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GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

February 4th, 1880.

LIBRARY REGULATIONS.

THE Council, with a view to the convenience of the Fellows generally, and to the better care of Works that are easily injured, have deemed it expedient to make the following regulations, in conformity with Section XIX. Art. 1 of the Bye-Laws.

1. The Books shall only be delivered to a Fellow of the Society or to some one producing a written order from such Fellow; and a receipt shall be given by the person to whom the book is delivered (expressing the name of the Fellow for whom it is received), in a book kept for that purpose.
2. Any Fellow failing to return a book on the application of the Council, or returning books torn or defaced, shall be considered as liable for their value; and if they are separate volumes, for the value of the whole work rendered imperfect.
3. All books allowed to circulate may be retained A FORTNIGHT; after the expiration of that time every book shall be immediately returned, so soon as the Fellow shall receive an intimation from the Librarian that it is wanted; and after the expiration of ONE MONTH from the date of its having been delivered from the Library, every book shall be returned.
4. All books shall be returned on the first Monday in September for a fortnight, during which period the Library shall be closed for cleaning.
5. No Fellow shall have in his possession at one time more than SIX VOLUMES, without the permission of the Council.
6. Any Member failing to comply with the above regulations, after receiving notice from the Librarian, shall be fined half-a-crown for every week that a volume is detained beyond the time allowed; and the privilege of having books from the Library shall cease until the fines are paid and the books are returned.
7. All charges of carriage and delivery of books &c. to and from Fellows shall be defrayed by the Fellow borrowing the same.

EXCEPTIONS.

I. There are certain books which cannot be allowed to circulate. A list of these shall be prefixed to the printed Catalogue of the Library, and a notice of such additions to that list as the Council may from time to time feel it necessary to make shall be fixed up in the Library.

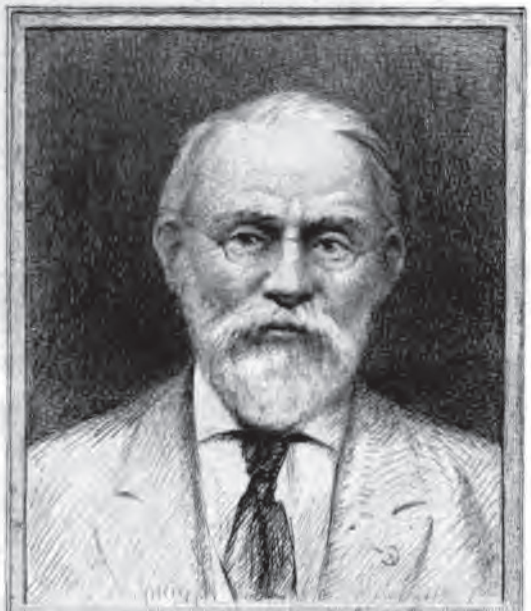
II. No Map, Section, or Drawing can be allowed to circulate without permission in writing granted by the Council, or by the President or one of the Secretaries.

III. No book or illustration in loose sheets shall be allowed to circulate.

IV. No Periodical Publication, and no Volume or part of the Transactions of any Society, shall be allowed to circulate until after the expiration of four months from the date of its having been received at the Society.

V. All new works shall circulate amongst the Fellows after the expiration of a fortnight from the time of their being received, unless the Council (or, during the recess, the President or one of the Secretaries) shall determine otherwise.

No book lent *to the Society is allowed to circulate without a written order from the Proprietor.*



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OF THE

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VOLUME XVII.

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PART II.

(No. XLVII.)

Art. IV.—*My Visit to the Vienna Congress.* By Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Hon. M.R.A.S.

[Read February 11th 1887.]

When my college friend and classfellow, Mr. Javirilal Umiashankar Yajnik, saw me a few hours after my return to Bombay from Europe, and proposed that I should give an account of my visit at a meeting of this Society, I had no hesitation in saying that that was the last place I should myself think of for such a purpose. My visit to Europe was of a very short duration, and though I could say something that might interest an ordinary native audience, I had very little to communicate that was worthy of being listened to by such a learned body as the Bombay Asiatic Society. Besides, even as regards a mixed native audience, so many natives of the country had visited Europe before me, and lived there for a number of years, and communicated their experiences to their countrymen after their return by publishing books and pamphlets and delivering lectures, that short as my visit was, I could have nothing new to tell even to such an audience. My scruples, it appears, were communicated to the respected President of the Society, who, thereupon suggested that I should give principally an account of the Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna to which I had been deputed, and in connection with that some of the impressions which what I saw in Europe had produced on my mind. To this I assented, and I thus appear before you to-day.

I arrived in London on Saturday, the 28th of August, and stayed there till Thursday, the 9th of September. On the afternoon of this day I left for Oxford, where I spent the next three days. On Monday I went thence to Birmingham, and returned to London on the following Wednesday. The next four days I spent in London, and left England for France on Monday, the 20th. In London I saw St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the House of Commons, India Office, the National Gallery, the Guildhall, the British Museum, the Tower of

London, the Kew Gardens, Hampton Court, the Royal Exchange, the Bank of England, the Hyde Park, the Albert Memorial, the Albert Hall, and the Indian and Colonial Exhibition. I had unfortunately none to guide me in London, as I had in Oxford and Birmingham, and therefore I did not see as much or as well as I might have. I met our late Secretary, Dr. Codrington, in Vienna, and on my informing him that I had been to London, he told me he was in London during the time I was there, and had he known of my being there he would have been glad to take me with him and show me all the sights. I was very sorry that I did not know Dr. Codrington was in London; but as it was, everybody was very busy and nobody could make it convenient to go with me. I cannot stop here to give the impression that each of the buildings and institutions I saw produced on my mind, and my general impression I will give further on.

