Chapter II

LIFE-SKETCH AND WORK

1. Life

(A) Early Years and the Education:

Johann Georg BÜHLER was born in Hannover province in Germany on 19th July 1837 CE. His birthplace was a small locality named Borstel near Nienburg in Hannover. His father Johann G. Bühler was a pastor. At first GB was trained through private instruction. At the age of fifteen he went to the city Gymnasium at Hannover which he attended from 1852 to 1855. He then went to the University of Göttingen to study Philology and got registered as a student of Theology and philosophy. He studied classical philology, Sanskrit and Zend, German Philology, Persian and Armenian, Arabic, Archaeology and Philosophy (JOLLY 1899: 1-2; THITE 2010: 156). He completed his "Promotion" i.e. doctoral degree at the age of twenty-one in 1858. His dissertation was related to Greek Grammar titled "Das griechische Secundärsuffix TH. Ein Beitrag zur Lehre von der Wortbildung".10

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1 Gymnasium is a type of secondary school in the German education system, where emphasis is given on academic learning.
2 Six weeks before his death, GB had participated in a Jubilee of his Gymnasium in Hannover.
3 under K. F. HERRMANN, F. SCHNEIDEWIN, E. v. LEUTSCH, H. SAUPPE and E. CURTIUS.
4 under T. BENFEY. According to WINTERNITZ, BENFEY was always very proud of GB, his greatest pupil, while GB was attached to him throughout his life in the way that a Śisya is attached to his Guru (1898: 337).
5 His second doctoral thesis (i.e. Habilitation), an essential qualification in Europe to qualify for the post of Professor, was his edition of Pāiyalacchī which he let be printed at his own cost in the Felicitation volume in BENFEY’s 50 years’ Jubilee of doctorate, in 1878, and the Daśakumāra.c are dedicated to BENFEY and his first works mostly connected with the direction of BENFEY’s studies appeared in his “Orient u. Occident”,” (THITE 2010: ; JOLLY 1899: )
6 under Leo MEYER.
7 under H. v. EWALD.
8 under F. WIESLER.
9 under H. LOTZE.
(B) Sojourns begin:

After completing the PhD in the autumn of the same year he went to Paris to examine Sanskrit MSS available in a library there; and in the middle of 1859 to London for the same purpose (THITE 2010: 156; JOLLY 1899: 2). His endeavours with MSS can be traced back to this period of his life.\(^{11}\) According to WINTERNITZ, there was another reason to go to London. His enthusiasm to study Sanskrit as an independent branch of knowledge separate from Comparative Philology awakened in him a strong desire to go out to India and in order to form connections for achieving this purpose, he went to England. He achieved both the goals eventually.

He spent three years in London studying Vedic MSS of the India Office and of Bodleian library, Oxford. His early articles show a wide variety of subjects. His writing before he arrived in India was in connection with comparative mythology and grammar. During this time he must have recognised the need to search for new material available in form of MSS.


Towards the end of 1862 GB was nominated to be the Assistant of the University-library at Göttingen. In Göttingen, while he was busy with the preparations of the Habilitation (a second doctoral), through the mediation of MAX MÜLLER an opportunity to go to India was offered. He started at once for India and arrived in Bombay on 10th February 1863 (THITE 2010: 157; JOLLY 1899: 3) only to find that the post which was promised to him was not vacant. Fortunately he became acquainted with Alexander GRANT, then Principal of the

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\(^{11}\) Since a lot of unpublished literature remained hidden in the MSS; and in absence of critical editions of known texts, MSS was the only source to access the ancient literature of India. To consult the MSS European scholars had to go either to Paris or to London. This is the course which most of the European Sanskrit scholars who wish to study MSS used to follow or had to follow; since the major collections of Sanskrit MSS were located in London and Paris. Thus this was one of the reasons which seems to have induced GB to work towards collection of MSS. “Even when German universities began offering courses in Sanskrit, German scholars quite frequently had to travel to London or Paris to consult the great collections of Sanskrit manuscripts their European peers had built up in the meanwhile” (ADLURI 2011: 20 of the pdf downloaded from the internet.)
Elphinstone College, through whose efforts GB was appointed as Professor of Oriental Languages at the Elphinstone College (WINTERNITZ 1898: 338).  

(C) From 1863 to 1868:
GB entirely dedicated himself to his duties as a Professor. During 1865-1866 a plan of publishing ‘A Collection of Sanskrit Classics’ under the title Bombay Sanskrit Series was proposed along with Kielhorn who succeeded Martin Haug as a Professor at the Deccan College in Pune. Though the publication was intended for the use of High schools and colleges, according to WINTERNITZ, the excellent editions of Sanskrit works published under the series played an important role for the progress of Sanskrit studies in Europe (1898: 338).

In that year GB was nominated as a Fellow of the Bombay University and member of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society where he delivered a number of lectures.

In the beginning of 1864 he was selected along with the then Registrar of the Bombay High Court to write the Digest of Hindu Law (See section III.1 (A)). It took nearly two years to prepare for the same. These two years proved to be vital in his approach as a researcher. The Digest opened a new avenue with regard to his studies. It added a sixth sense, so to say, in the approach of a well trained Indologist. This point is elaborated further in this thesis.

The work was delayed due to repeated attacks of fever which caused great weakness and body-ache. Due to the bad health he was compelled in 1866 to accept the professorship at the Deccan College in Pune where vacancy was created due to Martin HAUG’s retirement from the position of the Professor of Sanskrit.

Meanwhile he was engaged in such activities which gave him an overall view of Sanskrit literature. He learned Sanskrit as a ‘living language’ in connection with which he must ‘learn afresh’ his Sanskrit completely. Up to

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12 “Happily, however, in those days European scholars were constantly wanted in the Educational Department” (WINTERNITZ 1898: 338).
13 The climate in Pune is moderate as compared to warm and humid climate of Mumbai (then Bombay).
14 He was prone to Apoplexy (THITE 2010: 174; JOLLY 1899: 18). This might have augmented due to the unsuitable climate of India, especially for a European.
1864 he knew Sanskrit ‘as good as English’ (JOLLY 1899: 3 fn. 1; THITE 2010: 157 fn. 3). It helped him later to converse fluently in Sanskrit with Pandits, to influence the people, to gain their friendship and thus to get access into their personal libraries. Till 1868, he studied Śāstra particularly Dharma, Nyāya and somewhat Vyākaraṇa, the Alāṅkāraśāstra in connection with the artistic poetry, particularly Kālidāsa, learnt the melodies of the several metres by heart, worked on Sanskrit-Syntax and studied the Gṛhya-practices with a Yājñika. He also learnt Marathi till the extent that he occasionally conducted exams of Bombay University for that subject (THITE 2010: 157-158 fn. 3; JOLLY 1899: 3 fn. 1). It is not know from whom did he learn Marathi and how much time did it take? Since he even conducted the university exams for the subjects, it can be inferred that he must have learnt it thoroughly. Similarly, later in Gujarat, he learnt Gujarati. However in this case his public relation work was increased many times, as he has to communicate now with school children, university students, teachers, headmasters, staff of his office, collectors and the other British officials, owners of MSS, Jaina Munis, merchants, Shastris, Pandits, Maharajas, and friends like S. P. PANDIT, which must have helped him to learn the language very quickly. He conducted exams for Gujarati as well. Later GB’s knowledge of Gujarati served a kind of bridge to the western scholarly world for BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI (See section IV.4 (2)).

Like HAUG, GB was deputed by the Government of the Bombay Presidency to examine private MSS collections. For the purpose, he travelled to the area what is today a part of Southern Maharashtra and the Northern Karnataka. Contrary to HAUG’s tour his tour brought no controversy, in fact, was more than successful and served as a model for Whitley STOKES to draft a plan for a pan-Indian project on the parallel lines. He performed this travel in company of the Director of Public Instruction during November 1866 to January 1867. The proceeds of MSS amounted to more than 200, and among these there were many novelties and rare works, particularly in the field of Vedic literature and grammar (THITE 2010: 159; JOLLY 1899: 4).

After the completion of this travel, GB returned to his old position in the Elphinstone College and continued the work up to the end of 1868. In December 1868, he was nominated as an Acting Education Inspector of the Northern part of the Bombay Presidency. At the same time he was commissioned (along with KIELHORN) by the Indian Government to work under the project of searches for Sanskrit MSS which had begun in November 1868. To become an Educational Inspector in the Department of Public Instruction seems to be a conscious decision dedicated for the furtherance of science. There seems to be three motives: (1) to collect MSS (2) to travel across India (3) to know Indian people and their life.\textsuperscript{16}

(D) 1869-1874:

(1) Educational Inspector:

After taking responsibilities of Educational Inspector there was change in GB’s sphere of work and scope of the activities.\textsuperscript{17} Also the work area is now concentrated in Gujarat than Maharashtra. He was residing at Surat whenever he was not on a sojourn. He had to travel for most of the time since the area allotted to him, the northern part of the Bombay Presidency, was very great in extent. The population of the region was, as per GB’s account, 5.5 million i.e. 55 lacs. There were 600 schools. During 1873-74 he travelled 1100 miles (1770.27 km) in five months. He had a rank of a Lieutenant Colonel and a salary of Rs. 1,361/- per month.

