrit manuscripts. This search was rewarded with memorable results in the history of Sanskrit philology. His *Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Kashmir*, 1877 glaringly reflected the lucidity with which he indicated the task concerning the *Rajatarangini* and the materials that were at hand for research. Through this search Prof. Buhler was able to prove the absolute

superiority of Kashmir manuscript over all the Devanagri transcripts. His assertion about the source of the manuscript was the single old Sharda manuscript in possession of Pandit Sivaram, from which Moorcroft had obtained Devanagri transcript, which resulted in the editio-princeps, called Calcutta edition, of 1835. Although the Professor was able to have only the glimpse of this “jealously guarded” Codex Archetypus, he opened the way for research and critical reconstitution of the genuine text. At the time of Prof. Buhler’s visit the Codex Archetypus was in the possession of Pandit Keshavram, the grandson of Pandit Sivaram.

Prof. Buhler’s Report opened up the direction for Aurel Stein, who earnestly and convincingly took the clues for his research from his friend, philosopher and guide. Forsaking and folding up all the second hand version transcripts, Stein decided to tap the source that was pinpointed by Prof. Buhler after his search and submission of the Report.

It was in the summer of 1888 that Stein crossed over to the valley with precise programme to reach to Codex Archetypus of all the Sharda manuscripts and their transcripts. Before starting the transcription and critical reconstitution, he felt it of great importance to delve into minute study of the ancient geography of Kashmir for the correct comprehension of Kalhana’s narrative. For the complete comprehension of nature and importance of incidents and localities, he studied the legendries, the *Mahatamyas* of Kashmir, *tirthas*, shrines and monasteries and other Kashmirian texts he discovered, including the *Nilmata Puran*. Regarding the difficulties arising from the peculiarities of the chronicler’s diction and style, he thought it necessary to pay close attention to the form of composition adopted by Kashmirian poets who immediately preceded and followed Kalhana. The whole summer of 1889, Stein devoted in delving deep into the flavour of Pandit society, tradition and local allusions, besides the rhetoric and Sanskrit Kavya of Kashmir. He writes: “a series of antiquarian tours in Kashmir allowed me to acquaint myself on the spot with the topography, archaeological remains, local customs and other realities of the country. They also furnished opportunities for the acquisition of manuscripts of those products of Kashmirian Sanskrit literature, like the *Nilmata*, the *Mahatamyas* (spiritual importance) of

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the numerous sacred sites. The poetical compositions of Kalhana's period were to be consulted carefully by the interpreter of the chronicle.

Stein's effort for physical location of the Codex Archetypus, firstly disappointed him to know that Pandit Keshavram, the owner, was already dead and secondly he received rudest of the shock to know that the manuscript was cut up and divided into three separate divisions to become the apportioned inheritance along with the division of movable and immovable property, amongst three sons of Pandit Keshavram. The scholar's first endeavours to secure permission to see and collate these portions resulted in failure. The actual owners, without appreciating the value of their possession adamantly resolved to maintain their non-cooperation. Stein's repeated endeavours and negotiations bore no fruit, and in this effort a complete year was wasted. Thus the scholar was left with no option excepting what he terms as "eastern diplomacy". He was successful finally in getting together the severed parts of the manuscript and getting it loaned to him. It was through the good offices of Honorable Pandit Suraj Kaul, C.I.E., then the member of Kashmir State Council, and his son Pandit Hari Krishan Kaul, who happened to be Stein's pupil and later on an officer of the Statutory Civil Service in Punjab, under whose powerful influence all the three parts of the manuscript were loaned to the scholar. Thus, exclaims Stein, "the disjecta – membra of the Codex Archetypus of *Rajatarangini* became once more for a time united in my hands." It proved to his satisfaction to contain all the eight books, *Tarangas* as Kalhana titled them, forming a large octavo volume of 328 folia of age old Kashmiri paper. The colophons attached to the manuscript mentioned the name of the sixteenth century aesthete, commentator and writer, Pandit Rajanka Ratnakantha who calls himself the son of Rajanka Shankarkantha of Dhaumyayana Gotra and an inhabitant of "the land which is purified by the dust from the lotus feet of Sharda", the Kashmir goddess of learning and knowledge.

The well known commentary by Ratanakantha on the Mahakavya, the Sanskrit epic poem Haravijay of ninth century Kashmiri poet Ratnakar, is a very well known contribution. The epic consists of fifty

cantos of 4351 verses. The original manuscript of the commentary with Ratanakantha's autograph was acquired by Sir Aurel Stein himself and marked as NO. 188 of his manuscript collection. *Lagupancika*, a commentary on the *Stutikusmanjali*, a devotional poetic text of Saiva persuasion by Jagadhara, and *Sarasamuccaya*, a commentary on Mamatta's aesthetics *Kavyaprakash*, are Ratanakantha's other important works besides other numerous collections which are supposed to be many more, he being a very fast writer besides a great scholar. The Codex Archetypus in question, is known to have been copied by Ratanakantha for his own personal collection, which fortunately enough was salvaged from the cruel dismemberment arisen out of the division of inheritance and property. Thus this single existent document of the art of history and chronicle writing in India went for its permanent documentation and its publication first in 1892 and finally in two volumes in 1900.

While on its sojourn to London in 1890 Codex had a miraculous escape when Aurel Stein's suitcase carrying the manuscript dropped overboard in Ostende harbour through the carelessness of a porter, and the case was recovered with difficulty. Fortunately the Codex survived this catastrophe; and Sir Aurel Stein exclaimed "the soaking with sea water left no perceptible trace in the Codex. Kashmir paper of the old make stands immersions of this remarkably well and the ink used to this day by Kashmirian Pandits for their Sanskrit manuscripts is in no way affected by water". In the end, while returning their own respective parts to the owners, Aurel Stein exclaims "the owners when they received back in 1892 their respective parts had no inkling of *Abhisheka* (the royal inauguration) their household talisman had undergone" at the foreign harbour.

So today, while standing in the beginning of twenty first century we are here celebrating a century of its publication by paying our tribute to Sir Aurel Stein, the saviour of the tradition of history writing in India.

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## STEIN - THE HUNGARIAN SCHOLAR

*Margit Koves*

In his *A Holiday Journey to Srinagar* which was published in 1889 and in German as *A Green Paradise – the Happy Valley*, which was something in contrast to his Lahore surrounding. It took more than ten years for Stein to work on the manuscript of *Rajatarangini*, and checking on the sources and other evidence. Stein examined new historical details with information and new discoveries, elaborated material and several articles. He also discussed his material in the context of evolution, concentrating on the moments of great transition state and religion and the modes of production, the agricultural mode of production and tribal mode of production. These were new considerations in the area which were elaborated by ethnologists like Morgan in second half of nineteenth century. The discovery of the Indo-Aryan family of languages was also incorporated in Stein's research work. The relationship between old Persian and Sanskrit, the possibility of shared past is one of his earliest subjects. Stein also utilised the historic-cultural framework of Hun-Hungarian kinship which was in fact invented by Western chroniclers, perpetrated by Hungarian Romantics and later on, taken up by Yanoshodoi.

In order to find out how contemporary cultural period is reflected in Stein's earlier phase from 1889-1899, three pieces of his works are discussed here. These three pieces are two articles from his old Persian religious literature which are his early articles published in 1885. His inaugural lecture in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was on "Huns in the History of Central Asia" and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. The material for the articles also was shaped. He re-published a research work on the personal directive, for it was meant for Hungarian and English readers. While Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* incorporated the results of his

research in systematic order, the Hungarian articles had the informality of new discoveries and even hypotheses as depicted in his lectures on white Huns. Persian religious literature and articles written in Hungarian were a summary of Stein's research on old Persian manuscripts in Oxford and Cambridge in 1884-85. Its publication in 1885 coincided with the publication of third part of Nitshe's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. Nitshe used the Persian feeling for his philosophical teaching and thus showed how in the second part of nineteenth century German and Hungarian literature permeated through sources from the East. Nitsche and Goethe whom Stein quotes in the articles were very known to Hungarian readers, because both German and Hungarian were spoken in Hungary at that time; and Goethe's collected works were available in every library. Stein quotes from the notes, "though the cities of Balkh and Bamiyan lie so close to each other still in one of them the preparation and adoration of the most vulgar ideas could be seen by their standard temples of pure fire". This then in consonance with eighteenth century scholarship ascribes the purity to Zoroastrians and vulgarity to Indian polytheism. Stein also connected two cultures Balkh and Bactria of the Greeks, and describes a complex relationship between the *Rig Veda* and other stuff. He suggests that archaeology is an area that may provide further clues about the Zoroaster and the sources of Zoroastrianism. In a similar way the monuments of Persipolis reveal the history of Persia and about Archameanidic kingdoms.

Research on the most ancient Persian text, the *Avesta* and Hindu scripture, the *Rig Veda* initiated the work on comparative linguistics and comparative mythology. Stein was aware of Max Muller's work in this area and probably must have read Ignat Gortier who mentions earlier book *Hebres Myths* published in 1876, which was critical of Max Muller's theory. In the context of comparative mythology Stein underlines the role of the Gathas. Stein also sketches the process of spread of religion and connects the theories of historio-cultural developments to the spread of Zoroastrianism. In the first phase he depicted the change from nomadic raising to cattle-keeping while in the second phase there

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was further change to the agricultural settlement and the developed system of *Ghauas*. The Acheaminic kingdom defined by Stein as “national empire”, took shape as a result of the alliance between Zoroastrians and the political power. The link between nation and politics records the utopian ideas of lawyer and liberal minister of education Urtahash with standard nation and political power in Hungary in the end of the nineteenth century.

Kalhana’s *Rajatarangini* is a historical chronicle which Stein examined together with the corresponding Arabic, Chinese and other sources, as well as the archaeological and numismatic data and also Kashmiri folklore. Stein’s references are also connected with Central Asia which Stein elaborated in a different way in his lecture at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1897 before the publication of Kalhana’s *Rajatarangini* in 1900. The text of *Rajatarangini* implied that several layers of material edited lay buried in Central Asia waiting to be uncovered and identified. The chronicle of Kashmir contains passages about the Kushan Kings Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka describing them as members of Turushka tribe, which Stein explains as the Turkish tribe, the White Huns or they are called by the Armenian sources the *Epthalites* or *Huingnus* by the Chinese sources. These are later passages in the text which are similarly described by Hiuen Tsang and also from the oral tradition of Kashmir. Kalhana also describes a victory of Kashmiri forces over the Tukharas. Stein identifies the Tukharas with the Turkish tribe, who were also described by the Chinese pilgrim Ou-Kong as the Turkish in the Orkhon inscriptions of the seventh century. The discoveries of Orkhonic inscriptions were found in 1889 and deciphered in 1893. Most of geographic locations in Kalahana’s *Rajatarangini* were also identified by Stein. In the introduction, and the notes of his publication, Stein refers to all these new sites, but he does not mention the possible link to the pre-historic Hungarian, i.e. the history of Hungary before the conquest of recent territories. Stein’s account of Kalhana’s depiction of his countrymen is perhaps the most interesting passage of the Introduction. Stein takes up Kalhana’s description of various classes, the predominance



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of land-owning classes, Damaras who created imbalance in political power and also weighed heavily on the cultivators. Kalhana depicts with great amount of humour the greed and corruption of official class, the Kayasthas and expressed his contempt for the Brahmins, the priestly class who would wield enormous political power, and resort to fast. Stein depicts the cowardice of Kashmirian soldiery in a satirical way and portrays the indifference of Kalhana. The author is represented by Stein as a modern writer with independent means, without patronage or direct political interest. Kalhana portrays his contemporaries in a compelling way with the knowledge of an insider. In Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* Stein presents a fascinating material not only with an equal interest in study and knowledge he utilised in the course of his Central Asia exploration, but also as a literary critic, well versed in Sanskrit and European literature and with a total understanding of the social problems in Kashmir. *A Holiday Journey to Srinagar* written by Stein in Germany in 1889, is an account of the search for the manuscript and the visual description of Kashmir "the great paradise". The two pieces are two different ways of treatment of the same material- a scientific report and a popular travelogue. In his later works also Stein followed the same line.

Stein's inaugural lecture in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on White Huns and related tribes in India, was presented in 1897. It coincided with the millennium celebrations in Hungary, the celebration of the occupation of the present day territory of Hungary by the Hungarian tribes. It is proved that Hungarian belongs to Phenogrian family of languages. In his lecture Stein used the unpublished material of *Rajatarangini* to suggest that there is a possible link between the white Huns and Hungarians. It was proved several times during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and just before this lecture in 1873 by a Buddhist linguist that Hungarian has no link to the Turkish languages. It is also true that political organisation and the material culture of the Hungarian tribes were most probably similar to the nomadic Turkish tribes. Now the Hungarian pre-history can be looked at the purely scientific version.

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It means it depends more on how we think of relation to the Hun-Turkish contact or of the phenogrian contact. It is not purely scientific version, because in Hungary at the end of nineteenth century this question was standing at the touch stone of nationalism. Vambéry who occupied the Chair of Turkish studies, for example, advocated an organic kinship between the Turks and Hungarians. Stein, in his lecture on White Huns and related tribes in India examined the historical processes of the transformation of the nomadic society over to a group with a settled way of life. The Kushan and the White Hun tribes went through this transformation; and the major achievements were attainment of literacy and adoption of forms of worship. Coins used by the Kushans showed that they had adopted the Iranian element, Iranian titles, Zoroastrian religion and Greek script. According to Chinese sources, the White Huns had no script, they lived in tents and followed the system of polyandry besides adopting the worship of Shiva which reflects the influence of Hindu culture. In a leap year book in 1933 on ancient Central Asia tracks, Stein examined the similar problem in the context of Uighurs and the Sogdian elements in the Turfan basin. The tribes there used to sleep together. While some of them kept wandering, some lived a settled mode of life. In the four centuries of Uighur rule a rich multifaceted culture was created with a multiplicity of religions characterised by continuous exchange of ideas and a flourishing trade. The acquisition of script from the Sogdians benefited Uighurs. Stein underlines the capacity of a group of people to take over the cultural achievements of another group and extend the political influence over the conquered people. He had similar view of the Turkish ruling elements among Hungarians in the first millennium who conquered the present day territory of Hungary and help settle the people living in this area. He also brought the attention of the representatives of the Turkish studies during his Academy lecture to the possibility of discovering the Turkish element in the Hun-Hunish data.

Stein's lecture in the Hungarian Academy with an additional example of his command over his material was an important juncture of his life when he received a rare academic distinction at a relatively young age,

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and he was also hoping for a position in the Indo-European Comparative Linguists in the University. And it was a politically charged atmosphere to introduce his new archaeological and historical data in a way which satisfied the norms of academic honesty. He elaborated the notions of state, religion and tribal structure as well as nation as a whole consistent with influential cultural theories of his time. Within the framework of both the Hunish-Hungarian relationship as well as ethnological studies at the end of nineteenth century, he presented material evidence entirely in the context of Central Asian nomadic tribes. But at the same time, consistent with his eastern diplomacy he also did not disappoint the believers in the relationship of Turkish and Hungarian languages and, therefore, he suggested them to try to establish a contact through the Huns.

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# CSOMA KÖRÖS: HIMALAYAN HERMIT OR NATIONALISTIC ACTIVIST?

*P.J. Marczell*

From about 1823 to his death in April 1842, the Siculo-Hungarian pioneer of modern Tibetan studies devoted nearly two decades to his specialisation.<sup>1</sup> To use the modern jargon, roughly half of this time was spent on fieldwork, the other half being used mainly for data processing, collateral studies and the preparation of a trip to Central Asia via Sikkim and Tibet. This project, which took a contractual form at a fairly early stage, had started in present day Jammu and Kashmir, passed its critical hurdles in Ladakh - Zaskar in two rounds and reached its basic objectives in Kinnaur late in 1830. It aimed at the preparation of a Tibetan dictionary and grammar, to be extended to Tangut, if possible. It also covered Tibetan science, geography, religion, history, literature and culture, and entailed the collection of “specimen texts” (i.e. literary extracts and material samples like MSS and xylographs). Editing and publishing took place in Calcutta under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (ASB- They were delayed by the exploitation-prone Secretary of that learned institution, the concomitant burden of cataloguing Tibetan matter flowing in from Nepal, the shortage of funds and the lack of adequate founts). At its completion, all this long work was followed by what in hindsight could be called sabbatical leave. The break provided the opportunity to concentrate on Sanskrit, the original language of the Tibetan canonical scripts, and also to improve fluency in Bengali, the local language. It lasted almost two years, spent mainly near Siliguri close to both Nepal and Bhutan, but ended again in Calcutta through the appointment to the post of librarian in ASB. Csoma relinquished this modestly paid yet widely coveted position in May 1841 in favour of a plan to tour Central Asia, to be approached, with stops for research,

through Sikkim and Tibet. He died of fever on his way at Darjeeling, still in British Indian territory, while waiting for the Sikkimese clearance.

His character, incentives and achievements have been described and interpreted chiefly by admirers, especially in Hungary and present day Romania, with strong echos from India. The result is a hagiography stimulating a cult with plenty of feedback down to the present. Of course, hagiographies are what they are. Here suffice it to say that in celebrations of the icon, the most popular banners show a terrific patriot setting out against all odds in search of (the land of) his ethnic ancestors or depict the unflinching “peregrinus” / pilgrim scholar / weather beaten wanderer / enterprising traveller, they also venerate the hermit hero and invoke the European Bodhisattva, praising the staunch idealist all through. The present paper provides a brief overview of these aspects before making its point in stressing, to both complement and contrast, Kőrös’s involvement in “the Bengali Renaissance” through orientalist militancy extended to the spread of public education in the vernaculars. The fascinating north eastern Indian background is well known in the subcontinent but not elsewhere and it had been missing from Csoma’s picture before the author’s 1992 commemorative lectures in Paris, Budapest and Calcutta eventually published in Hungarian but not in English. The exposé is kept fairly short though confining much information to the notes. The motivated reader, however, might find it worth his or her while taking a look at these as well.

