3

CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES

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Vergleichende Beobachtungen zu Asokas Felsenedikt XIII

1. Seit frühgeschichtlicher Zeit, soweit diese urkundlich erfaßbar ist, bis zur Gegenwart werden konkurrierende Gruppen von Völkern in Vernichtungskriege getrieben, wobei die Anführer der Sieger und ihre Gefolgschaft die Opfer und Leiden der Besiegten für gottgewollt und somit gerecht erachten.

So frohlockt der babylonische König Nabopolassar (626-605 v. Chr.), der mit Hilfe der Meder die Assyrer besiegte: "Ich metzelte das Land Subartu (Assyrien) nieder, ich verwandelte das feindliche Land in Schuttberge und Ruinen."

Dennoch entkamen Assyrer den Metzeleien. Ihre Hauptstadt Aschschur (Assur) erlebte noch eine Blütezeit unter parthischer Herrschaft (140 v.Chr. - 256 n. Chr.).

2. Im XIII. Felsenedikt Asokas, das acht Jahre nach seiner Königsweihe (ca. 256 v. Chr.) verfaßt wurde, verkündet der König seinen für die Kalingas überaus verlustreichen Sieg über sie, die im Gebiet des heutigen Orissa und südlich davon ansäßig waren. Anders als bei dem babylonischen König ist der Sieg für Asoka kein Anlaß zur Freude. Er zeigt im Gegenteil tiefste Betroffenheit über die hohen Verluste an Menschenleben und das Ungemach, das die Besiegten hinnehmen mußten.

Das XIII. Felsenedikt Asokas liegt in drei Brāhmī- und zwei Karoṣṭhī-Versionen sowie in einem griechischen Inschriftenfragment vor.

Die drei in Brāhmī-Schrift eingemeißelten Edikte sind die von Girnar: Girnar Hills, Kāthiawār, von Kālsī: Dehra Dun Distrikt (Bloch 1950: 125-132; Hultzsch 1925: 22-25 und 43-49) und von Erragudi: Kurnool Distrikt in Andhra Pradesh (Sircar 1979: 30-36).

Die zwei in Karoṣṭhī-Schrift eingemeißelten Edikte sind die von Shāhbāzgaṛhī: Peshawar Distrikt, jetzt Pashāwar/Pakistan, und von Mānsehrā, Hazara Distrikt, nördlich von Rawalpindi in Pakistan (Bloch 1950: 125-132; Hultzsch 1925: 66-70 und 81-83).

3. Die parallele griechische Version aus Kandahar in Afghanistan (Benveniste 1964: 137-157; Schlumberger und Benveniste 1967: 193-200) bietet nur die zweite Hälfte des XII. und die erste Hälfte des XIII. Asoka-Edikts.

Die Inschriften Asokas sind insgesamt in altertümlichen Prākṛt-Sprachformen abgefaßt. Unter den oben aufgeführten Inschriften repräsentiert die Girnar-Version westliche Eigentümlichkeiten des Alt-Prākṛt, die auch für das Pāli gelten (Waldschmidt 1954: 6-10), nämlich der Auslaut des *nom. sg.* der a-Stämme auf *-o*, z.B. *tivvo dhammavāyo* in Girnar, dagegen *tivve dhammavāye* ... in Kālsī, *tivre dhramavāye* in Mānsehrā, *tivre dhrama*(*si*)*lana* ... in Shāhbāzgaṛhī (Bloch 1950: 125). Ferner [*tive*] *dha*[*ṃ*]*māvāye* ... in Erragudi (Sircar 1979: 80). In diesen Inschriften wird die Endung des *nom. sg.* der a-Stämme auf *-e* verwendet, welche für die Alt-Ardhamāgadhī der Hofsprache Asokas in Pāṭaliputra charakteristisch ist und u.a. zu den

Karin Preisendanz (ed.), *Expanding and Merging Horizons*: *Contributions to South Asian and Cross-Cultural Studies in Commemoration of Wilhelm Halbfass*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007, pp. 143-166.

Hauptmerkmalen der Māgadhī[1] gehört, obwohl die oben genannten Inschriften nicht im Osten Indiens liegen.

4. Die hohen Verluste der Besiegten, die teils verschleppt (*apavuḍhe*) oder getötet (*hate*) wurden oder an den Kriegsfolgen starben (*maṭe*), lösen in Asoka einen Sinneswandel aus, der ihn dazu bringt, die Herstellung der sittlichen Rechtsordnung – *dhamma* – auf folgende Weise zu betreiben:

(1) *tive* (*tivve*) *dhaṃmavāye* "eine tiefschürfende Auseinandersetzung [zur Herbeiführung] einer sittlichen Rechtsordnung."
(2) *dhaṃmakāmatā* "intensives Streben nach einer sittlichen Rechtsordnung."
(3) *dhaṃmānuṣathi* (*-anuṣatthi*) "intensive Unterweisung in der sittlichen Rechtsordnung."

Bloch 1950: 125 übersetzt diese Stelle wie folgt: "Ensuite, maintenant que le Kalinga est pris, **ardents sont l'exercise de la Loi**, **l'amour de la Loi**, **l'enseignement de la Loi** chez l'ami des dieux." In Anmerkung 5 zu seiner Übersetzung bemerkt Bloch: "**dhammavāya** est obscur. Si la lecture de Sh. **silana** est correcte, on entendra 'pratique ou étude constante,' le second terme serait **vāya**, **vyāya** (soit **vy-ā-aya** ou **vy-āya**,) ou **ovāya**."[2]

Hultzsch (1925: 47) übersetzt die Stelle nach der Kālsī-Version: "After that, ... Devānāṃpriya (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality."

dhammakāmatā, von mir in (2) zitiert, ist auch in Pāli-Texten belegt, z.B. in *Suttanipāta* 92c = *Sn* 6.2c: ***dhammakāmo*** *bhavaṃ hoti*, *dhammadessī parābhavo*. "Der nach Redlichkeit Strebende ist ein (geehrter) Herr, der der Redlichkeit Widerstrebende ist der Verachtung preisgegeben."

Dieser Terminus ist nicht ausschließlich auf die buddhistische Literatur beschränkt, er ist auch in der nichtbuddhistischen Sanskritliteratur belegt. Im *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (*KAś*) (3.2.19, 27) beispielsweise wird die rechtliche Stellung einer verwitweten Frau behandelt, einer *dharmakāmā*, die in sittlicher Redlichkeit ihr Leben weiterführen möchte.

dhammānuṣathi = *dhammānusatthi*, von mir in (3) zitiert, kommt auch in der Pāli-Literatur vor, z.B. in *Milindapañha* (*Mil*) (137,15-16): *dhammānusiṭṭhiyā anusāsīyati* "(für jemand,) der mit der diesbezüglichen Regelung (*anusiṭṭhi*) der Rechtsordnung (*dhamma*) vertraut ist". *CPD* notiert diese Stelle mit der Variante *dhammânusatthiṃ* s.v. *anu-sāsīyati*.

5. Asoka läßt es aber nicht bei diesen Feststellungen bewenden. Er bekundet vielmehr, tief betroffen, in der Weltgeschichte einmalig, als Sieger seine Reue – *anuṣaye* – (Kālsī-Inschrift, Zeile 36, Hultzsch 1925: 44, Tafel). In den folgenden Zeilen 37-39 seiner Inschrift schildert Asoka, wieviel Leid – Tod und Verschleppung – der Kalinga-Krieg vielen wehrlosen Menschen und ehrenwerten Personengruppen unter den Besiegten, zugefügt hat.

Laut *PW* ist *anuśaya* in der Bedeutung "Reue" auch im Sanskrit belegt. So zeigt z.B. König Duṣyanta "Reue" (*anuśaya*), in Kālidāsas *Abhijñānaśakuntalam* VI.7cd, einer Āryā-Strophe, wie folgt:

[1] Literarische Zeugnisse einer Alt-Māgadhī und Alt-Śaurasenī stehen bei Lüders 1911.
[2] Vgl. mein Zitat unter (1).

anuśaya*duḥkhāyedaṃ hatahṛdayaṃ saṃprati vibuddham* ||.

(Vormals zur Ruhe gekommen ...) ist dieses angeschlagene Herz nun zur Qual der **Reue** wachgerüttelt worden.

Vor Vers 6 wird König Duṣyanta von seinem Kammerherrn *priyadarśano devaḥ*, "der König von freundlichem Aussehen", genannt, eine Beobachtung, die an die Bezeichnung des Königs in den Asoka-Inschriften erinnert: *iyaṃ dhaṃmalipi devānaṃpiyena* ***piyadassinā*** *lekhitā* (Kālsī I, Bloch 1950: 90-91). "Ce texte de la Loi a été gravé sur l'ordre du roi ami des dieux **au regard amical**."

anusaya in der Bedeutung "Reue" ist auch in den Prākṛts belegt. *Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo* (*PSM*) notiert unter *aṇusaya* [*anuśaya*] "*pascāttāpa*, *kheda*" mit Bezug auf *Se*(*tubandha*) 2,16.

SWTF notiert dagegen s.v. *anuśaya*, m., die Bedeutungen "Veranlagung; Neigung, Hang (zum Schlechten)". Anstelle von Kālsī *anuṣaye* überliefert Shāhbāzgaṛhī (Bloch 1950: 126) *anusocana* "Beklagen, Trauer um", das auch im Pāli, im *CPD* s.v. *anusocana*, n., "bewailing, mourning" notiert, belegt ist.

6. Asokas erklärtes Ziel ist es nun, daß alle Wesen in Sicherheit (frei von Gewaltakten) sein sollen, sich in Selbstdisziplin, in Umgänglichkeit (im Umgang mit anderen) – *samacariyam* – und Mildtätigkeit (üben sollen). Danach geht es in dem XIII. Felsenedikt Asokas (Bloch 1950: 129,30-130,2) wie folgt weiter: *iyaṃ cu mu*[*khamute vijaye*] *devānaṃpiyassā ye dhammavijaye*. "Für den den Göttern ergebenen ist der allerwichtigste Sieg der Sieg der sittlichen Rechtsordnung."

B. Barua (1943: 153) zitiert Raychoudhuris Meinung über *dhammavijaya* wie folgt:

The Asokan conception of *Dhaṃma-vijaya* was similar to that described by the Cakkavatti-sīhanāda-sutta, 'conquest not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by **righteousness**'.

Der Pāli-Text lautet im *Dīgha-Nikāya* (*DN*) (III 59,8-10):

so [*rājā daḷhanemi nāma cakkavatti*] *imaṃ paṭhaviṃ sāgarapariyantaṃ adaṇḍena asatthena* ***dhammena abhivijiya*** *ajjhāvasi*.[3]

Dieser (König Daḷhanemi, der Cakravartin) hatte sich (in seinem Herrschaftsbereich) niedergelassen, nachdem er diese Erde bis an den Rand des Ozeans **bezwungen hatte**, und das nicht mit dem Stock und nicht mit dem Schwert, sondern durch **Rechtschaffenheit**.

Mit *dhammavijaya* führt Asoka hier einen Begriff aus dem altindischen Rechtsgut ein, auf den ich in den buddhistischen Lehrtexten bisher nicht gestoßen bin.

In *Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa* (*Hvgvv*) (VI 15), welches die Zähmung des rotäugigen Dämonen zum Gegenstand hat, heißt es:[4]

3. *rājā* [*saṅghabodhi*] *taṃ pavattiṃ sutvā*: *mayi rajjaṃ karente pajānaṃ īdisassa bhayassa uppajjanaṃ ananucchavikan ti maññamāno tadahe 'va* ***aṭṭhaṅgasīlaṃ*** *samādiyitvā attanā niccaṃ kayiramānāni dasakusalakammāni anussaritvā ahaṃ* ***dhammavijayī*** *bhavissāmī ti taṃ rakkhasaṃ adisvā na uṭṭhahissāmi ti daḷhataraṃ adhiṭṭhāya vāsagabbhe sayi*.

[3] Vgl. *Vinayapiṭake Cullavaggapāli* 7.8.13 (Nālandā-Ed.), p. 297:
daṇḍeneke damayanti aṅkusehi kasāhi ca |
adaṇḍena asatthena nāgo dānto Mahesinā ti ||.

[4] Anne Peters hat mich auf diese Stelle aufmerksam gemacht.

> Nachdem der König (Sanghabodhi) diese Nachricht vernommen hatte, dachte er bei sich: "Wenn ich einmal die Herrschaft ausübe, soll das Aufkommen von Furcht unter den Geschöpfen nicht an der Tagesordnung sein," und indem er sich dementsprechend die **achtgliedrige Norm sittlichen Verhaltens**[5] zu eigen machte und stets die durch Taten wirksamen zehn verdienstvollen Handlungsweisen sich gegenwärtig hielt (mit der Zielsetzung): "Ich will ein durch **Rechtschaffenheit Siegender** sein, und will so diesen Unhold nicht beachtend, mich nicht erheben (um ihn zu vertreiben)", blieb er in diesem Sinne, ganz sicher in sich gekehrt, im Schoß seines Schlafgemachs liegen.

Einen weiteren Beleg für *dhammavijayin* finden wir in der birmanischen Textausgabe der *Abhidhānappadīpikāṭīkā*.[6] Dort finden wir (*Abhṭ* p. 201,18-21):[4]

> *ucchijjamāno ripunā nīrūpāya patikriyo. sattihīno samāsiyate ti hīnenāññassa balavatarassa* ***dhammavijayīnaṃ*** *samāsayanaṃ vā, tasseva vā balino sattuno kosādippadānena āsayanaṃ* ***āsayo*** *vuccate.*

"Der durch sittliche Rechtsordnung Siegende" ist hier zu *āsayo* "Grundhaltung" eines mächtigen Gegners in Beziehung gesetzt.

7. Einen Hinweis zum Verständnis dieses Begriffs bietet *KAś* 12.1.10-16. Die Stelle lautet wie folgt:

> *trayo 'bhiyoktāro dharmalobhāsuravijayina iti* |10| *teṣām abhyavapattyā dharmavijayī tuṣyati* |11| *tam abhyavapadyeta, pareṣām api bhayāt* |12| *bhūmidravyaharaṇena lobhavijayī tuṣyati* |13| *tam arthenābhyavapadyeta* |14| *bhūmidravyaputradāraprāṇaharaṇenāsuravijayī* |15| *taṃ bhūmidravyābhyām upagṛhyāgrāhyaḥ pratikurvīta* |16|.
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> Es gibt drei (Typen) von Angreifern: (1) der einer sittlichen Rechtsordnung verpflichtet Siegende, (2) der von Habgier getrieben Siegende, (3) der als Dämon Siegende |10|. Unter diesen gibt sich der einer sittlichen Rechtsordnung verpflichtete Sieger (*dharmavijayin*) mit der Unterwerfung zufrieden |11|. Ihm sollte sich unterwerfen, für wen auch Gefahr von anderen droht |12|. Der von Habgier getriebene Sieger (*lobhavijayin*) gibt sich mit der Wegnahme von Land und Gut zufrieden |13|. Ihm sollte er sich mit seinem Vermögen unterwerfen |14|. Der als Dämon Siegende (*asuravijayin*) ist auf die Wegnahme von Land, Gut, Söhnen, Frauen und des Lebens bedacht |15|. Nachdem er ihm Land und Gut überantwortet hat, soll er sich aus dem Staube machen, um Gegenmaßnahmen treffen zu können |16|.

Diese Stelle erklärt, warum Asoka gerade in diesem Abschnitt seiner Inschrift den Rechtstitel *dharmavijaya* einsetzt, bevor er sich an die angrenzenden Völker und Personen außerhalb seines Reiches wendet. Asoka will damit signalisieren, daß er künftig gegebenenfalls als Sieger gelten möchte, der einer Rechtsordnung verpflichtet ist, die auch Besiegten gegenüber Gerechtigkeit und Milde walten läßt.

8. *dhammavijaya* ist in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII. Felsenedikts an vier Stellen belegt: Einmal *dhaṃmavijaya* in Kālsī, *dhramavijayo* in Shāhbāzgaṛhī, *dhramavijaye* in Mānsehrā und *dhammavijaye* in Erragudi.

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[5] Vgl. *Mil* 5, *Anumānapañhe* 4.7, p. 236: *katamā tā sīlavibhattiyo*? *saraṇasīlaṃ*, *pañcasīlaṃ*, ***aṭṭh'aṅgasīlaṃ***, *das'aṅgasīlaṃ*, *pañc'uddesapariyāpannaṃ pātimokkhasaṃvarasīlaṃ. CPD* notiert s.v. *aṭṭhaṅgika*: "(c) *~aṃ uposathaṃ* (acc.), the fast with maintaining the eight precepts (viz. the first eight of the *dasasīla*, q.v.). *Sn* 401 = *AN* I 215,5."

[6] Smith 1948 notiert 5.6.1,2: "Abhidhānappadīpikā-(saṃ)vaṇṇanā or -ṭīkā (: Caturaṅgabala, Piṭ-sm 452, Sās 88,19-23), B^m Cat.-Mandalay No. 167, 168; B^p Cat.-Paris No. 493." Dieser Text sollte in die Editionen der Pali Text Society einbezogen werden.

Davor setzt Asoka die Kerninhalte seiner Botschaft: *sava*(*savva*)*bhūtānaṃ achatiṃ ca sayamaṃ ca samacairaṃ* (*samacaliyaṃ*) *ca mādavaṃ* (*mādavaṃ* = Skt. *mārdava*).[7] "Nichtverletzen und Selbstzucht, und korrektes Verhalten und Mildtätigkeit gegenüber allen Geschöpfen." Diese Stelle erinnert an *Manusmṛti* 6.8: *sarvabhūtānukampakaḥ* (vgl. *Yājñ* 3.312).

Im Folgenden bekräftigt Asoka, daß sein *dhammavijaya*, "der Sieg der sittlichen Rechtsordnung", nicht nur in seinem engeren Bereich maßgebend ist, sondern bis zu den angrenzenden Ländern im Nordwesten und Süden seines Reiches reicht, und darüber hinaus bekannt gemacht worden sei. Lamotte 1958: 248 übersetzt, wie Bloch, *dhammavijaya* mit "la victoire de la Loi". In diesem Zusammenhang erwähnt Lamotte die Namen der auswärtigen Könige, auf die sich Asoka bezieht, zusammen mit deren Identitäten: Aṃtiyoge nāma Yonalājā ("Antiochos II Théos de Syrie, 261-246"), und vier andere Könige: Tulamaye ("Ptolémée II Philadelphe d'Égypte, 285-247"), Aṃtekine ("Antigone Gonatas de Macédoine, 276-239"), Magā ("Magas de Cyrène, mort en 258"), Alikasudare ("Alexandre d'Épire, 272-256").[8]

Asoka sieht *dhammavijaya* in seinem Reich auch unter Yonas und Kambojas wirksam. Dieser Sieg ist ein Grund zur Freude. Er bemerkt dazu: *laddhā sā pītī hoti dhammavijayamhi*.[9] "Diese Freude vollendet sich in dem Sieg der sittlichen Rechtsordnung."

Schließlich ermahnt Asoka die Nachkommen, immer daran zu denken, daß der Sieg der sittlichen Rechtsordnung der einzig wahre Sieg in dieser und in der anderen Welt ist: *taṃ eva ca vijayaṃ mannatu ye dhaṃmavijaye ṣe hidalokike para*(*pala*)*lokike* (Bloch 1950: 132,22-33). Diese Schlußwendung ist häufig in den Asoka-Inschriften belegt, z.B. in Separate Rock-Edict Jaugada II.4.[10]

9. Kālidāsas *Raghuvaṃśa* (*Rv* IV.36-38) berichtet, daß Raghu, nachdem er die Vaṅgas unterworfen hatte, den Fluß Kapiśā überquerte und sich gegen die Kalingas wandte (Vers 38d). Laut Sircar (1971: 217) ist dieser Fluß mit dem heutigen Kaśai Fluß im Midnapur Distrikt, West-Bengalen, identisch.

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Feldzug gegen die Kalingas werden wir auch hier an *dharmavijaya* erinnert. So lautet der Śloka-Vers in *Rv* IV.43 wie folgt:

> *gṛhītapratimuktasya sa dharmavijayī nṛpaḥ |*
> *śriyaṃ mahendranāthasya jahāra na tu medinīm ||*.[11]

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[7] Shāhbāzgaṛhī überliefert *rabhasiye* ("im Falle von Unruhen") anstelle von *mādavaṃ*. Siehe Bloch 1950: 129.

[8] Vgl. Bloch 1950: 130.

[9] *dhammavijayamhi* (Girnar), *dhammavijayaṣṣi* (Kālsī), *dhramavijayaspi* (Shāhbāzgaṛhī); vgl. Bloch 1950: 131,31-34. *dhammavijayasi* (Erragudi); vgl. Sircar 1979: 32,30-31.

[10] Vgl. Hultzsch 1925: 115 und 116; Bloch 1950: 141,7-8; vgl. auch Pāli *idhaloke ... paraloke* in *DN* III p. 105,17, zitiert in *CPD* II, s.v. *idha*; *Dhammapada* 169 cd: *dhammacārī sukhaṃ seti asmin loke paramhi ca*; *Patna-Dharmapada* 27 cd: *dhammacārī* [*sukhaṃ*] *śeti aśśiṃ loke paramhi ca* (Roth 1980: 100/311; Roth 2000: 28,19; 29,20; 46,33).

[11] *Rp* IV.45c liest *hriyam* statt *śriyam*. Beachte, bei Nandargikar steht dieser Vers in *Rv* IV.43. Mallināthas Kommentar zu *Rv* IV.43 (p. 107) lautet: *gṛhīteti. dharmavijayī dharmārthaṃ vijayaśīlaḥ sa nṛpo raghuḥ. gṛhītaś cāsau pratimuktaś ca gṛhītapratimuktaḥ. tasya mahendranāthasya kāliṅgasya śriyaṃ jahāra. dharmārtham iti bhāvaḥ. medinīṃ tu na jahāra. śaraṇāgatavātsalyād iti bhāvaḥ. RvD* IV.45 gleicht *Rv* IV.43. Dagegen lautet Hemādris Kommentar zu *RvD* IV.45 (p. 76) wie folgt: *gṛhīteti. śatror atyantocchedakaraṇād viśvajiddakṣiṇārthaṃ vā dharmavijayī sa nṛpo gṛhītapratimuktasya mahendranāthasya śriyaṃ jahāra na tu bhuvam, hriyam iti pāṭhe grahaṇavaśāt kilāsau hrīṇo 'bhūt, atas tām apāsta* (*apāsthat* bei Vallabhadeva [*Rp*

> Dieser König (Raghu) nahm als Siegender einer sittlichen Rechtsordnung dem Mahendranātha, den er ergriffen und wieder freigelassen hatte, die Herrlichkeit seiner Macht, nicht aber sein Land.

Mallinātha kommentiert:

> *dharmavijayī dharmārthaṃ vijayaśīlaḥ sa nṛpo raghuḥ | ... tasya mahendranāthasya kāliṅgasya śriyaṃ jahāra |.*

Nandargikar (*Rv*, Notes, pp. 74-75) zitiert aus Vallabhas *Raghupañjikā* folgendes:

> *dharmavijayī lobhavijayy asuravijayī ceti trividho rājā | yaḥ śatruṃ nirjitya tadīyāṃ śriyaṃ nītvā śatruṃ tasminn eva sthāne sthāpayati sa dharmavijayī | yaḥ śatruṃ nirjitya tadīyāṃ śriyaṃ medinīṃ ca gṛhītvā prāṇair na vikurute sa lobhavijayī | yaḥ śatruṃ hatvā tadīyāṃ śriyaṃ medinīṃ ca gṛhṇāti sa asuravijayīti |.*[12]

Nandargikar übersetzt diese Stelle:

> A righteous conqueror vanquishes his enemy but reinstates him, a covetous conqueror appropriates to himself all the enemy's possessions but spares his life. A devilish conqueror spares nothing, not even life.[13]

Nandargikar (*Rv*, Preface, pp. 1-36) befaßt sich mit den Kommentaren zu Kālidāsas *Raghuvaṃśa*, besonders mit Mallināthas Saṃjīvinī (pp. 2-15), die er durchgehend zu den jeweiligen Versen des *Raghuvaṃśa* zitiert. Laut Nandargikar (p. 5) lebte Mallinātha um die Mitte des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts. Er erwähnt Pandit Durgaprasādas Meinung, wonach Mallinātha ein Brahmane des Vatsa-Gotra war, geboren in dem Dorf Tribhuvanagiri, Distrikt Kadappa, in

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IV.45, p. 148]). *medinīti medinīpadena daurgandhyaṃ tyāgahetuḥ*, *dharmavijayitvam* [*vā*]. Ich verstehe *-yāgāt* in *daityamedayāgāt* nicht. Evtl. ist zu verbessern: *-jāgāt*, d.h. *-jā* + *āgāt*.

[12] Abweichend von Nandargikas Zitat aus Vallabhadevas *Rv*, Notes, pp. 74-75, lautet sein Kommentar in *Rp* IV.45, p. 148, wie folgt: *sa rājā baddhamuktasya kāliṅgasya lajjām apāsthat*, *na punar bhuvam*. *grahaṇavaśāt kilāsau hrīto 'bhūt*. *atas tāṃ pratimuktyāpāsthat* (*apa* + *āsthat*, 3. Sg. Aor.; vgl. *atas tām apāsta* bei Hemādri [*RvD* IV.45, p. 76). *yato 'sau dharmavijayī*. *jetavyāḥ kila jigīṣuṇā ripava ity evaṃ rājadharmeṇārīñ jayati na tu lobhena vaireṇa vāsuravat*. "Er, der König, war auf die Demütigung des Kālinga fixiert, der erst gefangen, dann freigelassen worden war, nicht aber auf sein Land. Jener war in der Tat durch seine Ergreifung gedemütigt. Denn auf diese [Demütigung] war er (d.h. der König) durch dessen Freilassung fixiert. Deshalb ist jener der auf Grund einer sittlichen Rechtsordnung Siegende. Feinde sind in der Tat durch den Sieg Erstrebenden zu überwältigen; dabei besiegt er die Feinde durch die sittliche Rechtsordnung eines Königs, nicht aber aus Gewinnsucht oder aus rachsüchtiger Feindseligkeit, wie ein Bösewicht."

[13] Vgl. *dharmavijayin* in *KAś* 12.1.10-16, zitiert § 7. Waldschmidt (1950: 106) bemerkt folgendes: "Dem Sieger wird aufgegeben, unter Berücksichtigung der Wünsche der Bevölkerung des unterworfenen Landes einen ihm genehmen Sproß der Dynastie als Vasallen auf den Thron zu setzen. – Von diesem Verfahren des 'rechtlichen Siegers' (*dharmavijayin*) wird das ehrenrührige Benehmen des 'habgierigen Siegers' (*lobhavijayin*) unterschieden, der das Land des Gegners ebenfalls annektiert, und das des 'teuflischen Siegers' (*asuravijayin*), der dem Besiegten sogar das Leben raubt." Waldschmidt (loc. cit.) verweist auch auf das Gesetzbuch des Manu (VII.96ff.). Die Stelle *Manu* VII.96 (Vol. 2, p. 32) lautet:

> *rathāśvaṃ hastinaṃ chatraṃ dhanaṃ dhānyaṃ paśūn striyaḥ |*
> *sarvadravyāṇi kupyaṃ ca yo yaj jayati tasya tat ||.*

"Wer über etwas siegt, dem gehört das: Wagen und Pferd, Elefanten, Schirm, Beute, Kornfrucht, Vieh und Weiber, aller Geldbesitz aus Edelmetall (Gold und Silber) und aus Nicht-Edelmetall (Kupfer etc.)."

kupya, nach *pw* "ein unedles Metall, jedes Metall, mit Ausnahme von Gold und Silber," verstehe ich in diesem Zusammenhang nicht. Medhātithis Kommentar erklärt: *kupyaṃ śayanāsane tāmrabhājanādi*. – *dharmavijayin* etc. ist bei Manu, soweit ich sehe, nicht belegt.

Telangana. Dieses Land wird auch Tailaṅga und Tiliṅga genannt, welches im Telugu-sprechenden Gebiet von Andhra Pradesh liegt.[14]

10. *PW* notiert s.v. *vijaya*, *dharmavijaya* "der Sieg des Rechts" unter Bezug auf *Rājataraṅgiṇī* III.329, dazu auch *pw* s.v. *dharmavijaya* "der Sieg der Gerechtigkeit, der Tugend".

Kalhaṇas *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (*Rt*) (III.329), im Anuṣṭubh (*śloka*) Versmaß abgefaßt, lautet wie folgt:

> *yaśo'rthinaḥ pārthiveṣu dveṣarāgabahiṣkṛtaḥ |*
> *vavṛdhe **dharmavijayas** tasya kṣitiśatakratoḥ ||.*
>
> **Der Sieg der sittlichen Rechtsordnung**, frei von Haß und leidenschaftlicher Gier, des nach Ruhm strebenden Indra[gleichen Königs] der Erde, breitete sich unter den Herrschern der Erde aus.

Stein (1979: I, p. 98) übersetzt *Rt* III.329 wie folgt: "This earthly Indra, eager [only] for glory, extended among the kings **his righteous conquest**, free from love and hatred."

Vor diesem Vers frohlockt *Rt* III.326 darüber, daß die Armee des Königs Bäume beschädigt und die Frauen seiner Feinde demütigt. *Rt* III.328 schildert, daß seine Armeen die Bewohner von Saurāṣṭra ausrotteten und Königreiche zerstörten. Ein Bedauern des Königs über den angerichteten Schaden wird nicht bekundet.

Es geht hier um König Pravarasena II., über den ich keine gesicherten historischen Daten beibringen kann. Es stellt sich dabei die Frage, ob Pravarasena II., der ja in Saurāṣṭra operierte, mit Mahārāja Śrī-Pravarasena identisch ist, der in No. 62 – Chammak Copperplate Inscription of Pravarasena II – Regnal year 18, Distr. Berar, c. fifth century A.D., erwähnt wird (Sircar 1942: 418-425) und in No. 63 – Ajantā Cave Inscription of the time of Harishena, Distr. Aurangabad, c. sixth century A.D. (Sircar 1942: 425-432).[15]

11. Kalhaṇa, der Verfasser der *Rājataraṅgiṇī* ("Die Chronik der Könige"), war ein Zeitgenosse des Königs Jayasiṃha von Kaschmir, der von 1129-1150 regierte. Das bedeutet, daß die *dharmavijaya*-Stelle in *Rt* III.329 etwa 1300 Jahre jünger ist als die *dhammavijaya*-Stelle im XIII. Edikt des Asoka. Sie steht damit in einem jüngeren, anderen Textzusammenhang, der einer jüngeren Epoche der indischen Geschichte angehört. Hultzsch (1925: 24 und 25) übersetzt das im XIII. Felsenedikt Asokas von Girnar überlieferte *dhaṃmavijayamhi* als "at the conquest of morality". Bloch (1950: 129-130) übersetzt: "la victoire de la Loi." *dhaṃmavijayamhi* ist am Ende der Inschriftenzeile 10 (Hultzsch-Tafel, p. 26) gut lesbar. Für Asokas *dhaṃmavijaya* habe ich "Sieg der sittlichen Rechtsordnung" vorgeschlagen.

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[14] Nandargikar (*Rv*, Preface, pp. 10-11) bezieht sich auch auf Vallabhas *Raghupañjikā*. Laut Nandargikar (ibid., p. 11) war Vallabha ein Vorläufer von Hemādri, Caritravardhana, Mallinātha und Sumativijaya, Kommentatoren, die sich auf Vallabha berufen. Vallabha stammte aus Kaschmir. Zum Titel des Werkes s. Appendix.

[15] *PW* notiert s.v. *pravarasena*: "m. N. pr. zweier Fürsten von Kāśmīra, von denen der eine auch den Namen Śreṣṭhasena führt, Râja-Tar. 1.190; 3.97, 109, 288, 321, 324; 4.311. Nach Einigen = Bhojadeva Verz. d. B. H. No. 1355." [Verz. d. B. H. = Webers Verzeichnis der Berliner Sanskrit Handschriften. Bildet den ersten Band von: *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek* ..., Berlin 1853].

12. Hultzsch 1925: 25 (U) (Girnar); 48 (P), (U) und 49 (X) (Kālsī); 69 (P), 70 (U) und (X) (Shāhbāzgaṛhī; der Text von Mānsehrā ist nicht ins Englische übersetzt), übersetzt jeweils an diesen Stellen des XIII. Felsenedikts *dhammavijaya* mit beharrlicher Konsequenz "conquest by morality".

Mit gleicher Konsequenz übersetzt Hultzsch *dhamma* mit "morality" auch in anderen Passagen der Asoka-Inschriften, wie z.B. am Anfang von Girnar I: *iyaṃ dhammalipī* "this rescript on morality". Siehe dieselbe Wendung auch am Anfang von Hultzschs Übersetzungen von Kālsī I und Shāhbāzgaṛhī I.

"Morality" ist beharrlich mit Bedacht von Hultzsch für *dhamma* eingesetzt worden, weil der englische Terminus im weiteren Sinne als deutsch "Moral" bzw. "Moralität" verstanden werden kann.[16]

"Morality" ist von Lateinisch *moralis* abgeleitet, das zu Lateinisch *mos*, *moris* "Wille, Sitte, Gewohnheit, Vorschrift, Gesetz, Regel" gehört.

"Morality" ist demnach Gegenstand besonderer Qualitäten menschlichen Verhaltens, wie sie in Asokas Inschriften hervorgehoben werden: Gehorsam gegenüber Eltern, Älteren, Vorgesetzten, Milde gegenüber allen Geschöpfen, Duldsamkeit gegenüber verschiedenen Glaubensrichtungen etc.

Bloch (1950: 90) übersetzt *iyaṃ dhammalipi* als "ce texte de la Loi". Bloch bleibt konsequent dabei, *dhamma* durchgehend mit "Loi" zu übersetzen.

Sircar (1979: 84-85) übersetzt *dhammavijaya* "conquest through Dharma". Entsprechend übersetzt Sircar *dhammānusathi* "instruction in Dharma" und z.B. *iyaṃ dhammalipi likhitā* (XXIV) "and this record relating to Dharma has been written". Sircar bleibt in seiner Übersetzung vorsichtig bei "*dharma*". Er möchte Asokas *dhamma* nicht einer befangenen Interpretation überlassen.[17]

Im Grunde genommen sind in der Tat die aus der Muttersprache des Einzelnen stammenden Übersetzungen spezifischer Begriffe aus anderen Sprachen lediglich Annäherungen an den Sinngehalt eines Wortes und seine möglichen Bedeutungsveränderungen im Wechsel des Zeitgeschehens, dessen Einflüssen der Übersetzer ausgesetzt ist. So kann konsequentes Festhalten beim Übersetzen an einer Wortbedeutung den Weg zum Verständnis der Sprachwirklichkeit versperren. Auf diese Gefahren hat Paul Hacker in seinem Aufsatz "Zur Methode der philologischen Begriffsforschung" (Hacker 1965) nachdrücklich hingewiesen.