His duty is to organise, monitor and inspect all types of schools in the area. He was responsible to appoint and train teachers; and to dismiss them if required. He was also to look after issues like construction of buildings, sanctioning grants, keeping records, maintaining accounts, procuring books and

\textsuperscript{16} In his letter to BENFEY he says “In the distant districts, between small states life is still now almost the same as it was in the old times, and a visit there delivers for those who can communicate to the people in their own language, much more results than ten years of studies in Europe or even in our large cities of India can do.” Acc. No. Cod.MS.Philos.184_Briefe_81-110 page 178 (deposited in the Library of the Georg-August University of Göttingen), a letter dated June 20, 1867 Byculla Club, Bombay.

\textsuperscript{17} ADLURI and BAGCHEE (2014: 21) are misinformed that GB was working at the Elphinstone College, Bombay till 1880.
other teaching material. The staff assigned for the purpose included six inspectors, eight clerks and accountants.

He happily informs NÖLDEKE in a letter that he now uses this opportunity to communicate intimately with all possible social classes and he now knows more about Sanskrit literature and culture than when he was in Bombay (JOLLY 1899: 6 fn. 2).

(2) The Searches of MSS:
He used his office and travelling also for the search of MSS. He visited numerous towns in Gujarat; Ahmedabad, Dholka, Limdi, Rajkot, Gondal to name a few.

As per General Cunningham’s recommendations in 1872 to increase the extent of researches beyond the limits of the Bombay Presidency and to visit Jaisalmer and Bikaner (GOUGH 1878: 81), GB during 15th December 1873 to 15th March 1874 visited Abu, Nandol, Palli, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, and Bhatner or Hanumangaoh (GOUGH 1878: 117).

GB, along with JACOBI, who was in India on a private visit, made a trip to Rājputānā and the princely states in the region. It seems that GB also examined on some occasions schools governed by and located in the princely states e.g. in his article Eine Reise durch die indische Wüste he narrates an event in which, as the king i.e. Rāṇā of the town Sirohi was absent at the time of GB’s visit GB had to meet a minister of the king and was expecting the minister’s co-operation in connection with the search of MSS. The minister, however, could not do much for his purpose, instead compelled GB to examine two very bad schools, the activity which consumed almost entire day for GB and JACOBI. The incidence shows GB’s even-tempered attitude and placid temperament (1883h: 520).

(3) Vikramāṅkadevacarita and the first endeavours with epigraphy:
On his tour in search of Sanskrit MSS in Rajasthan GB discovered a MS. of Vikramāṅkadevacarita in Jaisalmer. He edited it in 1875 and wrote a detailed introduction, specially enumerating the features of historical Kāvyas. He also
showed that the poem is based on the historical facts and that the facts of Vikramāditya’s life mentioned in the Kāvyā are historical (1875H: 5).

About the same time in 1875 he edited a copperplate grant of Valabhī king Dhruvasena I which came to his hand at Wallā. Though he kept writing about the historical Kāvya till as late as 1893, it can be seen that after 1875 he turned his attention more and more to inscriptions. This should be viewed in context with his observation evinced in 1875 in the edition of the Vikramāṅkadevacarita that the historical Kāvyas may with proper care be used to rectify and to complete the information gathered elsewhere (1875H: 5).

(E) From 1874 to 1880 and the Kashmir saga:
GB proposed to the Government to extend his area further and to include Kashmir and Central India in his territory of search. The request was granted and a grant of Rs. 5,000/- for the purchase of MSS and Rs. 1,000/- for travelling was sanctioned (GOUGH 1878: 121). GB’s Kashmir tour proved the most successful one. He could procure 838 MSS, all important and rare; more so today, because of the disruptive conditions in the valley since last more than thirty years.

It seems that the Government of India was, at first, reluctant to sanction GB’s proposal. GB has to ‘repeat’ his request to sanction the grant (GOUGH 1878: 121). He further added that last year’s grant of Rs. 3,200/- is intact and if the Government would sanction the yearly grant again in addition to the requested grant for 1875-76, the funds would be ample to carry out the Kashmir tour. However, the regular yearly grant was not sanctioned. Instead, additional Rs. 2,800/- were allowed to be drawn just to meet the requested sum of Rs. 5,000/- (GOUGH 1878: 124). The reluctance is also evident from the fact that after GB’s second request of 19th April 1875 the final order of the Government to proceed on a tour reached GB only on 18th July 1875, two months after the right season to visit the valley had began.18 GB immediately started from Surat on the next day for the tour which lasted for more than three months. He could

18 Due to the lack of funds, perhaps, GB could not or did not publish the complete report for 1873-74 which he had promised earlier.
give the detailed account of his tour, which describes his personal experiences, interesting observations of life and customs of the Kashmiri Brahmanas and exhaustive philological discussion about numerous hitherto unknown works and authors with the help of his meticulously drawn notes during the tour.

**(F) From 1880 till the last journey:**

GB’s academic life can clearly be divided into two parts, having the year 1880 as the dividing line, and the year 1875 as a turning point. In the first part, his writings were mainly concentrated on Sanskrit and Prakrit literature and philology, and the second was dedicated to Epigraphy and Palaeography. During the earlier part, he worked to unveil unknown works and MSS treasure, to increase the standard of education in the Bombay Presidency, to embed philological methods in the traditional Sanskrit learning and to set new standards of Sanskrit studies. The later part was solely dedicated to reconstruction of the history of India as could be gleaned from epigraphs, to discovery of the roots of Indian palaeography, and most importantly, to advocating India’s case before scholars ‘sitting in their cabins and imagining the Indian sky’.¹⁹

His failing health was one of the reasons for his retirement from India but there seems to be some background reasons as well. While in India he would have to remain engaged in search for MSS which now possessed less hope to discover entirely new branch of knowledge. The duties of the Educational Inspector were time consuming and demanded constant travelling with less leisure left, important for academic purposes (see his remarks ). Also in 1877 he got married to Ms. Mathilde FORRER of Switzerland.

“Now in Vienna he could fully devote himself to the scientific research unhindered by the fetters of a heterogeneous official activity, and to work in full leisure on the materials, experiences, and impressions collected in India. The teaching duties in a German university and in his own work-sphere could not take the power of the vigorous man in his forties, who had completely

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¹⁹ Here I mean to refer to scholars like HOLTZMANN who propounded the gradual development of the Mahābhārata extending as late as till the 14th c. CE.
recovered himself again from the effects of the Indian Climate”

(THITE 2010: 164; JOLLY 1899: 8).

He took up his duties as a Professor of Indian Philology and Archaeology in the University of Vienna in 1881. He continued his dedicated work towards research and to science along with new teaching responsibilities. He must have had established good contacts and a steadfast position for him, as can be seen from the facts that within five years of his joining the duties he founded the Oriental Institute and hosted the 7th International Congress of Orientalists.

Death:
It was a fateful Good Friday of 8th April 1898 when the 19th c. Indology lost its leader and a zealous worker, and India lost her not just greatest but the most intimate friend amongst Indologists.

GB was travelling from Vienna to Zürich to spend the Easter vacation with his wife and son who were staying there with relatives. He left Vienna on 5th April and broke his journey at Lindau on Lake Constance (Bodensee in German). WINTERNITZ thinks that he was probably tempted by the fine weather to break the journey. Perhaps he wanted to enjoy rowing before proceeding to Zürich (WINTERNITZ 1898: 337). Boating was GB’s favourite sport according to KÄGI (KÄGI 1898: 363). On the 7th he hired a small boat, and returned the Hotel towards evening. On the 8th April he hired the same boat again – a small rowing boat, ominously called ‘nut-shell’ by the natives – to take another trip across the lake. He was last seen about seven o’clock in the evening. It is believed that he must have lost an oar and, in attempting to recover it, over-balanced the boat, and so was drowned. Next day the boat was found floating bottom upwards on the lake, but no one knew who ‘the old gentleman’ was that had been seen in the boat the night before. While his servants in Vienna believed him to be in Zürich

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20 Lake Constance is a lake on the river Rhine at the northern foot of the Alps. The lake is situated in Germany, Switzerland and Austria near the Alps. This freshwater lake is at 395 m (1,296 ft) above sea level and is Central Europe’s third largest lake. It is 63 km long, and at its widest point, nearly 14 km with total surface area of 536 km² and average depth of 90 m (300 ft). Lindau is a Bavarian major town and an island on the eastern side of Lake Constance.
with his family, his wife thought that he had been unexpectedly detained in Vienna, though she was very distressed at receiving no reply to her letters. A few days passed before the proprietor of the Hotel, in which the professor had been staying, communicated with the police. Enquiries were set on foot, and at last, on the 15th of April, it was ascertained that the occupant of the boat was Hofrath BÜHLER of Vienna. The body was never recovered.

There is another possibility expressed by the scholars like KÄGI and JOLLY that because of many hours of strenuous rowing an apoplectic stroke might have hit him since he was prone to apoplexy.