### **THE QUEST FOR A “CRADLE”**

Perhaps the most pungent ingredient in the nationalistic tonic of Csoma Kőrös’s legend is his epitaph devised in 1859 by the reformist, Count István Széchenyi (1791-1860), a major figure in Hungarian history on his own: “Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, a poor lonely Hungarian, without money or public acclaim, but inspired by determination and staunch patriotism, who sought to find the cradle of Hungarian people, finally succumbed to the fatigues of his journey here. He sleeps with his everlasting dream far from his homeland, but lives still in the heart of every good Hungarian.” It is unusually convincing because heart-felt in

glorifying the exemplary self-sacrifice of an underprivileged yet worthy marginal - to be ranked as a nearly contemporaneous saint martyr.<sup>2</sup> The message alludes to no achievement, neither does it credit its laureate with any success. It resorts to several metaphors and stereotypes dramatised by a twist, e.g., cradle; traveller of a peculiar kind; fatal outcome; tragic separation in space transcended by pious remembrance. All these deserve comments.<sup>3</sup>

Csoma Kőrös, who rightfully signed his most prestigious publications as Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, Siculo-Hungarian of Transylvania, claimed that his nation was a tribe of those Hungarians who settled in ancient Dacia in the 4th century A.D. Despite the affinity between the Hungarian and the Finnish languages established as from the end of the 18th century, he thought that they were related to the Huns and more specifically to the “Yoogurs” / “Yoogars”, whose “land he believed to be to the East and North of Lassa and the province of Kham, and on the western confines of China.”<sup>4</sup>

In support of these assumptions, he had many respectable references.<sup>5</sup> However, his beliefs have been proved to be unlikely by mainstream linguists, if not by many ethno-musicologists and students of comparative ethnography.

The underlying questions of great complexity have been so hotly debated ever since that the quarrel would deserve an anthropological assessment. As a collective idiosyncrasy, it may be ascribed to the complexes of a nation of Eastern origin in a Slavonic setting, a foreign enclave in Central Europe.

According to consensus based on studies of vocabulary and structure, the Hungarian language as such should be considered 3 000 years old and undoubtedly a Finno-Ugrian one (linked to Finnish, Estonian, etc.). Nevertheless, when moving East over the Ural from the area of the Volga-Kama confluence, its speakers had adopted a typically Turkish way of life. In other words, from the 5th century A.D. on, they had come close to, and mixed with, Turki and other groups, some of whom accompanied them in their westward migration to their present

settlement reached around 895. Parts of their former coalitions had remained in the East and were dispersed, assimilated or wiped out by the Mongol Empire founded by Genghis Khan in the 13th century. Significant Turki and Iranian groups also sought refuge in Hungary during the Middle Ages.

As motley ethnic coalitions / tribal unions can have no common origin and homeland, it does not make much sense to look for their common “cradle” or geographic base. Attempts at tracing back the lineage of a long-standing nomadic people to a precisely fixed origin in the absence of written records can lead only to conjectures, at best, or otherwise to dreams. However, there is harm neither in trying to check complex theories, nor in visiting faraway countries that may reveal links, provided a distinction is made between random parallels / coincidences and true traces / indicators. In this context, one should also recognize that in popular beliefs held among the Uyghurs and even the Mongols down to the present, the Hungarians are kinsmen. Byzantine sources, the first Hungarian Chronicles and many much later authors conveyed the same impression.<sup>6</sup>

Csoma Kőrös’s patriotic interest in Tibetan stemmed from the assumptions that Tibet had been a refuge for persecuted people(s) carrying with them their most precious documents and that these writings were carefully stored in monasteries, as attested by the vast corpus of religious translations from Sanskrit. He presumed that the highland sanctuary also kept texts on the migration of Indo-European peoples, on groups the latter had encountered in their wanderings, and even on other nomads, like Mongols and Turks. Such records have been discovered by Paul Pelliot and other explorers of Dung Huang, and their analysis is still in progress. Nevertheless, Csoma was wrong in attributing to Tibet during the period when he was accompanying W. Moorcroft a much more ancient recorded history than it is warranted by our present state of knowledge. At that time he was misled by Moorcroft’s gift, the *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, composed by Antonio Agostino Giorgi (1711-1794) and published in 1762 in Rome. This should not diminish his merits.

### THE PILGRIM SCHOLAR

In contrast to neighbouring Prague (1347), Vienna (1365) and Cracow (1364), the first university in Hungary took shape under episcopal patronage in present-day Slovakia (Nagyszombat / Trnava) as late as 1768-70. It changed status and moved to Buda (Budapest now) fairly soon afterwards. Prior to this development, so belated that it is a national shame, those Hungarians who wanted the benefit of an advanced education had to go abroad. They were mainly would-be clergymen, at least on paper, who matriculated at the theological faculties. In the 16th-17th centuries, most of the Catholics went to Vienna and Rome, the Calvinists enrolled at Heidelberg and subsequently at the Dutch universities; it was only at the end of the 18th century that their flow to the politically conservative Göttingen gained momentum. In the preferences of Lutherans, Wittenberg had been the earlier choice but it was superseded by Jena and Halle with the advent of Pietism. Those happy few who could afford it, shifted from one centre of learning to another, making other trips on the side.

In German speaking countries where it has survived to the present, the ideal of such programs is called “Bildungsreise(n)” [= Formative travel(s)]. The elegant term in post-medieval Latin is “peregrinatio academica” and those who undertook foreign studies were titled “peregrinus”. [*< per ager / per eger; pp. peregrinatus (=having travelled)*]. For Hungarians deprived of a university of their own until an advanced phase of the European enlightenment, its prestige can be compared to that of a *hajji / hadji* among the Muslims (the adept who has made the *hajj / hadj*, the pilgrimage to Mecca). Poor students felt no shame in raising funds for their “peregrinatio” by preaching in friendly parishes and knocking at the doors of patrons; peddling books to improve their finances was also taken for a matter of course, and to reduce costs, they walked, welcoming lifts.

By realising the “peregrinus” model to the full, as he did not cease to peregrinate from one stronghold of learning to another until his death, Csoma became an archetype. This awareness must have given him a lot



of strength. It may well explain much of his odd mixture of great humility and extreme arrogance.<sup>7</sup>

In its primary meaning, a pilgrim [word taken from the Middle Latin *peregrinus*] is “a person who undertakes a journey to a sacred place as an act of religious devotion” - says the dictionary. One needs this reminder to appreciate the ambiguities in the title of W.W. Hunter’s seminal, centenary biography of Csoma which, however, did not elaborate on his qualifying the Sicilian pioneer “A Pilgrim Scholar”. Instead of clarifying his concept, he resorted to associations from the classics, comparing Csoma at Darjeeling to the aged Ulysses, who “had become a name for always roaming with a hungry heart; and though made weak by time and fate, yet strong in will, he resolved ‘to follow knowledge like a sinking star’”.<sup>8</sup>

Whatever we may think of it, the label “Pilgrim Scholar” stuck as an epitheton ornans. It should pinpoint rather than cloud the fact that Csoma had a purpose which he confirmed over and over again. He wanted to localize the original territory of his mythic forefathers by two methods, viz., with the help of texts and live informants, on the one hand and by getting to the spot on foot, or by any other, more suitable means of transportation, on the other hand. His German university had provided both the romantic spirit and the models for such a project through one of its most famous professors, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, who encouraged his students to explore the sources of major rivers and other goals in the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere. His enthusiasm had been inspired by James Cook’s maritime exploits and was kindled by contributions mainly from Britain. However, it took so heavy a toll that despite its sensational results, it was petering out by the time Csoma fell under its spell.

In India, following back a venerated river to its source is a pilgrimage, one of the most saintly undertakings. Let us insist on the difference. At Göttingen, Csoma’s analogous search for the origin of his people must have been taken for the foolhardy adventure of a late disciple, whereas in religious India it appeared as a passionate pilgrimage. One can easily tell which stand was the more congenial to the Seckler.<sup>9</sup>

In their record keeping on Csoma, the East India Co. bureaucracy adopted the alternate usages “philologuer” and “enterprising traveller”. Both were correct, especially if combined. However, the latter is a misnomer if it is construed to imply that the gentleman was a nomad or that he would fit contemporary British Indian categories. Enough has been said above about the Seckler’s culturally determined type of mobility. Yet he should be further differentiated from the well known Himalayan models of geographic surveyors, like the Scottish Gerard brothers (Alexander, 1792-1839, Patrick, 1794-1848 and James Gilbert, 1795-1835), and their protective friends, the Fraser brothers (James Baillie, 1783-1856 and William, 1784-1835) or Captain R. Boileau Pemberton (1798-1840). His approach had not much in common either with those of botanist explorers like Dr. William Griffith (1810-45), the French Victor Jacquemont (1801-32) or the Austrian Anselm Hügel (1796-1870). His provincial drive of an oppressed lonely folk can bear no comparison to the utilitarian quests of his first Himalayan sponsor, the very special, extremely commercial minded imperialist, William Moorcroft (1767-1825). Of course, in a sense they were all crazy, constantly staking their health and their lives in particularly adverse physical, material and political conditions. For what? The elation of penetrating into worlds beyond the charted confines?<sup>10</sup>

### **THE HERMIT HERO**

Although Csoma Kőrös’s perception is not associated with such mythical stereotypes as the ever wandering Jew or the Flying Dutchman, long-haul travel and the visit of many hardly accessible exotic places are essential to the aura of the man. They seem to be incompatible with the image of a sage shunning human contacts for the benefit of meditation in unperturbed seclusion. Yet this is the way he has been described by a host of biographers. Among these Hirendra Nath Mukerjee called him Hermit-Hero from Hungary in the subtitle of his commemorative book. The description continues to echo through the work of later authors.<sup>11</sup>

This portrayal goes back to a very successful pamphlet by Dr. James Gilbert Gerard, who launched an energetic campaign in defence of the

Sicilian scholar at a critical moment. He paid a visit to Csoma in September 1828 at Kanam, Kinnaur, and was impressed by the Hungarian's perseverance in the pioneering Tibetan project which he had started about eight years earlier with Moorcroft. He must have realised that his host was finishing his program with poor prospects for further backing and that even the publication of his results was at stake. Any remedy for this situation required strong pressure on both the government and ASB. Thanks to his connections, the surgeon could alert and mobilise the elite for a happy ending by a dramatic letter to be publicized by the Frasers. That was exactly what he did. The press relayed his compassionate plea all over the world. He made his hero a model of self sacrifice and a paragon of Spartan self abnegation fired by the ideals of high scholarship.

His message, stressing biting cold, penury and solitude, deserves extensive quotations, as has been demonstrated by W.W. Hunter. In Kanam, "the cold is very intense, and all last winter he [the Seckler] sat at his desk wrapped up in woollens from head to foot, and from morning to night, without an interval of recreation or warmth, except that of his frugal meals, which are one universal round of greasy tea." Things had been even worse in 1823/24 at Zangla, where "he, the Lama [his guru], and an attendant, were circumscribed in an apartment nine feet square for three or four months." ... The cold made "it a task of severity to extricate the hand from their fleecy resort to turn over the pages." The worthy "appears, like one of the sages of antiquity, living in the most frugal manner and taking no interest in any object around him, except his literary avocations; which, however, embrace the religions of the countries around him. ... In his conversations and expressions he is frequently disconsolate, and betrays it in involuntary sentiment, as if he thought himself forlorn and neglected." This despondency could be compared to the despair of Christ.

Hunter, however, gives it a Buddhist parallel. He depicts his Siculo-Hungarian hero bearing his Temptation in the Wilderness, alone and hungered, like Buddha; but without angels bringing comfort after his struggles with the Doubting Enemy of mankind.

The portrait is confirmed in several posthumous recollections. In his official communication on the Hungarian's death, Dr. Archibald Campbell reports that his effects included "the suit of blue clothes which he always wore and in which he died. ... His food was confined to tea, of which he was very fond, and plain boiled rice of which he ate very little. On a mat on the floor with a box of books on the four sides, he sat, ate, slept, and studied, never undressed at night, and rarely went out during the day. He never drank wine or spirit, or used tobacco or other stimulants." The negotiator, who obtained the Darjeeling tract from the Sikkim Raja, Col. G. W. A. Lloyd, recalls that in 1836-37 the Tibetologist lived at Titalya on 7 to 8 rupees a month and was absorbed all the time in the study of Sanskrit, Marathi and Bengali. Théodore-Marie Pavie, the successor to Eugène Burnouf as Professor of the languages and literatures of India at the Collège de France, Paris, testifies in the same vein: "I saw him often during my stay in Calcutta, absorbed in phantastic thoughts, smiling at the course of his own ideas, taciturn like the Brahmins, who, bending over their writing desks, are employed in copying texts of Sanskrit. His room had the appearances of a cell, which he never left except for walks in the corridors of the building." A still later (1854) reminiscence from one of the Seckler's schoolmates, depicts the young comrade wearing always the same sort of clothes, never taking sweets or alcoholic drinks, sleeping on the bare ground or wooden floor, training through such exercises and fasting for the hardships of his projected journey.

Whatever be the case, Csoma's much publicized self denial might well be determined by Himalayan preconditions and traumatising financial insecurity on subsistence level entailing the risk of zero income ahead. That they had nothing to do with self-mortification is demonstrated by the scholar getting himself an oven as soon as he could. Incidentally, this very fact discredits outlandish presumptions about the Magyar lexicographer having been initiated in the yogic generation of heat from his own body (*tumol*).<sup>12</sup>

Anyway, the picture is too simplistic to be true. It is based on mutually reinforcing fragments of partial information, contradicted by other

reports. In his quoted letter, Col. Lloyd observes, for instance, that Alexander Csoma did not accept his invitation to remain in his house, “as he thought his eating and living with me would cause him to be deprived of the familiarity and society of the natives, with whom it was his wish to be colloquially intimate.” Jacquemont, who called twice on the famous “Secunder Begh” of Transylvania at Kanam, noted his excellent knowledge of local social conditions and his great popularity blended with high respect in the village. Clearly, there was no need for the famous “Iskander Beg” to go out to meet people, as visitors were not lacking. In Major Archer’s account, he received and helped a whole group of natives coming a long way to see him. In Calcutta, S.C. Malan, who became his pupil, encountered him early in the morning out of town in a garden.<sup>13</sup> In central Park Street, where he had his rooms, he handled the incoming and outgoing parcel post of the Asiatic Society library and museum and took apparently also care of selling the institution’s publications. This involvement will be discussed in its political setting at the end of the present paper.

The praise of the hermit-hero is often linked with the veneration of the honorary monk, which stems from the belief that during his fieldwork, the Sicilian researcher lived in lamaseries. This is a misunderstanding. The monastery in which he was supposed to stay in 1823-24 at Zangla is non-existent; in 1825-26 he probably spent most of his time in the family domain of his guru at Testa on the Kargyak River, not to be confused with Phuktal (Phug dar) Gonpa overlooking the Tsarap River; and at Kanam he had a well attested “hamlet” for more than three years. In 1836-37 at Titalya he rented a cheap hut. Yet poetry is free to transcend reality, as with Lajos Áprily, in whose poignant vision the Transylvanian pilgrim disappeared as if engulfed by the giant range of the monastic Himalayas.<sup>14</sup>

### **THE BODHISATTVA**

What made the bonzes who ran Taisho University in an outskirt of Tokyo adopt as Bosatsu a little man from Transylvania, even if he combined the virtues of a pilgrim scholar, a poor but determined and resourceful hiker seeking the origin of his ethnic group, a Himalayan

hermit and a pioneer of modern Tibetan studies? Especially if we consider that the designate himself had no contacts with Japan whatever.

Apparently, Csoma embodied threatened Japanese ideals on the power of will over materialism. His great feat of opening up Buddhism to the West had to be imitated without sectarian or racial considerations. The claim to an official “sanctification”, however, is so extravagant that few people have given it full credit. And outside Nippon, who can appraise the significance of the honour?

The Hungarian representative at the alleged ritual of recognition on 23 February 1933 covered the event as both the official envoy of the Hungarian Oriental Society and a professional reporter. As a cosmopolitan journalist and editor in foreign affairs, he was known for his exalted ideas and elated style and records show that he liked to borrow money without paying his debts. The Bodhisattva celebration seems to have been his brainchild supported by a dubious society set up only one year earlier. Strangely (or typically) enough, today precious little is known of his life and true identity behind the pseudonym Félix Vály. Facing these facts and the contemporary political background, I had felt very sceptical of the authenticity of the Buddhist status until it was confirmed to me orally by the Professor of Chinese Buddhism from Taisho University in a corridor at the very end of the 35th ICANAS Congress, Budapest, 7-12 July 1997. Unfortunately, this very friendly contact has failed to generate further information.<sup>15</sup>

### **THE MILITANT ORIENTALIST OF THE BENGAL RENAISSANCE**

The almost twelve years spent in Bengal by Alexander Csoma Kőrös (from May 1831 until his death) coincided with the period of socio-cultural revival known as the Indian Renaissance. This renewal started in Calcutta from where it spread all over the sub-continent. It was manifest in literature, language, social organisation, political expectations, religious beliefs and manners, often with the hallmarks of the Brahma Samaj and other competing or complementary forums. One of its major focal points

was the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the first important learned society of its kind and a model of liberal scientific thinking and outward looking attitudes. Renowned as a prestigious club of independent means, it successfully pursued any path it felt appropriate. Most of its members belonged to an elite composed of men whom we should call brilliant amateurs, versatile army officers, senior government officials, learned clergymen and high-flying socialites, if they lived today. They broke new ground in research by drawing upon the resources available to “the antiquarian, the linguist, the traveller and the naturalist” in their part of the world.