13. Wie übersetzt Stein (1900: I, p. 98) *Rt* III.329? "Extended among the kings his **righteous conquest**."[18] Steins Übersetzung ist ein anschauliches Beispiel dafür, wie der Zeitgeist in die Feder des Übersetzers fließen kann. "Righteous conquest", "gerechtfertigte Eroberung", ist der Leitgedanke für die erfolgreichen Eroberungszüge der Kolonialmächte. Was damals die imperialen Eroberer im innersten bewegte, zeigen folgende Bekundungen von John Shore,

[16] *COD* notiert s.v. "morality:" "Moral science, moral principles, points of ethics, particular system of morals, as commercial; moral conduct (esp. good)", und s.v. "moral:" "rights etc. founded on moral law, capable of moral action, **moral victory**, defeat, indecisive result that eventually produces **the moral effects of victory**; moral courage to encounter odium, contempt etc., rather than abandon right course."

[17] Schneider 1978: 118-119: "Eroberung durch den Dhamma." Das entspricht Sircars Übersetzung "conquest through Dharma."

[18] Siehe § 10 dieses Beitrags.

Lord Teignmouth, Governor–General 1793-1798, die ich im vollen Wortlaut folgen lasse (Mason 1985: 58):

> When I consider myself the ruler of twenty-five millions of people ... I tremble at the greatness of the charge ... I consider every native of India, whatever his situation may be, as having a claim upon me; and that I have not the right to dedicate an hour to amusement further than as it is conducive to health and so far to the dispatch of business.

Shore faßt zusammen:

> I look forward to the time when I must render an account of my commissions and omissions.

Anschließend bemerkt Mason (1985: 58) über Shore:

> He was not thinking of Parliament there. The Victorians – and Shore was essentially a Victorian – felt they were God's trustees for every corner of the world where they could plant the flag.

Mason (1985: 57) berichtet über ihn:

> Sir John Shore, a Victorian long before Victoria, was Harrovian enough to play cricket even in Bengal. He used his leisure to translate into English a Persian form of a Sanskrit exposition of the doctrines of Vedanta.

Mir scheint, daß John Shore in Indien vom Geist Asokas ergriffen war und zwar schon lange bevor die Inhalte seiner Inschriften bekannt wurden.

Im Zusammenhang mit *dharmavijaya* stellt Barua (1943: 155) noch die folgende bedeutsame Frage:

> When some of the Saka rulers and generals posed sometimes as **Dharmavijayī** (J.A.S.B., p. 343; Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 433), presumably they acted on this very principle of **Dharmavijaya**. But was that precisely the Aśokan idea of **Dharmavijaya**?

14. Hinsichtlich der autoritativen Bezugsebenen sind jedoch dabei zwischen Shore auf der einen Seite und Asoka auf der anderen folgende unterschiedliche Grundtendenzen zu beachten: Shore sieht in den Akteuren der britischen Weltmachtoperationen Gottes Treuhänder, die darauf bedacht sind, weltweit möglichst in jeder Ecke wirksam zu werden. Asoka, *devānāṃ piyo*, "der den Göttern ergebene", stellt dagegen keinen Gott in den Mittelpunkt seiner Anweisungen, sondern den abstrakten Begriff des *dhamma*/*dharma*.

Jules Bloch kommt im Rahmen der Asoka-Inschriften mit seiner französischen Übersetzung "Loi" dem Sinngehalt von *dhamma* am nächsten.

Wilhelm Halbfass, dem dieser Gedenkband gewidmet ist, verfolgt in seinem weit um sich greifenden Werk "Indien und Europa" (1981) die Begriffsinhalte von *dharma* bei Asoka bis zu den Reinterpretationen des *dharma* im modernen Hinduismus.

Zum *dharma* des Asoka äußert sich Halbfass (1981: 212) wie folgt:

> Im 3. Jh. v. Chr. zeigt der buddhistische Kaiser Aśoka ein bemerkenswertes Bewußtsein außerindischer Völker zumal im Westen seines Reiches, und er paßt sich sogar ihren Sprachen an. In einem seiner zahlreichen Edikte, in der erst 1953 entdeckten und 1956 publizierten Bilingue von Kandahar in Afghanistan, bedient er sich des Griechischen und Aramäischen. Auch seine bemerkenswerte Bereitschaft zum Anerkennen und Nebeneinanderstellen verschiedener Glaubensformen findet sich bei Aśoka: Diesen vielen "Häresien" (*paṣada* u. dgl.; Sanskrit *pāṣaṇḍa*) steht der eine, überdogmatische, vor allem im Sinne einer universalistischen Ethik konzipierte *dharma* gegenüber; speziellere metaphysische Lehren des Buddhismus werden in den Edikten mit Stillschweigen übergangen.

15. In der von mir in § 3 erwähnten griechischen Kandahar-Version steht an den entsprechenden Stellen des XII. und XIII. Asoka-Edikts jeweils für *dhamma* das griechische Wort *eusébeia*. Benveniste (1964: 139) übersetzt das durchgehend mit "piété".

Schlumberger und Benveniste (1967: 194f.) verwenden in ihrer englischen Übersetzung für *eusébeia* im Einklang mit "piété" konsequent "piety".

Das *COD* notiert s.v. "piety": "quality of being pious", und s.v. "pious" "devout, religious, and (arch.) 'dutiful'". "Dutiful" kommt der archaischen Bedeutung von *eusébeia* im Zusammenhang mit Asokas *dhamma* näher als die christlichen Bedeutungsansätze.[19]

Die griechischen Wörterbücher notieren für *eusébeia* neben "Pietät", "Ehrfurcht", "frommer Sinn", "Gottesfurcht" auch "schuldige Pflicht".[20]

Das *LGW* notiert s.v. *eusebeō*: "pietätvoll od. sittlich handeln, seine Pflicht erfüllen", s.v. *eusebäs* "pflichtgetreu, **gewissenhaft**" etc. Dementsprechend versuche ich, *eusébeia* der griechischen Asoka-Inschrift wie folgt zu übersetzen: "Pflichtbewußtsein" im Sinne einer sittlichen Rechtsordnung.

Da von der griechischen Version des XIII. Asoka-Edikts nur die erste Hälfte vorliegt, fehlt die griechische Entsprechung zu *dhammavijaya*. Stand vielleicht an der entsprechenden Stelle εὐσεβείας νίκη?

16. *eusébeia* ist häufig in der *Septuaginta* (*LXX*) belegt. So heißt es z.B. in *Makkabäer* (*Makk.*) IV.7.1-4 (*LXX* I, p. 1167):

> [1] Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄριστος κυβερνήτης ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἐλεαζάρου λογισμὸς πηδαλιουχῶν τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας ναῦν ἐν τῷ τῶν παθῶν πελάγει [2] καὶ καταικιζόμενος ταῖς τοῦ τυράννου ἀπειλαῖς καὶ καταντλούμενος ταῖς τῶν βασάνων τρικυμίαις [3] κατ᾽ οὐδένα τρόπον ἔτρεψε τοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας οἴακας, ἕως οὗ ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ἀθανάτου νίκης λιμένα. [4] οὐχ οὕτως πόλις πολλοῖς καὶ ποικίλοις μηχανήμασιν ἀντέσχε ποτὲ πολιορκουμένη, ὡς ὁ πανάγιος ἐκεῖνος. τὴν ἱερὰν ψυχὴν αἰκισμοῖς τε καὶ στρέβλαις πυρπολούμενος ἐνίκησεν τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας διὰ τὸν ὑπερασπίζοντα τῆς εὐσεβείας λογισμόν.

Apokryphen (pp. 181-182) übersetzt *Makk*. IV.7.1-4 wie folgt:

> [1] Lenkte doch wie ein trefflicher Steuermann die Vernunft unseres Vaters Eleazaros mit dem Steuer in der Hand das Schiff der **Frömmigkeit** im Meer der Triebe, [2] und umstürmt von den Drohungen des Tyrannen und überflutet von den Wogenmassen der Martern, [3] wandte sie die Steuerruder der **Frömmigkeit** nicht um Haaresbreite vom Ziele weg, bis sie eingelaufen war in den Hafen des unsterblichen Siegs. [4] Noch niemals leistete eine mit zahlreichen Maschinen jeder Art belagerte Stadt einen solchen Widerstand wie jener Allheilige. An seiner hehren Seele durch hochnotpeinliche Feuerqualen bedrängt, zwang er die Belagerer zum Abzuge, weil über ihn den Schild hielt die **fromme Vernunft**.

Statt "die fromme Vernunft" versuche ich zu übersetzen: "wegen der schirmenden Gesinnung (*hüperaspízonta ... logismón*) **des gesetzestreuen Durchhaltens**;" vgl. *Makk*. IV.7.16, 9.6,7 etc. *eusébeia*, auf *logismós* "Gesinnung" bezogen, reflektiert an diesen Textstellen ge-

[19] Einige Beispiele von Nestle–Aland 1986: 1. *Timotheus* 3.16: μέγα ἐστὶν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον. Nestle–Aland übersetzen: "Groß ist das Geheimnis des **Glaubens**." 2. *Timotheus* 3.5: ἔχοντες μόρφωσιν εὐσεβείας τὴν δὲ δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἠρνημένοι· καὶ τούτους ἀποτρέπου. Nestle–Aland übersetzen: "Sie haben den Schein der **Frömmigkeit**, aber deren Kraft verleugnen sie: solche Menschen meide."

[20] S. *WNT* s.v.

setzestreues Durchhalten, bzw. Befolgen der von den Vätern überkommenen Gesetze, auch unter schwersten Bedrängnissen.

17. Wilhelm Halbfass hat, wie bereits in § 14 vermerkt, auf die 1953 entdeckte und 1956 publizierte griechisch–aramäische Bilingue Asokas hingewiesen, die in Kandahar in Afghanistan gefunden wurde. Zu weiteren aramäischen Inschriften Asokas siehe Davary und Humbach 1974.

Schlumberger und Benveniste (1967: 193) berichten gleich zu Anfang ihrer Studie, daß die in § 15 erwähnte griechische Asoka-Inschrift im November 1963 von Dr. W.S. Seyring, einem deutschen Arzt, entdeckt wurde. Der Stein lag in den Ruinen von Alt-Kandahar vor einem kleinen Muslim-Schrein. Er kaufte den Stein und schenkte ihn dem Afghan National Museum in Kabul, womit er dieses wichtige Dokument für die Forschung sicherstellte.

Schlumberger und Benveniste (1967: 193 unten) beschreiben den Stein:

> The stone is a rectangular block of porous lime-stone, 45 cm high, 69.5 cm wide, 12.13 cm thick, in excellent condition, except on the left side, where the upper and lower corners are somewhat damaged.

Im Hinblick auf die einzigartige Bedeutung dieser griechischen Asoka-Inschrift, beschattet von der Ungewißheit, ob dieser Stein die Wirrnisse unserer Zeit unbeschädigt im Afghan National Museum, Kabul, überstanden hat, füge ich dem vorliegenden Beitrag die folgenden Wiedergaben und Übersetzungen an:

- Faksimile-Reproduktion der Inschrift aus Schlumberger 1964 (Faltblatt zwischen pp. 140 und 141; Photographie von M. Clair).
- Kopie des griechischen Textes aus Benveniste 1964: 138, nebst Traduction, ibid., p. 157.
- Übersetzung der Inschrift in Schlumberger 1967: 194-195.

18. Die Übersetzung in Schlumberger 1964 erschien überarbeitet von Daniel Schlumberger und Joachim Rehork und übersetzt von Gerhard Binder, als Schlumberger 1969. Am Ende von Schlumberger 1969 (p. 417) steht die Bemerkung: “Eine Neuveröffentlichung der Inschrift durch D. Schlumberger und E. Benveniste in englischer Sprache, und zwar in der Zeitschrift *Epigraphica Indica*, befindet sich zur Zeit im Druck.” Auf diese Veröffentlichung wird in § 17 unter Schlumberger und Benveniste 1967 Bezug genommen. In meinen folgenden weiteren Ausführungen beziehe ich mich auf die oben genannte deutsche Fassung, da diese für den Leser im deutschen Sprachraum leichter zugänglich sein dürfte.

Asokas griechische Kandahar-Inschrift umfaßt das XII. Edikt, dessen Anfang fehlt, Zeilen 1-11, gefolgt vom XIII. Edikt, Zeilen 11-22, dessen Ende fehlt. Edikt XII beginnt mit *eusébeia* “Wohlverhalten” und endet mit *euseboũntes* “sich Wohlverhaltens befleißigen”. Edikt XIII, Zeile 16, hat *eusebeías* “um das Wohlverhalten”, Zeile 17: *perì taèn eusébeian diatríbontes* “die sich um das Wohlverhalten bemühen” (siehe den griechischen Text p. 158).

Das griechische Edikt XII beginnt Zeile 1 mit *eusébeia kai enkráteia katà pásas tàs diatribás. enkrataes dè málistá estin hòs an glṓsaes enkrataes ãe*. Schlumberger (p. 413) übersetzt: “... Frömmigkeit und Selbstbeherrschung in allen (philosophischen) Schulen. Besonders ist jedoch seiner selbst Herr, der seiner Zunge Herr ist.” Ich versuche das so zu übersetzen: “... Wohlverhalten und Selbstbeherrschung gegenüber allen religiösen Gruppen. Selbstbeherrscht ist gleichwohl besonders der, welcher seine Zunge beherrscht.”

Zu *eusébeia* und *enkráteia* findet sich kein Bezug zu Beginn von Asokas Girnar-Felsenedikt XII, Kālsī-Felsenedikt XII, etc. Wir lesen dagegen gleich zu Beginn des Girnar-Felsenedikts XII etc.: *devānaṃpiye piyadasi rājā* ***sava****pāsaṃḍāni ca pavajitāni ca gharastāni ca pūjayati* ... "Der den Göttern Liebe, der Liebenswürdige, der König verehrt **alle** religiösen Gruppen, und die in die Hauslosigkeit Gezogenen, und die in eigener Haushaltung Lebenden ..."

Griechisch *katà pásas tàs diatribás* reflektiert *sava*(*sarva*)*pāsaṃḍāni*, *glṓsaes enkrataes* bezieht sich auf *vaciguti* (Girnar-Felsenedikt XII, Zeile 3 [D]) "zurückhaltend in seinen Reden". Bloch (1950: 122) liest *vaciguttī* und verweist in n. 5 auf Pāli *vacīgutta* "retenu dans ses paroles". Aus diesen Stellen erhellt, daß Asoka die Vielfalt unterschiedlicher religiöser Richtungen in seinem Reich gelten läßt. Dabei bezieht er sich ausdrücklich auf *nānāpāsaṃḍesu* mit Bezug auf *bābhanesu*, *ājīvikesu*, und *niggaṃthesu* in Säulenedikt VII von Delhi-Topra, B (Round the Pillar) Zeile 26 (Hultzsch 1969: 131-136). Vgl. auch *savanikāyesu paṭivikhāmi savapāsaṃḍā pi me pūjitā* "Ich (Asoka) schenke meine Aufmerksamkeit allen Schichten (Brahmanen, Śramaṇas, s. Felsenedikt XIII [J]), auch werden alle religiösen Sondergruppierungen (Sekten) von mir geehrt" in Säulenedikt VI von Delhi-Topra, Zeile 7 (Hultzsch 1969: 129).

In Säulenedikt VII von Delhi-Topra, Zeile 28, steht folgende Grundsatzbekundung Asokas: *esa hi dhammāpadāne dhammapaṭīpatti ca yā iyaṃ dayā dāne sace socave madave sādhave ca lokasa hevaṃ vaḍhisati ti*. Hultzsch 1925 (EE) übersetzt: "For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men." Bloch (1950: 13-15) übersetzt: "Car c'est ainsi que grandiront dans le monde le triomphe de la Loi et la déférence envers la Loi, c'est-à-dire pitié, liberalité, véracité, pureté, douceur et bonté." Ich versuche zu übersetzen: "Es ist diese verdienstvolle Wirksamkeit der sittlichen Rechtsordnung und das Innewerden der sittlichen Rechtsordnung, (deren Inhalt:) Mitgefühl, Freigebigkeit, Wahrhaftigkeit, Reinheit, Sanftmut und Redlichkeit, der Welt so zum Vorteil gereichen wird." Für die Bedeutung von *apadāna* in *dhammāpadāne* stütze ich mich auf CPD, s.v. *apadāna* "meritorious act". *dhammāpadāna* ist in den Asoka-Inschriften nur im Delhi-Topra-Säulenedikt VII, Zeile 28 belegt. Auch sonst, Wörterbücher eingeschlossen, konnte ich keine weiteren Belege finden.

Norman 2004: 70 zitiert dieselbe Stelle, in enger Anlehnung an die Übersetzung von Hultzsch. Norman (ibid., p. 71) zitiert weiter: "[HH]: Thereby they have been made to progress and (will be made) to progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants."

Nun zurück zu griechisch *eusébeia*. Ein Anklang daran findet sich am Ende des griechischen Edikts XII, Zeilen 10-11. Dort heißt es: ... *légein hína deiameínōsin dia pantòs euseboũntes* "... zu sagen, damit sie immer darum bekümmert sind, sich im Wohlverhalten zu üben." Schlumberger (1969: 413) übersetzt: "... zu sagen, damit sie unablässig in der Frömmigkeit beharren."

deiameínōsin, Aorist 3. Pl., gehört zu dem Verb *deimaínō* "sich fürchten, besorgt sein" (*BGDS*, p. 163).

Der Schlußsatz von Girnar-Felsenedikt XII (N) lautet abweichend: *ayaṃ ca etasa phala ya ātpapāsaṃḍavaḍhī ca hoti dhammasa ca dīpanā*. Vgl. dieselbe Schlußfassung von Felsenedikt XII in den Parallelversionen von Kālsī, Shāhbāzgaṛhī und Mānsehrā in Bloch 1950:

124,25f. Hultzsch 1925: 22 übersetzt (N): "And this is the fruit of it, viz. that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place and the glorification of morality."

Auffallend ist, daß *pāsaṃḍa* "religiöse Gruppe, Sekte" in den mittelindischen Versionen von Felsenedikt XII bis zum Schluß erwähnt, in der griechischen Version in der Form von *diatribáe* dagegen nur am Anfang steht und im weiteren Verlauf des Textes eigens nicht mehr genannt ist.

In der griechischen Version von Asokas Felsenedikt XIII, Zeilen 15-16, taucht *eusébeia* nochmals auf in der Wendung *spoudáen te kaì sýntasin pepoíaetai perì eusebeías* "... er (Asoka) betrieb eifrig das Studium, sowie die anstrengende Mühe um die Pflicht des Wohlverhaltens." Schlumberger (1969: 414,4) übersetzt: "... eiferte er und bemühte sich um die Frömmigkeit." Dazu ist Kālsī-Felsenedikt XIII (C) zu stellen: *tato pacchā adhunā laddheṣu kaligyeṣu tive* (*tivve*) *dhaṃmavāye dhaṃmakāmatā dhaṃmānuṣathi cā devānaṃpiyaṣā*. Hultzsch 1969: 47 übersetzt (C): "After that, now that (the country of) the Kaliṅgyas has been taken, Devānāṃpriya (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality."[21]

Ein weiterer Beleg für *eusébeia* steht im griechischen Edikt XIII, Zeilen 16-17: *kaì hósoi ekeĩ ōíkoun bramenai àe sramenai àe kaì álloi tinès hoi perì tàen eusébeian diatríbontes* "und auch diejenigen, die dort wohnen, seien es Brahmanen oder Śramaṇas, oder auch andere (religiöse Gruppen), die sich als solche um die Pflicht des Wohlverhaltens intensiv bemühen." Schlumberger (1969: 414) übersetzt: "die dort wohnenden Brahmanen und Shramanen und auch andere, die sich der Frömmigkeit widmen."

Griechisch *diatríbontes*, welches auf *eusébeian* folgt, erinnert an den Anfang des griechischen Edikts XII, von mir oben behandelt, wo *eusébeia kaì enkrateia* mit folgendem *katà pásas tàs diatribás* syntaktisch und inhaltlich eng verbunden sind: "Pflicht des Wohlverhaltens und Selbstdisziplin gegenüber allen religiösen Gruppen." Das hat mich veranlaßt, in dem griechischen Verb *diatríbontes* eine Andeutung auf die Aktivitäten anderer religiöser Gruppen zu sehen, beeinflußt von den entsprechenden Stellen in Girnar, Kālsī und Shāhbāzgaṛhī. Dort heißt es: *ye tatra vasati bramaṇa va śramaṇa va aṃñe va praṣaṃḍā* (*pāśaṃḍā*) *grahatha* (*gihithā*) *vā* ... . Bloch (1950: 126) übersetzt: "les habitants, brahmanes, samanes ou ceux d'autres communautés, les bourgeois …"; Hultzsch (1969: 47) übersetzt Kālsī-Felsenedikt XIII (G): "(To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders … ." Bemerkenswert ist, daß sich der griechische Übersetzer in einem Detail an die indische Vorlage hält. Für indisch *va* und *vā* "oder" setzt er *àe* "oder" ein, zwischen *bramenai* und *sramenai*, und *àe kaì* vor *álloi*. In meiner obigen Übersetzung der griechischen Passage ist das berücksichtigt.

pāsaṃḍa ist noch einmal in Girnar-Felsenedikt XIII, Zeilen 5-6 (Hultzsch 1969: 23) erwähnt: *... yatra nāsti mānusānaṃ ekataramhi pāsaṃḍamhi na nāma prasādo*. Hultzsch (ibid., p. 25) übersetzt (J): "... where men are not indeed attached to some sects." Vgl. Bloch 1950: 128, 12-17; er übersetzt: "ni de pays où les hommes n'adhèrent pas à une secte ou à une autre." Diese Stelle ist in der fragmentarischen griechischen Übersetzung von Edikt XIII nicht erfaßt.

[21] Vgl. auch Bloch 1950: 125,17-25 und § 4 meines Beitrags.

pāsaṇḍa "religiöse Sondergruppierung", "Sekte", macht keine Schwierigkeiten; *pw* notiert s.v. *pāṣaṇḍa* die Bedeutungen "ketzerisch, Ketzer, Irrlehre, Ketzerei". In Felsenedikt XII ist *pāsaṃda* siebzehnmal belegt, in Felsenedikt XIII nur zweimal.

In den griechischen Fragmenten der Edikte XII und XIII steht dagegen *diatribáe* (*diatribás*) nur einmal am Anfang des Fragmentes von Edikt XII (siehe § 17 meines Beitrages). Schlumberger (1969: 415) meint dazu: "*diatribáe* ist das Wort, welches in der griechischen Welt die philosophischen Schulen bezeichnet. Es ist höchst interessant, es an dieser Stelle zu finden." *LGW* notiert s.v. *diatribáe*: "Zerreibung, das Verbrauchen: 1. Zeitaufwand, Zeitverlust; insb. a) Verzögerung, Zögerung, Verschleppung, Länge der Leit, Aufenthalt, auch pl.; b) Verweilen an einem Orte, Aufenthalt, pl. (*tàs -às poieĩsthai* seinen Aufenthalt nehmen, sich aufhalten); übtr.: längere Dauer; konkr.: Aufenthaltsort; dauernder Erwerb. 2. Zeitvertreib, Beschäftigung, Geschäft; insb. Studium, Unterricht, (philosophische) Unterredung, Unterhaltung, Gespräch, Verkehr, Umgang; konkr.: a) Lehrplatz, Schule; b) Vergnügungsort, -platz; c) Zeitvertreib = Ergötzlichkeit, Zersteuung, Kurzweil." Diese Notiz vermittelt den weitläufigen Bedeutungswandel von *diatribáe*. Dem Übersetzer ist sein Zögern, seine Verlegenheit anzumerken, für das indische *pāsaṇḍa* das passende griechische Wort einzusetzen.

Termini wie *dharma* in eine andere Sprache zu übersetzen bleibt schwierig. Nyanatiloka, der dem Sinngehalt buddhistischer Termini besonders nahe stand, gibt für *dhamma* die folgenden Bedeutungen (*BW*, s.v.): "Dhamma, eig. das 'Tragende', 'Vertrag', (*√dhar* tragen), Brauch, Gesetz, Naturgesetz (Lehre des Buddha), Recht (jus), Gerechtigkeit, Rechtschaffenheit; Eigenschaft, Ding, Denkobjekt, Daseinserscheinung. In allen diesen Bedeutungen kommt das Wort in den buddhistischen Texten vor." Im Griechischen hätte für *dharma* das gebräuchlichere *nomos* "das Zugeteilte", "Brauch", "Satzung", "Grundsatz", "Gesetz" etc. eingesetzt werden können, oder *díkä* "Sitte", "Gebrauch", "Recht", "Gerechtigkeit" etc., statt *eusébeia*.

Die Bedeutung von *pāsaṇḍa* hingegen ist leichter faßbar: "Sekte" oder "religiöse Gruppierung (außerhalb der indischen Kastenordnung)". Dieser Terminus ist auch außerhalb der Asoka-Inschriften, z.B. im Pāli-Vinaya, belegt (s. *PTSD*, s.v. *pāsaṇḍa*). In *Pācittiya* (*Pā*) 32, das unter dem Kennwort *gaṇabhojana* "Gemeinschaftsmahl" steht, erfahren wir, daß ein Blutsverwandter des Seṇiya Bimbisāra, des Königs von Magadha, der bei den Ājīvikas in die Hauslosigkeit gezogen war, den König wie folgt anredete (*Pā* p. 106): *icchām ahaṃ*, *mahārāja*, *sabbapāsaṇḍikabhattaṃ kātuṃ ti* "Ich beabsichtige, für alle religiösen Sondergruppen ein Mahl herzurichten." Der Ājīvika bemüht sich dabei, dazu auch Mönche des Buddha einzuladen. Siehe ferner *sabbapāsaṇḍiyabhattāni bhuñjanto* in *Samantapāsādikā* (*SP*) p. 1071,4 und 11. Wir erinnern uns an *savvapāsaṃḍāni* am Anfang von Asokas Felsenedikt XII und an *savvapāsaṃḍānam*, ibid., Zeile 25 (Bloch 1950: 121); siehe oben, pp. 153-154.

Der Bedeutung von *pāsaṇḍa* am nächsten käme das griechische Wort *haíresis* "die abweichende Denkweise", "eine politische oder religiöse Partei", "philosophische Sekte", im Neuen Testament "die religiöse Sekte" (*BGDS* p. 20). Als *locus classicus* ist hierfür im Neuen Testament die Stelle in 1. Korinther 11,18-19 anzuführen. Dort heißt es in Luthers Übersetzung: "Zum ersten, wenn ihr zusammenkommt in der Gemeinde, höre ich, es seien Spaltungen (*schismata*) unter euch; und zum Teil glaub ich's. Denn es müssen Parteien (*hairéseis*) unter euch sein, auf daß die, so rechtschaffen sind, offenbar unter euch werden." Diese Stelle steht in der Überlieferung vor 5. Mose 13, die von der "Strafe für falsche Propheten und Verführer zu Götzendienst" handelt. In 5. Mose 13,4 heißt es: "So sollst du nicht gehorchen den Worten eines solchen Propheten oder Träumers; denn der Herr, euer Gott, versucht euch, um

zu erfahren, ob ihr ihn von ganzem Herzen und von ganzer Seele liebhabt." Der Herr verlangt in 5. Mose 13,16, an den abtrünnigen Bürgern einer Stadt mit der Schärfe des Schwertes den Bann zu vollstrecken (*anathemati anathematieĩte*).[22] Diese Stelle, und auch andere im Alten und Neuen Testament, zeigt, daß im Kampf des *einen* Gottes mit der Vielzahl der Götter heidnischer Kulte Kompromisse nicht möglich waren, was dazu führte, daß in den Verbreitungsgebieten monotheistischer Richtungen das Miteinander und Nebeneinander abweichender Denkrichtungen und religiöser Sondergruppierungen bekämpft wurde. Das mag ein Licht auf den griechischen Übersetzer der Asoka-Edike werfen. Stammte der Übersetzer, oder die Übersetzer, aus den Kreisen hellenistischer, dabei frommer Juden, denen die Propagierung des Nebeneinanders und der Duldung abgesonderter Kultur- und Religionsgruppen fremd war, und vermied deshalb, *pāsaṇḍa* Entsprechendes in den Text der Übersetzung einzusetzen?

Die von mir 5. Mose 13,16 im Deuteronomium zitierte Stelle ist wahrscheinlich eine der ältesten über den Bannfluch, der tiefgreifende Nachwirkungen in der Religionsgeschichte des Abendlandes zeitigte. Ich darf daran erinnern, daß Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa auf der Synode in Verona (1184) die Reichsacht über die Ketzer verhängte, wovon besonders die Katharer betroffen waren. Später wurde das Schofar (Widderhorn) zur Verdammnis von Benedictus de Spinoza (Baruch Despinoza, 1632–1677) in der Synagoge von Antwerpen geblasen, der die Grundlagen der mosaischen Überlieferung kritisch beleuchtete. Schulte (2004: 48) berichtet: "Seine bahnbrechende These im 'Tractatus' [*Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670)], die Tora sei nicht von Moses geschrieben und nicht eine heilige Schrift, sondern ein profanes Gesetzwerk der alten Hebräer gewesen, das aktuell ungültig und veraltet sei, provozierte in der Haskala, der jüdischen Aufklärungsbewegung, die sich nach 1770 in Berlin um Mendelssohn bildete, ein breites Echo und zum Teil heftigen Widerspruch. Denn diese These stellte die Gültigkeit der jüdischen Tradition in Frage."[23]

* * *

Wilhelm, mein lieber Schüler und Freund, bleibt trotz seiner zu frühen Endreise dank der gemeinsamen Jahre in Göttingen stets an meiner Seite. In Göttingen nannte ich ihn Vilicus und seine Gattin Vilica. So bleibt das kostbare Gut der Erinnerung lebendig.

Mir fällt dazu ein Ausspruch von Cicero ein, den Wilhelm gern zitierte: *Quo circa et absentes adsunt*, *quod difficilius dictu est*, *mortui vivunt*. "So kommt es, daß Abwesende zugegen sind, was man kaum in Worte fassen kann, Tote lebendig sind."

[22] Siehe *LXX* I: 312. Das fünfte Buch Mose läuft hier unter Deuteronomium.

[23] Mehr über Spinozas Wirken in Heman 1908: 445f. Halbfass 1968: 255 bezieht sich auf die (lateinische) Gesamtausgabe der Werke Spinozas: *Opera quotquot reperta sunt*, recogn. J. von Vloten et J.P.N. Land, 4 vols., Den Haag 1914. Siehe dort auch pp. 54, 87, n. 84, etc. über Spinoza.