There were rumours in Vienna as to whether it was really an accident or a planned death, voluntary or involuntary. KÄGI, a scholar from Zürich emphatically affirms in his Postscript to the obituary of GB that the possibility of suicide is out of question. According to him, GB did not have “a tendency to the negation of the pleasure of existence” (1898: 363). His enthusiasm and interest in his line of research was unbeatable. GB’s friends from Vienna denied most positively the possibility of any philosophical motive for such an act (KÄGI 1898: 363). KÄGI also asserts that there was no foundation for the hypothesis of a murder as “it being entirely uncalled for in view of the facts which have come to light”. However, GB’s contacts with FÜHRER, his downbeat writing about the Piprahwa inscription, connection of the British diplomacy with the so called Buddhist remains still pose a question mark, and in wake of such issues the later possibility cannot be altogether ruled out.

(G) Personal Life:
Not much is known about GB’s personal and family life. He was born to Johann Georg BÜHLER (1802-1891), a pastor in the towns of Borstel and Altenhagen in the Lower Saxony. As can be inferred from GB’s letters, his father perhaps lived in Hannover in his old age. He died in 1891 and preceded GB only by seven years in that way. There is, however, no mention of GB’s mother in his published biographies.

21 Altenhagen? As per the various web-pages I browsed through.
GB was very close to his Guru Theodor Benfey as is gleaned from the several letters written to him from India.\textsuperscript{22} He requests Benfey, in a letter dated June 23, 1871 to send to him his photograph because GB’s young colleagues and students wanted to see how Benfey looked as they knew Benfey through his writings.

He wrote every year till 1878 a kind of vita i.e. account of his work for the family of his fiancée, later wife, at the suggestion of Frick, priest of his brother-in-law in Zürich. Jolly could utilize this autobiography to write GB’s biography. Though supported by the letters to Nöldeke sent by GB from India, the biography is mostly based on GB’s own account (Thite 2010: 157; Jolly 1899: 1).

As stated earlier, GB got married in 1878 to Ms. Mathilde Forrer of Switzerland (Kirfel 1955: 726). They had a son Guildo Bühler.\textsuperscript{23} It can be inferred from a letter of GB to Roth\textsuperscript{24} that GB’s wife received cordially the ladies visiting Vienna for the International Congress of Orientalists\textsuperscript{25} held in Vienna in 1886.\textsuperscript{26} From the letters written from Vienna it becomes clear that he changed his place of residence many a times.

As regards his health, it seems that he never got acclimatised to Indian weather. Constant travelling and hard work must have been the toll of his many fold success. He had frequent attacks of fever and sometimes liver-pain. As stated earlier, he was also prone to apoplexy (Thite 2010: 174; Jolly 1899: 18).

Religious Temperament:
GB was a son of a pastor\textsuperscript{27} (clergyman)\textsuperscript{28}. He held himself to be descended from the Aryan stock (1878h: 50) and, as can be seen from his early articles, was very much interested in the Vedic studies and Comparative mythology. His views

\textsuperscript{22} The letters are deposited at the Library of the Georg-August-University of Göttingen.
\textsuperscript{23} He is mentioned by mistake as “Kinderlos” i.e. childless on the following website of the Deutsche Biography, which is the online version of Kirfel, Willibald, „BÜHLER, Johann Georg“, Neue Deutsche Biographie 2 (1955), 726 f.: http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118667947.html accessed on 28/09/2014 at 22:00.
\textsuperscript{24} Letter dated Wien, 19th July 1886. Tübingen University, Acc. No.: Md 765-2a [Letter No.]1.
\textsuperscript{25} 8th International Congress of Orientalists, Vienna, 1886.
\textsuperscript{26} Letter: Md 765-2a [No.]1, Fol. 2.
\textsuperscript{27} JOLLY 1899: 1.
\textsuperscript{28} MAX MÜLLER 1898: 350.
about the Vedas seemingly have changed after he spent some time in India. He writes to NÖLDEKE that now he holds that the Rgvedic hymns were not intended to be songs for devotion but as pure magical formulae (Thite 2010: 161-162 fn. 2; Jolly 1899: 6 fn. 2).

He held very high views for the Brahmans. He hardly spoke in belittling language about any Indian or anything Indian. In his editions of the Dharmaśūtras and Manu, where there can be most likely a chance to criticise the Brahmans, he has confined his remarks mostly to the text and academic sphere. He narrates one incidence occurred in the famous temple at Kolhapur where he was charmed by skill of a person who was narrating stories from Purāṇas, first in Sanskrit and then translating it in Marathi and his detached attitude about worldly circumstances. He describes picturesquely various events where Brahmans were doing their duty of chanting their sacred lore without caring for the number of the audience (1894g).

He attended devotional hours or edifications of the Jainas. Acārya Jinamukti Sūri was introduced to him during one such occasion. He opines that the similarity of the Jaina edification with the people in the West is great. There is a difference only in one point that “it lacks the feeling of unlimited reverence, with which the Western people are satisfied by their God-services” (1894g: 231). He counted Acārya Śrīpuj among his good friends (Winternitz 1898: 344).

(H) Personality:
A vivid picture of his overall personality is nicely drawn by WINTERNITZ in his obituary and by JOLLY in his biography published under the Grundriss. GB’s personality as can be gleaned from his writings is briefly stated as under.

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29 Compare Peterson: “Through paths ankle deep in dust, and followed by crowds of Brahmin beggars, as ignorant as they were shameless and importunate, we visited one deserted shrine after another, asking ourselves how long the best minds of India will be content to leave the religion of the common people a prey to the obscene creatures who fatten on it as a means of livelihood. To the Hindu who respects his country’s past, and who hopes in her future, I can conceive of no sight more distressing than the present condition of the Holy city, Pushkar” (Peterson 1883: 46).
(1) As an Academician:
He had great enthusiasm and interest for his work and for the special branch of knowledge that he was engaged in i.e. Orientology. It can be observed in his writings that he was more interested in history and historical writings. He had an inclination towards study of the written word than that of the material culture. This can be inferred from the fact that he did not study ancient coins and other artefacts with just one article where he corrected the earlier reading on the Indo-Grecian coins.

He acquired a position of a leader because of his academic excellence, his role in the International Congresses and his contacts with all classes of people from ‘native’ students, scholars, Shastris and Jaina munis to British officials, western scholars and ministers in the Government. He had connections in influential circles both in India and in England, in Austria and in Germany. He knew how to interest people in his cause (WINTERNITZ 1898: 347). His wonderful historical instinct, critical tact, accuracy, and ever unbiased judgement made him one of the pioneers of Indology.

(2) As a Teacher:
GB’s inspirations were more wonderful than his science and this is evident from the following words of WINTERNITZ:

“It was impossible for anyone, whatever special department of Indian research he might be interested in, to converse with Bühler even for half an hour only, without gaining from him new points of view and many new inspirations” (WINTERNITZ 1898: 346).

He had the same enthusiasm for teaching like he had for epigraphic researches. WINTERNITZ adds that “it was real pleasure to attend his ‘Elementary Course of Sanskrit’”.

He was ever willing to help and to advise. Many times he supplied copies of MSS of various texts procured by him to his colleagues and students for

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30 This was brought to my notice by Shreenand L. BAPAT.
editing. WINTERNITZ noted that he knows many, who call themselves pupils of GB, who have never attended a single lecture of his (1898: 347).

(3) As a Person:
He had courage to go out and search the untrodden paths. He was very much unassuming while at times he did not hesitate to remind scholars like WHITNEY that the use of strong language in all scientific discussions is undesirable (1894: 142).

He had tact to deal with people even in a way accepting prejudices of people. He respected the prejudices and beliefs of people and sometimes even used them for a just cause like in an incident narrated in his “Eine Reise durch die indische Wüste”, the most illustrious one in this regard. A gist of the same is translated by WINTERNITZ in a lucid language (1898: 345). The event also displays his sense of justice. It would be apt to narrate it here in brief.

During GB’s stay near Jaisalmer one day it happened that a cow was found in the neighbourhood of his camp, ransacking the fodder stores of the camels, and one of the camel-drivers threw a stone to frighten the cow away. Unfortunately he hit her leg. The owner demanded corporal punishment for the offender. The minister of Rawal who had hurried to the spot also insisted on the same demand. The camel-driver was to receive hundred strokes. GB refused to endorse such a sentence, and a whole day passed in futile negotiations with the local officials. Finally, GB offered to inflict on the camel-driver a heavy fine, and to use the sum for a pious work. He imposed on the offender a fine of twenty rupees, with which he bought five camel loads of hay and all the cows of Jaisalmer had a solemn pasture. The wounded cow soon recovered, and the incident, which otherwise might have led to serious disturbances, had no further consequences. It raised GB’s authority in the eyes of the people, who were impressed with his sense of justice (WINTERNITZ 1898: 345).