Csoma worked officially under their auspices throughout his stay in Bengal so much so that he was intimately linked to their projects. The latter became strongly politicized in 1835, when the Governor General of India in Council, Lord Bentinck, reversed the policy of the East India Co., which had encouraged traditional scholarship in India by pecuniary aid but otherwise had not interfered with education. Backed by Evangelical and Utilitarian pressure groups, Sir William decided that “... the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and ... all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.” As a result, the expenditure on stipends to students of Arabic and Sanskrit for 12 or 15 years came to an end and the publication of selected works in those languages (including the Mahabharata) stopped immediately. James Prinsep, the successor of H.H. Wilson as ASB secretary, and many of his friends, disagreed and counter attacked. They brought their case to the Court of Directors back in London, but to little effect. They also alerted their contacts world-wide to the conflict and continued the publication program of Sanskrit and Arabic classics using their own funds. This burden strained the budget of their learned institution to the utmost. To make things worse, the Presidency’s economy lapsed into crisis through spectacular commercial failures and concomitant bankruptcies. In order to keep afloat, ASB had to tap the international market. This imperative depended not only on heroic leadership and strategic connections but also on menial

tasks and manual inputs in a reputedly snobbish and lazy environment. In the light of the autograph letters published in the Appendix for the first time, the vital marketing and handling functions were taken care of by the would be Bodhisattva Csoma on his return from the North. The librarian also participated in editing the orientalist's emblematic annual, the *Asiatic Researches*. He shared some of these chores with an illustrious member of the famous Tagore dynasty, Babu Herambanath Thakur.

The Transylvanian could understand fully well the ASB executive committee's "conviction that the improvement of the vernacular dialects, nay the very grammatical formation of them, required the cultivation and preservation of the parent and classical languages". He must have also shared their fears that the neglect of oriental studies would free the way to the demoralisation and debasement in the native institutions and perpetuate superstition and defective morality among the people. The whole issue must have reminded him of the Hungarian resistance to the absolutist regime of Joseph II (1780-90). In 1784, that monarch imposed German as sole official language under his rule, making non-German native tongues, like Hungarian, marginal. Public indignation against such a humiliating move had stirred up patriotic feelings, given momentum to the renewal of the Hungarian language and literature and sparked off a revival of nationalistic traditions. On his deathbed, Joseph II cancelled most of his radical reforms, including discrimination among languages. But the coercive nature of his orders continued until 1825 under the conservative reign of Francis II (1792-1835). It was from this world that Csoma had fled in search of the roots and ancestry of his people in a pursuit that was as passionate as it was unrealistic.

### **THE EXPATRIATE VERNACULARIST**

By common consent, the Hungarian enlightenment started with the poet György Bessenyei proclaiming in 1772: "It was in its native tongue that each nation has become intelligent." This awareness sparked off intensive work to prove the equality of the native tongue in comparison with German and Latin, the latter being preferred as a bypass to the former. It went hand in glove with the improvement of technical and



scientific knowledge. Public education played a critical rôle in the process. The shortage of good teachers was offset by “monitorial” methods as propagated by Andrew Bell, who had derived his system from children playing in Madras. By his formula, advanced pupils in a school taught those below them.

It was within such a frame that Csoma was trained at his school at Nagyenyed (now Aiud in Rumania). He was also familiar with the success of the model with French liberal aristocrats. Such an experience and intelligence enabled him to help design curricula and schoolbooks in Bengal. His bequest to ASB of part of his collection of personal reading before the start of his terminal tour, points to this kind of input. The donation contains eight French reports on, and teaching aids for, primary education, all from 1840. As the scholar had no family in France, a country he never visited, even if he had a predilection for French authors, one may presume that his interest in the field had local impetuses.

The decisive impulse might have come from Dewan Ramcomul Sen, the native secretary and accountant with ASB. The “babu” had been close to the Seckler since the latter’s arrival at Calcutta, it was he who paid his salary and bills of expenses incurred under his duties with the library. He was the one who master-minded and pushed the “patsala” scheme with the native managers of the Hindu College. Under this project, Bengali classes were attached to the mainly English-speaking elite institution. Each admitted boys of five to ten years of age. The model had to be propagated all over the country. The network so obtained could then impart the knowledge of the West to many at low cost through the vernacular by improved methods, using text-books brought in line with those in Europe. It was to train young native Moherers, Munshis, teachers, tahsildars, sircars, etc., enabling those who could afford it, to graduate to higher English education. In his search for European blueprints, Ramcomul Sen went as far as to enlist the assistance of his protector and former boss, H.H. Wilson, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, whom he asked to send a set of school books worth 100 rupees to him. For French precedents and ideas, he could rely on

the Hungarian librarian with whom he was in constant touch and with whom he had much in common.<sup>16</sup>

### SUMMING UP

The above paper is a scrutiny of the most formidable European hagiography relating to the Himalayas. Its overview of Csoma Kőrös's mythical facets reveals that these correspond to culturally pre-conditioned stereotypes. In fact, a careful reconstruction of the hero's biography shows that he acted consciously a whole set of legendary rôles and tried to avail himself of their advantages with varying success. These foibles, however, do not diminish his pioneering achievements in Tibetology and Buddhism, for which he paid dearly. The way in which he described himself in two crucial moments is unassuming, straightforward and simple. I have quoted in footnote one of the two confessions in full. Its moving authenticity would deserve another cult than the prevailing one, which, however, offers a psycho-sociological interest of its own. It reveals on a small European nation, within which many entertain nostalgia for a Central Asian origin and enjoy sympathy from the remote East. Out of this belief have come schools of Turkologists and Mongolists such as few other countries can boast of.

*(The author is thankful to Mr. Neil Howard for having read the full text and for suggesting corrections. Of course, all the errors, which may still remain, are author's).*

### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. From "Siculus in Latin, Székely in Hungarian, Székler in German and other continental languages", as pointed out by Duka, Theodore M.D. 1885. *Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*. London: Trübner & Co., p. 9. [Mañjusri 1972 reprint, New Delhi.] Term also adopted by W.W. Hunter as a matter of course. [See infra.] It designates a member of a longtime privileged nation in the Carpathian Basin of Transylvania, formerly part of Hungary, now annexed by Rumania. Not to be confused with Sicilian.

2. Ferenc Szilágyi shed new light on the historical background of these pious exhortations, which the Hungarian Academy of Sciences put on a slab in 1910 for the funeral monument of their member originally erected at Darjeeling in 1843 by Superintendent Dr. Archibald Campbell. He established that the first version of the text had been engraved on the frame of a gilt-edged medallion showing, in oil painting on tin, Csoma's grave. The picture had been obtained in London by Count István Széchenyi's son, Béla. The father converted it into a memento designed by himself. He kept this perhaps on his desk for a while (as legends claim), then he gave it to his brain-child, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. (See 1999. "A legnagyobb magyar - a legnagyobb székely-magyar" in Gazda, József, ed. *Kőrös Csoma Sándor és tudományos munkahelyeink, Kovásznai Sepsiszentgyörgy: KCsSKME*, pp. 220-27.) The commemorative inscription is clearly derived from a passage by the Sicilian himself in the Preface of his Dictionary, given in full in footnote [8] *infra*.
3. Before taking them on, the reader should be warned that the "cradle"-metaphor is far from being as romantically old-fashioned as it may appear to some. It recurred in the title of Ármin Vámbéry's (Arminius Vambery) posthumous 1913 volume *A magyarság bölcsőjénél*, which depicts the start and progress of Hungarian-Turkish relations as viewed by the author. More recent examples include Lang, David Marshall 1980 (3rd ed.), *Armenia, Cradle of Civilisation*, London: Allen & Unwin; Feuerstein, George, Subash Kak & David Frawley, 1999. *In Search of the Cradle of Civilisation: New Light on Ancient India*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
4. The Finno-Ugrian relationship had been demonstrated by Sajnovics, Joannis. 1770. *Demonstratio. Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse. Hafniae*; and by Gyarmathi, Samuel. 1799. *Affinitas Linguae Hungaricae cum linguis Fennicae originis grammatica demonstrata. Gottingae*; they were endorsed in the

University of Göttingen, Lower Saxony, a state in personal union with Great Britain through the king. On the stated affiliation, see the Sicilian scholar's letter to Captain C.P. Kennedy, 28 January 1825 in Duka, *op. cit.*, p. 24. The quotation on the Yoogurs / Yoogars is taken from the official "Report of the death of Mr. Csoma de Körös" from Dr. Archibald Campbell, Superintendent at Darjeeling, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. 1842, XI. N° 124, pp. 303-309 (pp. 306-307), reproduced, with some further distortions by Dr. Duka in *op. cit.*, pp. 145-153 (p. 150). Reflecting oral communications in Kashmir, Csoma's first hint at the "Iegors" in English is to be found in W. Moorcroft's letter of 8 February 1823 to H.H. Wilson. Curiously enough, it is followed by a reference to the Tanguts borrowed from a French best seller on Russian history, Pierre Charles Lévesque's *Histoire de Russie, tirée des chroniques originales, des pièces authentiques et des meilleurs historiens de la nation*, Paris. 2nd or 3rd ed. [See Marczell, P.J. "William Moorcroft's Pioneering Memorandum to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the Letters, Writing, Language and Culture of Tibet and Its Vicinity." Dodin, Thierry & Heinz Räther eds. *Recent Research on Ladakh* 7, Ulm: UKAS. pp. 271-96, particularly pp. 294-95.]

Csoma's mentions of the Iegors / Yoogars / Yoogurs seem to correspond to one of two linguistically and genetically close, yet quite separate, peoples in both space and religion, or to both. The Uyghurs, whose Tibetan designation is Yugar, are Muslims who live at present in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (capital Ürümqi), while the Buddhist Yugurs or Sarig (=Yellow) Uyghurs are located in Gansu province. In their isolated highlands, the latter have preserved an exceptional treasure of ethnographic characteristics, e.g. pentatonic scale folksongs showing remarkable semblance to those of the Hungarians. See, inter alia, Kara, G. 1978. "Uiguro-Tibetica". Ligeti, Louis, ed. *op. cit. supra*. pp. 161-67; K. Czeglédy. 1984. "The Foundation of the Turfan Uyghur Kingdom". Ligeti, Louis, ed. *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies*

Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. I. Budapest: MTA, pp. 159-163; Bárdi, László. 1992. "An Overview of Xiongnu Research from the Early 1930s to the Present". The International Academic Conference on Archeological Cultures of the Northern Chinese Ancient Nations. I. Hohhot, Inner Mongolia, China.]

5. E.g. Deguignes [de Guignes], Joseph. 1756-58. *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turks, des Mongols et des autres Tartares occidentaux*. Paris; Desain & Saillant. Fischer, Johann Eberhard. 1768. *Sibirische Geschichte von der Entdeckung Siberiens*. St. Petersburg. Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften; Schlözer, August Ludwig v. 1771. *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte*, Halle; Thunmann, Johann. 1774. *Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der östlichen europäischen Völker*. Leipzig: Crusins; Schmidt, Isaac Jacob 1818. *Fundgruben des Orients VI*. St. Petersburg.
6. Part VI. of the VIIth vol. of the prestigious bestseller, Lévesque, Pierre Charles. Nlle. éd. 1800. *Histoire de Russie*. Hambourg et Brunswick: Pierre-François Franche et Cie., available at the British Library, London, p. 456., supplies two interesting tables on parallels between the Hungarian and the Vogul, and the Hungarian and the language of the Tartars, respectively. From these comparisons it draws the following conclusion: "The Hungarians are a mixture of Finns (of whom the Voguls are a branch), of the Tartars, and most probably of several other peoples." ["Il résulte de ces deux parallèles que les Hongrois sont un mélange de Finnois, (dont les Vogoules sont une branche) de Tartars, et vraisemblablement de plusieurs autres peuples."] This conclusion does not allow for loan-words adopted through contacts without concomitant genetic or demographic mixing and it disregards linguistic structure. Nevertheless, it is not wide of the mark. Csoma knew the book (probably in one of its somewhat earlier versions, as he quoted from it with W. Moorcoft in their joint memo of 8 February 1823 to H.H. Wilson. See footnote [4] above.)

7. The following note, dated 11 May 1828, bears witness to Csoma propagating the European pilgrimage tradition, in the broad sense of the word, among his native teachers and friends in the Himalayas: “In the evening a Lama, the tutor of Mr. De Kőrös, who is studying the Thibetian language in Kinour, came to pay me a visit; he was on peregrination to ‘see the world’, and had gone round by Munde and Sokeet as far as Subathoo; he was furnished with a certificate from his pupil, the Hungarian, (who signs himself ‘Sekunder Roome’,) which stated that the Lama was on a tour of curiosity to see foreign countries.” 1833. Archer, Major, late aide-de-camp to Lord Combermere. *Tours in Upper India and in parts of the Himalaya Mountains, I-II*. London: Bentley. 2nd Tour: Journey across the Sutledge from the 4th to the 29th of May, 1828. p. 233.
8. W.W. Hunter, 1885. *Csoma de Kőrös: A Pilgrim Scholar*. Allahabad: The Pioneer Mail. Reproduced as a prologue to the 1972 reprint of Duka’s monograph mentioned supra. In Homer’s epic, Ulysses travels because he wants to get home to his wife, even if the excessive length of his journey raises doubts about his determination to return and is full of adventures. The parallel with Csoma is unfortunate, for the Transylvanian was neither a tramp, nor a vagrant, he stayed at his staging posts, for systematic work, incomparably longer than on the road. Of course, he could be accused of reading for reading’s sake, learning for learning’s sake, striking out simply for the pleasure of seeing unknown lands in the “terra incognita of orientalist” and for mixing with all sorts of people.

In the Preface to his 1834 *Essay towards a Dictionary, Tibetan and English*, Calcutta, he assumes such propensities by describing himself as follows:

“... he had not been sent by any Government to gather political information; neither can he be accounted of the number of those wealthy European gentlemen who travel at their own expense for their pleasure and curiosity; but rather only a poor student,

who was very desirous to see the different countries of Asia, as the scene of so many memorable transactions of former ages; to observe the manners of several people, and to learn their languages, of which, he hopes, the world may see hereafter the results; and such a man was he who, during his peregrination, depended for his subsistence on the benevolence of others.”

Although Sir William quotes part of this passage, his polite assessment strikes rather by its repeated emphasis on the student’s dream going back to a boyish pledge made “with two fellow-pupils, to penetrate Central Asia in search of the origin of his nation”. The promise led to the future Tibetologist refusing flattering offers of tutorships and professorships so as “to spend his remaining twenty-three years in this world as a poor wanderer in fulfilment of his vow.” (This view shows remarkable conformity to the Greek equivalent of “peregrinatio”: *xénitéia*, which implies expatriation, voluntary exile. As in the project of a mediaeval monk who leaves his home base for a foreign country where he would always feel himself to be an alien. (Concepts in 1980 “Cahiers de Franjeaux 15”. *Le pèlerinage*. Toulouse: Edouard Privat)

9. Points made in Marczell, P.J. 1998. “A göttingeni egyetem sajátos (tudományos) kihívása”. *Gazda, József, ed. Kőrös Csoma Sándor szellemútján. Kovászna-Csomakőrös: KCsSKME, 10-20.* The paper puts to use two interesting books by Hans Plischke, director of the ethnographic museum at Göttingen: 1931. *Die Ethnographische Sammlung der Universität Göttingen, ihre Geschichte und ihre Bedeutung*. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht; 1937. *Johann Friedrich Blumenbachs Einfluss auf die Entdeckungsreisenden seiner Zeit*. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht.

We may also add that the “peregrinus” (more commonly “deák” > “diák” in Hungarian) of the Academic sphere has two major counterparts in Magyar popular ballads and nostalgic patriotic songs. One is the fugitive outlaw (“*bujdosó*”), who did not

surrender in a lost war / defeated revolution / crushed insurrection and shifts in hiding from one place to another to avoid arrest. In his marginality, he is close to rural criminals (“betyár”) on the run. In general, he is featured as a down-and-out, with his profile often blurred. The other standard character is the sorrowful emigrant (without being identified as such), who had to leave his mother country and must eat the bitter bread of alien lands. (e.g., “Erdok-völgyek, szük ligetek”; “Sirass édesanyám, mig elotted járok”; “Elindultam szép hazámból”; “Ha kiindulsz Erdély felol”. These examples are recorded with their musical transcriptions in Kodály, Zoltán & Vargyas Lajos. 1969. *A magyar népzene*. Budapest: Zenemukiadó, N°s 114, 178, 117, 176.) In many ways, Csoma behaved as a political emigrant. No wonder then that after his illegal escape to Asia, the Austrian authorities did not react to his application for a passport and that he never tried to return to his native country. [On this aspect, see the last part of the present paper.]

10. The Gerards specialised in Kinnaur, Lahul and Spiti. Like the other professional surveyors around him, Alexander recorded his daily marches with a view of the potential for troop movements. Pemberton was the chief operating officer in the gambit for the pacification of Bhutan. Dr. Griffith, who accompanied him on his mission “to the court of the Deb and Dhurma Rajahs”, undertook, on his own, several covert reconnaissance trips as well, e.g. to Ava. A brilliant young man with whom Maharaja Ranjit Singh and many of his vassals fell instantly in love, Jacquemont represented the French genius in a large part of the globe where France, three decades earlier, had lost her strategic clout for good. His tour in India was even more an act of defiance and make-believe, than was Ranjit Singh’s Panjabi army trained by European mercenaries, several of whom fraudulently passed themselves off as French generals. Hügel was more amateurish, his Indian journal is a Central European gentleman’s account of his travels in a far off, highly exotic



subcontinent which few others like him managed to see. As the very well paid Superintendent of the East India Co.'s stud near Patna, Moorcroft had to supply suitable horses to the British Indian army. On his big and fatal journey, he tried to buy good breeds where these could be found, progressing farther and farther northwestward. Overstepping the limits of his official job, he wanted to foster international market expansion in favour of Britain through innovations in the wake of the demented Napoleonic wars. So he strove to introduce Himalayan products through British intermediaries and imitators into the flow of internationally traded goods and to open India and Central Asia to British exports. In the international power struggle he anticipated the "Great Game" between Russia and Great Britain over Central Asia. All of these men had the opportunity to know Csoma, who, unlike them, left no journal or travelogue to posterity.

Csoma was asked to produce a detailed CV by the British authorities who ordered his polite detention when, in November 1824, he turned up at Sabathu, the border garrison near Shimla, with a written recommendation from Moorcroft. Later, as a government stipendiary on a Tibetan project, he had to produce progress reports to be able to pursue his researches. These memoranda were leaked to amateur insiders at fairly early dates but originally they had been imposed in a rather humiliating and, therefore, painful process.