I wore in Europe my usual Maratha costume, the turban, the long coat, and the white *uparṇeṁ* or scarf. In the streets of London and in the places I visited, therefore, I often met persons who stopped me with the words *bahut garamî hotî hai*, *salâm*, &c. The conversation thus begun in Hindustani was continued in English, and I was asked to what part of India I belonged, and where I was going. These were Anglo-Indians; and they told me how long they were in India and in what part, and spoke of the days they spent in the country with agreeable feelings. I was once accosted in Marathi near the Royal Exchange with the words तुम्ही कोठून आलां, "Whence do you come?" I said I was from Bombay, and asked the gentleman whether he was in the Maratha country, to which he replied in Gujarati, अमे काठेवाडमां हता, "I was in Kattiawar." आपनुं काम शुं हतुं "What office did you hold there?" I asked. अमे पोलिटिकल एजंट हता "I was Political Agent," was the reply. Then I asked in Marathi आपण आंडरसन साहेब काय, "Are you Anderson Saheb?" to which he replied, "Yes." Then we went on speaking in English together, and he was kind enough to go with me and show me the Office of the Oriental Bank to which I wanted to go.

The first person I saw in London was Dr. Rost, Librarian, India Office, who received me very kindly. I visited him several times, and on one occasion he remarked that my lectures on the Sanskrit and the derived languages, three of which the Society did me the honour of publishing in their journal last year, were very important, and wished me to complete them as soon as I could. The second time that I saw him in the India Office library, Dr. Eggeling, Professor of Sanskrit in the

University of Edinburgh, happened to be there, and I was introduced to him by Dr. Rost. Professor Eggeling has been compiling a descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the India Office library, on the model of Professor Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, and he had come that day to London to examine some of the manuscripts carefully. I had an interesting conversation with him, and in his congenial company, and in that of Dr. Rhys Davids, the Pâli scholar, to whom I was introduced by Professor Eggeling three or four days afterwards, I felt myself at home. I passed a very agreeable evening with them at the National Liberal Club, of which Dr. Rhys Davids is a member. We had a long conversation on a variety of topics, ranging from Buddhistic metaphysics to English and Indian politics, including the annexation of Burma. Dr. Rhys Davids seemed to be full of admiration for the freedom, boldness, and truth of the religious and philosophic thought of ancient India about the time of Buddha, to which the modern world according to him presents no parallel. Professor Eggeling did not quite agree with him, taking into consideration the development of philosophic speculation since the time of Kant, and I was disposed to sympathize with him, though as regards religious ideas and theories I perfectly agreed with Dr. Rhys Davids. According to Dr. Rhys Davids, the Buddhistic ideal is the condition of an Arhat who enjoys profound internal peace undisturbed by passion. It is a condition of holiness, goodness, and wisdom. This seems in his opinion to be at the bottom of the religious aspirations of man, or probably the only thing that is valuable in those aspirations, and this alone Buddhism set up as an ideal to be striven for by the religious man, to the exclusion of the ideas of God, the human soul as one unchangeable substance, and eternal existence. Dr. Rhys Davids is an enthusiastic Pâli scholar, and has succeeded in organizing the Pâli Text Society, in connection with which, with the aid of other scholars, he has been publishing in annual instalments the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists. The service he has thus been rendering to the cause of scholarship and research is invaluable. But it is very much to be regretted that he cannot devote his whole time to his studies, and has to work for his bread at the bar. If he had been a German he would have got a Professorship somewhere. He is, however, Professor of Pâli in the London University, but without pay and without pupils. He is a candidate for the vacant Secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is a paid appointment; and I have no doubt, if elected,

he will be of very great service to the Society; but it is by no means certain that he will get the appointment. I saw him on one occasion in his rooms in Brick Court, when he showed me some splendid Pâli manuscripts which had been presented to him, if I remember right, by the king of Siam.

Another gentleman with whom I came in contact in London and who was very kind to me was Colonel Henry Yule, Member of the India Council and President of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Edward Thomas, a Bengal Civilian, who, after his retirement devoted himself to the study of Indian antiquities, and Dr. J. Fergusson, a zealous student of ancient Indian architecture and archæology, both of whom were active members of the Royal Asiatic Society, are dead. The Society's Secretary, Mr. Vaux, has also rather suddenly been removed by death at an early age and another not yet appointed; so that the Society is not in a very flourishing condition at present; and Colonel Yule observed to me how difficult it was for them to get enough matter for the Society's journal. I also came in contact with Mr. J. S. Cotton, Editor of the Academy, who was once employed by the Secretary of State to examine the materials in the India Office, and digest them into a report on the advancement or condition of India; and he seemed to be very familiar with Indian matters.

At Oxford I was received with cordiality and almost enthusiastic kindness by my old master, Mr. Sidney Owen, who was Professor of History and Political Economy in the Elphinstone College, from January 1857 to April 1858, and his family. Here I had before me the charming and edifying spectacle of a well-regulated, high-toned, and happy English family. The one object of father, mother, sons, and daughters seemed to be to please me; and I felt I was in the midst of persons who had, as it were, found in me a long-lost son or brother. Oxford was at this time empty, the Colleges having vacation, and all I could see was the buildings. Mr. Owen showed me Magdalen, Christ Church, Worcester, Baliol, and others. The quadrangles with the green grass nicely trimmed, the gardens and walks, and the canals give a rural, quiet, and pleasing appearance to the scene calculated to compose the mind and dispose it to contemplation, thought, and study. Within the premises of the same college there are often buildings in three different styles of architecture, the mediæval, that of the seventeenth century, and the modern. It was a curious sight of a nature to awaken

historical associations rather than produce a sensation of harmony, the stone of the mediæval buildings in particular being in a crumbling condition. But even this characteristic is calculated, I suppose, to confirm the reflective mood. I also saw the Sheldonian Theatre where the commemoration is held, the Bodleian Library, the Martyr's Memorial, and others. I paid a visit to Professor Max Müller, who unfortunately was not in good spirits on account of the recent loss of a favourite daughter. He regretted very much that he should have been in that condition at the time of my visit. He wished to see more of me than he could under the circumstances. Still I had a pleasant and interesting conversation with him for an hour and a half. He told me he had quoted my lectures in a paper that he had been publishing in a German periodical, and read a passage from that paper in which he interprets the expression *bhâshârthâḥ* occurring in connection with certain roots in the Dhâtupâṭha as meaning "roots the sense of which is to be known from the spoken language." Though of course I am a strong advocate of the view that Sanskrit was the Vernacular of the Indian Aryans, and think I have proved the point in my last lecture, still I did not believe that the expression *bhâshârthâḥ* meant what the Professor said, and was sorry not to be able to agree with him. Then he spoke to me about a letter he had received from the late Divan of Bhaunagar, Mr. Gauriśaṁkar, which was written on the occasion of his assuming the order of Saṁnyâsa, and about a copy of the new Saṁnyâsin's work on the Vedânta presented to him by the author. Professor Max Müller spoke approvingly of the doctrine of the Vedânta that the contemptibility and misery of life come to an end when an individual soul knows himself to be the same with Brahma or the Supreme soul. As I am not an admirer of the doctrine in the form in which it is taught by Śaṁkarâchârya and which alone is now the prevalent form in India, I observed that though according to his system a man must rise to the knowledge, "I am Brahma," previous to his entering on the state of deliverance or of eternal bliss, still it is essential that the feeling of *me* or *egoism* should be destroyed as a necessary condition of entrance into that state. The *me* is the first fruit of ignorance, and it must be destroyed in the liberated condition. A soul has no individual consciousness when he is delivered, and in that state he cannot have the knowledge, "I am Brahma." The illustration often given of a liberated soul that becomes one with Brahma is that of the space or ether that is