One can only agree with BURGESS when he says that GB’s judgement was remarkably accurate and his knowledge of human nature instinctively clear, while his energy, wisdom and tact ensured success in whatever he undertook (BURGESS 1898: 371).
(I) Degrees, Titles awarded, and the Memberships:

GB himself mentions following recognitions fallen to his lot up to 1878, in his “Vita” (THITE 2010: 163 fn. 2; JOLLY 1899: 8 fn. 2) and (JACOBI 1898: 367-368):

1858: Membre de la Société Asiatique, Paris.
1863: Member of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.
?: Gujarat Vernacular Society.
1872: Knight-Cross III. class of the Prussian order of the Crown.
1876: Corresponding Member American Oriental Society.31
?: Comthur of the Order of Franz-Josef.
1878: Corresponding Member of the Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien and of the Kaiserlichen Ges. der Wissenschaften, Göttingen.
1878: Corresponding Member of the Berlin Academy of Science (Jacobi 1898: 367).
1885: Officiating (Ordinary) member of the Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien; Honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society in London and Honorary Doctor of Laws in Edinburgh (LL.D).
1887: Honorary member of the American Oriental Society and Corresponding Member of the Institut de France.
1889: K. K. Hofrath.
1890: Member of the Executive council of the D. M. G.
1893: Corresponding Member of the Petersburg Akademie.
1895: Honorary Member of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
1897: Compteur des Franz-Josef-Ordens.

31 in 1873 according to JACOBI and others 1898: 367.
1897: Member of the International Committee for the Research of India formed at the International Congress of Orientalists, Paris.

?: Member of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society

?: Member of the Anjuman-i-Punjab.

(J) Life Events at a Glance:

19th July 1837: Born at Borstel near Nienburg in Hanover, Germany.

1852-1855: Went to Gymnasium at Hannover.

1855-1858: Studied Classical Philology and Archaeology; also studied Sanskrit and Oriental Philology under Theodor BEnFEY, University of Göttingen, Germany.

1858: PhD on Greek Grammar, University of Göttingen.

1858-1859: Went to Paris to study MSS. Procured his livelihood through a house-teacher’s position in a prominent Russian family.

1859: Went to London.

May 1861 to Oct. 1862: Assistant to the Librarian, Royal Library, Windsor, England.

Oct. 1862: Assistant at the University Library, Göttingen.

Oct 1862-1863: Professor of Oriental Languages, Elphinstone College, Bombay.

10th Feb. 1863: Arrived in Bombay


March 1864: Member of the Commission, Digest of Hindu Law.

June 1864: Professor of Ancient History and English, Elphinstone College in addition to Professor of Oriental Languages.

January 1866: Acting Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies and Professor of Ancient History and English, Deccan College, Poona.

1867 : Professor of Oriental Languages and Ancient History, Elphinstone College, Bombay.
20 Dec. 1868 : Acting Educational Inspector, Northern Division, Bombay Presidency and Officer in charge of the search of Sanskrit MSS.
Dec. 1869 to Nov. 1870 : as a result of an accident returned to Europe on medical leave.
May 1872 : Got permanent position as an Educational Inspector.
Dec. 1873 to March 1874 : sent on special duty to Rajputana
July 1875 to April 1876 : sent on special duty to Kashmir and Central India
1878 : Published his second doctoral thesis
1877 : Went to Europe on leave
27 May 1879 : Returned to India with wife after getting married in Switzerland.
12 Sept. 1880 : Retired from all the offices in India.
18 Sept. 1880 : Left India.
October 1880 : Professor of Indian Philology and Archaeology (Altertumskunde), University of Vienna.
8th April 1898 : Died by drowning into the Bodensee (Lake Constance)

2. Work

(A) Profession:

(a) Professor at the Elphinstone College, Bombay:

GB pioneered Sanskrit studies at two places viz. Elphinstone College, Bombay and the University of Vienna. GB used to teach Sanskrit, Prakrit, Latin and Comparative Philology, and later also Ancient History while he was a Professor at the Elphinstone College in the position for oriental languages that was newly created. In the University, he had to work as an examiner of Sanskrit, Latin, Greek and sometimes Marathi (THITE 2010: 157; JOLLY 1899: 3).
He had to work towards raising a library and collecting MSS for the College. He had generated such a motivation among the students that a fund of Rs. 5,000/- was voluntarily raised for procuring MSS for the College. Many standard Sanskrit works were thus added through his exertions to the College Library (WINTERNITZ 1898: 338).

GB tried to combine the advantages of European educational methods with the traditional Indian. He recommended to the Government appointment of a Shastri educated in the traditional system as a help to the advanced students and as an assistant to the Professor (WINTERNITZ 1898: 338).

(b) Educational Inspector:
As an Educational Inspector GB contributed to increase the standard of popular education in the Northern Bombay Presidency i.e. today’s Gujarat. At that time the new Director of Public Instruction brought a thorough reform of the Primary and Secondary education system. GB dedicated himself to the reorganization of the same.

In JOLLY’s words his contribution can be adduced as follows:
“In the course of the next six years [1872-1878], the number of schools was increased circa 800 to circa 1600, through strengthening of the seminaries (training colleges) for a better and general training of the teachers taken care of, new normal-plans for the instruction introduced and schools carefully classified, as well as care taken for detailed yearly inspection of the schools. At the same time the wages of the teachers in the secondary schools were significantly increased and opportunities were given to the teachers of primary schools to earn yearly increase (in salary) through particularly good management” (THITE 2010: 161; JOLLY 1899: 6).

When GB retired from his services the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency in his report for the year 1879-80 referred to GB’s work as zealous labours that have laid the foundation of a sound popular education in Gujarat (WINTERNITZ 1898: 339).
GB, befitting his zeal, took up an extensive teaching activity, in spite of the fact that the chair was newly created. He conducted cycles of lectures, which extended over the most branches of the history of Indian literature and of social life. He composed a Primer for basic Sanskrit. In its introduction he states:

“It is based upon the purely practical method of Sanskrit instruction, which was introduced at Haug's and my own instance into the Indian secondary schools, and has become established there by means of R. G. Bhandarkar's text-books. The attempt to transfer this method to European universities is justified by the practical success which, as my experience shows, is to be gained thereby” (PERRY 1886: iii).

Besides the elementary course of Sanskrit, his lectures consisted of the following (THITE 2010: 165; JOLLY 1899: 9):

1. Indian Law, with or without explanation of the Mitākṣarā (eight times);
2. Indian history (twice);
3. History of Western India (once);
4. Social and political composition of India (once);
5. History Religion in India (twice);
6. Ancient Indian art (twice);
7. History of Indian script (once);
8. Indian Palaeography (six times);
9. Indian Epigraphy (eleven times);
10. Aśoka-inscriptions (eleven times);
11. Epigraphical-historical exercises (eight times);
12. Interpretation of history-sources (eight times);
13. Indian Fable-literature and Pañcatantra (seven times);
14. Daśakumāracarita (twice);
(15) Kādambarī (twice);
(16) Kirātārjunīya (once);
(17) Śrīharṣacarita (twice);
(18) Gauḍavaho (once);
(19) Kumārasaṁbhava (once);
(20) Raghuvamśa (thrice);
(21) Indian Drama along with explanation of Śakuntalā (once);
(22) Mālavikāgnimitra (thrice);
(23) Vikramorvaśīya (twice);
(24) Mālatīmādhava (once);
(25) Explanation of philosophical works: Tarkasaṅgraha, Vedāntasāra 
among others (six times);
(26) Siddhāntakaumudī (seven times);
(27) Poetics and Kāvyādarśa (thrice);
(28) Pāli (twice);
(29) Prakrit (twice); and
(30) Gujarati (twice).

With his special students he even used to devote his vacations and used to read special texts or Aśoka-inscriptions (THITE 2010: 165; JOLLY 1899: 10).

JOLLY witnessed a lecture of his, where, already in 1882, there were about 50 listeners who knew basic Sanskrit. They could fluently interpret the Nala-

_Damayantī ākhyaṇa_. His listeners included, from time to time, ripe-aged people, professors, jurists, priests, officers, a book-seller and a printer, many university-
colleagues, as also a woman colleague (THITE 2010: 164; JOLLY 1899: 9).

The establishment of the Oriental Institute to which two halls were allotted, was resulted out of his initiative (THITE 2010: 165; JOLLY 1899: 10). He founded it in 1886 together with other Professors of Oriental languages at the University and with the assistance of the then Minister of Public Instructions.
(B) Voluntary Activities:

(a) Member of various Societies, International Congresses:

GB was an ordinary member of the Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (now Austrian Academy of Sciences) where he proposed to establish a Commission for the edition of the Sources of the Indian Lexicography (Commission für die Herausgabe der Quellenschriften der indischen Lexikographie). In 1893, Anekārthasaṅgṛaha of Hemacandra with excerpts from the commentary of Mahendra, was completed.

He was a member of various oriental societies in India, Germany, Austria, America and even Russia. He took active part in proceedings of many of them, especially of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. He delivered a number of scholarly lectures in front of the academia of these societies, many of which were later published in their respective journals or proceedings.

He took active part in the various sessions of the International Congress of Orientalists and hosted the 7th one at Vienna.