On the explorers mentioned, see, inter alia, Gerard, Capt. Alexander. 1841. *Account of Koonawar in the Himalaya, etc.* / 1993 reprint, New Delhi; *Political Mission to Bootan*, comprising the reports of Ashley Eden, Cpt R B Pemberton with W Griffith's journal and the account of Baboo Kishen Kant Bose; 1972 reprint. New Delhi; Jacquemont, Victor. 1936 tr. *Letters from India, 1829-1932*, Tr. by C.A. Phillips. London; Hügel, Karl.Alexander (Anselm). 1840-1842. *Kaschmir und das Reich der Sikhs*. I-IV. Stuttgart. Alder, Garry. 1985. *Beyond Bokhara*.

*The Life of William Moorcroft Asian Explorer and Pioneer Veterinary Surgeon 1767-1825*. London: Century.

11. 1981 and 1984. *The Great Tibetologist Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*. New Delhi: Sterling. 1999. Kubassek, János. A Himalája magyar remetéje. Budapest: Turán.

A hermit is a person living in solitude, especially for religious reasons. In the Christian world, he belongs to a tradition set along the Nile in the 4th and 5th centuries. As the original Greek word *eremites* implies, the custom involved retreat into the desert. It was exemplified by St. Jerome and many other saintly misanthropes. Their early West European imitators include St. Martin of Tours (c316-97).

12. The quotations from Dr. Gerard and Th M. Pavie are borrowed from Duka, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 84-85 and 140, in that order. Pavie's observations were embedded in his remarkably balanced study from 1847: "*Le Thibet et les études thibétaines*". *Revue des deux Mondes* XIX, pp. 37-58. They are part of a fine appraisal of Csoma Kőrös's significance in European researches on Tibet. W.W. Hunter's Buddha-comparison is to be found in his *op. cit.*, p. 17. Dr. Campbell's report was disclosed as mentioned supra. Colonel Lloyd's testimony produced on the request of the superintendent was published by the latter in *JASB* XIV. (1845) N° 167. p. 825. As to Újfalvy, see "Újfalvy Sándor: Emlékezés Kőrös Csoma Sándorra" in Terjék, József. 1984. *Emlékek Kőrös Csoma Sándorról*. Budapest: MTAK, pp. 213-16. The witness gives so many details that his sincerity and accuracy are hard to question. Yet on more than one point (like the looks of his illustrious friend) he seems to break loose from reality and his allegations about Csoma's diet and sleeping habits reflect contemporary legends about the preparation of the young Göttingen explorers touched on above.
13. See, Malan, A.N. 1897. *Solomon Caesar Malan, D.D. - Memorials of his Life and Writings*. London: John Murray, p. 48.]

14. The Zangla fallacy originated with Moorcroft, who recommended his Hungarian protégé “especially to the particular attention and friendship of Sange Puntzo the principal Lama of Zangla in Zans-kar” into whose establishment he confidently expected the student would be received. He clearly presumed that “the principal Lama” was the head of a lamasery and his last paragraph asked specified books “to be forwarded to the Gonpa or Monastery of Zangla”. (Letter to George Swinton, Secretary, Political Department, 21 March 1823. British Library, OIOC, MSS. Eur. G. 28; 53: (d) [draft] and MSS. Eur. D. 266; 4, pp. 25-29. [draft];; P/124/5, N° 69 (bengal Pol. Cons., 24 December 1824) and F/4/987 Board’s Coll’n N° 27719 (87).

Actually, “Kaka Sangye Puntsook” (as for Major Archer, in academic transliteration Sangs rgyas phun tshogs) was born at Padum, trained most probably at the ‘Brug pa bk’ rgyud pa dgon pa of Dzongkhul (rdzong khul), near Ating, on the way to Umasi La (5842 m) and Chamba far beyond. He was linked to Zangla only through his marriage with the king’s widow there. The local royal family owned a castle and a palace above the village, with an old convent but no monastery nearby. These critical details were discovered only in 1975 by Dr. Géza Bethlenfalvy from Budapest; before him biographers like Duka and visitors like Ervin Baktay in 1928 had endorsed the prevailing assumption, giving them extra support of their own.

In *op. cit.*, pp. 68-72, Duka went out of his way to suggest that his hero’s second phase of researches in Zanskar had been carried out at Phuktal. By repeating that name as often as he could, he made it a critical reference for Csoma’s moves to, and from, the region. However, to substantiate this bias, he quoted only one letter set down for H.H. Wilson, Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, “In the monastery of Pukhtar, 21st August 1826.”, which provides no clue whatever about the Transylvanian’s presence there. His motive might have been the purchase of Tibetan texts. In fact, what the scholar had to say on the logistics

of his second sojourn in Zanskar was the following: "I reached Teesa in Zanskar, the village of the Lama, on the 12th of August [1825]. He was then absent on some mercantile affairs in the deserts of Tibet. I looked every day for his return. He arrived on the 26th of September. Now I have made arrangements with him for finishing the works I have planned. He has engaged to dwell and labour with me from the 10th of November till the summer solstice of next year, in an apartment belonging to his own family." (Letter dated Tetha, 16 October 1825, to Cpt. C.P. Kennedy, in Duka *op. cit.*, p. 70. The certified true copies preserved in OIOC, The British Library, resp., provide a somewhat different, more interesting wording: "I reached Tessa, in Zanskar, the village of the Lama, on the 12th of August. He was absent in mercantile affairs, on the deserts of Tibet- I expected every day his return. He arrived on the 26th of September Now I have made arrangements with him for finishing my planned works.- He has obliged himself to dwell and labour with me from the 10th of November till the summer solstice, next year, in the monastery of Pookdal, in an apartement belonging to his own family." (F/4/987 Coll'n N° 27719 /87/) The writer never gave any details on the location of that apartment. To paraphrase his "Pukthar" letter (whose original is extant in ASB, Calcutta), it turned out that the Lama was very negligent in assisting him as he desired. He passed but a few months with him, and he could find and employ no other person able for his purpose. Since Csoma's death, there have been two noted attempts to ascertain his residence at Phuktal, one by Leitner, the other by Baktay. According to Duka [*op. cit.*, p. 160], the former, who visited the monastery in 1866, attested that the abbot still cherished the memory of the Hungarian guest, calling him the "Philangi Dàsa". The latter's old informant from Yugar village, on the other side of the river opposite the monastery, recalled hearsays on Skander Begh and Sangye Puntsog having occupied an abode within the precincts of the gonpa. As the small building had collapsed, only

its site could be seen. Although the head lama and his retinue denied this story altogether, the Hungarian pilgrim and his guide, the Padum namgyal, imposed on them a slab stating that “A. Csoma de Kőrös - from Hungary - a heroic pioneer and scholar - lived and worked here - from 12. Aug. 1825 to Nov. 1826. (Baktay, Ervin. 1930. *A világ tetején* I-II. Budapest: Lampel, [3rd ed. 1934,] pp. 266-78.) The inaccurate and intentionally misleading inscription has been preserved to date but the present occupants of the place disown it as firmly as their predecessors.

Csoma’s secular dwelling at Kanam was publicized not only by contemporary callers like Dr. Gerard and V. Jacquemont but also by later pilgrims like Sven Hedin passing in 1908. (*Trans-Himalaya I-III*; 1991 reprint. New Delhi: SBW. T. III. Chapter XXXII: “A learned lama from Hungary.” pp. 401-19.) The blockprinted Tibetan corpus which the Seckler was working himself through, belonged to a private individual named Balee Ram (in Csoma’s spelling). It was stored at the “Khanjur lhakang” with foodstuffs like dried mutton and grapes.

15. My views on the ambiguity of the Japanese endorsement are spelled out in “Bodhisattva Csoma de Kőrös: Myth or Reality”. 1995. Osmaston, Henry, and Philip Denwood, eds. *Recent Research on Ladakh 4&5*. London: SOAS, University of London, pp. 383-396. That paper suspects a collusion between a politically isolated country engaged in an ostracised, escalating war in Manchuria flooded with Chinese immigrants, and a territorially mutilated, humiliated nation suffering from a similar problem of demographic imbalance. In their cultural loneliness, both tried to give vent to their frustrations through delusions of grandeur. They indulged in an ideology of affinity and brotherhood. On the Hungarian side, their vehicle was the Hungarian Nippon Society founded in 1924, which operated in connivance with the Japanese Imperial House. Over 1932-33, it organised an exhibition of Japanese painting in Budapest. The Japanese

reciprocated with the Csoma commemoration thirty years after the foundation of the host, Taisho University, which had opted for a Jodo orientation few years earlier. To boost the impact of the event, the Hungarians supplied a portable statue in bronze by Géza Csorba. The artefact was stated to evoke “Körös Csoma Sándor - the Bodhisattva of the Western World” in the posture of an Amitabha Buddha. During the Communist era, its supposed continuous veneration gave rise to fantastic tales in the Hungarian media with no validity whatever.

16. The last two sections of the paper are derived from a lecture in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 2 December 1992, whose text was published in Hungarian only. They were based mainly on researches in The British Library Oriental and India Office Collections, London, on findings in the Museum in ASB, Calcutta, on proceedings and other communications published by JASB, cross-checks in the National Library of France, Paris, standard history books and Ray, Pradyot Kumar, 1990, *Dewan Ramcomul Sen and His Times. Calcutta: Modern Book Agency.*

### **APPENDIX**

*(Unpublished autograph letters by Csoma Körös from, and with the kind permission of, the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta).*

- (1) To Babu Herambanath Thakur /

Dear Sir,

Accordingly as you desired [?] I have sent this day the Establishment's Bills to Babu Ram Comul Sen. / I send herewith to you also the file of the 20th Vol. of the As. Res. formerly kept by Mr. James Prinsep, to show it to Professor O' Shaughnessy. It ends with p. 512, but has been outlined [?] now as far as p. 552 - I have not yet received the clean sheets of the last 40 pages - I have put also the 1st Part both of the 19th and 20th

Vol. of the As. Res. that Professor O'Shaughnessy may see their content, and where they end; since I was afraid [?] the 2nd Part of the 19th Vol. is now in the press, and will be soon finished; but I have not seen any file of that text. / Pray, please return me all these 3 Volumes, and to inform Prof. O' Sh. that since August last [?] 246 copies of the 1st Part of the 19th Vol. and 234 of the 1st Part of the 20th Vol. of the As. Res. together with some pamphlets of Arabic, had been sent to the Society's Library, from the Military Orphan Press without the Volumes being stitched up. It will be proper to send these also down to the Bishop's College, when the 2nd Parts are finished that the whole volumes be stitched together.

Pray, favour us from the Mint with some tickets ("Asiatic Society") to mark the Society's Books.

Yours sincerely

(Alex. Csoma)

28th February 1838.

- (2) To Professor W.B.O'Shaughnessy/Officiating Secy. As. Soc. &c/  
Sir,

At your desire I was requested some days ago by Babu Herambanath to make ready One Hundred Copies of the Asiatic Researches for transmission to England, I beg leave therefore to send to you in these two wooden cases 50 Copies of Vol. XIX Part 2nd. and 50 Copies of Vol. XX, part 2nd placed into tinboxes, that you may despatch them whenever it will be convenient.

I remain with much respect, Sir,

your obedient servant

(Alex. Csoma)

17 December 1839.

(3) To H. Torrens, Esq. / Acting Secy. As. Soc. &c /

Sir,

I beg to send to you the Box (containing four volumes in loose leaves, in Sanskrit) that was lately received by you from Népal, and was put here by B. Herambanath, in the beginning of Sept. last, to be properly packed up - This has been done, the volumes being placed in a tinbox and the wooden case covered with cloth - If this box was intended for M. E. Burnouf, it requires now only to be addressed and despatched for Professor E. Burnouf, in Paris; which, I hope, you will kindly direct to be done

I beg to remain Sir,

your obedient servant

(A. Cs. Kőrös)

21st October 1840.

(4) [To W.H. Bolst, Esquire ?]

My dear Sir,

I beg you will receive the enclosed 305 C.Rs and 7 As (the price of the oriental publications sold by me for the As. Society) together with two copies of lists specifying the works with their prices; and shall feel much obliged, if you kindly will return me the one of these lists, after Dr. Torrens has signed it. I remain

Yours obediently

(A. Csoma)

24th 1840.





**Alexander Csoma De Kőrös**

*Csoma's portrait from a drawing produced in 1840  
in Calcutta by August Schöffl*



*East India Co. Passport in Persian.* (Original size 22x33,5 cm.)  
Courtesy: National Archives of India, New Delhi.

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# SIR AUREL STEIN AND KASHMIRI SCHOLARS

*S. N. Pandita*

Sir Aurel Stein, the great Hungarian explorer and archaeologist is a legend for the achievement of his works and scholarship. He had a long and lasting scholarly relationship with a number of Kashmiri scholars of his time and era, one amongst whom was also my grandfather, Prof. Nityanand Shastri. Their personal friendship and scholastic association lasted about five decades from 1896 to 1942, snapped only by the demise of Prof. Nityanand.

The name – Sir Aurel Stein is legendary to the world of scholars in general but as a small boy I was familiar with the name Stein colloquially spoken as ‘Steen Sahib’ by my parents. Sometimes my father would speak of his achievements as a scholar. The name of Stein was a part of our family household because he and my grandfather were great personal friends. I spent many years of my childhood in our ancestral home in Srinagar where Nityanand lived and Sir Aurel Stein frequented that house on many occasions for four decades between 1896 and 1936 to meet Nityanand. My mother recalled Sir Stein as a brave man though short in physical stature but a giant in scholarly spirits who even visited to see Nityanand on his sick bed while he was struck by paralysis during 1932 to 1935. She even recalled that it was also a time when general civic conditions around our home and locality in Srinagar were given a lot of face lift by the local authorities lest it drew dissatisfaction of Sir Aurel Stein.

Qualified with a Ph.D. from Tubingen University and D.Litt. from Oxford, Aurel Stein first set foot on the Asian soil at Lahore in April 1888 to take up his dual assignment as Principal, Oriental College and Registrar of the Punjab University, Lahore. Soon after Stein took the

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opportunity of a short leave from his work in the 'grey overn', as he would call Lahore to make a visit to Venice of India – Srinagar, Kashmir. Stein first arrived in Srinagar on August 12, 1888 and immediately set up on the task of working on the edition of Kalhana's historical text – the *Rajatarangini*.

It was this task that brought him into close contact with Kashmiri Sanskrit scholars, leading amongst whom were Pt. Damodar, Pt. Govind Koul, Pt. Nityanand Shastri, Pt. Mukund Ram Shastri and Pt. Sahaz Bhat. Aurel Stein laboured on the edition of *Rajatarangini*, the motif of which had three movements – critical Sanskrit edition in 1892, *Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, 1896 followed by translation and commentary with indices in 1899. These complete works were the result of close help and scholarly assistance from these Kashmiri Sanskrit scholars. Aurel Stein was deeply impressed by erudition and scholarship of Pt. Damodar whom he acknowledged as the 'facile princep' among the scholars of Kashmir. On his death in 1892 Stein recorded that "Pt. Damodar had set himself to the continuation of writing Kashmir history from Akbar's time onwards to his own time and of the portions I saw, I say that, had death spared him to complete it, his work would have shown that Kalhana could have found generations past no worthier successor". Pt. Govind Koul and Pt. Mukund Ram Shastri assisted Aurel Stein on the oral tradition of Kashmiri Pandits and Kalhana's narrative of *Rajatarangini* based on researches and many points of explanations connected with ancient topography of Kashmir. Paying tributes to their qualified collaborative assistance, Aurel Stein recorded "I am indebted to both these scholars for much information on the Kashmirian topics without which comprehension of Kalhana's text was unattainable." Stein spent eleven years between 1888 and 1899 on the task of edition of *Rajatarangini*. Between the years 1889 and 1894 Stein also catalogued 6,000 Sanskrit manuscripts of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's Library alongwith Govind Koul and Pt. Sahaz Bhat and thus saved one of the richest treasure store of ancient Sanskrit literature of India from being lost. It was yet another feat of joint scholarship by Aurel Stein and Kashmiri scholars.

Commending on the assistance given by these Kashmiri scholars, Stein wrote “that it was to their Pandit instinct that hardly an *upshabda* crept in the work. Their learning and thorough acquaintance with Indian scholarship, especially in the *Shastras*, traditionally cultivated in Kashmir, have on many occasions most usefully even supplemented my printed sources of references.” Stein was also a very close friend of Pt. Govind Koul. Besides working with him on Kalhana’s *Rajatarangini*, Stein and Govind Koul also collected Kashmir folk tales from the mouth of local peasant bard, Hatim and wrote them simultaneously in phonetic English and Kashmiri written in Sanskrit in the year 1896. Later these were published from London in the year 1917 by Sir George Grierson and Sir Aurel Stein. Pandit Govind Koul had a premature death in 1899. It was a great loss to Aurel Stein. For days he mourned the death of his “best Indian scholar friend”. Stein was then away in the mountains of Sikkim. Aurel Stein could not say “finis” to his relationship with Govind Koul with whom he had discussed every word and reference of *Rajatarangini*. While Stein was in Lahore, Lockwood Kipling, father of Sir Rudyard Kipling had given him one advice and that was to respect scholars like Govind Koul. Fourteen years later, Aurel Stein was knighted in the year 1912. It was also in the same year his other Kashmiri scholar associate, Pt. Mukund Ram Shastri was also conferred with the title of ‘Mahamahopadhyaya’. The investiture ceremony of Stein’s knighthood took place at Neadou’s Hotel, Srinagar before the august gathering of the Maharaja, the British Resident and many of his Kashmiri friends. Making his ceremonial address, Stein paid his richest tribute to Govind Koul by stating “the first sure and certain steps on this road of name and fame of scholarship were taken with the help and assistance of Pt. Govind Koul.” Stein’s last tribute to Govind Koul’s erudition appeared in the preface of *The Hatim’s Tales* when he wrote in 1917, “whenever Govind Koul was by my side, whether in the dusty toil of exile in Lahore or in the alpine coolness of Kashmir mountains, I always felt in close contact with past ages full of interest for historical student of India.”