Text von Asokas Kandahar-Inschrift (Edikte XII und XIII)

aus Benveniste 1964 (p. 138)

1 [.εὐ]σέβεια καὶ ἐγκράτεια κατὰ πάσας τὰς διατριβάς · ἐγκρατὴς δὲ μάλιστά ἐστιν
ὅς ἂν γλώσης ἐγκρατής ἦι. Καὶ μήτε ἑαυτοὺς ἐπα[ι]νῶσιν, μήτε τῶν πέλας φέγωσιν
περὶ μηδεός · κενὸγ γάρ ἐστιν · καὶ πειρᾶσθαι μᾶλλον τοὺς πέλας ἐπαινεῖν καὶ
4 μὴ φέγειν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς αὔξουσι καὶ τοὺς
πέλας ἀνακτῶνται · παραβαίνοντες δὲ ταῦτα, ἀκ(λ)εέστεροι τε γίνονται καὶ τοῖς
πέλας ἀπέχθονται. Οἳ δ᾽ἂν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαινῶσιν, τοὺς δὲ πέλας φέγωσιν φιλοτιμότερον
διαπράτονται, βουλόμενοι παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐγλάμφαι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον βλάπτου[σι]
8 ἑαυτούς. Πρέπει δὲ ἀλλήλους θαυμάζειν καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων διδάγματα παραδέχεσθα[ι].
Ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες πολυμαθέστεροι ἔσονται, παραδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις ὅσα
ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπίσταται. Καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα ἐπ[α]σκοῦσι ταῦτα μὴ ὀκνεῖν λέγειν ἵνα δει-
αμείνωσιν διὰ παντὸς εὐσεβοῦντες. Ὀγδόωι ἔτει βασιλεύοντος Πιοδάσσου
12 κατέστρ(α)πται τὴν Καλίγγην. Ἦν ἐζωγρημένα καὶ ἐξηγμένα ἐκεῖθεν σωμάτων
μυριάδες δεκαπέντε καὶ ἀναιρέθησαν ἄλλαι μυριάδες δέκα καὶ σχεδὸν ἄλλοι τοσοῦ-
τοι ἐτελεύτησαν. Ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἔλεος καὶ οἶκτος αὐτὸν ἔλαβεν · καὶ βαρέως
ἤνεγκεν ·
δι᾽ οὗ τρόπου ἐκέλευεν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἐμφύχων σπουδήν τε καὶ σύντα(σ)ιν πεποίηται
16 περὶ εὐσεβείας. Καὶ τοῦτο ἔτι δυσχερέστερον ὑπείληφε ὁ βασιλεὺς · καὶ ὅσοι ἐκεῖ
ωἴκουν
βραμεναι ἢ σραμεναι ἢ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς οἱ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν διατρίβοντες, τοῦς ἐκεῖ
οἰκοῦ-
ντας ἔδει τὰ τοῦ βασιλέυς συμφέροντα νοεῖν, καὶ διδάσκαλον καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα
ἐπαισχύνεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν, φίλους καὶ ἑταίρους ἀγαπᾶν καὶ μὴ διαφεύδεσθαι,
20 δούλοις καὶ μισθωτοῖς ὡς κουφότατα χρᾶσθαι, τούτων ἐκεῖ τῶν τοιαῦτα διαπρασσο-
μένων εἴ τις τέθνηκεν ἢ ἐξῆκται, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμ παραδρομῆι οἱ λοιποὶ ἡγεῖνται, ὁ δὲ
[β]ασιλεὺς σφόδρα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐδυσχέπανεν. Καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσίν εἰσιν

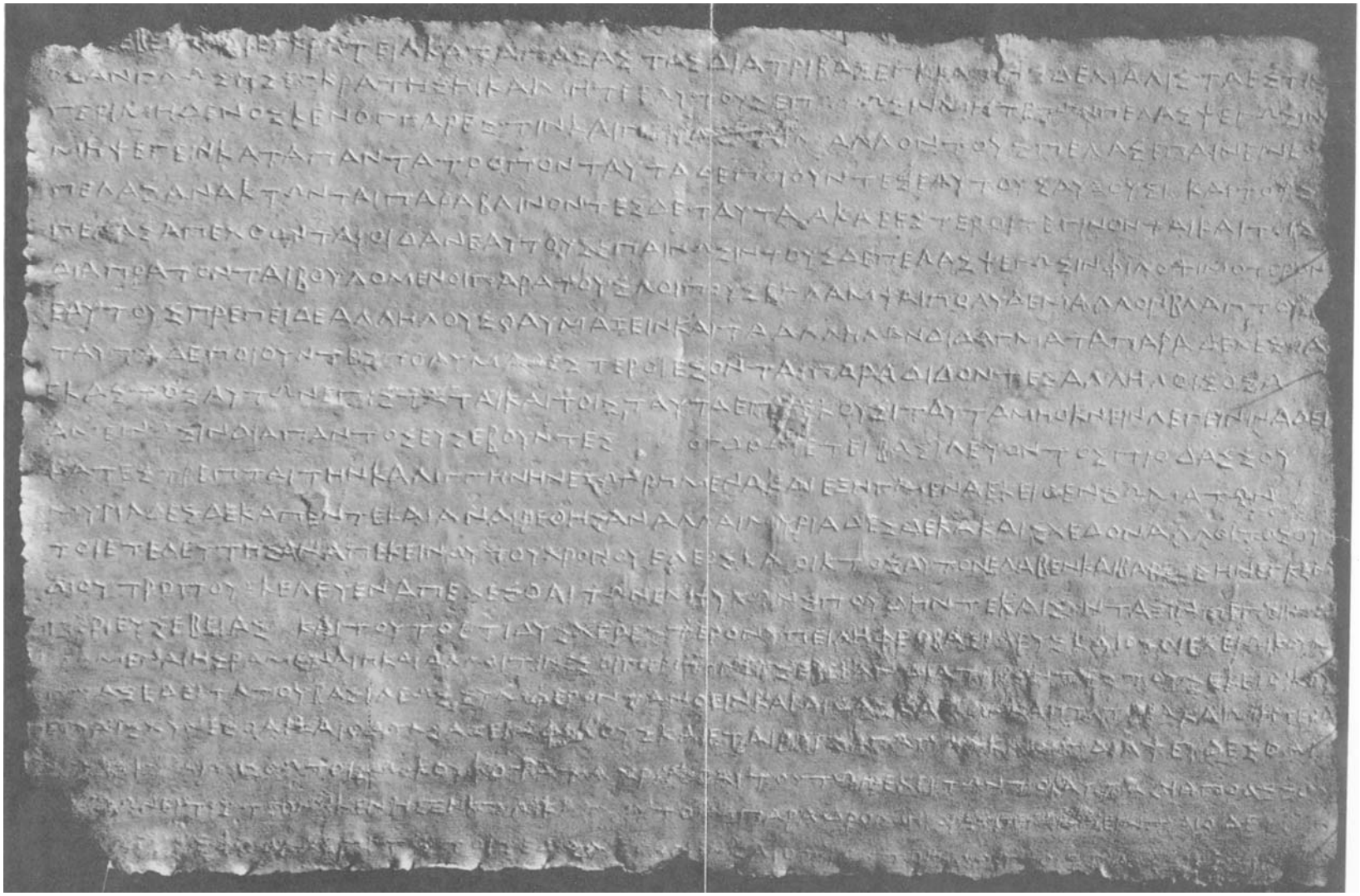
Übersetzungen

Benveniste 1964: 157:

XIIe édit

"… la piété et la maîtrise de soi dans toutes les écoles. Est au plus haut point maître de soi celui qui est maître de sa language. Et qu'ils ne se louent pas eux-mêmes et qu'ils ne blâment les autres (écoles) sur rien; car cela est vain, et mieux vaut s'efforcer de louer les autres (écoles) et de ne les blâmer d'aucune manière. Faisant cela, ils s'accroissent et [5] ils se gagnent les autres; transgressant cela, ils perdent en réputation et se rendent odieux aux autres. Ceux qui se louent eux-mêmes et blâment les autres (écoles) font preuve d'un amour-propre excessif; voulant briller plus que les autres, bien plutôt ils se nuisent à eux-mêmes. Il convient de se révérer mutuellement et d'accepter les leçons les uns des autres. En faisant cela, ils seront

Faksimile von Asokas Kandahar-Inschrift (Edikte XII und XIII)



Aus Schlumberger 1964 (Faltblatt zwischen pp. 140-141), Photographie: M. Clair.

plus instruits, se transmettant les uns aux autres ce que chacun [10] d'eux sait. Et à ceux qui pratiquent cela il ne faut pas craindre de le dire, pour qu'ils persistent toujours dans la piété."

XIIIe édit

"La huitième année de son règne, Piodassès s'est rendu maître du Kaliṅga. Ont été capturées et déportées de là quinze myriades de personnes; ont été tuées dix autres myriades, et à peu près autant ont péri. Depuis ce temps-là, la pitié et la compassion l'ont saisi, et il en est accablé. [15] De même qu'il a prescrit d'épargner les êtres vivants, il a établi le zèle et l'organisation pour la piété. Et voici ce dont le roi s'est affligé encore plus. Tous ceux qui y habitaient (= au Kaliṅga), brahmanes ou sramanes ou autres sectateurs encore de la piété, – ceux qui y habitaient devaient se soucier des intérêts du roi, révérer et respecter leur maître, leurs père et mère, aimer et ne pas tromper leurs amis et compagnons, [20] traiter le plus doucement possible leurs esclaves et serviteurs – de ceux-là qui là se comportaient ainsi, si l'un est mort ou a été déporté, cela aussi les autres hommes le ressentent par contre-coup, et le roi s'en afflige fort. Et comme chez les autres peuples il y a …"

Schlumberger 1967: 194-195:

"... piety and self-control in all schools (of thought). Now he is most master of himself who controls his tongue: And may they neither praise themselves nor blame other (schools) about anything; for this is vain, and it is better to praise other (schools) and to abstain from blaiming them in any respect. In so doing they will extol themselves and gain the favour of the other (schools); in transgressing this, they will harm their reputation and estrange other (schools). They who praise themselves and blame other (schools) behave in a rather conceited way; in striving to outshine others they rather do harm to themselves. It is fit that people respect each other and accept each other's teachings. In so doing they will grow in knowledge, transmitting to each other whatever each of them knows. And there should be no hesitation in saying so to those who act accordingly, so that they will ever keep on living piously.

In the eighth year of his reign Piodasses overwhelmed Kalinga. One hundred fifty thousand persons were captured and departed, a hundred thousand others were killed and about as many died. From that time on he was overcome by pity and compassion, and it weighed on his mind. Just as he had given orders to abstain from (consuming) living beings, he has been zealous in organizing piety. And this he took with even more grief: the brahmans and sramans and all others who lived there (in Kalinga) practising piety, – those who lived there had to mind the king's interests, to revere and respect master, father and mothers, to love and refrain from deceiving friends and companions, to treat as gently as possible slaves and servants, – if, of all those who thus behaved someone died or was deported, this too others felt it as a personal sorrow, and the king was deeply afflicted thereby. And, as amongst all other nations there are …"

Appendix

Notiz zum Titel von Vallabhadevas Kommentar zum *Raghuvaṃśa*

Mit "*Raghupañcikā*" haben die Editoren von *Rp*, Goodall und Isaacson, *pañcikā* in den Titel aufgenommen. In Introduction, p. xiii, n. 2, versuchen sie, diese Lesart zu begründen. Jedoch finde ich in der Sanskrit-Literatur *pañcikā* nirgendwo, außer in fehlerhaften Niederschriften, in der Bedeutung "Kommentar" überliefert. Nandargikar (*Rv*, Preface, pp. 10-11) liest dagegen richtig *raghupañjikā* als Titel von Vallabhadevas Kommentar. *pañjikā* in der Bedeutung von "Kommentar" und anderen Bedeutungen ist hinlänglich belegt. So notiert *PW*, s.v.: 1. "eine Rolle zum Aufwickeln von Garn ..."; 2. "ein Commentar, der jedes Wort erklärt und zerlegt ..."; 3. "Almanach, Kalender ..."; 4. "ein Buch, in welches die Einnahmen und die Ausgaben eingetragen werden ..."; 5. "das vom Todtenrichter Jama geführte Register über die Thaten der Menschen ...", und fügt hinzu: "Fehlerhaft für *pañcikā* Colebr[ooke] Misc. Ess. I 36.83". *PW* notiert jeweils die Belegstellen, die ich hier nicht aufgeführt habe. Siehe auch *pw* und *MW*, s.v. *pañjikā*.

paṃjikā, neben *paṃjī*, lebt auch in derselben Form und in denselben Bedeutungsinhalten in neuindischen Sprachen weiter. So in der Hindī: *paṃjikā* – "a word by word commentary, detailed commentary, an almanac"; *paṃjī* – "a register" (*PHED* p. 329). Bāṅgālā: *pañji*, *pañjī*, *pañjikā – viḥ tithi nakṣatra tārikh śubhāśubha kāla prabhṛti jñāpaka pustakabiśeṣ*, *pāṃji*; *bibaraṇī* (*SBA* p. 486).

Weitläufig eingesickert in das neuindische Vokabular, z.B. in Oṛiyā, dazu auch noch in Nepālī, existiert *pañjikā* in dieser Form und in denselben Bedeutungen weiter.

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1) Primärliteratur

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AN	*Aṅguttara-Nikāya*. Ed. R. Morris und E. Hardy. London 1885-1900. (Pali Text Society)
Apokryphen	*Apokryphen zum Alten und Neuen Testament*. Ed. Alfred Schindler. Zürich 1988.
DN	*Dīgha-Nikāya*. Ed. T.W. Rhys Davids und J.E. Carpenter. London 1890-1911. (Pali Text Society)
Hvgvv	*Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa.* Ed. C.E. Godakumbura. London 1956. (Pali Text Society)
KAś	*The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. Ed. R.P. Kangle. Part I. Bombay 1960.
LXX	*Septuaginta*. Ed. Alfred Rahlfs. 2 Bände. 4. Aufl. Stuttgart 1950.
Makk.	*Makkabaiōn* I-IV, in *LXX* pp. 1039-1184.
Manu	*Manu-Smṛti with the Manubhāṣya of Medātithi*. Ed. Ganganatha Jha. 3 vols. Allahabad/Calcutta 1932, 1939.

Mil	*Milindapañha Pāli*. Ed. Swami Dwarikadas Shastri. Varanasi 1979. (Bauddha Bharati Series 13)
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Rt	*Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa*. Ed. Vishva Bandhu. 2 vols. Hoshiarpur 1963/1965. (Woolner Indological Series 5, 6)
Rv	*The Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa*. Ed. Gopal Raghunath Nandargikar. 4. Aufl. Delhi/Patna/Varanasi 1971.
RvD	*Raghuvaṃśa-Darpaṇa*: *Raghuvaṃśa Commentary by Hemādri*. Crit. ed. Rewa Prasad Dvivedi. Vol. 1. Patna 1973.
Sn	*Suttanipāta*. Ed. Dines Andersen und Helmer Smith. London 1913. (Pali Text Society)
SP	*The Samanta-Pāsādikā*: *The Commentary on Vinaya*. Ed. Birbal Sharma. Vol. 3. Nalanda/Patna 1967.
Yājñ	*Yājñavalkyasmṛti of Yogīśvara Yājñavalkya with the Commentary Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara*. Ed. Narayana Rama Acharya. 5. Aufl. Bombay 1949.

2) Nachschlagewerke

BGDS	*Benselers Griechisch–Deutsches Schulwörterbuch*. Ed. Gustav E. Benseler, bearbeitet von Adolf Kaegi. Leipzig/Berlin 1931.
BW	*Buddhistisches Wörterbuch*: *Kurzgefaßtes Handbuch der buddhistischen Lehren und Begriffe in alphabetischer Anordnung*. Ed. Nyanatiloka. Konstanz 1952.
COD	*The Concise Oxford Dictionary*. 4th ed. Rev. by E. McIntosh. Oxford 1952.
CPD	*A Critical Pāli Dictionary*. Begun by V. Trenckner. Ed. D. Andersen, H. Smith, H. Hendriksen etc. Vol. Iff. Copenhagen 1924ff.
LGW	Hermann Menge, *Langenscheidts Großwörterbuch Griechisch–Deutsch*. 25. Aufl. Berlin u.a. 1984.
MW	*A Sanskrit–English Dictionary*: *Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*. Ed. Monier Monier-Williams, with the collaboration of E. Leuman, C. Cappeller et al. Delhi 1970 (repr.).
PHED	*A Practical Hindi–English Dictionary*. Ed. Mahendra Caturvedi and B.N. Tiwari. Darjaganj, Delhi 1970.
PSM	*Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo*: *A Comprehensive Prakrit-Hindi Dictionary with Sanskrit Equivalents*. Ed. Hargovind Das T. Sheth. Calcutta 1928.
PW	O. Böhtlingk und R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. 7 Bände. St. Petersburg 1855-1875.
pw	O. Böhtlingk, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*. 7 Bände. St. Petersburg 1879-1889.
SBA	*Saṃsad Bāṅgālā Abhidhān*. Ed. Shailendra Bishvas. Kalikata 1973.

SWTF *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden und der kanonischen Literatur der Sarvāstivāda-Schule*. Begonnen von Ernst Waldschmidt, hrsg. von Heinz Bechert, Bd. Iff. Göttingen 1994ff.

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Rāmānuja, Hume and "Comparative Philosophy": Remarks on the *Śrībhāṣya* and the *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*

In an article on the current state of Indology, first published in *Hochland* in the late 1960s, Paul Hacker made a plea for a new kind of philosophizing, one grounded in an immediate knowledge of both Indian and European sources.[1] This quotation was later used as the epithet for the much respected book *India and Europe* by Wilhelm Halbfass, whose work as a whole can be said to have exemplified just that kind of philosophizing.

However dubious one may be that it is ever possible to have *immediate* knowledge of any text,[2] one cannot but agree that doing philosophy would be greatly enriched by immersion in the main texts of a variety of reflective traditions, including – of course – the reflective traditions of India. Ideally, one would want to be open to more than just the traditions of India and "the West", intricately differentiated though each of them may be in itself. The ideal would be, from intimate knowledge of several traditions, to develop a reflective style that is global and not simply bi-cultural. The ideal, however, is just that – *an ideal*. It is for most of us hardly possible to master the varieties even of Western and Indian thought in tandem, to discern the points of real (not just *apparent*) difference and similarity, much less to add to that the full range of other indigenous styles of reflection it would be necessary to master in order to earn a right to philosophize in a global mode or a right to undertake what is now grandly called "world philosophy". It is no doubt good that some philosophers dare to attempt to approximate the ideal in reality. Nothing that has been said here should be taken to dissuade from the attempt. On the other hand, it is good that some philosophers become specialists in the history, texts, languages of two historically developed and internally differentiated traditions of intellectual reflection, such as Indian and European traditions. And it is also good that philosophers aim in their cross-cultural enquiries, whether of the more "local" or of the more "global" variety, to move beyond a level of just "knowing that" such and such views are held by diverse thinkers in different traditions to a level of "knowing how" to engage their varied insights in the kind of intellectual enquiry which, in Western academic cultures, has been called *philosophizing*.

Wilhelm Halbfass was keenly aware of the need, the dangers, and the possibilities of just such philosophizing. He had himself early attempted to construct a methodologically self-aware "comparative philosophy"[3] and eventually held a chair by that name. But he came to

[1] "Es müsste ein Philosophieren geben, das auf unmittelbarer Kenntnis von indischen *und* europäischen Quellen gründet." Hacker 1967/1968: 155.

[2] This holds especially for historically and culturally remote texts, which may have been part of a complex context that is for us largely inaccessible. The more remote the reader is from the context in which the text was produced, used and transmitted, the greater the difficulty. But no text – even the most proximate – is in this respect problem free. However careful our approach to texts in an effort to read and to understand or to weigh and assess what they say, we can never do so wholly unconditioned by those things we bring to them. Nor can we gain access to remote texts unlimited by our necessary lack of direct acquaintance with some, if not most, of the things tacitly assumed by the author or redactor of the text under scrutiny. "Reading" texts is mediated and partial. But it is still worthwhile. For understanding and knowledge also admit of degrees.

[3] Halbfass 1968b.

Karin Preisendanz (ed.), *Expanding and Merging Horizons*: *Contributions to South Asian and Cross-Cultural Studies in Commemoration of Wilhelm Halbfass*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007, pp. 167-192.

be much vexed by the excess baggage the history of that phrase carried with it.[4] He opted eventually for a more modestly styled "dialogic comparison" in philosophy, which was defined by "listening as well as speaking" and by abrogating for itself all claims to be able to occupy a "superior standpoint" or an "objectifying distance" from the enquiry.[5] Halbfass came to conceive of *dialogue* quite literally. Although he did not live to carry out his plans, he indicated that he wanted to pursue dialogic comparison by constructing imaginary conversations between major thinkers of the European and Indian traditions on philosophical topics.[6] He mentioned, as examples, Śaṅkara and Descartes (on whom he had written his dissertation[7]) on the foundations of knowledge or Nāgārjuna and Aristotle on the nature of argument and debate. Here, I intend to follow Halbfass's lead partially in this direction, metaphorically if not literally, by engaging in conversation on a major topic two thinkers from the Indian and the European philosophical traditions. This essay is also dialogical in a further sense. I will endeavor to engage *Halbfass* himself, inasmuch as he remains present to us in memory and in print, in an extended dialogue on the nature and aims of philosophical enquiry and on the nature and aims of cross-cultural philosophy.

I

The claim to be able to know the being and nature of God/Brahman by rational means was made widely both in Rāmānuja's India of the eleventh century and in David Hume's Europe of the eighteenth. It is a claim that made each of them suspicious of its pretensions and concerned for its consequences. Their extended critiques of the professions of natural theology in Rāmānuja's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*[8] and in David Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*,[9] have become classic statements of religious skepticism in their own traditions of reflection. But, so far as I am aware, neither text has made any impact on the other's followers. Nor do these texts seem ever to have been subjected to "dialogic comparison".

Though Rāmānuja and Hume are not here brought directly into dialogue with each other, they each of them in the texts that are our focus engaged in an imaginary dialogue with their peers and adversaries. This is most obvious with regard to Hume, who adopts a dialogic form of philosophizing that had both ancient and modern precedent in Western thought.[10] It is a genre that was quite variable, but dialogues have had a persistent history in Western philosophy, the dialogues of Plato being only the best known. The platonic dialogue is often cited as a model of philosophical reflection, in which truth is arrived at through dialectic – a series of "yes" and "no" exchanges until a final "yes" emerges by consensus. If one looks at Plato's dialogues in detail, however, what happens in them is rather different. Socrates has all the good lines and makes all the persuasive arguments. His hapless interlocutor is typically left to utter propositions that are demolished one by one and is left to utter lines akin to, "How stu-

[4] Cf. his remarks in Halbfass 1997: 297ff.; cf. also his entry on comparative philosophy in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* 7 (1989): cols. 922-924.

[5] Halbfass 1997: 298.

[6] Halbfass 1997: 302.

[7] Cf. Halbfass 1968a.

[8] I will be citing from George Thibaut's translation (referred to here as the *Śrībhāṣya*), published first in 1904 by the Oxford University Press, as part of the "Sacred Books of the East" series, edited by F. Max Müller.

[9] Originally published in London in 1779, three years after Hume's death. I will be citing from the edition prepared by Norman Kemp Smith (2nd ed., London 1947).

[10] On the place of dialogue as a genre in eighteenth-century British elite culture, see Prince 1996. On Hume and the art of dialogue, see the article of that title by Michel Malherbe (Malherbe 1994).

pid of me not to have seen that myself, great Teacher!" However much the Socratic dialogue may be idealized in philosophy textbooks, it is hardly the stuff of lively debate between what the celebrated thirteenth-century Tibetan dialectician, Sa-skya Paṇḍita or "Sa-Paṇ", would have called "worthy opponents".[11]

The so-called "Socratic dialogue" is not the only model available in western philosophy to have been transmitted from classical times. There is, for example, the more even-handed form proffered by the Roman philosopher Cicero, most famously in his *De natura deorum*, after which Hume fashioned his own *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*. The topic of the two productions is similar – so are some of the characters and the positions they represent and, in many cases, the arguments they advance. The most striking similarity, however, is that no one character occupies the privileged place of Socrates in dialogues constructed by Plato. There is an attempt by Cicero to build up the best case for each participant in the conversation, with no character left to utter lines like, "How stupid of me not to have seen that myself!" Dialogue in the style of Cicero is a kind of invitation to a conversation that is projected beyond the text at hand. Which is to say, it is an invitation to participate in a process of philosophizing, rather than just a rhetorical artifice for a single philosophical position. A winner may be declared and it may be quite clear who in the dialogue speaks for its author. A serious attempt is nonetheless made to state opposing positions with as much vigor and conviction as the proponents of such positions would have done had they been speaking for themselves in their own "voices".

David Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* are more akin to a Ciceronian than to a Socratic dialogue, even if – perhaps as a protective ruse – Hume chooses to be more coy about which character speaks for him. In the text, Cleanthes – a proponent of rational theology and defender of the design argument – is declared the winner on points.[12] Such a declaration would incline one to presume that Cleanthes must be Hume's spokesman. If it were his intention by this maneuver to distract critics, he did not wholly succeed. From the very beginning, a number of readers – including Joseph Priestley[13] – have, with good reason, recognized Philo (identified in the text as "a careless skeptic"[14]) as projecting the thinly disguised voice of Hume himself, a voice which is sounded more firmly in writings such as the *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* and *A Treatise of Human Nature*.

If Philo is to be heard as the voice of Hume, for whom – if anyone – do Cleanthes and Demea speak in the *Dialogues*? Much ink has been spilt over this question. Cleanthes and Demea are undoubtedly in a sense ideal types, comprising elements of a number of individuals from the past and from Hume's own time. Even so, it is possible that these two protagonists in the *Dialogues* take on core characteristics of identifiable individuals writing in Hume's day. Hume's biographer, Ernest Campbell Mossner, tried long ago to establish that Hume's Cleanthes is modeled on Bishop Butler.[15] More recently, Professor M.A. Stewart[16] has argued that the figure more nearly approximates Henry Home Kames, author of *Essays on the Principles*

[11] See Jackson 1987: Vol. 2, pp. 343ff. Cf. Clayton 2000: 204f.

[12] *Dialogues* § XII, p. 228. It was left to the youthful Pamphilus to issue the verdict: "… upon a serious review of the whole, I cannot but think, that Philo's principles are more probable than Demea's; but that those of Cleanthes approach still nearer to the truth."

[13] Priestley 1780: 108; cf. pp. 105-133. Contemporary reviews and reactions to the *Dialogues* have been collected and reprinted in Fieser 2001: Vol. 2, pp. 191-288.

[14] Ibid., Prologue, p. 128.

[15] Cf. Mossner 1936 and 1980.

[16] Cf. Steward 1985.

of Morality and Natural Religion (1751). And the inept Demea seems to have been modeled, though with less sophistication and subtlety, on the English natural theologian Samuel Clarke, whose much-heralded Boyle Lectures were circulated as *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God* (1705, sixth edition 1725).[17]

If, as now seems most likely, Cleanthes and Demea have many core features of identifiable contemporaries (though their images might be embellished for the sake of the dialogue), this would tie the dialogues more inextricably to actual debates of Hume's day. It would also suggest that we should read Hume, through Philo ("a *careless* skeptic" in the sense of being *detached* and *uninvolved*) as setting himself up to adjudicate in controversies that he may have feared would otherwise lead to more confusion and to greater dogmatism. By this strategy he managed to tease out in a congenial literary genre the defects of the perennially popular argument from order to design (the experimental argument *a posteriori*) and also of the philosophers' favored argument from contingent effects to their necessary causes (the metaphysical argument *a priori*).

Given that Rāmānuja was writing his *Śrībhāṣya* in "commentary" and not in "dialogue" mode, one would have expected it to be easy to identify his voice within the text. Take, for example, his other great commentary, the *Gītābhāṣya*. It is simple enough in it to identify his authentic voice in the *bhakti*-style piety and practice there expounded. In the parts of the *Gītābhāṣya* that are written in the form of questioning and answering, one recognizes more nearly the style of catechesis, than of apologetics or polemics. The *Gītābhāṣya* also aims of course to dislodge established readings of the *Bhagavadgītā*, but without naming those who have interpreted it awry or considering their arguments. In the *Śrībhāṣya*, by contrast, Rāmānuja calls opponents by name and sets out to refute their arguments. He hits out most forcefully against the Mīmāṃsakas for their views on the nature of language and the connexion between ritual action and theological insight; against the Naiyāyikas, on the authority of logical inference in matters theological; and, most extensively, against the Advaitins, on the necessary conditions for achieving release, on the reality of the world, on the nature of the self and on the nature of Brahman.

Attack them, he does. But his strategy requires Rāmānuja first to expound their views in full, often with an enthusiasm that an inattentive reader can easily mistake for endorsement. Rāmānuja can be brusque in dismissing views that he regards as untenable. Yet he more commonly presents his opponent's case in the opponent's voice. This rhetorical strategy makes reading at least this *bhāṣya* more like reading a "dialogue" than one might initially have imagined. The careless reader (in the everyday sense of "careless") can be misled about whose voice is being heard. Even if one occasionally wanders down a wrong path when working through the *Śrībhāṣya*, one will eventually find the proper way back and rediscover who is speaking for Rāmānuja. *Rāmānuja is speaking for himself.*

Though true, this statement must be qualified in two ways. First, Rāmānuja is not writing as a free agent, in the manner of a modern philosopher (even one who participates through individual choice or institutional appointment in an on-going interpretative community). Rāmānuja is writing self-consciously in the lineage of Yāmuna, and this serves as an active constraint on the mental moves that are possible for him to make. This does not mean, of course, that he slavishly repeats what the earlier *ācārya* had said. In textual communities, innovation and originality occur precisely through commentary on texts made from within a particular

[17] Demea's vulgarized version of Clarke's proof *a priori* is dismissed by Philo in *Dialogues* § IX, pp. 188ff.

lineage of received interpretation. The mode of introducing novelty in such communities as these is through purported recovery of the original meaning of textual or traditional authorities. In reflective communities that are text-based, the most far-reaching changes are typically introduced, not as innovations (which tend to varying degrees to be discouraged, if not forbidden altogether), but as recoveries of some essential meaning that is said to have been distorted or obscured by later accretions. Second, Rāmānuja in the *Śrībhāṣya* is commenting on a foundation text of the Vedāntic tradition. In it, he seeks above all to justify his lineage's distinctive interpretation of that text over against older and established *bhāṣya*s, most especially the renowned commentary by Śaṅkara. Among other things, the way a *bhāṣya* is tied to *sūtra* texts controls the sort of topics that are covered, the particular emphases given them, and the order of their discussion. If we want properly to understand what Rāmānuja is arguing and what is at stake in his argument, we must examine his views closely in the context of the *Brahmasūtra* and the controversies over their meaning for different groups, all of whom regarded that text as binding on their obligation to act responsibly on its opening words: *athāto brahmajijñāsā*.

Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya* and Hume's *Dialogues* each of them achieved canonical status in the educational practices of their respective interpretative communities, the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, on the one hand, and Anglo-American philosophers of religion, especially of the analytic variety, on the other. The nature of that status and the process of achieving it was, of course, different in each case. All Rāmānuja's literary productions were bound to become special for Śrīvaiṣṇavas from the moment Goṣṭhipūrṇa pronounced him to be the proper successor of Yāmuna. But the *Śrībhāṣya* holds a unique place for Śrīvaiṣṇavas, just because *bhāṣya*s occupy a unique place in the system of layering of commentaries and metacommentaries in the Brahmanic traditions of reflection. They are, for all those who accept them as authoritative, the lens through which the normative *sūtra*s are read by elite members of an interpretative community; they are the filter through which other levels of commentary – e.g., in the case of the *Nyāyasūtra*, *Vārttika*, *Tātparyaṭīkā* and *Tātparyaparišuddhi* – receive the essential meaning of the *sūtra*s. Large parts of an authoritative *bhāṣya*, along with the group's *sūtra*s in their entirety, are typically committed to memory by students as part of their education.

Though many passages in it are quite familiar to students and their tutors alike, Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (in my educational experience) is most unlikely to be engraved in the memory of even his most faithful devotee. The slim volume nonetheless has become part of the informal or "practical canon"[18] of philosophical texts in faculties where philosophy of religion is taught. It was not always so. For much of his life and for almost a century after his death, Hume was more often remembered as English historian (*genitivus objectivus*), than as Scottish philosopher (*genitivus subjectivus*).[19] Even in the circles where Hume was read as a philosopher, his *Dialogues* had been largely ignored in Britain and America – somewhat less so on the Continent[20] – until the new edition of his *Philosophical Writ-*

[18] A phrase I borrow happily from Anne M. Blackburn (1999). *Philosophical* canons do not function precisely like *religious* canons, but they do act as reference points for a tradition of reflection. They become points of departure for the discussion of major philosophical issues, and intellectual lineages are defined by reference to them. The formation of textual canons in interpretative communities of philosophers has in the past twenty-five years or so itself become a topic of detailed research and reflection. See, e.g., Kuklick 1977 and Kuklick's essay in Rorty et al. 1984.

[19] His reputation as "English historian" derives from his six-volume *History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution of 1688*; cf. Hume 1754-1762.

[20] There was a French edition in 1780 and an edition appeared the following year in Germany, where it was given a boost in 1787 by the appearance of *David Hume über den Glauben* by Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi.

ings appeared in 1874.[21] Even so, Hume's now standard text did not become part of the working canon until well into the twentieth century.[22] The Norman Kemp Smith edition was both sign of and impetus for this change in status of *Dialogues* that only rarely had been in print for nearly a century after initial publication. But now, there is hardly a Philosophy program in Great Britain or North America that would not as a matter of routine include Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* in its reading list in the philosophy of religion. The volume continues to attract admirers (who claim it demolished for good the design argument) and also quibblers (who claim it is a seriously flawed piece of analysis). In either case, the book is still read. And it remains part of the normal working canon, at least among Anglo-American analytic philosophers of religion.

In a volume honoring the memory of Wilhelm Halbfass, neither this selection of thinkers nor this choice of topic is self-evident. Hume and Rāmānuja figure neither singly nor as a pair in the grand narrative of *India and Europe*. If Halbfass had ever chosen to address the topic central to this paper, he would have been more likely to have chosen the likes of Śaṅkara and Descartes. Halbfass was, in any case, unlikely to have focused his energies directly on the knowability of God. In his productions as a writer, Halbfass was not much occupied with the debates in India or Europe about specifically religious questions.[23] This is not to say that he was not in his way occupied with questions that might reasonably be called "religious". In response to Frank Clooney's contribution to *Beyond Orientalism*, Wilhelm insisted that – though not himself a practitioner of any religion – he shared with those who are "a realm of religious meaning". He added that he regarded the religions as indispensable ways of formulating "questions which continue to be my own questions, and which no science can even comprehend as questions,"[24] much less have power to silence with unassailable answers.

Not just in the context of the present volume do Rāmānuja and Hume seem an odd couple to be nudged into conversation.[25] Their differences are clear and easy enough to catalogue. Moreover, even among his Enlightened peers, Hume held all non-European cultures in unusually low esteem.[26] His references to India are rare, casual, and as caustic as they are ill-informed. In his *Natural History of Religion*, with neither apparent embarrassment nor evident knowledge, Hume speaks indiscriminately of Indians, Africans and Japanese as being "very barbarous and ignorant nations … who can form no extensive ideas of power and knowledge" and as idolaters, among whom "worship may be paid to a being, whom they confess to be wicked and detestable; though they may be cautious, perhaps, of pronouncing this judgment of him in public, or in his temple, where he may be supposed to hear their reproaches."[27] Later in the *Natural History*, he complains of the "excessive penances of the [superstitious] Brahmans" who seek divine favor in ritual acts rather than "in virtue and good morals".[28] At the conclusion of part VII of the *Dialogues*, the Hume-like Philo introduces what he calls the "ridiculous" view of the Brahmins that an infinite spider spun the universe from its own bowels and "annihilates afterwards the whole or any part of it, by absorbing it

[21] Green and Grose 1874.

[22] This is a complex story, which cannot be told here, but I intend to do so elsewhere in the near future.

[23] The main exception being Halbfass 1984.

[24] Halbfass 1997: 146.

[25] Rāmānuja has more typically been compared to modern Western Idealists, whether of the Bostonian or the Berliner species. See Lazarus 1962 and Prasad 1983.

[26] For a survey of contemporary dispositions, see Pailin 1984.

[27] *Natural History* § XIII, p. 66.

[28] Ibid., § XIV, pp. 70f.

again, and resolving it into his own essence."[29] This is the same Philo who elsewhere commends to Cleanthes as thinkable the view that the world might have arisen from vegetation or generation, rather than manufacture.[30] This is the same Philo who also expresses sympathy for the view that the world could be imagined as being God's body.[31] But he may have shown a dash less sympathy for such a view had Hume learned of it first from reading Rāmānuja, instead of from reading classical Greek writers.

It is not among such speculative and metaphysical cobwebs that we find the most engaging parallels between Hume and Rāmānuja in matters pertaining to philosophy of religion. If we turn, rather, to epistemology we find important and unexpected points of resemblance, but – upon examination – it turns out that the points of difference are more determinative in their thought than points they seemingly held in common. Rāmānuja and Hume both hold experience or "perception" (*pratyakṣa*) and inductive reasoning or "inference" (*anumāna*) as proper ways of coming to know and at the same time as grounds for claiming to know things appropriate to each *pramāṇa*. Rāmānuja also holds *śabda* or testimony as reliable. In restricted instances, Hume, too, trusts human testimony as reliable, but he does so with caveats not likely to have been found congenial by Rāmānuja.