enclosed in an earthen jar becoming one with the infinite outer space or ether when the jar is broken to pieces. In such an absorption into or identification with Brahma when there is no individual consciousness and no knowledge that "I am the Brahma," what happiness can there be? Besides, the proposition, "I am Brahma," does not according to Śaṁkarâchârya's system mean I am one with the Supreme soul, who is the author of the Universe and who dwells in the Universe so full of beauty and grandeur. This, I believe, is the idea of the author of the Vedântasûtra and of some of the Upanishads; but with Śaṁkarâchârya the Universe or Creation is an illusion like that perceived by a man who sees a rope in darkness and mistakes it for a serpent, and flies away from it through fear. Misery, worldly happiness, sinfulness, littleness, and indeed all finite thought and feeling, are illusions. When these are dispelled the soul is free and happy and without finiteness or limitations, so that the proposition, "I am Brahma," means "I am not the miserable, sinful, little soul, tied down to this or that mode of thought or feeling, that I appear to myself to be; but a free, blissful, unchanging, and unconditioned soul." This is the real nature of the soul, and anything at variance with it that is felt is an illusion; so that Śaṁkarâchârya's ideal is not to become one with another being who is the Supreme Ruler of all but to see that oneself *is* really a blissful and unconditioned being. Though I might admire the doctrine about the first ideal, I do not think the latter to be very charming. This discussion we carried on for some time, and then turned to other matters. Professor Max Müller made me a present of a copy of the four parts of the *Aneedota Oxoniensia* as a memento of our short meeting, and with a few complimentary remarks on my work in the field of scholarship, for which I feel very thankful to him, brought the conversation to a close.

On Sunday, the 12th, I was introduced by Mr. Owen to Professor Jowett. He received me very kindly, but nothing of importance was said in the short conversation that followed.

I went to Birmingham to have a glimpse of Industrial England. Fortunately I found an obliging friend in Colonel A. Phelps, late Commissary-General, Bombay. The British Association for the Advancement of Science recently held its meetings at the place, and an exhibition of the arts and industries of Birmingham had been got up for the occasion. Colonel Phelps took me twice to see the exhibition, and there I saw the products of an immense variety of industries with the latest

improvements, from a new apparatus for electric lighting without the high tension so dangerous to life that is a drawback in the present mode, to a machine for washing clothes by means of steam, and school furniture so manufactured as to avoid the evils such as shortsightedness, which result from the use of the present kind of furniture. The kind Colonel also showed me the engine factory of Tangyes, Gillott's pen factory, and a pin factory. He then took me to the Birmingham Municipal Offices and Town Hall, both of which are splendid buildings, and in the afternoon to the Liberal Club, where I saw a great many members in the dining and the smoking-rooms. Mr. Chamberlain came in a short while after we entered, and I was introduced to him by the Colonel. A short but interesting conversation followed. Mr. Chamberlain endeavoured to excuse himself from attending to the affairs of India, while I strove hard to fix the ultimate responsibility of governing the country on the British Parliament and through it on each member, and especially on the leaders of parties.

After having seen so much of England I started from London for Vienna on the 20th. I went by way of Paris where I could spend only two days, during which, however, I saw so much as to make my head giddy. I saw the artificial lakes, the grand cascade, the race-course, the dismantled palace of St. Cloud, the palace, galleries, and park of Versailles, the Louvre, Luxembourg, Pantheon, the porcelain and tapestry manufactories which, I was told, are maintained at the expense of Government, and other places. Paris appeared to me to be a beautiful town, the palace at Versailles with the parks and avenue in front is superb, and the pictures at that palace and in the Louvre are innumerable and beautiful. The French appeared to me to be a nation of lovers of beauty and spared no expense, since the Government maintained even factories for painting pictures on porcelain and weaving them by means of coloured thread. But when certain places in the town called to my memory the frightful deeds of the people during the first revolution and of the Commune in 1871, the melancholy reflection forced itself on me that even an intense love of beauty, which I consider to be heavenly, is not necessarily associated in the human heart with a heavenly or angelic character, and that it is a mere passion in the human breast like rage and resentment. I was sorry not to have met any of the French Oriental scholars in Paris. I had very little time, and besides I was told that one of them, Monsieur Senart, was not in town, and I subsequently learned that even Monsieur Barth was absent. From

Paris I went to Munich, where I stopped for a day. I found it to be a charming little town. There is an excellent museum, and a building in an elevated position called the Maximilian College, which commands a very fine view. I saw these and also a bronze colossus representing Bavaria, behind which there is a corridor in the shape of three sides of a rectangle with marble busts of the great men of the country placed in niches in the walls. The view from this point also is commanding, and in the light of the morning sun the place looked very charming and well suited for contemplation. From Munich I went on Saturday, the 25th, to Vienna, the place of my destination, which I reached at about 9 P. M.

The next morning Dr. Rost and Dr. Kielhorn came to see me at the Hotel de France, which is situated close to the University. We walked together for about an hour and returned by a tramcar to the University. The meetings of the Congress were held in this building, and the office of the managing committee was also located there. We stepped into the office and signed our names in the Register of members. In the evening a conversazione was held at one of the hotels in order that the members of the Congress might make each other's acquaintance. The attendance was very large, and I was introduced to and exchanged cards with a great many scholars. There were two Egyptians with an ivory complexion and Turkish caps, a Chinaman, the Secretary of the Chinese legation in his national costume with the long pigtail, a Japanese in European costume, an Indian Mussulman, native of Aligarh and educated at Cambridge, similarly dressed, and myself with my turban and *uparṇeṁ*. The Chinaman's knowledge of French was greatly admired, and they said he spoke the language perfectly as well as a Parisian.