It was Sir Aurel Stein’s reference to Kashmiri scholars like Govind Koul, Mukund Ram and Nityanand Shastri that Sir George Grierson

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took their assistance and help in completing his great work, the *Dictionary of Kashmiri Language*, a work that took 34 years to complete between 1898 to 1932. It may be recalled that Grierson, a great authority on Indian language was at loss to analyse the metres used in Kashmiri sayings of the saint poetess, Lal Ded which he and Sir Lionel Barnet collated with the help and assistance of Pt. Mukund Ram Shastri in 1914. It was only in 1917, while Aurel Stein on his visit to Kashmir after the completion of his third Central Asian expedition between 1913 and 1916 solved this linguistic riddle for Grierson on the use of metres in *Lal Vaks* with the help of Pandit Nityanand Shastri. Aurel Stein requested Nityanand to make Sanskrit translation of ancient Kashmiri text – *Mahanaya Prakash* in the year 1921 and based on its commentary Grierson elucidated the history of Kashmiri language. Between the years 1923 and 1927, German scholar Maurice Winternitz took assistance and help from Nityanand Shastri in his edition of *Great Epics of India and Mahabharata*. Yet again it was Sir Aurel Stein who arranged for this collaboration between Winternitz and Nityanand. Indeed it is remarkable to appreciate that almost every Indological work in Kashmir undertaken by western scholars after Stein first arrived in Kashmir, bears an indelible mark of Stein's guidance and scholarly pursuits while seeking help and assistance from his Kashmiri scholar friends. It goes to the credit of Sir Aurel Stein that he gave a racy impetus to an interface of scholarship which was initiated by his mentor, George Buhler with Kashmiri scholars for the appreciation and assessment of Kashmir's history, geography, language and literature. The range of Aurel Stein's contacts with Kashmiri scholars was indeed vast. This raised his stature to great heights as a Sanskrit scholar even as he was a legendary archaeologist and explorer. He used his knowledge of Sanskrit to explore the history and geography of Kashmir even though he was never truly a historian.

Perhaps the greatest tribute to Aurel Stein's contribution to Kashmir studies can come from the fact that he became a pivot reference to all western scholars in Kashmir. He in turn relied on the erudition and great scholarship of Nityanand Shastri who guided an array of distinguished European Sanskrit scholars. These included Indologists

### ***S.N. Pandita***

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like Prof. J. Ph Vogel, Stratton Booth, Franklin Edgerton and others. It must also be appreciated that while Aurel Stein was exploring desolate lands and ruins in Central Asia, he remained in constant touch with various scholars in Kashmir engaged in antiquarian studies chiefly through the help and assistance of Prof. Nityanand Shastri between the years 1900 and 1936. Their works included Sanskrit translation of *Mahanaya Prakash*, *Kashmiri Ramayan* and *Krishnavtar Leela*. It was on Aurel Stein's request that Nityanand Shastri guided and helped the Dutch scholar De Vreese who was a pupil of Vogel in preparing his edition of *Nilmata Purana* which was published in Leiden in the year 1936. When Aurel Stein was busy tracking Persia and Iraq interrupted by his short visits to Europe and America, his Harvard friend, Carl Keller who was also the President of Harvard University Board, wished to acquire Kashmiri and Sanskrit translations of the 14<sup>th</sup> century Spanish classic, *Don Quixote*. Nityanand Shastri was bed-ridden with paralysis during this time, yet as per the wishes of his dear friend, Aurel Stein, he completed the task with the help of another great Kashmiri Sanskrit scholar Prof. Jagaddhar Zadoo in 1936. The translations now adorn the Harvard University Library, Boston in America.

Stein had a deep love for the bounty of nature in Kashmir and spent more than 50 years of his scholarly life in the valley. In and out of Kashmir repeatedly from his expeditions whenever he returned, he always camped at his favourite alpine spot 'Mohand Marg' which he called his second home. On many occasions he stayed at Voyil, Nunar and Ganderbal. It was, however, at Mohand Marg that he wrote the results of his Central Asian explorations and shared the joy of its fruits with Nityanand whom he invited to visit him at his camp site on umpteen number of occasions. Stein called Nityanand "the crest-jewel of host of Kashmir scholars" and a large number of letters addressed to him during their 50 years of scholarly relationship bear the testimony.

Stein had developed deep bonds of affection, love and respect for Kashmiri scholars, its language and the land. During his labours he devoted to *Rajatarangini* he was attracted to communicate with Kashmiri scholars in the sacred Sanskrit language. His love for Kashmiri

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language, however, never diminished and he learnt to speak it during the years 1892 to 1894 from the Kashmirian scholar Pandit Kashi Ram. If ever he made less use of spoken Kashmiri with the local scholars it was perhaps due to his great attachment to Sanskrit.

Though destiny chartered Stein's career in Central Asia, mentally he never left Kashmir. His correspondence with Pt. Nityanand, spanning over more than four decades, from all parts of the world, be it from Siracuse, Italy, Manor Street, Oxford, on board from a ship in the Persian Gulf, from Ahwaz in Iran or Boston in America and even from far flung Central Asia indicates his deep personal bonds with Pt. Nityanand and Stein's ever increasing desire to return to the land of Kashmir.

Aurel Stein expressed himself this relationship with Kashmiri scholars in a nostalgic out-pouring of words. When back in Jammu and Kashmir in the year 1940, he wrote to Mrs. Allen, wife of his lifelong friend Thomas Arnold in Vienna: "Returning to Kashmir was a return to past after all my peregrinations in barbarian North and West." In a sense Aurel Stein never left Kashmir even almost until his death. Sometime before that he said, "To me my home is where my work lies. How grateful I must feel to the kindly fate which allowed me to do so much of my work in Kashmir for the last 55 years."



*S.N. Pandita*

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Camp, P.O. Gandarbal, Kashmir, August 9, 1931

श्रीमद्वापिष्ठतबरनित्यानन्दसिद्धिशिरोमणये स्वस्तिनामसहितनिवेदनम्॥

Please forgive if I thank you but briefly at this time in English for your kind letter. I am kept exceedingly busy with work of all sorts and cannot find time to write as I should like.

I wish you had been able to give me better news than those about the serious outbreak in the city. You know that my sympathy is fully with those who have been so wantonly attacked and injured. I know enough of the history of Kashmir to have realized long ago that tame as the people apparently are in ordinary times trouble may always arise if there is any sign of weakness about. I hope that now that order has been enforced. I hope it will be maintained with a strong hand and needless fears will cease. The appointment of Raja Hari Kishan Kaul as Prime Minister is certainly encouraging. I have known him and his family for a long time as deserving full confidence.

By the time I come down to the valley I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you more than once for a good talk. I may than perhaps be less pressed for time than I am at present.

*Yours sincerely*  
*A. Steer*

To

Pandit Nityanand Sahib,  
Retired Professor,  
Sathoo,  
Srinagar,

*Courtesy: S.N. Pandita*

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***IN MEMORIAM***  
**PANDIT GOVIND KAUL**  
**(1846-1899)**

*Aurel Stein*

The conditions in which these pages have to be written, many years after the Kashmiri texts here presented were collected, and amidst urgent tasks concerning the results gathered in a wholly different field of work, that of my Central Asian explorations, make me feel particularly grateful to Sir George Grierson who in his Introduction has dealt so exhaustively with the manner in which those texts were originally recorded, and with all aspects of the linguistic interest which may be claimed for them. It has thus become possible for me to confine the preface he has asked for to a brief account of the circumstances which enabled me to gather these materials. But I am anxious to record in it also some personal notes concerning that cherished Indian scholar friend, the late Pandit Govind Kaul, whose devoted assistance was mainly instrumental in rendering them of value for linguistic research, and whose memory this volume is intended to honour.

My interest in the language and folklore of Kashmir directly arose from the labours which, during the years 1888-98, I devoted, mainly in the country itself, to the preparation of my critical edition of *Kalhana's Sanskrit Chronicle of Kashmir* and of my commentated translation of it.<sup>1</sup> The elucidation of the manifold antiquarian and topographical questions which these tasks implied, and which in various ways constituted their chief attraction for me, was possible only in close touch with Kashmir scholars, and needed constant reference to the traditional lore of their alpine land. In addition it was necessary for me to effect extensive archaeological researches on the spot.

What leisure I could spare from onerous and exacting official duties at Lahore for the purely philological portion of those tasks was far too

*Aurel Stein*

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scanty to permit of any serious study of Kashmiri. But during the eight summer vacations which I was privileged to devote in Kashmir to my cherished labours, and particularly during those between 1891 and 1894, which I spent mostly on archeological tours elucidating the historical topography of the country and tracing its ancient remains, I had opportunities for acquiring some colloquial familiarity with the language. I should probably have been able to make more systematic use of these opportunities had not convenience and conservative attachment to the classical medium of Kashmir scholarship made me prefer the use of Sanskrit conversation with my Pandit friends and assistants at Srinagar and wherever they shared my tours and campings.

Meanwhile, Sir George Grierson had commenced his expert linguistic researches concerning Kashmiri. They were, for the first time, to demonstrate the full interest of the tongue and the true character of its relationship on the one hand to the Indo-Aryan vernaculars and on the other to the language group, called by him 'Dardic' or 'Pisaca', the separate existence of which, within the Aryan branch, he has the merit of having clearly established. His Kashmir studies were at the start directed mainly towards the publication of the remarkable works by which the late Pandit Isvara Kaul had endeavoured to fix the phonetic, grammatical, and lexicographical standards for what he conceived to be the literary form of Kashmiri. There was every prospect that these standards, through the exhaustive labours bestowed by Sir George Grierson upon their record and interpretation, would establish themselves for a language which so far had remained free from the systematizing influence of Pandit grammarians. Pandit Govind Kaul, though a close personal friend of Pandit Isvara Kaul, and fully appreciative of his scholarly zeal and ingenuity, was inclined to doubt at times the thoroughgoing regularity in the application of all the phonetic distinctions, inflectional rules, &c., laid down by this Kashmirian epiphany of Panini.

I should in no way have felt qualified to decide between the conflicting authorities, even if I could have spared time for the close investigation of the differences of detail concerned. But I realised the value which might attach to an unbiased phonetic record of specimens of the language taken

down at this stage from the mouth of speakers wholly unaffected by quasi-literary influences and grammatical theories. In the course of my Kashmir tours I had been more than once impressed by the clearness of utterance to be met with in the speech of intelligent villagers, very different from the Protean inconstancy which certain phonetic features of Kashmiri seemed to be present in the mouth of the townsfolk of Srinagar, whether Brahmans or Muhammadans. In addition, my interest had been aroused from the first by the rich store of popular lore which Kashmiri presents in its folk tales, songs, proverbs, and the like.

So in the course of the second summer season, that of 1896, which I was enabled through a kind dispensation to devote to my *Rajatarangini* labours in the alpine seclusion of my cherished mountain camp, Mohand Marg, high up on a spur of the great Haramukh peaks I endeavoured to use the chance which had opportunely offered itself for securing specimens both of the language spoken in the Sind Valley below me (the important *Lahara* tract of old Kashmir) and of folklore texts. Hatim Tilawôñu had been mentioned to me as a professional story-teller in particular esteem throughout that fertile tract. He was a cultivator settled in the little hamlet of Panzil, at the confluence of the Sind river and the stream draining the eastern Haramukh glaciers, and owed his surname to the possession of an oil press.

When he had been induced to climb up to my mountain height and had favoured Pandit Govind Kaul and myself with his first recitation, we were both much struck by his intelligence, remarkable memory, and clear enunciation. His *repertoire* of stories and songs was large. Though wholly illiterate, he was able to recite them all at any rate of speed which might suit our ears or pens; to articulate each word separate from the context and to repeat it, if necessary, without any change in pronunciation. Nor did the order of his words or phrases ever vary, however long the interval after which he might be called upon to recite a certain passage again. The indication of two or three initial words repeated from my written record would be quite sufficient to set the disk moving in this living phonographic machine.

It did not take me long to appreciate fully Hatim's value for the purpose I had in view. He did not take at first kindly to the cold of our airy camping-place nor to its loneliness, being himself of a very sociable disposition, such as befitted his professional calling exercised mostly at weddings and other festive village gatherings. But it was the cultivators' busy season in the rice fields, some 5,000 feet below us, and his ministrations were not needed by them for the time being. So I managed, with appropriate treatment and adequate *douceurs*, to retain him for over six weeks. Owing to the pressure of my work on *Kalhana's Chronicle* it was impossible to spare for Hatim more than an hour in the evening, after a climb, usually in his company, had refreshed me from the strain of labours which had begun by daybreak.

Progress was necessarily made slow by the care which I endeavoured to bestow upon the exact phonetic record of Hatim's recitation and the consequent need of having all words, where I did not feel sure of it, repeated several times. Whenever a story was completed, I used to read it out to Hatim. He never failed to notice and correct whatever deviation from his text might have crept in through inadvertence or defective hearing. Though able to follow the context in general, I purposely avoided troubling Hatim with queries about particular words or sentences which I could not readily understand. I felt that the object in view would be best served by concentrating my attention upon the functions of a phonographic recorder and discharging them as accurately as the limitations of my ear and phonetic training would permit.

I could not have adopted this safe restriction of my own task, and might well have hesitated about attempting the record of these materials at all, if I had not been assured from the start of Pandit Govind Kaul's most competent and painstaking collaboration. The intimate knowledge which long years of scholarly work carried on in constant close contact had given me of his methods and standards, enabled me to leave certain essential portions of the work entirely to his share and with fullest confidence in the result. I could feel completely assured that, with that rare thoroughness and conscientious precision which distinguished all

**PANDIT GOVIND KAUL**

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his work on the lines of the traditional Sanskrit scholar, his record of Hatim's text written down in Devanagari characters simultaneously with my own would be as exact as the system, or want of system, of Kashmiri spelling current among Srinagar Pandits. It was equally certain that he would spare no trouble to make his interpretation of it, both in the form of an interlinear word-for-word version and of an idiomatic Sanskrit translation, as accurate as possible.

Sir George Grierson's remarks upon the advantages which he derived from Pandit Govind Kaul's labours make it unnecessary for me to explain here the special value attaching to them. It will suffice to state that Pandit Govind Kaul's text as written down at the time of dictation was always revised simultaneously with my own. The interlinear translation was then added in the course of the following day, after reference to Hatim wherever doubts arose about the meaning of particular words or phrases. The separation of the fair copy of both, with the idiomatic Sanskrit rendering added, was a task which helped to keep Pandit Govind Kaul occupied during my absence in Europe for part of 1897. During the summer of the next year I enjoyed once more the benefit of his devoted assistance in labours dear to us both, and in the peaceful seclusion of my alpine camp. But my big *Rajatarangini* task, then nearing completion, claimed all my energy and time. Thus a lacuna left in Pandit Govind Kaul's record of Hatim's last tale, due to the accidental loss of the concluding few pages of his original manuscript, escaped attention at the time.

When it was brought to my notice by Sir George Grierson in 1912, full sixteen years later, I was encamped once more at the very spot where we had recorded those stories. But, alas, Pandit Govind Kaul was no longer among the living to give aid, and, what with years of Central Asian exploration and long labours on their results intervening, those records seemed to me as if gathered in a former birth. Fortunately, Hatim was still alive and quite equal to the stiff climb which his renewed visit demanded. His recollection of the story was as fresh as ever, though increasing years and prosperity had made him give up his peregrinations

as a public story-teller. So it was easy for another old retainer, Pandit Kasi Ram, to take down from Hatim's dictation the missing end of the story. It ran exactly as my own record showed it.

During the years of the completion of my main Kashmir labours the efforts needed to carry out successive Central Asian expeditions and to assure the elaboration of their abundant results, kept me from making definite arrangements for the publication of those linguistic materials. They had meanwhile, together with my collection of Sanskrit manuscripts from Kashmir, found a safe place of deposit in the Indian Institute's Library at Oxford. But it filled me with grateful relief when my old friend Sir George Grierson, after a preliminary examination, kindly agreed in the autumn of 1910 to publish these texts, and thus enabled me to leave them in the hands most competent for the task.

It was the solution I had hoped for all along. Realizing how much more difficult this task was than the original collection of the materials, I feel deep gratification at the fact that a kindly fate has allowed him to complete it amidst his many great labours. In view of all the progress which Indian linguistic research for more than a generation past owes to Sir George Grierson's exceptional gifts and powers of critical work, it would be presumption on my part to appraise how much of the value which may be claimed for this publication is derived solely from the wide range and precision of the scholarly knowledge he has brought to bear upon it.

It is the greatness of his own share in the work which makes me feel grateful to Sir George Grierson for his ready consent to its dedication to the memory of Pandit Govind Kaul. It affords me an appropriate opportunity for recording some data about the life of a cherished friend and helpmate whose memory deserves to be honoured for the nobility of his character quite as much as for his scholarly gifts and labours. The association of Pandit Govind Kaul during close on ten years with my own efforts bearing on the history and antiquities of Kashmir has always seemed to me a special favour of Fortune, or-to name the goddess under her own Kashmirian form-of alpine land which claims to be her

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homd. He seemed to embody in his person all the best characteristics of that small but important class among the Brahmans of Kashmir to which this far-off and secluded mountain territory owes its pre-eminent position in the history of Indian learning and literature.

I cannot attempt to indicate here the evidence to be gathered both from the Sanskrit literary products of Kashmir and from surviving local tradition, which makes me believe that high scholarly attainments and a special facility of elegant rhetorical or poetic expression were to be found among the truly learned in Kashmir combined, more frequently than elsewhere in India, with a keen eye for the realities of life, power of humorous observation, and interest in the practical affairs of the country. Kalhana himself, the author of the *Rajatarangini*, with whose personality, I felt, I was becoming so familiar across the gap of long centuries, seemed aptly to illustrate this typical combination of features.<sup>2</sup> In Pandit Govind Kaul I found them all again and united with a high sense of honour, a bearing of innate nobility, and a capacity for faithful attachment which from the first made me cherish him greatly as a friend, not merely as an accomplished mentor in most things appertaining to Kashmir and its traditional past. A brief account of his descent and early associations will best explain the growth of these strongly marked characteristics.<sup>3</sup>

Pandit Govind Kaul was born in 1846 as the eldest son of Pandit Balabhadra Kaul (1819-96), who, by reason of his personal qualities, great scholarly attainments and social position, was universally respected among the Brahman community of Srinagar. Pandit Balabhadra's own father, Pandit Taba Kaul, had been a Sanskrit scholar of great reputation in the closing period of Afghan rule in Kashmir. Being connected as hereditary 'Guru' with the important Brahman family of the Dars he had enjoyed a substantial Jagir, and this was allowed to continue when Maharaja Ranjit Singh's conquest in 1819 established Sikh dominion over Kashmir.