(b) Series Editor:

(1) Bombay Sanskrit Series: GB initiated and superintended editing of the B.S.S. together with KIELHORN (1868-1880). The enterprise begun in order to give an opportunity to the young Indian scholars to learn the methods of critical edition and to produce cheap and useable textbooks for the Bombay-Colleges (THITE 2010: 159; JOLLY 1899: 4). GB edited the first number of the series and contributed in all four editions.

(2) Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient: GB worked as one of the editors of a literary and critical supplement to the ÖMO (1884-1886).


(4) Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde: GB planned and edited the series which was called in English the Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research. The series proved to be a culmination point in GB’s career and life.
On the basis of versatile knowledge of almost every branch of Indology GB was able to come up with this grand voluminous project based on the lines of Lassen’s *Indische Altertumskunde*[^32], the difference being that in the *Grundriss* expert scholars in every specialised branch of Indology were expected to contribute a separate volume on their respective subjects. More than thirty scholars of various nationalities, from Austria, Germany, England, India, the Netherlands, and America had joined GB for the endeavour.

Before his untimely death GB authored one volume and could edit eight (1896-1898) with the participation of R. Garbe, A. Hillebrandt, J. Jolly, H. Kern, A. Macdonell, E. J. Rapson, J. S. Speyer, T. Zachariae[^33]. The editorship then transferred to the equally able hands of Kielhorn. GB had planned to contribute together with Jolly and Sir Raymond West a volume on sociology, clans, castes etc. and on economics, tenures, commerce etc (Winteritz 1898: 348).

In all 27 volumes were published, all being classics and proved ‘vulgate’ in the respective branch of Indology. The worked continued for almost forty years, with the last one published in 1935.

(c) Miscellaneous:

In the general census of 1881 in India there were following four questions for the Brahmanas – What was their sub-caste? Which Veda did they study? Which Carana? and which Gotra did they belong to? The Data of the Census was then sent to GB for further working. From that data he inferred that conclusive results may be obtained in spite of the ignorance of the people about their Gotras; though a number of Vedic schools are extinct from the oral tradition, they may be still traced through the manuscripts available (ÖMO 10 (1884) 32).

[^32]: A first of its kind complete and exhaustive history of India dealing with political, social and intellectual development of India, in four volumes, published respectively in 1847 (2nd ed., 1867), 1849 (2nd ed., 1874), 1858 and 1861.

[^33]: Year 1896 five volumes and year 1897 saw publication of four volumes. See Winteritz 1898: 348 fn. 2.
(C) Collector of MSS:
As has been rightly pointed out by Ernst LEUMANN, history of any science is dependent on the local distribution of its material (1898: 368). According to him GB was one of those scholars whose activity most decidedly determined the progress of Indian Research (LEUMANN 1898: 369). If GB had done nothing more than collecting MSS still he would have contributed greatly to the field.

(a) A Humble Entry:
It is already stated in the previous section how GB’s interest turned more and more towards Sanskrit and how he felt the need to discover unpublished Sanskrit works by hunting more and more MSS. His early efforts in this direction were described by him later in his article “Two Lists of Sanskrit MSS. together with some remarks on my connexion with the Search for Sanskrit MSS.” (1888m: 530-559).

In 1863 when he arrived in India one of the chief aims he had in mind was to collect MSS. He began his activities in that direction immediately after the arrival. In his words:

“When twenty five years ago I landed in India, no idea had a greater charm for me than the hope to acquire a collection of unpublished Sanskrit works which might enable me to solve at least some of the numerous difficult problems which Sanskrit philology and Indian history then offered and, I may add, still offer” (1888m: 530).

But the field was already occupied by the individuals like Bhau Daji LAD and Martin HAUG. BHÂU DAJÎ was a well-to-do physician with his own practice and a reputed educationist and antiquarian who later became the Sheriff of Bombay. He had employed agents to collect MSS and was ready to pay

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34 As per the fashion prevalent up to the early British period, the surname was usually dropped. (Hence only ‘BHÂU DAJÎ’ henceforth). BHÂU DAJÎ was a physician and did not hold a PhD. Hence GB is little reluctant to use the title Dr. for him and states that he was called as such only by the general people (1888m: 530).
35 In 1869 and 1871. The Sheriff of Mumbai is an apolitical titular position of authority bestowed for one year on a prominent citizen of Mumbai. The Sheriff is an officer of the High Court and
generously for the purpose. Hence wherever and whenever MSS became available he was able to catch hold of them. The MSS in Pune would go to Martin HAUG, Professor of Comparative Philology in the Deccan College. There was a little scope for a beginner. GB was collecting MSS on his own, and had to spend all his savings for the purchases till 1866. It is interesting to note that the first bunch of MSS which GB could obtain was from Pune, then a city of orthodox Brahmanas. With the help of his friend Whitley STOKES he got permission from the Madras Government to get copied MSS in the Madras Government collection (1888m: 531).

In the beginning of 1864, GB, along with the then Registrar of the Bombay High Court, Raymond WEST was selected to compose a Digest of Hindu Law cases. Preparation for the Digest, for which many unpublished law-books were necessary for him, doubled his eagerness of collecting MSS. He also got prepared for himself reliable transcripts of original MSS in Madras, Banaras and other cities (GOUGH 1878: 7; 1888m: 531). He became successful, up to 1866, with the sacrifice of his entire savings, to bring together the greatest part of his valuable collection of 321 MSS, which he donated to the India Office Library in 1888 (1888m: 531-532; THITE 2010: 160 fn. 1; JOLLY 1899: 5 fn. 2). He extensively used the MSS and furnished, based on comprehensive MSS studies, an epoch-making introduction on the sources of Indian law to the first volume of the Digest (THITE 2010: 159 fn. 2; JOLLY 1899: 4 fn. 2).

(b) MSS Collection: 1866-1868:

As has been noted earlier, he was also engaged in such activities which gave him an overall view of Sanskrit literature and an ability to discriminate at once between the important and less important texts. He learned Sanskrit as “living language”. Up to 1864 he knew Sanskrit “as good as English” (THITE 2010: 157 fn. 3; JOLLY 1899: 3 fn. 1). It helped him later to converse fluently in

the nominal Head of the High Court Department. The Sheriff has an office and staff but does not have executive powers of his own. In the order of precedence, the Sheriff ranks just below the Mayor. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sheriff_of_Mumbai; Accessed on 17/08/2014 at 13:27 IST. 36 Interesting to note the contradictory remarks of STOKES and GB about the quality of the work of the copyist. STOKES praises the work while according to GB it was not satisfactory.
Sanskrit with Pandits, to influence people, to gain their friendship and thus to get access into their libraries.

Before the first volume of Digest was published, GB received permission to travel in the Southern Maharashtra and the Northern Karnataka to investigate the private libraries and to make purchases of MSS of rare works, wherever possible. He travelled in company of the Director of Public Instruction during November 1866 to January 1867. The proceeds of MSS amounted to more than 200, and among these there were many novelties and rare works, particularly in the field of Vedic literature and Grammar (THITE 2010: 159; JOLLY 1899: 4).

Later Whitley STOKES proposed the pan-Indian MSS search project on the operation-plan drawn by GB for the above mentioned tour.

(c) Pioneer of Searches of MSS in India 1868-1873:

LEUMANN opines that the zeal and ability exhibited by GB in building his own collection during his early years in India induced the Bombay Government to secure GB’s services in that line and so during 1866-68 GB was specially deputed to explore the native libraries. In 1868, Whitley STOKES proposed to the Indian Government a detailed scheme for the search of Sanskrit MSS. Though Pandit RADHAKRISHNA appealed and induced the Government to initiate the programme (GOUGH 1878: 1) and STOKES can justly be called as the founder of the whole enterprise, GB certainly had a lion's share in it. There is enough ground to believe that STOKES was inspired by GB. STOKES was a friend of him (1888m: 531). STOKES not only quotes GB and refers to his tour for the search of Sanskrit MSS in Southern Maharashtra and Northern Karnataka but also asseverates that the proposed plan agreed completely with the plan drawn by GB (THITE 2010: 160 fn. 1; JOLLY 1899: 5 fn. 2).

I speak with confidence as to the practicability of the scheme; for, in its leading features, it is identical with that lately framed by Professor BÜHLER, which has resulted hitherto in obtaining from the Southern Mahratta Country and Canara alone the originals or copies of nearly two hundred valuable codices. (GOUGH 1878: 1-7).

Also, the method adopted for collecting MSS during 1864-68 by GB, as described later in 1888 in an article (1888m: 530-532) matches for most of the part with the scheme proposed by STOKES in 1868.

GB and KIELHORN emended the plan to prepare catalogues of private libraries proposed by STOKES (GOUGH 1878: 51).

GB’s area of search was larger than anyone working under the project. At many places he was the first foreigner to be allowed to enter the Jaina Bhandars and temples.

Thus GB can be regarded as one of the foremost pioneers of searches of MSS in India.

(d) Places Visited:
During his first tour for the search of MSS in 1866-68 GB visited towns in the Southern Maharashtra and the Northern Karnataka viz. Pune, Indapur, Satara, Ashte, Kolhapur, Sangli, Dharwar, Belgaum, Nargund. The collection of that period also includes some copies of MSS procured from Nashik with the assistance of a Shastri.