The next morning at ten o'clock the members of the Congress gathered together in the large hall of the University. Opposite to them on the other side of a large table sat the members of the Committee of Organization with the minister of Public Instruction and Archduke Rainer, who is a great patron of learning in Austria. The Archduke in a short speech declared the Congress open, after which the Minister of Public Instruction rose and welcomed the members of the Congress in the name of the Government. He was followed by the President, Baron Kremer, who delivered a long address in French. Then the leaders of the different deputations rose one after another and made a few observations, and those who had brought

presents for the Congress laid them on the table. In the afternoon the different sections met in the rooms assigned to them, and after the election of the President and Vice-President, papers were read and discussed. As I belonged to the Âryan Section I witnessed the proceedings of its meetings only. I will therefore confine myself to an account of them. Our President was Prof. Roth of Tübingen and Vice-President, Prof. Weber. Among the members who attended were Dr. Rost of the India Office; Professors Bühler of Vienna, Kielhorn of Göttingen, Ludwig of Prague, Jacobi of Kiel, Leumann of Strasburg Kühn of Munich, Jolly of Wurzburg, and Windisch of Leipsic; Drs. Hoernle of Calcutta, Cartellieri of Vienna, Macdonell of Oxford, and Stein of Buda-Pest; and Messrs. Bendall of the British Museum, Grierson, a Bengal Civilian, and McAuliffe, a Panjab Civilian, and Capt. Temple. Dr. Cust of the Royal Asiatic Society of London attended some of the meetings, and we had an American gentleman of the name of Leland, who has made the language of the Gipsies his special study. There were two French scholars of the names of Millouê and Guimet, and an Italian scholar named Lignana. There were other members whose names I do not remember. Our average attendance was about 45. Prof. Max Müller did not come on account of the unfortunate occurrence I have already mentioned, and the other scholars conspicuous by their absence to me, at least, were Professors Oldenberg of Vienna, Aufrecht of Bonn, Kern of Leyden, Eggeling of Edinburgh, and Dr. Böhtlingk of Jena. The Âryan section met also on the following days, the last sitting being held on Saturday. Englishmen and myself read papers in English, and the German scholars in German with the exception of Dr. Stein, the Hungarian and Dr. Hoernle, who used English. One of the French scholars only read a paper, and this was in French; and the Italian read in the language of his country. These four languages only were recognised by the Congress. Mr. Bendall read a paper on the discovery in Nepal of a new alphabet with arrow-head characters. Specimens were exhibited on the occasion, but I felt convinced that the alphabet was only one of the many varieties of the Nâgarî, and what looked like arrow-heads were only the short horizontal strokes which occur at the top of each Nâgarî letter. They were thicker in this manuscript than usual and written in a manner to make one end narrower than the other. Mr. Grierson appeared before the section twice, once to read a paper on some of the dialects of the Hindî, and at another time with observations

on Tulasidâsa and other Hindî poets. This gentleman has been doing very useful work by studying the peculiarities of the Hindî, as spoken in the provinces of Behar and Mithilâ, and publishing grammars of the dialects prevalent there. The Âryan section adopted a resolution recommending to the Government of India the institution of a regular survey of the spoken dialects of India. I read at the first day's meeting extracts from my Report on the search for manuscripts which is now in the Press, and placed before the section an old Palm-leaf manuscript of a Jaina work hitherto unknown that had been discovered in the course of the search now conducted by Dr. Peterson and myself, and which would have been placed before the section by Dr. Peterson himself if he had been present. This excited a good deal of curiosity, and one of the scholars gave it as his opinion that the work belonged to that branch of the Jaina sacred literature which is known by the name of Pûrvas, and which is by some believed to be more ancient than the other branches, without, in my opinion, sufficient reason. At another meeting Prof. Roth made a few observations on the peculiarities of Vedic grammar, dwelling principally on the fact that when a noun and an adjective are used together the case termination is often found affixed to one of them only, as in the instances परमे व्योमन्, महिना जनूंषि, &c. Prof. Jacobi read a paper in which he endeavoured to show that the Brahmanic hero-god, Krishna, was admitted by the Jainas very early, more than a century before the beginning of the Christian era, into the list of their holy personages. Prof. Kuhn appeared with a paper on the dialects of Kaśmîr and the Hindu Kush. One of Dr. Bühler's pupils, a young man of the name of Dr.Cartellieri showed, by comparing passages in Subandhu's Vâsavadattâ with similar ones occurring in Bâṇa's Kâdambarî, that Bâṇa adopted, in a good many cases, Subandhu's images, and often his very words and expressions, so that the doubts thrown on Subandhu's priority to Bâṇa were groundless. Dr. Hoernle read a paper on an old manuscript of a work on Arithmetic found at Bakkhâli in the north of Panjab in a ruined enclosure. It is written in a character which is a variety of the Kaśmîr character known by the name of Śâradâ; and Dr. Hoernle thought it was transcribed in the 8th or 9th century. The character appeared to me not very different from or very much more ancient than that in which Kaśmîr manuscripts about 100 or 150 years old are written. Dr. Hoernle had read a paper on the same manuscript about three years before at a meeting of the

Bengal Asiatic Society. Mr. Leland read a paper on the Gipsy language, in which he traced the origin of the Gipsies to India; Captain Temple gave some account of the Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs that he has been compiling; the Italian scholar read a few remarks on the words Navagva and Daśagva occurring in the Ṛigveda; and the French, an essay on the myth of Vṛishabha, the first Tîrthaṁkara of the Jainas. A few other papers were also read.

At one of its meetings the Section adopted a resolution asking the Government of India to restore the appointment of epigraphical surveyor, as the arrangements proposed by Dr. Burgess for getting translations of inscriptions done by different scholars willing and qualified to do them were considered unsatisfactory, and to re-appoint Mr. Fleet to it. I must here observe that I did not quite approve of such a personal question being brought before that learned body.