Pandit Birbal Dar, his patron, had held an influential administrative position already under the Afghan regime. But he incurred the suspicion of Azim Khan, the last governor from Kabul, and, persecuted by him,



was obliged to flee from Kashmir to the Punjab. Of the adventurous escape which he made with his young son Pandit Rajakak, in mid-winter 1819, across the snow-covered mountains, and of the cruel treatment endured by those of his family he was obliged to leave behind, Pandit Govind Kaul told me interesting traditions. The experienced advice and guidance which Pandit Birbal supplied to Maharaja Ranjit Singh is believed to have contributed greatly to the success of the campaign, which, in the following summer, placed Kashmir in the power of the great Sikh ruler.<sup>4</sup>

The high administrative posts which Pandit Birbal, and after his death his equally capable son Pandit Rajakak, held during the period of Sikh ruler in Kashmir (1819-46), necessarily assured a prominent social position and comparative affluence also for Pandit Taba Kaul and his son Pandit Balabhadra Kaul. The latter was thus enabled to devote himself during his youth solely to Sanskrit studies, and to lay the foundations of a scholarly renown which made him, from an early date, a foremost figure among the Pandits of Kashmir. But the far-reaching political changes which followed the accession of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu to the rule of Kashmir at the close of the First Sikh War, in 1846, led to the loss of the family's Jagir and threw a heavy strain upon Pandit Balabhadra's resources. Though restricted to what income his functions as hereditary Guru and as a teacher of Sastras could secure, and maintaining throughout his long life a dignified retirement,<sup>5</sup> Pandit Balabhadra succeeded not only in giving his three sons an excellent education, but in accumulating also an important collection of Sanskrit manuscripts.

His tasks were, no doubt, facilitated by the support he derived from his close connection with the remarkably able men who succeeded Pandit Birbal as heads of the Dar family. Pandit Rajakak, the latter's son (1805-66), had distinguished himself as an administrator already during the troubled times of the closing Sikh regime, and quelled a rebellion in the hill tract of Drava. When conditions had become more settled under the Dogra rule he rose high in Maharaja Gulab Singh's favour by greatly developing the shawl industry of Kashmir, then a

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monopoly and financial mainstay of the State. Endowed with a genuine love of knowledge and with that intellectual adaptability which has distinguished the best brains of Kashmir through successive historical periods, he had taken care to secure for his son, Pandit Ramjiv Dar (circ. 1830-83), not only a sound training in Persian and Sanskrit, but also some familiarity with English and with Western ways. It was no easy departure in days when close relations with Europeans were apt to be looked at askance as infringing upon the traditional policy of seclusion and the security it was meant to assure.

It was in intimate association with Pandit Ramjiv Dar that Pandit Govind Kaul spent most of his early manhood, and the experience he thus gained of the world of affairs, of rulers and ruled alike, did much to widen the horizon of his thoughts and interests beyond that of the traditional student of Sastras. Pandit Ramjiv seems to have been a man of an unusually active mind and of considerable practical energy. During his short but fruitful life he had the good fortune to serve a ruler so well qualified as the late Maharaja Ranbir Singh was to appreciate his varied mental gifts and activities. It was the cherished aim of the late Maharaja to combine the preservation of inherited systems of Indian thought and knowledge with the development of his country's economic resources along the lines of modern Western progress. Having proved his ability as an administrator of Kashmir districts, Pandit Ramjiv gradually became the Maharaja's trusted adviser in a variety of departments which were created to further that policy, including those of education, agriculture, sericulture, &c. The manifold administrative duties entrusted to Pandit Ramjiv did not divert his attention from scholarly interests, and consequently he kept Pandit Govind Kaul as much as possible by his side wherever his tours of inspection, &c., took him. Thus, Pandit Govind Kaul was able to acquire a great deal of first-hand knowledge of Kashmir and the neighbouring territories in all their varied aspects.

Pandit Govind Kaul had, from his earliest youth, received a very thorough literary training in Sanskrit under his father's direct guidance. In accordance with the traditions of Kashmir leaning, he had devoted particular efforts to the study of the *Alamkara-sastra* and the poetic

### *Aurel Stein*

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literature which is bound up with it. His stock of quotations from the latter seemed inexhaustible. He was thoroughly at home also in *Vyakarana*, *Nyaya*, and the *Saiva-sastra*, and he read widely in the Epics and Puranas. As far as Sanskrit literary qualifications were concerned, he was well equipped for the charge of the 'Translation Department', to which he was appointed in 1874. By creating it, together with a State Press, it was the Maharaja's intention to diffuse a knowledge of Sanskrit works on law, philosophy, &c., among wider classes of his subjects through the medium of Hindi. Other branches of the same department were intended to secure the same object with regard to selected works in English and Persian.

It is needless to discuss here the practical utility of the scheme or the causes which, during the lingering illness of the Maharaja, hampered its execution in the closing years of his reign. It is enough to remember that it provided suitable employments for such highly deserving scholars as Pandit Govind Kaul and the late Pandit Sahajabhatta, who was to become another of my Kashmir assistants, and that among the works undertaken, but never finished, there was also a Hindi translation of the Sanskrit Chronicles of Kashmir.

In 1883 Pandit Ramjiv Dar was carried off by a premature death. Soon after, the 'Translation Department' ceased to exist, together with several other institutions which had owed their creation to his stimulating influence. The last years preceding Maharaja Ranbir Singh's death in 1886 and the first of the reign of his son and successor were for Kashmir a period of transition. Traditional methods of administration and economic conditions, bequeathed by centuries of practical seclusion, were giving way, while there was no machinery as yet available to effect needful reforms on the lines developed in British India. It was in various ways a trying time for all those representing the intellectual inheritance of the valley. After a short spell of work as a teacher in the Sanskrit Pathasala, maintained by the Darbar at Srinagar, on scant pay-and that often in areas-Pandit Govind kaul found himself without official employment.

His learning and sound methods of scholarly work had already, in 1875, attracted the attention of Professor George Buhler, when that great

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Indologist had paid his memorable visit to Kashmir in search of Sanskrit manuscripts. The very commendatory mention which Professor Buhler's report made of Pandit Govind Kaul's attainments and of the help he had rendered,<sup>6</sup> directed my attention to him from the start, and the personal impression gained within the first few days of my arrival at Srinagar at the close of August 1888, was quite sufficient to convince me how amply deserved that praise was. I was quick to notice Pandit Govind Kaul's special interest in those antiquarian subjects which had already led me to form the plan of a critical edition and commentary of Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir. I was equally impressed by his dignified personality, which combined the best qualities of the Indian scholar and gentleman. A short archaeological tour which we made in company to sites round the Dal lake helped to draw us together in mutual sympathy and regard. So it was to me a great source of satisfaction when, before my departure for the plains, Pandit Govind kaul, with his revered father's full approval, accepted my offer of personal employment and agreed to follow me to Lahore for the cold weather season.

It was the beginning of a long period of close association between us in scholarly work and interests. It continued practically unbroken for nearly eleven years, throughout my official employment in the Punjab University at Lahore, and down to Pandit Govind Kaul's lamented death in June 1899. Neither my visits on leave to Europe nor an interval in 1892-93, when he was tempted to accept employment at the Court of Jammu of H.H. the Maharaja's private staff, implied any real interruption. It was, in the first place, my labours concerning the critical publication and elucidation of Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir, for which Pandit Govind Kaul's multifarious and ever devoted assistance proved of the greatest value. As to the character and extent of this help it is unnecessary here to give details. They have been recorded at length, and with due expression of my gratitude, both in the Introduction to my text edition of the *Rajatarangini*, published in 1892, and in the Preface to the commentated translation of it, with which, in 1900, on the eve of departure for my first Central Asian expedition, I completed my labours bearing on the early history and antiquities of Kashmir.<sup>7</sup>

Nor need I give here details regarding the large share taken by Pandit Govind Kaul in another important if not equally attractive task. I mean the preparation of a classified catalogue of the great collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, over 5,000 in number, which through Maharaja Ranbir Singh's enlightened care, had been formed at the Raghunath Temple Library at Jammu. The support I received from the late Raja Sir Amar Singh, then Vice-President of the Kashmir State Council, and successive British Residents in Kashmir, including the late Colonels R. Parry Nisbet and N.F. Prideaux, as well as from my old friend the late Raja Pandit Suraj Kaul, furnished me with the means for organizing the labours by which, in the course of 1889-94, this very valuable collection was saved from the risk of dispersion and rendered accessible to research. They were effected mainly through Pandit Govind Kaul and our common friend the late Pandit Sahajabhatta. A full acknowledgement of their devoted services will be found in the Introduction to the volume which contains the descriptive catalogue, together with the plentiful and accurate extracts prepared by them from previously unknown or otherwise interesting Sanskrit texts.<sup>8</sup>

It would have been quite impossible for me, burdened as I was all through my years at Lahore with heavy and exacting official duties, to undertake the big tasks referred to, had not a kindly fortune provided me in Pandit Govind Kaul with a coadjutor of exceptional qualities. With a wide range of thorough traditional knowledge of the Sastras and a keen sense of literary form he combined a standard of accuracy and a capacity for taking pains over details which would have done high credit to any European scholar trained on modern philological lines.

Though he was no longer young when he joined me, he adapted himself with instinctive comprehension to the needs of Western critical methods, such as I was bound to apply to all my tasks. With infinite and never-failing care he would record and collate the readings of the manuscripts upon which I depended for the critical constitution of the *Rajatarangini* text, and also those of other Kashmirian works, almost all unpublished, reference to which was constantly needed for its

interpretation. Yet I knew that, scrupulously careful as he was about the formal correctness of his Sanskrit writing and speech, the exact reproduction of all the blunders, &c., to be met in the work of often ignorant copyists cost him a kind of physical effort.

It was the same with the labours he had to devote to the collection and sifting of all the multifarious materials needed for the elucidation of antiquarian problems. However much wanting in style and other literary attractions the Kashmirian texts, such as Mahatmyas, later Chronicles, &c. might be which had to be searched, I could always feel sure that none of their contents which might be of interest by their bearing on the realities of ancient Kashmir would be allowed by Pandit Govind Kaul to escape his Index slips.

The value of the help he could give me in regard to the latter labours was greatly increased by the familiarity he had gained with most parts of the country and its varied population during the years spent by the side of his old patron Pandit Ramjiv Dar. Though for various practical reasons I had but little occasion to use Pandit Govind Kaul in that role of travelling camp *literatus* which made his worthy Chinese epiphany, excellent Chiang Ssu-yeh, so invaluable to me during my Central Asian explorations of 1906-8, he was yet exceptionally well able to visualize topographical and other practical facts bearing on archaeological questions.

But, perhaps, the greatest advantage I derived from his long association with my labours was the chance it gave me to study in close contact those peculiarities of traditional Indian thought, belief, and conduct which separate Hindu civilization so deeply both from the West and the East, and which no amount of book knowledge could ever fully reveal to a 'Mleccha'. Pandit Govind Kaul's personality seemed to embody in a clear fashion some of the most characteristic and puzzling features which constitute the inherited mentality of India, traceable through all changes of the ages. Attached with unquestioning faith to the principles and practices of his Brahman caste he would make no concessions whatsoever in his own person to altered conditions of life. Yet he was ever ready to explain to me how the slow adaptation in others was

reconcilable with traditional tenets. His meticulous observance of religious rites shrank from no personal hardship or sacrifice; he would, e.g., strictly keep the fast days enjoined by the three different systems of worship traditional in his family, even when the chance of the calendar would bring them together in most embarrassing succession. Yet, in the privacy of my study or in the solitude of my mountain camp he was fully prepared to brush aside most of the outward restrictions to which the *profanum volgus* might attach importance.

His strongly conservative notions were the clearest reflex of those which have governed the administration of Kashmir throughout its historic past. Their instinctive application by Pandit Govind Kaul to the modern conditions of his country helped me greatly in comprehending how limited in reality were the changes undergone by its social fabric in the course of past centuries, notwithstanding all foreign conquests from the north and south. In his unfailing grave politeness and courtly dignity I could recognize, as it were, the patina which generations of influential employment and social distinction have deposited on the best representatives of the true ruling class of Kashmir. Whenever Pandit Govind Kaul was by my side, whether in the alpine peace of my beloved Kashmir mountains or in the dusty toil of our Lahore exile, I always felt in living touch with past ages full of interest for the historical student of India.

A kindly Fate had allowed me, notwithstanding constant struggles for leisure, to carry my labours on the oldest historical records of Kashmir close to their completion by the time when in the spring of 1899 my appointment to the charge of the Calcutta Madrassa, with the far more encouraging prospect of freedom for my first Central Asian journey, necessitated what seemed merely a temporary change in our personal association. In view of the new field of work which was soon to call me to the 'Sea of Sand' and its ruins far away in the north, I felt anxious to assure to Pandit Govind Kaul scholarly employment in his own home, worthy of his learning and likely to benefit research. By what appeared at the time a special piece of good fortune, my friend Sir George Grierson was then anxious to avail himself of Pandit Govind Kaul's methodical

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help for completing and editing Pandit Isvara Kaul's great dictionary of Kashmiri. It was a philological task of considerable importance, and for more than one reason I rejoiced when, before my departure from Lahore, this collaboration of the best Kashmirian scholar of his time with the leading authority in the field of Indian linguistic research had been satisfactorily arranged.

But Fate, with that inscrutable irony on which Pandit Govind Kaul, like another Kalhana,<sup>9</sup> loved to expatiate with appropriate poetic quotations, had decreed otherwise. The farewell I took at Lahore from my ever devoted helpmate was destined to be the last. From a rapid visit he had paid to Simla to see Sir George Grierson he had brought back an attack of fever which, after his return to Kashmir, proved to be of a serious type and ultimately was recognized as typhoid. For weeks his strong constitution held out, supported by the loving care of his family and such proper medical attendance as I endeavoured to assure from afar. But in the end he succumbed. Separated by thousands of miles at the time in the strange mountains of Sikkim, I learned early in June 1899, the grievous news that my best Indian friend had departed beyond all hope of reunion in the *janman*.

Pandit Govind Kaul left behind a widow, who, after years of pious devotion to his memory, has since followed him, and a young son, Pandit Nilakanth Kaul, who, while prevented by indifferent health in early youth from following a scholar's career, has grown up worthily to maintain the family's reputation for high character and unswerving devotion to duty.

The prolonged stays I was subsequently able to make in Kashmir before and after my successive Central Asian expeditions had to be spent on work relating to regions far away, and wholly different in character, from what I have come to look upon as my Indian alpine home. But my love for Kashmir has remained unchanged, and so also my gratitude for the great boon it had given me in Pandit Govind Kaul's friendship and help. That I was enabled to prefix a record of his life to his volume and thus to do something to preserve his memory, is a privilege I appreciate greatly. I owe it solely to the scholarly zeal of Sir George Grierson, who



has rescued and elaborated the materials which we had collected, in a previous common birth, as it were. For the personal service thus rendered the expression of my warmest thanks is due here in conclusion.

### REFERENCES

1. See *Kalhana's Rajatarangini, or Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, edited by M.A. Stein, Bombay 1892, fol.; *Kalhana's Rajatarangini, a Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, translated with an Introduction, & c., by M.A. Stein, Westminster, 1900.
2. See the sketch I have given of the information to be gathered from the *Rajatarangini* about the personal character of its author in the Introduction to my translation, *Kalhana's Chronicle*, i. pp.21 sqq.
3. For the account here presented I have been able to utilize a series of notes which Pandit Govind Kaul's son, Pandit Nilakanth, collected at my request among the elder members of his family and also among the surviving representatives of Dar family, their hereditary patrons. In addition my recollection of data verbally communicated to me by Pandit Govind Kaul has proved useful.
4. Pandit Birbal is said to have been personally present at the fight on the Divasar Karewa in which the Afghans were finally defeated by Diwan Chand Misar and Sardar Hari Singh, Ranjit Singh's generals, and to have decided the issue by pointing out Jabar Khan, Azim Khan's brother and ablest commander, as the chief objective for the attack.

I may mention as an interesting relic connected with this event that in the palace-like mansion of the Dar family, a monument of departed glory, I found a number of fine Persian carpets and elaborate felt rugs which according to family tradition Pandit Birbal had been allowed to appropriate from the defeated Afghan governor's camp in recognition of the help he had rendered towards the Sikh success on that field of battle.

5. During the latter half of his life he never left the house he occupied within the precincts of the Dar family mansion, though receiving frequent visitors from among those whom office or intellectual attainments placed high in the social world of Srinagar.
6. Cf. Buhler, *Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. made in Kashmir, Rajputana, and Central India*, Extra Number of the Journal, Bombay Branch R.A.S., 1877, pp. 7, 17, 27. In the last-quoted passage Professor Buhler mentions Pandit Govind Kaul's shrewd identification of the old local name of Leh (*loh* in the *Rajatarangini*), and rightly states: 'His proceeding showed that he was possessed of a truly scientific spirit of enquiry.'
7. Cf. *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, ed. Stein, p. xvii; *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, transl. Stein, i, pp. xvii, xxii sq.
8. See Stein, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunatha Temple Library of H.H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir*, Bombay 1894, pp. vi sq., xi.
9. Cf. *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, transl. Stein, i. Introduction, p. 36.