Hume famously reduced all true propositions to two kinds: those that express relations of ideas and those that express matters of fact.[32] The former are analytically true, in the sense that their negation is self-contradictory; whereas the latter are contingently true, in the sense that they can be negated without entailing self-contradiction. That is to say, matters of fact – including the existence of mango trees, fires on mountains, cats on mats, unicorns and also Gods – must be established, if at all, by sense experience or observation. Rational proof alone, however valid it may be formally and however elegant it may be aesthetically, can never establish a matter of fact. There are these two possibilities, and no others: abstract reasoning regarding relations of ideas; experimental reasoning regarding matters of fact. On these principles, Hume believed he could determine which claims might be deemed worthy candidates for examination, and which claims should be avoided altogether. The *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* ended with words that might be moderately chilling for most metaphysicians, but must make the blood run cold for all librarians:

> When we run over libraries, persuaded of these principles, what havoc must we make? If we take in our hand any volume; of divinity or school metaphysics, for instance; let us ask, Does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number? No. Does it contain any experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact and existence? No. Commit it then to the flames: For it can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion.[33]

Even though Hume appears to recognize two ways of coming to know things – experience and inference – in respect to matters of fact, there is only one way: *experience*.[34] Even though Rāmānuja recognizes inference and experience, in respect of matters of fact, he also holds that inferences must be confirmed by experience. With regard to matters of fact, in Hume's texts and in Rāmānuja's, arguments will be made and inferences will be drawn in order to ground epistemic judgements. But arguments and inferences have no epistemic authority in-

[29] Smith 1947: 180f.
[30] Ibid., pp. 176ff.; cf. pp. 144f.
[31] Ibid., pp. 171f.
[32] *Enquiry* § IV, pp. 25ff.: "Sceptical Doubts concerning the Operations of the Understanding". This is known popularly as "Hume's fork".
[33] Ibid., § XII.3, p. 165.
[34] Ibid., pp. 163ff.

dependent of the experiences and observations that give them warrant. In the *Śrībhāṣya*, Rāmānuja reports in a cursory way his views on the legitimate ways of coming to know, which also serve as proper grounds for claiming to know.[35] Within the accepted boundaries of what Vedāntic *ācārya*s profess, Rāmānuja has nothing especially novel to say about the *pramāṇa*s, not as a class nor singly. And, like those *ācārya*s, Rāmānuja holds that experience and inference may be reliable in optimal circumstances in the world of facts, but with regard to all divine things, testimony or *śabda* is the only reliable *pramāṇa* and, therefore, authoritative in all matters to do with Brahman. In the spiritual realm, scriptural authority trumps wherever our senses may lead us by observation or our reason, by formal argument:

> Apprehension of Brahman – which is mere intelligence, eternal, pure, free, self-luminous – is effected by Scripture which rests on endless unbroken tradition, cannot therefore be suspected of any, even the least, imperfection, and hence cannot be non-authoritative; the state of bondage, on the other hand, with its manifold distinctions is proved by Perception, Inference, and so on, which are capable of imperfections and therefore may be non-authoritative.[36]

With all his intuitive suspicion of the claims of traditional religion, Western or not, David Hume is most unlikely to have been inclined to acquiesce in such a bold claim. He would have been more inclined to insist that we use our senses to correct our senses whenever they mislead us; that we use our reason to correct our reason whenever it leads us astray. There is no other means of greater certainty than those means made available by nature to human understanding. In limited cases, Hume allows, it is even reasonable to accept *as certain* testimony about matters of fact that runs counter to our cumulative experience of the way things go in the world. Ironically, perhaps, one such case is cited in the course of his celebrated attack on miracles in the *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (§ X). Having catalogued from the history of religions a list of miraculous claims he regarded as patently absurd, Hume goes on without much fanfare to mention an apparent counter example to his generally skeptical stance toward knowledge of past unique events:

> Suppose all authors, in all languages, agree, that, from the first of JANUARY 1600, there was a total darkness over the whole earth for eight days: Suppose that the tradition of this extraordinary event is still strong and lively among the people: That all travellers, who return from foreign countries, bring us accounts of the same tradition, without the least variation or contradiction: It is evident, that our present philosophers, instead of doubting the fact, ought to receive it as certain, and ought to search for the causes whence it might be derived.[37]

That is to say, reports of a strikingly unique event, which is contrary to our cumulative experience of the world, may be judged to have happened for sure without our knowing its causes, if it is (a) universally and (b) invariably attested and if it has (c) no supernatural agency ascribed to it! These are hardly caveats that Rāmānuja would happily allow in respect of the authority of scriptural *śabda*.

Belief, for Hume, is a matter of evidence: wise persons proportion their belief to evidence. Belief, for Rāmānuja, by contrast, is more a matter of authority: wise persons proportion their belief to the teachings of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. Both Hume and Rāmānuja concur that God/Brahman is not a possible object of sense perception, nor an entity whose nature and existence could ever be established by inference or "reason". Their respective reasons, in the

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[35] Cf. *Śrībhāṣya* (*ŚBh*) I.1.3; Thibaut's translation (Thibaut 1904) pp. 162ff. A more systematic account of Viśiṣṭādvaita views on epistemology was elaborated by Śrīnivāsadāsa in his *Yatīndramatadīpikā*, the basis for the account in Sen Gupta 1967: 25-61.

[36] *ŚBh* I.1.1; Thibaut 1904: 25.

[37] *Enquiry* § X, pp. 127-128.

sense of *grounds*, for repudiating every possible rational proof of the being and character of God/Brahman are remarkably similar. But their reasons, in the sense of *motives*, for undermining every possible inference to the Deity are rather less akin. And their reasons, in the sense of *ends* for which such a critique is undertaken in the service of their respective communities of interpretation, are altogether different.

II

The knowability of the Gods or Brahman is a topic that has historically exercised the best minds of both Indian and Western cultural traditions of self-reflection. In both traditions, the topic has been debated with regard to at least three distinct issues: the soundness of individual proofs for the existence of the Gods/Brahman; the provability of the existence of the Gods/Brahman by rational or other means; the actual existence of the Gods/Brahman.

These three issues tend often to be conflated in discussion, but they need to be separated out for the purposes of analysis in order to avoid confusion. For instance, Brahman or the Gods may well exist, even if their existence cannot be established rationally; their existence may be provable rationally, but some specific proofs may be logically unsound. Although these issues have all been discussed in Indian and Western traditions of philosophy, there remain differences of importance. The so-called Indian syllogism is not just different in detail from the Aristotelian syllogism or its more modern alternatives, it is also different in kind. For instance, the formal "syllogism" in an Indian sense cannot simply be identified with "deduction" in a Western sense, nor *anumāna* with "inference".[38] Moreover, Indian philosophy makes use of "property–location" logic, rather than the "subject–predicate" logic that is typical in traditional Western thought.[39] And the Indian syllogism shows in its very form that it was designed to meet the particular needs of public debate (*vāda*). As a result, Indian "logic" is less easily separated from "rhetoric", the art of persuasion, than is Western logic, which – for good or ill – traditionally draws the lines more sharply between formal logic and rhetorical skills.

The more important sort of difference between discussions of the knowability of Gods or Brahman in India and in the West arises out of differences in their historically dominant religious models. The dominance in the West of theistic, typically monotheistic, religious models has meant that discussion about the knowability of Gods, more often than not, has tended to bear the weight of religion *versus* irreligion. The spiritual ambience of India, where one could be *āstika* or "orthodox" in Brahmanic terms and still be non- or even anti-theistic, has meant that the debate about Gods/Brahman has in effect been for the most part a debate *within* religion, not between religion and irreligion. This state of affairs has affected, among other things, the strategy in Indian debate of arguing for and against the existence of Gods. Many of Udayana's proofs of God in the *Nyāyakusumāñjali*, for instance, are philological or grammatical and seem to have been intended to persuade Mīmāṃsakas that the Vedas – whose eternity and authority Mīmāṃsakas accepted, if anything, more firmly than Naiyāyikas – had an author and that their author was God.[40]

[38] Cf. Bharadvaja 1987. Contrast Mohini Mullick's article by the same title (1976).

[39] Matilal 1985: 6ff.

[40] Cf. *Nyāyakusumāñjali*, *stabaka* 5, analysed in Chemparathy 1972: 68-73 and examined ibid., pp. 86-137.

Denial of God/Brahman in the non-Brahmanic sects of South Asia also tended to be motivated by religious concerns. The Cārvākas were the exception that proves the rule. The Buddha, for instance, repudiated the existence of a creator God (*parameśvara*) for reasons that are essentially soteriological. He and his followers did not bother to deny or seek to disprove the existence of *deva*s or *devatā*s, because they were not spiritually very bothersome. But he and those who came later to develop his thought formulated several arguments against the existence of a Supreme Being,[41] upon whom devotees depended to deliver them from the cycle of *saṃsāra*. Such a belief is considered to be spiritually more dangerous. It is dangerous most plainly because it ultimately hinders liberation. So long as we depend on some power other than ourselves to attain final release, according to the Buddha's words as reported in the *Dhammapada*, we will never achieve release.[42] Belief in a *parameśvara* or *maheśvara* must, therefore, be opposed by all rational means.

Neither Rāmānuja nor Hume calls into question the fact of God's existence. Although they do not conceive the divine Being in precisely the same ways, there is quite enough similarity in their conceptions, at least at a gross level of magnification, to make it worth our while to hold up for comparison their respective strategies regarding the knowability of God/Brahman.

Rāmānuja conceives the Supreme Being to be possessor of all perfections and of no defects. Most succinctly, Rāmānuja identifies Brahman or Viṣṇu[43] as "highest Person (*puruṣottama*), who is essentially free from all imperfections and [who] possesses numberless classes of auspicious qualities of unsurpassable excellence."[44] He is much more elaborate in his characterizations of Brahman's many qualities[45] than Hume would think is warranted by the evidence, but Hume would perhaps allow Rāmānuja's short statement as an account of what people commonly take God to be.[46] The most important metaphysical difference between them – a difference to which I will want to return later – is that for Hume, God and world are *externally* related, whereas for Rāmānuja, they are *internally* related. Both men accepted the existence of such a Being, and occupied themselves rather with the issue whether the existence and nature of that Being can be discerned by rational means. Hume was indeed reluctant to make strong claims about the attributes proper to his God, but he still remained a believer of sorts, and was reportedly deeply shocked at the bold claims of atheists he encountered among Parisian *philosophers*.[47] Belief in God was for Hume almost a "natural belief", akin to belief in other minds or the external world.[48] The only question in doubt is *how much* we are able to

[41] Chemparathy 1968/1969; Hayes 1988; Jackson 1986; and also Jayatilleke 1963.

[42] *Dhammapada* 417; cf. Carter and Palihawadana 1987: 411.

[43] *ŚBh*, Thibaut 1904: 89 and 91. See also the *Vedāntasaṃgraha* (translated in van Buitenen 1956), where Rāmānuja attempts to establish from scriptures that Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa) is none other than this Supreme Person.

[44] *ŚBh*, Thibaut 1904: 4.

[45] Cf. *ŚBh*, Thibaut 1904: 88-89, 156, *et passim.*

[46] Cf. *Dialogues* p. 141 *et passim.*

[47] Re his encounter with avowed atheists at d'Holbach's *salon*, see Diderot's *Lettres à Sophie Volland* (ed. Babelon 1938), Vol. 2, p. 77. Cf. Mossner 1980: 483ff.

[48] The matter is more complex (and also more controversial) than this simple statement suggests. Could such a "belief" have any religious significance? It all hangs on what kind of "belief" one thinks is required for a belief in some God to have religious significance. What Hume allows is clearly not sufficient to sustain a robust belief in the "God" of traditional Judaism, Christianity or Islam or even of philosophical theism. It may still, nonetheless, be sufficient to sustain belief in some kind of "God" – say the kind which has evoked a sense of wonder at it all seemingly sufficient to serve the religious needs of an Albert Einstein or of a Stephen Hawking. For a useful survey of the literature and issues involved, see Logan 1993. Cf. also Cabrera 2001: 297ff.

know about the nature of such a Being. Hume is less occupied with the claims of atheists, real or imagined, than he is with the claims of theists who proffer putative proofs for the existence of the Deity or who claim detailed knowledge of divine being by other means. In his writings, Rāmānuja does consider the claims of non-theists – namely, of Mīmāṃsakas – but he has mainly in his sights the claims of Advaita Vedāntins, whose system he tends to oppose wholesale, and the claims of the Naiyāyikas, who specialized in logic and debate and who had developed an elaborate rational defense for the existence of a Supreme Being. For each man, the main issue is the possibility of some rational knowledge of Brahman or God. To that end, each tests at least one of the locally most popular theistic arguments of their day: the argument from regularity to design(er).

Arguments of this kind are among the most ancient and the widespread proofs of God(s) in the history of humankind.[49] In the Indian context, it was a favorite proof of Naiyāyikas, almost from the moment of their taking a more theistic turn.[50] It figures in classic texts of the Nyāya tradition, including the *Nyāyamañjarī* by Jayanta, the ninth-century Kashmiri philosopher, and the *Kiraṇāvali* and *Nyāyakusumāñjali* by Udayana, a contemporary of Rāmānuja in remote Mithilā, though the two were evidently unknown to one other. The proof (with many variations) runs along the following lines in Naiyāyika texts: (a) this universe had an intelligent being as its cause; (b) because it consists of many parts that are arranged purposefully; (c) things that consist of many parts that are arranged purposefully, like a chariot, have an intelligent being as their cause; (d) this [universe] is like that [chariot]; (e) hence, it has an intelligent being as its cause.

In a world that was increasingly shaped by Newtonian principles of physics, there were in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain variations on what was often called "physico-theology", but which was known by Hume as "the argument *a posteriori*" and which has now come to be called more commonly "the design argument". At a time when the Germans inclined to *a priori* demonstrations and the French, to versions of what Kant named the *cosmological proof*,[51] most British philosophers, scientists and theologians were irresistibly drawn to embrace the less formal and more intuitive design argument, which was generally held to be persuasive, even if it was admitted to lack the force of a demonstration. This feature of the design argument suits present interests well, in that this less rigorous sort of argument is much more akin to the informal style of proof favored by the "natural brahmalogians" of India. It is Cleanthes in the *Dialogues* who iterates, on behalf of mainstream philosophers and scientists and theologians of Hume's day, the experimental argument *a posteriori*:

> Look round the world: Contemplate the whole and every part of it: You will find it to be nothing but one great machine, subdivided into an infinite number of lesser machines, which again admit of subdivisions, to a degree beyond what human senses and faculties can trace and explain. All the various machines, and even their most minute parts, are adjusted to each other with an accuracy, which ravishes into admiration all men, who have ever contemplated them. The curious adapting of means to ends, throughout all nature, resembles exactly, though it much exceeds, the productions of human contrivance; of human design, thought, wisdom, and intelligence. Since therefore the effects resemble each other, we are led to infer, by all the rules of analogy, that the causes also resemble; and that the Author of nature is somewhat similar to the mind of man; though possessed of much larger faculties, proportioned to the grandeur of the work, which he has

[49] See Clayton 1984.
[50] Bulcke 1968: 35-45. Cf. Oberhammer 1984.
[51] Kant 1763: 160.

> executed. By this argument *a posteriori*, and by this argument alone, we do prove at once the existence of a Deity, and his similarity to human mind and intelligence.[52]

Neither Philo nor his creator doubts the existence of God, in some non-anthropomorphic and non-specific sense "maker of heaven and earth"; nor does either one of them doubt (except methodologically) that this Being bears at least a remote resemblance to human intelligence. Hume makes clear his own acquiescence to such a belief in the *Natural History of Religion.* "The whole frame of nature", he declares there, "bespeaks an intelligent author; and no rational enquirer can, after serious reflection, suspend his belief a moment with regard to the primary principles of genuine Theism and Religion."[53] This belief is given here and elsewhere in the *Natural History* as something impossible to doubt (*contra* Descartes), rather than as a belief established by inference. It seems almost a natural disposition or intuition, not an inductive inference or the conclusion to a formal demonstration. Nor can it be a belief based on religious experience or biblical authority. Hume was as suspicious of the claims of religious enthusiasts as had been John Locke before him or was Immanuel Kant after him. And the weight Hume attached to the authority of scripture is easily surmised from his celebrated attack on miracles in § X of the *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding.* An irrefragable quality to basic belief in God is consistent with what Hume has all his characters agree in the *Dialogues*, namely that the sorts of problems under discussion there concern the *nature* of God, not the *being* of God. But just *what* each of them does believe about the *God* in whom they are content to believe is quite considerably different. In Philo's (and also of course Hume's) case, for instance, the content of their belief is minimalist in the extreme. None of the traditional moral (e.g., goodness, mercy, justice) nor metaphysical (e.g., omnipotence, unity) attributes can be established for the Supreme Being by what we might justifiably infer of such a Being by analogy from the world as we have experienced it. Is Hume's "God" then empty of all attributes? If so, how would such a God differ from no God at all?

Hume adopts the principle that like effects imply like causes. If the putative "cause" is not available to inspection, no more can be inferred about it than is sufficient to account for observable effects.[54] Since the world's cause or causes are not possible objects of sense perception, what we can know of it or them, if we can know anything at all, is limited to what can be warranted by observation statements about the world of sense experience.

A number of consequences follow from this stricture that might well be thought generally unhelpful to purveyors of the argument from regularity to design. But, insists Philo, the principle cannot be doubted, nor can its consequences be resisted.[55] Since the world is finite, we cannot infer that the cause(s) of the world is infinite; since there is multiplicity in the world, we cannot infer that its cause(s) is one; since there are defects in the world, we cannot infer that its cause(s) is perfect; since there is evil and gross suffering in the world, we cannot infer that its cause(s) is good.

Of all these difficulties, the last named – the ever daunting "problem of evil" – receives the most extended consideration in the *Dialogues*.[56] If we look at the world, with all its many

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[52] *Dialogues* § II, p. 143. Philo's restatement and initial objections follow on pp. 145ff.

[53] *Natural History* p. 21; cf. also § XV, pp. 74f.

[54] Cf. *Enquiry* § XI, pp. 135ff.

[55] *Dialogues* § V, p. 165. The main consequences are relentlessly elaborated by Philo on the ensuing pages.

[56] *Dialogues* §§ X-XI, pp. 193-213. Though the "problem of evil" does not figure in Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya* as centrally as it does in Hume's *Dialogues*, it is not altogether absent from the great *ācārya*'s work. See Vidyarthi 1978: 1-26.

sufferings and ills, natural and moral, and without prior assumption of a benevolent creator and governor, reasons Philo, then we are bound to see that "the whole presents nothing but the idea of a blind nature, impregnated by a great vivifying principle, and pouring forth from her lap, without discernment or parental care, her maimed and abortive children."[57]

Moreover, Hume argues, even if the world were perfect in every way, we still could not know for certain that the excellences of the work could legitimately be ascribed to the cause of its construction.[58] Defects in the world, on the other hand, suggest shortcomings in the cause of the world. Perhaps it was the early effort of a young and inexperienced godling, or maybe it was the late production of an aging and incapacitated divinity?[59]

In the first set of objections, Hume did not directly call into question the authority of the "artisan–artifact" analogy that is the basis of the particular type of design argument under scrutiny in the *Dialogues*. He goes on, secondly, to object that the analogy required by this type of argument is too weak to support the theists' desired claims about the nature of the world's cause(s). The design argument assumes that the world as a whole resembles a human artifact, such as a watch. Just as an artifact of such precision and purpose implies a skilled and intelligent artificer, regularity and purpose evidenced in the world as a whole and in its parts implies also an intelligent maker. The artisan–artifact analogy itself has no intrinsic authority, however, and its success depends upon the similarity of the world as a whole to a human artifact. Much in the world-order does not resemble a human artifact.[60] For instance, plants and animals do not replicate themselves by manufacture. They do so by natural processes of vegetation and generation. One could quite plausibly argue that the world as a whole more nearly resembles a vegetable or an animal than that it resembles a vast machine. All three are merely analogies or models, if one prefers, and none of the three has intrinsic authority. Each of the three is equally plausible and equally implausible as a potential explanatory hypothesis of the way things go in the world as a whole. There is no reason to infer that the cause of the world, therefore, resembles human intelligence; it could as easily resemble a seed or an egg. It is human arrogance to believe that the cause of the world resembles the principle that moves our own minds.[61]

Thirdly, any attempt at all to talk about the "cause(s) of the world as a whole" raises for Hume insurmountable difficulties. We can infer things about *causes* of effects only when we are certain that they are *effects*, that is to say, when we are certain that they have been *caused*. We infer skills and qualities attributable to the watchmaker of a particular watch, because we already know from numerous comparable cases that watches are made, and do not come into being spontaneously nor by vegetation or generation. Likewise, we infer the building activity of workers from a half-finished house, because we have seen many other houses in the process of being built by workers. Houses, too, are constructed and neither vegetate nor generate themselves. But the world as a whole is quite different from these examples. We have no prior knowledge of how worlds come to be. We have never seen other worlds being made. We do not know if they are manufactured or if they come to be by some other means. The world as a whole, Hume asserts, is unique in experience.[62] In order to make a plausible analogy about the origin and order of this world, we would also need to have acquaintance

[57] *Dialogues* § XI, p. 211.
[58] *Dialogues* § V, p. 167.
[59] *Dialogues* § V, p. 169.
[60] *Dialogues* §§ VI-VII, pp. 170ff.
[61] *Dialogues* § III, p. 156; cf. *Enquiry* § XI, pp. 145ff.
[62] *Dialogues* § II, pp. 149ff. Here Demea is speaking, but he is later supported by Philo.

with other cosmogonies, from whence we might accumulate enough data to speculate about the likely nature of the cause(s) of this world. The sting of this point may have been eased by recent astronomy and physics, but there was no effective antidote for it in the scientific cupboard of Hume's day and, as a result, Cleanthes' response to Philo on this point is feeble and misguided.[63]

Finally, Hume argues that the order evident in the world as a whole and in its parts may in any case have a purely naturalistic explanation. Theistic explanations are not the only ones available to the philosophical imagination.[64] Hume's Philo holds up the belief of Epicureans that the world, being composed of a finite number of atoms in random motion in infinite time, eternally produces every conceivable combination an infinite number of times. The world moves eternally in and out of periods of formation, stability and dissolution. At the moment, we happen to be living in a period of relative stability. But this orderly state is merely transitory; the world has been produced and destroyed before and it will be again and again, *ad infinitum*. Philo, ever careless, has nothing riding on the acceptance of this view. He is merely claiming that such an account of the apparent regularity in the world as a whole has just as much to commend it as has the theistic account preferred by those to whom the argument from order to design(er) seems plausible.

Skepticism in such matters is the viewpoint more nearly being commended by Philo and his literary designer. Our natural tendency is to skepticism, Hume speculates, but within the bounds of sense, this tendency is kept in check by brute facts. We stumble over chairs; we fall down stairs; we bang into doors. But when we move beyond the bounds of sense experience, there is no such check on our natural tendency to skepticism. To claim some rational knowledge of the nature of Gods, who dwell beyond reach of human perception, is for humankind simply not warranted, "except we call in the assistance of exaggeration and flattery to supply the defects of argument and reason."[65] In such matters, Hume says with heavy irony, one listens with greater expectation to priests than to philosophers![66] What do we hear when we turn, not to a Christian priest, but to a Śrīvaiṣṇavite *ācārya*?

III

Issues to do with natural theology were the main topic of conversation in the *Dialogues* of David Hume. Not so in the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja, who harbored no doubts about the fact of Brahman's existence or about knowability of that existence or about knowability of Brahman's attributes. For Rāmānuja, the only question to be settled was the proper and reliable means of such knowledge, the certainty of the knowledge itself not being a matter of doubt. The point to establish firmly, according to Rāmānujācārya, is that Brahman is knowable reliably and solely from Vedic scriptures, including the Vedāntic Upaniṣads. He makes his case when attempting to elucidate the meaning of the third *brahmasūtra*, which in Sanskrit is a single compound word – *śāstrayonitvāt* – the meaning of which was a matter of intense dispute among diverse Vedāntic schools, especially between the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara and the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta of Rāmānuja.

[63] Cf. *Dialogues* § II, p. 150.
[64] *Dialogues* § VIII, pp. 182ff.
[65] *Enquiry* § XI, p. 137.
[66] Ibid., p. 138.

The first *adhyāya* of the *Brahmasūtra* lays the general basis of the Vedāntic doctrine of Brahman, with liberal citations and allusions to the more theologically inclined Upaniṣads – especially the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, the *Chāndogya*, the *Kaṭha*, and the *Muṇḍaka*.[67] For our present purposes, the first four *sūtra*s are most important. Having already enquired into *dharma* in the *Mīmāṃsāsūtra*, one is enjoined by the first *brahmasūtra* then to enquire into Brahman: *athāto brahmajijñāsā*. *That* Brahman is to be enquired into is established, but *what* precisely is the nature of the object of such enquiry? That is elaborated in the second *sūtra*: *janmādy asya yataḥ.* Which is to say, Brahman is cause of the creation, subsistence and dissolution of the world. If one were to encounter a discussion of theistic arguments in the *Śrībhāṣya*, this would seem the most likely place. Indeed, Śaṅkara had introduced the proofs here, asserting that at best they confirm to our limited reason what is already more certainly known from *śabda*.[68] But Rāmānuja did not. Such proofs do not for Rāmānuja have any part in establishing, confirming or even clarifying the nature and existence of Brahman. Brahman is for Rāmānuja already known from scriptures. There is little left for Rāmānuja to do in his commentary, but to iterate what is to be learned from sacred writings about Brahman's attributes. From them, one learns that Brahman is

> that highest Person who is the ruler of all; whose nature is antagonistic to all evil; whose purposes come true; who possesses infinite auspicious qualities, such as knowledge, blessedness, and so on; who is omniscient, omnipotent, supremely merciful; from whom the creation, subsistence, and reabsorption of this world proceed – he is Brahman: such is the meaning of the *sūtra*.[69]

In a sense, the whole of the *Śrībhāṣya* elaborates this *credo*. Rāmānuja has relatively little to say further about the second *sūtra*, other than to make preliminary comments on what he has just said about Brahman and to insist that it is not self-contradictory (as some had claimed) for all these attributes to coinhere in one entity. If he has relatively little to say about this *sūtra*, he has rather a lot to say about the next one.[70] In connexion with his commentary on the third *sūtra*, Rāmānuja lays out his critique of the putative proofs of God/Brahman.

The expression *śāstrayonitvāt* was read by Śaṅkara as "because it is the source of scriptures". That is to say, Brahman is the source or speaker of Vedic scriptures. Whatever Śaṅkara's philological justification may have been for rendering the *sūtra* in this way, it enabled him to engage in polemic against the Mīmāṃsakas, who denied that the Vedas had an author, human or divine. The third *sūtra*, therefore, provides Śaṅkara a very convenient point to clarify a matter of some difference between the so-called "old Mīmāṃsaka" and the "new Mīmāṃsaka" or Vedāntic perspective on scriptural authority. With a different opponent in mind, Rāmānuja insisted that *śāstrayonitvāt* be rendered quite differently. He read it to mean "because the scriptures are the source" of all knowledge of Brahman. He read it, in effect, as a Vedāntic version of *sola scriptura*. We have no way of coming to know of Brahman nor of

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[67] Additional aspects of the doctrine are explicated later in *Brahmasūtra* 3.2.11-41.

[68] By insisting that the context of Śaṅkara's arguments is not philosophically relevant (pp. 121-122), Paul Deussen (1912) grossly misrepresented Śaṅkara's view on the place of reason or inference with regard to the knowability of Brahman. Cf. Deussen 1912: 124ff.

[69] *ŚBh* 1.1.2; Thibaut 1904: 156.

[70] Things are reversed in the *Vedāntasāra*, in which Rāmānuja's comments on *Brahmasūtra* I.1.2 extend over sixteen pages (pp. 6-22), but his comment on I.1.3 is one short paragraph, with no attack on Naiyāyika proofs of Brahman: "The Brahman, who has as His body all the sentient and non-sentient beings, is the material cause and also the efficient cause of the Universe. This fact could not be apprehended by reasoning, but could be proved by scriptures alone. Therefore, it is established that the scriptural text 'From whom, all these things are born' (Tait. III.1) discerns the *Brahman*, who is the only cause of all the world" (p. 22).

undertaking "an enquiry into Brahman", but through *śabda*, especially the key Upaniṣadic passages which, when threaded together, form the basis of the thirty-two *sūtra*s that comprise the first *adhyāya* of the *Vedāntasūtra*.

In order to substantiate his reading of this *sūtra*, over against Śaṅkara's rendering of it, Rāmānuja rehearsed all the *pramāṇa*s that were acknowledged by all Vedāntic schools, eliminating each in turn, save *śabda*, as a possible way of coming to know Brahman.[71] Rāmānuja has nothing particularly new to say about the *pramāṇa*s. His account of them is brief and perfunctory. Indeed, he could easily have had before him any number of treatises on *pramāṇa*s by earlier writers of a variety of *darśana*s. In his *bhāṣya*, Rāmānuja takes up the standard Vedāntic line that we ordinarily come to know all that we can know by three and only three means: by *pratyakṣa* or perception, which includes not just the five senses, but also yogic insight and inner feeling-states, such as pleasure and pain; by *anumāna* or inference, which in practice means inductive reasoning about matters of putative fact; and by *śabda* or testimony, which includes both testimony of trustworthy witnesses and of authoritative scripture (*śruti*). All three ways are ordinarily reliable ways of coming to know what we know within the world of human experience, but *śabda* alone is reliable with regard to the knowledge of Brahman. Brahman is not a possible object of human perception in any of its specified senses. Nor is Brahman in principle knowable by means of inference, which is capable of establishing a proof only with regard to things that are in principle knowable by means of perception or experience.

That leaves *śabda* as the only remaining way of our possibly coming to know Brahman, if Brahman is to be known at all. Rāmānuja does not in the commentary on the third *sūtra* presume that Brahman can be known even by this means. He does not set out to establish *śabda* as a reliable way of coming to know Brahman until his commentary on the fourth *sūtra*: *tat tu samanvayāt*.[72] For his overall argument, it is of course critical that Rāmānuja establish this claim, but it is not the part of his argument that concerns us most directly.

Our attention is directed, instead, to his grounds (*hetu*) for skepticism about the possibility of knowledge of Brahman by means of *anumāna*. As it happens, many of those grounds closely parallel grounds given in the *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* by Hume and his creation, Philo, for skepticism about the knowability of God by inductive reasoning.

First, Rāmānuja concurs with Hume that, in the case of inferential knowledge of the cause or causes of this world, we are limited in what we can rightly claim to know by what can be warranted by observation statements about the world of sense experience. Even if we were to grant, for the sake of argument, that it is possible to regard the world as an effect and that it is possible to infer from it the nature of its cause, there are a number of limitations on the sorts of inferences we could draw from our experience of the world.[73] To say that the land, oceans, and so forth, are all "effects" of some "cause" is not in itself a sufficient reason to claim that it must have been the *same* cause. We have no grounds for claiming that all the discrete parts of the world are made and destroyed at the same time by a single cause. If we are tempted to

[71] Rāmānuja's comments on *ŚBh* I.1.3, including his extended critique of *anumāna* as a means of divine knowledge, is found in Thibaut 1904: 161-174, which is the source for most of what follows.

[72] However, he argued in relation to the first *sūtra* that scripture alone is absolutely reliable in all things, so that when our perception and scripture stand in conflict with one another, we are to place our trust not in our direct experience but in the testimony of scripture (*ŚBh* I.1.1; Thibaut 1904: 24ff.).

[73] *ŚBh* I.1.3; Thibaut 1904: 170ff.

make such a claim, it is because we are predisposed by what is taught in scripture about the maker, sustainer and destroyer of the world.

Even if it were a single cause, that could not be shown by inference from what is directly known by observation of the world or its parts. Our experience of the world generally is that things come into being and pass out of being in succession from a variety of causes, in much the same way that things like pots and chariots are made by diverse agents and are destroyed, whether intentionally or not, by equally diverse means. From experience of the world, we could never infer a single agent with the attributes of Brahman as the world's maker, sustainer and destroyer. Brahman's "marks" or attributes are not instantiated in the parts that make up the world nor can they be inferred from an examination of all the parts that make up the world. A bare minimum may be known from the world as available to us; namely, that its cause is an intelligent agent somewhat akin to ourselves. This is known to everyone already and is doubted by no one, he says in a vein similar to Hume. But we could never know anything for certain about it, not even if it is incorporeal or corporeal. If incorporeal spirit, *how* could it act as an agent, since our experience of sentient agents is that they act through their bodies. On the other hand, if corporeal spirit, it is comprised of parts, as is the world. If it is imagined that the existence of the world requires explanation because it consists of parts, then why does an embodied spirit not require explanation for its own existence? And, if not, why should the world's existence require explanation?

Moreover, Rāmānuja argues in a manner that often evokes Hume's Philo that the "artifact–artisan" analogy has no intrinsic authority. If we consider the world as it is manifest to us in everyday experience, we have no alternative but to concede that its composite parts fit together according to different principles. The parts cannot be presumed to be "effects" in the same sense, nor to be governed by the same principles. It must be allowed that some of them are governed by principles that more nearly resemble organic principles and others, by those that more nearly resemble mechanical ones. But the world as a whole cannot be said entirely to resemble an artifact, because its parts are not conjoined just as they are in manufactured products. Nor can it be said as a whole entirely to resemble an animated body, because it does not in all of its parts resemble an organism. We cannot, therefore, determine by *anumāna* if the world is a manufactured product or if it is an embodiment of the supreme Soul. Human reason is no help in deciding such matters.

Rāmānuja's argument here is particularly interesting. Not only does he insist that reason is unable to establish the existence of Brahman on "artifact–artisan" models, he also insists that reason is unable to show the existence of Brahman on "body–soul" models, a version of which he himself embraced.[74] Rāmānuja is, if anything, harder on the latter view of the world than he is on the former view. The world does not in all its parts closely resemble embodied spirit. Animate bodies breathe, but land, seas and mountains, for instance, do not breathe. Rāmānuja was himself firmly convinced that the world is best regarded as the embodiment of Brahman. He was equally firmly convinced that this could not be known by *anumāna*. It could be known by the testimony of scripture alone. One might observe that Rāmānuja is free to embrace skepticism so enthusiastically, because he could fall back on *śabda* as a source of invariably reliable knowledge – a move not available to Hume in his attempts to determine the possibility and limits of knowledge of God and God's ways.

[74] *ŚBh* II.1.1ff.; Thibaut 1904: 408ff. Cf. Lott 1976: 146-164.

Thirdly, all talk of "the cause of the world as a whole" also raises for Rāmānuja the same sort of difficulties for inference-based knowledge of a creator God that we have already seen it raised for Hume. Both men operate with the principle that like effects prove like causes. Ordinary experience of the way artifacts as diverse as pots and palaces are made is sufficient to allow us to infer from any given pot or palace, whether under construction or already finished, that it is a product of the activity of one or more appropriately skilled persons. We have no similar experience of the way the world was made or the way it will be destroyed, because we have not seen how other worlds come into and go out of being, whether all at once or progressively. We are in the case of the world as a whole unable to infer similar causes, because we have no similar effects. Rāmānuja, likewise, has difficulty with the idea of treating the world "as a whole": that is, as one thing, akin to a pot or jar. There is no basis for the assumption that all the disparate sorts of things that collectively make up the world have a sufficiently uniform character to be able to speak of them all as making up a single thing, in the way that various material parts can make up a single jar.