One thing in connection with the work of the Semitic section that came to my notice must here be mentioned. Prof. Karabacek read a report on the paleographical results furnished by some of the papyri or documents written on pieces of the papyrus which were found in Egypt. These were purchased by the Archduke Rainer, who paid more than 25,000 florins for them. I went to the place where they are kept and exhibited, and was told that some of them were more than two thousand years old. There is among them an original order issued by the Caliph Amru, which bears his own signature. The papyri were found rolled up, and it is a very difficult thing to unroll them in a manner not to break them into pieces. This however is done very carefully by Prof. Karabacek and his coadjutors; and there is a large photographical apparatus in the building by means of which the papyri are photographed, and copies of the size of the original printed off from the negative in the colour of the original.

On Monday, or the first day, an evening party was given by the minister of Public Instruction. Besides the members of the Congress there were other distinguished guests, among whom was the British Ambassador, Sir Augustus Paget. On Wednesday, a sumptuous entertainment was given in the afternoon by the Burgomaster in the large banqueting hall of the Rathhaus. The Rathhaus or Townhall is an extensive and noble building round which the learned guests were taken, previous to their being led into the banqueting hall. Refreshments were laid on the table, and the best available music provided for the occasion. In the evening of the same day, there was a

reception at the residence of Archduke Rainer. There was an unlimited supply of the best Viennese sweetmeats, and tea, coffee, and ices. A good many persons, including myself, were introduced to the Archduke and the Duchess, who spoke a few words to them in German, French, or English. On Thursday, a grand dinner was given in the evening by the Committee of organization, and there were toasts and post-prandial speeches as usual. In the afternoon of Friday, the members of the Congress were taken in river-steamboats by the Danube canal and by a special train up a hill in the vicinity called Kahlenburg, the view from which is splendid. The whole city of Vienna lay at our feet at a short distance, and with hills on the sides, the scene was charming. We spent about an hour at the place and returned home a little after sunset.

Dr. Bühler had told me a day or two before the dinner on Thursday to compose a few verses in Sanskrit and sing them in reply to one of the toasts. I said I would rather sing them at a meeting of the Âryan section, where I should have a select audience that would understand me. Accordingly I composed eight verses in different metres and sung them in the manner we usually do in India, at the final meeting of the Âryan section on Saturday morning. After that was over, I read some of the hymns in the Ṛigveda Saṁhitâ in the manner in which they are recited by Vaidika Brahmans here, as some of the German scholars were anxious to hear how the accents are indicated in pronunciation.

The sight of so many men from different parts of Germany and Europe who had chosen a life of study and thought, and who applied themselves with such devotion and zeal to the study of the sacred language of my country and its varied literature, was very gratifying to me. The spirit that actuated them appeared to be that of the old Ṛishis of India, who cared little for worldly possessions and devoted themselves to a life of study and meditation. In the ancient times in India whenever any grand sacrifice was performed by a great king, Brahmans from all parts of the country assembled at the place and held debates and discussed abstruse points. One such congress of Ṛishis is reported in the Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad and the Vâyu Puràṇa. Janaka, the king of Mithilâ, performed a horse-sacrifice, and a great many learned Brahmans from the Kurupañchâlas or the country about Thanesar, Mathurâ, Delhi, and Agra flocked to the place. Janaka wished to find out who among these was the most learned and knew the

Brahma or the highest truth the best, and therefore brought forth a thousand cows and tied pieces of gold of the weight of ten tolas to the horns of each. Then he said to the Brahmans: "That one among you who knows the Brahma the best should take away these cows." None of the Brahmans dared to take them, when Yâjñavalkya said to a pupil of his, "Young man, drive these cows home." The pupil began to do so, when all the other Brahmans got angry, saying, "What, does he think himself to be the one among us who knows the Brahma the best?" Janaka had a priest of the name of Aśvala, who said to him: "Well, Yâjñavalkya, are you the one of us all who knows the Brahma the best." Yâjñavalkya replied, "I am but an humble servant of one who knows the Brahma the best; I only want the cows." Then the priest Aśvala put a question to Yâjñavalkya, and he was followed by a great many others who put similar questions, requiring him to explain a large variety of points concerning the ritual, the gods, the soul, the supreme cause of the world and the soul of all, good deeds, bad deeds, &c. Among his interlocutors was a lady of the name of Gârgî Vâchaknavî who, in her own words, "attacked him with two questions as a warrior of Kâśî or Videhas attacks an enemy with two arrows on his strung bow." Yâjñavalkya answered satisfactorily the questions of all. This is a celebrated chapter in that Upanishad, and is very important for the history of ancient Indian thought. The idea I endeavoured to bring out in the verses sung by me at the Congress was that this body of holy and learned Ṛishis, adored by gods and men, that had assembled at Mithilâ, the capital of the king of Videhas, on the occasion of the horse-sacrifice, had risen up again at Vienna, the capital of the Emperor of Austria, to dispel the darkness that had overspread the earth in this sinful age of Kali, out of pity for man. Aśvala, the priest of Janaka, had assumed the form of Bühler, Yâjñavalkya appeared as Weber and Roth, and Śâkala as Kielhorn. Kahoḍa manifested himself as Jolly; and the remaining Ṛishis as Ludwig, Rost, Jacobi, and the rest. There was a Viennese lady who attended the meetings of our section, and who takes very great interest in Indian literature and has read nearly all that has been written about it, as well as translations of Sanskrit works. She was our Gârgî Vâchaknavî.

Such a compliment, I thought, these European scholars, and especially the Germans, deserved. Ever since the discovery of Sanskrit, the Europeans have devoted themselves with their usual energy to the study of the language and its literature, and to the solution of the

various problems suggested by it. They have successfully traced the affinity of the Sanskrit with the ancient languages of Europe, classified the languages of the civilized world on a scientific principle, and the races that speak them, shown that the Âryans of India composed of the three castes, Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaiśya, belong to the same race as the ancient Greeks and Romans and the nations of modern Europe, except the Turks, the Hungarians, and the Fins, penetrated into the secret of the formation of human speech and the growth of myths, and constituted the science of language and comparative mythology. They have collected manuscripts from all parts of India, and from Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, and Siam; and the Government of India has been assisting their efforts by instituting an archæological survey and search for manuscripts. They have examined the Vedas carefully, and traced out a great many facts concerning the original history and condition of the Indian Âryas, and compiled dictionaries, concordances, and grammars. The Mahâbhârata, Râmâyaṇa some of the Purâṇas, and the law books, as well as the dramatical literature, have been subjected to a similar examination. Buddhism, the memory of which has faded away in India, has again been brought to our notice; and its sacred texts, manuscripts of which are nowhere now found in India, have been rendered available to us.