In the beginning of 1866 he was temporarily transferred to the Deccan College, Pune. He recalls incidences when he purchased from unknown Brahmans who secretly came to his house in Pune “being in great pecuniary distress, yet afraid of an open intercourse with the Mlechchha” (1888m: 531-532).

The accounts of charges paid for the copying of MSS are interesting and give an idea about the economic and literary conditions in various cities.

“The prices paid for old MSS. were on a average Rs 5—6 per 1,000 Ślokas, only a few being good bargains. The charges for copying were in Benares and Calcutta Rs 1½ —2 per 1,000 Ślokas, in Puṇa Rs 3 or Rs 10 per mensem, in Bombay Rs 5, in Madras Rs 7. It may be easily imagined that my purchases swallowed all the savings which I was able to make. It was, therefore, lucky for me that I was obliged to stop the operations on my own account towards the end of 1866” (1888m: 532).
In Benares and Kolkata there might have been several Brahmans willing to and skilled in copying the MSS hence the rate for copying was low. Though the situation in Pune must not be different the rates were rather high due to the attitude of the Pune Brahmans towards the sacred lore. GB has described “In Puna, the orthodox sentiments of the majority of the Brahmans who considered the traffic with “the face of Sarasvati” to be impious and hated the very thought of giving their sacred lore to the Mlechchhas, made operations very difficult” (1888m: 530). Mumbai was already a growing city and hence costlier, while Chennai posed a different problem. Scribes who could transcribe MSS from the Southern alphabet into Devanāgarī were difficult to find (1888m: 531).

In the Pan-Indian MSS project GB became in charge of the Northern division of the Bombay Presidency. Thus during 1868-69 he visited Gujarat and Kathewad which include Ahmedabad, Dholka, Limdi, Rajkot, Gondal, Junagadh, Palitana, Bhaunagar, Nariad, Cambay, Broach, and Bulsar (Valsad). He had interviews with the possessors of MSS and explained to them the intentions of Government, and the purposes for which the search for Sanskrit manuscripts was instituted. At Junagadh he was mostly received in a very friendly manner by the Brahmans and Shastris. They came willingly to talk with him, to show the lists of MSS and to bring those which GB wanted to inspect. At Balsar he held a regular Sabhā which was well attended. At Junagadh, he realised and received a curious proof of how deeply the Pandits had been impressed by seeing a foreigner able to converse in their sacred language and acquainted with their Śāstras. On the last evening of his stay in Junagadh, a deputation of Pandits came and requested him to answer some questions. The interesting conversation reported by GB is as follows:

“(1) Whether in Europe, especially in Germany, the learned lived according to the Brahmanical law.
(2) Whether they performed sacrifices, as a European had done in Poona (Dr. HAUG).
(3) Whether I preferred sacrifices, or the study of the Vedānta, as the road to salvation.
(4) How, supposing that I was descended, as I had told them, from the Aryan stock, I could consider myself entitled (adhikrita) to study the Vedas and Śāstras without having been initiated.

Though I hereupon disclaimed all belief in the Vedas and Śāstras, I succeeded in satisfying them that I had no sinister intentions against their creed; and one of them volunteered to teach me the correct way of reading the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa from Professor Weber's edition” (GOUGH 1878: 50-51).

There can be many connotations to varied interesting points present in the above conversation. The one important for the present discussion is that it shows very clearly how good orator and skilled communicator GB must had been. Though he disclaimed all belief in the Vedas and the Śāstras he was still able to secure their confidence and a teacher for the “uninitiated bizarre Pandit”.

His interaction with the Jainas was no less interesting. One of them invited GB to his house. He gave permission to take away books from his collection and asked in exchange nothing but a railway-guide (GOUGH 1878: 51). In 1870-71 GB visited Surat, Mahudha, Kapadvanj and again Broach. He used to stay in Ahmedabad particularly during autumn.

He extended his area of search in 1873 and during 15th December 1873 to 15th March 1874 he made a tour to Rājputānā i.e. Rajasthan and visited towns famous for their libraries and religious establishments, Abu, Nandol, Palli, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, and Bhatner (or Hanumangarh). Copies of the catalogues of the Maharaja’s and some private persons’ libraries were procured (GOUGH 1878: 117). The first success during 1873-74 was the opening of a famous Bhandar or Jaina library at Tharad38, Gujarat. In Jaisalmer after great trouble Parśvanātha temple Bhandar was open to him where MSS dating from the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries were preserved. The oldest of these bore the date Sarṇvat 1160, i.e. 1103-04 CE. In this Bhandar GB made his famous discoveries, eight up till then unknown poems among them two were historical, Vikramāṅkadevacarita and Gaudavaho. With the help of Jacobi, who

38 Banaskantha District, Gujarat.
was on a private trip to India, GB copied the entire MS. of Vikramāṇka-devacarita (See Plate). The handwritten copy is now deposited in the Bhandarkar Institute (MS. No. 50/1873-74). Jaisalmer was rich in private Jaina libraries. The two scholars inspected every MS. in the Pārśvanātha Temple library and selected 28 MSS to be copied for the Bombay Collection. But the copies were perhaps never made. GB requested repeatedly in vain. This must have been very frustrating, for there was the oldest extant MS. then known in India, dated 1103 CE preserved in the Bhandar.

In Bikaner, the most important library which he saw was of the Maharaja, and contained about 1,400 manuscripts (GOUGH 1878: 118). GB did not rest during the period of his leave. He used a month’s privilege leave to visit Lahore, Delhi, Benares, and other towns of Northern and Eastern India and collected MSS for the Government.

His visit to Patan during 1874-75 was very successful. Patan, the ancient Anhilvāḍ, is a town which was in the princely state of the Gaikwad’s during the British period. GB describes it as a true centre of Jainism in Gujarat. It was inhabited by a larger number of Śrāvakas than Ahmedabad, Vadhvan, or Cambay and the Upāśrayas were likewise numerous. The first Bhandara in Patan where GB got permission to enter was Pophlia padano Bhandar. However his repeated attempts to enter into the famous Bhandar of Hemacandra or Hemācārya failed. He visited the town thrice in six months’ duration for the purpose but was unable to inspect the entire library. He was shown only 600-700 MSS.39

(e) Reports of the Searches:
As rightly pointed out by Johnson GB’s previous experience as Assistant to the Librarian of the Royal Library at Windsor Castle and at the library of the University of Göttingen well prepared him for developing a research collection (JOHNSON 1988: 114). Moreover, it also helped him to prepare one-line catalogues of MSS collections. In 1866 before starting for his first tour in search of MSS he prepared lists of MSS available in Mumbai so that there should not be duplications; the idea which his predecessors in the field perhaps did not

39 See JOHNSON 1988 for the details.
envisage. While on the trip itself he collected lists of holdings of libraries in the Presidency, so people in Mumbai could learn of resources outside Mumbai (JOHNSON 1988: 115).

The detailed reports on searches for manuscripts presented by GB, KIELHORN, PETERSON, BHANDARKAR et al to the Government is the pioneering work regarding cataloguing of manuscripts. Even today these reports are indispensable for a researcher. During the search for manuscripts, GB and KIELHORN prepared lists of MSS possessed by several private libraries. Though many of the entries in these lists are now obsolete because it is hardly possible to trace out, after more than 125 years, what has happened with these collections, still the record bears a historic value.

The Reports of search of MSS written by GB and KIELHORN are different in many aspects than the reports written by their successors, R. G. BHANDARKAR and Peter PETERSON. Firstly the philological discussions contained in them are not so much lengthy as in the reports of BHANDARKAR and PETERSON.40 GB described MSS in detail in the report of Kashmir. Along with the details of the MSS discussed therein the remarks and observations made by GB from socio-historical point of view are significant.

JOHNSON has summarised GB’s work in the following words:

“... his [GB’s] actions in India indicate concern primarily to identify unique works of Sanskrit scholarship in India, to publicize their existence, and to assist scholars from around the world in gaining access to such titles. His production of numerous lists with no cumulation to them or the detail of cataloguing ... again reflect the work of a discoverer rather than a library organizer” (JOHNSON 1986: 30).

The nature of GB’s job was completely different than KIELHORN’s, in whose possession the MSS actually were vested. He was situated in Pune while GB has to travel in order to inspect the schools and his official duties made it inevitable that he should not get to stay long at one place which is absolutely necessary for a library organizer. As JOHNSON himself pointed out the detailed catalogues

40 See JOHNSON 1990: 75.
were beyond the capabilities of Government staff who undertook such work in conjunction with numerous other responsibilities (JOHNSON 1986: 29). Hence it would not be just to inculpate GB of not initiating a MSS library.

His search operations continued from 1863 to 1880 during his entire period of his stay in India. First three years he collected MSS on his own, from 1866 to 1868 for the Government of Bombay and since 1868 onwards till his retirement in 1880 for the Government of India. He reported about his private collection and the MSS collected during 1866-68 elaborately in an article published in ZDMG in 1888.