Fourthly, Rāmānuja considers also the plausibility of something akin to the "naturalistic" accounts of the existence and order of the world mooted by Hume in his *Dialogues*. The Mīmāṃsaka account of the world is that the cause of its being and governance effectively resides in itself, not in some external agent. It is thus improper to call the world an "effect" for which a "cause" needs be identified. Though Rāmānuja does not embrace such a view and does not believe we are without witness (*śabda*) to a true view of the origination and destruction of the world, he firmly insists that reason alone cannot show the Mīmāṃsaka explanation to be untenable. Were it not for the testimony of the scriptures, in the full Vedāntic sense, we would be left without any reliable ground for deciding if the world had a point of origin or if its cause or causes were divine or wholly naturalistic.

Finally, there are a number of objections to the use of *anumāna* as a means to knowing the being and nature of Brahman that apply so specifically to the South Asian context that they make relatively little contact with the framework within which Hume was working. For instance, Rāmānuja reflects on the necessary connexion between agency and *karma*, without which nothing could be the cause of some effect. Some aspects of Rāmānuja's analysis of causality have parallels to what can also be found in the writings of Aristotle, which would have been known to Hume, but which would have had more direct import for Rāmānuja than they did for Hume as a result of options present in Indian metaphysics. When Hume discusses causality in the *Dialogues*, he is drawing on what he had written in the *Treatise*.[75] He seems not to feel the need there to take up the battle again in detail. Nor would it have been natural to him to differentiate its possible senses along Aristotelian lines. If we put it in those terms, however, he is most directly concerned with efficient causality in the governance of the universe. When Rāmānuja discusses causality, he does need to deal with what Aristotle would have named material and formal causality, as well as with efficient or instrumental causality. If God and world were *internally* related – as they would be if the world were conceived, *à la* Rāmānuja, as God's body – then it would make sense to ask about the stuff from which the world may have been made (its *material* cause) as well as the means by which it was made (its instrumental or *efficient* cause), if it were made at all. A major difference between Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, for instance, had to do with the reality of the material world, which raises in an acute form the question of the stuff of which the world is made. This is clearly not an immediate issue for Hume. He is more concerned with what, if anything, can

[75] Cf. *Treatise* pp. 155-172.

be inferred about efficient causality of a physical and inanimate world, the order of which may or may not show signs of intelligent design and purpose. Whether the evidence of order is considered sufficient to infer an intelligent designer, it would have been assumed by Hume and most of his contemporaries that such a putative designer would be externally related to the physical world. An alternative view had been proffered by the seventeenth-century Dutch philosopher Spinoza, who had spoken so easily of *deus sive natura* as interchangeable that his critics, including Pierre Bayle in France and David Hume in Scotland, had difficulty distinguishing between "Spinozism" and "atheism".[76]

If God and world were externally related, then there would be such a metaphysical gap between the two, that much would ride on reason's ability to bridge that gap. Hence, the impassioned interest in proofs of God and their reliability. If, however, there were no such gap, then less would ride on the ability of reason to establish foundations for belief. In fact, Cleanthes the Stoic, the historical prototype for Hume's "Cleanthes", held a view of the relationship between God and world that is much nearer to Rāmānuja than it is to his Humean namesake. If we look at his *Hymn to Zeus*, in which the presence of Zeus in the active governance of the world is a major feature, there is no *inference to Zeus* from such governance; rather the *presence of Zeus* is unmediated in dramatic events of nature.[77] Such "physico-theology" is miles away from the metaphysical assumptions of Hume and most of his peers. It is much nearer to the metaphysical assumptions at play within Rāmānuja's thought. Yet it would be as wrong to identify the theology of the Stoic Cleanthes with the theology of Rāmānuja, even if there should be such unmistakable parallels, as it would be to identify the mitigated skepticism of Hume's Philo with that of Rāmānuja, even if there should also be such conspicuous parallels.

Parallels between Rāmānuja and Hume's Philo exist in the similarity of their reasons in the sense of *grounds*. But reasons are reasons only in connexion with the *ends* to which and for which they are directed. No parallel exists between the ends served by Rāmānuja's skeptical arguments and the ends served by Philo's. Rāmānuja's skepticism is in no sense a "careless" skepticism. His skepticism serves in the end explicitly spiritual interests. He in effect sides with the hapless Demea in Hume's *Dialogues*, when he contends that we could never infer a religiously adequate cause of all that is by an argument that is based on the similarity of an infinite cause and its finite effects:

> What Scripture tells us of is a being which comprehends within itself infinite, altogether unsurpassable excellences such as omnipotence and so on, is antagonistic to all evil, and totally different in character from whatever is cognised by the other means of knowledge: that to such a being there should attach even the slightest imperfection due to its similarity in nature to the things known by the ordinary means of knowledge is thus altogether excluded.[78]

On this account, the needs of religion require *dissimilarity* between the cause of the world and anything we encounter in the world, including human agency; the needs of the design argument, based as it is on analogical reasoning, require significant *similarity* between the cause of the world and human agency. If the needs of religion are adequately protected, the design argument is substantially weakened; if the conditions necessary for the success of the design argument are satisfied, however, the requirements of religion cannot be met. So Rā-

[76] Bayle 1697. An English translation of Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* – based on the second edition and known to Hume – was published in London in five volumes between 1734 and 1738 as *Dictionary*: *Historical and Critical*. The article "Spinoza" appears in that edition in Vol. 5, pp. 199-244.

[77] Long and Sedley 1984: Vol. 1, pp. 326-327; Vol. 2, pp. 326-327.

[78] *ŚBh* I.1.3; Thibaut 1904: 173.

mānuja. He finds in Vedic scriptures sufficient ground for a full-bodied belief in the being and attributes of his God. Not so Philo and Hume. They seem to need no ground in addition to raw experience of the world for their rather minimalist belief in cosmic purpose or intention, inexplicable and incomprehensible though it may finally be to human reason.[79] For the content of their belief, neither Rāmānuja nor Hume nor his careless *Doppelgänger* requires an experimental argument in the mode of their orthodox interlocutor, Cleanthes.

Concluding Remarks

In the introductory remarks to this essay, I mentioned the need for philosophers engaged in cross-cultural reflection to move beyond *knowing that* thinkers in diverse traditions hold certain views to a level of *knowing how* to engage their insights in the process of critical self-reflection. It could easily appear that I have in my essay here confined myself to the more rudimentary level of comparison, and have not made the move to those deeper and more productive levels of reflection. If so, what has been written in these pages would seem to fall under the interdict promulgated by Wilhelm Halbfass in a powerful passage toward the end of *India and Europe*:

> If "comparative philosophy" is supposed to be *philosophy*, it cannot just be the comparison of *philosophies*. It cannot be the objectifying, juxtaposing, synoptic, comparative investigation of historical, anthropological or doxographic data. Comparative philosophy is philosophy insofar as it aims at self-understanding. It has to be ready to bring its own standpoint, and the condition and the horizon of comparison itself, into the process of comparison which thus assumes the reflexive, self-referring dimension which constitutes philosophy … .[80]

What have we been engaged in here if not that which Halbfass says is *not* philosophy? But then, again, what was he doing in *India and Europe*, if not that which he himself says is *not* philosophy? Perhaps. One way to read his remarks cited above is to imagine that he is not wanting to claim that such activities are themselves unnecessary to proper philosophizing, only that they do not of themselves constitute philosophy, which entails something more.

Whether there is "something more" and, if so, what it might be hangs on what we take the aims of philosophy to be. And that depends considerably on one's philosophical lineage, so to say. Wilhelm was inclined toward a "Continental" or hermeneutical perspective on the philosopher's craft, though not to the unbending exclusion of all other *darśana*s. Some fellow Continental thinkers worried, in particular, that he might be too open to insights of analytic philosophy, the "western Nyāya". Anyone so inclined, who had read carefully his book on the Vaiśeṣikas,[81] must surely have realized that such fears were utterly groundless.

It is, of course, easy enough to list the failings of analytic philosophers – and it is, after all, *philosophers*, not *philosophies*, who "do things" or fail to do them. Analytic philosophers, especially in the days of their hegemony, tended to be provincial in their philosophical interests, mistaking *local* rationality ("what we mean by ...") for *natural* rationality, and assuming that nothing is to be gained philosophically by engaging culturally or historically "other" intellectual traditions. Philosophers who trace their intellectual lineage back to Hume have too often shared his limited grasp of the philosophical import of non-Western traditions of critical reflection. Antony Flew, author of two books on Hume,[82] made little advance over the

[79] *Natural History* § XV, p. 74.
[80] Halbfass 1988: 433, and Franco and Preisendanz 1997: xi.
[81] Halbfass 1992; despite what is reported ibid., p. 14, about the analytic moment in philosophy.
[82] Flew 1961 and 1986.

master's embarrassingly thin knowledge of the "Eastern" philosophical traditions. In his *Introduction to Western Philosophy*, Flew justified his focussing on just *Western* philosophy on the grounds that "Eastern philosophy" did not fall within what he understood by "philosophy":

> For philosophy, as the word is understood here, is concerned first, last, and all time with arguments (it is, incidentally, because most of what is labelled *Eastern philosophy* is not so concerned – rather than for any reasons of European provincialism – that this book draws no materials from any sources east of Suez ...).[83]

The irony of it all, of course, is that *this* understanding of *Eastern* philosophy is based on the neo-Vedāntic construction of Indian philosophy by Radhakrishnan, onetime Spalding Professor in Oxford University and later President of India, who had in *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* and elsewhere presented Indian spirituality as an antidote to an over-rationalized Western philosophy that had substituted argument for direct experience and had in consequence failed to meet our deepest spiritual needs. However much this neo-Vedāntic construction may have appealed to a then burgeoning Indian nationalist sentiment or to a then prevailing Western cultural pessimism, it is hardly an accurate portrayal of the classical Indian philosophical tradition. Hume's view of Indian thought had the advantage of being based on no acquaintance at all; Flew's had the disadvantage of being based on an acquaintance with one dubious construction. Flew was not alone in accepting this modern construction and it still retains popularity in India and in the West. The neo-Vedāntic system is often assumed by devotees and critics alike to be the quintessential expression of the Indian tradition of philosophical reflection. But their construction hardly represents what one discovers by wider acquaintance with classical commentarial and doxographical literature of South Asia. Neo-Vedāntic emphasis on experience takes no account of the long tradition of logic and debate in Indian philosophy, especially as it was practiced by Buddhists and Naiyāyikas. Nor does it take account of detailed polemic found in treatises and commentaries produced by philosophical *darśana*s of every persuasion, not least the commentary-hungry varieties of traditional Vedānta. To earn the right to enter the arena of philosophical debate in classical Indian culture, it was necessary to be able to give reasons for one's claims, to submit those reasons to public scrutiny, and also to be able to defend them against critique with additional arguments. This feature of Indian philosophy, which is neglected by Radhakrishnan and Flew equally, establishes a congenial point of departure for analytical philosophers who may wish to engage in cross-cultural intellectual reflection.

Not all analytic philosophers have been equally narrow or blinkered in their pursuit of the aims of philosophy. It should be remembered that the late Ninian Smart was and remained an appreciative pupil of J.L. Austin, and that his book *Reasons and Faiths* (London 1957) originated as an Oxford dissertation in Philosophy. And John Hick's vision may seem neo-Vedāntic in its inspiration, but it arises out of issues first addressed within a well-trodden analytic approach to philosophy.[84] On the more rigorous end of the analytic spectrum, the recent work of Keith Yandell comes to mind for its breadth of understanding of the textual resources available for philosophical analysis.[85] Most recently, Matilal's former student, Jonardon Ganeri, has produced a philosophically sophisticated introduction to Indian philosophy, which applies analytic techniques to the arguments found in its formative and clas-

[83] Flew 1971: 36.

[84] Cf., e.g., Hick 1989.

[85] Cf., e.g., Yandell 1999. Yandell's cross-cultural interests are less prominent in his analysis of Hume's views on religion in Yandell 1990, though they are not wholly lacking. Cf., e.g., pp. 120f. and 334.

sical texts.[86] Of the books mentioned here, this volume comes closest to exemplifying, albeit in an Anglo-American and not a Continental mode, the ideal of philosophizing based on a direct acquaintance with primary texts in both Western and Indian reflective traditions. Each of these volumes, in its own way, moves beyond showing *that* such and such views are held in a variety of cultural traditions to showing *how* at least some that is found there can inform the way we do philosophy.[87] This is done in a generally unselfconscious way, so that it is made to seem increasingly "natural" to engage in critical reflection in the company of Śaṅkara as well as Descartes, Nāgārjuna as well as Aristotle, Rāmānuja as well as Hume.

For the Hume–Flew lineage, however, it must be at least mildly embarrassing to discover that most of Hume's clever case against the modern "design argument" had already been put together some six hundred years earlier by a barbarous and superstitious Indian. Nor were the building blocks of Rāmānuja's case especially original to him. They had already been available in India for centuries before Rāmānuja put his characteristic stamp on them in the *Śrībhāṣya*. They had been well debated by proponents and opponents of theism and design in South Asian philosophy, since before the days of Dharmakīrti and Jayanta. This long reflective process did not lead to perspectival consensus in India, any more than it has done in Europe. Philosophical reflection can be judged in both cases to have contributed to a winnowing of proposals, with only the most substantive of them remaining, and to have contributed to a gradual clarification of what might be called "defensible difference".[88]

The rationality of it all lies less in the triumph of one perspective over another and more in the process itself of critical reflection and clarification. In order for this process to achieve its aims, "difference" or alterity is neither accidental nor regrettable; it is, rather, essential. Engaging the "other" is the very stuff of philosophy, which lives or dies by argument and debate. That this seems to many philosophers today self-evident owes something to the passion with which Wilhelm Halbfass engaged so persistently in a kind of philosophizing that was grounded in an intimate knowledge of both Indian and European sources.

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1) Abbreviations

Dialogues	David Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, ed. in Smith 1947.
Enquiry	David Hume, *Enquiries Concerning the Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals*, ed. in Selby-Bigge 1975.
Natural History	David Hume, *The Natural History of Religion*, ed. in Root 1956.
ŚBh	*Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja, tr. in Thibaut 1904.
Treatise	David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. in Selby-Bigge 1978.
Vedāntasāra	*Vedānta*(*tattva*)*sāra* of Rāmānuja, ed. and tr. in Krishnamacharya and Narasimha Ayyangar 1953.

[86] Ganeri 2001.
[87] See also in this regard Harré 2000.
[88] See Clayton 1999.

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Fred Dallmayr

Homelessness and Pilgrimage: In Memory of Wilhelm Halbfass

Dedicated to the memory of the late Wilhelm Halbfass, this essay brings together two central strands of his life-work: his roles as a philosopher and as an Indologist. On the philosophical plane, many of his publications show the imprint of recent Continental thought, especially of the writings of Martin Heidegger and Hans-Georg Gadamer. As an Indologist, he was renowned for his erudite and probing studies of classical Indian philosophy. The present essay links these dimensions, following in the footsteps of one of Halbfass's major texts, *India and Europe*. The philosophical contours are provided by a close reading of Heidegger's reflections on homelessness and homecoming. These reflections are shown to bear an affinity with the traditional practice of pilgrimage, especially with a prominent form of pilgrimage taking place periodically in Maharashtra. It so happens that my last meeting with Halbfass occurred about a decade ago at a World Philosophers' Conference held in Pune in Maharashtra – at which time I also joined that pilgrimage.

Ours is an age of massive population movements, an age of migrants, refugees, expatriates, and exiles. In many parts of the world – from Africa to the Middle East to South Asia – large numbers of people have been displaced, uprooted, and made homeless. This situation is a concern not only for demographers, but also for philosophers and socially engaged intellectuals in general. In his famous "Letter on Humanism" (of 1947), Martin Heidegger ventured the statement that "homelessness today is becoming a global destiny."[1]

In this statement, Heidegger referred not only to the millions of displaced people uprooted by the Second World War, but also (and perhaps principally) to a kind of "world alienation" steadily assuming global proportions. Far from referring to a happy journey or vagrancy, "alienation" here has the sense of agony or loss – an agony stimulating the search for a proper home or abode. In the following, my accent will be on this twilight zone of home and no-home, place and no-place. In addition, the presentation will also honor other twilight zones or border crossings: by moving between modernity and classical antiquity, between Heidegger and India, and between philosophy and poetry.

I

In his *An Introduction to Metaphysics* – first presented as a lecture course in 1935 – Martin Heidegger discusses the human condition or what it means to be "human." To elucidate this condition, he turns to the first chorus from the *Antigone* of Sophocles (verses 332-375). The chorus begins with these lines: "*Polla ta deina kouden an* / *thropou deinoteron pelei*." In the English translation of Ralph Manheim the opening verses read:

> There is much that is strange [*deinon*], but nothing
> That surpasses man [humans] in strangeness.
> He sets sail on the frothing waters
> amid the south winds of winter
> tacking through the mountains
> and furious chasms of the waves.

[1] M. Heidegger, "Letter on Humanism," in: D.F. Krell (ed.), *Martin Heidegger*: *Basic Writings*, New York 1977, p. 219.

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Later on in the same chorus we find these lines which might be rendered as follows (varying slightly Manheim's translation):

> Everywhere journeying, getting nowhere,
> [or: Passing everywhere, without passage; Greek: *pantoporos aporos*]
> he comes to nothing ...
> He wends his way between the laws of the earth
> and the sacred justice of the gods.
> Rising above his place [or city], devoid of place [or city; Greek: *hypsipolis apolis*],
> he for the sake of adventure takes
> non-being for being, thus losing
> his place in the end.[2]

Commenting on the opening verses of the chorus, Heidegger translates the Greek term *deinon* as "*unheimlich*," meaning "un-homely" or "not-at-home," and he writes:

> We are taking the strange, the uncanny (*das Un-heimliche*) as that which casts us out of the "homely," that is, the customary, familiar, habitual, secure. The unhomely (*das Unheimische*) prevents us from making ourselves at home, and therein it is overpowering.

As he adds, "man" is stranger than and even strangest (*deinotaton*) among all beings, not only because he passes his life among unfamiliar things but because he departs from or transgresses his own customary or familiar limits, thus "moving in the direction of the unhomely in the sense of the overpowering." Turning to the lines beginning with "Passing/journeying everywhere, getting nowhere (*pantoporos aporos*)," Heidegger elaborates: "Everywhere man makes himself a path; he ventures into all realms of being, of the overpowering power, and in doing so he is flung out of all paths. Herein is disclosed the entire uncanniness of this strangest, uncanniest (*deinotaton*) of creatures." Coming finally upon the third "salient phrase" of the chorus (*hypsipolis apolis*), Heidegger notes that *polis* is usually translated as "city" or "city-state." But he adds: "This does not capture the full meaning. *Polis* means, rather, the place (*Stätte*), the there (*Da*) wherein and at which historical being-there (*Da-sein*) is." Differently phrased: "The *polis* is the historical place (*Geschichts-stätte*), the there *in* which, *out of* which, and *for* which history happens."[3]

So far the chorus from *Antigone* and Heidegger's commentary. These comments do not arise from nowhere. Readers surely remember that, almost a decade earlier, in *Being and Time* (1927), Heidegger had already presented human being as *Dasein*, as "being-there," more specifically as "being-in-the-world." Against this background, his comments on *Antigone* clarify what he means by being-in-the-world, that is, they spell out *how* we are "in the world." As he states in *An Introduction to Metaphysics*: "The uncanniest of beings (human *Dasein*) is what it is because, fundamentally, it cultivates and guards the familiar [the homely], only in order to break out of it and to let what overpowers it break in. Being [*das Sein*] itself hurls *Dasein* into this breaking-away," into the unhomely, thereby "driving it beyond itself to venture forth toward Being." What the *Introduction* here guards or cautions against is a careless or absent-minded reading of *Being and Time*, and especially of the phrase "being-in-the-world," a reading which would portray "world" simply as an empirical receptacle, a spatial container into which *Dasein* happens to be placed. To be sure, a careful or attentive reading of *Being and Time* renders this construal entirely impossible. Heidegger's text, one should recall, contains

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[2] M. Heidegger, *An Introduction to Metaphysics*, Engl. tr. Ralph Manheim, New York 1961, pp. 123-124. For the German text see M. Heidegger, *Einführung in die Metaphysik*, ed. Petra Jaeger (*Gesamtausgabe*, Vol. 40), Frankfurt am Main 1983, pp. 155-156.

[3] *An Introduction to Metaphysics* (cf. n. 2), pp. 127-128 (translation slightly altered); *Einführung* (cf. n. 2), pp. 160-161.

a radical critique of "world" seen as an external space, especially along the lines of Descartes' *res extensa* into which the *cogito* happens to be inserted (in the manner of Gilbert Ryle's "ghost in the machine"). As the text clearly states: "Neither is the space *in* the subject [as an apriori category] nor is the world *in* the space [as a container]. Rather, space is disclosed by the worldliness or in-the-world-being of *Dasein*." Elsewhere in *Being and Time*, Heidegger characterizes the status of *Dasein* by saying that *Dasein* is what is "nearest" to us (most familiar, most homely) and at the same time what is "farthest," most distant (unhomely) from us, namely in its exposure to (the transcendence of) Being – a characterization which again ruptures or deconstructs any simple spatial construal of *Dasein*'s worldliness.[4]

About two decades after *Being and Time*, Heidegger was at pains to clarify further the meaning of "world" and "being-in-the-world." As we read in his "Letter on Humanism" (of 1947): "In the phrase 'being-in-the-world,' 'world' does not in any way imply earthly as opposed to heavenly being, nor the 'worldly' [mundane] as opposed to the 'spiritual.' For us, 'world' does not at all signify [ontic] beings nor any [ontic] realm of beings but rather the openness of Being." Reiterating points made earlier, Heidegger circumscribes *Dasein* again as "ek-sistence," as a mode of being characterized by "ek-stasis," that is, by its standing out into "the openness of Being." This standing out is not an individual choice or arbitrary whim, but rather is constitutive of the very character of *Dasein* as it is molded (or "thrown") by Being itself as a creature of "care." As the "Letter" adds: "'World' is the clearing of Being into which man stands out on the basis of his thrown condition. 'Being-in-the-world' designates the nature of human existence with regard to the open dimension out of which the 'ek' of ek-sistence unfolds." Despite many later readjustments or shifts of emphasis, Heidegger remained basically faithful to these formulations throughout his life. In one of his late writings titled *Art and Space* (*Die Kunst und der Raum*, of 1969), he still insisted that the place or location of *Dasein* is not an empirical (ontic) container or receptacle. In his words: "The place (*der Ort*) is not located in a pre-given space understood in the sense of physical-technical spatiality. Rather, the latter emerges only out of the happening of places of a region" – a happening conceived as the "gathering" interplay of place and openness, of placement and displacement (of place and no-place/emptiness).[5]

To be sure, it would be quite misleading to claim that Heidegger's thought was stationary and that there was no development or steady transformation in his thinking. If nothing else, such a claim would run counter to his famous and much-belabored "turning" (*Kehre*). Yet, caution is required when approaching this difficult topic. The "turning" is misrepresented and basically misunderstood if it is seen as an abandonment or "turning away" from something in favor of an entirely new trajectory. On closer inspection, what actually happened was more a reformulation of earlier intimations in more adequate or appropriate language; seen in this light, turning involved Heidegger's more resolute "turning toward" his own distinctive path of thought. This is not the occasion to elaborate this theme (on which there is extensive literature); some brief hints must suffice. About seven years after *An Introduction to Metaphysics*, Heidegger returned to Sophocles' *Antigone*, continuing and modulating his earlier reflections. The occasion was a lecture course offered in 1942, in the midst of World War II, on one of Hölderlin's great hymns called "*Der Ister*" (the Danube). In this hymn, Hölderin the

[4] M. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, Engl. tr. Joan Stambaugh, Albany 1996, pp. 13 (Introduction, II, 5), 103 (Part One, Division One, III, 24; translation slightly altered). See also *An Introduction to Metaphysics* (cf. n. 2), p. 137; *Einführung* (cf. n. 2), p. 172. Compare G. Ryle, *The Concept of Mind*, New York 1949, pp. 11-12.

[5] M. Heidegger, *Die Kunst und der Raum*, St. Gallen 1969, p. 11; "Letter on Humanism" (cf. n. 1), pp. 228-229.

poet presents the river as a metaphor of human life, of human journeying and wayfaring in the world. In Heidegger's words, the river is "the site (*die Ortschaft*) of the dwelling of historical human existence on earth."[6] To illustrate the meaning of journeying, Heidegger – in interpreting the hymn – turns again to Sophocles' *Antigone*, but now with a slight change of accent: in the sense that the stress is no longer put entirely on displacement (*hypsipolis apolis*), but on the entwinement of place and no-place, and more particularly on the possibility of finding a dwelling place in no-place or journeying.

Turning to the first lines of the chorus Heidegger renders *deinon* again as "*unheimlich*," that is, as un-homely or not homelike, adding that, taken in this vein, "the word of Sophocles that man is the most uncanny creature signifies that man is in a unique sense alienated or not at home and that homecoming (*Heimischwerden*) is his pervasive concern." One should note here the somewhat novel thought of "homecoming." In Sophocles' tragedy, the opening lines of the chorus apply with particular force to Antigone herself, whose course of action entails a complete estrangement from her home or native city. As she herself states in the dialogue with her sister Ismene, Antigone is prepared "*pathein to deinon touto*" – to suffer the full measure of uncanny estrangement. As Heidegger comments, the phrase "*pathein to deinon*" indicates that uncanniness (un-home-ness) is not something fabricated by humans but rather something that happens or befalls us, that makes or transforms humans into "what they are or can be" (and thus constitutes their humanity). Although implying suffering, *pathein* denotes not merely passive endurance but the readiness to shoulder or undergo a genuine learning experience ("*das eigentliche Erfahren*"). Seen from this vantage, Antigone is neither a tragic heroine bent on asserting her individuality, nor is she a religious martyr resigned to pliant passivity; instead, she undergoes the estrangement/displacement inherent in the human condition, and she does so in an exemplary fashion. Moreover, in pursuing her course, Antigone does not simply go to her doom. Although estranged/displaced from the place of her city, her action honors a dwelling place beyond mundane power which ultimately redeems her death. In Heidegger's words:

> Her dying is a homecoming, but a homecoming in and through estrangement/displacement ... What if the most deeply estranged, farthest removed from everything homely, were to emerge as the domain guarding at the same time the closest connection with the home?[7]

In his lecture course on Hölderlin, Heidegger is intent – perhaps more intent than in previous writings – on differentiating uncanniness and journeying from sheer vagrancy, adventurism or nomadism. For Heidegger, journeying is not *mere* errancy from place to place guided by aimless curiosity. As depicted in the chorus, he observes, "man is not an adventurer (*Abenteurer*) bent on nomadic homelessness; rather, sea, land, and desert are domains which man diligently traverses ... to find a home somehow." In Heidegger's view, the adventurer may be strange, exotic, and "interesting," but he is not uncanny or un-homely in the sense of *deinos*. The adventurer is indeed abroad or "not at home," but merely in the mode of escapism or self-indulgent denial. Heidegger turns at this point again to the phrase "*pantoporos aporos*." In his commentary – or his new reading of the phrase – "*pantoporos aporos*" designates now

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[6] M. Heidegger, *Hölderlins Hymne* "*Der Ister*," ed. Walter Biemel (*Gesamtausgabe*, Vol. 53), Frankfurt 1984, p. 59. For an English translation (not followed here) see M. Heidegger, *Hölderlin's Hymn* "*The Ister*," Engl. tr. William McNeill and Julia Davis, Bloomington 1996.

[7] *Hölderlins Hymne* "*Der Ister*" (cf. n. 6), pp. 87, 127-129. For a more detailed discussion of the lecture course on Hölderin's "*Der Ister*" and also of the slightly earlier (1941/1942) lecture course on Hölderlin's hymn "*Andenken*," see the chapter "Homecoming Through Otherness" in my *The Other Heidegger*, Ithaca 1993, pp. 149-180.

a creature bent on exploring everything, on pursuing all kinds of thrills or stimulating excitements, but whose adventures fail to yield a sustained learning experience. For the genuinely uncanny person, by contrast, home and not-home, place and no-place, are not simply opposites but closely intertwined: homelessness or not-home here means an experienced lack or felt need (for home), in the sense that journeying abroad becomes a gateway to a "homecoming," the no-place a gateway to a dwelling place. Differently phrased: an intimation of homecoming pervades and sustains the journey abroad, in the mode of a "present absence" or of "presencing" in the mode of absence. As Heidegger writes, placed in the midst of (ontic) beings, human *Dasein* faces the constant possibility or temptation to be "oblivious or forgetful of Being"; but *Dasein* alone among beings also has the intrinsic capacity to relate to or care for "Being as such."[8]

As one should note, the "home" sought and found in homecoming is not a place located somewhere else in empirical space–time, but rather something like a promise (or "promised land") – a promise which also does not point simply to a no-place or a place outside of space–time, but rather inhabits the journey or search from beginning to end. Returning to Hölderlin's hymn "*Der Ister*," Heidegger comments:

> Place (*Ortschaft*) and journey (*Wanderschaft*) – emblematic of the poetic nature of streams or rivers – are related to the impending homecoming into one's own, and this in the special sense that self-discovery and finding oneself are not the easiest, most natural thing, but remain the most difficult task – a task that is entrusted to the poet's care ... . Homecoming into one's own implies that, for a long time and perhaps always, human existence is not at home; and this, in turn, implies that man ignores, rejects, and denies – perhaps must deny – the site of home [*das Heimische*]. Homecoming for this reason is a transit through otherness [or not-home, *das Fremde*].[9]

II

Heidegger's observations on journeying and homecoming, and especially on the intimate connection between journey and home, between no-place and place, can be (and have been) interpreted in many different ways. For present purposes, one line of exegesis will be explored. As one may plausibly claim, Heideggerian journeying bears a distinct affinity with the traditional notion or practice of pilgrimage. Like Heidegger's wayfarer, the pilgrim is not simply a vagrant or vagabond aimlessly moving from place to place. Nor is the pilgrim an adventurer or global tourist seeking exotic thrills for the sake of self-indulgence or self-stimulation. Rather, the pilgrim like the wayfarer undergoes a challenge; he/she is engaged in a quest which involves hardship and exposure to unfamiliarity or strangeness (*pathein to deinon touto*). But the quest is not pointless: the pilgrim also seeks a dwelling place in the midst of dislocation or no-place. Still, in some interpretations or instances, the nature of pilgrimage tends to be curtailed or reduced to as simple movement from one place to another, from a place of departure to a place of arrival. In this case, the place of arrival is a sacred place and the sole purpose of the pilgrim's journey, with the result that the journey itself becomes purely incidental or ancillary to the goal. In our age of jet travel, one could imagine a streamlining or near-collapsing of pilgrimage into an efficiently managed instant arrival. Some pil-

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[8] *Hölderlins Hymne* "*Der Ister*" (cf. n. 6), pp. 89, 91-93. In large measure, Heidegger's comments on adventurism were meant as a critical response to Ernst Jünger's (quasi-Nietzschean) book *Das abenteuerliche Herz* (1929; 2nd ed., Hamburg 1938).

[9] *Hölderlins Hymne* "*Der Ister*" (cf. n. 6), p. 60. The above lines indicate that, at the latest by this time, Heidegger had renounced any sympathy for a chauvinistic nationalism. Compare also W. Biemel, "Zu Heideggers Deutung der Ister-Hymne," *Heidegger Studies* 3-4 (1987-1988): 41-60.

grimages in the West have taken on this connotation; in India too, some pilgrimages seem geared entirely to the place of arrival, the holy site which is the eagerly anticipated destiny of the journey. However, there are exceptions.[10]

Here it must suffice to illustrate the proper sense of "pilgrim's progress" with the help of one example taken from the Indian context. What is significant about that example is the fact that, in this instance, the pilgrim's journey *is* in a way a sacred site, that journeying or displacement is perceived as revelatory of a dwelling place or homecoming. The pilgrimage happens in the state of Maharashtra, and it is undertaken by the so-called Warkaris who undertake periodic journeys to the holy city of Pandharpur and there to the temple of Vithoba (Vitthal) who is worshipped as a *svarūp* (original form) of Viṣṇu–Kṛṣṇa. As many observers have remarked, the point of the Warkaris' journey is not simply to get to or arrive at Pandharpur; rather, the accent is on the journey more than on the point of arrival (or on the journey *as* the point of arrival). Differently phrased: sacredness is not an extrinsic end beyond, but rather the very heart of the pilgrimage; that is, Pandharpur inhabits or in-dwells the journey from beginning to end. In the words of Philip Engblom, a leading student of Indian pilgrimage, the Warkaris' journey is "more than just a means to attain the goal of *darshan* of Vitthal in Pandharpur"; it carries significance in itself "as a spiritual discipline." As Engblom explains, the term *warkari* comes from the root *wari* which means journeying or "coming and going." Hence, a Warkari is basically or constitutively, and not just incidentally or occasionally, a wayfarer or pilgrim. However, the character of this wayfaring or journeying needs to be carefully noted. Although not governed by an external goal or destination – and insofar "going nowhere" – the Warkaris' journey is not just a pointless vagrancy or drifting, but rather displays (as Engblom says) a kind of "discipline" by being undertaken as an act of devotion (*bhakti*). To this extent, the Warkari is a *homo viator* (in the sense of Gabriel Marcel), a wayfarer whose main concern is the search for the proper "way" or the proper manner of being "on the way" or "on the road."[11]

This kind of search is manifest in the general conduct of the Warkaris – which is not monastic or a form of mystical escapism but an ordinary-life conduct, though one suffused with an ear for the more-than-ordinary or divine. Here the influence of one of the great poet–saints of Maharashtra, himself an early Warkari, can be seen: the influence of Jñānadev or Jñāneśvar, author of such poems as *Amṛtānubhava* and *Jñāneśvarī* (his commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*). A simple man and – in the words of James Edwards – an "outcaste Brahmin," Jñānadev (together with some fellow poets) has left an indelible imprint on Warkari pilgrimage. In the account of Eleanor Zelliot, there were three main features of the poet's life that carried over directly into the Warkari movement: "implicit criticism of Brahmanical narrowness [or high-caste elitism]; egalitarianism in spiritual matters; and family-centered life." For a genuine pilgrim, criticism of clerical or priestly elitism is inevitable, because such elitism implies that the sacred is empirically managed by a privileged caste and localized at a given place (in space–time). This criticism quite naturally entails, or lends aid and support to, spiritual egalitarianism and cultivation of ordinary life. All these features were fully embraced by

[10] For some discussions of the deeper sense of pilgrimage, compare A. Shari'ati, *Hajj*: *Reflections on Its Rituals*, Engl. tr. Laleh Bakhtia, Tehran 1996; D.M. Richardson, *Pilgrimage*, New York 1938; S. Barr, *The Pilgrimage of Western Man*, New York 1949; D.C. Macintosh, *The Pilgrimage of Faith in the World of Modern Thought*, Calcutta 1931.