In this work of study and research the Germans, of all the nations of Europe, have been the foremost. Most of the great achievements I have briefly indicated above are due to their patient industry and critical acumen. We have had one great French scholar, and there are now two or three. Englishmen first of all discovered Sanskrit, as was of course to be expected from the fact of India's having fallen into their hands, and we have had first-class English scholars, such as Colebrooke and Wilson. But somehow Sanskrit and philological studies have not found a congenial soil in the British isles. While there are at present twenty-five German scholars at least who have been working in the different branches of Sanskrit literature and have published something, we have not more than five among Englishmen. England employs Germans in connection with her philological work. The best Sanskrit scholar in the country is a German, and the Professor of Sanskrit at Edinburgh and the Librarian of the India office are Germans. There is a German in charge of manuscripts in the British Museum and the Assistant Librarian at the Bodleian is a Hungarian. The Germans are the Brahmans of Europe, the French

the Kshatriyas, and the English the Vaiśyas; though as was the case in India, the Brahmans of Europe have now taken to a military occupation. The great excellence of German scholarship consists in the spirit of criticism and comparison that is brought to bear on the facts that come under observation, and in the endeavour made to trace the gradual development of thought and language and to determine the chronological relations of events.

So much for the bright side of the picture. But it has also a dark side, to shut our eyes to which will do no good to the cause or to anybody. The proper and fruitful exercise of the critical and comparative, or what might be called the historical spirit, depends upon innate ability and a naturally sound judgment. These are not to be found everywhere, and often we meet with instances in which very comprehensive conclusions are based upon the most slender evidence. Though it is true that a native does not easily look at the language, thought, and institutions of his country from the critical standpoint, while the first impulse of an intelligent foreigner is to do so, still there are some disadvantages under which the foreigner must labour. He has no full and familiar knowledge of what he subjects to a critical examination. In the case of European Sanskrit scholars there is besides always a very strong disinclination to admit the high antiquity of any book, thought, or institution, and a tendency to trace Greek influence everywhere in our literature; while not seldom the major premise in the reasoning is that the Indians cannot have any good in them, since several times in the course of their history, they allowed themselves to be conquered by foreigners. Oftentimes the belief that the Brahmans are a crafty race prevents a full perception of the truth. Of course, scholars of ability and sound judgment shake off such tendencies and prejudices; and among these I may mention, since I do not wish to make invidious comparisons between living scholars, Dr. Muir of Edinburgh and Prof. Goldstücker.

But independently of such defects in the exercise of the critical faculty, there are very important branches of Sanskrit literature which are not understood in Germany and Europe. I had a conversation with Dr. Kielhorn on this subject the day after I reached Vienna. I said it appeared to me that works in the narrative or Purâṇic style and the dramatic plays were alone properly understood in Europe, while those written in the style of discourse or works on philosophy and exegesis were not. He replied that even several of the dramatic plays

and works on Poetics were not understood. Mistakes are constantly made when a scholar endeavours to interpret and criticise a work or passages in a work belonging to any of the Śâstras, as we call them; and often the sense of passages containing idiomatic expressions in other works also is not perceived. A scholar reads such a work or interprets such expressions and passages with the aid of a grammar and a dictionary; but a clear understanding of them requires an amount of previous knowledge which cannot be derived from either. As to positive command over Sanskrit, I had an illustration in the shape of a card which was given to me by a Professor at the Congress on which two verses in the easiest of Sanskrit metres, the Anushṭubh, composed by him, are printed. In three of the four lines the metre is violated, and there is a bad compound in the second verse. If the study of Greek was not successfully carried on in Western Europe before the fall of Constantinople drove many learned Greeks into that part of the continent, it is of course not reasonable to expect that Sanskrit literature should be properly understood in Europe without instruction from the old Pandits of India. This defect was first of all clearly perceived by those German scholars who spent a good many years in India; and now it has been acknowledged by others also, though there are still some whose reliance on a grammar and a dictionary continues unbounded. And the Germans have already begun to remedy the defect. Dr. Garbe was sent more than a year ago to this country at the expense of the Prussian Government to study Indian philosophy. He lived at Benares for a year and read one or two works with some of the Pandits there, and has recently returned to his country. Dr. Kielhorn has undertaken to publish an edition of the Kâśikâ, an old commentary on Pâṇini's Sûtras containing copious notes and explanations of a nature to enable the European scholar to understand the intricacies of the style of grammatical exegesis. And on the last day of my stay at Vienna, Dr. Bühler told me that he had on that day called on the Minister of Public Instruction to represent to him the necessity of having an Assistant Professorship of Sanskrit in connection with the University of Vienna. This he means for Dr. Hultzsch; but his ultimate idea is that large Universities such as those of Berlin and Vienna should have an Assistant Professorship to be held by a Sanskrit Master of Arts of the Bombay University, and on Dr. Hultzsch being raised to the Professorship or provided for elsewhere, he will have an Indian in his place. This I believe is a good

idea, in the interests of both European and Indian Sanskrit scholarship; but the principle involved in it, viz., a close intercourse between the scholars of the two countries, deserves to be carried out in other ways. This also has not escaped the attention of Dr. Bühler; for though he is not now in his bodily form present in India, he carries on an active correspondence with many persons here, and has recently issued a prospectus about a Vienna Oriental Journal which will contain several articles in English intended to be read by us here. I have no doubt that such a close intercourse will be productive of benefit to us here. New ideas and views about matters in Sanskrit literary history are constantly started in Germany, and these will stimulate thought and inquiry among us, and we shall be able to make use of our knowledge either to confirm or refute them, and put forth new ideas and views of our own. It is very much to be wished that more of us devoted ourselves to learning and research. Every year our University turns out a good many Sanskrit scholars, and but few have hitherto made scholarship the occupation or pleasure of their lives. But physical wants claim attention first, and unless somebody in his liberality makes provision for them, there is little hope that we shall have many scholars among us. The necessity of endowing Professorships for the advancement of learning and science among us was recently urged with characteristic ability on the attention of his audience by the Vice-Chancellor of the University and our President; and I gave expression in my humble way to the same idea in my first Wilson Lecture and in my evidence before the Education Commission ; but there is no hope of Government being able to do anything in the matter in the present state of circumstances, while as regards ourselves there is little public spirit among us, and the liberality of Khojas, Parsis, and Hindus flows in other channels, and no one has the power of diverting it into this.