His published reports include reports for the following periods: 1868-69, 1870-71, 1871-72, 1872-73, 1873-74 (Abstract Report), 1874-75, 1875-76. There is no reference to the reports between 1877-1880 in JOLLY’s bibliography or elsewhere. Hence it is not clear whether they were actually written or not. GB perhaps submitted a report for 1879-80 on 8th June 1880, in which he wrote that he has prepared a detailed report of his tour in Rājputānā during the winter of 1873-74, together with notices of the more important books which he bought then. It never got published. The list of MSS procured during that period appeared along with KIELHORN’s report for 1880-81 (BHANDARKAR S. R. 1907: 1-2).

(f) MSS Collected:
The number of MSS collected by GB for the Government, the collection which now forms a part of MSS Library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, amounts to in all 2,876 as per GB’s own record.

1. Important MSS:
The following are some of the important MSS procured by GB. A MS. of the Mālatīmādhvatīkā, bought in 1869, was used by R. G. BHANDARKAR for his edition of that drama (MS. No. 67/1869-70). The MSS of Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya

41 Also referred to by GB in 1888m: 533 fn. 1. The report is not available to me.
42 During 1868 to 1880, GB collected 2363 MSS, according to LEUMANN (1898: 369). If 201 MSS collected during 1866-1868 were added the number reaches to 2564. The actual number of MSS of the collection 1866-68, now deposited in BORI, stands to 172.
with Kāyaṭa's Commentary (MS. No. 84, 85/1871-72), the Brḥatkathā of Kṣemendra and the Pṛthaparākrama Vyāyoga (MS. No. 33, 20/1872-73) are significant. In 1872-73 he bought about ten palm-leaf MSS which all are between five and six hundred years old. The oldest, containing the Brḥalkalpasūtra, with its commentaries (MS. No. 128-130/1872-73), is dated 1334 Vikrama, or 1278 CE. The Ācārāṅgasūtra, with its commentaries (MS. Nos. 78-80/1872-73), forms one large pothī, the leaves of which are about 90 cm in length, and about 7.5 cm broad. Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira (37/1874-75), Bhāratamaṇjaī (6/1874-75), Naiṣadhiyadīpikā of Cāndūpaṇḍita (16/1874-75) and Nāradasmṛtibhāṣya of Kalyāṇa (27/1874-75) are some other important MSS.

2. Old MSS:
Within two to three years of search in Gujarat GB could state with confidence that he would be able to procure MSS dating as back as to the 11th century. He says:

“I have already acquired several manuscripts which are fully 600 years old, and have full confidence that I shall obtain others which exceed that age by 200 years. The more I become acquainted with Gujarat, the more offers of old and valuable books I get.”

The last sentence brings forward importance of his approach of public relations.

The following numbers will state the richness of Gujarat in old MSS. Nine MSS procured by GB in the year 1871-72 were older than Saṁvat 1600 while seven MSS older than 1500. In a single year 1872-73 GB bought 24 MSS which were written prior to Saṁvat 1600 i.e. 1544 CE including 3 MSS written before Saṁvat 1400 i.e. 1344 CE.

3. Newly Discovered Works:
The newly discovered works by GB are as follows. The Padapāṭha of the 19th Kāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda (5/1870-71), a small Prātiśākhya (12/1870-71), and a Paddhati on the Kauśikasūtra (9/1870-71), Vahnipurāṇa (7/1872-73),

43 This was the first MS. which made the text accessible to European Sanskritists, although the title of the text was known to modern Sanskritists since H. H. Wilson and there was a reference to it in Aufrecht’s Catalogue.
Hemacandra’s Śabdānuśāsana (282-284/1873-74) and Deśīnāmamālā (270-271/1873-74), Vikramāṅkadevacarita (50/1873-74), Gauḍavaho (27/1873-74), Abhilaśitacintāmaṇī, a work by King Someśvara (115-116/1873-74), Mahāvīracarita by Hemacandra (250/1873-74) and many Brahmanical MSS on logic, rhetoric and Sāṅkhya philosophy.

4. Kashmiri MSS: A special mention needs to be made here of the Kashmiri collection of MSS that GB made during 1875-76 for the Government. This collection of 838 MSS has become all the more important due to the turbulent political and social situation in the valley that has extended for over last three decades.

This collection comprises birch-bark and paper MSS written in Śāradā script, ‘new copies’ made at the instance of GB of those MSS that he could not procure in original. The MSS are related to specialised subjects like Kashmir Śaivism, Jainism and the history of Kashmir. Some of the important MSS can be listed as below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acc. No. (1875-76)</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Birch-bark Rgveda that has entered the Memory of the World Register of UNESCO at Sr. No. 159.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Mahābhārata (Codex archetype, BORI critical edition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>Rājataraṅgiṇī-saṅgraha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>Śākuntala</td>
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<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td>Uṇādisūtraṇvṛtti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>446</td>
<td>Pratyabhijñāsūtravimarśinī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>447</td>
<td>Tantrasāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>819</td>
<td>Bhāgavatapurāṇa (10th Skandha), Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>816</td>
<td>Upaniṣsads translated into Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>817</td>
<td>Tārikh-i-Kaşmîr (Persian translation of Rājataraṅgiṇī)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

44 The collection is deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
(g) MSS sent to Europe:

MSS went to Europe in two ways through GB’s efforts; donation and sale. He donated to India Office Library around 1888 his personal collection which comprised 193 modern transcripts and 128 old MSS procured by him during 1863-1866. Since 1873 during the search for Sanskrit MSS instituted by the Government of India he obtained permission from the Government from time to time to send such MSS to European libraries on sale, texts of which are already well represented in the Government Collection. He narrated the whole idea in his article published in *ZDMG* Vol. 42.

If various stray descriptions obtainable from GB’s writings about the ‘MSS Market’ in India are compiled some idea can be gleaned about the conditions in which GB conducted his activities. It seems, like the antiquity collectors of today who collect and deal in antique objects and there are dealers who operate as middleman, there existed a market for MSS during GB’s time. Especially Gujarat and Rajasthan were richer in MSS and many individuals offered their entire ancestral collections for sale.\(^{45}\) Private collectors both foreign and indigenous, including Maharajas of the princely states, and their agents, and the collectors appointed by the Government were the interested parties. Further there were Pandits working as copyists. It can be imagined that the Government supplies of funds must be moderate as compared to the private dealers. GB narrated one incident:

> “Some other Brahmanical MSS., marked Gujarāt [in the list], I bought in the rains of 1874, when a portion of the library of Maṅgalshaṅkar of Ahmadābād came into the market. My supply of Govt. money had run out, and the fact that a new grant had been made, had not been notified to me. Later the books were mislaid and I found the parcel only in 1877 when on leave in Europe. I then kept the most valuable ones apart and presented them to Government” (1888m: 533).\(^{46}\)

\(^{45}\) Even a few orthodox Pune Brahmans secretly sold their MSS to GB due to great pecuniary distress (1888m: 531-532).

\(^{46}\) Bracketed mine.
This is also evident from the following narration:

“After I had been working for some years in Gujarāt, I found that the number of MSS. offered for sale, especially of those of the Jainas, was so large that it was impossible to purchase with the funds at my disposal more than a small fraction of them” (1888m: 534).

Further:

“He [JACOBI] very courteously asked for my permission [to buy for himself], which I readily gave, as I was unable to take more than a small fraction of the heaps of MSS which the Bikaner Dalāls [agents] brought every day to our tents” (1888m: 535).

Moreover it was not desirable to purchase all the MSS offered because they contained over and over again the same works which had already been purchased. As per GB’s experience the unsalable MSS. in Gujarāt usually found their way into the hands of the Borah paper-manufacturers and are destroyed. Hence he informed several friends in Europe and India of the facts and asked them to use the opportunity to add to the stock of MSS. in other libraries (1888m: 534). He asked from time to time for formal sanction from the Government of India and was permitted to send MSS to Europe as per the requests received from various libraries. He has cited five such resolutions of the Government in his detailed article in ZDMG.

At one occasion he retained three birch-bark MSS bought from Kashmir and presented one MS. each to the India Office Library, to the Royal Asiatic Society and to the Royal Library of Berlin.

Thus, the following libraries in Europe were benefitted through his activities: The India Office Library (323 MSS)\(^48\), the Royal Library at Berlin (482)\(^49\), Cambridge University Library (30), Library of the Institut de France (4)\(^50\), Göttingen University Library (1).

\(^{47}\) JACOBI accompanied GB on his tour to Rājputānā in 1873-74.
\(^{48}\) includes JACOBI’s MS. of the Kalpasūtra which he presented to the library on GB’s request (1888m: 536).
\(^{49}\) or 506 according to WEBER (1888m: 534 fn. 1). Two separate calculations are possible since single bunch may contain more than one text and thus can be counted separately. This can be ascertained only after more detailed examination of a MS.
\(^{50}\) The MSS were purchased and sent by the Government to France as a gift.
GB’s activities should not be judged against the present conditions but his own times in which the Treasure Trove Act, first of its kind in India, came into enforcement only in 1878.\(^{51}\) MSS did not come under the Act.