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# CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIAN HIMALAYA

## *Seminar Report*

*G.L. Badam*

The Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation (HRCF) in collaboration with Indira Gandhi Rashtriya Manav Sangrahalaya (IGRMS), Bhopal organised a 3-day International Seminar on *Cultural Heritage of Indian Himalaya* at the Avritti Complex, IGRMS campus, Bhopal from 3 to 5 March 2001. Prominent academics, social scientists, scholars, literateurs, artists and writers belonging to the Himalayan region as well as other parts of the country participated in this Seminar. It provided a forum for serious discussion on vital issues relating to the Himalayan heritage and focussed particularly on the Himalayan regions of Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh, Uttranchal, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya and other areas. The Seminar analyzed and appraised the evolution of different cultures, cross-cultural movements and contribution of the Himalayas to Indian civilisation, besides recording the rich and variegated cultural heritage of the Indian Himalayas. A wide range of issues discussed during the seminar included bio-diversity, evolution of cultures and beliefs, mysticism, shrines and pilgrimages of the Himalayas, festivals, fairs and folklores, art and architecture, language and literature, cultural identities, contribution of Himalayas to Indian aesthetics, philosophy, music, paintings etc. The Seminar also discussed the impact of modernisation, tourism and extraneous factors on the Himalayan heritage, preservation and promotion of cultural heritage of Indian Himalaya and its problems and prospects.

**Dr. Bhai Mahavir**, H.E. the Governor of Madhya Pradesh, inaugurated the Seminar. In his address, Dr. Mahavir described the Himalaya as the most significant symbol of Indian consciousness, as the

stream of our civilization flows from its high peaks in the shape of our sacred rivers, most significantly the Indus and Ganges rivers. While quoting a Sanskrit shloka from Kalidas's *Kumarasambhav*, the Governor said that Himalaya has been India's guardian angel, abode of civilisation, residence of gods, shelter of sages, protector against the chilly winds of the north and the repository of precious eco-cultural diversity. Recalling that the Himalaya had served, in the past, as a sanctuary for thousands of pilgrims, traders and craftsmen, who exchanged their goods, ideas and skills, he said that they derived their food, fodder, shelter, poetry, philosophy and literature from the Himalaya. "Many of our sacred scriptures have originated from the Himalayan region. It is in the Himalayan region that the three great religions – Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam have co-existed and interacted in varying degrees. It is here that the humanistic and universal philosophies of Mahayana Buddhism, Shaivism, Rishism and Sufism have flowered and prospered. The entire Himalayan region of India, stretching from Jammu and Kashmir State in the north-west, to Arunachal Pradesh in the north-east, has engaged the attention of scholars, adventurers and mystics since times immemorial. Though the Himalayan region involves wide diversity of cultural patterns, languages, religious practices and races, it has evolved, over a period of time, a common cultural heritage. Despite the local variations, moulded by geo-climatic considerations, there is a great harmony of idiom among the creative human communities all across the Himalaya." The Governor also made reference to Saraswati - a lost river of north western India which evoked great fascination and unflinching interest in the minds of geologists and archaeologists in India. The interest attached to Saraswati was also because of the great civilization which flourished on its banks more than 8000 years ago. Due to the geotectonic and climatic change factors, the Saraswati which once flowed in true majesty, dwindled into an ephemeral stream and finally got lost in the sands of the Thar desert. The Governor urged the scholars to look into the fascinating history of Saraswati which had its origin in the Himalaya. Besides, he touched upon many other problems related to Himalaya such as deforestation, landslides, construction of big dams, limited agricultural resources, impact

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of electronic media and other threats to the socio-cultural ethos of this region. Stressing that the assembled scholars would look into these threats collectively, he expressed the hope that the Seminar would succeed in generating not only a shared awareness and interest, but also an action programme for dealing with common risks and challenges, for not only conserving the Himalayan heritage, but also combating the new challenges and pressures for the economic development of the region. “We must ensure the continued survival and nourishment of the Himalayan heritage and economic prosperity of the people in Himalaya”, he added.

Expressing his deep concern over the destruction of Buddha statues in Bamiyan, Afghanistan by the Taliban, the Governor said that such fanatic acts of fundamentalists had no place in Indian thought, which has always taken pride in its principles of religious tolerance and mutual coexistence. The Governor also lauded the pioneering efforts of Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation for organising such an important seminar on *Cultural Heritage of Indian Himalaya* as well as its intimate involvement in promoting the Himalayan heritage.

**Lt. Gen. (Rtd.) Hridaya Kaul** in his Presidential remarks gave a brief account of the activities of the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation (HRCF) - a national level multidisciplinary research and cultural organisation in which eminent specialists, environmentalists, cultural personalities and development experts are involved. Gen. Kaul reiterated that the Foundation had evolved as vibrant national centre specialised on Hindu Kush-Himalayan and Trans - Himalayan region in South and Central Asia. He said that the Foundation has been engaged in promoting the cause of preservation and promotion of cultural, literary and historical heritage of the Himalayan states of India, conducting seminars and lectures and has regular publication programme. Highlighting the importance of the seminar at a time when the waves of intolerance are threatening the symbols of heritage, he hoped that participants from all parts of Indian Himalaya as well as other parts of the country and abroad, would work in tandem for the common goal of focusing attention on the rich cultural heritage of Indian Himalaya.

**Prof. K. Warikoo**, the Secretary General of the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation (HRCF), gave a background in which the seminar was being organised in Bhopal. Expressing deep shock over the destruction of Buddha statues by the Taliban in Bamiyan, he recalled that in November 2000 during a seminar on **The Afghanistan Crisis: Problems and Prospects of Peace** held in Delhi, the Himalayan Foundation had highlighted the destruction already done by Taliban to the world heritage sites in Afghanistan. He said that in an audio-visual presentation made by a Swiss delegate, who is the Director of Bibliotheca Afghanica in Switzerland, fears had already been expressed regarding this event at that stage.

A resolution was passed unanimously in the inaugural session “expressing deep shock and outrage at the barbaric destruction of the Buddha statues at Bamiyan in Afghanistan by the Taliban.” The resolution urged the Government of India to make every effort for bringing back the cultural objects from Afghanistan to India and take necessary diplomatic steps to persuade the world community to take stringent and immediate measures for stopping such uncivilised acts.

Later an exhibition titled *Hinvali Dandi* (meaning snow mountain) was inaugurated by the Governor, Dr. Bhai Mahavir. The exhibition which displayed ethnographic specimens and photographs collected from Uttaranchal, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir, mainly focussed on various aspects of Indian Himalayan culture, landscapes, house types, terrace cultivation, festivals and rituals, household objects, dress and ornaments, traditional paintings (miniature and Buddhist paintings) and musical instruments as well as various gods and goddesses of the Himalayan region.

An Audio-visual film/slides presentation titled “**Mystic Himalaya: Through a Journey to Kailash and Manasarovar**” was made by **Dr. V. Gopinath**, Deputy Director General (Telecommunications), Delhi. The film was prepared by Dr. Gopinath himself during his journeys to Kailash-Manasarovar in 1997 and 1998. The screening of film along with Sanskrit shlokas resounded by Dr. Gopinath imparted a mystic ambience and the audience was lost into it.

### SESSION I

The first session which discussed the socio-religious and cultural traditions of Himalaya was chaired by **Prof. Suniti Kumar Pathak** and co-chaired by **Dr. R.S. Negi**.

**Dr. G.L. Badam** of IGRMS, Bhopal discussed the *Dynamics of Palaeo - Biodiversity and the Cultural Evolution at the Foot Hills of NW Himalaya*. He gave a historical account of the evolution of the Himalaya, the gradual disappearance of the Tethys sea, changes in facies, fauna and ecology, formation of the estuaries and rivers at the foot of the Himalaya. He brought out the importance of the Siwalik Hills as one of the best known fossiliferous deposits in the world with a record of bio-diversity spanning from Middle Miocene to Middle Pleistocene. Dr. Badam said that even though cultural material in the form of Stone Age tools has been found in abundance in the post-Pleistocene terraces all along the foothills of the Himalaya, the physical remains of the makers of these tools still elude us in the Himalaya. In this connection he referred to the recent discovery of a fossil mammoth from a Pleistocene deposit near Srinagar in Kashmir which was associated with Stone Age tools. This association, if confirmed, would push back the antiquity of Early Man in India. Dr. Badam concluded that such discoveries in the Himalaya raise the hope that the Himalaya may one day prove to be an important cradle of mankind.

**Capt. M.S. Kohli** of Delhi in his paper *Himalayan Culture and Environment* pointed to the gradual changes in culture and ways of life of people, during the last forty five years, he had been trekking and climbing in the Himalaya. He gave a vivid account of his expeditions to Saser Kangri, the Karakoram and the Khardung La. He said when Ladakh was opened to the tourists in 1972, most of the artefacts from the monasteries and the markets disappeared. Capt. Kohli said that under the pressure of growing pollution and the influx of tourists and pilgrims several Himalayan areas have been flooded and the number of visitors has gone beyond the carrying capacity of the area. Capt. Kohli enumerated a set of principles that govern sustainability of “mountain

tourism” and “pilgrimage tourism”. He expressed satisfaction over a growing realisation among the masses that Himalaya represent a world heritage which should be saved for future generation.

**Dr. Sujit Kumar Ghosh** of Silchar, Assam in his paper *Epic as History: Travel of Ramkatha from Chin Hills to Lushai Hills* mentioned that epics do travel and in the process influence the cultures and people of other countries, and touch the heart and mind of the people. Epics are points of reference in the civilizational development of a country or a nation. For example, the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* do reflect the socio-economic and political contexts of the people they were with. Epics also present a world view in which good prevails over the evil. Referring to *Ramayana* which is older than *Mahabharata*, Dr. Ghosh said that it is an epic narrative that has travelled far and wide. However, there are regional variations and different versions in the story and narration of *Ramayana* in South East Asia. As migration is historically significant, the study of *Ramayana* tradition amongst the tribes of North East will certainly reveal more facts about their cultures than any other historical study.

**Dr. Keisham Sobita Devi**, Curator, Manipur State Museum, Manipur shed light on the *Evolution of Culture and Beliefs of Manipur* with special reference to animism, ancestor worship, Buddhism, Shaivism and Vaishnavism. She said that down through the centuries, Manipur was exposed to inroads of several outside cultural and religious influences and thus became a repository of living heritage for which it is known to the rest of the world. The evolution of Manipuri culture owes much to the assimilation of different cultures and beliefs brought in by various ethnic groups who came from outside and settled down in Manipur during different periods of the history. She pointed out that blending with the traditional ritual worship of the original inhabitants, the influences of alien religions forged a fusion of dual system of worship, belief and practice which today intrigues the casual visitors to this Himalayan region.

**Dr. Nawang Tsering** of Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, Choglamsar, Leh, Ladakh spoke of *Establishing the Enlightenment of*



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*the Buddha in Pramanasiddhi – Pariccheda of the Pramana-Varttika.* Examining the establishment of Buddha as embodiment of valid knowledge (*Paramanabhuta*), he discussed the matter under different sections such as *jagadhitaisitva*, *sastrtva*, *sugatatva* and *tajitva* which are the entailing pre-conditions of *Samya* or *sambuddhatva* of Sakyamuni Buddha. These four sections are successive order of causes and conditions of misery in which knowledge arises and the highest stage of spiritual perfection is attained.

**Dr. Manju Kak** of Delhi in her paper *Myth, Ritual and Religious beliefs of the Kumaon Himalaya*, said that Kumaon is known as *Devbhoomi* or the abode of the gods. The awe-inspiring natural environment of the Himalaya has had a deep impression on the psyche of the people of Kumaon and has shaped their beliefs. The culture of Kumaon Himalaya is of Puranic tradition. Lord Shiva and his consort Parvati are worshipped everywhere. She stressed the fact that the religious life of Uttarakhand has a patina of Sanskritisation, of mantras and Brahmanical rituals, imported from the waves of settlers from the plains. However, Dr. Kak mentioned that certain customs and rituals are now fading from historical memory, as Himalayan culture is changing very rapidly. Developmental activities and migrations are bringing new values to the area and these include the adoption of beliefs and customs from outside to the detriment of the local traditions.

**Dr. O.C. Handa** of Shimla, speaking on *Naga Cults and Traditions in Western Himalaya* said that the region has been a vast melting pot for innumerable races, civilizations, cultures and nationalities since time immemorial. Nagas have come to be regarded as the venomous reptiles as also benevolent deities. The wooden temples dedicated to the Naga deities outnumber the total number of temples dedicated to other deities in the region. However, the Naga cults and traditions of the region have been undergoing instant metamorphosis under successive religious and ethno-cultural influences, and these have now come down to contemporary times in various forms and manifestations. Dr. Handa elaborated various categories of Naga cults according to their characteristics. While discussing dominance of the Naga cult in Kashmir,

he said that it may be adjudged from the fact that the founding of the most illustrious ruling dynasty of the Kashmir Kingdom was identified with one of the twelve prominent Nagas recorded in the *Vishnupurana* - the Karkota. Also the names of most of the natural lakes in the Kashmir valley were suffixed with the nag, viz., Sheshnag, Kounsarnag, Nilnag etc. - an introduction of the latter medieval period from Rajasthan to this region. There is a profusion of snake cults and the temples associated with them still prevail in the interior districts of Himachal Pradesh. Dr. Handa said that some Naga cults might have found way into this region from Kashmir after the fall of Hindu rule in the Valley. He also discussed the prevalence of Naga deities in the districts of Chamba, Kullu, Mandi, etc. and highlighted their socio-religious impact on the people of the region.

**Dr. B.R. Sharma**, former Secretary, Himachal Pradesh Culture Academy, Shimla dilating on the *Socio-Religious Traditions of Mahasu Region in Himachal Pradesh* said that the tradition of worship of spirits as village deities is quite common there. These supernatural beings are propitiated by way of fasting in their name, making them to dance in their palanquins, arranging ceremonies and taking them to various sacred places. Ritual fasting, according to Dr. Sharma, is a method of bringing spirits into relation with man. Religious feelings are also induced by way of fasting. It is believed that the deities do not accept anything offered to them by a person who has already taken his food. Even jobs relating to the gods in their temples are performed with empty stomach. The ancient tradition of the worship of divine spirits is firmly rooted in the soil as a living folk religion patronised by the village folk. Describing the types of deities in Shimla and Solan districts of Mahasu region, Dr. Sharma discussed at length some of the myths relating to their origin and miracles. He said that Mahasu is the most widely worshipped deity in Mahasu region. There are several legends relating to the emergence of Mahasu brothers, four in number. They wield good deal of influence in the region of Jaunsar Bawar, Uttar Kashi and Dev Van (U.P.), Shimla, Sirmaur, Solan, Kinnaur, Mandi etc. and the Mahasu cult has greatly influenced the folk religion of north west Himalaya.

**SESSION II**

The second session which was chaired by **Dr. O.C. Handa** and co-chaired by **Dr. Sujit Som** was devoted to the discussion of the development of art and architecture and paintings of the Himalaya.

**Martin Vernier** of Switzerland speaking on *Rock Art of Indian Himalaya* pointed to the lack of documentation in the areas of Ladakh and Zaskar in Jammu and Kashmir state. These people from Tibetan culture have maintained cultural links with the art of rock carving. While detailing his plans of research, he said that he would like to survey the entire region and draw a precise map with locations of Paleolithic sites in the Himalaya as many archaeological sites in the area are not well documented so far. Martin singled out some sites which limit themselves to primitive art. The sites with more recent stone carvings are the first evidence of the Buddhist culture. Animals, isolated or in groups, human figures and symbols (such as swastikas, circle and sun) are generally represented.

**Dr. Subhasini Aryan** of Gurgaon gave an informative account of the *Architectural Heritage of Western Himalaya* and said that these areas have been linked to the north Indian plains through numerous trade routes that have existed since ancient times. The architectural, sculptural and artistic traditions of central India travelled to these areas via these routes. Dr. Aryan focussed on the temple structures built in Himachal Pradesh and Uttaranchal. Kashmir had a distinctive architectural style in stone temples. These temples have greater stylistic affinities with wooden temples built in the same architectural style in Kullu valley. Dr. Aryan said that Himachal Pradesh has the largest number of temples that can be divided into stone temples and timber shrines. According to some scholars the timber shrines represent local style, having been evolved by the indigenous carpenters, in keeping with the local climatic conditions. Dr. Aryan feels that the timber shrines are of four distinct architectural styles which are related to the Indian mainstream. The stone temples represent the regional variant of Nagara style shikara temples of North Indian plains. However, there is only one temple complex at Masnur in Kangra Dist. which is an example of monolithic variety in North India.

**Dr. B.L. Malla** of Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts, New Delhi speaking on *Saiva and Sakta Cults in Thought and Art of Kashmir* traced the origin and antiquity of these cults in the light of historical documentary evidences. While Saivism became one of the most popular religious faith in early Kashmir, the Sakti worship too manifested in the worship of goddess Durga and Sarada. Kashmir has been regarded as the land of Sarada who is associated with the goddess Saraswati. Goddess Sarada has been depicted five-headed in Kashmir iconography. He said that Sakti worship is not only being practiced by the followers of Hinduism but it is equally popular among the Buddhists and Jainas. There are also evidences of the depiction of Shiva and Sakta icons in the medieval paintings of Kashmir. Besides, Kashmir has also a rich treasure of folklore and traditional devotional songs related to Saiva and Sakta cults and their different aspects.

**Dr. H. Bilashini Devi** Curator, Manipur University Museum, Canchipur (Manipur) delved into *Historical Development of Art and Architecture in Manipur* covering the period from Christian era upto post-Hindu period. Tracing the origin of indigenous form of art and architecture, she stated that it goes back to the time of Nongda Lairen Pakhangba who is regarded as the first historical king of Manipur having ruled in the first century B.C. Hindu influence on art and architecture of Manipur was well marked in the 18<sup>th</sup> century A.D. It is further evidenced by the construction of Vishnu temple at Bishnupur which marked the beginning of temple architecture in Manipur. The corbelled arch of this temple is of Burmese origin. There are numerous Govinda temples in Manipur but the one that is existing as an archeological remains inside the Kangla Palace represents one of the modern architectural designs of Manipur. Besides, Buddhist influence also played an important role in the development of art and architecture of Manipur. She pointed out that on the surface of the soil, all architectural structures form an admixture of indigenous styles and the Hindu styles, but deep inside the earth, there are Buddhist art and architectural elements which still need to be studied.