Another feeling which the sittings of the Congress evoked in me and to which I gave expression in my verses, was that of admiration for the respect for human nature and brotherly sympathy for mankind which, I thought, were evinced by the interest which so many people took in the condition, the thought, and languages of the people of Asia, Africa and Polynesia, so inferior to Europeans in all that constitutes civilization. I also thought that international congresses such as this were calculated to promote good feeling between the different nations of Europe, so as to render war impossible in the course of time. And from what

I saw during my hasty visit it appeared to me that Europe was approaching towards a realization of this ideal. There is hardly so much difference as regards external appearance and manners between the different nations of Europe as there is between the different races of India, though their languages are more widely different than those of Northern India. Their dress, their modes of eating, their social manners, and their institutions are a good deal more alike than ours. Any invention or discovery made in one country finds its way easily into another. The railway trains of one country run in continuation of those of another, and the postal and telegraphic arrangements are such as one might expect only in a country under one and the same Government. Travellers are always going from one country to another, and everywhere there are hotels where their comfort and convenience are carefully attended to. So that, to an external observer, Europe appears in times of peace to be one country. And I saw a pantomimic show in one of the theatres in Vienna which intensified my general impression. At first girls in European costume appeared dancing on the stage. Then was shown the digging of the Suez Canal and the plying of steam-boats in it. This was followed by a representation of the cutting of the Mount Cenis tunnel; and afterwards appeared men and women in the costumes of all countries, with some in our Indian costume, and a number of negro boys. And they all danced together in joy, the negro boys beating time. This idea of a universal brotherhood was, I thought, the most precious product of European civilization, more valuable by far than railways and electric telegraphs. And it was in such a mood of thought that I opened my versified Sanskrit address with the words, "Supreme over all is that brotherly feeling for mankind which prompts the constant endeavours of these men to study the languages, the sciences, and arts of Eastern races so utterly different from themselves;" and ended it by saying, "May Congresses such as this conduce to knit different countries together in friendship, to the cessation of war, and to the prosperity of mankind."

I was however not free from disturbing thoughts. Though all this Oriental learning had probably its origin in a respect for human nature, still a mere love of reputation and a desire to conform with the fashion of the day, are the motive causes in most individual cases. Though the whole external look of Europe makes for peace, still ever since the idea expressed in the lines

> Till the war-drum throbbed no longer and the battle-flags were furled,
> In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world,

was distinctly formulated, there have been many wars in Europe, and many more times have the Europeans fought Asiatics and Africans and crushed them. And I remember that the advancement of oriental learning was looked forward to in some quarters as one of the happy results of one of these latter wars; so that, love of oriental learning is not necessarily associated with good-will for the oriental races. A German Sanskrit Professor once said to me that he liked social equality being given to the natives of India, but not political equality, and that he considered the Ilbert Bill to be mischievous. I told him that in Ceylon and the presidency towns the native magistrates did actually exercise the power of trying European offenders. He did not know that, he said, but still proceeded to defend his position, and bringing his oriental learning to his aid, observed, "Oh, Buddhism has softened the Ceylonese, so that they might exercise that power; but the case is different in India." I listened quietly, thanking my country's stars that she had not fallen into the hands of Germans. And two of the most civilized nations in Europe have for the last fifteen years been making preparations with their usual energy for a grand human sacrifice, in which the blood of about eight million human victims is to be poured on the altar of the goddess of nationality. Even the Oriental professors of those two nations are full of warlike sentiments; and there is a firm determination to destroy the hated enemy or die. So that, the spirit of humanity, though evolved in the course of European history, has been entirely driven out of the field of action by the spirit of nationality. The very physical energy of the European races and the importance attached to mere material greatness, are unfavorable to the further growth of that spirit. And in this matter, at least the prophecy of the old Locksley Hall has not been fulfilled, and there is ground for the despondency expressed in the new. After the Congress was over I stayed for a week more in Vienna, and saw the museums, the picture galleries, and other sights. I left the place on Sunday, the 10th of October, for Venice, where I spent three days.

I have already taken up so much of your time, that I have little left for conveying to you some of my general impressions. I will, however, do so hastily. Everywhere the energy of the European races and the orderly shape that they give to everything made a deep impression on my mind. On my way from Brindisi to Calais, I observed

on the sides of the railway in Italy vines and trees planted in straight lines at equal distances, and in Southern France, happy looking villages with nice roads laid out, and grass so well trimmed as to give the fields and even the slopes of hills a smooth appearance. Everywhere the hand of man was to be seen. In London I was impressed with the immense wealth of the people, and their devotion to business. In private dwellings and in shops all things are nicely arranged. The shops are generally in substantial buildings, and the shopkeeper is always seen standing or sitting on a high stool, ready to attend to his customers. The affairs of every large establishment where a number of men are employed are conducted with the regularity of a machine. Wherever I went I could not avoid making comparisons between what I saw and what exists in India. I felt that with our fields neglected except for getting a harvest or two, our things lying about in a disorderly condition in our houses and our shops, and our shops constructed of wooden planks and our shopkeepers often dozing in their seats, we are considerably inferior in point of energy to the European races, and especially to the English. When I saw the exhibition at Birmingham and observed how some improvement or other is always made in machines, implements, and arts, and how new arts and industries spring up, I could not avoid remarking to my kind friend Colonel Phelps, "Your intellects are always awake, ours are dormant." Indian implements and arts are now in that condition in which they were in the time of Manu. The English people possess a vast power of organization. Those of them who hold the same view on any matter easily combine together to advance that view, and thus form clubs and associations. I was struck when I heard that the National Liberal Club in London had 5,000 members. In India hardly so many as five persons can be found to lay aside their jealousies and combine for the advancement of a cause. In every one of the towns I visited there are one or more museums, and in most of them picture galleries. Both the Government and the people take pride in them and in other institutions of the kind, and are ready with their contributions of money for their improvement. We have no museum anywhere in India worthy of the name, and picture galleries are never dreamt of. I saw a splendid free library at Birmingham maintained by the municipality, and in the Guildhall in London, and was told that all the municipalities in England had such free libraries. We never heard of anything of the kind in India. Even such a rich municipality as that of Bombay with its surplus of