[11] See P.C. Engblom, "Introduction," in: D.B. Mokashi, *Palkhi*: *An Indian Pilgrimage*, Engl. tr. Philip C. Engblom, Albany, NY 1987, pp. 23, 27; also G. Marcel, *Homo Viator*, Engl. tr. Emma Craufurd, New York 1962.

Jñānadev's close friend, Nāmadev, himself a great poet–saint. Under Nāmadev's direct guidance, the Warkari movement gathered in its fold an impressive company of saints, poets, and ordinary people, a company which – as Zelliot writes – reflected "almost the complete range of the populace of Maharashtra" at the time.[12] In later periods, the movement counted among its members Eknāth, the householder Brahmin; the Śūdra poet–saint Tukārām; and also a number of Muslims, most importantly Sheikh Muhammad, the Sufi *bhakta* and saint. In this respect, as one can see, Warkari pilgrimage resembles a moving or mobile Gandhian *āśram*, in its crossing of caste-barriers, in its social as well as religious non-exclusiveness, and its involvement in ordinary-life practices.

III

Having been transported to India, to a particular historical setting in Maharashtra, readers may feel that we have strayed or journeyed far afield indeed from our starting point: namely, Heidegger's philosophy. Moreover, hearing about pilgrims and pilgrimage, they may object to the insertion of specifically "religious" motifs into a purely philosophical and largely non-religious discourse. These objections or reservations might be warranted if the excursion to India had appealed to an "organized" religion or established church armed with a panoply of theological doctrines or dogmas; they seem less plausible and perhaps unwarranted if religion is taken (as it is here) in its unassuming etymological sense as a form of "bonding" or re-connecting. Bonding of what? Returning to Heidegger one might say: bonding of human existence, of *Dasein*, with the other side of the human which calls *Dasein* into its humanity, into its very being. We know from *Being and Time*, that it is "conscience" (*Gewissen*) – located in the heart – which issues or transmits this call or exhortation (of Being). Roused by this call, *Dasein* is propelled into a search, into a journey through alienation and homelessness to find a proper home (which allows it "to be"). This search is not far from Warkari pilgrimage (as portrayed above). Moreover, that Heidegger himself was a perennial wayfarer is evident in his persistent invocation of "ways" or "paths" in his writings and in reference to his thought as a whole: "*Feldwege*," "*Holzwege*," "*Wege nicht Werke*."[13]

By way of conclusion, it seems appropriate to return to the theme of homecoming which for Heidegger – especially the later Heidegger – is a gateway to a genuine human "dwelling," a dwelling "on the earth under the heaven." About a decade after his lectures on Hölderlin's "*Der Ister*," Heidegger (in 1951) turned his attention again to the poet, this time reflecting specifically on the lines "... poetically man dwells ..." ("... *dichterisch wohnet der Mensch* ..."). The phrase occurs in one of Hölderlin's late poems which begins: "In lovely blueness blooms the steeple's metal roof ..." ("*In lieblicher Bläue blühet mit dem metallenen Dache der Kirchturm* ..."). In commenting on "poetic dwelling," Heidegger brings the phrase in contact with some preceding lines according to which "man" (*Dasein*) "not unhappily measures itself against the godhead" (or the divine). Thus, he notes, the godhead or the divine is the "measure" by which humans "measure out or define their dwelling, their sojourn on the earth beneath heaven (or the sky)." Of course, measure or measuring here does not refer to a tape

[12] E. Zelliot, "A Historical Introduction to the *Warkari* Movement," in: Mokashi, op. cit. (cf. n. 11), pp. 39-40, 42-43. See also J.F. Edwards, *Dynaneshwar*: *The Out-Caste Brahmin*, Poona 1941. Compare B.P. Bahirat, *The Philosophy of Jnanadeva*, Delhi 1984.

[13] Regarding the "call of conscience" see *Being and Time* (cf. n. 4), pp. 251-258 (Part I, Division Two, II, 56-57). See also Heidegger, *Holzwege*, Frankfurt am Main 1950; *Der Feldweg*, 3rd ed., Frankfurt 1962; *Wegmarken*, Frankfurt 1967. Shortly before his death Heidegger stipulated that his writings should be seen as "ways not works."

measure or a quantitative measuring rod. Rather, measuring, finding the right measure or balance, is here said to be the work of poetry – where poetry does not mean sentimental effusion but responsiveness to language and its "call" of Being. As Heidegger states: "Poetry is measuring; in poetry takes place what measuring basically means." Measuring means here a willingness to measure oneself against the divine – not in the sense of hostile opposition, but in the sense of taking one's measure from, of allowing oneself to be measured by the divine. In doing so, humans are able to live, as mortals, on this earth, but under the heaven or the divine. In this manner humans "dwell," and more precisely, they "dwell poetically."[14]

In pursuing Hölderlin's lines further, Heidegger also reflects on the meaning of "godhead" (or the divine) as used by the poet. His comments immediately make it clear that this meaning is far removed from the dogmas of organized religion, and also from a simple pantheism (or immanentism) which would submerge God in natural phenomena. In Heidegger's reading of Hölderlin, the godhead reveals itself in the world precisely by hiding its inscrutable mystery; it is precisely in the worldly disclosure that concealment or sheltering occurs. Taking his cues from another line in the poem which reads "Is unknown the godhead?," he writes: "The god(head) as such or in itself is unknown for Hölderlin, and it is just *in this unknown quality* (*als dieser Unbekannte*) that it is the measure for the poet." Thus, God is unknown and yet is the measure nonetheless. Moreover, the unknown God, the *deus absconditus*, must precisely "by showing Himself as the one He is, appear as the one who remains unknown." Hence, "God's very manifestness ... is mysterious." For the poet, the manifestness of God shows itself preeminently in the sky or heaven (*Himmel*, *ouranos*), the dark blueness of the sky. (One may recall here the opening lines: "In lovely blueness blooms ...") Thus Heideggger continues: "The measure consists in the manner in which the God who remains unknown [*absconditus*] is revealed (made manifest) *as such* by the sky. God's appearance through the sky consists in a disclosure that lets see what conceals or shelters itself." As previously indicated, this appearance is "the measure against which (or by which) *Dasein* measures itself," thereby achieving its proper mode of dwelling on this earth under heaven or under the sky.[15]

This dwelling, as we know now, is a "poetic dwelling," where the two terms mutually reinforce and illuminate each other. Dwelling – for Hölderlin and for Heidegger – is genuine only in a poetic manner, and poetry is genuine only as a mode of dwelling. Poetry, Heidegger writes, "is the basic capacity (*Grundvermögen*) for human dwelling. But *Dasein* is capable of poetry only to the degree that its very being is given over or devoted to that which, in turn, enables and lovingly favors (*mag*) humans and thus needs their being." The comments on "*mögen*/*vermögen*" (liking, favoring, enabling) lead Heidegger in the end back to some lines in the same poem which were only partially quoted before. The lines read:

> ... As long as friendliness (*Freundlichkeit*)
> in purity still stays with his heart, man
> not unhappily measures himself
> against the godhead ...

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[14] M. Heidegger, "... Poetically Man Dwells ...," in *Poetry*, *Language*, *Thought*, Engl. tr. Albert Hofstadter, New York 1971, pp. 213, 220-222 (translation slightly altered). For the German original of the essay, see "... Dichterisch wohnet der Mensch ...," in *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, Teil II, 3rd ed., Pfullingen 1967, pp. 61-78.

[15] *Poetry*, *Language*, *Thought* (cf. n. 14), pp. 222-223 (translation slightly altered). Heidegger (ibid., p. 225) also cites some other verses of Hölderlin, composed roughly at the same time, which read: "What is God? Unknown, yet / full of His qualities is the / face of the sky. For the lightnings / are the wrath of God. The more something / is invisible, the more it yields to what's alien (*Fremdes*)."

As Heidegger notes, Hölderlin says in his preferred idiom "with or at his heart" (*am Herzen*), not "in his heart" (*im Herzen*). "At his heart," in Heidegger's exegesis, means that friendliness has "arrived at the dwelling place of humans, arrived as the call of the measure to the heart in such a way that the heart turns to give heed to the measure." As long as this arrival of friendliness endures, so long *Dasein* is able to measure itself not unhappily against the godhead. And when this measuring happens, then poetry also can happen, and then humans are able to "dwell poetically and properly humanly (*menschlich*) on this earth."[16]

These words of the poet, as interpreted by the philosopher, bring us back to the opening reflections of the present essay, reflections triggered by our global situation at the beginning of the new millennium. As indicated there, Heidegger spoke at one time of homelessness as a "world destiny," of alienation or loss of home rapidly assuming global dimensions. And how can one question or deny his statement given the dark shadows clouding our time: the shadows of brutal ethnic cleansing, of ecological devastation, and of possible nuclear holocaust? However, there are also redeeming rays of light illuminating our landscape, rays clearly pinpointed in Hölderlin's verse: "As long as friendliness / in purity still stays with his heart ... (*So lange die Freundlichkeit noch* / *am Herzen*, *die Reine*, *dauert* ...)." As long as this verse still radiates its intrinsic measure, so long humankind may still find a home and dwell "properly humanly" on this earth under the sky. Since, to illustrate the search for home, we previously made an excursion to India, it may be appropriate now to close with a passage from a great Indian text: the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. The passage is quoted by Raimon Panikkar, in a book devoted to a similar search for home, called *A Dwelling Place for Wisdom*. The passage reads:

> The heart is truly *brahman*. ... The heart is its dwelling place (*āyatana*), its space (*ākāśa*), its basis (*pratiṣṭhā*) ... . The heart is the dwelling place of all being, the basis of all beings; all beings rest (find their dwelling) in/at the heart.[17]

[16] Ibid., pp. 228-229 (translation slightly altered).

[17] R. Panikkar, *A Dwelling Place for Wisdom*, Engl. tr. Annemarie S. Kidder, Louisville, KY 1993, pp. 17-18. The passage is from *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* IV,1,7. Panikkar also cites the verse from *Proverbs* (IX:1): "Wisdom has prepared a dwelling place for itself," and comments (ibid., pp. 13-14): "A dwelling place is not a garment. It is not an individual affair, nor a kind of private salvation ... . I cannot simply occupy, manipulate, and enjoy wisdom. I cannot simply use it, not even for some beneficial cause; nor can I use it up or abuse it ... . It exists only where there is abundance, only where wisdom is allowed to overflow out of its plenitude."

Sheldon Pollock

The Languages of Science in Early-modern India*

An important factor in the modernization of the production and dissemination of knowledge in Europe was the transformation, beginning in the seventeenth century, of the vernaculars into languages of science and the eventual displacement of long-dominant Latin. Although South Asia had known a history of vernacularization in the domain of expressive textuality ("literature") astonishingly comparable to that of Europe, Sanskrit persisted as the exclusive medium of communication for many areas of science, systematic thought, and scholarship more generally, outside the Persianate cultural sphere until the consolidation of colonial rule in the last decades of the eighteenth century. This is a puzzling difference, and arguably a consequential one, in the histories of their respective modernities.

The problem of the relationship between knowledge forms and language choice has a long history in India, beginning with the multiple linguistic preferences shown by Buddhists until Sanskrit gained ascendancy in the early centuries of the Common Era. I address some of this premodern history elsewhere.[1] Here I want to situate the problem of language and science more narrowly conceived within the context of the collaborative research project within which I first formulated it, and that has something to do with the descriptor "early-modern" in my title. I then go on to reflect briefly on what might we mean by the category "science" (or "systematic knowledge," or "learning") in this period and in its relationship to the complex "Question of the Language" with its two kinds of concerns, epistemological and social.[2] After delineating the boundaries of language choice in terms of a number of specific intellectual disciplines and vernaculars, I look more closely at one tradition, that of Brajbhasha. Next, some of the presuppositions in Sanskrit language philosophy are reviewed that may have militated against the vernacularization of intellectual discourse. A useful orientation here, which summarizes the dominant position of early-modern Sanskrit intellectuals, is the work in *mīmāṃsā* of Khaṇḍadeva, the discipline's foremost exponent in mid-seventeenth-century Benares. I end with drawing and weighing some contrasts with the case of Europe.

It bears noting how thoroughly the question of the medium of intellectual discourse in early-modern India has been ignored in scholarship. Thanks to the work of Staal and others, we may understand something of the discursive styles of the "Sanskrit of science".[3] But we still understand next to nothing of its ideology or sociology, let alone how this might compare to other cultural formations contemporaneous to it. These are obviously vast and complex issues – the sort that, I trust, might have appealed to the searching intelligence Wilhelm

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* This is a revised version of a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Chicago, March 2001.

[1] Pollock 2006, especially chapter 1.

[2] These two concerns are well described for Europe by Roger Chartier (1996: 12).

[3] See the learned and challenging account in Staal 1995. The true question in the history of Indian science for Staal is not why it never vernacularized (an issue not in fact raised at all), but rather why India failed to invent an artificial language for science, except in linguistics, to which it remained confined. The issue of language medium is raised here (as it is elsewhere) only in passing; cf. p. 116: "There exists, in regions outside Kerala, in Sanskrit and other Indian languages, a considerable number of texts that proclaim themselves 'Kerala Jyotiṣa'" (referring to K.V. Sarma, *A History of the Kerala School of Hindu Astronomy* [1972], though the bibliography Sarma provides consists entirely of Sanskrit texts).

Karin Preisendanz (ed.), *Expanding and Merging Horizons*: *Contributions to South Asian and Cross-Cultural Studies in Commemoration of Wilhelm Halbfass*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007, pp. 203-220.

Halbfass possessed – and it is not possible in this brief space to offer more than a sketch in broad lineaments, and to do so briskly and in a tentative spirit.

Knowledge-Systems on the Eve of Colonialism

The research project of this name that forms the context for the thematic of the languages of science is designed to investigate the substance and social life of Sanskrit learning from about 1550 to 1750 across four geographical areas and eight intellectual disciplines.[4] As for the time boundaries, the endpoint is set by the consolidation of colonial domination in our spatial foci (Bengal 1764; Thanjavur 1799; Varanasi 1803; Maharashtra in the course of the following decade). Somewhat more arbitrary is the starting point. It is certainly not meant to be hard and fast; obviously different knowledge-systems followed different historical rhythms. But in many ways the work of the logician Raghunātha Śiromaṇi in the north and the polymath Appayya Dīkṣita in the south (both fl. c. 1550) marked something of a historical break. The spatial boundaries are similarly somewhat flexible, but to the degree possible attention will be concentrated on trying to understand the varying conditions of intellectual production in what are, in socio-political terms, very different regional complexes (Delhi/Benares, Thanjavur/Madurai, Mithila/Navadvip, and Maharashtra). In addition to these time–space limits, the project restricts itself to eight disciplines: *vyākaraṇa* (language analysis), *mīmāṃsā* (discourse analysis), *nyāya* (logic and epistemology), *dharmaśāstra* (moral philosophy, broadly speaking), *alaṅkāraśāstra* (poetics), *āyurveda* (life science), *jyotiḥśāstra* (astral science), *prayoga* (ritual theory). These have been selected for their centrality to Sanskrit culture (language and discourse analysis, for example), for their comparative–historical value (life and astral sciences, for example), or for the new vitality the system seems to have demonstrated during these two centuries (ritual science).

The project is at once self-contained and preparatory to a comparative history, first with Indo-Persian and vernacular scholarship, and then, more grandly, with European thought. In the first instance it is essential to understand the nature of the Sanskrit knowledge-systems themselves, not only the conditions for their dynamism during the period in question, but the conceptual features that, with respect to their capacity for understanding and explaining the world, made them so vulnerable to the knowledge produced in capitalist modernity. The two centuries in question witnessed a flowering of scholarship, with an increase in the production of texts across disciplines and the rise of some new conceptual forms, including a degree of attentiveness to the historicity of intellectual life previously unexampled.[5] This dynamism lasted until the end of the eighteenth century, when a decline set in that ended the age-old power of Sanskrit intellectuals to define the Indian thought-world. Whether always and everywhere a causal relationship obtained between the rise of colonial power and the decline of Sanskrit culture remains to be determined; in the domain of literary culture more narrowly conceived I have argued otherwise.[6] But that many forms of Sanskrit knowledge proved powerless in the face of their European counterparts is a historical fact that can hardly be disputed. Sciences such as *vyākaraṇa* or *mīmāṃsā*, which were not easily integrated in Euro-

[4] Further information may be obtained at the project's website, www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pollock/sks/ (27.07.2006). In addition to the materials available there, "Working Papers on Sanskrit Knowledge-Systems on the Eve of Colonialism I" was published in the *Journal of Indian Philosophy* (*JIP*) 30/5 (2002); "Working Papers … II" was published in *JIP* 33/1 (2005), and "Theory and Method in Indian Intellectual History" is scheduled for publication in 2006.

[5] Pollock 2001b.

[6] This is discussed in Pollock 2001a.

pean conceptual schemes, retreated without a murmur as creative modes of thought, and it is important to understand their substance if we are to make sense of how this could have occurred.[7] Other types of knowledge sharing more common ground for discourse with European sciences, such as *jyotiḥśāstra* or *āyurveda*, did briefly resist before ceding authority in view of what was sometimes openly acknowledged to be the greater empirical success of those sciences (though of course some forms of medicine as well as astrology remained vital in South Asia, and have found a following in the antimodernist West). In many cases, the fall-off in scholarly production was swift and absolute, as the case of *rājadharmaśāstra* shows. This sub-discipline witnessed an explosion of activity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries almost unprecedented in sheer magnitude and scope, with works produced by Ṭoḍarmal (died 1589), Mitramiśra (fl. 1600-1640), Nīlakaṇṭhabhaṭṭa (fl. 1610-1645), Anantadeva (fl. 1645-1675), among others. Thereafter, the silence that reigns in Hindu political thought is almost complete. In other core knowledges such as *alaṅkāraśāstra* no significant scholarship – significant in the eyes of the tradition itself – was ever again to be written. How to account for this momentous rupture is a complex question, and one of great importance both for history – the history of knowledge, colonialism, and modernity – and for cultural and social theory.[8]

It was largely as a consequence of pragmatic method, intuition, and professional orientation that the project has been organized by language, first Sanskrit, and eventually Persian and *deśabhāṣā*, or the languages of Place. But the decision to concentrate initially on Sanskrit was made also because we believed that the Indian knowledge-systems of the period were in fact concentrated in Sanskrit. Is it actually the case, however, that language choice in India (or anywhere else) has been a factor in the production of science (and systematic thought and scholarship), and if so, how and to what degree? And was science in the period 1550-1750 in fact concentrated in Sanskrit, and if so, why and with what consequences?

"Science" and Language in Premodern India

Before the question of the relationship of language and science can even be raised we need to ask what is meant by "science". This is no easy question to answer, however, for the intellectual history of premodern South Asia – or indeed, for that of the West. As recently as 1993 scholars were bemoaning the fact that there existed "no critical discussion of the changing meaning of the word 'science'" in Europe; and in fact, an important recent collection on science and language in Europe over the past four centuries evinces complete indifference to the semantics of the term that defines the book's very problematic.[9] The situation is hardly less acute in South Asian scholarship. "Science", "systematic knowledge", "scholarship", "learning" (as well as "rule" and even "scripture") would all be legitimately translated by the Sanskrit word *śāstra*. But what exactly is *śāstra*, and how does it relate to other kindred concepts, such as *jñāna* (and *vijñāna*), or *vidyā*? Clearly it is no straightforward matter to map onto the English term "science" – which points to no natural kind but is a worrisomely pliable signifier, indeed almost talisman (witness "Christian science" or "creation science" or "political

[7] This is not to overlook the irony that language analysis played a significant role in the creation of modern linguistics (historical–comparative, structural, and transformational). But the focus of this project is the fate of the Sanskrit tradition itself in South Asia.

[8] Pollock 2001b. The situation in other regions entering the process of colonization may have been different. In Egypt, for example, Pascal Crozet (1999) argues that traditional sciences serving traditional needs continued to develop until the end of the nineteenth century.

[9] See Cunningham and Williams 1993: 420, note; Chartier and Corsi 1996.

science") – the congeries of terms and texts and intellectual practices we find in India during the two centuries before colonialism.

At the same time, there is a certain circularity, for traditional India, that presents itself in the very formulation of the central problem of this essay: If, from a long-term perspective, "science" – whether as *jñāna* in the sense of comprehension, or *śāstra* in the sense of system – is simply "knowledge", *veda*, then science can *only* have been expressed in the Sanskrit language. This is surely one implication of the discourse on the *vidyāsthāna*s: These fourteen (or eighteen) "knowledge-sites", which were implicitly held to constitute the realm of systematic thought, all derive their truth from their relationship to Vedic revelation.[10] And accordingly throughout much of Indian history, new – or, ipso facto, counter – *śāstra* (or *jñāna* or *vidyā*) required new or counter language, beginning with the *śāstra* comprised in the teaching of the Buddha.

This apparently general cultural presupposition finds an echo in the widespread commitment to a postulate of Sanskrit language ideology: correct language is required for the correct communication of reality ("science"). This idea is at least as old as Kumārila in the seventh century:

> The scriptures of the Śākyas and Jains are composed in overwhelmingly corrupt language (*asādhuśabdabhūyiṣṭha*) – with words of the Magadha or Dakshinatya languages or their even more dialectal forms (*tadapabhraṃśa*). And because of their false composition (*asannibandhanatva*), they cannot be considered science (*śāstratvaṃ na pratīyate*) … When their words are false (*asatyaśabda*) how could their doctrines ever be true (*arthasatyatā*)? … That the Veda, on the other hand, is an autonomous source of true knowledge is vouchsafed by its very form (*rūpād eva*).[11]

Kumārila is entirely typical in his view on the relationship between "correct" language, Sanskrit, and truth, that only Sanskrit can articulate reality and thus speak "science". Even the Indian Buddhists eventually agreed, after all. And his position was one *mīmāṃsaka*s such as Dinakara Bhaṭṭa (fl. 1625) were still endorsing a millennium later:

> The remembered Vedic text (*smṛti*) that restricts usage to grammatically correct [i.e., Sanskrit] language – i.e., *sādhūn evābhibhāṣeta nāsādhūn* ("Use only correct words, not incorrect ones") – … derives its authority from the extant Vedic text (*śruti*) requiring one to speak the truth and to avoid lies.[12]

Such a (mis)conception is not, of course, peculiar to Sanskrit intellectuals: only Greek can really speak philosophy for Derrida, only German for Heidegger. But Sanskrit intellectuals based their view on a far more clearly enunciated theory, which we will examine below. Some continuing energies from their various postulates and the quest for an ever more perfect fit between language and things – for an ever more sanskritic Sanskrit – may also have conditioned one of the most far-reaching developments in late-medieval intellectual life: the fash-

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[10] For the *vidyāsthāna*s see Pollock 1989. An influential enumeration is found in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (fifth century?): "The four Vedas, the [six] *vedāṅga*s (language analysis, phonetics, etymology, metrics, astral science, ritual science), *mīmāṃsā*, *nyāya*, *purāṇa*, *dharmaśāstra* are the fourteen sciences. These number eighteen by the addition of *āyurveda*, *dhanurveda*, *gāndharva*, and *arthaśāstra*" (*VP* 3.6.28-29).

[11] *TV* on 1.3.12, p. 164,9-15 (I slightly rearrange the verse and the prose that glosses it); p. 166,2; cf. NS p. 236,10ff.

[12] *BhD* fol. 41v,1-2. See also *ŚD* (p. 47,4): *sādhūñ śabdān satyaparyāyān*. Injunctions such as *nāsādhu vadet* ("One should not speak ungrammatically"); *sādhubhir bhāṣeta* ("One should use grammatical speech"); *na brāhmaṇena mlecchitavai* ("A Brahman must not barbarize"); *na mlecchabhāṣāṃ śikṣeta* ("One should not learn a *mleccha*'s language") are often discussed together, as in the *TV* and *NS* on the *vyākaraṇādhikaraṇa* (*PMS* 1.3.24-29). As we see below, later *mīmāṃsaka*s like Khaṇḍadeva discriminate among different realms of application of these *vidhi*s.

ioning of a new idiolect by *navyanyāya* (the new logic), beginning in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, that was to profoundly influence discursive style across disciplines and regions. Indeed, exploiting to an extreme degree linguistic capacities with which Sanskrit is especially well endowed (in particular nominal compounding), this philosophical register was to make the transition to science and scholarship in vernacular languages even more difficult than language ideology already had. Sanskrit scientific thought had long been not only thought in Sanskrit but thought about Sanskrit, in other words, about the nature of this particular language and its attributes. (It is, for example, no easy thing to discuss *mīmāṃsā*'s concern with deontic verbal morphemes [*vidhi liṅ*] in languages that lack them.) This was the tendency that *navyanyāya*, with its invention of a new philosophical vocabulary, amplified to the point of untranslatability, even unintelligibility.[13]

Other elements of language ideology, in addition to the linkage between language that is correct/true (*sādhu*/*sat*) and the truth itself (*satya*), will be addressed below. But let us be more empirical for a moment, and examine the language practices of "science" understood as broadly as possible. Were there forms of systematic knowledge that were never communicated in *bhāṣā* texts prior to the colonial age?

Consider first the Indian *vidyātraya* of *pada*, *vākya*, and *pramāṇa*, the triple science of words, discourse, and grounds-of-knowledge, which, whatever its status in earlier times, had become by the seventeenth century an actual ideal of intellectual perfection. No synthetic work on the question of language medium in these disciplines has ever been done, but an informal survey suggests that access to them was attainable only through Sanskrit. Both *nyāya*, the *pramāṇaśāstra* (along with the larger questions of epistemology), and *mīmāṃsā*, the *vākyaśāstra*, were entirely untouched by vernacularization; I have encountered not a single premodern work in either area in any regional language (except for the occasional and very late – almost certainly colonial-era – translation). The case of grammar and the related discipline of poetics is somewhat different, and we are confronted, too, with a significant and puzzling unevenness between north and south India. The Kannada philological tradition commenced c. 875 with an important grammatical–poetics text, the *Kavirājamārgam*, of Śrīvijaya, which was quickly followed by elementary grammatical (and lexicographical and prosodical) works leading to one of the most sophisticated descriptions of a vernacular language in the premodern world, the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇam* of Kēśirāja (mid-thirteenth century).[14] Developments in Tamil are more or less contemporaneous with Kannada: Leaving aside the undatable *Tolkāppiam* (though its commentaries, appearing first in the eleventh century, suggest a much later origin than usually assumed), these include the grammar *Naṉṉūl* by Pavaṇanti (early thirteenth century), and the more strictly poetics texts *Vīracōḻiyakārikai* (c. 1063-1069) and *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāra* (somewhat earlier). In the following three centuries appear grammatical works in Telugu (*Āndhrabhāṣābhūṣaṇamu* of Kētana, c. thirteenth century, and *Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi* ascribed to the eleventh-century poet Nannaya but more likely authored by Appakavi in the last

[13] A consideration of the place of *nayvanyāya* terminology in the early-modern *mīmāṃsā* is offered in McCrea 2002, and a useful general account in Staal 1995: 79-88. For the ridicule *navyanyāya* style earned in some quarters of the seventeenth-century intelligentsia, see the *VGĀC* v. 555bc (*paraṃ vāco vaśyān katipaya-padaughān vidadhataḥ | sabhāyāṃ vācāṭāḥ śrutikaṭu raṭanto ghaṭapaṭān* ||, "The [logicians] incessantly use a few words that are entirely dependent on language itself [i.e., metalinguistic?], and stridently bang their [verbal] pots and pans in the halls of debate").

[14] On the former see Pollock 1998a; the latter is examined in detailed in Pollock 2006: chapter 9, and in Pollock 2004.

quarter of the sixteenth century) and Malayalam (*Līlātilaka*, fourteenth century).[15] Wholly different is the situation in the north, where vernacular language without exception remained ungrammaticized until the coming of the new colonial order of knowledge. A striking instance of this negative dynamic is Marathi. The language was conceptually objectified by the late tenth century and became the vehicle for expressive literature by the thirteenth (probably) or fourteenth (definitely). By the seventeenth century it was continually being adduced by Maharashtra-born scholars (Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara is a good example) when glossing texts, a sure sign of its primacy in their everyday sphere. And, most significant, it was the language of the region where cultivation of Sanskrit grammatical studies had attained the greatest brilliance anywhere in seventeenth-century India. Yet systematic reflection on Marathi grammar (and lexicon and prosody) is, with one exiguous exception, entirely absent before the coming of European science.[16]

The linguistic monopolization by Sanskrit over the three primary disciplines of *pada*, *vākya*, and *pramāṇa* tallies with the evidence from many other areas of systematic knowledge. Again, this question awaits detailed study, but some first observations seem likely to be borne out by further work. In *dharmaśāstra*, vernacular works are exceedingly rare; there may well be more than the *Vijñāneśvariyamu*, a Telugu adaptation by Kētana of the celebrated Sanskrit work produced in Kannada country in the twelfth century, but that is all I have ever encountered.[17] In the field of *āyurveda*, to take a second example, matters are somewhat less clear. Sanskrit appears to have maintained a statistical dominance in some areas until the latter half of the eighteenth century, at which point a new linguistic situation began to develop, as medical authors began producing literary discourses in more than one language.[18]

Philosophical–religious poetry might seem to constitute one exception to the general exclusion of the *bhāṣā* from the realm of systematic thought, for it is not only common, but sometimes foundational to a vernacular tradition, as in Marathi. The thirteenth-century *Vivekasindhu* of Mukundarāja is a remarkably precocious example of vernacular Advaita-Vedantic exposition, as the near-contemporary work of Jñāneśvar, the *Bhāvārthadīpikā*, is a remarkably precocious example of vernacular philosophical–poetic commentary.[19] Similarly Śrīvaiṣṇava theology was composed in a new Sanskrit–Tamil register (*maṇipravāla*) in Tamil country, Vīraśaiva theology in Kannada (and sometimes Telugu) in the Deccan. But in fact, I do not believe these offer an exception to the norm that, with the Hinduization of Sanskrit in the present age, we are apt to forget: The vehicle of organized, systematic *laukika* knowledge before colonialism was Sanskrit, while the *bhāṣā*s, at least in their incarnation as literary languages, were in the first instance the voice of *alaukika* wisdom (a situation closely paralleled by Latin and the European vernaculars).[20] To make this distinction is not to value information

[15] On the *Līlātilaka* see Freeman 1998; on the dating of the *Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi*, Rao 2003: 386-388.

[16] The exception is a brief account of Marathi morphology in the *Pañcavārtik* of Bhīṣmācārya sometime in the fourteenth century. On the vernacular glossators, the old essay by Printz (1911) remains useful. The north–south difference in grammaticization is discussed in Pollock 2006: chapter 10.

[17] This work is complemented by what appears to be one of the earliest vernacular texts on polity, the *Beddanīti* (perhaps as early as the fourteenth century, see Wagoner Ms.), but except in literary texts the tradition of vernacular political thought seems not to have been continued.

[18] We thus find one Vyāsa Keśavarāma composing a bilingual Gujarati–Sanskrit medical glossary, while Mahārāja Pratāpasiṃha of Jaipur wrote in Marwari, and then translated his own work into Sanskrit verse and Hindi prose (Dominik Wujastyk, personal communication).

[19] On the *Vivekasindhu*, see Tulpule 1979: 316.

[20] On vernacularization in inscriptions, see Pollock 1996. Phillip Wagoner has reminded me of the *vyāvyahārika* usage among the Niyogi Brahmans of Andhra.

over imagination or to unjustly narrow the scope of *śāstra*; it is to describe a division of language labor, one that was real and highly consequential. It is true that in virtually every case in South (and Southeast) Asia the inaugural use of the *bhāṣā*s was entirely pragmatic – in the business-end of inscriptions – and this *vyāvyahārika* usage did leave later textual traces in some regional traditions. But outside the Persianate world, *systematic knowledge* appears to have remained largely the preserve of Sanskrit, and the literary and spiritual that of the *bhāṣā*s.

The general tendencies in learning and language suggested by the above data are fully corroborated for a tradition that I want to look at in a little more detail, Brajbhasha, the language that supplemented, and then effectively replaced, Sanskrit as the transregional literary code in north India during the period 1600-1800.

The Language of Braj Beyond the Literary

Brajbhasha is an important and especially good case to study for the problematic of language and science.[21] Although the history of non-literary Old Hindi has never been written – all the important survey works entirely ignore such materials – the resources for doing so exist in abundance and are comparatively well-ordered. These include the various manuscript catalogues compiled as a result of intensive searches in the early part of the twentieth century, including the three-volume manuscript catalogue published by the Nagaripracharini Sabha that lists according to genre nearly 4500 works (culled from a five-volume *Khoj* series).[22] Now, while it is admittedly hazardous to draw large conclusions from one survey of manuscripts however systematically prepared – let alone historical conclusions, since the majority of the manuscripts are undated – it does seem significant that something upwards of *seventy percent* of these are texts we would broadly classify as expressive, imaginative, "literary". Of the remaining quarter, 500 or so, the greater part deal with practical arts: *jyotiṣ* (astrology), *śakun* (augury), *śālihotra* (veterinary science), *sāmudrikaśāstra* (physiognomy), and the like; religious practices, including works on *karmavipāk* (karma theory), *māhātmya*/*vrat* (sacred topography; religious vows), *stotra* (hymnody), *tantra*/*mantra*/*yantra*/*indrajāl* (mystical and magical arts); and gnomic wisdom (versions of *Hitopadeśa* and *Pañcatantra*).[23] Works that concern themselves with *darśan*, the philosophical viewpoints, are conspicuous for their rarity.[24] The only areas of growth for Brajbhasha scientific textuality in the early-modern period are *āyurved* (Vol. 1, 48 mss.) and the adjacent field of *kāmaśāstra* (numerous examples of *Kokaśāstra* mss.). Once again, specific exceptions tend to prove a general rule.

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[21] I owe a number of references in this section to Allison Busch, Columbia University, N.Y., and profited greatly from discussions with her on the issues raised here.

[22] *Hastalikhit Hindī Granthasūcī* (N.a. [1989]-1993). These findings are largely confirmed by the two-volume manuscript catalogue of the Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan (Varma et al. 1971-1987). No works at all in the *bhāṣā* are listed for *vyākaraṇa*, *mīmāṃsā*, *nyāya* (with the exception of two recent *ṭīkās* on the last) or any other philosophical system save *pātañjalayoga* (two or three mss.); *āyūrveda* and *jyotiḥśāstra* are more substantially represented, but their numbers remain exiguous.

[23] There is also listed a *Rājanīticandrikā* (Vol. 3, Nos. 3420, 3421), but I have been unable to examine the ms.

[24] Only *vaidika* works are found: *Caturvedasatśāstramata* of one Balirām "Bali" (Vol. 1, No. 30; unpublished); Sundaradās's *Jñānsamudra* (*Advaitasiddhāntanirūpaṇ*) (verse; often printed); the anonymous *Bodhadarpaṇ* (an exegesis of the *Puruṣasūkta*) (Vol. 1, No. 42); *Vedāntaratnamañjuṣā* of one Puruṣottamācārya (Vol. 1, No. 52); *Sāṃkhyaśāstra*, anonymus (Vol. 1, No. 56) (all unpublished).