The total number of MSS which found their way to European Libraries through GB is 904.\(^{52}\) While supplying MSS to others GB was always cautious that the best possible MSS would come to the Government Collection. This is evident from JACOBI’s case. JACOBI when accompanied GB on his tour to Rājputānā purchased some MSS. GB later in 1877 saw JACOBI’s MSS in Europe, amongst which he found an illustrated copy of the Kalpasūtra which, he thought, should have gone to the Government collection. Thence he suggested to JACOBI to present it to the India Office Library (1888m: 536). The suggestion was implemented by the latter scholar.

(D) Partnership in delinquency? – The FÜRER Controversy:

The FÜRER episode must be dealt with before this chapter is concluded. GB’s excellent academic career, in spite of his authoritative command over the subject, his legion and extraordinary contributions to the field, has a defaming question mark against some of his writings (not activities)\(^{53}\) due to his association with FÜRER during the last few years of his life.

A. A. FÜRER,\(^{54}\) a German pastor-turned-epigraphist was indulged in fraudulent activities during his tenure as archaeologist in the Archaeological Survey of India. FÜRER was serving as a Sanskrit teacher in Bombay. GB first came in contact with FÜRER when he asked FÜRER to edit Vasiṣṭha-

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\(^{51}\) For the Act Treasure meant “anything of any value hidden in the soil, or in anything affixed thereto”. Indian Treasure Trove Act, 1878, Act No. VI of 1878, 12th February 1878.

\(^{52}\) This includes other than MSS supplied to various libraries in Europe, the MSS collected for MONIER-WILLIAMS. According to GB’s own account he did not collect MSS for individuals. But under a misconception that the MSS would go to the Bodleian Library GB supplied 30-40 MSS to MONIER-WILLIAMS which actually formed part of MONIER-WILLIAMS’ private collection (1888m: 535), later donated to the library of the Indian Institute at Oxford (JOHNSON 1986: 27). Nevertheless, some ‘Native’ and foreign friends, including a Russian scholar from St. Petersburg Ivan Pavlovich MINAEV, with GB’s knowledge and consent availed of the services of the Government Agents for procuring MSS (1888m: 536).

\(^{53}\) Some consider GB and FÜRER “as business partners, with FÜRER handling acquisitions in India, and GB in charge of European marketing” (HUXLEY 2010: 496). No proof for such conjecture is evident.

\(^{54}\) Alois Anton FÜRER (1853-1930) studied Roman Catholic theology and Oriental studies at the University of Würzburg under J. JOLLY, received doctorate in 1877, posted as a Sanskrit teacher in Bombay probably through JOLLY.
Dharmasūtra for the B.S.S. GB also helped him to travel to London in order to copy out a Burmese-Pāli law text deposited in the India Office Library (HUXLEY 2010: 489-490). FÜRER was engaged in plagiarism evidently since 1882 (HUXLEY 2010: 490) the nature of which not only escaped from the notice of scholars like JARDINE, FORCHHAMMER, JOLLY and RHYSDAVIDS, but on the contrary they considered it as a work of serious scholarship (HUXLEY 2010: 491).

In 1885 Sir Alfred LYALL,\textsuperscript{55} Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, appointed FÜRER as Curator of Lucknow Provincial Museum.\textsuperscript{56} He was considered a “good Sanskrit scholar and epigraphist” by LYALL and was recommended to the Archaeological Survey of India in late 1885.\textsuperscript{57} As against textual and philological studies, archaeology was, for FÜRER, an open field to invent new things.

BURGESS, who excavated Mathura in the earlier season, retired from India before the start of 1888-89 season. The funding to continue Mathura was still available. FÜRER stepped in for the work, got tremendous success and procured grant for the next season.

HUXLEY sees this as a joint venture by GB and FÜRER. HUXLEY’s words “Next year’s finds”, attached to the general statement of GB that [explorations] “would without a doubt completely free their [Jaina]\textsuperscript{58} creed from the suspicion of being a modern offshoot of Buddhism” produce misleading impression to make GB’s “lobbying” “disconcertingly like prediction” (HUXLEY 2010: 495). Actually, in the year 1887 itself, it was already successfully proved by GB in his monograph on the Jaina sect that among Jainas and Buddhists none is the offshoot of the other, as supposed by the then scholarly world which was divided into two groups on the issue. FÜRER’s Mathura inscriptions were merely additional proofs to support the results of GB’s earlier researches and also of

\textsuperscript{55} Sir Alfred LYALL (1835-1911) worked as Foreign Secretary to Government of India from 1878 to 1881 (during this period he helped negotiate peace and a monarchy in Afghanistan). He was then appointed Lieutenant-Governor of North-West Provinces, and Chief Commissioner of Oudh (North-West Provinces) from 1882 to 1887.

\textsuperscript{56} It is noteworthy that FÜRER was appointed through a high official.

\textsuperscript{57} He had, apparently, no training and education in that direction. BURGESS excavated Mathura on GB’s request in the 1887-88 season. “FÜRER apparently visited the site for a few days to handle the epigraphic finds. This is the only hands-on training in archaeological methodology that FÜRER was ever given” (HUXLEY 2010: 494).

\textsuperscript{58} Bracketed mine.
JACOBI’s.59 Anyhow, the statement mentioned above has no such ‘disconcerting’ sense as has been attached to it by HUXLEY. It was merely for lobbying for funds, if at all the Government was not willing to spend money. GB knew very well, through his close acquaintance of the Jainas, that the wealthy followers of the creed would generously donate for the cause of their religion.

Such statements of HUXLEY that GB and FÜHRER must be co-authors and that they made an unwritten contract of partnership seem farfetched due to want of enough evidence. It was a customary for FÜHRER since 1882 to copy from other’s writings and to present it as his own. Thus he drew from GB’s work of Sanchi and Mathura and inserted it in his Ramnagar account. As has been rightly pointed out by PHELPS “this wholesale deception appears to have passed completely unnoticed during this period, including, apparently, by Buhler himself” (PHELPS 2008).60

It should be noted that GB had no chance to see originals of any of the inscriptions excavated by FÜHRER. An article of T. A. PHELPS “Lumbini on Trial: The Untold Story” presents a more adducible view on this issue. While vindicating GB, the author states that according to the existing accounts GB “may have unwittingly provided FÜHRER with the necessary details”. A new dimension of the issue brought forward by PHELPS is the hidden role of the British officers in fraudulent activities especially related with Buddhist remains. He showed that British officials intentionally neglected FÜHRER’s activities. He contends that FÜHRER’s 1893 account appeared in ‘The Pioneer’ newspaper seems some sort of ‘plant’ designed to further British ‘forward’ imperial interests in Nepal; and consequently “an increasingly paranoid Nepalese Government soon put an end to these archaeological intrusions into its territory” (PHELPS 2008).

There is a controversy of Buddha’s birthplace discovered (or invented) by FÜHRER; and whether PEPPE or FÜHRER was responsible for the forgery. PHELPS has shown that both were responsible to craft the story (PHELPS 2008). In fact,

59 This was also proved by JACOBI independently from GB.
60 The pdf downloaded from the internet had no page numbers.
GB was the first to ask for further details of Piprahwa inscription and also states the following:

“At the same time I asked for a photo61 and an impression, and begged Mr. Peppe to look if any traces of the required I in the first word, of the medial i in the second, and of a vowel-mark in the last syllable of bhagavata are visible. I also asked Professor Rhys Davids to kindly let me know if a Śākya Sukitti (Sukirti) is mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures”62 (1898e: 388).

There must have been some doubt in GB’s mind about the inscription which is clear from what he adds further:

“It was my intention to defer the publication of the inscription until I had received answers to these queries. As I learn from M. A. Barth that he, too, has received a copy of the inscription from Dr. Führer, and that he has laid his reading and explanation, which appear to substantially agree with mine, before the French Academy, I publish my reading and version in confirmation of his results” (1898e: 388-389).

In concluding lines of the essay, he reiterates his inhibition while publishing the readings based on ‘untrustworthy’ reproductions:

“I may add that, in my opinion, the inscription is older than the time of Aśoka. But I must defer the discussion of this point until fully trustworthy reproductions of the document are accessible to me”.

It is rightly questioned by PHELPS whether this tragedy was accidental, since “immediately following Fuhrer’s exposure in 1898, Buhler drowned in Lake Constance in mysterious circumstances, and since he had enthusiastically endorsed all of Fuhrer’s supposed discoveries” (PHELPS 2008). It should be added that for the excavations he intended to travel personally towards India and

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61— which never ever turned up since there was NO such inscription.
62 Rhys DAVIDS informs that the name Sukitti does not occur in any Pāli text (1898e: 388 fn. 1).
he had already planned for that prior to his sudden death (THITE 2010: 174; JOLLY 1899: 18).

The only fault that falls to GB’s share is that he trusted Führer too much and too easily. Considering his long experience and expertise in epigraphy, if we judge GB’s approach towards spurious grants, and that he failed to detect spurious nature of many in spite of his correct observations in that regard (see section III.7), the gullibility seems perfectly consistent.