five lacs does not maintain an institution of the kind, and it is a matter of no little wonder that the idea should not have been put into the heads of the members of our Corporation by any European gentlemen or a native who has been to England. The means of communication throughout Europe are, as I have already stated, perfect, though the Customs Officers on the frontiers of a country give some trouble, and there are establishments in all places for the accommodation of travellers. Travelling, therefore, is so easy, that a timid Hindu like myself, who cannot speak French or German, could go from London to Vienna, and thence to Venice, alone, without the least difficulty. All that I saw in Europe deepened the impression that, as we are, we are an inferior race in point of energy. We are far behind Europe, and especially England, in all those matters that I have just noticed, and ours is what Principal Wordsworth calls a feeble civilization; though I believe the vigorous civilization of Europe is now on its trial, and the war between the French and the Germans which must come some day, and the socialistic and nihilistic movements, if they make further progress, will determine whether it is not one-sided, and its ideals have not been chiefly, if not exclusively, material. And in this respect we should by no means be very anxious to realize it among ourselves.

One point more, and I have done. When I set my foot on the soil of Italy and saw the Italian Custom-house officers, policemen and others, exercising their authority, the thought entered my mind, "But a few years ago this country was cut up into a number of little states, most of them despotically governed, and now these pople have become one nation and got representative institutions"; and I cast a wistful eye at their newly-acquired independence. While in London I once went to see the Tower with my friend Dr. Rhys Davids, and when I was shown the place where Anne Boleyn, Catherine Howard, and Lady Jane Grey were executed, and also the dungeon into which those persons who were obnoxious to the reigning prince or his courtiers were cast quietly and in a manner unknown to anybody, I observed to my friend, "You are a wonderful people; three centuries ago you were governed by monarchs nearly as absolute and despotic as any that reigned in India, and you have now gradually worked out your freedom without shedding much blood; while we have not succeeded in emancipating ourselves during the last twenty-five centuries." Notions such as these were

present in my mind during the time I was in Europe; but after a while I asked myself, what it was that I wished? Should I like that the English had never conquered the country? I at once said, "No." For, as I had already observed to my friend, we really were not free under the old native monarchs. Under them there was no possibility of our having any idea of that European civilization which I so much admire, there was hardly much security of life and property, and there was little possibility of a man travelling from one province to another vithout being looted. And we should in that case have had no post-office or roads or railways or electric telegraphs or printing presses; and above all, that education which has now opened our eyes to our own defects, and given birth to new aspirations. And how was it possible that they should not subjugate the country when it was in the lowest state of political degradation, with selfishness reigning supreme, rival competitors for thrones or for power intriguing against each other and asking their aid, and the people at large maintaining their traditional indifference? Would I then wish that the English voluntarily retired from the country—for driving them away was out of the question—and left us to govern ourselves? Even here I had no hesitation in saying 'No." If they should retire, we should immediately return to the old state of things. For though we talk about public spirit, public duty, nationality, and things of that sort, these ideas have not deeply sunk into our nature. Self-interest is as strong a motive with us as it ever was before. There is a lamentable want of serious thought amongst us. Childishness is rampant everywhere. We are divided into castes and communities that have not yet learnt to make common cause with each other. We still want that energy and those orderly modes of action, and that power of organization, which are necessary in order that we may progress in civilization; and we shall only lose the ground which we have gained under the British, and shall be unable to form a strong Government; and all the benefits of a higher civilization that we at present enjoy will be lost to us. I believe it to be an act of Divine Providence that the English alone of all the candidates who appeared about the same time for the empire of India should have succeeded. The Marathas, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French were all weighed in the balance and found wanting, and the empire was given to the English. For the Marathas possessed the usual vices of Indian rulers, the Portuguese were intolerant and forced their religion on the people, the Dutch have made the natives of the

countries they conquered hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the French are volatile and have no settled principles. Of the other nations of Europe, the Germans and Austrians do not themselves enjoy that freedom that we do under the British, and Russia is the most despotic of all European states, and is perhaps as barbarous as ourselves without our mildness. But England is a nation that has worked out its freedom. She gave liberty to the Negro slaves at a vast sacrifice of money; and it is the only country in Europe where the sentiment of humanity has made progress. It is impossible that such a country should treat us as slaves; or like the Dutch reduce us to the condition of mere artisans and labourers. Reflections such as these quieted me, and I was content that the English should rule over us, notwithstanding that there are very few Sanskrit scholars among them. In this frame of mind I got on board the steamer "Siam." The next morning, a fellow-passenger of the name of Colonel Noble, Commissioner of Sahet Mahet in Oudh, came and sat near me. He asked me a variety of questions, one of which was, "How will you manage about caste after your return to your country." I said: "When I go back I shall live with my family as a Hindu that I am, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, and will not invite caste opposition. If notwithstanding, I find myself in difficulties these must be put up with; for it is of the highest importance that we should visit Europe, if we would march on, side by side with our rulers, towards a higher goal." "That word 'rulers'," says Col. Noble, "that you have used, I do not like. For it is the feeling of a great many Englishmen that we are but your brothers to direct and guide you towards a brighter future." I was highly delighted, and thought that if all the statesmen and officers in whose hands the destinies of India were placed were actuated in all that they did by such a feeling as this, we should be the happiest people on earth; we should forget that we were governed by foreigners, and look upon the British Government as our own national government. There were a good many other passengers on board who were very courteous and kind to me, and with whom I had pleasant conversations. Among them were Mr. Sheppard, Revenue Commissioner, Northern Division, and a good many other civilians belonging to Bombay, Madras, and the North Western Provinces. The charge of *hauteur* usually brought against Anglo-Indians I found to be false on board the steamer. The Siam dragged its slow length along the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the

Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, and at last we found ourselves in the harbour of Bombay. In the bustle and commotion which followed in consequence of everybody's desire to go on shore at once, I made my way to the place where Colonel Noble was, and took his leave with the words, "Your sentiments with regard to my people are, no less than your name, NOBLE," and came away.