Brajbhasha shows a remarkable and relatively early development of a science of poetics (curiously absent in other north Indian vernacular traditions). The two foundational works of Keśavdās, *Kavipriyā* and *Rasikapriyā* (c. 1600), were preceded by a certain kind of philological interest (indicated by, among other texts, the *Mānmañjarī*, a thesaurus composed by Nandadās c. 1550), and succeeded by attempts at a more fully systematized discipline (as visible in the works of Cintāmaṇi, fl. 1650, and Bikhārīdās, fl. 1730).[25] But again, grammatical analysis remains completely absent. Some works of spiritual reflection were composed in Brajbhasha prose, including a *guruśiṣyasaṃvād* titled *Siddhāntabodh* by Jasvant Siṃh, king of Jodhpur (1667; what appear to be comparable texts are noted in Hindi manuscript catalogues).[26] A tradition of expository prose in the form of commentaries began with Indrajit, king of Orccha (c. 1600), who commented on two of the *Śataka*s of Bhartṛhari; especially noteworthy are commentaries, something on the order of fifty, on the works of Keśavdās. As indicated by Indrajit, Jasvant Siṃh, and many others (including Rāyasiṃha, king of Bīkāner, c. 1600, to whom a Rajasthani commentary on Śrīpati's *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* is attributed), courtly notables played a prominent role in the creation of a vernacular scholarly idiom.[27] This merits further scrutiny, as indeed does premodern vernacular literary commentary itself, especially from a comparative perspective (in Kannada, for example, virtually none exists before the modern period; very different is the Telugu tradition).

"Science" existed in Brajbhasha, then, but in a highly restricted sense. Something of this constrained character of vernacular knowledge production is illustrated by the career of one of the more interesting seventeenth-century scholars, Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī (c. 1600–1675).[28] A Maharashtrian cleric, Kavīndra according to François Bernier (and there can be little doubt that the reference is to him), was Dara Shikoh's chief Sanskrit scholar, "one of the most celebrated pandits in all the *Indies*", and later Bernier's constant companion over a period of three years. He was a familiar at the court of Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, who conferred on him the title "Hoard of All Knowledge" and provided him with a rich annuity enabling him to assemble one of the most celebrated Sanskrit libraries of the day (many of the manuscripts, recopied expressly for Kavīndra's collection, ultimately found their way into the library of the great bibliophile, Anūpasiṃha, king of Bīkāner, r. 1669-1698). Kavīndra's extant work in Sanskrit consists largely of commentaries on Vedic and classical texts, but one could argue that, historically viewed, his more remarkable contribution – less for its intellectual originality than for its sociolinguistic symbolism – was to Brajbhasha. Indeed, the very fact he wrote in Braj is remarkable; so far as I can tell – a provisional claim that sounds too extreme to be true, though it is borne out by materials currently available to me – he is the only Sanskrit scholar in the intellectually vibrant world of seventeenth-century Benares to have written in the vernacular.[29] But his relationship to the vernacular was conflicted. His most important

[25] This corpus of material is discussed in Busch 2003: chapters 3 and 5. As she notes, it is a measure of the underdevelopment of our knowledge that several texts of Cintāmaṇi, the most important Brajbhasha poetician of the seventeenth-century, remain unpublished or virtually inaccessible.

[26] The *Siddhāntabodh* is edited in Mishra 1972: 152ff. (for other comparable texts see Varma et al. 1971-1987, Vol. 2). The fact that, in the case of another work of the king's, the *Ānandavilāsa*, a Sanskrit translation was prepared contemporaneously (ibid., p. 32), raises in a pointed way questions about language, communication, and intellectual community of the epoch about which at present we know next to nothing.

[27] For Indrajit, McGregor 2003, and for the full exposition, McGregor 1968; for Keśavdās and his commentators, Busch 2003: chapter 3; for Rāyasiṃha, Pingree 1997: 93.

[28] Details in Pollock 2001a: 407-408; see also 2001b: 20-21.

[29] A collection of Vaiṣṇava *bhajan*s entitled *Kīrtanapraṇālīpadasaṃgraha* is ascribed to a Jagannātha, but few believe this man to be the Sanskrit poet and literary theorist (the work exists in a single unpublished manuscript, once in the temple library in Kankroli and now in Baroda and inaccessible to scholars).

work is the *Bhāṣāyogavāsiṣṭhasāra* (also known as *Jñānasāra*), a version of the anonymous Sanskrit *Laghuyogavāsiṣṭhasāra*, which he prepared in 1656-1657. In the introduction to this text Kavīndra celebrates his learning in the Sanskrit knowledge-systems:

> … the four Vedas and their meanings, the six *vedāṅga*s, on which he has given lectures, *nyāya*, *vedānta*, *mīmāṃsā*, *vaiśeṣika*, *sāṃkhya*, *pātañjala*, on which he has cleared up all doubts and confusions. He has taught *nyāya* and so on repeatedly, and written many works on *sāhitya* …

And then he adds:

> *pahile godātīranivāsī pācheṃ āi vase śrīkāsī |*
> *ṛgvedī āśvalāyana śākhā kīnoṃ jñānasāra hai bhāṣā ||.*[30]
>
> He lived first on the banks of the Godāvarī, and then came to live in Kāśī. He is a Ṛgvedin of the Āśvalāyana *śākhā* – and he has composed the *Jñānasāra* in the vernacular.

Kavīndra's celebrating his Sanskrit learning in the introduction to a vernacular text implies less pride in his multilinguality, as one might think, than condescension toward the *bhāṣā.* This is confirmed elsewhere in his oeuvre, where a clear note of unease in writing in the vernacular can be heard. He actually uses the term *lāj* in the *Kavīndrakalpalatā*, a collection of his *bhāṣākavitā*, or vernacular poetry:

> *bhāṣā karat āvati hai lāj |*
> *kīnai graṃth parāe kāj ||.*[31]
>
> One feels ashamed to write in the vernacular
> It was only for the sake of others that this book was written.

Whatever we may make of this vernacular anxiety, however, what is not in doubt is that for Kavīndra Brajbhasha was a language of poetry, not science. Nothing of the vast scholarship he claimed was ever transmuted into the language – with the sole exception of the text in hand, a work, as he calls it, of "Upanishadic" wisdom comparable to the other kinds of philosophical poems I mentioned above.[32]

What the case of Kavīndra and Brajbhasha more generally shows – and this is likely to be corroborated for other regional languages – are the clear and untranscendable limits of vernacular textualization. Aside from poetics, which was crucial for the constitution of the "illustrious vernaculars" as such, the central concerns of the Sanskrit thought-world – and these constitute the central concerns of science and scholarly thought of precolonial India outside the Persianate sphere – remained almost entirely locked in Sanskrit. In language philosophy, hermeneutics, logic and epistemology or other *darśana*s whether *āstika* or *nāstika*, or moral thought (and the situation seems only slightly more favorable in life science or astral science), no original work whatsoever seems to have been composed in Brajbhasha; indeed, not one of the standard Sanskrit texts – *sūtra*, *vṛtti*, *bhāṣya*, *vārttika*, or any of the great *prakaraṇa* works – appears ever to have been made available in translation before the colonial period.

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[30] *BhYVS* vv. 3-4.

[31] Divakar 1964: 34, citing the *Kavīndrakalpalatā*; in the citation ibid. from the *Samarasāra* (an unpublished work on astral science), *samarasāra bhāṣā racyo*, *chamiyo budh aparādh*, we may have instead merely the conventional apologia.

[32] Note, too, that among the more than 2000 manuscripts in his library only two or three, on *vaidya*, are in the vernacular (see Sastry 1921).

Sanskrit Language Ideology and the Character of Early-modern Science

The exclusion of the vernacular from the realm of scientific discourse has deep roots, it was suggested above, in a complex language ideology. Sometimes this ideology is formulated by a simple typology, articulated already in the prevernacular world in Bhoja's early-eleventh-century treatise on literature, *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*:

> Words with unitary meaning constitute a unit of discourse (*vākya*). There are three species of such discourse: Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhramsha. As for Sanskrit discourse, it is of three types: relating to revelation, to the seers, and to the world ... Discourse relating to the world has two subtypes: *kāvya* and *śāstra* (literature and systematic thought).

Prakrit and Apabhramsha, by contrast, Bhoja goes on to describe solely in socio-linguistic terms and are shown to be restricted in their usage entirely to poetry.[33]

More instructive than this kind of typological presentation, which carries a second-order pragmatic dimension (as if simply reporting what the world of textual production consisted of), are the philosophical arguments that have a primary force in buttressing constraints on the production of science in the vernacular. Central here is the episteme mentioned above that links grammatical correctness and truth, an episteme of intrinsic Sanskrit veracity – and intrinsic vernacular mendacity. A range of other, more abstract, language-philosophical axioms enter into the mix. One was the old *vyākaraṇa* notion that all non-Sanskrit language has signifying power (*śakti*) only by the mediation of the original Sanskrit (somehow cognized) from which the vernacular was thought to derive: Whatever is sayable in the vernacular, this implies, has already been said (and said better) in Sanskrit.[34] Another is the *mīmāṃsā* postulate of the natural-and-uncreated (*autpattika*) connection of signifier and signified, along with its theory of reference, whereby all substantives are believed to refer to class properties (*ākṛti*), or indeed, universals (*jāti*), and not individuals (*vyakti*), and each signified is believed to have only one signifier.[35] We cannot scrutinize these theorems here, but their implication for vernacular knowledge should be obvious: In a world of non-arbitrary and singular language it is obviously impossible for any other language than Sanskrit to make scientific or other sense: other languages would not be referring to the universally real since they would be using false words (and if they were using real words – Sanskrit *tatsama*s – they would be completely redundant).

Other old but still functioning components of Sanskrit language ideology persisted; these may have been bent in the seventeenth century, but were not broken. Consider first the discussion of the well-known *pikanemādhikaraṇa* by Khaṇḍadeva, in his great *Mīmāṃsākau-*

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[33] *ŚP* p. 165ff. The Jain canon, in Prakrit, was obviously not considered *śāstra* by Bhoja; Prakrit was rarely used by Jains (or anyone else) for scholarly purposes after the second or third century; Apabhramsha figures occasionally in tantric philosophical texts but typically only for *saṃgrahaślok*as (e.g., Abhinavagupta's *Tantrasāra*).

[34] This conception did not go unchallenged, as the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* of the remarkable Maharashtrian philosopher of language Kauṇḍa (or Koṇḍa) Bhaṭṭa (fl. 1650) shows (Pollock 2001b: 27-29). But even while defending the autonomous expressivity of Marathi, Kauṇḍa appears not to have written a single line in the language.

[35] See *PMS* 1.3.26 (*anyāyaś cānekaśabdatvam*). It was precisely a proposition in European scholasticism comparable to the *autpattikasaṃbandha* that Descartes, the first great French philosophical vernacularizer, challenged with his proto-Saussurean declaration in *Le Monde*: "Les paroles, n'ayant aucune resemblance avec les choses qu'elles signifient …" (cited by Beretta in Chartier and Corsi 1996: 109).

stubha.[36] The larger context of this topic (the *smṛtipāda*), to characterize it generally, is the grounds for the authority claimed by various Sanskrit knowledge-systems per se. The specific question at issue in the topic concerns the words *pika* and *nema*, non-Sanskrit terms present (or held to be present) in Vedic texts and yet having no currency among *ārya*s themselves, but only among *mleccha*s (the latter an imprecise term, but comprising all who stand outside of Sanskrit culture): Are *mleccha*s competent to understand the meaning of their own language, or must the signification of such words be determined by the application of Sanskrit knowledge techniques, especially etymology?[37] To be sure, Khaṇḍadeva accepts the *mīmāṃsāsiddhānta*: The communicative practices of the *mleccha*s can be shown to be beginningless, for words such as *pika* and *nema* cannot be proven to be corrupted either phonologically or semantically (unlike other lexemes such as *pīlu* that are current among both *ārya*s and *mleccha*s but in radically different senses, and where, therefore, the suspicion of corruption among the latter cannot be removed).[38]

> This leads us to assume that their linguistic usages do express meaning. Accordingly, their practices, too, [no less than those of the *ārya*s] should be authoritative in determining the signification of words.

But it is to his *pūrvapakṣa* I call special attention. *mīmāṃsā* is celebrated among pandits for avoiding the straw man and mounting the strongest arguments possible against its own tenets (since, as Bhoja says [*ŚP* p. 742,3], the stronger his adversary the more ennobled the victor). There is little reason to doubt that the following position as formulated by Khaṇḍadeva, constructed only to be rejected though it may be, would have seemed entirely reasonable to a seventeenth-century Sanskrit intellectual:

> Lacking education (*abhiyoga*) the *mleccha*s are observed to corrupt (*vipluti*) language by using incorrect (*asādhu*) speech items, and so they have no competence to determine the real phonetics of words (*śabdatattvāvadhāraṇa*). By the same token, neither have they competence to determine their semantics (*tadarthāvadhāraṇa*), because of their mistaken use of words like *pīlu* and so on. One cannot argue that since we do not find any corruption in words such as *pika* that it should be possible to accept the meaning attributed to them by *mleccha*s. For those words, too, are [in fact phonologically] corrupted (*apabhraṣṭa*), insofar as only the stems [and not the full inflections] are used. What the *mleccha*s are therefore employing are words *similar to* the Sanskrit words used in the Veda, not those very same Vedic words themselves. And we cannot, on the basis of mere similarity, conjecture the meaning of the words *pika* and so on [as found in] Sanskrit texts from the meaning of the words known to *mleccha*s. Were one to base oneself on mere similarity, one could wind up assuming that, for example, the word *śālā* [room] expresses the same meaning as *mālā* [garland]. In his *Tantravārttika* Kumārila considered at length the difficulties of trying to conjecture, by means of similarity or the interpolation of additional phonemes, the Sanskrit words [that lie at the origin of words] used in the Āndhra and the Draviḍa languages and thus their capacity to signify what the [original] Sanskrit words signify. He showed accordingly how just for those two languages it is impossible to determine the words and meanings in any systematic way.[39] This is *a fortiori* the case with respect to languages of those even more remote than the

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[36] *MK* pp. 79,1-84,16 (the *Kaustubha* was evidently prized by Kavīndra as well, who acquired a copy for inclusion in his library, see *Kavīndra's List* [Sastry 1921] no. 368); cf. *PMS* 1.3.10. The topic is briefly discussed in Halbfass 1988: 183-185.

[37] The words in question, which are said to mean "cuckoo" and "half" respectively, are non-Indo-Aryan, perhaps Munda, though the argument could be and has been extended to non-Sanskrit as such.

[38] Kumārila had argued that, with respect to a word like *pīlu* (meaning a type of tree in Sanskrit and elephant or ivory staff in some indeterminate, but almost certainly non-Dravidian language), *ārya* usage, based on learning, is primary and authoritative, and *mleccha* usage is secondary and erroneous (*TV* on 1.3.9, pp. 143-144). Khaṇḍadeva addresses the question on pp. 58-59, and concurs with Kumārila.

[39] Kumārila's rather convoluted discussion of Draviḍa and other non-Sanskrit languages is found in *TV* pp. 150-151. The *pūrvapakṣa* seems to claim that Dravidian dialectal pronunciations (*apabhāṣaṇa*) are mere

> Āndhras and the Draviḍas, such as the Pārasi [Persians] and the Romakas ["people of Rome", i.e., Constantinople/Istanbul?]. Accordingly, the knowledge of *mlecchas* has as little authority in the determination of linguistic meaning as it does in the determination of *dharma* and *adharma*.[40]

What is most remarkable here, amidst many older arguments, is the fact that the question whether speakers of Persian and European languages were competent to understand their languages was still being seriously discussed in the mid-seventeenth century. Elsewhere in his work, too, what Khaṇḍadeva chooses to recover from early discussions suggests that his general attitude toward language and sociality retains many traces of the archaic. Here is one example:

> The following objection has been raised: It may be granted that the [beginningless] communicative practice of their ancestors is authoritative for the *mlecchas* [which would validate their own linguistic competence], but since they are disallowed from hearing the language of the Veda, and *āryas* are prohibited from speaking with them or learning their speech [see below], there is no possibility for *āryas* to come to know the meanings familiar to the *mlecchas*. But this objection has no force. *mlecchas* might have learned Sanskrit from bilingual *āryas* (*dvaibhāṣika*) who violated the prohibition, and these *mlecchas* might have taught to *āryas* the meanings of words known only to them. Thus there is no insurmountable obstacle in the *āryas*' acquiring the requisite linguistic knowledge.[41]

On matters of true knowledge, communication outside the domain of Sanskrit was still somehow transgressive and exceptional in the *imaginaire* of Sanskrit scholarship. As far as the vernacular in particular is concerned, Khaṇḍadeva does acknowledge a communicative space for it, but it is tellingly narrow. When considering the prohibition that we noticed above on using incorrect Sanskrit, he argues, in what appears to be an open-minded way, that the rule has reference only to the domain of sacrificial activity; it does not constitute a general moral principal and thus does not militate against making use of *bhāṣā* – that is, *apabhraṣṭa* Sanskrit words thought to be the source of the vernaculars – in other contexts. "For these [*apabhraṣṭa* Sanskrit words] are used by learned men of all regions (*sakaladeśīyāḥ śiṣṭāḥ*) in their everyday activities as well as in chanting the name and virtues of God (*hari*)." His general *siddhānta*, too, is that there is no general human good (*puruṣārtha*) attaching to the prohibition on ungrammaticality (or dialectism, or vernacularity, *asādhubhāṣaṇa*). "While ungrammaticality can impair a sacrifice it cannot impair other Vedic activity nor pose a threat to human welfare (*puruṣasya pratyavāyaḥ*)." This would seem to open

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copies (*pratirūpa*) of Sanskrit words, used with different [i.e., erroneous] meanings; if *āryas* were to try to restore the Sanskrit for such words, to make them accord with meanings current among Tamil users – if for instance [Tamil] *pā*[*m*]*p*[*u*] (snake) were to be derived from Sanskrit *pāpa* (evil) because snakes are wicked (p. 150,24-25) – such a procedure would consist of entirely arbitrary conjecture (*svacchandakalpanā*). The meaning of the putative original Sanskrit word can therefore only be truly determined on the basis of etymology. In his conclusion, as I read him, Kumārila demurs: "The corruptions in the vernaculars are so deep that it is impossible to distinguish" the correct Sanskrit words and meanings from which they derive (*deśabhāṣāpabhraṃśapadāni hi viplutibhūyiṣṭhāni na śakyante vivektum*, *TV* p. 151,23). Note that Kumārila also refers to "Pārasika, Bārbara, Yavana, and Raumaka [sic] languages"; the seventeenth-century understanding of these terms, however, is likely to have been quite different.

[40] *MK* pp. 79,15-80,3 (*pūrvapakṣa*); p. 82,10-23 (*siddhānta*). As late as 1700 the south Indian *mīmāṃsaka* Vāsudeva Dīkṣita felt it necessary to exclude from the domain of solecism (largely *tadbhavas*) such Tamil words as *ayyā* and *appā*: These are not to be considered *asādhu* because they do not "share a similar form" with a correct word. *tadbhavas* are produced by a failure to generate the correct Sanskrit form, and they convey meaning only by prompting recollection of that form, to which they bear a resemblance (incorrect *gāvi* leading to correct *gauḥ*). *appā* and the like, however, are simply "a separate species" (*vijātīya*) of words (*AMKV* on 1.3.24).

[41] *MK* p. 82,4-9 (see also *TV* p. 152,5-6).

the door to a wide range of vernacular practices, but it is surely significant that Khaṇḍadeva restricts this to *vyavahārakāla* and *saṃkīrtana*, the pragmatic and the devotional, activities outside the realm of science, learning, scholarship. And in general his position on language is as inflexible as that of other *mīmāṃsaka*s of his day, such as Dinakara Bhaṭṭa, with whom he directly agrees on the question of Persian:

> However, there does indeed exist a prohibition of a general moral scope (*puruṣārtha*) [rather than one restricted to ritual, *kratvartha*] applying to words of Barbara and other languages, since there is a scriptural prohibition against learning them at all: *na mlecchabhāṣāṃ śikṣeta* (One should not learn a *mleccha* language). With regard to this statement there are no grounds such as primary context [as there is in the case of another scriptural prohibition, *na mlecchitavai*, "One is not to barbarize"] for setting aside the conventional meaning of the word *mleccha* [which he elsewhere identifies as Parsika and Romaka] [and interpreting the word as referring more narrowly to ungrammatical Sanskrit]. Thus the prohibition on Barbara and other languages only is purely of a general moral sort, whereas the prohibition on other language [i.e., *apabhraṣṭa* Sanskrit, as expressed in *na mlecchitavai*] relates to sacrificial activity and that only.[42]

The actual degree of Sanskrit–Persian intercommunication in the period 1550-1750, like so many other questions raised here, awaits systematic study. We do know that, whereas intellectual intercourse among astronomers may have been relatively relaxed, and some scholars like the Jain Siddhicandra celebrated their skills in *yāvanībhāṣā*, other sources substantiate Khaṇḍadeva on the resistance among Sanskrit intellectuals to the use of Persian.[43] Among Kashmiri Brahmans there emerged a new caste division between *kārkun* (bureaucrats), those who learned Persian and entered the service of the Sultans, and *bhāṣbhaṭa*s ("language scholars"?), those who maintained a Sanskrit cultural identity. In the description of Maharashtra in the contemporaneous *Viśvaguṇādarśacampū* of Veṅkaṭādhvarin, scorn is heaped on those who, at the time of life they should be practicing Vedic recitation, do nothing but learn Persian. But also derided are those (Tengalai Śrīvaiṣṇavas are intended, though Kavīndra might just as well have been included)

> who senselessly bother with vernacular texts (*bhāṣāprabandhe*) when the Veda is at hand, source of all human values. When standing on the shore of the milk ocean, you don't run off to a cowherd's hut for a glass of milk.[44]

To be sure, at precisely the same moment others were speaking in favor of a *bhāṣā* competence even on the most transcendent plane. Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, for example, the celebrated editor of and commentator on the *Mahābhārata*, argued in his *Śivatāṇḍavatantraṭīkā* not only that tantric texts should be numbered among the fourteen knowledge-sites and so be adjudged Vedic in origin and hence true knowledge, but that the power of their mantras even when composed in *bhāṣā* was undiminished:

> Their actual sequence of phonemes may not be Vedic, but their meanings are Vedic, and it is precisely this that gives them their efficacy … And it is perfectly possible that Vyāsa, Śabara (!), and others were able to set out the meaning of Vedic texts in vernacular as well as in Sanskrit language, and to compose texts through the power of their asceticism … Therefore, the Vedic origins of ... the vernacular mantras is established. It is precisely as a result of the differences [from Vedic

[42] *MK* p. 132,14-18 (discussed in greater detail in Pollock forthcoming). This contradicts, and is meant to contradict, Dinakara's assessment, see above, at n. 12.

[43] On the astronomers, see Minkowski 2002; on Siddhicandra, Pollock 2001a: 406.

[44] See Kachru 1981: 25 and n. 4; *VGĀC* vv. 134 and 230. See also v. 89, where Brahmans of Kāśī who consort with Yavanas (Muslims) are criticized (cf. also vv. 96 and 97).

> mantras] in the sequence of their phonemes that both higher and lower castes, as appropriate, have the right to pronounce the phonemes.[45]

Yet there is an archaic exception to the modernist exception too obvious to miss: For knowledge to be true it must have Vedic affiliation; and even to claim vernacular truth meant to set forth the claim, as Nīlakaṇṭha himself does here, in Sanskrit.

The Case of Europe

The remarkable asymmetry between literary and scientific vernacularization in India and Europe was noted at the beginning of this essay. It is especially the parallel in literary-language change and the linkage often assumed between the development of scientific and literary discourse that make the apparent resistance to scientific vernacularization in India so curious. I have written about literary vernacularization elsewhere, and need only state here that the commonalities, conceptual, social, and chronological, in the emergence of the vernaculars in the two regions are remarkable.[46] As for the vernacularization of scientific knowledge in western Europe, this commenced in the natural sciences by the mid-sixteenth century with Peletier writing in French on algebra (1554), and gained powerful momentum by the time Galileo published his *Discorsi* in Italian (1638); in philosophy, Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), and Descartes's *Discours de la méthode* (1637) are among the most important early works.[47] Latin long retained its appeal, to be sure (scientists from Copernicus, Harvey, and Kepler, through Newton and Gauss continued to use the language), because of its supposed universality, stability, prestige, and demonstrated communicative capacity, but the trend toward science in the demotic idiom was irreversible.

Sometimes the choice of the vernacular was not a choice but a matter of practical necessity – Peletier is said to have used French simply because he was ignorant of Latin. Sometimes the use of the vernacular was an attempt to achieve a certain new kind of diffusion of a national–popular sort, a goal pursued, it seems, by Descartes with his *Discours*, despite the substantial conceptual challenge of presenting a discourse on universal reason in a non-universal language.[48] The role of the new academies (the Académie française was established two years before the *Discours* was published), and more largely, of the cultural initiatives of the nascent nation-state, are pertinent factors here, too. Other motives for the vernacularization of science, as conceived by the agents themselves, include the confirmation by language choice of the idea of *translatio studiorum et imperii*; popular disclosure of useful information hitherto kept secret; and the education of women and aristocratic officials. Pertinent also are the arguments, ever more forcefully made, that favored the supposed natural language, especially its facility and putative transparence, over the artificial (something already to be found in Dante,

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[45] *Śivatāṇḍavatantraṭīkā* 2v-3r. I thank Christopher Minkowski of Oxford University, who provided me with his transcription of a manuscript of this work in his possession.

[46] Pollock 1998a, 1998b, 2000.

[47] Note however that there were large-scale translation programs since the late Middle Ages. Nicole Oresme's French translation of Aristotles' *Ethics* of 1370 was the first complete version of an authentic Aristotelian work in any modern language. Even earlier is Gossouin of Metz's *Image du monde* (Lorraine, 1246), probably the oldest encyclopedic treatise written in a European vernacular. Such initiatives are entirely absent in India.

[48] The issue is raised and explored in Derrida 1984.

who proclaimed already in 1300 what no one in Europe had ever proclaimed before: *nobilior est vulgaris*).[49]

Several hard questions are raised by thinking through the cases of Europe and India together. With respect to the vernacularization of literature as a cultural and political process, similar developments occurred more or less simultaneously in both Europe and India to produce, each autonomously, its own brand of modernity, on the one hand national, on the other – for want of a better term – deshi. But the vernacularization of scientific discourse never happened in precolonial India, for most of the core disciplines of the dominant intellectual order, and one's first impulse is to interpret this as obscurantism or blind traditionalism, a practical enactment of Sanskrit's archaic language ideology – in short, as failure. To be sure, few of the factors identified for European scientific vernacularization were present in early-modern South Asia. Sanskrit competence among intellectuals never deteriorated to the degree that made writing in the vernacular unavoidable. No national–popular projects, let alone institutions, that instrumentalized and rationalized cultural practices were ever developed. No polity ever sought to draw on culture to make its language the "compañera del imperio". But these are again absences; is there a more positive interpretation?

Here I am put in mind of a remark made by the historical sociologist Shmuel Eisenstadt regarding the old text of Werner Sombart's, *Why is There no Socialism in the United States*? For Eisenstadt, it is just as reasonable or even more so to ask, instead, Why was there socialism in Europe? Similarly, we might want to turn the tables of our assumptions and ask, not why India failed to vernacularize science but why Europe did, and what intellectuals in South Asia sought to achieve by their choice to remain transregional. I have elsewhere sought to make sense of the continuing commitment to Sanskrit on the part of late-precolonial intellectuals as an attempt to reinvigorate and sustain an old ecumenical cultural order in a changing world where a middle-class, national–cultural regime was not a condition of possibility.[50] Perhaps, in accordance with the Eisenstadt principle, we ought to proceed even further against the obvious grain. Not only is it the case that few of the factors present in early-modern Europe are relevant to India, but deeper, or wiser promptings may also have been in play. If unlike literature systematic knowledge in general and science in particular is not idiographic (let alone ethnographic), but nomothetic, then the cultural nationalization of science and scientific language in early-modern Europe turns out actually to have been a bizarre experiment – and, indeed, it was eventually abandoned.[51] Supranational communication forms, whether transnational English or the abstract language of mathematics, constitute a Latin redivivus, and we now think of "German chemistry" or "French mathematics" not as science but as chapters in the history of science. Might therefore a conceptual "provincialization of Europe", as Dipesh Chakrabarty puts it, permit us to think of the Sanskrit domination

[49] *De vulgari eloquentia* 1.4. See the excellent essay of Pantin 1996, from whom I adopt a number of ideas in this paragraph. As she points out, there was no clear and invariant line of progression (most of Galileo's students reverted to Latin, for example), and no good explanations are available to account for this indirect route of the vernacular's eventual conquest. Even as French, Italian, and English became the principal vehicles of scientific expression, anomalies continue to be found, such as Latin treatises produced for aristocratic environments, or vernacular treatises destined for Europe-wide dissemination.

[50] Pollock 2001b: 30-31.

[51] This was recognized to some degree from the start by European vernacular intellectuals like Bacon: The Latin translation of his *Advancement* (which he commissioned in 1607-1608) was, he said, "a book I think will live, and be a citizen of the world, as English books are not". "My end of putting it into Latin was to have it read everywhere." Similarly regarding the Latin translation of his Essays: "For I doe conceive, that the Latine Volume of them, (being the Universall Language) may last, as long as Bookes last" (Kiernan 2000: liv).

of science as a good universalism, and thus not as failure according to the norms of European modernity, but, according to an Indian ethos, as a kind of civilizational achievement?

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Authenticity in Art

As a mark of respect for and affinity with the work of Wilhelm Halbfass, I am happy to offer an excerpt from a book I am at present engaged in writing. Called *A Prelude to the History of World Art*, it is determinedly cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary. The excerpt is from a chapter entitled "Selfless Tradition." This chapter is divided into a number of sections, entitled: Tradition, Traditionalism; Problems that Anthropologists Encounter; The Anthropology of Art; Ceremonial Celebrations of Life; Memory Preserved; Authenticity; Ephebism; Four Symbolic Images; From Apprentices to Masters; Exacting Rules; Chinese Connoisseur, Archaist, Collector; Creative Copying from the Chinese Past; Classicism in European Art; Creative Copying from the European Past; The Ideal of the Anonymous Craftsman; and The Metaphysical Ideal.

The excerpt I have chosen is, with very slight modifications, the whole of the section "Authenticity." In keeping with the method I use, it raises a problem or characteristic of art as a whole and illustrates and tries to clarify it with the help of examples chosen freely from the cultures of the whole world.

I will take "authenticity" in three senses, all related to the meaning of "genuineness." One sense is "worthy to be considered art," real, genuine art. The second sense is "living up to its own cultural assumptions, or pretensions," meaning, really representative of a given culture, style, or the like. The third sense is "original" in the sense of "not forged."

There are psychologically and philosophically embarrassing questions that might precede the distinction between the different senses of authenticity. We might ask if there are some works of art, like some persons, that are more authentic, more deeply sincere, than others. If they are, is it at times the absence in them of striving for effect, their true spontaneity, that makes them authentic? Are children more truly themselves than are adults, who have learned better how to be devious? Is that why so many of the modern artists were influenced by the art of children? Are spontaneous works of art more authentic, more revealing of their makers' true selves, than considered works of art? Or did the Surrealistic search for unconscious reactions, like the search of shamans for the guidance of the spirits, reveal what was truly authentic? And did the art of the insane influence modern artists because it was so strange or because it was taken to be authentic, not produced out of the desire for recognition or money?

These questions will have to be dealt with elsewhere; here I will take up only simpler ones, which turn out not to be really simple or even soluble. The simpler ones, too, teach the lesson that, if you think carefully, the apparent opposites that seem to define the kind of questions I have been asking lose the sharpness of their contradiction. This is certainly a lesson to be learned from authenticity as understood by the early collectors and creators of so-called "primitive art." The lesson will be strengthened by considering the nature of the authenticity and forgery of Chinese and Indian art. I avoid the problem of the authentication of Western works of art because they are relatively well known and have often been described in relation to every important artist.

Karin Preisendanz (ed.), *Expanding and Merging Horizons*: *Contributions to South Asian and Cross-Cultural Studies in Commemoration of Wilhelm Halbfass*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007, pp. 221-233.

The subject of the authenticity of "primitive art," though now the major subject of a number of books, repays exposition. As a recent book points out, since the mid-1980s, there has been an open attack in "museum and art market circles" on the prevailing ideas of authenticity and primitivism. As a result, the idea of "authentic primitive art" has become questionable:

> More to the point for the art market, the supply of objects that can be promoted as "authentic primitive art" is very much on the decline. If, as art dealers say, "they're not making it anymore," that is because the societies that formerly produced it have increasingly become part of the global economic system. The process of market globalization has consequences that result in a dwindling supply of "authentic primitive art."[1]

I think that the most realistic way of entering into the subject of the authenticity of primitive art is by describing how it was first collected. When explorers or travelers first met "primitives," the curiosity on both sides must have been great and every curious participant must have been all ears and eyes. Now and then a European found something to admire without much qualification, but mostly the Europeans expressed their interest in the customs and artifacts they came upon in terms of their curiosity. That is, they called them "curious," "singular," or the like, meaning that they found them interesting but, because they did not understand them or were not ready to respect them, they refrained from evaluation. Such aesthetically almost noncommittal words occur often in the journals of Captain Cook. In the accounts of his second voyage (1772-1775) it is said that

> Cook found a Tongan coconut-fiber apron "curious," a Marquesan head ornament was "a curious fillet of shell work decorated with feathers &c"; for Johann Reinhold Forster [who accompanied Cook], Maori wooden axes were "commonly curiously carved"; the dresses Tahitian women wore while dancing were "singular and remarkable" … George Forster [who also accompanied Cook] noted that bone arrowpoints at Malekula were "curiously and firmly united by means of single coconut fibers"; but he ambiguously described the Tahitian mourning costume as "whimsical."[2]

By and large, the early collectors of African art were interested far less in art than in missionary activity, trade, or the systematic description of African culture. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, much of central Africa – the basin of the Congo or Zaïre river – had become subservient to the Belgians, and the collectors of art moved within it freely, with little fear. The Europeans saw themselves as the righteous masters of this Africa, though some of the carved images the collectors found made fun of the Europeans and the Africans who served them.[3] After 1908, when the territory of Congo was transferred to civilian rule, it was easier, whatever the motive, to collect "the harvests of everything from ivory to souls to art."[4]

Curios and trophies had long been collected, but now expeditions were organized for the scientific study of the continent and its inhabitants. Art collection too became a viable business. Lots of literally thousands of objects were collected for museums. The total number of objects taken at the time is hard to calculate, but "between 70,000 and perhaps as many as 100,000 objects may have been removed before World War 1."[5]

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[1] S. Errington, *The Death of Authentic Primitive Art and Other Tales of Progress*, Berkeley 1998, p. 7.