**P.N. Kachru** of Delhi in his paper *Kashmir's Contribution to Pahari Art Movement in Western Himalaya*, said that Kashmir had its

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share of migration-in and migration-out of various herds, tribes and communities. The Kashmiri painters had established a style based on the traditions of Harvan formalism and Wushker Baroque school. The Kashmiri artists, under several threats, were forced to move out in phases to Tibet, Central Asia and neighbouring areas of Himachal Pradesh. This physical fanning out widened the field of diffusion for the Kashmir style. The Kashmir school thrived again and gave rise to gorgeous tapestry of art, culminating in what is known as Kangra school of painting. The renaissance of Pahari culture was a post-Mughal phenomena. He said that the family of Rajanka (Razdan or Raina) Brahmins was responsible for introducing the fine art movement in various areas of Himachal Pradesh. He made particular mention of Pandit Seu Raina who was responsible for bringing out a style known as “pre-Kangra Kalam”. Pandit Raina’s subsequent generations were responsible for flowering of the new movement that culminated in Kangra School, which became popular in other areas like Guler, Kullu, Mandi etc. Kachru, while tracing the history of development of Pahari Art movement, talked of the controversies attached with the development of the art and the tremendous contributions of the art made by Kashmiri painters.

**Dr. Julius L.R. Marak** of Shillong, Meghalaya speaking on *Aspects of Garo Traditional Dance Forms of Meghalaya*, said that all the dance forms have the common characteristics of rituals and ceremonies followed by social functions. Various aspects of dance forms such as *Wangala, Mangona, Chugana, Memang Chroka, Imdim Chroka, Gure Rodila, Nokma Ganna* and *Ganna Mitde* discussed by Dr. Marak who also highlighted problems of preservation of these rich traditional cultural heritage of the Garos. He regretted that modernisation, advancement of education, science and technology, and outside cultural influences have greatly contributed in discarding the traditional cultures of Meghalaya. The only local culture that has remained unaffected are the tribal dances such as *Shad Nongkhrem, Shad suk Mynsiem, Wangala* etc. which provide entertainment and social enjoyment as well as hold the community together and strengthen their own identity.

SESSION III

The third session which was chaired by **P.N. Kachru** and co-chaired by **Dr. B.R. Sharma** dealt with contribution of Himalayas to Indian aesthetics, mysticism, shrines, and pilgrimages etc.

**Dr. S.S. Toshkhani** of Delhi talked about *Kashmir's contribution to Indian Aesthetics*. He said that the small valley has produced a succession of brilliant thinkers who have formulated most of the fundamental concepts of Sanskrit poetries and have given us a whole body of aesthetic thought. The major schools of Indian aesthetics were in fact founded by Kashmiri theoreticians - the Alankara School by Brahma, Riti School by Vamana, Vakrokti School by Kuntaka, to name a few. He said that these schools provided the building blocks on which the Indian aesthetic thought stands today. Profound thinkers include Udbhata, Bhatta Lollata, Shankuka, Bhatta Nayaka and others. The issues they raised about the relation of aesthetic object and aesthetic experience raged throughout India for a long time. Dr. Toshkhani talked of Natya Shastra which provides a deep insight into the psychology of aesthetic experience. It distinguishes nine abiding mental states (love, laughter, sorrow, anger, heroism, fear, disgust, wonder, serenity) that are latent in a man's psychological organisation. Dr. Toshkhani proceeded to explain how ideas which eventually crystallised to form a cogent theory of rasa took off, giving views of various thinkers. He said that it was impossible to think of Indian aesthetic thought without the creative inputs that Kashmiri thinkers have provided in shaping and developing its basic concepts and conclusions.

**Dr. D.N. Dhar** of Delhi in his paper *The Shawl: A gift of Kashmir's Cultural Heritage* discussed the origin of shawl saying that the story of Shawl is very long and ancient one. It made its beginning from the region in Western Tibet, deep inside Himalayas and the Tien-Shen mountains in Central Asia wherefrom its raw material was collected. The pashm wool finally reached the vale of Kashmir, where it was cleaned and spun by Kashmiri women. It went through nineteen processes including designing. It was then presented to world community as a magic gift of Kashmir's

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cultural heritage. It had found its place in the caravan trade from Arabia to Egypt in 1800 B.C. It was provided the honour of being presented as dowry gift to Sita. Persian kings used it for covering their pavilions in the battlefield way back in 300 B.C. The Roman emperor, Nero awarded it to Grecian athlete to honour him. It formed part of the costume of the Biblical characters and was given the privilege of adoring the proudest beauties in the court of Caesars. Dr. Dhar said that the shawl found its way back to Central Asia over the caravan route. The great Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin resurrected it to life. Akbar named it afresh as *Parm Narm*. Leonardo de Vinci made it part of his painting-Monalisa and Napoleon presented it to his beloved Josephine. The shawl adored the wardrobes of aristocratic ladies in France. However, the man behind this wonder creation was awarded the self inflicted punishment of cutting his thumb and blinding himself.

**Dr. R.P. Khatana** of Gurgaon speaking on *Himalayan Mystic Culture: Therapeutic Dimensions*, explained the fundamental principles of self-healing through subtle bio-energy (*Prana Shakti*) circulation devised by the Himalayan mystics. He said that the mystic system developed in Himalayas is full of symbolism, and is a highly elaborate system of atomic theory, sound theory, space-time relationship, astronomical observations, cosmology, astrology, chemistry and all forms of *Yoga*, *Mantra* and *Tantra* in which *Kundalini Shakti* is the cardinal point alongwith all other forces of nature. The mystic therapy loosens up blocked bio-energy, cleans the body of toxins, balances the body's energies, thereby promoting a state of total relaxation and health. The body becomes disease free in short time without any medicine.

**Ravinder Kaul** of Jammu in his paper *Theatre Movement in Kashmir: A Historical Perspective* said that historically, it is very difficult to fix an exact date with regard to the origin of theatre in India. Among the earliest theoretical commentaries are those of the Sanskrit grammarian and scholar Panini who in the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. was already speaking about theatre as an integral part of the civic life in his *Natsutras*. Similarly, Bharat Muni's *Natya Shastra*, is much broader in scope as it includes important discussions on such varied subjects as what would be called

today dramatology, performance theory, acting aesthetics and even the construction of performance spaces. He emphasized that such a significant document can only be written when a language and culture has a rich, diverse and flourishing tradition in drama and on the basis of which certain guidelines have been formulated. Kaul argued that what is true of Sanskrit theatre traditions in rest of India is also equally true of the theatre traditions in Kashmir. The first mention of theatre traditions in Kashmir can be found in *Nilmat Purana* believed to have been composed in 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. The glorious tradition of theatre in Kashmir continued till the rule of Zain-ul-Abdin (Badshah). However, subsequently all performing arts, particularly theatrical arts, were suppressed, being contrary to a strict interpretation of Islam. He said that all over India the classical art forms, particularly dramatic arts, faced decline after the advent of Islam in this country. These arts somehow survived in the form of folk arts and artists. The best example of this can be gauged from the *Bhaands* of Kashmir, whose links with the Hindu culture and the *Natya Shastra* have survived the vagaries of hostile times and intolerant rulers.

#### **SESSION IV**

The fourth session which was chaired by **Prof. K. Warikoo** discussed language and literature, cultural identities and the impact of modernisation, tourism and extraneous factors on Himalayan Heritage

The paper titled *Some Thoughts on Mountain Tourism* of **Dr. Goffrey Wall** of University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada (who could not come) was circulated. His paper focussed on the extent to which eco-tourism can be expected to contribute to sustainable development of the mountains. Examining the nature of eco-tourism and identifying some of the challenges to be overcome he contended that if eco-tourism is to thrive then it should be based upon a balanced understanding of both the eco-systems and tourism systems. He argued that the most complex and complete definitions of eco-tourism are difficult to implement but are worth striving for. It can be expected to contribute to sustainable development – through the provision of high quality tourism



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experiences, by making positive contributions to the sustenance of environmental quality and by enhancing the livelihoods of communities, including the reduction of poverty and the fostering of the continuation and enrichment of desired cultural expressions. Eco-tourism can have far-reaching consequences for the mountains and their inhabitants. Both negative and positive implications can occur in the same place and at the same time across environmental, economic and socio-economic dimensions. Dr. Wall viewed eco-tourism as a means of supplementing and diversifying economies rather than as a replacement activity, particularly if the number of visitors is to be small. Perhaps fortunately, eco-tourism caters to a limited (but expanding) market segment. It has captured the imagination of those with a strong ecological bent and is receiving attention that may be out of all proportion to its global significance. There is a possibility that it is diverting attention from very real and pressing environmental problems associated with mass tourism. However, he said that eco-tourism is a legitimate activity and it could play an important role in attracting support, both moral and financial, for the preservation of threatened natural areas.

**Dr. R.S. Negi** of Dehradun speaking on *Agro Pastoralism: A Specific Subsistence Pattern in the Himalaya* felt that the subsistence agriculture is the mainstay of life support throughout the Himalayan mountain system. However, the fragile ecosystem and various environmental constraints such as terrain altitude, climate, precipitation etc. place serious limitations on the adequacy of agricultural productivity to sustain the population round the year. Therefore, the mountain inhabitants have built up indigenous knowledge system which enables them to overcome the limitation to a large extent. The resultant subsistence strategy emerges as agro-pastoralism combining farming with rotational cropping pattern and pastoralism in varying degrees and combinations. The successful outcome of this combination is solely dependent on symbiotic relationship between various resource components of a particular mountain system.

**Dr. Bupinder Zutshi** of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi speaking on *Eco-cultural Tourism: An Alternative for Sustainable*

*Development in the Himalayas* highlighted ways to preserve the traditional activities among the mountain communities by portraying both the negative as well as positive impact of tourism on the destination area. He also proposed a strategy of eco-cultural tourism, which would incorporate within itself sustainability, conservation, and local participation bringing about a perfect blend and reconciliation between economic development and environmental protection of the region.

**Prof. S.K. Pathak** of Shantiniketan highlighted the problems of preservation and promotion of *the Buddhist Cultural Heritage in Indian Himalayas*. Dr. Pathak said that the Buddhist inhabitants of the Himalaya are of multiple ethnic groups and they reside in clusters from eastern to western part of Himalaya. He gave details of their ethnic nomenclatures and distribution in Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Bhutan, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, J&K and other areas giving their local and ethnic identity, physical features and mental set up. Dr. Pathak said that inspite of such diverse ethnic spectra their religious identity is one for they worship the Buddha. He discussed at length the spiritual traits of the Himalayan Buddhists and said that the Buddhist culture and traditions preserve a status distinct from the others. They endeavour their best to abide by prescribed ways of life inspite of their hardship in the formidable environment of snow-clad mountainous regions. Material expression of the Buddhists, their architectural installations and other design motifs, culture and tradition in the Himalaya, safeguards from ecological disaster, measures for economic self dependency were other issues that were explained by Prof. Pathak.

**Dr. R.L. Shant** of Jammu in a touching account of the *Unrest in Kashmir and its Impact on Kashmiri Literature* said that the psychologists and medical scientists have conducted research on the psyche of the displaced people and concluded that the urge and initiative has decreased in them tremendously. After the outbreak of militancy, no meaningful work has been produced in Kashmiri literature. Dr. Shant analysed the extent to which the political and social unrest reflects in Kashmiri literature. He said that the Kashmiri writing of the last two decades was influenced by the same dormant causes which led to the

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disturbance of the nineties. As a human being and being sensitive by nature, the Kashmiri writer could not turn a blind eye to the events taking place. Most of them bemoan silently. Dr. Shant said the Kashmiri writings of those days are replete with anger mixed with disappointment. Literature produced complex results and short stories bring out portraits of characters full of fear. The manifestation of the agony in one form or the other is brought out ably by Dr. Shant in the context of the militancy period. The tendency of secessionism created a wide chasm in the Kashmiri society causing a vertical divide in Kashmiri literature also. Two new streams, the *Literature of Displacement* and the *Literature of Dismay* were created.

**Dr. Rajnath Bhat** of Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra speaking on *Displaced Kashmiris: A Study in Cultural Change (1990-2000)* investigated the linguistico-cultural loss among the younger generation of the displaced Kashmiris who have been living away from the valley for over a decade now. Dr. Bhat apprehends that Kashmiri Pandits (the main sufferer of militancy) may lose its character as a distinct socio-cultural and linguistic community within the next two generations. Language and culture are the two fundamental ingredients which give a community a distinct character and build bands of fraternity and oneness amongst its members. A displaced community finds itself in alien surroundings with a new kind of environment. Dr. Bhat divided the displaced Kashmiri community into three segments, G1-50 and above, G2- between 25-50, G3 - below 25 years. G1 is fully aware of the linguistico - cultural moorings of the community, can speak the Kashmiri language and observe all the rituals and festivals and would like to go back to the valley if conditions permit. G2 is struggling to root itself somewhere. It is not sure of a return to the valley in case of favourable circumstance. G2 speaks Kashmiri fluently but has lost an interest in festivals, customs etc. G3 has little or no memories of the valley, speaking Hindi and English. Some of them have settled in the plains after displacement. He does not know the rituals and customs prevalent in the valley. Besides, Dr. Bhat gave a number of examples to illustrate a point that belief systems, customs of a community and languages are alien to

G3 category. The displaced Kashmiri Pandits stationed in Jammu and Delhi are 4 lakh or so in number. Obviously the damage to its identity as a distinct linguistic and cultural community seems inevitable within the next two generations when both G1 and G2 would cease to be around.

**Prof. A.P. Singh** of Garhwal University, Srinagar, Uttaranchal in his paper *Role of Anthropology in Tribal Development of Uttaranchal Himalaya* gave a background to the tribes of Uttaranchal, namely Jaunsari, Bhotia, Bhoksa, Tharu and Paji. The process of tribal development started among these tribes in 1967 when they were declared as “Scheduled Tribes” in the then Uttar Pradesh province of India. Since then various socio-economic programmes were initiated for tribal development but they did not yield fruitful results. The reasons, Prof. Singh outlined, as being (i) lack of planning according to felt needs of the tribals, (ii) centralisation of power for the execution of the schemes of tribal development, and (iii) privileges reaching only to a few among the tribals themselves. He stressed the role of anthropology as important for tribal development in Uttaranchal particularly through spread of education, encouragement to NGOs and voluntary organisations, and development in tune with ecology and socio-cultural milieu.

In the concluding session a documentary film on **Gujjars of Jammu and Kashmir** produced by Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation was shown.

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

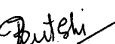
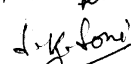
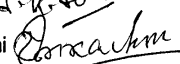
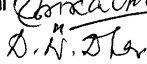

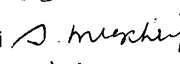




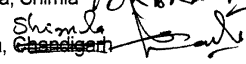
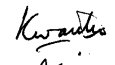

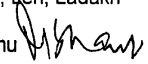

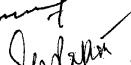


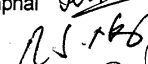

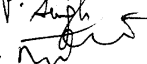
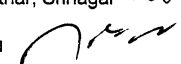



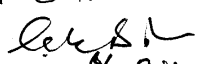
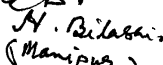
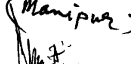
International Seminar on  
Cultural Heritage of Indian Himalaya  
(3-5 March, 2001)

Date : 3.3.2001

### Resolution

This gathering of art historians, writers, artists, anthropologists, historians, linguists and academicians expresses its deep shock and sense of outrage at the barbaric destruction of the Buddha statues at Bamiyan in Afghanistan by the Taliban. This act of fanatic vandalism of the extreme kind is nothing short of a grim reminder of the medieval times. The annihilation of cultural signposts in such a brutal manner has no place in a civilised society.

This assembly strongly condemns these acts of sacrilege on the sites of world heritage and urges the Government of India to make every effort for bringing back the cultural objects from Afghanistan to India and take necessary diplomatic steps to persuade the world community to take stringent and immediate measures for stopping such uncivilised acts.

1. Lt.Gen. (Retd.) Hriday Kaul, Delhi 
2. Capt. M.S. Kohli, Delhi 
3. Dr. (Mrs.) Manju Kak, Delhi 
4. Mr. V. Gopinath, Delhi
5. Dr. Bhupinder Zutshi, Delhi 
6. Dr. S.K. Soni, Delhi 
7. Shri P. N. Kacharoo, Delhi 
8. Shri D.N. Dhar, Delhi 
9. Dr. S.S. Toshkhani, Delhi 
10. Dr. S. Mukherjee, Delhi 
11. Dr. B. M. Malla, Delhi 
12. Dr. R.N. Bhat, Kurukshetra 
13. Mr. Martin Vernier, Switzerland 
14. Dr. B.R. Sharma, Shimla 
15. Dr. O.C. Handa, Shimla 
16. Prof. K. Warikoo, HRCF, New Delhi 
17. Dr. Nawang Tsering, Leh, Ladakh 
18. Dr. R.L. Shant, Jammu 
19. Mr. Ravinder Kaul, Jammu 
20. Prof. S.K. Pathak Shantiniketan 
21. Dr. Julius Marak, Shillong 
22. Dr. (Mrs.) Sobita Devi, Imphal 
23. Dr. R.S. Negi, Dehradun 
24. Dr. A.P. Singh, Garhwal, 
25. Mr. Ali Mohammad Rathar, Srinagar 
26. Mr. Lalit Gupta, Jammu 
27. Dr. R.P. Kathana, Gurgaon 
28. Dr. Sujit Som, Director in Charge, IGRMS 
29. Prof. K.C. Malhotra, Calcutta 
30. Dr. G.L. Badam, Bhopal 
31. Dr. H. Bilashmedev 
32. K. Ranjit Singh, (Imphal) 



*Some delegates pose for photograph*



*Some delegates at Sanchi (Madhya Pradesh)*



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(ICSSR)**

Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) was established as an autonomous organization in the year 1969 to promote research in social sciences in the country. The Council consists of a Chairman, 18 social scientists, 6 representatives of the Government of India and a Member-Secretary. The Council was meant to:

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