[2] N. Thomas, *Entangled Objects*: *Exchange*, *Material Culture*, *and Colonialism in the Pacific*, Cambridge, Mass. 1991, p. 130.

[3] E. Schildkrout and C.A. Keim, "Objects and Agendas: Re-collecting the Congo," in: E. Schildkrout and C.A. Keim (eds.), *The Scramble for Art in Central Africa*, Cambridge, U.K. / New York 1998, pp. 1-33, at pp. 16-17.

[4] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[5] Ibid., p. 23.

On their part, the Africans soon learned to make use in art of the cloth, glass beads, and other materials the traders brought to trade. But on the grounds of authenticity, collectors often rejected art that made use of such imported materials. The result was that the objects that Africans made for themselves "often incorporated acrylic paint, plastic, and imported cloth, while a lively market emerged in faked authentic objects using only 'natural' materials – most wood, raffia, hide, copper, and feathers – that met Western consumer expectations."[6]

The manner and the goals of early collecting of course influenced the ways in which the objects were organized, exhibited, and understood. For instance,

> the notion of "one tribe / one style" which, despite volumes of scholarship to the contrary, continues to hover like a shadow over the field of non-Western art came directly out of the circumstances of the period: the need to categorize people and manage them in small, geographically distinct, governable, and conceptually accessible entities.[7]

Some of the limitations and difficulties of collecting authentic African art can be illustrated from the efforts of the American anthropologist Frederick Starr (1858–1933). In 1905, without help from any institution, Starr and his friend, a photographer, left for Africa with the missionary–explorer Samuel Verner. In 1911, Starr sold the collection of about 4,000 objects (mostly bought by Verner) to the American Museum of Natural History. Starr provided the museum with no more than a list of the objects, a label for each of them, such as "mask," "fetish," or "basket," and the name of the tribe or place from which the object was collected. Starr would reject a native informant's explanation of an object or custom whenever it differed from his own preconceptions.[8] These could be highly prejudicial because, as a social evolutionist, he assumed that the objects he collected were evidence of their makers' backwardness.

While Starr and his friend were living at Verner's camp, they would be visited by chiefs who wanted to trade and who repaid Starr by means of the objects he collected with their help or commissioned to have made. Travelling on from the camp, Starr bartered for pieces he thought might interest museums; payment was in salt, cloth, iron bars, tobacco, cowries, and beads. He bargained hard, passing up objects he thought too expensive, or persuaded their owners to barter them for objects he had in stock.[9] If an object looked old and used (but not too used), a genuine product of African tradition, he would be attracted to it, but evidence of European influence on the object decreased its charm for him and the price he was willing to pay for it. Though he depended on the middlemen who brought him objects from the surrounding villages, he distrusted them and seems sometimes to have understood that he was buying objects made, that is, faked, to meet his specifications. The fact is that faking was encouraged by his endless appetite for masks and fetishes.[10] The authenticity-seeking that developed during the early twentieth century

> was met by Africans who began forging authenticity and even by Europeans who made objects for sale to Africans, in African style. These were sold back to European collectors of ethnographic artifacts. On several occasions Starr was about to purchase well-made African-looking knives only to discover that these were being made in Europe for export to Africa![11]

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[6] Ibid. (cf. n. 3), p. 26.

[7] Ibid., p. 31.

[8] E. Schildkrout, "Personal Styles and Disciplinary Paradigms: Frederick Starr and Herbert Lang," in: Schildkrout and Keim, op. cit. (cf. n. 3), pp. 169-192, at pp. 178-179.

[9] Ibid., pp. 179-180.

[10] Ibid., p. 182.

[11] Ibid., p. 183.

Some of the masks that Starr regarded as inferior because they looked too new were part of the collection he sold the American Museum of Natural History.

> In museum storage, these masks still look today as if they were made yesterday, despite the fact that they are some of the oldest documented examples of art from the Congo. They are masks in the process of manufacture – neither aged by use nor given a false finish, but to scholars they are nonetheless important because in the details of their iconography they show how Africans chose to represent themselves to Westerners in 1905-06.[12]

Musical and verbal performances presented Starr with a difficulty he was not able to cope with because he believed that they should be fully traditional and therefore have a fixed, authentic form. "On one occasion he asked a man to recite the words of a song so he could write them down. The singer kept changing the words … In his view the man simply "couldn't get it right."

So much for Starr and his measures of African authenticity. But the issue of the authenticity of primitive art remains confusing and fits no clear criterion that a curator might propose. For Africans, age is not always a decisive criterion. Among the Igbo, who live in Nigeria, authenticity, in the sense of a quality that expresses what is deeply valuable in tradition, is not attributed to objects because they are old. If they were reverenced because of their age, the Igbo believe, the impulse to create such objects would be weakened. In any case, the objects are soon likely to decay or be eaten by termites. What the Igbo value most is not the traditional object but the process of creating it in a traditional way.[13]

In actual African practice, authenticity can be an amusingly variable notion. This becomes evident on close study of certain African sculptors. I am referring in particular to the sculptors of the Central Pende of Zaïre (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo). Their biographies show how hard it is to judge Pende sculpture in terms of authenticity.

> Dancers in a hurry may purchase headpieces intended for the foreign trade. On the other hand, a middleman with a backlog of commissions may arrive at the right moment and confiscate a headpiece intended for a dancer. Performers usually keep headpieces they admire in pristine condition (away from smoke and termites). Consequently, a cherished ten-year-old piece will look brand new. Cognizant of Western tastes, dancers (or middlemen) will "age" these treasured pieces only when they are released for the foreign market, through the application of acidic berry juices and exposure to smoke and termites. Most curious of all, dancers in search of a gimmick have inserted certain of Mijiba's "fakes" into the masquerading milieu at Nyoka-Munene and Kinguba, capitalizing on their novelty.[14]

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[12] Ibid. (cf. n. 8), p. 184.

[13] This is on the authority of Chinua Achebe, as expressed in the foreward (p. IX) to H.M. Cole and C.C. Aniakor (eds.), *Igbo Arts*: *Community and Cosmos*, Los Angeles 1984; quoted in J. Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*: *Twentieth-Century Ethnography*, *Literature*, *and Art*, Cambridge, Mass. 1988, p. 207.

[14] Z.S. Strother, *Inventing Masks*, Chicago 1998, pp. 89-90. It is not only the authenticity of a "primitive" work of art that can pose a problem, but also what person is entitled to the status of an authentic "primitive." Such a decision can turn into a difficult problem for judges and legislators. This has proved to be the case with Native American art, for which the criteria of authenticity have been legislated. "Deirdre Evans-Pritchard provides a historical account of the legislation in her dissertation 'Tradition on Trial: How the American Legal System Handles the Concept of Tradition' (1990), where she argues that the major issue and most vexing problem in defining authentic Indian art is deciding who is an Indian. As Evans-Pritchard points out, 'Whether [the buyers are] serious collectors or souvenir hunters, buyers' reasons for purchasing particular Indian art pieces have many permutations. For instance, Indian art may be evaluated as a cultural symbol, an investment, a souvenir, a fashion accessory, and/or an expression of personal taste. However, almost everyone who buys Indian art is influenced by the fact that it is Indian'" (Errington, op. cit. [cf. n. 1], p. 143.) Evans-Pritchard's Ph.D. dissertation was at the University of California, Los Angeles 1990 (p. 134 quoted).

Analogous problems of the authenticity of primitive art arise (of course) outside of Africa. Natives of New Guinea perform their approximately traditional dance for tourists.

> But when the tourists are gone, these same people work for wages, run their own government and businesses, and study their homework. Some native Americans welcome tourists to their powwows, in which traditional and modern dances are performed not only for themselves but for the tourists' edification and cash. Throughout most of Africa you can buy "airport art," which is a derisive name for "bad" copies of old art forms. It is better if we can learn to see it not as "bad art" by comparison with the traditional, but rather as new versions of traditional culture that are being recast as a commodity and sold for profit.[15]

Writing on the effects of the virtuosity of the canoe-prow carvers of the Trobriands, the anthropologist Alfred Gell says that it is worth noting

> that the Trobriand carvers who produce the primitive art discussed in this essay are not themselves at all primitive; they are educated, literate in various languages, and familiar with contemporary technology. They continue to fabricate primitive art because it is a feature of an ethnically exclusive prestige economy which they have rational motives for wishing to preserve.[16]

I conclude this discussion of the authenticity of "primitive" art by pointing out that the conditions under which the great early collections were formed concealed the fact that the works of art had identifiable creators, each with a particular skill and personality. The personalities involved came to be seen as not those of individuals but of the "tribe" to which the work was attributed – the individual was supposed to be nothing but a pure, selfless instrument of a tribal tradition, a view that seems to me *a priori* implausible. To change not the subject but the continent involved, the Northwest Coast Indian artist and art critic Bill Holm complains that a person who goes to a museum to look at the art of (Canadian) Northwest Coast masks, or at any art from an "exotic," "primitive" culture

> is unlikely to visualize an individual human creator behind each piece. Seldom will he be helped toward personalizing the faceless "primitive" artist: by the labels he might read … At best a tribal identification might be made, although the likelihood of its being inaccurate is considerable. The idea that each object represents the creative activity of a specific human personality who lived and worked at a particular time and place, whose artistic career had a beginning, a development, and an end, and whose work influenced and was influenced by the work of other artists is not at all likely to come to mind.[17]

So far only primitive art has entered into the discussion of authenticity, but enough has been said for a tentative moral to be drawn. It is not that the word should be discarded because its use is too subjective or too dependent on questionable criteria. If we were to discard it on such grounds, we would have to discard its synonyms and antonyms as well – opposite words imply one another even when used by themselves – and soon we would reduce ourselves to speechlessness. The moral is rather that it is especially important for us to understand just what it is that we are saying when we use such sharply evaluative words. The deceptiveness of the word "authenticity" arises from the assumption that underlies it, which is that persons and works of art have or ought to have identifiable essences, in the absence of which they misplay the role to which they have been assigned in the order of things. This assumption

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[15] P. Bohannan and D. van der Elst, *Asking and Listening*: *Ethnography as Personal Adaptation*, Prospect Heights 1998, p. 51.

[16] A. Gell, "The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology," in: J. Coote and A. Shelton (eds.), *Anthropology*, *Art and Aesthetics*, Oxford / New York 1992, pp. 40-63, at p. 62, n. 1.

[17] B. Holm, "The Art of Willie Seaweed: A Kwakuitl Master," in: M. Richardson (ed.), *The Human Mirror*: *Material and Spatial Images of Man*, Baton Rouge 1974, at pp. 59-60. I have taken the quotation from S. Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places*, Chicago 1989, p. 65.

arises easily wherever tradition is strong. But the word is in practice often vague, except emotionally, and easily deceptive. Whoever seriously calls anything authentic or inauthentic had best be sure of what the word is meant to mean, whether "deep," "direct," "representative," "sincere," or the opposite of any of these. Unless the effort is made to think clearly and adequately, nothing very definite is being said.

I turn to China and India. In discussing the authenticity of their art, I will keep on using "authenticity" in the three senses I specified above – worthy to be considered art, living up to its cultural standards, and original (not forged), though I suppose I will shift opportunistically according to the evidence I find. I will confine my discussion of Chinese art's authenticity to two related matters, for which, as usual, the Chinese tradition provides unusually good documentation. The first is the use of workshop methods and substitute artists. The Chinese tradition lays great emphasis on the visibility of the artist's nature in the brush strokes the artist makes, so it might be supposed that the touch of another's hand on a painting would be accounted by the Chinese as a severe misrepresentation, even lying. The second matter is forgery, which, like connoisseurship, the Chinese developed to an extraordinary level of ability. Yet, for both the use of assistants and for forgery the Chinese developed more tolerance than one might, in the abstract, expect.

Reasons can be given. One reason for the Chinese tolerance of the work of assistants was the accepted understanding of what was more or less valuable in a painting. While drawing and brushwork were thought of as expressively essential and necessarily personal, the coloring of a picture was thought to be an inessential though attractive way of adding decoration to it.[18] The artist Ch'en Hung-shou (Chen Hongshou), of the first half of the seventeenth century, a prime example of the archaist, may be mentioned here as an extremely busy painter, with more commissions (in polite scholar-language, more requests for paintings) than he could fill. On one well-known painting, he added to his signature a note saying that the picture had been colored by his son. On at least two versions of his painting "Female Immortals in the Palace Museum," he names an assistant as the colorer. The likeness between the several versions makes them seem as if this proudly individual painter had hit on an attractive subject that he had decided to repeat a number of times, without taking it very seriously, either for the purpose of selling it or for giving it as a gift. This copying of oneself is easy to understand, and it is also easy to understand why Ch'en, like other Chinese (and like European and Indian) painters, might divide the work on a picture among different specialists. In Chen's case, there is a portrait scroll in which he made the figures – most of his work consists of paintings of highly-mannered figures –, a disciple made the setting of trees and rocks, and a portrait specialist, it seems, made the person who is portrayed. As can be guessed, a portrait of someone in a landscape was likely to call for the joint efforts of a portraitist and a landscape painter.[19]

However, there are also unacknowledged participants, assistants or substitutes. The Emperor Hui-tsung (Huizong) (1082–1135), a great patron of the arts and himself a considerable calligrapher, painter, and poet, had what amounted to an academy of painting. The very large number of pictures he is said to have made, the bundles of paintings and calligraphies he

[18] There is some parallel with the seventeenth-century academic doctrine in Europe that the value of a painting lies in its drawing or "line," which appeals to reason, and not its color, which, because it appeals only to the senses, should be regarded as quite subordinate.

[19] J. Cahill, *The Painter's Practice*: *How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China*, New York 1994, pp. 107-110 (with nn. 93, 95).

gave away at a party, and the painstaking quality of some of his paintings arouses the suspicion that, as emperors find easy to arrange, he was credited with work done by his court painters.[20]

This suspicion leads to the subject of the use of a "substitute brush" (*tai-pi*) (*dai bi*), aptly translated "ghostpainter." Busy Chinese painters found unacknowledged substitutes very convenient. Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (Dong Qichang) (1555–1636), the great painter, who is also an example of a creative copier, was sardonically aware of how many forgers traded on his name. Not really caring, he said that he left the authenticity of the fakes ascribed to him for future persons to solve. Out of the desire to keep the paintings he himself made and treasured, he got other artists to ghostpaint for him and then signed their work. He is said to have been so unconcerned about forgeries that he happily signed his name to pictures he recognized as such. To get a picture that was certainly painted by him, it might be necessary to use guile. What this means in his case is explained by the report that "those who bought his genuine paintings often got them from his concubines," who kept silk on which they would persuade him to paint.[21]

The well-known eighteenth-century painter Chin Nung used a number of ghostpainters, one of whom wrote, without excessive sympathy: "The old man loved money, but would not lift his brush. Therefore, I compliantly painted nonstop. As long as I signed the old man's name in his peculiar lacquer-brush style after I had finished, people would express their admiration and great joy."[22]

To understand the Chinese practice of the forgery of calligraphy and painting, one has to understand the extent and depth of the Chinese artist's need to embed himself (more rarely, herself) in tradition by means of copying.[23] The Chinese themselves divide copies into two basic types, free copies and exact copies. The most usual method of making an exact copy is by simply tracing it on a thin piece of paper or silk laid on top of it. Another, more elaborate method is to trace the outlines of the shapes of the strokes of the brush and then fill in the outlines with very small, very careful strokes. When this method is used by a virtuoso, the result can be astonishingly faithful-looking. A third method is to rub a traced white outline onto the silk or paper on which the copy is to be made.

The disciple of a Chinese master traditionally teaches himself by the repeated faithful copying of his master's work. But the master himself is likely to keep making close copies of the traditional masters he most admires.

> Chinese artists and connoisseurs will spend days over an antique painting, absorbing its every detail; this is called *ta-huai* "to read a painting." Their visual memory is so remarkably developed that after having studied a given picture for an hour or so they can often afterwards paint a good copy of it from memory.[24]

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[20] Ibid., pp. 138-139. On Hui-ts'ung, see, e.g., R.M. Barnhart et al., *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*, New Haven / Beijing 1997, pp. 119-126.

[21] Cahill, op. cit. (cf. n. 19), pp. 141-143.

[22] Ibid., p. 143. As Cahill notes, the quotation is from Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü, "Patronage and the Economic Life of the Artist in Eighteenth-Century Yangchow Painting," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley 1987, p. 199, n. 51.

[23] L. Ledderose, *Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy*, Princeton 1979, pp. 33-35; R.H. van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur*, Rome 1958, pp. 397-401.

[24] Van Gulik, op. cit., p. 399.

A copyist may note on a calligraphy or painting that it is a copy. Copyists who do not do so, are likely to copy the signature, inscriptions, and seals of the original, because to preserve the work is to reproduce as much of it as possible for the edification and pleasure of everyone else who wants to live within the tradition. A really good copy is a treasure to be cherished almost as much as the original. Different good copies serve to relate to their original in rather different ways. But all of them point toward it and individually and collectively keep its spirit alive even when, as has often happened, it no longer exists. No wonder that it is often so hard to distinguish copy from original, or that it is so subtle an exercise to try to glimpse the original through its different copies. In calligraphy, the calligrapher's sensitive correction of a mistake adds to the connoisseur's pleasure in following, that is, reliving, the process by which the writing was set down. The good copyist relives the moment of correction by faithfully copying both the mistake and its correction.[25] Good copies derive their authenticity from their ability to assimilate the very special spirit of their orginals.

Given such practice in copying, forgery can be expected to be frequent and expert, and to nourish itself on all the criteria by which the connoisseur determines whether or not a work of art is authentic.[26] Aside from the copy, free or faithful, and aside from forged inscriptions or colophons, the Chinese forger has at his disposal two further techniques. The more usual, attested to as far back as the fourteenth century, is to take a good but heavily damaged picture and cut it up into smaller, well-balanced, self-sufficient pictures, which together will sell for a much higher price than the damaged original from which they were cut. Seals and inscriptions are added as necessary – the seals may even be genuine. A trickier technique is to assemble a picture out of old, approximately matching fragments. The joints are concealed with grime and, if discovered, are ascribed to the repair of the badly damaged scroll.[27]

We may be disconcerted by the relative tolerance of traditional Chinese painters and connoisseurs for forged art, to which good painters or calligraphers might turn their hand. Superlative forgery was the mark of superlative technique and understanding. It was supposed, too, that you did not need to be told what you were not able to see, meaning that it was considered bad form to disillusion the owner of an obvious forgery. The insensitivity or ignorance the owner exhibited was considered punishment enough. I have already mentioned the tolerance of some artists regarding forgery of their work. Two artists, at least, resembled Picasso in that (as reported) they were willing to help sympathetic, needy forgers or owners of forgeries. These artists, Shen Chou (Shen Zhou) (1427–1509) and his pupil Wen Cheng-ming (Wen Zhengming) (1470–1559), "put their signature and seals on imitations of their works ... Their justification was that the sellers were poor, the buyers rich."[28]

For the discussion of the authenticity of Indian, unlike Chinese, art I have found only a little on forgery that is of interest. One of the accounts I have come upon, is of the kind of forgery ascribed to Mi Fu, who, when authenticating a calligraphy might keep the original and return the copy he made. The account begins in 1951, when a corroded but beautiful old statue of Śiva Naṭarāja, that is, Dancing Śiva, was dug up by some laborers. The statue was eventually

[25] Ledderose, op. cit. (cf. n. 23), p. 38.

[26] Cahill, op. cit. (cf. n. 19), pp. 134-136; W. Fong, *The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting*, Ascona 1962. Repr. from *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 25 (1962), pp. 95-119; Ledderose, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

[27] Van Gulik, op. cit. (cf. n. 23), pp. 381-382. For the fourteenth-century reference, see S. Bush and H.-Y. Shih (eds.), *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, Cambridge, Mass. 1985, p. 259.

[28] Cahill, op. cit. (cf. n. 19), p. 136.

turned over to the nearby temple in Śivapuram in Tamilnad, where it was returned to worship. Because it had been badly corroded, it was decided to send it for restoration to a bronzemaker. The bronzemaker returned a copy he cast to the temple and sold the original, for which, eventually, in 1973, the Norton Simon Foundation paid a million dollars. As it happened, a researcher working on similar bronze images discovered that what had been returned to the temple was a modern fake. The Indian police then uncovered the trail of the statue all the way from Śivapuram to its American owner. Then the Indian government sued to recover the original, intending to return it, the government said, to its home. A compromise was reached, by which the original was to be returned to the Indian government after a ten-year tour of American museums.[29]

This report on the forgery of sculpture leads me to another sort of problem of authenticity involving Indian sculpture. This problem rests on a contest between two forms of authenticity, or of reality or value. The problem raised is that of "authenticity" in a purely aesthetic, art-historical sense as against authenticity in a traditional religious sense. It concerns bronzes made in South India in the period from the middle of the ninth to the thirteenth century (to be exact, the Chola period). Such bronzes "have been appreciated for their technically superb solid casting, harmonious proportions, dignity, and grace." Like other Indian sculptures of gods, these bronzes were "awakened," given ritual life, by means of an eye-opening ceremony. As a traditional manual requires, in detail I do not repeat, after an eye-opening ceremony, the god is shown pleasing, auspicious sights and then bathed, beautifully dressed, perfumed, ornamented, and carried around the temple to the sound of music. In the case of the bronzes in question, centuries of daily worship – of water baths and liquid food poured over them and unguents smeared on them – wear down their facial features, including the eyelids and the outlines of the eyes. When this would happen, a metal worker would either incise the outlines or carve away the metal around the eyes. Such repaired eyes were rarely in the same style as the original or as carefully made. But to worshippers, this aesthetic loss did not matter because the renewal of the statues' eyes re-evoked the statues' lives and renewed their religious purpose. That the god was awake again was important; that he looked worse was not.[30]

As the need to repair a god's eyes shows, in Indian tradition, the image of a god can become so worn that it has to be restored. If the image has to be replaced, the new image is made – embodied – and the old one is buried. An image that becomes inadequate (for example by the failure to worship it) or is injured, is likely to lose its divine force in proportion to its inadequacy or to the injury done to it. When an impure person handles an image, the image can be ritually purified. But an injury can be so great, for instance, when the god can no longer be recognized for what it is, that the image is no longer fit to support the god's presence. In such cases of unfitness, "clay images are thrown into the water, metal images are melted down, and wooden ones are cremated in fire, much as human corpses are consigned to flames on the funeral pyre."[31]

The life and death of Indian religious images leads me to a story, which I quote in a summary form, that shows how an Indian image, like a primitive or medieval European one, may vacil-

[29] R.H. Davis, *Lives of Indian Images*, Princeton 1997, pp. 242-243.

[30] M.F. Linda, "Believing Requires Seeing: Altered Chola Period Bronzes," in: M.F. Linda (organizing curator), *The Real*, *The Fake*, *and the Masterpiece*, The Asia Societies Galleries, New York 1988, pp. 59-61, at pp. 59-61.

[31] Davis, op. cit. (cf. n. 29), p. 253.

late – one might say vacillate ontologically – between religious existence, as a powerful object of worship, and aesthetic existence, as an object to be collected or looked at in a museum. This story is also about a twelfth-century bronze image of Śiva Naṭarāja dug up by some laborers at Pathur, in Tamilnad.

> The Pathur Naṭarāja was taken out of its temple in a small village in Tamilnad and buried long ago, accidentally dug up in 1976, sold and resold several times in India, smuggled abroad, sold again, and seized by London police as a stolen object. It became the object of a legal dispute between the Government of India, which sought to repatriate the image to its village shrine, and the chief executive of a Canadian oil corporation, which sought to retain it for museum display. When the bronze image finally returned to Tamilnad in 1991, the chief minister and other dignitaries hailed it as a new symbol for the successful protection of India's cultural heritage.[32]

But ironically, because of the fear that it would be stolen again, this Śiva was not restored to its temple, as was intended, but, along with other valuable images, put for safekeeping in a strong-walled, double-locked Icon Center, with an armed police guard, to which the public was not admitted. Once a week a priest made a ceremonial offering for all the images. According to a newspaper report, "priests and officials of several small rural temples in Thanjavur District felt that their gods were in jail, held without freedom to leave the Icon Center."[33] The Panthur Naṭarāja had again changed its status. Once an authentic object of religious worship, it had lost its religious being and become an authentic object for museum display, and having lost that status too, it had become an authentic, heavily guarded object of national pride. How many different kinds of lives can a statue authentically have? Which life is the real one, or are all the lives unreal, or both or neither real nor unreal?[34]

These questions cannot be so much answered as extended in the light of the drastically changing reputation of Indian sculpture as art, their reputation, I mean, among Westerners interested in art. The change was not unlike that undergone by "primitive" art. Because it concerns India when governed by Great Britain, the story starts with the acts and opinions of Britons. Between 1771 and 1785, when Warren Hastings was the first governor–general of India, he and others in his circle collected Indian miniatures and manuscripts. It was quite unusual, however, to collect so-called "idols." The only person to make an extensive collection of them was a British army officer, Charles Stuart, who rose to the rank of major general. Stuart, whose wife was Indian and who was unenthusiastic about Christianity, was rumored to participate in Hindu rituals. During some fifty years in India, he built up an enormous collection of Indian objects, including hundreds of statues, many of them large and many ancient. A stubbornly persistent collector, he was the cause of an elderly brahmin's question to a missionary "How is it that your countrymen steal our gods?" Stuart was later cited as the

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[32] Ibid., p. 13.

[33] Ibid., pp. 258-259.

[34] According to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act passed in the United States in 1990, every museum and federal agency must notify an existing tribe of any Native American human remains, funerary or sacred objects, and "objects of cultural patrimony" that appear to belong to that tribe's tradition. If the tribe requests the remains or objects, they must be returned to the tribe if it can prove its lineal descent from the tribe from which the remains or objects first came. Something returned under this provision can cause an outburst of collective emotion among the Indians who receive it. When the carved beaver head from a war canoe of a Tlingit Indian clan of Alaska was returned to the clan in 1999, after more than a century, by the American Museum of Natural History in New York, a clan member recalls, "The day it came back was something you couldn't even imagine. The whole village was at the dock. People were crying and weeping." Archaeologists and museum curators may object that the remains or artifacts ought to remain under their study or care. "Many tribes are starting to agree," a curator says, that "museums display cultural artifacts better than anyone else" (S. Kinzer, "Museums and Tribes: A Tricky Truce," in: *The New York Times*, December 23, 2000).

most prominent of those who had taken statues or cut away inscribed slabs from the remarkable temples of Bhubaneshvar, in Orissa. To exhibit his collection, Stuart made his home into a near museum. Much of his collection is now exhibited in the British Museum.[35]

I will not follow the slow subsequent growth of interest in what we now know as Indian art.[36] As might be expected, there were negative and positive cultural way stations. Hegel, whose philosophy of art is a negative station, thinks of Indian art as a confused, unresolved mingling of the infinite or absolute with the finite. In his eyes, this is a wild, fantastic, confused world, "steeped with poetic fantasies" but containing not "one work of genuine art."[37] John Ruskin, the great art critic, is also, for the most part, negative. He at one point admits that Indian art "is delicate and refined" and praises the Indians (and Chinese) for their superior sense of color, even though they are, as a whole, he says, only semi-civilized. But Indian architecture, he says, is idolatrous and empty of thought. He is especially put off by what he takes to be the absence in Indian art of any close study of nature. To him, Indian art is opposed "to all facts and forms of nature." It "*never represents a natural fact*," he emphasizes in italics. In his not unusual rhetorical intoxication, he goes on:

> It will not draw a man, but an eight-armed monster; it will not draw a flower, but only a spiral or a zig-zag. It thus indicates that the people who practice it are cut off from all possible sources of healthy knowledge or natural delight; that they have willfully sealed up and put aside the entire volume of the world … For them the creatures of field and forest do not live. They lie bound in the dungeon of their own corruption, encompassed only by doleful phantoms, or by spectral vacancy.[38]

William Morris, who shared Ruskin's dislike of the industrial society of his time and his idealization of the European Middle Ages, was much more sympathetic to Indian art. But Indian sculpture began to be socially transformed into art worthy of the name only in the twentieth century. This is a time during which India became to some a symbol of Eastern spirituality that contrasted with Western materialism. If one wanted to choose a person who was the first to exert a strong influence to transform Indian sculpture and painting into art, that person should probably be the art historian Ernest Havell. In his *Indian Sculpture and Painting* and *The Ideals of Indian Painting*, published respectively in 1908 and 1911, Havell argues that Indian art should be appreciated in terms of its own standards. These standards go back, he says, to the Vedic period, even though this period left little if any evidence of non-verbal art. According to him, the Vedic idea became sculpture in later India, when Indian sectarianism was overcome. In accord with the Vedic philosophy, Havell writes, what is central to Indian art is "the Divine Idea within nature," "the Noumenon within the phenomenon."[39]

To go on with dramatic (and somewhat misleading) exactness, there are two dates that in the West mark the accession of Indian art to the status of authentic art. One date is January 13,

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[35] Davis, op. cit. (cf. n. 29), pp. 163-167 (p. 164 quoted).

[36] See P. Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*: *History of European Reactions to Indian Art*, Oxford 1977.

[37] Ibid., p. 215, citing P.B. Ostmaston's translation of Hegel's *Philosophy of Fine Art* (*Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*), Vol. 2.

[38] Ibid., pp. 238-246; pp. 245-246 quoted from Ruskin's *The Two Paths*, Lecture I, "Conventional Art," 1859 (*Works*, ed. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn, Vol. 16, London 1905, pp. 265ff.). Ruskin's remarks on Indian color (pp. 240-241) are from his *Modern Painters*, Vol. 3, 1856 (*Works*, Vol. 5, 1904, p. 123).

[39] Mitter, op. cit. (cf. n. 36), pp. 270-277. I have omitted Indian architecture and its pioneering Indian appreciator, Ram Raz, and its first great English historian and admirer, James Fergusson (whose admiration was for Buddhist and Muslim, not Hindu, architecture). On both, see Mitter, op. cit., and P. Chandra, *On the Study of Indian Art*, Cambridge, Mass. 1983. Chandra has a brief review, as well, of the more important students of Indian sculpture and painting.

1910, and the other, February 28, 1910. On January 13, Havell delivered a lecture to the Royal Society of Arts in London in which he defended Indian art as an art that needs to be understood in keeping with the ideas of its creators, which were idealistic, mystical, symbolic, and transcendental. This praise of Indian art aroused the chairman of the society, George Birdwood, an expert on India well-known for his book on its applied arts, to make a rebuttal of Havell's view. The sculpture and painting of India are not at all fine arts, said Birdwood. Pointing at the photograph of a Javanese Buddha, he exclaimed in sarcasm:

> This senseless similitude, in its immemorial fixed pose, is nothing more than an uninspired brazen image, vacuously squinting down its nose to its thumbs, and knees, and toes. A boiled suet pudding would serve equally well as a symbol of passionless purity and serenity of soul![40]

The second date, February 8, 1910, was when a group of thirteen artists, critics, and students of art, as they described themselves, sent a letter to *The Times* in rebuttal of Birdwood's rebuttal of Havell. The group wrote that they, the undersigned,

> find in the best art of India a lofty and adequate expression of the religious emotion of the people and of their deepest thoughts on the subject of the divine. We recognize in the Buddha type of sacred figure one of the great artistic inspirations of the world. We hold that the existence of a distinct, a potent, and a living tradition of art is a possession of priceless value to the Indian people, and one which they, and all who admire and respect their achievements in this field, ought to regard with the utmost reverence and love.

Then, addressing their Indian confreres, the group added:

> Confident that we here speak for a very large body of qualified European opinion, we wish to assure our brother craftsmen and students in India that the school of national art in that country, which is still showing its vitality and its capacity for the interpretation of Indian life and thought, will never fail to command our admiration and sympathy so long as it remains true to itself.[41]

One other influential, early twentieth-century defender of Indian art who should be mentioned is Ananda Coomaraswamy, a representative of what I call the philosophy of traditionalism. His learned, painstaking, passionate, and mystical criticism of art and life, Indian and European, still carries weight. The appeal of the thirteen partisans of Indian art to Indian artists was in fact encouraging to Indian artists. And the views and educational work of Havell and the philosophical aesthetics of Coomaraswamy had a practical effect among Indian artists, especially on the Bengali painter Abanindranath Tagore.[42] As usual in the nineteenth and twentieth century, when an attempt is made to revive tradition in a contemporary context, the attempt is colored by nationalistic fervor, and if it at all succeeds, it is regarded in retrospect with self-congratulatory emotion (or rhetoric):

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[40] Davis, op. cit. (cf. n. 29), pp. 177-178 (also in Mitter, op. cit. [cf. n. 36], p. 269). The account of the clash between Havell and Birdwood is derived from R. Skelton, "The Indian Collections 1798 to 1978," *The Burlington Magazine* 120/5 (May 1978), pp. 297-304. This is in turn derived from the proceedings recorded in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 58 (February 4, 1910), pp. 273-298.

[41] Mitter, op. cit. (cf. n. 36), p. 270.

[42] Abanindranath Tagore (1871–1951), who was "the first major artistic figure of Modern Indian Art, evolved a 'national' style and school of painting, the Bengal School, not just using national themes as earlier done by the academic artists. His early works fused Rajput and Pahari miniature traditions with his training in European paintings, especially pre-Renaissance Florentine influence, and his Western academic ideas of portraiture and watercolor landscapes. Also, works such as: *Last Days of Shah Jahan* (oil on board, 1902), announced the arrival, of a new direction in Indian modern paintings, where the 'treatment of bhava, feeling, becomes the leitmotiv of his work' arousing a 'nostalgic evocation of history'" (N. Tuli, *Indian Contemporary Painting*, New York 1998, pp. 187-189).

Aided by the remarkable Englishman, E.B. Havell (principal of the Calcutta School of Art from 1896 to 1908 and the first Briton to condemn English art education as unsuitable for Indians), and also assisted in his efforts by India's greatest art critic, Ananda Coomaraswamy, and the gifted painter Nandalal Bose [1882–1966], Abanindranath tried to breathe new life into Indian art from the dawn of the new century. Instead of looking towards the all-powerful West, he and the Revivalists turned to India's own glorious past, to the riches of its great epics and the wisdom of its transcendental philosophy. Inspired by the frescoes of Ajanta and by Mughal–Rajput paintings, they attempted to create a new voice for India's long-dormant artistic psyche.[43]

[43] B. Khanna and A. Kurtha, *Art of Modern India*, London 1998, p. 9.